

GRAZING THE HIGH COUNTRY

**An Historical and Political Geography of High Country
Grazing in Victoria, 1835 to 1935**

by

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PREFACE

Someone once said that if there is one lesson man can draw from history it is that man learns nothing from history. In my experience this observation often relates to the commonly held belief that history has little to contribute to the day to day "nuts and bolts" functioning of society. The thinking goes if history cannot supply the answers to practical problems then what is it worth? Such is the view of the pragmatist. Consequently some people will regard this thesis as being interesting in a purely antiquarian sense. If, however, one has a somewhat broader perspective and can see beyond the immediate problems of each day to underlying trends and inherent philosophies, then one will appreciate what this thesis has to offer. For, while it does not provide immediate solutions to existing land use conflicts associated with high country grazing, it does shed light on their origins and development, and hence their basic character.

GLOSSARY

A.O. - Alpine Observer

Capital extensive - relatively small amount of capital spread over a large area of land

C.L.C. - Crown Lands Commission

Fats - cattle fattened and ready for slaughter

F.C.V.- Forests Commission of Victoria

G.G. - Gippsland Guardian

G.M. - Gippsland Mercury

L.A. - Land Act

Lands Dept. - Department of Crown Lands & Survey

M.C. - Mansfield Courier

M.S. - Maffra Spectator

New squatter - grazier who took up a large high country run as his main run during the gold era. Often involved in other activities besides grazing.

Original squatters - the first squatters who stocked the high country prior to approximately 1865

O.S. - Omeo Standard

O.T. - Omeo Telegraph

P.A. - Pastoral Allotment

Pers. Com. - Personal Communication

P.R.O. - Public Record Office

Public land - Crown land, Reserved Forest

Retd. Sold. - Returned Soldier

S.A. - small allotment

Selector - grazier who began on the land by selecting an agricultural or agricultural/grazing allotment and who subsequently acquired a high country run

S.L.V. - State Library, Victoria

Starvers - starving sheep

Station owner - grazier who owned a low land cattle station which did not include high country, and who took up an alpine run



Stores - cattle or sheep sold for fattening

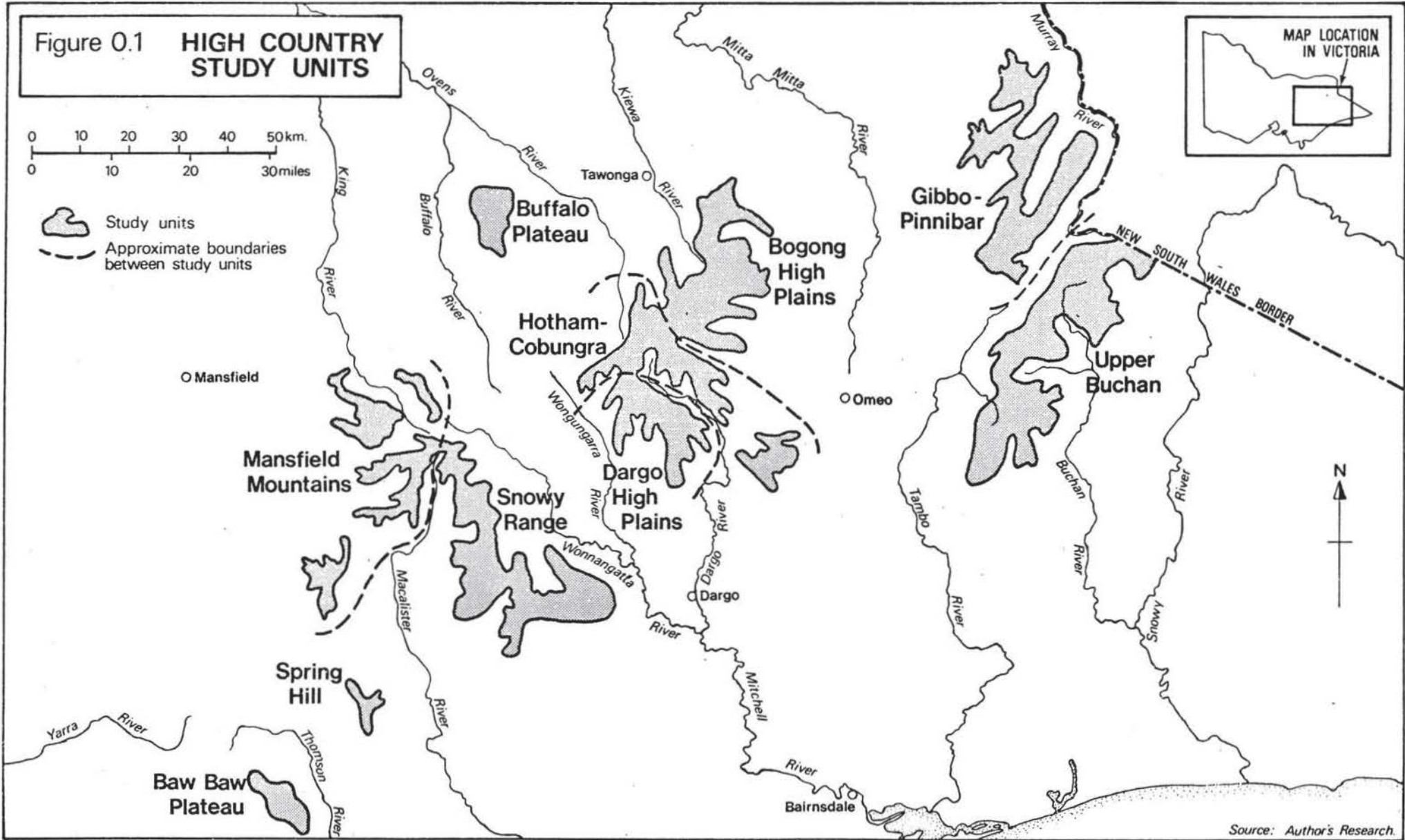
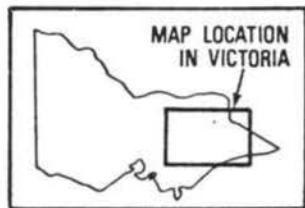
V.P.Ds - Victorian Parliamentary Debates

V.P.Ps - Victorian Parliamentary Papers

Figure 0.1 **HIGH COUNTRY STUDY UNITS**

0 10 20 30 40 50km.
0 10 20 30miles

 Study units
 Approximate boundaries between study units



Source: Author's Research.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis considers aspects of the historical and political geography of high country grazing in Victoria. The high country is located east of Melbourne and includes characteristically rounded mountains and elevated plateaux which experience a persistent coverage of winter snow. Climatic conditions are sufficiently volatile for snow falls to occur at any time of the year, but lasting snow only occurs between the months of May and September. Climate has a strong influence on plant life and two broad vegetation groups are evident: woodland dominated by snow gum (Eucalyptus pauciflora) and grassland comprising grasses and shrubs, and occurring wherever climate is most severe, on the exposed high mountain tops and slopes, and in the valleys of the high plateaux where the drainage of cold air precludes tree growth. During the summer months both vegetation groups offer green feed which has been exploited by cattle graziers for well over a century; in the winter, when the high country is lashed by storms and clothed with snow, stock are removed to lower and more sheltered pastures.

Mountain grazing is carried on throughout the world and displays differing characteristics in different regions of the globe.¹ In the Old World it has been traditionally labour intensive, has often involved the cultivation of high slopes and has been oriented towards dairying or other secondary animal products besides meat. Often its history can be traced back literally hundreds of years, although due to the extended time period specific information about the establishment and early development has been lost. For example, in the western Carpathian mountains of Roumania it is believed that pastoralism began when stock owners adopted the mountains as a refuge from invasions during the Middle Ages.² But the precise details of who, when and where are no longer known.



PLATE I

THE BROAD AND GRASSY SUMMIT OF MT. BOGONG
VICTORIA'S HIGHEST MOUNTAIN (B. Miles, 1978)

In the more recently (European) settled countries such as Australia and New Zealand the accent of high country grazing has been on broad acre meat production. In Australia it began as an extension of pastoral occupation in the lowlands and regular high country grazing took place once the more accessible and normally more productive low country was fully occupied. Fortunately, in Victoria at least, details of pastoral history have been retained through records of correspondence and occupancies kept by Government bodies, primarily the Department of Crown Lands & Survey. These records have been kept because occupation of Public lands was conducted under government supervision and because the high country has generally remained in the public domain. Government records have thus been particularly valuable in reconstructing the history of high country grazing. So also have contemporary news reports and local legend which have supplemented the former. Previous land use studies actually relating to the alpine region were not of great assistance as they have normally treated grazing history as a sideline issue; additionally, some have been politically motivated³ and few have been adequately researched. This thesis is therefore built largely upon the above-mentioned primary sources, except for the preliminary section which deals generally with early pastoral settlement in eastern Victoria and which is drawn from secondary sources. Structural organization was basically a matter of experimentation with some insights being drawn from similar studies of other regions, such as the Monaro district of New South Wales⁴ and the Molesworth district of New Zealand.⁵ The actual study area has been arbitrarily defined by the 1200 metre contour line which roughly marks the lower limits of the snow country. However, this bench mark is flexible and boundaries have been varied according to local circumstances so that some lower tablelands have been included, while higher but more rugged and infrequently grazed mountains have been omitted. This approach differs from those of other works which tend to treat the mountain tops as

a component of a much larger region of study.⁶ But the difference is valid because this study focuses specifically upon the differing land use and administrative problems that derive from the characteristic environment of the high country.

The stimulus for this thesis has been the well-known political conflict over future land use in Victoria's alpine region, particularly the claims and counter claims concerning the value, or otherwise, of high country grazing.⁷ In response, I have aimed to describe the evolution of mountain grazing and its changing relationship with the overseeing Government bureaucracy. My objectives are therefore to

- 1) document the establishment and development of high country grazing from its beginnings in 1835 through to 1935, including discussions of where, when and how grazing took place, who was involved and for what reasons;
- 2) examine the administration of grazing occupation with a view to discovering the motives for legislative and administrative measures;
- 3) discuss the interaction between land use and administration, that is, how one influenced the other.

To satisfy the above objectives, a chronological approach has been chosen whereby land use and administration are considered together. This serves to emphasise the connection between land user and landlord and to highlight changes in this relationship over time. The time span of 100 years is appropriate because both full occupation of the high country and the evolution of methods and patterns of land use occurred within this period; also, during this time control of Public land occupation, within various agreed parameters, clearly became the intent of Government administration rather than the actual management of these lands. Towards the end of the study period certain new trends in Government control began to appear which now characterise the relationship

between landlord and tenant over much of the alpine region. Such trends are identified but a detailed examination of them is beyond the scope and intent of this thesis.

Structurally the text is divided into six parts. The first sets the scene for an examination of grazing in the high country by describing features of pastoral settlement in the surrounding lowlands, subsequent explorations of the mountain region and pioneer stockings of the Alps. The second chapter then discusses the establishment of regular mountain grazing and the nature of government supervision. This latter factor is taken up in greater depth in the following section when changes in legislation and administration are reviewed and their influence upon the pattern and intensity of grazing occupation is assessed. Chapter four shows how the high country has been used by graziers and explores the influence of legislative provisions and administrative practices upon the mechanics of range management. Fifthly, the process of selection and alienation is discussed including the attitudes of the Administration towards alienation, and the relationship between land use and land status. Finally, threads from the preceding chapters are brought together in a summary and conclusion.

The location of old government occupation files proved to be a major difficulty experienced in researching this work, particularly for the years preceding 1908. These records were essential as they include details of tenancy such as names, dates and also correspondence; they are widely scattered and appear incomplete. Moreover, there is no central register of what government documents actually exist and where they can be found. This complicated matters, although fortunately my employment within the Department of Crown Lands & Survey facilitated my search for vital sources of information.

REFERENCES

Introduction

- 1 see for example Carrier (1932)
- 2 Matley (1970) and (1971)
- 3 for example Johnson (1974)
- 4 Hancock (1972)
- 5 McCaskill (1975)
- 6 Hancock (1972) and McCaskill (1975)
- 7 Johnson (1974); Voice of the Mountains, No. 3, 1974

THE ONGO PLAINS AT BENAMBRA, EARLY 1900s (SLV)

PLATE II



Chapter 1

EXPLORATION AND DISCOVERY

Settlement of the Alpine Periphery

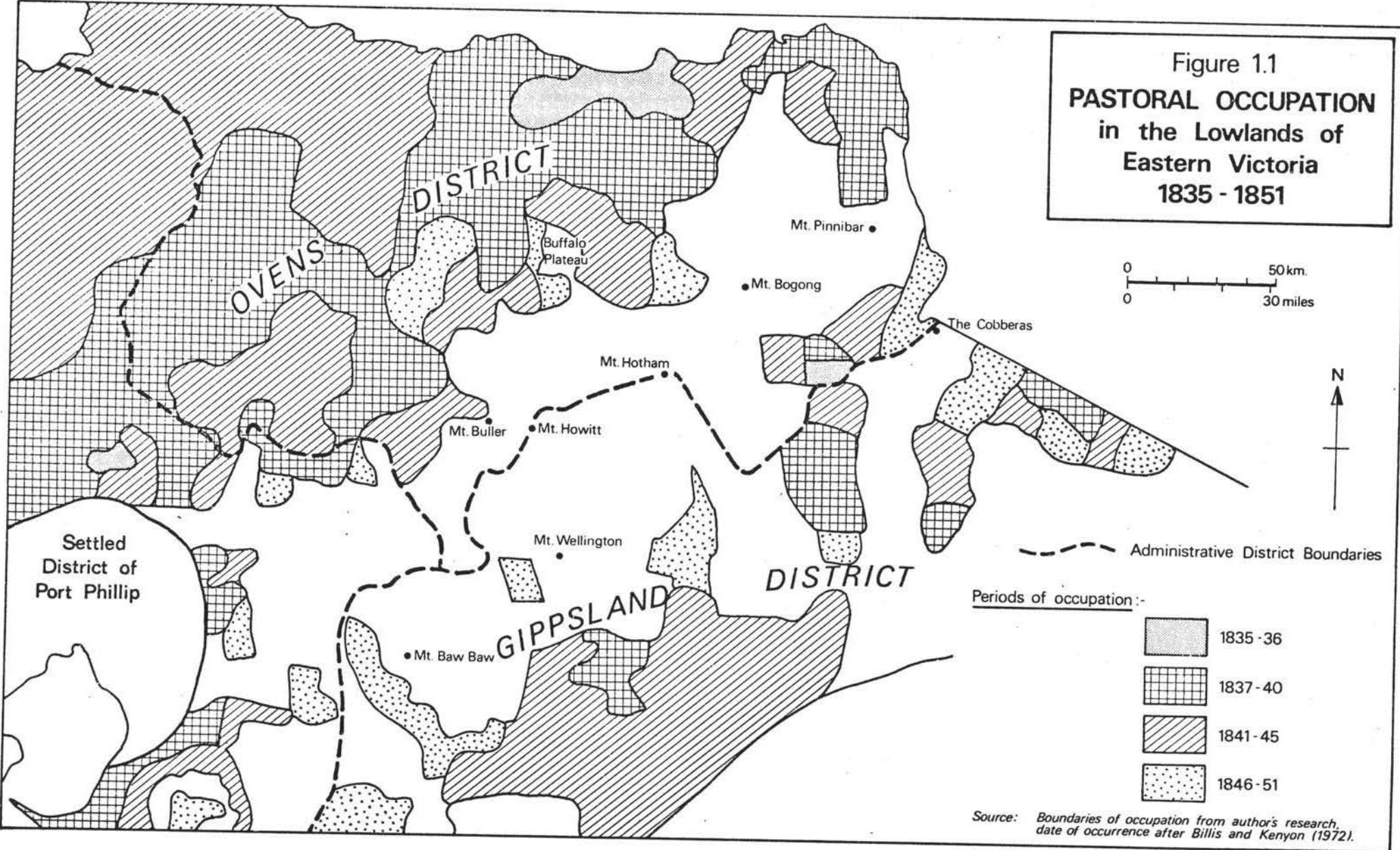
Omeo: The First Step

The story of how cattle came to graze Victoria's snow country really begins about 1835 when a number of pastoralists from the Monaro district of New South Wales made their way through the sub-alpine woodlands in the headwaters of the Indi River and discovered the treeless Omeo Plains. Edmund Buckley is reputed to have been the first to accomplish this feat in 1834¹ and it is recorded that early the following year an exploring party of Messrs. McKillop and Livingstone pursued a similar route while attempting to overland from Monaro to Port Phillip Bay.²

The Omeo Plains are not snow plains but are part of an elevated basin some 600 metres above sea level and surrounded by high mountains; the treeless nature is due to soil and drainage characteristics.³ The plains are important in this study because of their strategic location within the mountain region, and in the process of reaching them explorers discovered and stocked important tracts of snow country. In later years the build up of settlement at Omeo provided impetus for regular use of the surrounding high pastures.

George McKillop failed to find a route to Port Phillip as his party was blocked by thick scrub south of Omeo.⁴ However, his venture gives a good example of how early exploration and pastoral settlement were undertaken. Using outlying squatting stations for information and supplies, the expedition passed through Currawong Station, a cattle station set in rough hill country in the Monaro district, and were joined

Figure 1.1
PASTORAL OCCUPATION
 in the Lowlands of
 Eastern Victoria
 1835 - 1851



- Periods of occupation:-
- 1835 - 36
 - 1837 - 40
 - 1841 - 45
 - 1846 - 51

Source: Boundaries of occupation from author's research, date of occurrence after Billis and Kenyon (1972).

by its owner, James McFarlane.⁵ McFarlane already knew part of the route. He had established an outstation further west from Currawong in sub-alpine woodlands now known as McFarlane's Flat,⁶ and was intent on further exploration. He must have been impressed with the Omeo Plains which they subsequently discovered for he returned with cattle in the following spring of 1835 after the winter snows had melted from the Snowy-Indi divide. The name of the plains has been attributed to McFarlane's surprised exclamation on viewing them: Oh-me-oh!

Graziers like McFarlane were secretive about newly discovered pastures⁷ so reports of new discoveries were sometimes slow to spread: as they were spending time, effort and money searching for pastures the pioneer graziers expected to be able to capitalise upon their initiatives; the fewer hassles with competitors the better. Unfortunately, however, the word about Omeo somehow did slip out and in 1837 McFarlane was joined by two other Monaro graziers, John Pendergast and John Hyland, who also established stations on the plains.⁸ Others followed and took up the remaining surrounding woodlands as far south as Ensay on the Tambo River. But pastoral activity at Omeo remained on a small scale as the scope for expansion was limited, the plains being surrounded by rugged mountains and only accessible by the track from Monaro.

These early explorations and occupations were part of a southerly extension of the Monaro pastoral district, but more than this, with the drawing of political boundaries they represent one of the earliest pastoral incursions into Victoria occurring at approximately the same time as the settlement of Portland and the occupation of grazing land near Wodonga.⁹ Moreover, they pre-dated the great wave of pastoral expansion from Sydney and its outlying districts, which swept through north, central and west Victoria after 1837-38.



LACHLAN MACALISTER, one
of the very early run-owners.

PLATE III

LACHLAN MACALISTER: EARLY SQUATTER WHO BACKED
EXPEDITIONS TO GIPPSLAND AND ACQUIRED RUNS
ADJOINING THE MOUNTAINS (SLV)

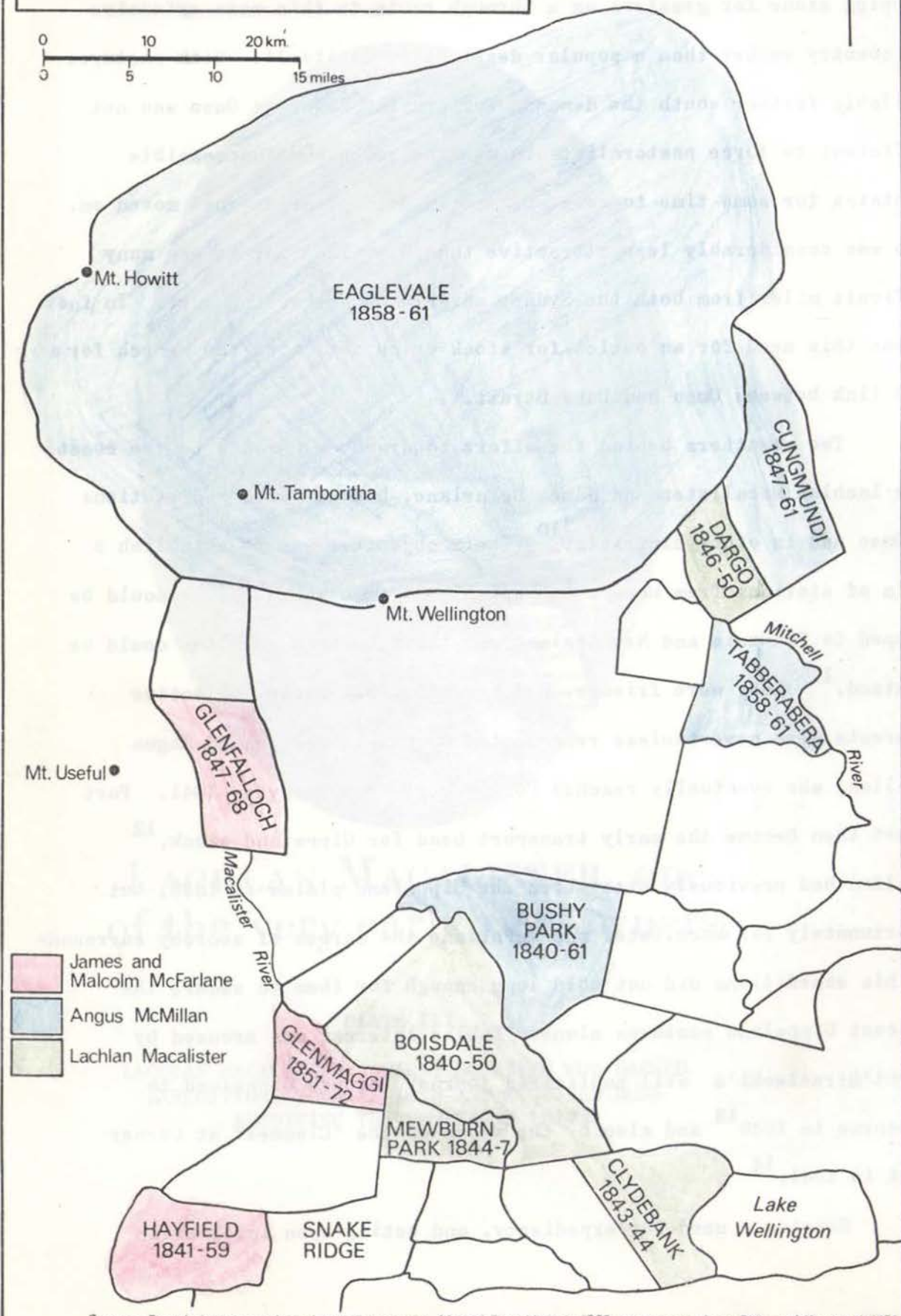
Pastoral Settlement of North Gippsland

Pastoral activity at Omeo remained at a relatively low ebb until Gippsland was discovered and opened for stock; then Omeo became a stepping stone for graziers on a through route to this more extensive new country rather than a popular destination in itself. With pastures available further south the demand for grazing lands at Omeo was not sufficient to force pastoralists to use the rough and inaccessible mountains for some time to come. Those in need of grass just moved on. Omeo was considerably less attractive than Gippsland for it was many difficult miles from both the Sydney market and a shipping port. In fact it was this need for an outlet for stock which motivated the search for a road link between Omeo and Bass Strait.

Two squatters behind the effort to discover a route to the coast were Lachlan Macalister and James McFarlane, both of whom had stations at Omeo and in other districts.¹⁰ Their objective was to establish a chain of stations from Monaro to Port Albert from where cattle could be shipped to Tasmania and New Zealand and through which supplies could be obtained.¹¹ They were friends, not partners, but their collective interests were nevertheless represented by one person, named Angus McMillan, who eventually reached Port Albert from Ensay in 1841. Port Albert then became the early transport head for Gippsland stock.¹² McMillan had previously discovered the Gippsland plains in 1839, but unfortunately for Macalister and McFarlane the screen of secrecy surrounding his expeditions did not hold long enough for them to secure the choicest Gippsland pastures alone. Public interest was aroused by 'Count' Strzelecki's well publicised journey through Gippsland to Melbourne in 1840¹³ and also by the wreck of the "Clommel" at Corner Inlet in 1841.¹⁴

Sensing a need for expediency, and acting upon information

Figure 1.2
**SQUATTING RUNS OF McFARLANE,
 MACALISTER AND McMILLAN IN
 NORTH GIPPSLAND**



Source: Boundaries of runs from Lands Department, *Map of Runs, Victoria, 1863*; occupancies from Billis and Kenyon (1972).

received from McMillan, James McFarlane sent his nephew Malcolm by ship to Port Albert to further investigate the discoveries. The party of three inspected land on the Thomson and Macalister rivers near what is now the town of Heyfield, and then overlanded to New South Wales via Melbourne with favourable reports. Malcolm McFarlane was immediately sent back with 500 cows to stock the new land and act as manager.¹⁵ Meanwhile, McMillan was busy securing runs for himself and Macalister on the Avon River.

The country acquired by these pioneers was open grassy Red Gum (E. camaldulensis) woodland, on the southern fringe of the mountains. Succeeding squatters who followed close on their heels occupied land nearby.¹⁶ They either overlanded from Monaro via Omeo or landed with stock at Port Albert from Sydney, Port Phillip or Van Diemens Land.

By the mid-1840s grazing runs extended from Monaro to Gippsland, via Omeo; stations were also established at Buchan by Monaro graziers concurrently with the Gippsland occupations of McMillan and McFarlane.¹⁷ These stations bounded the eastern and southern edges of Victoria's mountain region and provided the bases from which some of the earliest exploratory trips into the heart of the alpine country were made.

Pastoral Occupation from North-East Victoria

North of the Great Dividing Range the centre of early squatting occupations was not so closely situated with respect to the alpine region and early squatters apparently showed little interest in the snow country.¹⁸

Contemporary with the first squatting at Omeo, graziers from the Goulburn district of New South Wales had established holdings between Wodonga and the Kiewa River in 1835.¹⁹ However, the real pastoral onslaught began in 1837 when news of Major Mitchell's expedi-



MR. ANGUS M'MILLAN—[FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY FRITH]—SEE PAGE 10.

PLATE IV

ANGUS McMILLAN: DISCOVERER OF GIPPSLAND
AND EARLY HIGH COUNTRY EXPLORER (SLV)

tions to "Australia Felix" became known, and with the onset of drought which lasted until the mid-1840s.²⁰ The push effect of drought and the attractive pull of new lands combined to encourage a flood of graziers overland towards Port Phillip. The flat open country north and north-west of the mountain region was taken first, and only with the passing of time, when much of the land along Mitchell's route had been grabbed, did squatters advance up the valleys leading towards the Alps.²¹ In this way north-eastern squatters eventually located themselves at the very foot of the snow country, for example at the base of the Buffalo Plateau.

Exploring the High Country

The Squatters' Search for Grass

By the early 1850s Victoria's mountain region was largely encircled by pastoral runs and graziers had begun to penetrate the mountains by following the main water courses and stocking the adjoining grassy river flats. However, because squatters were secretive about new discoveries, and because very few personal records remain, it is difficult to say with surety just when and by whom various tracts of high country were first discovered. It is also difficult to determine how thoroughly the mountain region was searched for grass, but what evidence there is²² suggests that most of the early alpine exploration was conducted by large graziers who held a number of runs in North Gippsland, the Mansfield district, and Omeo. The smaller squatter, holding only a single run, was apparently uninvolved; exploration was the realm of the large operator.

The large operators made it their business to know the country surrounding their runs. For instance, it is known that Angus McMillan was familiar with the mountains of the Avon watershed; he was a very early visitor to Mt. Wellington²³ and it is likely that he had a similar knowledge of the mountains surrounding his and Macalister's runs on the

Dargo River. Similarly, Malcolm McFarlane is believed to have had a good knowledge of the upper Macalister River country.²⁴ High country in the far east, at the heads of the Indi and Buchan Rivers, was known from the earliest days and was traversed by the main route connecting Monaro and Omeo. It was first explored by James McFarlane and later also by Angus McMillan during some of his early expeditions.²⁵

Mountain Tracks and Crossings

Apart from the track between Monaro and Omeo, no useful cross-mountain paths were discovered until the Mitta to Omeo and Omeo to Ovens Valley routes were found by graziers in the early 1850s.

The fires of Black Thursday, 6th February, 1851, were indirectly responsible for possibly the first visit by graziers to the Bogong and Cobungra high plains and the pioneering of the Omeo to Beechworth tracks. George Gray senior's Pelican Lagoon run, near Wangaratta, was burnt out at this time and his following search for grass led him to the Omeo district via Mitta Mitta station. At Mitta Mitta an aboriginal showed Gray over the Gibbo Ranges to Cobungra, where grass was found. Gray's party was apparently one of the first to use the route from Mitta to Omeo, which was later used by miners and stockmen en route to or from Beechworth. Gray left two stockmen named James Brown and John Wells to mind the stock at Cobungra and they stumbled upon the Bogong and Cobungra high plains while investigating more direct routes to Beechworth. It is recorded that their finds were made before they had been at Cobungra for three years, that is, prior to March 1854.²⁷ The routes they established were: from Cobungra to the Bogong High Plains and over Mt. Fainter to the Kiewa Valley; from Cobungra, over Mt. Hotham to the Ovens Valley. The latter became the most popular and practical path. Other mountain crossings did not result in the formation of permanent routes.

In 1841 a successful attempt to reach Gippsland was made by the Hunter brothers who held open Red Gum country in the Mansfield district



ALEXANDER McLEAN HUNTER.

PLATE V

ALEXANDER HUNTER: PIONEER SQUATTER OF THE MANSFIELD DISTRICT AND EXPLORER OF ADJOINING MOUNTAINS (SLV)

under the name of Watson and Hunter.²⁸ The Hunters were interested in exploring the new country made public by Strzelecki and to this end Alick Hunter took a party overland while John Hunter went by sea to Port Albert.²⁹

Edward Bell described the overland venture in the following terms:

During 1841 I formed one of a party consisting of Mr. Alick Hunter, Mr. Archibald Jamieson, an overseer, and a black fellow named Pigeon that started to find a road into Gippsland for stock, which Strzelecki's discovery had just opened up a field for Port Phillip enterprise. We ascended what we took for a leading range to the south-west of Mt. Buller but found ourselves in a most difficult succession of gullies in which we struggled for 18 days, and eventually camped on the head-waters of the Latrobe. My horse had met with an accident in falling down a steep bank and I remained with Pigeon at our camp on the river, while my companions went on to see what they could of the new country. In three days they returned, having reached a rich plain and fine herbage, I concluded, part of the run afterwards occupied by Mr. Reece [Snake Ridge]. On our return we got upon a leading range in right good earnest which in two days took us back to the head of the Goulburn; but the descent was considered too steep for stock and the idea of bringing a herd by that route was abandoned.³⁰

The idea of finding a more practical route to Gippsland smouldered in the Hunters' minds for a number of years, the reason being made clear in 1842:

The only thing that has to be done now is to form a heifer station either in Gippsland or at Port Fairy as this country [around Mansfield] does not fatten cattle nearly so well although it is a capital breeding run.³¹

An abortive attempt to reach Gippsland from Mansfield by Crown Lands Commissioner Tyers³² provided the impetus for another attempt by the Hunters in October 1844.

In addition to the possibility of finding new pastures and a trafficable cattle route, the Hunters were spurred on by public doubt regarding the authenticity of their previous crossing. This doubt arose from Tyers' dismal failure.³³ Their route, similar to that of 1841, took them on to the Howqua-Jamieson divide, south along the Great Dividing Range and down the Macalister River to Malcolm McFarlane's territory.



PLATE VI

FERDINAND VON MUELLER: GOVERNMENT BOTANIST WHO MADE
A SERIES OF SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITIONS TO THE ALPS (SLV)

A run was subsequently acquired at Tarwin but the mountain route was again written off as unsuitable for cattle.

It is entirely possible that other crossings of the mountain barrier were made in the 1840s and 1850s which are no longer recorded. Early squatting runs sprawled over vast areas and were easy targets for cattle thieves. On occasions it is said that Angus McMillan was forced to pursue thieves into the ranges and shoot it out with them.³⁴ While the cattle duffers were reputed to have sold to unsuspecting new settlers within regions, they may also have moved stock across the mountains to other districts, especially after the discovery of gold in the north-east in the early 1850s. The legend of Bogong Jack certainly supports this proposition. Bogong Jack is said to have begun shifting cleanskins and other stock from the upper Dargo River to the Beechworth district between 1857 and 1859.³⁵ The Bogong Jack legend really symbolises an activity that was quite probably widespread; other cattle duffers had their own particular mountain routes between other regions.³⁶

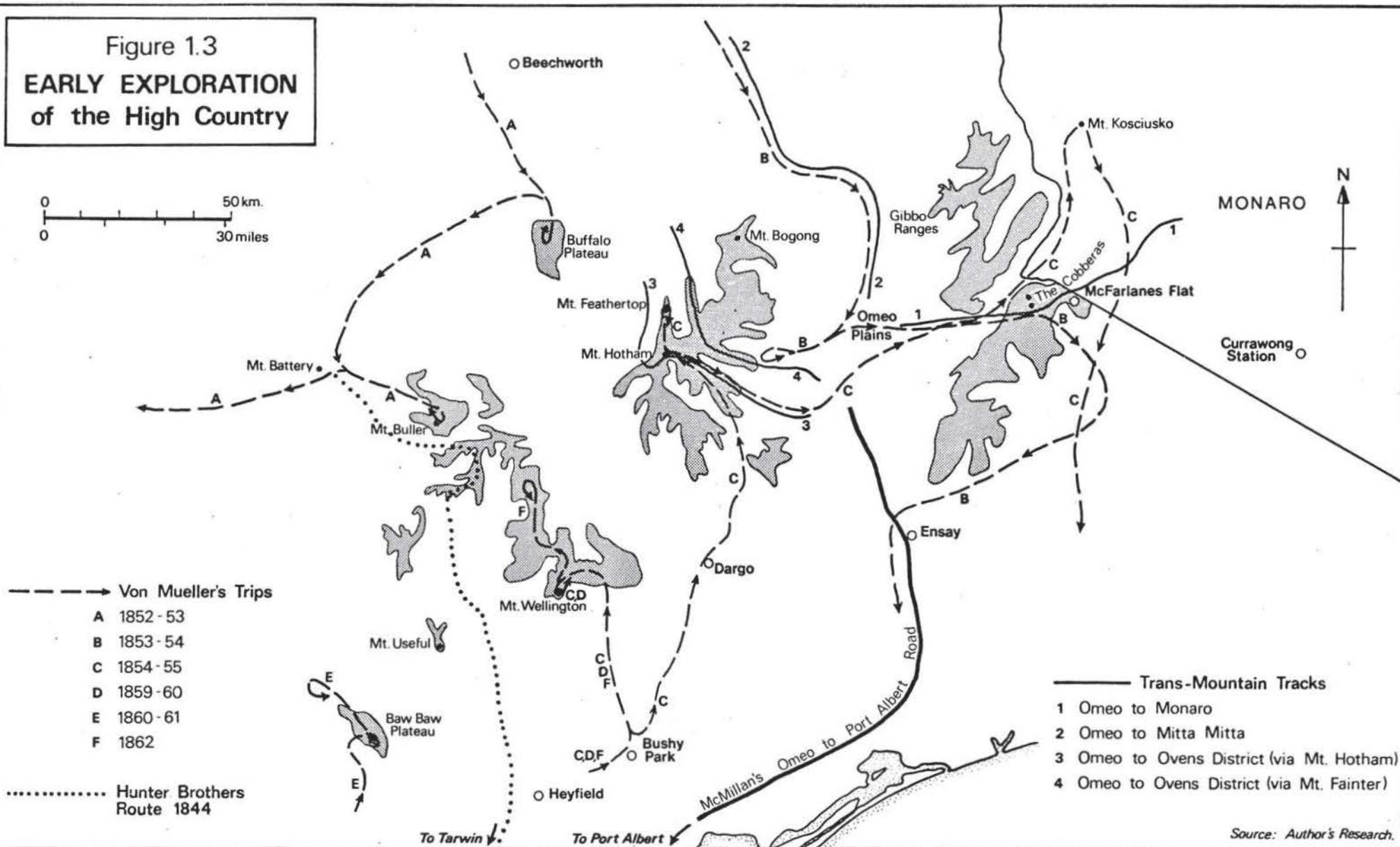
Records of Baron Ferdinand von Mueller,
Government Botanist

The journeys of Baron Ferdinand von Mueller, Government Botanist, provide a valuable record of the early squatters' penetration of alpine and sub-alpine areas and their knowledge of the high country.

Von Mueller made a series of attempts to reach most of Victoria's alpine country for scientific purposes. In the summer of 1852-53 he visited the Buffalo Plateau and Mt. Buller,³⁷ both of which had apparently been discovered previously. On Mt. Buffalo he was accompanied by John Dallachy, of the Botanic Gardens, and possibly also Thomas Buckland who had a squatting run in the neighbouring district³⁸ and was an amateur botanist who is known to have assisted von Mueller at times.³⁹ Von Mueller was not satisfied with the small range of alpine flora at Buffalo, which

Figure 1.3
EARLY EXPLORATION
of the High Country

0 50 km.
0 30 miles



MONARO
Currawong Station

- > Von Mueller's Trips
- A 1852 - 53
 - B 1853 - 54
 - C 1854 - 55
 - D 1859 - 60
 - E 1860 - 61
 - F 1862
- Hunter Brothers Route 1844

- Trans-Mountain Tracks
- 1 Omeo to Monaro
 - 2 Omeo to Mitta Mitta
 - 3 Omeo to Ovens District (via Mt. Hotham)
 - 4 Omeo to Ovens District (via Mt. Fainter)

Source: Author's Research.

barely reaches 1500 metres in elevation at its highest peak, and so he pushed on to Mt. Buller where more satisfactory results were obtained.⁴⁰

In January 1853 von Mueller undertook another botanical expedition:

Desirous to devote the summer months to exploration of the Australian Alps, I chose the Mitta Mitta line for further operations, ascended and crossed the Gibbo Ranges at an elevation of 5,000 ft. [1500 metres] and followed thence again the course of the Mitta Mitta into Omeo...From here I attempted in vain to reach the Bogong Ranges, probably the highest point in this island continent, being compelled to retreat by the extensive bushfires then raging in the intermediate mountains. The summit of this range, covered with eternal snow and glaciers, can hardly be estimated of less an altitude than 7,000 ft. [2,150 metres].

In order to accomplish the examination of alpine flora on the eastern frontiers, I started for the Cobboras mountains...Not only these mountains, but also the greater part of the interjacent plains or plateaux are of truly alpine or of a sub-alpine nature, ranging in elevation from 5,000 to 6,000 feet [1500-1850 metres] above the level of the ocean.⁴¹

Another trip was under way in November 1854, with von Mueller ascending Mt. Wellington on November 14th, and:

...proceeding up the Mitchell River and thence to the Dargo. Following along the scrubby ranges between this river and the Wentworth, I crossed the Dividing Range between the waters of Gippsland and those of the Murray River near the upper part of the Cobungra. Then I traversed a grassy tableland in the north-easterly direction along the Cobungra downward until the country appeared practicable towards the north to reach the highest part of the Bogong Ranges.

The ranges hereabouts, which never before have been traversed by civilised men,⁴² are generally fertile and timbered with mountain white gum tree...

Von Mueller firmly believed he had discovered the Feathertop-Hotham-Cobungra high plains area. However, though he never knew it, he had been beaten by graziers from Cobungra, namely Wells and Brown, who worked for George Gray, and possibly by other unrecorded pastoralists as well. What is important is that in December 1854 von Mueller observed no signs of either stock or man; the land was not being used.

Further trips were made to the Macalister River watershed in 1859-60 and again in March 1862. During the former he recorded the

following observations:

The main range of the south western Alps was ascertained to extend in an almost semi-elliptical line from Mt. Wellington to Mt. Useful, at an elevation varying from 4,000 to 5,000 feet [1200-1500 metres], only the northern part of this mountain tract encircling the sources of the Macalister being more depressed and somewhat broken ...

... Mt. Wellington, inasmuch as it can be reached by a path accessible to horses from the Avon Ranges, may be regarded as the southern key of the Australian Alps, from where along the crest of the main range ... a journey with horses seems possible in most directions.⁴³

Von Mueller's final trip to this area entailed a further investigation of the Snowy Range north from Mt. Wellington:

During a journey into the south-western chains of the Australian Alps which was undertaken in March last, I have had an opportunity of examining more closely the autumn vegetation of those tracts of our snowy mountains stretching from Mt. Wellington to the sources of the Macalister River, and in the direction of Mr. Buller. Although suffering much from the inclemency of the weather, I was enabled to fix approximately the position of several of the most prominent mountains interjacent to the Barclay and Buller ranges and found also from the beautiful and fertile alpine tableland at the north-east sources of the Macalister a gentle descent into the valley of that river, along which again an easy path is open into the plains of Gippsland. In the performance of this journey I experienced, as on former occasions, the most generous support from Angus McMillan, Esq., of Bushy Park, Gippsland.⁴⁴

Interestingly, von Mueller acknowledges assistance from McMillan, and when the paths of Mueller's expeditions are re-examined, the Avon country where McMillan's home was located acquires special significance. Of his six alpine trips, four involved visits to the above area and attempts to reach Mt. Wellington. Not that Mt. Wellington was of such outstanding scientific interest; more likely the assistance, local knowledge and companionship of McMillan proved to be both valuable and gratifying for von Mueller.

Contrary to some beliefs,⁴⁵ von Mueller normally travelled in the company of others and wherever possible obtained directions and advice from graziers and miners. On Mueller's first trip on to the Buffalo Plateau he was accompanied by Dallachy at least, but was forced to travel on to Mt. Buller alone when Dallachy was required back in Melbourne.

Von Mueller emphasised this fact in his report;⁴⁶ moreover he made no claim to being the first to visit Mt. Buller and it can be safely assumed that the summit had been previously visited and was known to residents of the Mansfield district.

Again, on the 1853-54 expedition he was officially accompanied by an attendant until:

... in consequence of a partial robbery of my travelling equipment ... I am deprived of my attendant, who has been summoned to the Criminal Session... at Bendigo ...⁴⁷

He therefore travelled up the Mitta Mitta River and over the Gibbo Ranges to Omeo, possibly alone, but on a known path, unsuccessfully towards the Bogong High Plains, then across to the Cobberas and Snowy River on another known track. Subsequent to this trip von Mueller was accompanied by an attendant, often also by Angus McMillan and on occasions by other people.⁴⁸

These observations are made to emphasise that there were other people who had previously visited these areas and had a more detailed knowledge of the high country. Von Mueller sought out such people, hence his connections with Angus McMillan and Thomas Buckland. The account of von Mueller's visit to the Baw Baw plateau in 1860-61 is particularly revealing of his modus operandi.⁴⁹ After consulting gold miners at Good Hope Creek and unsuccessfully soliciting their company, he proceeded with five companions to examine the Baw Baw plateau and the sources of the Yarra River:

In our progress over the ranges between the lowlands to the south and the plateau which are chiefly timbered with stringybark trees and a species of White Gum tree, we encountered much impediment by the density of scrub, the tough branched Corraea ferruginea being particularly destructive to our march, until in gradual advance to the higher regions the underwood of the lower mountains recedes before the colder temperature, it being universally observed in our Alps that at elevations above 4,000 feet [1200 metres] the dense scrub chiefly on the sea side slopes of our ranges vanish or greatly diminish.

After having descended into the main valley of the Upper Tangil, a beautiful mountain torrent, which rolls its waters with impetuosity over the granite boulders of its bed, a total change in the physiognomy

of the vegetation was observed; whilst ascending the main range of Mt. Baw Baw, the stringybark trees were found replaced by delightful beech forests which surround the main mountains on all sides and are interspersed with highland White Gum trees and Cider trees (*E. gunnii*) under the shade of which certain ferns ... predominate. Nothing can surpass the contrast in the landscape when we emerge from the dreary scrub to the shady forest of the evergreen beeches ... which in dwarfish form ascend even to the alpine summits of this range.

We established our camp on the summit of the eastern highest mountain of the Baw Baw range on 25th December and whilst reconnoitering the country around during the subsequent days, found this alpine range to extend about nine miles westerly rising to three principal summits ... Granite was the rock everywhere observable. Wild cattle, to be found in many parts of the Alps have as yet not found their way to these valleys.

These "wild cattle" would have originally been driven to the high country by squatters who claimed land by stocking it, rather than making their own way there. The "many parts", where von Mueller observed cattle himself, would undoubtedly have included the Cobberas area and the Mt. Wellington country. However, it should be noted that by this time, 1861, many high plains areas that were not stocked during the Baron's early visits would have subsequently been occupied (see below).

The main purpose of discussing von Mueller's expeditions at length has been to describe the lands he investigated and to establish how well the high country was known at the time. Clearly, the Cobberas region was well known, being regularly traversed by stockmen travelling between Monaro and Omeo. Similarly, such prominent high lands as the Buffalo plateau, Mt. Buller and Mt. Wellington, being close to early squattages, were investigated at an early date. But exploration of more inaccessible and less prominent high country, such as the Bogong High Plains, the Nunniong and Baw Baw plateaux, was delayed until the 1860s. The extension of regular grazing to any of these high areas came even later and depended more upon the condition and availability of lowland pastures than the date of discovery.

Table 1.1

Original High Country Squatters
Pre-1865

Name	District of Residence	High Country	Period of Occupation
Richard Bennison	Gippsland	Bennison Plains	1860-1869
Richard Bentley	Omeo	Nunniong Plateau	Prior to 1860
Edward Gray	Cobungra	Bogong High Plains	1857-1862
George Gray	Cobungra	Cobungra High Plains	1855-1862
Malcolm McFarlane	Glenmaggie	Mt. Wellington	1855-1868
Edward O'Rourke	Black Mountain	Snowy-Indi Divide	1855-1901
James Pendergast	Benambra	Limestone-Cobberas	1863-1897

Source: Author's research

Pioneer Grazing Occupancies

Once the early squatters understood, through experience, the harshness of the alpine climate, they were not keen to exploit the snow grasses while low country was still available. Unpleasant experiences in snow storms and the realisation that alpine pastures were a summer proposition only were sufficient deterrents. An example, while not drawn from Victorian experience, serves well to illustrate this point. It concerns the first grazing of the Kiandra Plain, Snowy Mountains, New South Wales.

About the year 1839 Dr. Gibson of Goulburn, N.S.W. visited the country and being struck with the extreme beauty of the plain and extent of pasture, sent men up to erect a stockyard, taking with them a quantity of cattle. By the time they had finished the stockyard the winter set in and many of the cattle perished. In consequence the station was abandoned.⁵¹

Some early Victorian squatters would have undoubtedly had similar experiences although documentary evidence of such does not exist.

The Snowy-Indi Divide

The first recorded grazing in Victoria's winter snow country was also one of the first pastoral incursions into the Colony, which was then still part of New South Wales. By 1835 when George McKillop and party journeyed to Omeo, James McFarlane had already established an out-station at McFarlane's Flat, a sparsely wooded sub-alpine valley at the head of the Suggan Buggan River.⁵² A hut and stockyard were constructed and it is probable that cattle remained there during the winter: the flat is at a relatively low altitude of 1000 metres and experiences less severe winter conditions than higher and more exposed snow country; in adverse circumstances cattle could move down slope for more shelter. From this outstation McFarlane is said to have moved several hundred head of cattle to the Omeo Plains in 1836.⁵³ For how long the outstation was used cannot be ascertained although it was likely to have been only for a short time. It can really be seen as a temporary resting point in the initial pastoral expansion from Monaro to Omeo. The flat was probably abandoned by the

time McFarlane's Gippsland runs were secured in 1841-42. In the same decade, grazing the snow country of the adjoining Buchan-Suggan Buggan divide began as a logical extension of activities at Black Mountain. The O'Rourke brothers, James and Christopher, squatted on the 900 metre Wulgulmerang plateau in 1845,⁵⁴ and grazing of the slightly higher snow country to the west would have begun shortly afterwards. The rise from Black Mountain to the high country is quite gentle and stock would have naturally found their way into the higher regions in summer even if they were not initially put there.

Other high areas were not so readily grazed because they were not as conveniently located in relation to the thrust of pastoral expansion, because their physical approaches were often more difficult, being longer and steeper, or because of their higher altitude and thus harsher climate.

Bogong and Cobungra High Plains

The Bogong High Plains were discovered before March 1854 but it is unlikely that the actual Bogong plateau was immediately grazed, although the eastern portions of the Cobungra High Plateau may well have been. The latter were more conveniently located with respect to George Gray's lowland Cobungra station; the ascent to these plains from the east is quite gentle and they have traditionally been the backyard of lowland properties at Cobungra. When George Gray sub-divided the original Cobungra run in 1859 he continued to hold an interest in the high plains which were now officially licensed as the 'Darbalary' run and held jointly by him and John Meighan.⁵⁶ This was the beginning of regular authorised grazing of the Cobungra High Plains.

It is believed that grazing of the Bogong plains began some time later. The Bundaramunjie run was located at the foot of the plateau and at the beginning of the earliest route to the plains, and it was formed by Edward Gray (son of George senior) in 1857. The run comprised

primarily hill and valley pastures with only limited tracts of gently sloping land except along the Bundara River and on the adjoining high plateau. It is possible, and probable, that grazing of the Bogong Plains began from this time and place with the long high ridges leading to the high plains being grazed in conjunction with the lower slopes.⁵⁷

The earliest registration of the Bogong High Plains as a run was in 1866 when it was held by speculators for a single year;⁵⁸ the earliest documented evidence of grazing here dates to the early 1870s⁵⁹ but it is inconceivable that the broad and grassy plains were ungrazed until then. In the early years of pastoral occupation, graziers may not have had sufficient stock to profitably use the extensive snow plains on a regular basis, and it was not possible to leave cattle there all year due to the severity of the winters. However, the size of herds would have increased with time, and as the number of graziers multiplied with the sub-division of runs and the taking of marginal country, pressures on the lowland pastures must have developed in the 1860s, encouraging the larger graziers to take a closer look at the high country pastures.

The Snowy Range

Elsewhere, early squatting occupation was confined mainly to the southern end of the Snowy Ranges, near Mt. Wellington and the Bannison Plains. Local tradition suggests that Malcolm McFarlane had cattle in the Mt. Wellington country by the mid-1850s,⁶⁰ although this was probably only to demonstrate ownership. It is believed that in the earliest times cattle were put on the tops during warmer weather but were left to their own devices for the winter and without supervision became quite wild.⁶¹ Angus McMillan's comments about wild cattle in 1864 when track cutting confirm the presence of wild cattle in the region.⁶² Cattle were only a sideline for McFarlane in the early days, as his Glenmaggie and Glenfalloch stations were mainly stocked with sheep,⁶³ and the mountain grasslands were never sufficiently important to prompt him to gain legal



PLATE VII

QUINNS PLAIN, NUNNIONG PLATEAU (Author 1977)

title to it. But later on he did take a greater interest in the high country, building a hut and yards and undertaking regular musters.⁶⁴

Interest in high country grazing grew during the early and mid 1860s. Increasingly, the high and more inaccessible lands became the only runs available for prospective pastoralists and for this reason a number of the lower elevated plateaux were occupied. From 1860 to 1869 the Mt. Wellington run was held by Richard Bennison, who owned property and commercial enterprises in Gippsland.⁶⁵ While all the land within this run was marginal, the low country adjoining the Wellington River was considered valuable for grazing sheep, and in 1867 was recorded as being equipped with three huts, sheep yards and a dividing fence running from the Macalister River to the Wellington River.⁶⁶ Place names, local tradition and surviving manuscripts indicate that Bennison also grazed the neighbouring high plains which now carry his name.⁶⁷ They were used for cattle in conjunction with the adjoining lower bush country.⁶⁸

The Nunniong Plateau

The Nunniong Plateau was another of the lower elevation tablelands to be brought into use in the early 1860s. A stockman named John Mitton claimed to have discovered the tablelands and unsuccessfully applied for a licence to depasture stock under the name of Mitton & Co. in February 1860. The land was described as a flat piece of tableland, the source of most water courses in the Omeo district and bounded to the north and south by impenetrable scrub. Mitton made the following claim:

I discovered the place with the assistance of the blacks. They call it Nunninung and no-gge has (to the best of my knowledge) ever been to the place before.

Mitton is known to have been very friendly with the aboriginals despite his apparently chauvinistic attitude towards them. His licence application was declined because at the same time, and in the same locality, the Crown was experiencing considerable difficulties and acute embarrassment over a boundary dispute which culminated in a series of

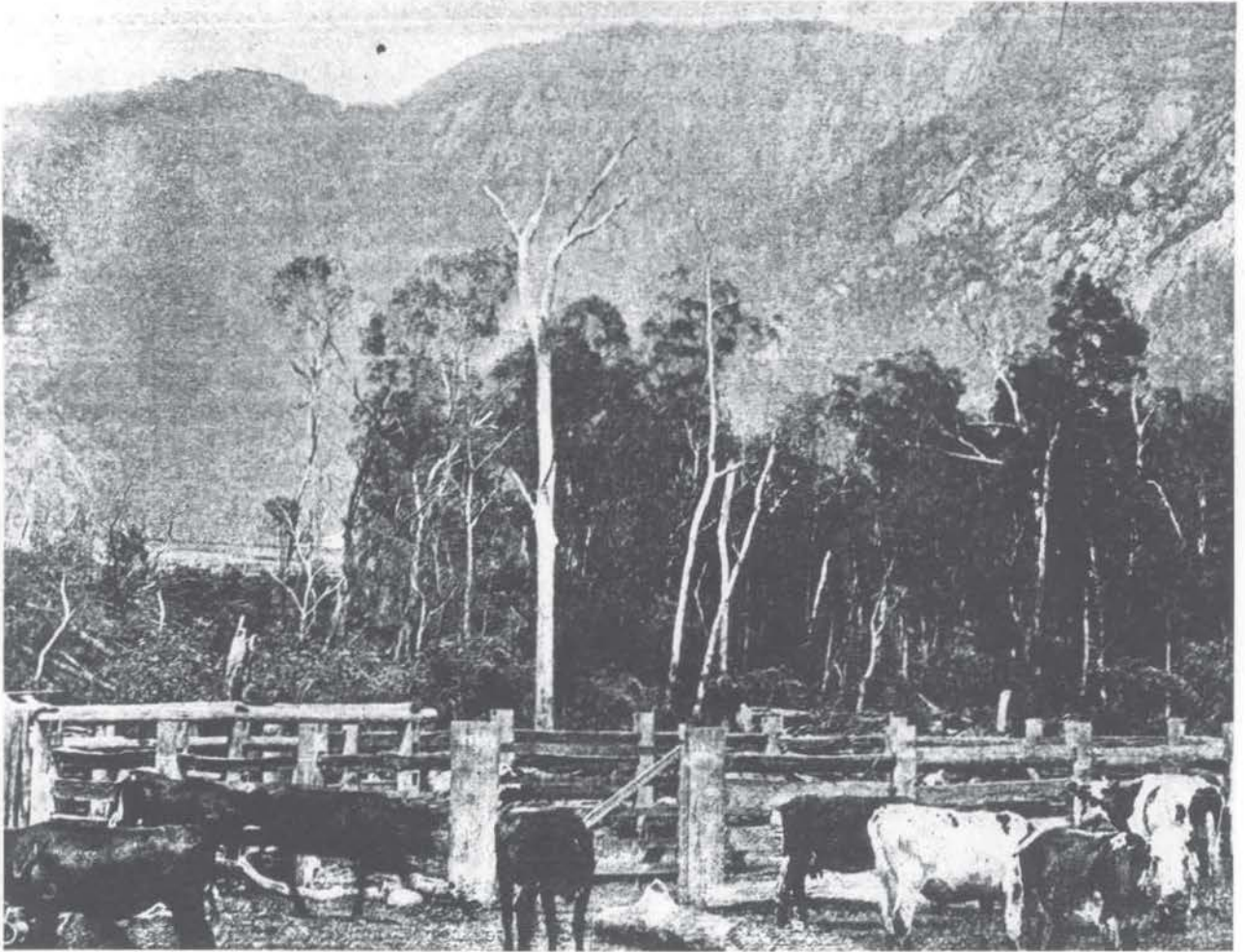


PLATE VIII

CATTLE YARDED AT THE BASE OF THE BUFFALO PLATEAU, 1892 (SLV)

law suits, the death of a stockman, a contraversial murder conviction, and a Parliamentary Investigation.⁷⁰ A contributing factor may also have been that one of Mitton's partners, Richard Bentley, was charged with horse stealing soon after the licence application was submitted.⁷¹

Mitton and Bentley had come to the Omeo district some time prior to 1860 after having been allegedly mixed up in some unlawful stock transactions in the Kiewa valley area.⁷² They remained close during and after Bentley's trial⁷³ and although their partnership with a third party, Richard Simpson, was dissolved shortly after the arrest,⁷⁴ Simpson remained friendly enough to put up a £100 surety for bail.⁷⁵ The trial ended in April 1862 with Bentley being acquitted. Apparently Mitton and Bentley had nothing further to do with Nunniong, but Simpson did. He lived nearby at Bindi and is known to have had stock on the tableland by autumn 1861 and continued to do so into the mid-1860s despite the Crown's refusal to issue a licence.⁷⁶

Before his arrest in March 1861, Bentley apparently lived at Nunniong⁷⁷ at what is now known as Bentley's Plain, and according to local tradition depastured stolen stock there before selling them in other districts.⁷⁸ Bentley's Plain was sufficiently isolated to be virtually unknown, and because of the lower elevation and sheltered southerly aspect stock could be kept there all year round.

Summary

Twenty-five years after squatters first began investigating Victoria's high country (approximately 1835) the snow pastures were still largely unoccupied. The mountain region was surrounded and penetrated by squatting runs on the adjoining low plains country and along the main river valleys. Trans-mountain tracks had been established linking Omeo with Monaro and the Ovens district, and graziers had investigated the extent of the open tablelands. Some areas were stocked merely to demonstrate ownership and were only occasionally mustered; others provided a

handy, isolated venue for those involved in illicit stock trading; a few, specifically the Cobungra High Plains and the Upper Buchan country fell within the operations of nearby squatting stations, where topography permitted. However, many of the broad grassy plateaux remained virtually untouched by stockmen, including the Bogong and Dargo High Plains, the Baw Baw plateau and the northern portion of the Snowy Range. During the early 1860s some interest did develop, primarily in the lower altitude plateau country where climatic conditions are less severe. But this interest was marginal and more often the high country provided a handful of squatters with a casual sideline interest rather than a serious livelihood.

However, by the early 1870s a regular and lasting form of high country grazing had developed. The discovery of gold in the mountain region was responsible for this change.

REFERENCES

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- 1 Pendergast (1968); other sources, such as Grieg (1912) and Lennon (1975) do not mention Buckley.
- 2 Pendergast (1968), Grieg (1912).
- 3 Rowe (1967).
- 4 Grieg (1912).
- 5 Pendergast (1968), *ibid.*
- 6 Pendergast (1968).
- 7 Cox (1973).
- 8 Pendergast (1968)
- 9 Billis and Kenyon (1932), Bonwick (1883), p.120.
- 10 Cox (1973), Lennon (1975).
- 11 Cox (1973), p.69.
- 12 Daly (1918), Lennon (1975) and many others
- 13 Rawson (1953), Heney (1961)
- 14 Lennon (1975), p.20.
- 15 M.S. 23 November 1928.
- 16 Lennon (1978).
- 17 Wakefield (1969).
- 18 There is no evidence indicating an early interest in the mountain country in local tradition, surviving manuscripts or place names. There is no confirmable basis for the claim in Johnson (1974) that the Bogong High Plains were discovered in 1843.
- 19 Register of Runs No. 1; Temple (1971).
- 20 Roberts (1964)
- 21 *Op. cit.*; Robertson (1973)
- 22 Place names and local legend
- 23 V.P.Ps 1854-55, Paper No. 18.
- 24 Local tradition conveyed by personal communications.

- 25 Cox (1973); Pendergast (1968).
- 26 Carr (1962).
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Gillison (1974); The Australasian, 12 September 1923; Hunter Family Papers, 1839-1843 (S.L.V.).
- 29 Hunter Family Papers, 1839-1843, 10 May 1841; Letter by E. Bell in McBride (1969)
- 30 McBride (1969), p.288; Daly (1926), p.157.
- 31 Hunter Family Papers, 1839-1843, 7 May 1842.
- 32 Ibid, 26 October 1843, 5 November 1843.
- 33 Hunter Family Papers, 30 October 1844, quoted in Daly (1926), p.159.
- 34 Cox (1973), p.22; Roberts (1964)
- 35 Harding (1967)
- 36 For example, story about Richard Bently in Melbourne Walker, Vol.6, 1934.
- 37 V.P.P.s 1853-1854, Paper A26a.
- 38 P. Weston, personal communication. Buckland is known to have had a hut on the Buckland River in the early 1850s. He held the Junction pastoral run from 1845-1847.
- 39 Pike (1969), vol.3.
- 40 V.P.Ps, op.cit.
- 41 V.P.Ps 1854-55, Paper No. 8.
- 42 V.P.Ps 1854-55, Paper No. 5.
- 43 V.P.Ps 1859-60, Paper No. 37.
- 44 V.P.Ps 1861-62, Paper No. 105.
- 45 For example, Daly (1924); Johnson (1974).
- 46 V.P.Ps 1853-54, Paper A26a.
- 47 Von Mueller (1854)
- 48 Ibid; V.P.Ps 1854-55, 1859-60, 1861-62, op.cit.; V.P.Ps 1860-61, Paper No.19.
- 49 V.P.Ps 1860-61, Paper No.19; Daly (1924).
- 50 Ibid.

- 51 G.G. 9 March 1860; Wilson (1968) indicates that this date is more likely to be 1834-35.
- 52 Pendergast (1968), pp. 7, 14.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Wakefield (1969), p.16
- 56 V.P.Ps 1869, Paper No. C19. Gray continued to hold the eastern part of the subdivided Cobungra run, named Bingo Munjie till 1861. See also Appendix D.
- 57 Local tradition indicates that the first grazing of the Bogong High Plains was by the Grays.
- 58 Register of Runs, Book 2: Jones, Pierce and Williams.
- 59 Lands Department file 323/119. Licensed by K. McKenzie of Ensay Station in 1875.
- 60 M.S. 3 August 1977; Pers. Com. with K. Higgins and N. Chester.
- 61 Pers. Com. with Jim Monds.
- 62 Journal of Leader of the Alpine Expedition A. McMillan p.28.
- 63 Glenmaggie Run file, Lands Department.
- 64 Pers. Com. with Mrs. Shaw and N. Chester.
- 65 Mt. Wellington Run file and Index to Early Property Sales, Lands Department; Place names: township of Bennison and Bennison Island.
- 66 Mt. Wellington Run file, Lands Department.
- 67 M.S. 3 August 1977; Journal of the Leader of the Alpine Expedition, p.27.
- 68 Pers. Com. K. Higgins.
- 69 Nunyong Run file, Lands Department.
- 70 The dispute was over the boundaries of the Ensay and Chillington runs. V.P.Ps 1861-62, vol. 2, Mr. Buckley's Case; G.G. 3 May 1861, 31 May 1861, 27 July 1861, 2 August 1861.
- 71 Nunyong Run file, Lands Department.
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77. G.G. op.cit. 78 Brady (1934).

Chapter 2

GOLD DISCOVERIES AND THE NEW SQUATTERS



The Immediate Effects of Gold Discovery

Gold discoveries in the 1850s and 1860s engendered a response from squatters, especially where mineral deposits coincided with grazing lands. In all districts labour for shepherding, mustering and boundary riding became scarce as prospective miners left their jobs for the alluvial diggings.¹ Where gold was discovered adjacent to, or within the mountain region, squatters also had to contend with the digging hordes who not only burned and dug over some good range country, but plundered livestock.² On the positive side, mining stimulated the economy generally and at the local level established a market for supplies. Consequently it provided the impetus for fuller occupation of the high country pastures.

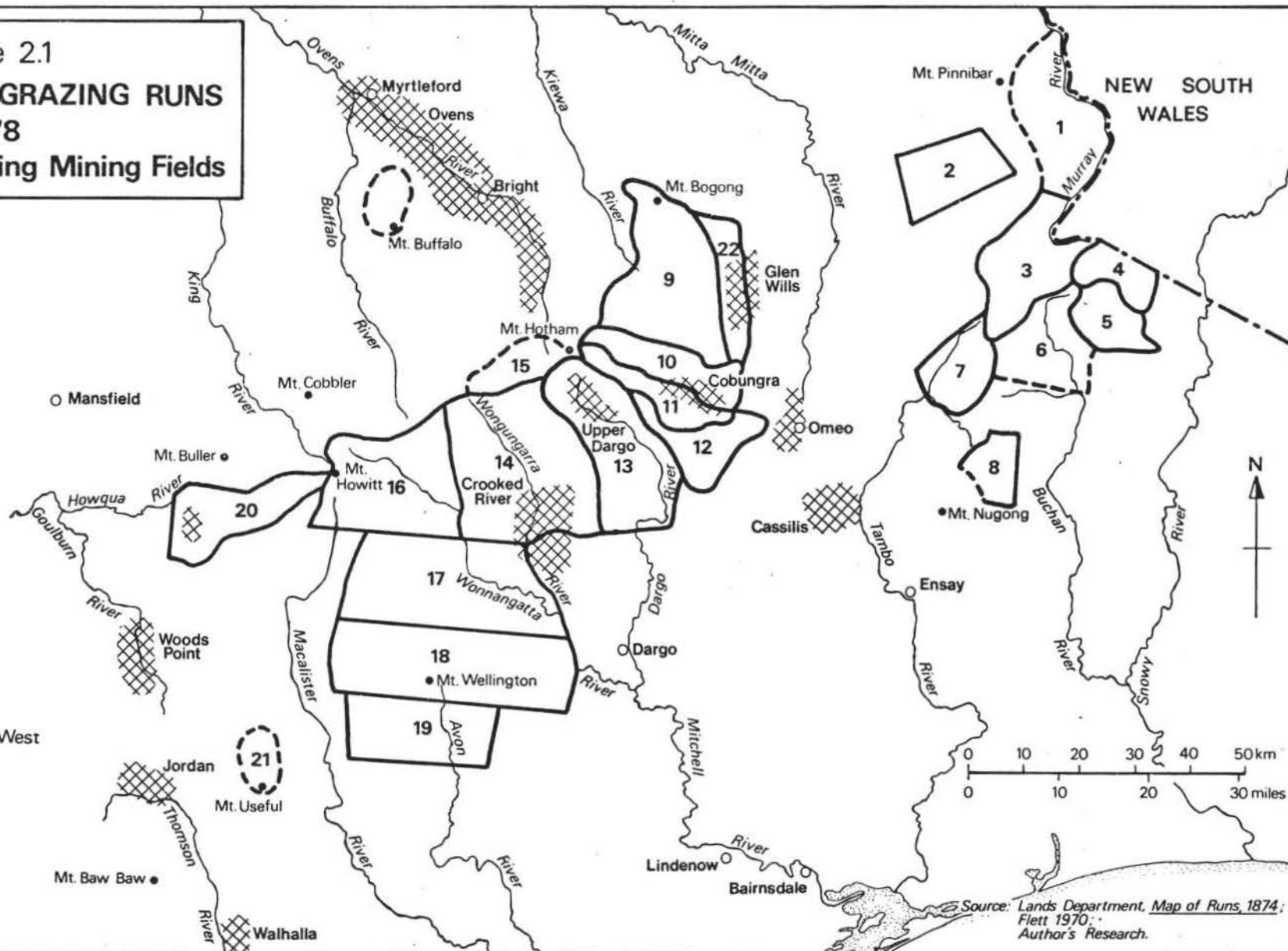
Many early gold discoveries were made at the foot of the mountains and in later years new fields were opened within the mountains and even in the winter snow country. At each major auriferous site the initial "rush" and the establishment later of more permanent alluvial and reef mines are of significance. For squatters, the immediately unfavourable effects of mining were associated with the alluvial rushes; capital investment in reef and shaft mining brought a contrasting order and stability.

There is no evidence to suggest that the alpine graziers mentioned in Chapter 1 actively exploited the swollen markets in the Ovens district in the 1850s, although those situated closest, such as Edward Gray at Bundaramunjie may well have. Nevertheless, all benefited, in an over-all sense, from the resultant economic upturn which encouraged squatters to experiment with high country grazing. Stockings by Richard Bennison on the Bennison High Plains were probably undertaken in this context.

Figure 2.1
HIGH COUNTRY GRAZING RUNS
1878
 with major adjoining Mining Fields

-  Mining Field
-  Grazing Run
-  Uncertain boundary

- 1 Tom Groggin
- 2 Buemba
- 3 Limestone Creek
- 4 Ingeegoodbee
- 5 Suggan Buggan
- 6 Forlorne Hope
- 7 Tambo North
- 8 Nunniong
- 9 Bogong High Plains
- 10 Bundaramunjie
- 11 Darbalary
- 12 Cobungra West
- 13 Dargo High Plains
- 14 Beechers Hill
- 15 Mt. St. Bernard, East and West
- 16 Wonnangatta
- 17 Eaglevale
- 18 Carlingford
- 19 Mt. Wellington
- 20 Howqua Hills
- 21 Mt. Useful
- 22 Mt. Wills



Source: Lands Department, *Map of Runs, 1874*;
 Flett 1970;
 Author's Research.

High pastures were also in demand where they directly adjoined auriferous lands: the invasion of diggers forced squatters to move their livestock elsewhere and in some cases the snow country provided alternative summer feeding grounds. It is believed that the Buffalo Plateau may have been first grazed when cattle owned by Thomas Buckland were evacuated from the Buckland Valley for the summers, after gold was "rushed" there in the early 1850s.³ This rush effect may have operated to a limited extent as gold was discovered further into the mountain region in the late 1850s and early 1860s. However, because many of the mountain goldfields were opened in areas not previously grazed, the importance of this factor should not be over-estimated.

The New Squatters

A more important stimulant to high country grazing was the local demand for meat which accompanied the growth of mining. The supply of stores, particularly perishables⁴ to isolated mining centres like Crooked River and Upper Dargo, was difficult and new graziers were attracted to the mountains by the market for fresh meat and took up runs. These new squatters either bought into existing stations, which were often subdivided,⁵ or occupied previously unlicensed land. In this way occupation of the valleys intensified and as it did a heightened interest in the surrounding high country developed.

New squatters began laying claim to the snow country by the late 1860s after the alluvial rushes to mountain goldfields had subsided and gold production had settled into a pattern of steady but declining production based on capital investment. The earliest new squatters normally invested in large runs and were sometimes successful miners, for example, C. S. Holme of Eaglevale. They were followed in the mid-1870s by mixed farmers, storekeepers, builders and other tradesmen who took up cattle runs to supplement their declining incomes. New squatters

Table 2.1

High Country Tenants, 1878

Name	Run	Residence	Class	Occupation	Other
Thomas Breen	Mt. St. Bernard	Harrierville	?	?	?
William Bryce	Wonnangatta	Crooked River	N.S.	grazier, farmer	University graduate
Henry Campbell	Bogong High Plains	Ensay*	S.O.	grazier	wealthy squatter
John Hemphill &) F. E. Braithwaite)	Mt. Wills	Glen Wills*	N.S.	miners, graziers	-
C. S. Holme	Eaglevale	Crooked River	N.S.	grazier, miner	leading member of local Race Club; Councillor
Alfred Jones	Dargo High Plains	Dargo	N.S.	grazier, carpenter	lay preacher
Richard King	Mt. St. Bernard East	Upper Dargo	N.S.	grazier, miner	hotel owner
Horatio & Fred Lowe	Nunniong	Doctor's Flat	N.S.	graziers, hotel owners, storekeepers	ex-miners
Murdoch Mackintosh	Beechers Hill	Dargo	S.O.	grazier	-
" "	Mt. Wellington	"	"	"	
John Murphy	Buamba	Benambra*	N.S.	farmer, grazier	originally a stockman from Monaro
Chris. O'Rourke	Ingeegoodbee	Black Mountain	N.S.	grazier	son of original squatter
Edward O'Rourke	Suggan Buggan	Black Mountain	S.O.	grazier	" " " "
" "	Forlorn Hope	" "	"	"	
" "	Black Mountain	" "	"	"	

Table 2.1 (Continued)

Name	Run	Residence	Class	Occupation	Other
James Parslow	Cobungra West	Cobungra*	S.O.	grazier	purchased station from George Gray
James Pendergast	Limestone Creek	Benambra*	S.O.	grazier	-
Neil Pendergast	Tom Groggin	Benambra*	S.O.	grazier	-
Jens Petersen & Fred Box	Darbalary	Cobungra-Omeo Cobungra*	N.S. N.S.	grazier, miner grazier, miner	- hotel owner
George A. Pillinger	Mt. Useful	?	N.S.	?	?
James Rowe	Howqua Hills	Howqua Hills	S.O.	grazier, storekeeper	-
William Soutter	Tambo North	Benambra	N.S.	grazier	-
John Whitbourne	Carlingford	Lindenow	N.S.	farmer/grazier, packer, stock dealer	ex-miner
Osborne Young	Bundaramunjie	Benambra*	N.S.	grazier, horse breeder, cattle dealer, farmer	Omeo Shire Councillor, (President); President, Racing Club

* Omeo District

N.S. = New Squatter

O.S. = Station Owner

Source: Register of Pastoral Licences, 1875-80
C.L.C.
Government Gazette, 1877
Miscellaneous sources



PLATE IX

THE BUFFALO PLATEAU VIEWED FROM THE OVENS VALLEY (Author 1979)



PLATE X

MT. BULLER AS SEEN FROM MANSFIELD (Author 1979)

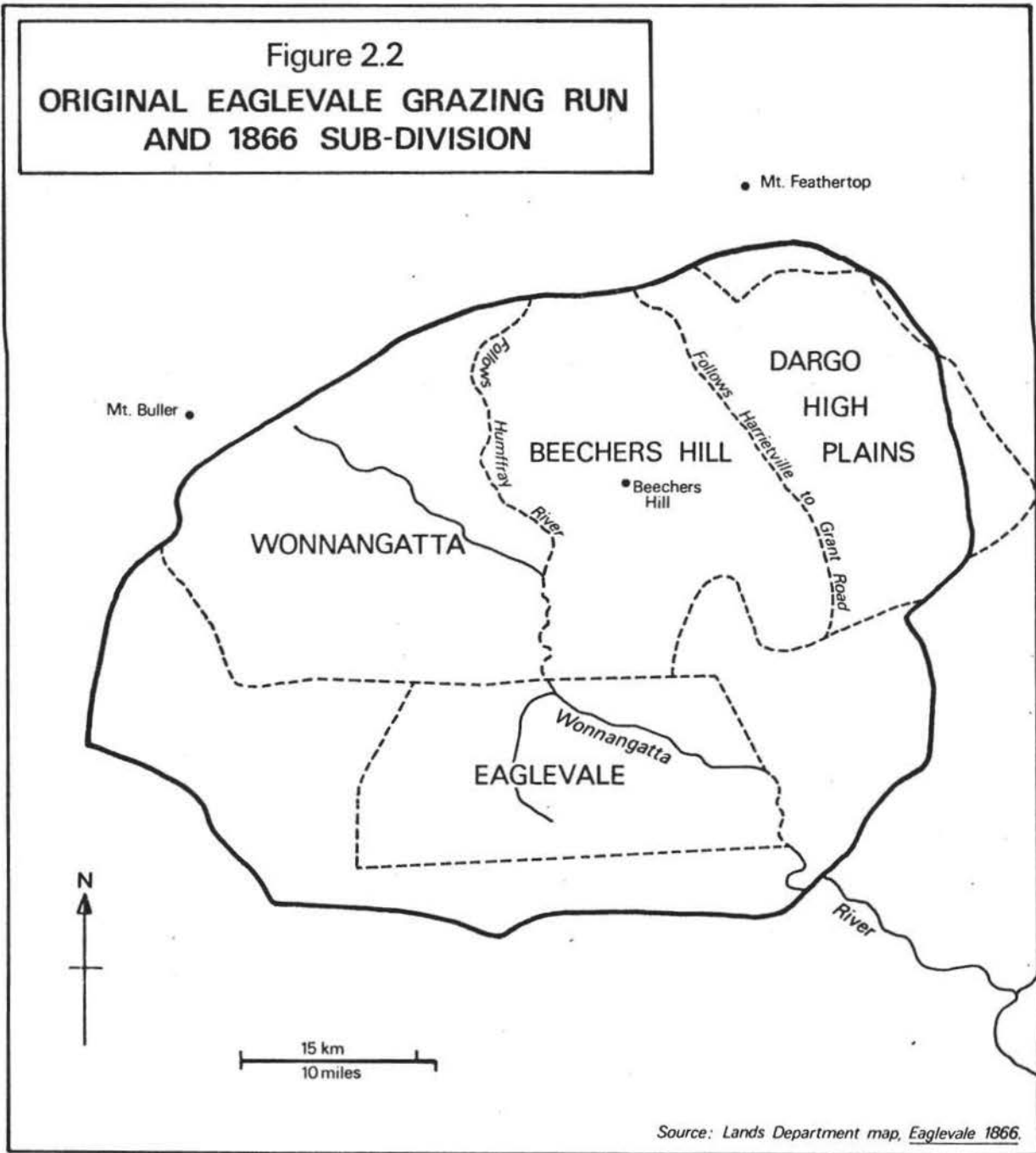
displayed two common characteristics: being late arrivals on the squatting scene they were unable to obtain large tracts of low country and so came to depend upon the high pastures for much of their livelihood; they often had social prestige, sometimes derived from success on the mining field, and many took leading roles in the mountain communities (Table 2.1). In a number of high areas close to mountain goldfields they displaced the original squatters and under their tenure regular stocking was introduced to many of the high plateaux. However, high regions that were remote from major gold centres experienced little infiltration by new squatters and continued to be held by the original station owners. This was particularly true for the upper Buchan country which remained in the hands of the O'Rourke family. But continuing occupancies by original squatters were not static. Obviously, increased stocking of the high country would have taken place as economic conditions improved and as families multiplied.

Squatting Tenure

Squatting tenure arrangements prior to the 1880s were quite simple: prior to 1869 land could be legally occupied under a pastoral licence and thereafter either pastoral licences or annually renewable grazing licences were available; from 1873 the practice of Government Administration was to offer new or forfeited runs as grazing licences only. Basically, pastoral licences allowed the depasturing of stock on broad acres of public land and the associated improvement of small areas surrounding the squatter's homestead for subsistence purposes. Grazing licences were much stricter and allowed for grazing only, on an annually renewable basis; there was no question of residence or cultivation.⁶

It is clear that the concept of grazing licence was developed from that of the pastoral licence and that the philosophy of short-term grazing licence occupation stemmed from squatting provisions proclaimed

Figure 2.2
ORIGINAL EAGLEVALE GRAZING RUN
AND 1866 SUB-DIVISION



in 1847 (see Appendix E) which allowed temporary pastoral occupation until Public lands could be more thoroughly dealt with through alienation or reservation. Grazing licences represented a refinement of administrative provisions to embody more accurately the temporary occupation ideal; pastoral licences, while not precluding agricultural selection or reservation, were not so temporary as they were guaranteed for up to 14 years under the 1869 Land Act, and thus tended to foster entrenchment of interests. Grazing licences were favoured to counter such entrenchment but in the high country they had little more to contribute in this context because remaining unoccupied areas incorporated little or no low land suitable for settlement: these lands were thus generally unsuitable for traditional squatting occupation where the grazier resided on the run.

In the earliest years graziers generally ignored tenure requirements because of the low level of interest in the snow country and its remoteness from the sphere of government supervision. But as available low level grasslands became scarce graziers gave more attention to the high country; tenure was accepted so as to legitimise occupations and secure them against challenge. By the mid-1870s most of the high country was licensed.

Boundaries of the early alpine runs were identified by the first applicants in their licence applications and these were normally accepted by the Government Administration. Pioneer squatters usually described and claimed whole physiographic units, such as the Bogong High Plains or the watershed of Limestone Creek, and the boundaries of these units were easy to establish in the field and to plot roughly on a map. Minor changes were effected by the Administration in the late 1860s and 1870s when some large forfeited runs and other vacant country were offered as smaller units, and in such cases boundaries sometimes ignored distinct physical features; for example, the larger Eaglevale run which was



PLATE XI

THE PENDERGAST BROTHERS OF THE OMEO PLAINS
FROM THE LEFT: JOHN, JAMES, NEIL, WILLIAM.
(Shire of Omeo)

divided into three in 1866.⁷ To this limited extent bureaucratic initiatives played a small role in improving the availability of grasslands in some areas⁸ and in defining the size and shape of pastoral runs into which the snow country was apportioned. But the influence of pioneering squatters was much stronger as their original descriptions normally became basic references and were generally adhered to with only minor modifications until 1884 when tenure arrangements and grazing runs were re-vamped under a new Land Act.

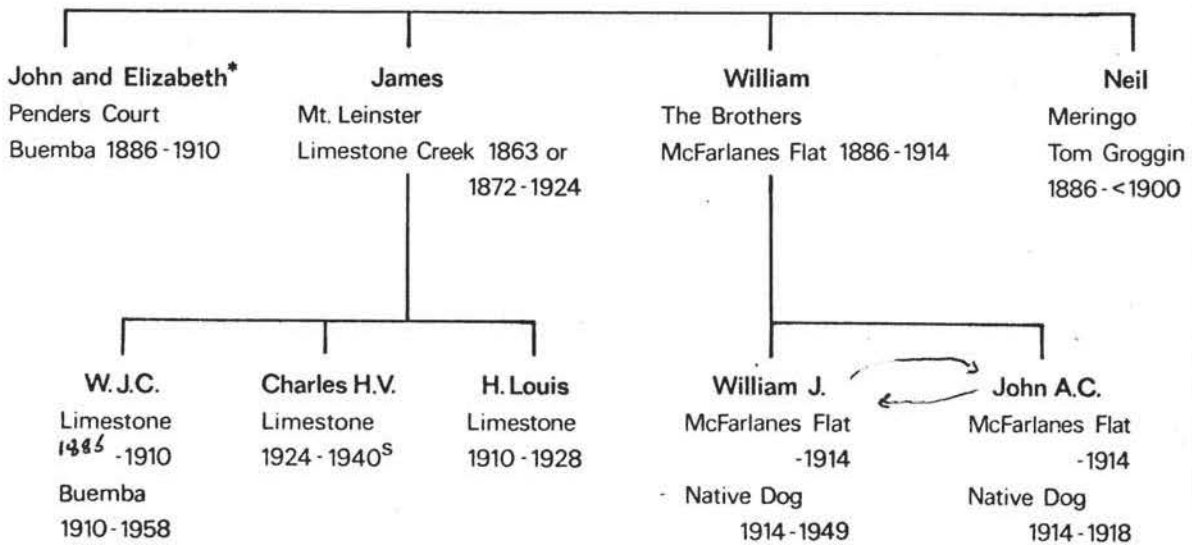
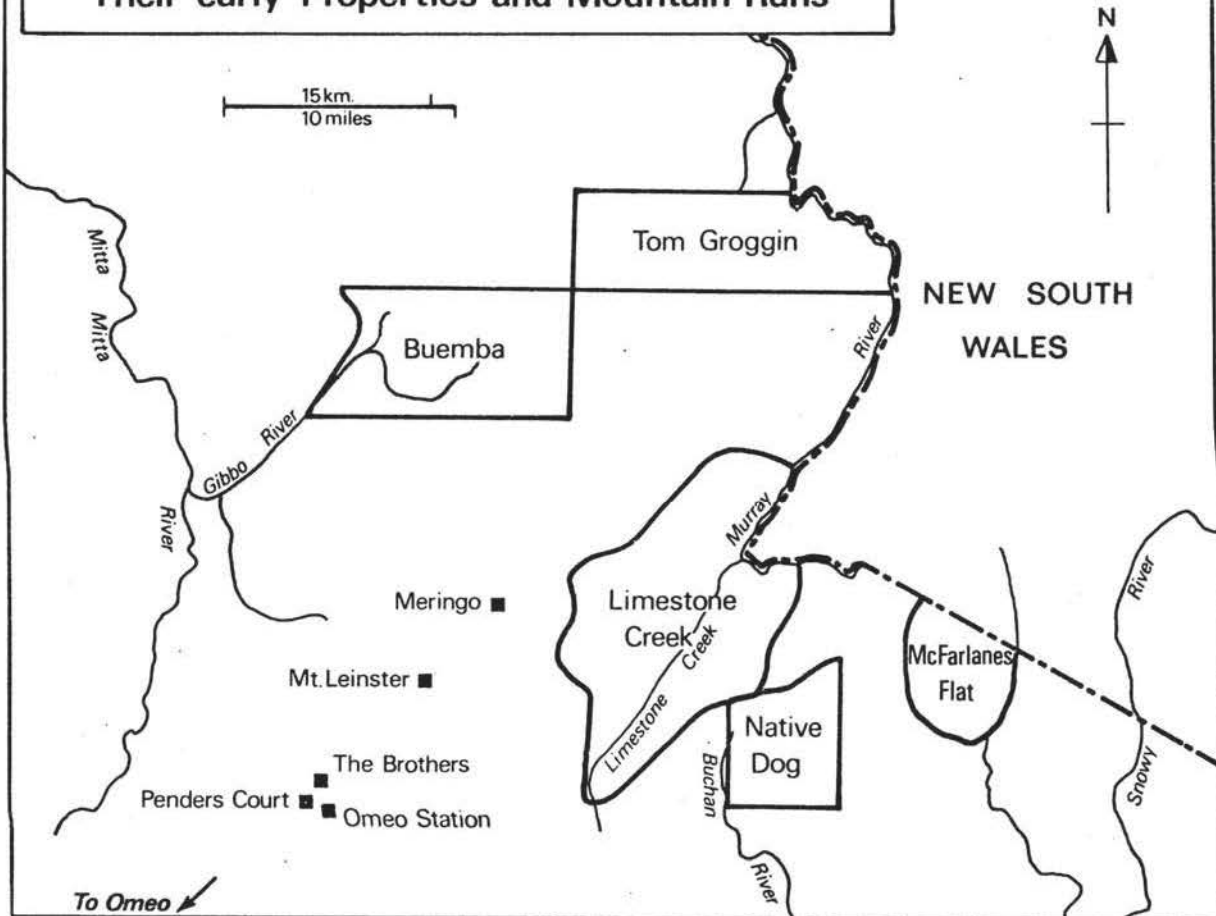
Effects of Land Selection

Activity on Victoria's main goldfields declined throughout the 1860s and 1870s and produced a pool of unemployed diggers and sympathisers who saw the colony's future in terms of unlocking the land for agriculture by wresting control of the land from squatters. This body of opinion grew in strength and prompted a sequence of land legislation which eventually broke the squatters' hold. All this has been documented.⁹

Land alienation programmes began to display some indirect effects on the state of high country grazing with the implementation of the 1869 Land Act. New squatters were not directly affected as their runs were generally unsuitable for cultivation and in any case were quite inaccessible. On the other hand, to the station owners who had extensive tracts of lower plains and valley country, selection posed a real threat. By 1880 when the 1869 Land Act expired, most of the colony's good agricultural land, including the fertile alluvial valleys penetrating the mountain range and the open Omeo plains, had been selected.¹⁰ It has been said that selection destroyed pastoral tenure and all that remained were mere remnants of runs [on the lowlands] on one hand, and stony mountain land on the other.¹¹ Yet much of this "stony mountain land" was not useless and proved to be an outpost for extensive pastoral occupation.

Lowland areas were progressively opened for selection and squatters

Figure 2.3
THE PENDERGAST FAMILY OF BENAMBRA:
Their early Properties and Mountain Runs



* John died in 1891, but the run continued to be held by his wife, Elizabeth.

had to either accept their fate and be content with a smaller domain or attempt to side step the ceiling provisions for selection by dumming.¹² Alternatively, they could shift to newer areas where runs were available and selection was not imminent.¹³ Squatters in or adjoining the mountain region had a further option: they were able to resort to the "inferior" outlying Crown lands, including the snow pastures. Those high lands to the north-east and north-west of Omeo were important in this context. The Pendergast brothers of Benambra came to rely increasingly upon snow country north and south of Limestone Creek as their plains country at Benambra was partially and progressively selected from them. Similarly, station owners from the Kiewa and Ovens valleys who suffered the deprivations of both miners and selectors, used the Bogong High Plains for summer grazing by arrangement with the licence holder (see Table 2.2.).

Another outcome of the 1869 Land Act with long-term implications was the introduction of selectors to the near mountain lowlands. Occasionally in the 1870s a small selector acquired an interest in a run or access to the high pastures; the Hollond brothers provide an example of this situation on the Bogong High Plains. Generally, however, selectors did not have the means or opportunity to become involved in the high country until the 1890s (see Chapter 3). In the meantime, these lands remained the domain of station owners and new squatters whose roots were founded in broad acre pastoralism and other commercial fields like building and storekeeping. New squatters and station owners normally also had land selections but the nature of their land use was primarily broad acre grazing, not cultivation, due to the vast areas of timber range land they occupied. For them selection was a means by which they could secure portions of their runs rather than an opportunity to take up agriculture.

Table 2.2

Bogong High Plains Run
Graziers, 1883

Name	Residence	Class	Number of Stock Depastured
Alfred Abraham	Kiewa	?	60 head cattle
Denis Farrington	Freeburgh	miner/grazier	80 " "
Marcus Hobbs agisting for Arthur Woodside	Kiewa	station owner	100 " "
Thomas Hollonds	Kiewa	selector-grazier	10 horses 80 head cattle
William Hollonds	Kiewa	selector-grazier	30 horses 80 head cattle
Charles Ibbotson	Kiewa	station owner	200 " "
Bernard O'Reilly	Freeburgh	station owner	80 " "
John Waldern	Freeburgh	miner/grazier	50 " "
		Total	730 head cattle 40 horses

Bogong High Plains reputed to have a carrying capacity of 50,000 sheep.

No stock were placed on the run in 1883 by the licensees H. & J. Campbell.

Peter Howman, of Goulds Run, Ovens Valley attempted to arrange agistment in consultation with Messrs. Campbell, but resistance from Marcus Hobbs, Ibbotson's manager at Tawonga Station, Kiewa Valley, dissuaded other owners from sending stock.

Source: Hamilton Papers, Q6 Inwards, 11 April 1883
and miscellaneous sources

Grazing Runs - Some Spatial Features

The location of runs held in the 1870s by the various classes of occupant exhibited a simple spatial distribution corresponding to the pattern of gold discovery. New squatters predominated on the high areas adjoining the major gold centres such as the Dargo High Plains, Snowy Range and the Nunniong tableland, while regions distant from these centres remained either unoccupied, as was the case with the mountains east of Mansfield, or in the hands of station owners. In the case of the latter, it is worth noting that on the Wulgulmerang plateau there was little or no mining or selection in the 1860s or 1870s. Consequently, the O'Rourkes were able to manage their cattle on a very broad acre basis on both the high and low country for many years after most other station owners had been forced to come to terms with agricultural settlement. The Bogong High Plains provided the exception to the rule, being located close to the Ovens diggings yet remaining in the hands of the station owners rather than new squatters. Perhaps this can be explained by the continuing interest of a large pastoral station (Ensay) or the absence of foothill country between the northern edge of the plateau and the broad valley flats below: broken hill country with small tracts of suitable flat land scattered along the valleys was characteristic of the new squatters' runs, and being largely absent in the Ovens region there was little scope for pastoral occupation once the early squatters had grabbed the comparatively broad valley floors. Also, the Bogong Plains were quite remote from the Livingstone Creek gold workings which were the main early goldfields in the Omeo district. This leads on to another prominent spatial feature which was the concentration of high country run holders' residences in the Omeo district. The central position of the Omeo Plains in relation to the snow country, its early pastoral tradition and the more gentle access to high pastures were undoubtedly major contributory reasons for the concentration.

Summary

The pattern of high plains grazing up to the 1880s was shaped largely by spontaneous occupation, firstly as part of a general continuation of squatting expansion, and later in response to the development of mountain goldmining centres. Legislation and associated administrative provisions served to formalise and crystallise the patterns of occupation only after the discovery of mountain goldfields stimulated a stronger interest in high pastures for grazing. Those who held high country runs were often active in community affairs and held socially prominent positions. They continued in virtually exclusive licensed occupation until new legislation was passed in 1884. Under this Act, for the first time, land tenure arrangements took account of broad factors of physical geography, such as the suitability for either agricultural or pastoral land uses.

REFERENCES

Chapter 2

- 1 See for example, Cox (1973); Robertson (1973).
- 2 Harding (1967).
- 3 Pers. Com. P. Weston.
- 4 Wilson (1951), p.60.
- 5 Register of Runs, Book 1.
- 6 Powell (1973). Another difference between pastoral and grazing licences was that the former were regarded as a chattel interest whereas the latter were not.
- 7 Eaglevale Run file, Lands Department; Register of Runs, Book 2.
- 8 This is not to say that the government subdivisions were successful.
- 9 For example, Roberts (1968) and Parnaby (1951).
- 10 Roberts (1968), p.312.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Kiddle (1963)
- 13 For example, the Riverina. See Buxton (1967) and Powell (1970).

Table 3.1

Depletion of some Lowland Runs
through Selection

Run	Location	Size in 1875 acres	Subsequent Decline (acres)
Barwidgee	Kiewa Valley	30,277	1877: 24,994; 1881: 16,300
Cuigmundi	Dargo	37,450	1889: 30,800; 1891: 25,000; 1894: 2,600
Dargo	Dargo	22,880	1889: 15,000; 1893: 9,000
Ensay	Omeo	101,788	1881: 95,300; 1889: 26,000; 1891: 8,000
Heart	North Gippsland	2,500	June 1878: 1,290; Dec. 1878: 650
Myrtle Creek	Ovens Valley	9,500	1878: 8,300; 1889: 6,000; 1892: 3,600
Omeo B	Omeo	74,190	1878: 58,970; 1881: 53,200
Tawonga	Kiewa Valley	93,390	1889: 15,580; 1890: 14,000

Source: Register of Pastoral Licences, 1875-80, 1880-95.

Chapter 3

THE 1880s: A NEW APPROACH BY GOVERNMENT

The General Situation in the 1870s

The first authorised high country graziers held their runs under pastoral or grazing licences.¹ A licence gave the squatter security against infringement by other pastoralists, but he had no such security against selection. He was only an interim tenant pending the selection of land for cultivation and he was never able safely to undertake major improvements over large areas.

During the 1870s pastoralists throughout Victoria must have realised their future as squatters was bleak, particularly as squatting tenure under the 1869 Act was only guaranteed till 1880.² Additionally, after 1873 annual grazing licences, as opposed to pastoral licences, were issued for all new and forfeited runs;³ selectors were making swift inroads into the squatters' better country, and within the space of ten years, between 1870 and 1880 lowland holdings had been so corroded that only remnants of pastoral runs remained.⁴ A groundswell of public opinion was developing against the squatters, who, by holding large tracts of land, were effectively barring others from taking up agriculture.⁵ Those who could see the writing on the wall attempted to build up freehold estates⁶ or moved to new regions such as the Riverina;⁷ the remainder were either forced into the back country or were beaten down into less dominant positions. By the early 1880s those who rented large areas of Public lands for grazing were in occupation of the poorest country in the colony and were now termed "pastoral tenants" rather than squatters.⁸ This new term was used in the legislature to avoid the unfavourable connotations of "squatter" and to project a new image of the run holder - a battling

Table 3.2

Witnesses to Crown Lands Commission of Inquiry, 1878
Evidence Relating to the High Country

Name	Occupation	Contact with High Country	Contribution to Inquiry
Francis W. Blyth	selector	?	Corroborated Stirling's evidence; could be cut into smaller grazing blocks for summer
Alfred Howitt	Police Magistrate	Traversed much of the high country; spoke to settlers	Information about land form and land use; opinions and suggestions of how closer settlement of the high country could be achieved.
Rowand McArthur	Crown Lands Bailiff	Visited some of high country; spoke to users	Agreed with subdivision of summer runs but thought lower bush runs tied up in pastoral runs would be preferred by settlers
Charles McLeod	Manager of a Pastoral Station	Had done stock work on Dargo High Plains	Some snow country could be better used if tenure was longer
Alfred E. Otter	selector	?	No-one would want to take up high country
James Stirling	Land Officer	Visited high country, spoke to users	See Appendix A
Thomas Stirling	Selector & Squatter	Friend of Jens Petersen, a high country grazier	Affirmed that high country already being used profitably for grazing

Source: C.L.C.

tenant of the Crown who deserved sympathetic consideration.⁹

The situation in the high country was that many runs were held by new squatters whose licences incorporated much poor rough mountainous country with low stocking capabilities. Most new squatters had diverse sources of income (see Table 2.1) but, as mining went into decline during the 1880s, many began to feel the pinch¹⁰ and were forced to rely increasingly upon the runs for a livelihood. Fortunately few suffered major depredation by selection simply because their country was unsuitable for agriculture; early selections on the runs were generally by the grazing tenants themselves.

After 1880, when the 1869 Land Act expired, there followed four years of political turbulence which spelled greater uncertainty for the pastoralist. His future was debated and re-debated along with many other issues and ideas for settlement.¹¹ When new legislation finally eventuated in 1884 particular attention was paid to the mountain region.

The Crown Lands Commission

Many features of the 1884 Land Act were identified in 1878 by the Crown Lands Commission of Inquiry (CLC), a fact-finding investigation which reported to Parliament on the progress of settlement under the 1869 Land Act and recommended certain legislative action.¹² The objective of this inquiry was to help small, struggling selectors to stay on the land and to create further employment opportunities in agriculture for the colony's bloated post-mining population.¹³ In considering the settlement of marginal Public land it recognised the value of the farmer-grazier, who cultivated for his own needs and used the remainder of his land for grazing. Previously the focus of selection and settlement had been on cultivation. The CLC recommended that squatting tenure be not renewed and that pastoral lands be subdivided into much smaller units for selectors to graze. The snow country came to the fore in this context.¹⁴

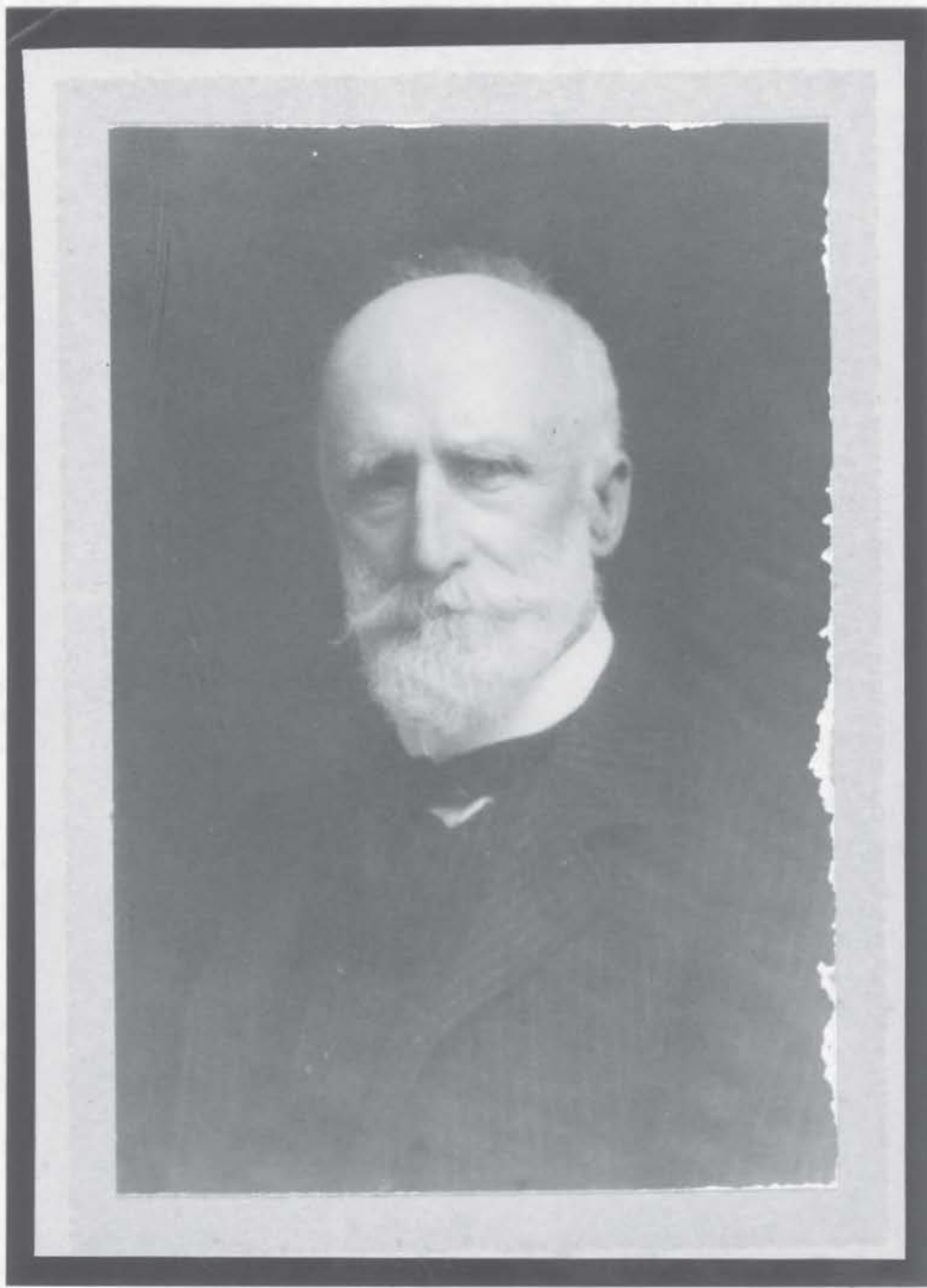


PLATE XII

ALFRED HOWIT: GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL WHO WAS
VERY FAMILIAR WITH THE HIGH COUNTRY
(Shire of Omeo)

Evidence upon which the CLC's recommendations for the high country were based came primarily from government officials Alfred Howitt, the Police Magistrate at Bairnsdale, and James Stirling, Lands Department Officer at Omeo; other lay participants also contributed some valuable evidence (see Table 3.2).

Facts presented by Howitt concerned the Cobberas country, well-known to the early pioneers of the Omeo district, and also the Bogong and Cobungra high plains. He did not think the Cobberas country would be of much use to selectors as summer pasture as it was located too far from suitable low country.¹⁵ However, he thought that the Bogong High Plains could be subdivided for farmer-graziers.

I may instance one place, the Bogong Plains, situated between the sources of the Cobungra, Bundar and Kiawa, where there are very extensive undulating basalt plains of the character I have seen in the Western District. They are well grassed, and, were it not for the elevated position, I think are suited for grazing grounds, but that would be all. Of course I speak with exception of the lower lying shelves, where, for instance, I have seen oats growing.¹⁶

The Bogong Plains are occupied on grazing licences by the neighbouring (I say neighbouring not adjoining) run-holders, who remove their cattle there, and I have even known sheep removed there at different times during the last 12 years.¹⁷

The evidence of James Stirling indicated the extent of occupation of high country in the Omeo district; a summarised version of Stirling's table is presented as Appendix 'A'. Other witnesses provided additional information about the Dargo and also Bogong High Plains¹⁸ and agreed that these areas could be subdivided for grazing.¹⁹ The CLC accepted this advice and attempted to devise a scheme whereby grazing lands would remain in the hands of small graziers, once issued to them, rather than being aggregated once more into the hands of the few. To this end it recommended a long-term pastoral licence of 10 years and various conditions of improvement, such as ring-barking and the restriction of one grazing right per person.

The Crown Lands Commission presented its final report in

September 1879, but, as a result of friction and disagreement within the legislature, the Commission's proposals were not implemented immediately. During the interim period leasing was investigated as an alternative to alienation of the public domain.²⁰ Leasing was favoured by some on conservation grounds, to protect the catchments of major rivers and to conserve timber that may have been required as fuel for the mining industry.²¹ It was also favoured by those who believed that land could remain a significant source of government revenue, as it had been in the past. But in reality, most of the good agricultural lands had already been alienated and all that remained was a patchwork of inferior country, including the forested tracts of the eastern highlands, which had little revenue potential. Nevertheless, leasing was introduced although, as things turned out, it was offered as an alternative to annual licensing of grazing lands, rather than as an alternative to alienation.

The 1884 Land Act

The 1884 Land Bill concerned itself primarily with the Public lands of the eastern highlands, and also scattered pockets elsewhere.²²

... if anyone takes a trip along the north-eastern railway line, from the time he passes Kilmore until he reaches Wodonga he will see on his right an enormous range of mountainous country comprising altogether about 10 million acres. That contains a large portion of the land which is left for Parliament to deal with.²³

Intentions of the Act

The 1869 Land Act had enabled most of the cultivable plains areas to be selected, but once these better lands had been taken up and selection began to spread into the mountain district the character of selections began to change. Poorer quality lands were selected in patches here and there, usually following the course of river valleys and this pattern made it difficult for authorities to administer occupation, as often the best portions of a grazing run were selected,

Table 3.3

1884 Land Act

Summary of Provisions Relating to the
High Country

Land Classification	Provisions
Pastoral	<p>a) Section 21 Lease</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- lease of up to 14 years to expire by 1900- area of Pastoral Allotment to support 150 to 500 head of cattle- limited opportunity to select a homestead block- vermin destruction covenants- improvements revert to Crown on expiry of lease- maximum of one Pastoral Allotment per grazier <p>b) Section 119 Grazing Licence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- land not required for leasing under S.21 could be occupied under annual grazing licence
Agricultural/Grazing	<p>a) Section 32 Lease</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- lease of up to 14 years to expire by 1900- maximum size of allotment 1,000 acres- opportunity to select up to 320 acres depending upon other freeholdings held- maximum of one allotment per person <p>b) Section 119 Grazing Licence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- land not required for leasing under S.32 could be occupied under annual grazing licence
Bogong High Plains Green Area	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- grazing blocks available under S.119 annual grazing licence

Source: Land Act 1884

leaving the remainder unoccupied.²⁴ To meet the challenge of changing circumstances, new rules for land occupation were required.²⁵ These were largely drawn from the CLC's recommendations and embodied in the 1884 Land Act: the concept of combining grazing and cultivation was introduced by way of the occupation provisions; squatting tenure was formally ended; long-term tenure for much smaller pastoral runs was available; and measures were taken to prevent pastoral lands concentrating in the hands of a few. The only modification was a minor one, that leases were offered for pastoral lands rather than long-term licences.²⁶

Land Classification

In acknowledging that much of the remaining public estate was of the poorest quality for farming, the government based its new legislation upon a system of land classification whereby different types of tenure were offered for different classes of land. The aim of the classification was to ensure that provisions of occupation were appropriate for the particular quality of various lands. It was based on reports from Lands Department field staff.

High country lands fell into two classifications defined in the Land Act and one additional category which was subsequently created by administrators after the Bill had passed through Parliament. The classifications and associated occupation provisions are summarised in Table 3.3. Most of the high country was considered useless for agriculture and was classified Pastoral (see Figure 3.1) where cultivation was considered possible, localised tracts were denoted Agriculture/Grazing (Table 3.4).

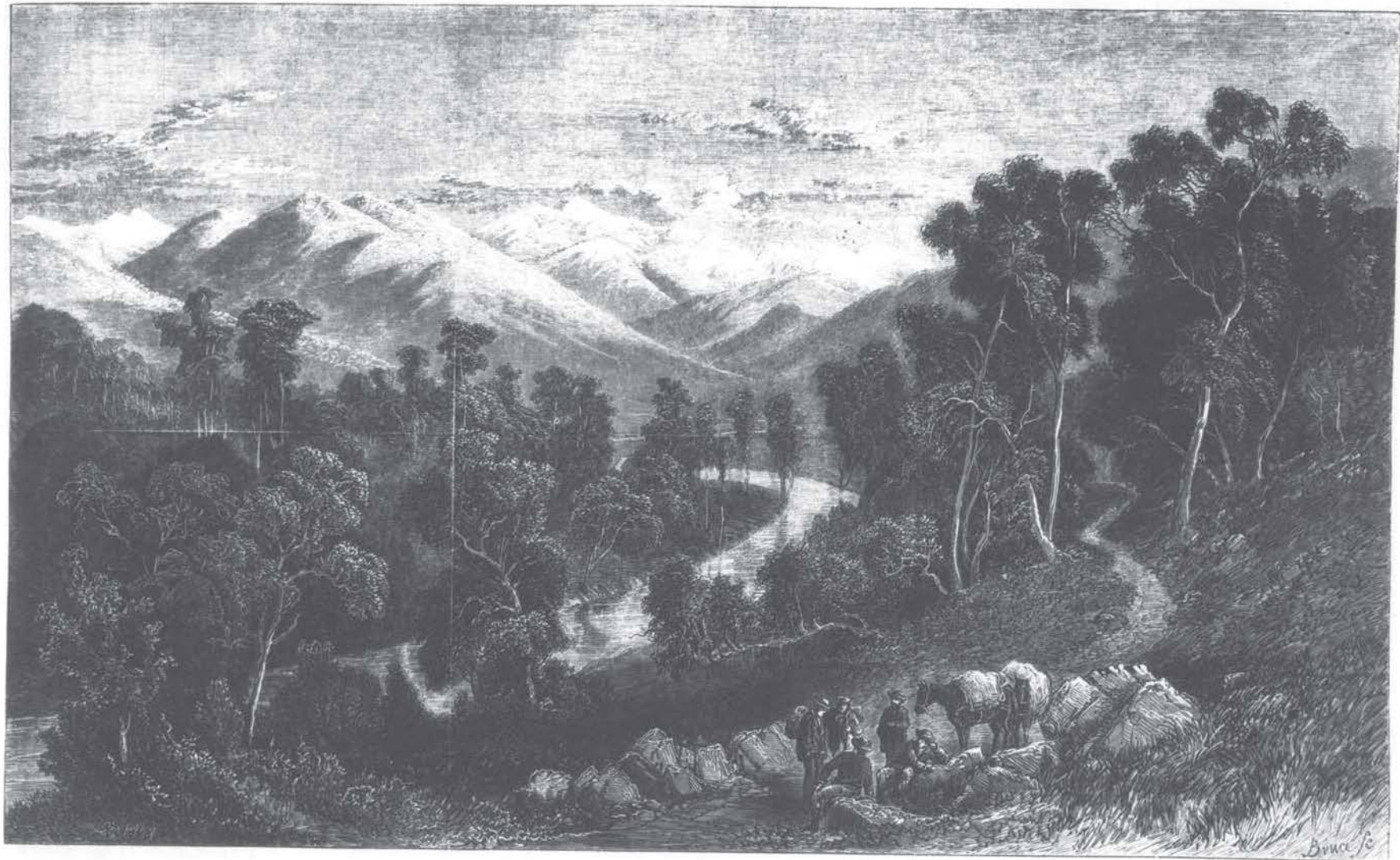
Classification was based upon broad geographical features and observations of how the land was being used. For example, the lower Cobungra High Plains, classed as Agriculture/Grazing, had already been successfully cropped in places by miners²⁷ and to this extent field reports would have reflected contemporary activities as well as subjective

Table 3.4

High Country Classified as
Agriculture/Grazing, 1884

Area	Features	Possible Reason for Classification
Bennison Plains	Low altitude; on the Crooked River to Woods Point track	Previous selection in 1883
Cobungra High Plains	Low altitude; on Omeo to Ovens Valley track; close to settlement at Cobungra	Previous cultivation by miners
Dargo High Plains	Adjoining Upper Dargo gold diggings; on Grant to Harrietville track	Applications for selection; support of Omeo Land Officer, James Stirling

Source: Author's research and 1884 Land Classification maps.



THE BOGONG RANGES.—FROM A DRAWING BY N. CHEVALIER.—SEE PAGE 13.

PLATE XIV

SKETCH OF THE "BOGONG RANGES" AS VIEWED FROM THE
OVENS VALLEY, BY N. CHEVALIER IN 1868. MT. FEATHERTOP
IS THE HIGHEST PEAK IN THE BACKGROUND (SLV)



PLATE XV

JAMES STIRLING: LANDS DEPARTMENT OFFICER AT OMEO,
1870s AND 1880s (SLV)

judgments of land capability. However, land classification was also based to some extent upon imagination as demonstrated by the peculiar "classification" of the Bogong High Plains, which deviated from the categories set out in the Land Act. The plains were designated as "The Bogong High Plains Green Area"²⁸ and were available for occupation under annual grazing licence rather than long-term lease as favoured by the legislature. The separate identification of the Bogong High Plains was the result of submissions from James Stirling.

With respect to the Bogong High Plains ... it seems to me that it is now necessary to preserve portion of this unique area as Public Park lands. The time is not far distant when, with increasing population, a portion of this area will be in demand for summer residences and hence it is expedient that steps should be taken to provide for such exigencies. I can confidently assert that there is no area in the whole of the Australian Alps (with the exception of the lower or southern portion of the Snowy Plains) so unique as portions of the former plateau. If this area ... could be dealt with under Part XI, section 119 as summer grazing areas in blocks from 1,000 to 5,000 acres, it would meet the public requirements and prevent any portion from being alienated.²⁹

The recreational potential of the Bogong High Plains had been recognised as early as 1868³⁰ and Stirling was able to build upon this existing awareness and effect a special treatment.

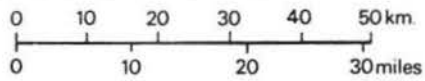
Effectiveness of the Act's provisions






High country grazing lands were divided into Pastoral Allotments, Grazing Blocks and Grazing Areas according to classification and this subdivision contributed to both the long-term demise of some large alpine holdings and the pioneering occupation of previously unused pastures. However, for these two processes to occur there had to be a demand for alpine pastures.

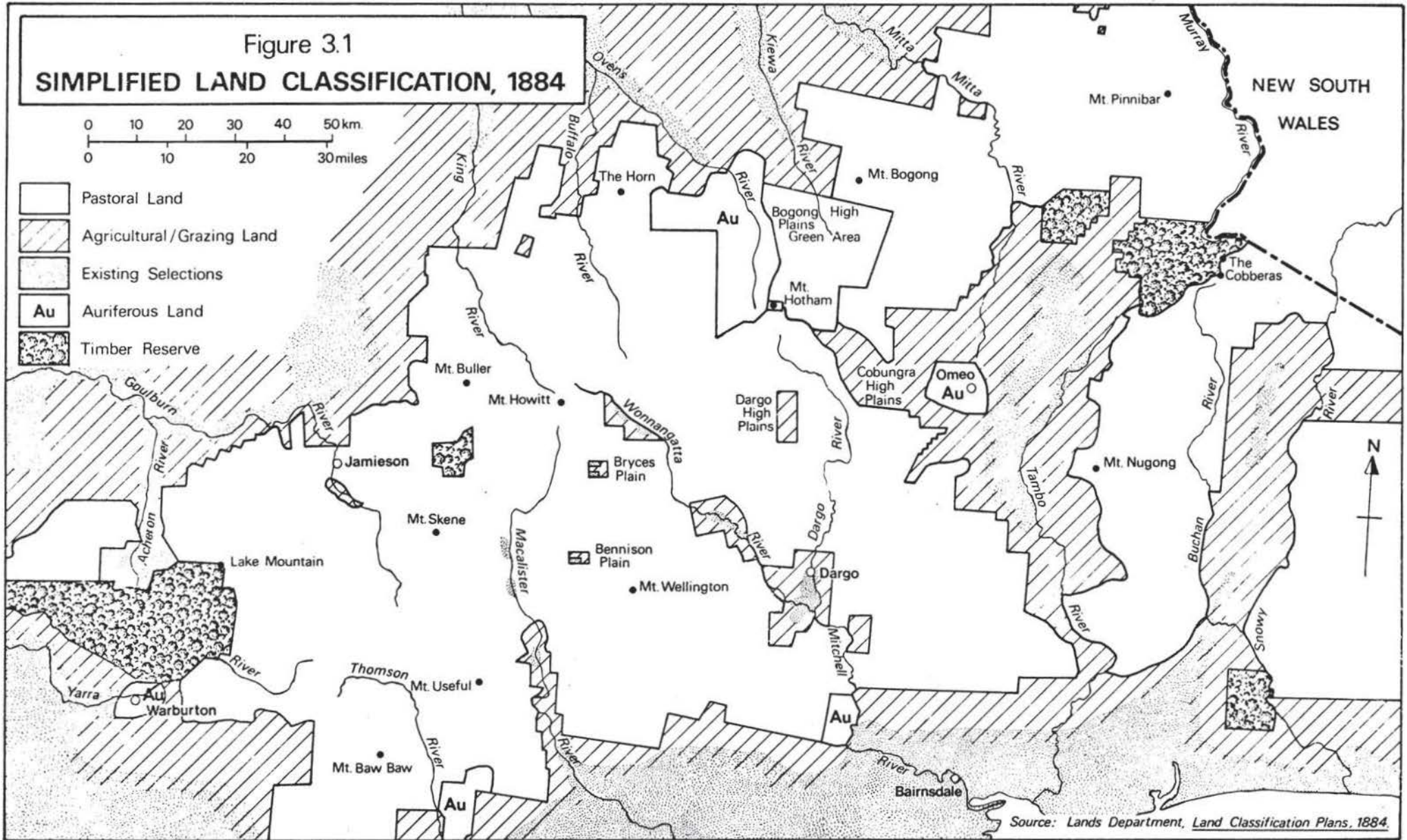
When the 1884 Land Act came into operation, all existing grazing tenure was cancelled and the former tenants, along with prospective ones, were invited to apply for lands under the new legislation. But the ensuing response from small farmer-graziers was not particularly great and the new squatters and station owners were able to re-establish

Figure 3.1

SIMPLIFIED LAND CLASSIFICATION, 1884



-  Pastoral Land
-  Agricultural/Grazing Land
-  Existing Selections
-  Auriferous Land
-  Timber Reserve



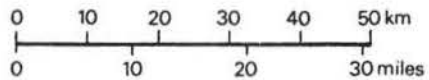
Source: Lands Department, *Land Classification Plans, 1884.*

themselves: their runs may have been slightly smaller and held under a number of leases or licences but their grazing operations were largely unaffected. In the short term they were not displaced. Neither were the unused high lands immediately taken up. Subdivisions under the new Land Act undoubtedly drew attention to available lands, but it took a number of years for graziers to develop a serious interest in previously neglected areas such as the mountains east of Mansfield. Eventually the subdivisions did prove their worth in some areas, such as the Bogong High Plains and the Mansfield region, especially when a long term scarcity of lowland grass developed towards the end of the 1890s. During the late 1890s much of the high pastoral country was taken, although many areas were held under annual grazing licence in accordance with Section 119 rather than under lease. It has to be remembered that land classified as Pastoral or Agriculture/Grazing could be obtained under Section 119 if there were no applications for leasing under Sections 21 or 32 (see Table 3.3). The success of the three individual classifications in changing the pattern and nature of occupation is considered below:

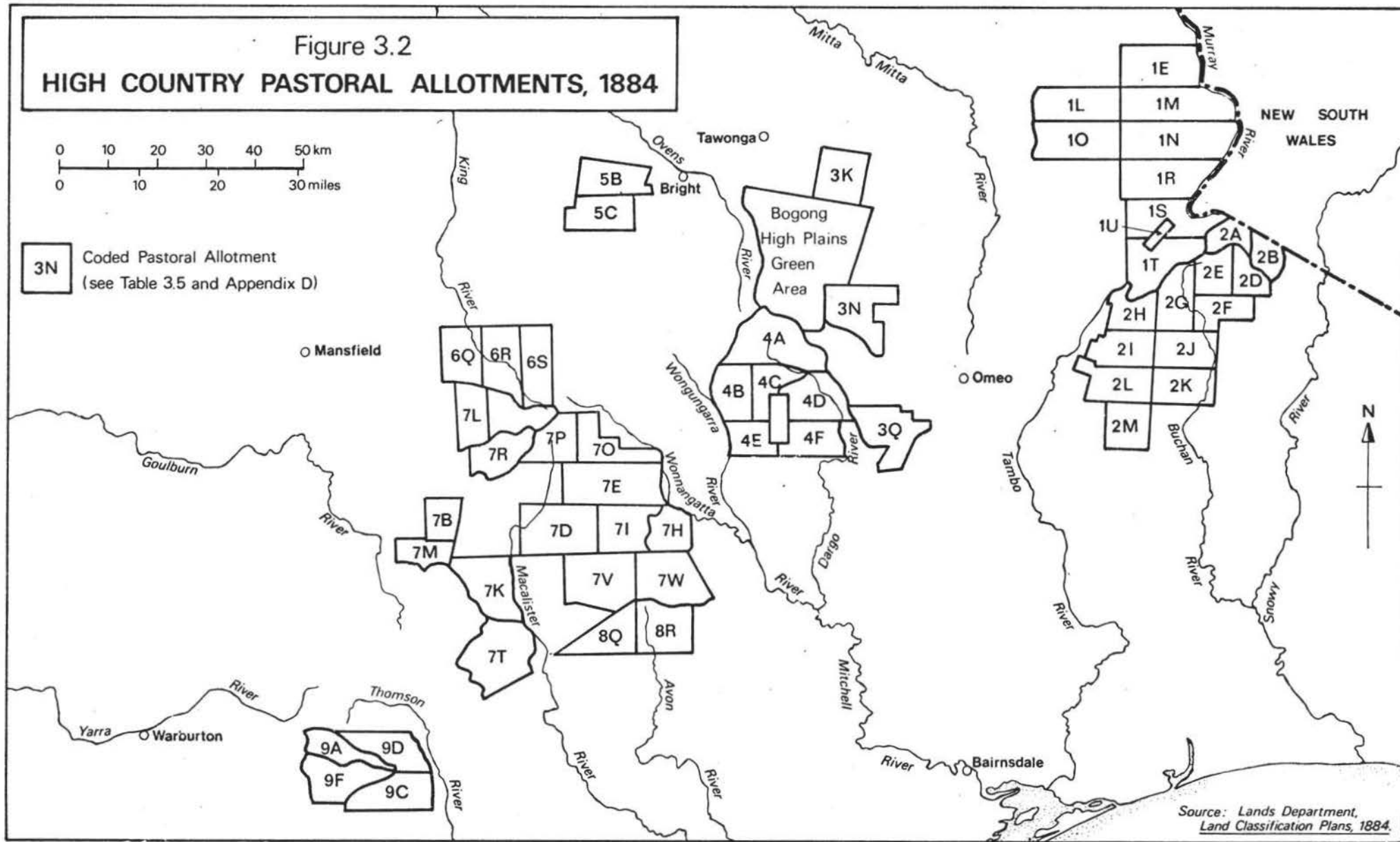
- i) Pastoral Lands. During the first two years of the 1884 Land Act the initial popularity of Pastoral Allotment leases varied remarkably in different areas, being most popular east of Omeo but attracting little attention elsewhere (see Table 3.5) Where old squatters had not been disturbed by major gold discoveries they continued to hold mountain grazing lands. They reacted quickly by acquiring Section 21 leases, available to the first applicant, subject to pre-requisite conditions, possibly in response to the perceived threat of the "anti-squatting" intent of the Act.

In contrast, there was little demand for long-term high country leases closer to the mountain goldfields. A few new

Figure 3.2
HIGH COUNTRY PASTORAL ALLOTMENTS, 1884



3N Coded Pastoral Allotment
 (see Table 3.5 and Appendix D)



Source: Lands Department,
 Land Classification Plans, 1884.

Table 3.5

Pastoral Allotments Leased between 1886 and 1890
1884 Land Act

Name	Class	Pastoral Allotment	Period of Lease	Comment
George E. Barrow	?	6Q	1886-1887	Forfeited, never used
Walter Coughlan	S.O.	2A	1886-1896	
John Curtain	?	5B	1886-1896	No record of actual occupancy
Thomas Doyle	Selector	2M	1886-1900	
James Hollond	?	3Q	1886-1887	Forfeited, never used
C. S. Holme	N.S.	7I	1886- appr. 1898	
James Holme	N.S.	7H	1886-1900	
Ewan McMillan	?	7W	1886-1887	Forfeited; 1889-90 W.J. Irwin; 1893-97 H.D. McFarlane
Ann T. O'Rourke	S.O.	2G	1886-1887	Changed to grazing licence
Annie M. O'Rourke	S.O.	2F	1886-1887	" " "
Thomas J. O'Rourke	S.O.	2E	1886-?	
James Pendergast	S.O.	1T	1886-1897	Transferred to W.J.C. Pendergast 1 Jan. 1897
John Pendergast	S.O.	10	1886-?	
Neil Pendergast	S.O.	1M	1886-1887	Changed to grazing licence
William Pendergast	S.O.	2B	1886-?	
W. J. C. Pendergast	Son of S.O.	1S	1886-1900	
Thomas Quinn	N.S.	2L	1886-1900	

Table 3.5 (Continued)

Name	Class	Pastoral Allotment	Period of Lease	Comment
Peter Sim	?	6S	1886-1887	Forfeited, never used
George E. Treasure	Selector	4D	1886-1887	Cancelled, and part of allotment became a Public Reserve
John Weir	?	5C	1886-1887	Forfeited, never used
Osborne Young	N.S.	3N	1887-1897	

Source: Leases and Licences Register, 1884 L.A.

East of Omeo: 12 out of 18 available Pastoral Allotments were leased; 9 out of 12 were taken by the pioneering Pendergast and O'Rourke families.

West of Omeo: 11 out of 31 available Pastoral Allotments were leased. By 1888 only 4 out of these 11 remained under lease and all were held by new squatters.

Total 23 out of 49 Pastoral Allotments were leased in the first year 1886/7; two years later the number dropped to 13.

Key: S.O = Station Owner
N.S. = New Squatter

squatters, such as C. S. Holme and Osborne Young, who relied heavily upon livestock production from the elevated pastures, played safe and acquired leases. The others were not disposed to do so. There are two possible reasons for this unexpectedly poor demand. Firstly, in the 1880s mining in the mountain regions was still active, though in decline. Many tradesmen, store-keepers, mixed farmers and so on were still gainfully employed servicing the mining communities and were not yet interested in broad acre grazing as a livelihood. Similarly, many new squatters were also involved with the mines and, having other strings to their bows, were not prepared to make long-term commitments that were part and parcel of leasing. Secondly, the opportunities to establish small farms were limited by the physical nature of the country west of Omeo and for this reason selectors had not made inroads into the region. Consequently the competition for grazing lands was not so great.

Over the alpine region as a whole the adoption of Section 21 leases was not successful. After the 1880s the number of Pastoral Allotments held fell dramatically with practically all the lasting leases being held by new squatters and station owners, contrary to the intent of legislation; a mere handful of leases was issued after 1888 and most of these were terminated within two years. Holding a Section 21 lease actually proved to be a disadvantage during the mid-1890s when depressed economic conditions occurred, as the Lands Department insisted on rental commitments being met despite the difficulties some tenants were experiencing.³¹

Pastoral country not leased was subsequently available under annual grazing licence and it was through this provision that

Table 3.6

Pastoral Land Occupied Under Grazing Licence
1884 Land Act

Date of Licence	Name	Class	Area acres	Unit	Pastoral Allots	Comment
1887	Box, King & Petersen	N.S.	110,000	Dargo H.Ps.		Old Dargo H.Ps. run Also had Darbalary and portion of B.H.Ps.
mid-1890s	William & Allan Bryce	N.S.	75,500	Snowy Range	70,P & E	Formerly Wonnangatta
1892	John Gibson	Selector	34,000	Gibbo-Pin.	1R	
1887	Donald Gow	Selector	83,000	Dargo H.Ps.		Old Beechers Hill run
1889	J.C.H. Graves	S.O.	60,000	Up.King	6Q & R	
1887	Annie M. O'Rourke	S.O.	17,900	Up.Buchan	2F	Formerly leased Formerly part of Forlorn Hope
1887	Ann T. O'Rourke	S.O.	26,700	Up.Buchan	2G	Formerly leased; Formerly part of Forlorn Hope
1886	Edward O'Rourke	S.O.	24,700	Up.Buchan	2J	Formerly Forlorn Hope
1887	Neil Pendergast	S.O.	39,000	Gibbo-Pin.	1M	Formerly used in con- junction with Tom Groggin run; formerly leased
1886	Richard Riggall	S.O.	67,000	Snowy Range	8Q & 8R	Formerly Mt. Wellington run
1886	William Soutter	Selector	24,000	Up.Buchan	Part 2H & 2I	Formerly Tambo North

Source: Government Gazettes; Register of Licences & Leases, 1884 L.A.

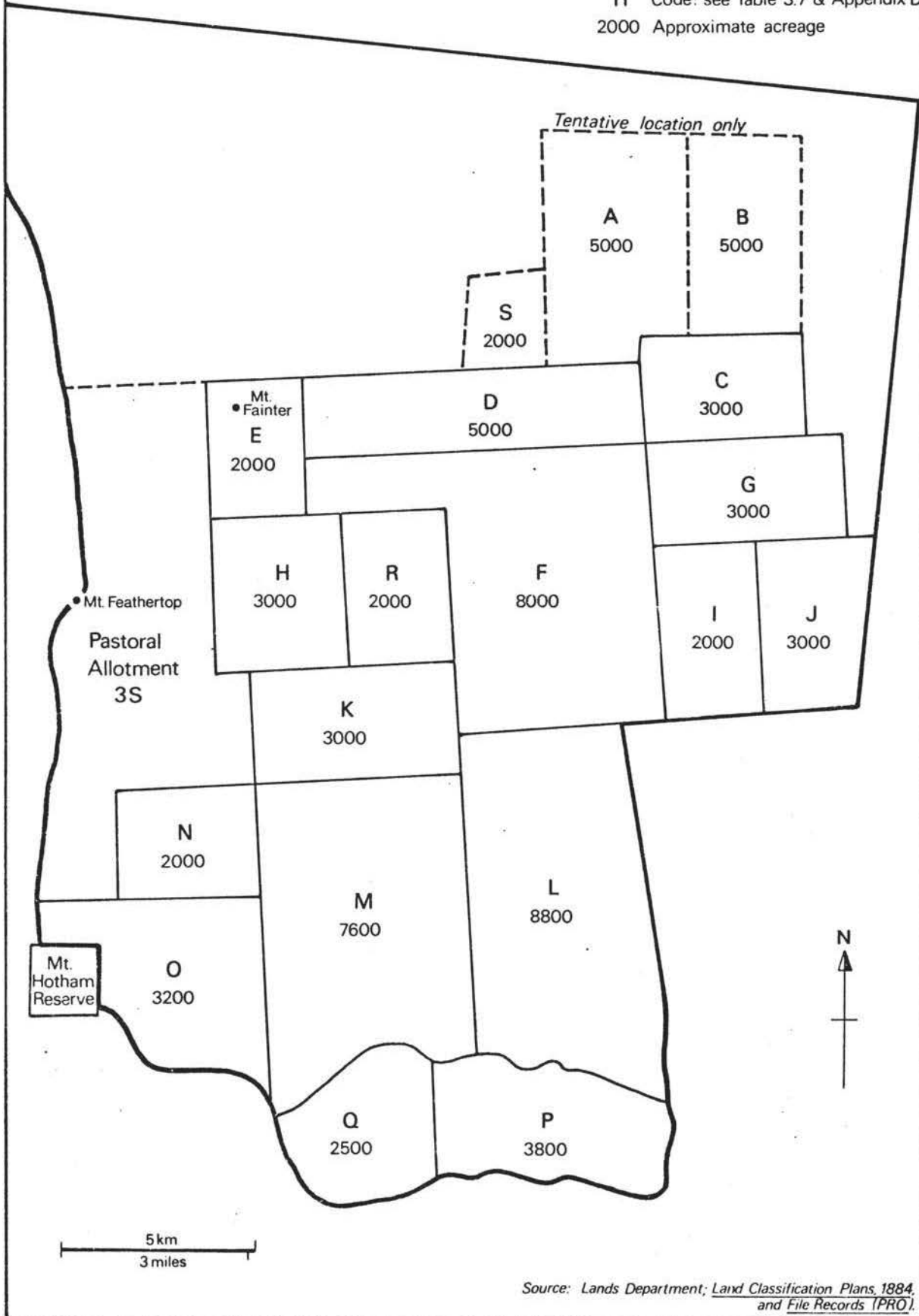
most of the snow lands were re-occupied. Section 119 was theoretically the back-up for Section 21 but in reality it became the primary method of occupation and allowed for many of the old runs to be reconstructed, often by previous pastoral tenants. The subdivision into Pastoral Allotments provided a rough beginning for apportionment of grazing lands, but consideration was also given to applicants' requests and Allotments were often pruned, reshaped or combined to suit the particular applicant. For instance, most of the snow country south of Mt. Wellington was retained by Richard Riggall of Glenfalloch Station who rented 67,000 acres, corresponding to the old Mt. Wellington run. In another case the Dargo High Plains run remained unchanged because the plains were reserved for public purposes,³² a measure which precluded leasing. Licensing, however, was still possible and the new tenants were able to acquire the run as it had been under the 1869 Land Act.

Furthermore, in the 1884 Land Act's first three years,³³ a number of Pastoral leases were changed to Section 119 licences, confirming the preference for short-term licences rather than long-term leases. And while many graziers preferred licences to leases some preferred not to pay rent at all, so large expanses of high country were grazed without tenure in the post 1884 period. The former holders of the Wonnangatta run, the Bryce family, apparently continued to use the Howitt and Snowy Plains,³⁴ although some years elapsed before they bothered to re-apply for licences. Other mountains and plateaux were genuinely unoccupied and remained so for a number of years. These included the Baw Baw plateau and some of the high mountains east of Mansfield. Eventually, in the late 1890s, enough pressure developed on the lowland pastures to force farmer-graziers into regular use of

Figure 3.3
BOGONG HIGH PLAINS GREEN AREA
Grazing Blocks, 1887

• Mt. Bogong

H Code: see Table 3.7 & Appendix D
 2000 Approximate acreage



Source: Lands Department; *Land Classification Plans, 1884, and File Records (PRO)*.

these relatively inaccessible back blocks.

- ii) Bogong High Plains Green Area. The Bogong High Plains Green Area was only available under annual grazing licence; and initially it received much closer attention from administrators than the other lands divided into Pastoral Allotments.³⁵ Nineteen applicants were offered grazing blocks (see Table 3.7.1) and of these twelve were selectors and the remainder station owners and new squatters. One would therefore think that the Bogong High Plains had been taken out of the squatters' hands. However, the cutting of the cake reveals otherwise (see Table 3.7.1). The former run holders received favourable treatment, being allowed to secure large portions of their original run country. For example, Jens Petersen and Fred Box were able to re-acquire most of the Darbalary run that fell within the Green Area; Osborne Young regained his Bundaramunjie run by combining a Section 21 lease with a large Bogong High Plains licence; T. M. Hamilton, the former licensee of the Bogong plains was given 8,000 acres which represented the pick of the plains. Once the former run holders had been accommodated, the remaining land was divided amongst the other applicants. However, to be fair, the runs allotted to selectors and other new licensees were sufficiently large and well grassed for their requirements and the main feature of the subdivision appears to have been that the immediate welfare of all interested parties had been considered.

Contrary to initial proposals, boundaries of the new grazing blocks were not surveyed when it was observed that many of the new licensees were not going to proceed with their tenure after all.³⁶ This proved to be a short-sighted decision and contri-

Table 3.7.1

Bogong High Plains Green Area
Original Licensees, 1887

Name	Class	District of Residence	Previous Access	Grazing Block	Held in 1890	Comment
O. Young	N.S.	Omeo	Yes	L	Yes	
A. Sharpe	Selector	Omeo	-	Q	Yes	Expanded holdings in later years
F. Faithful	?	Ovens	-	I	No	Forfeited 1887/8
H. Faithful	?	Ovens	-	J	No	Forfeited 1887/8
J. Gibson	Selector	Omeo	-	M	No	Forfeited 1887/8
A. Woodside & D. Farrington	S.O. S.O.	Ovens Ovens	- Yes	}	H	No Forfeited 1887/8
T. M. Hamilton	S.O.	Omeo	Yes				F	Yes
T. B. Sheean	Selector	Omeo	-	S	No	Forfeited 1887/8
A. Whyte	Selector	Omeo	-	D	No	Forfeited 1887/8
T. McNamara	Selector	Omeo	Yes	A	Yes	
S. H. Young	N.S.	Omeo	?	B	No	Given up 1888/9 Brother of O. Young
W. Hollonds	Selector	Kiewa	Yes	C	Yes	
M. Hobbs	S.O.	Kiewa	Yes	E	Yes	
P. Duane	Selector	Kiewa	-	R	Yes	
W. Wallace	Selector	Kiewa	-	G	Yes	
E. Brewer	Selector	Omeo	-	N	No	Forfeited 1887/8
J. Petersen	N.S.	Omeo	Yes	O	No	Forfeited 1887
W. Condon	Selector	Omeo	-	K	No	Forfeited 1887/8
F. Box	N.S.	Omeo	Yes	P	Yes	

				Per Head acres
Total area allotted to selectors			40,100 acres	3,300
" " " " New Squatters and Station Owners			33,800 "	4,800
Area allotted to 15 new licensees			50,100 "	3,340
" " " 4 former tenants			23,800 "	5,950

Source: Lands Dept. files for Omeo District (PRO); Government Gazettes.

Table 3.7.2
 Bogong High Plains Green Area
 New Licensees 1890-1891

Name	Class	District of Residence	Area of run acres	Previous Access	Comment
Thomas Hollonds } & J. Stewart)	Selector	Kiewa	5,000	Yes	Brother of W. Hollonds
Stewart Wallace	Selector	Kiewa	3,000	Yes	Brother of W. Wallace
J. Woodside	S.O.	Kiewa	3,000	Yes	Brother of A. Woodside
John Evans	S.O.	Ovens	13,800		

Source: Government Gazettes

buted to a number of boundary problems in later years when the high plains were more fully occupied. Many of those who discontinued their licences were selectors (see Table 3.7.1) and although some of the continuing selectors were joined in following years by members of their immediate families, this really represented a consolidation by certain family groups, such as the Hollonds, rather than an influx of new faces. Moreover, in lieu of a demand for Bogong grazing blocks large pastoralists were given the opportunity to build up large holdings. For example, in 1892 a large portion of the plains was held by John Evans from Myrhee. But, as the 1890s progressed, a levelling process did take place which largely eliminated such holdings. For various reasons discussed below, new faces began to appear on the plains, and as there was little basis for agreement on the delimitation of grazing runs,³⁷ stock were usually not confined to prescribed areas. Consequently, over a period of, say, five to seven years the Bogong High Plains came to be regarded as a common³⁸ rather than a collection of mutually exclusive grazing rights, as was the case in other regions. In such circumstances the economics of holding a number of blocks on the broad Bogong plains was suspect.

- iii) Grazing Areas. The final provision of the 1884 Land Act pertaining to high country grazing was Section 32, the Grazing Area lease. Theoretically, this provision provided enormous scope for introducing new graziers to the high country; in practice this did not work out.

The areas classified Agricultural/Grazing were generally the lower high plains with longer growing seasons and greater

Table 3.8

Occupants of Grazing Areas, 1884 Land Act
Prior to 1890

Unit	Name	Allotment	Area acres	Date taken	Occupation	Comment
Bennison	Cecil Z.Ede	2	680	1888	stockman	Dummied for his uncle, C.S.Holme of Eaglevale
Dargo	R. Gow	9	526	1888	miner, store-keeper, grazier	Revoked Jan.1894
	D. Gow, Jnr.	4	921	1886	farmer, grazier	
	D. Gow. Snr.	1	655	1886	farmer, grazier	
	David Gow	5	823	1886		Cancelled 9.9.1889
	R. Gow	2	664	1886	see above	Cancelled 9.9.1889
	R. Gunning	3	850	1886	carrier	Forfeited 1887
	A. Colles	6	993	1888	-	Forfeited by early 1890s
	H. Smith	10	982	1888	-	Forfeited by early 1890s
Hotham	E.B.Kaepfel	1	526	1889	-	Forfeited 1889
	A.V.Smith	2	690	1889	-	" "
	A. Kirkby	3	837	1889	-	" "
Cobungra	W.Petersen	32 (25 & 26)	361	1887	grazier	Son of Jens Petersen
	F. Box	44	912	1887	grazier	Darbalary run
	A.H.Sharpe	43 & 37	767	1889	storekeeper, grazier, mining inspector	
	G. Petersen	36	?	1887	miner, grazier	Son of Jens Petersen
	Wm. Sharpe	31	933	1889	store assist.	Revoked 1891
	G.M.Powney	49	420	1889	gardener, grazier	




Source: Leases & Licences Register, 1884 Land Act.

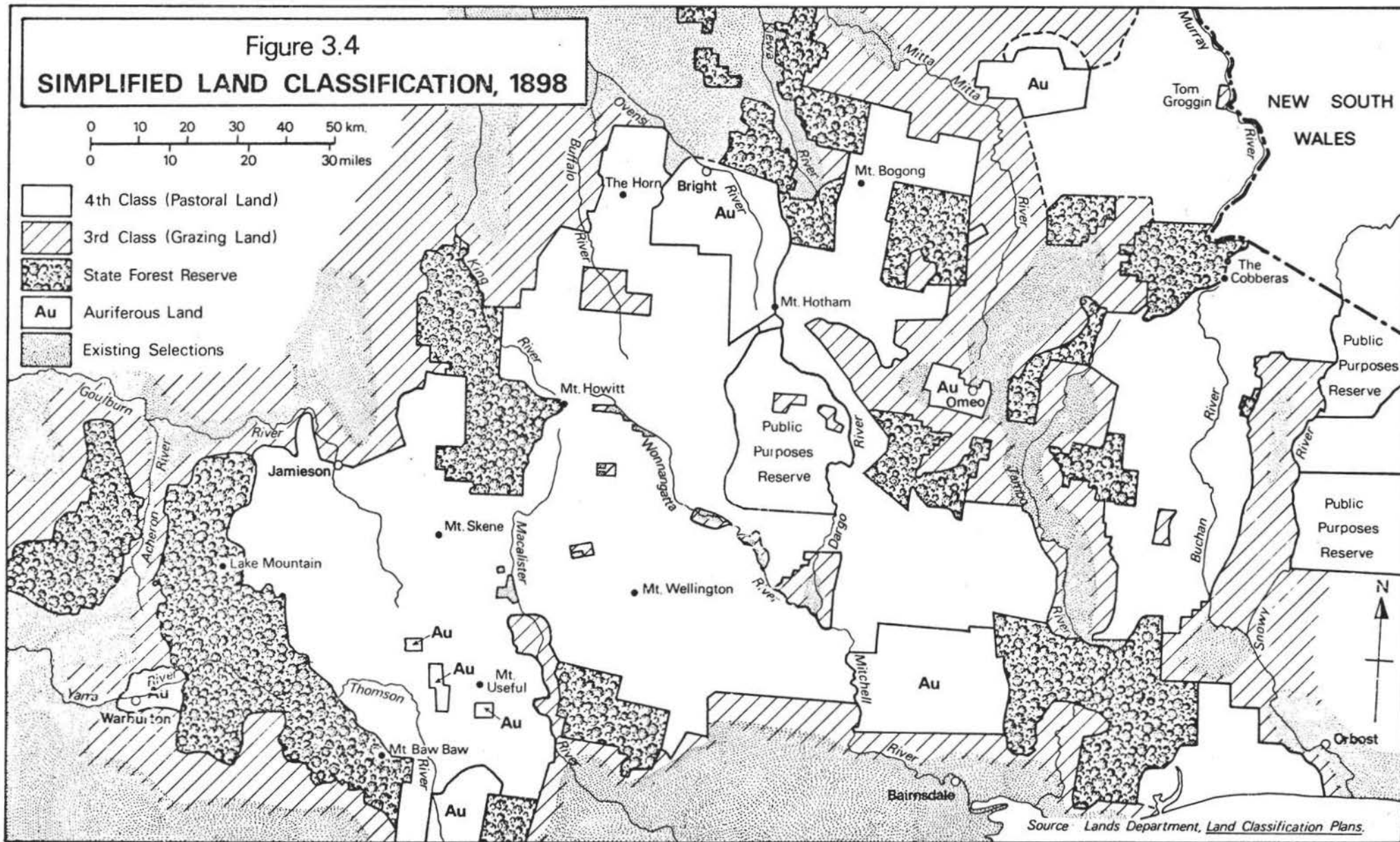
stocking capacities. However, Grazing Areas were of a relatively small size (1,000 acres), were often distant from lowland settlements, carried with them certain conditions of improvement, and were located within large mountain runs which could possibly be held by resentful or unco-operative neighbours.³⁹ Also, the area a grazier could select from a Grazing Area was strictly limited by means of a 320 acre ceiling plus a rider to account for land already selected. So for the grazier who had already selected his full quota of 320 acres, Section 32 offered merely the right to graze a relatively small area of rough and usually inaccessible country for an extended period. In some instances family groups pooled Grazing Areas, but the total area so derived could not compare with that of a Pastoral Allotment or Grazing Block. Few Grazing Areas were leased individually and independently by new graziers.

Section 32 was really a method for lowland selection that was made available in sub-alpine country without adjustments for differing characteristics. In the high country it turned out to be a means by which run holders were able to entrench themselves on their old runs and secure the central points of their operations, especially the mustering grounds and paddocks. On the Bennison plains early Grazing Areas and associated selections were taken by people dummying for C. S. Holme of Eaglevale Station and similarly Fred Box firmly secured part of his old Darbalary run by means of Section 32. On the Dargo plains the Gow family of Harrietville, who acquired a number of Grazing Areas, represented one of the more successful of the few new introductions to the high country under this section. However, they also acquired the western half of the Dargo High Plains

Figure 3.4
SIMPLIFIED LAND CLASSIFICATION, 1898

0 10 20 30 40 50 km.
0 10 20 30 miles

-  4th Class (Pastoral Land)
-  3rd Class (Grazing Land)
-  State Forest Reserve
-  Auriferous Land
-  Existing Selections



Source: Lands Department, *Land Classification Plans*.

under a Section 119 grazing licence corresponding to the former Beechers Hill run. Their improvements were located upon the Grazing Areas which became the focal point for the management of their much larger run.

Thus only a portion of the land classified as Agriculture/Grazing in the sub-alpine regions was occupied as intended. Grazing Areas were located amidst a sea of Pastoral country and the greatest interest shown in them was from the run holders within whose runs they fell.

Long Term Increase in Pastoral Occupation after 1884

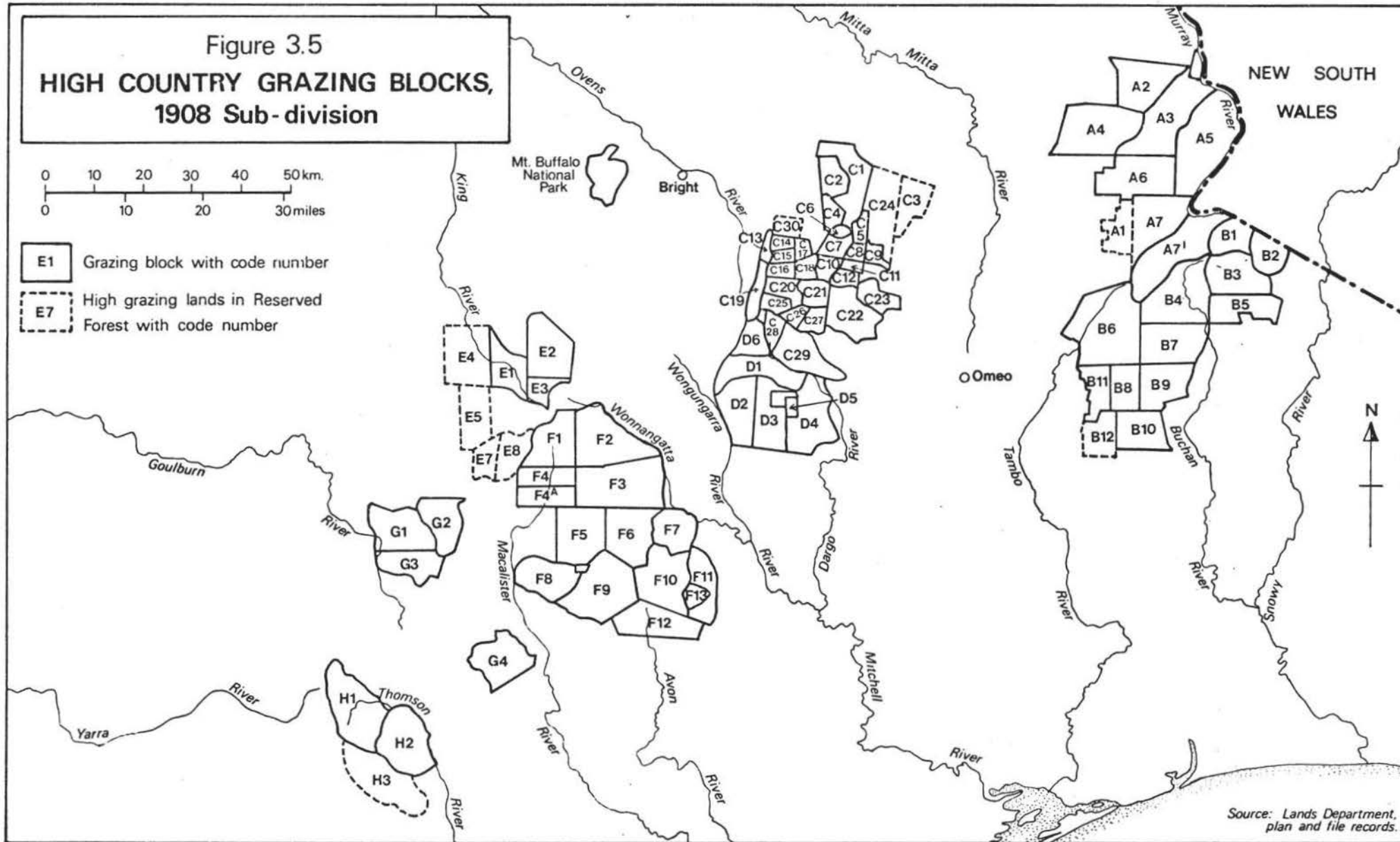
The size and composition of the high country grazing fraternity developed during the 1870s in response to: pressures generated on the lowland pastures; the impact of selection upon the squatting scene; the demand for grass as selection progressed up the main mountain river valleys; as entrenched mountain families multiplied; as mountain gold mining centres decayed and broad acre beef production became the most appropriate livelihood for remaining settlers. The effect of the 1884 Land Act was to break up old pastoral runs into smaller administrative units and thereby establish a basis for more intensive occupation. In the short term these units were re-acquired by former tenants but as time progressed new faces did appear on the scene, particularly after the mid-1890s.

The invasion and partial decimation of lowland pastures by rabbits after the late 1880s and early 1900s created a surge of interest in the relatively unaffected high country (see Chapter 4). To survive, or at least to preserve their standard of living, selectors and former squatters sought out the snow lands. Their position was similar in many respects to the early station owners whose squatting runs were depleted by selections and who resorted to the high pastures by necessity. However, practical

Figure 3.5
**HIGH COUNTRY GRAZING BLOCKS,
 1908 Sub-division**

0 10 20 30 40 50 km.
 0 10 20 30 miles

- E1 Grazing block with code number
- E7 High grazing lands in Reserved Forest with code number

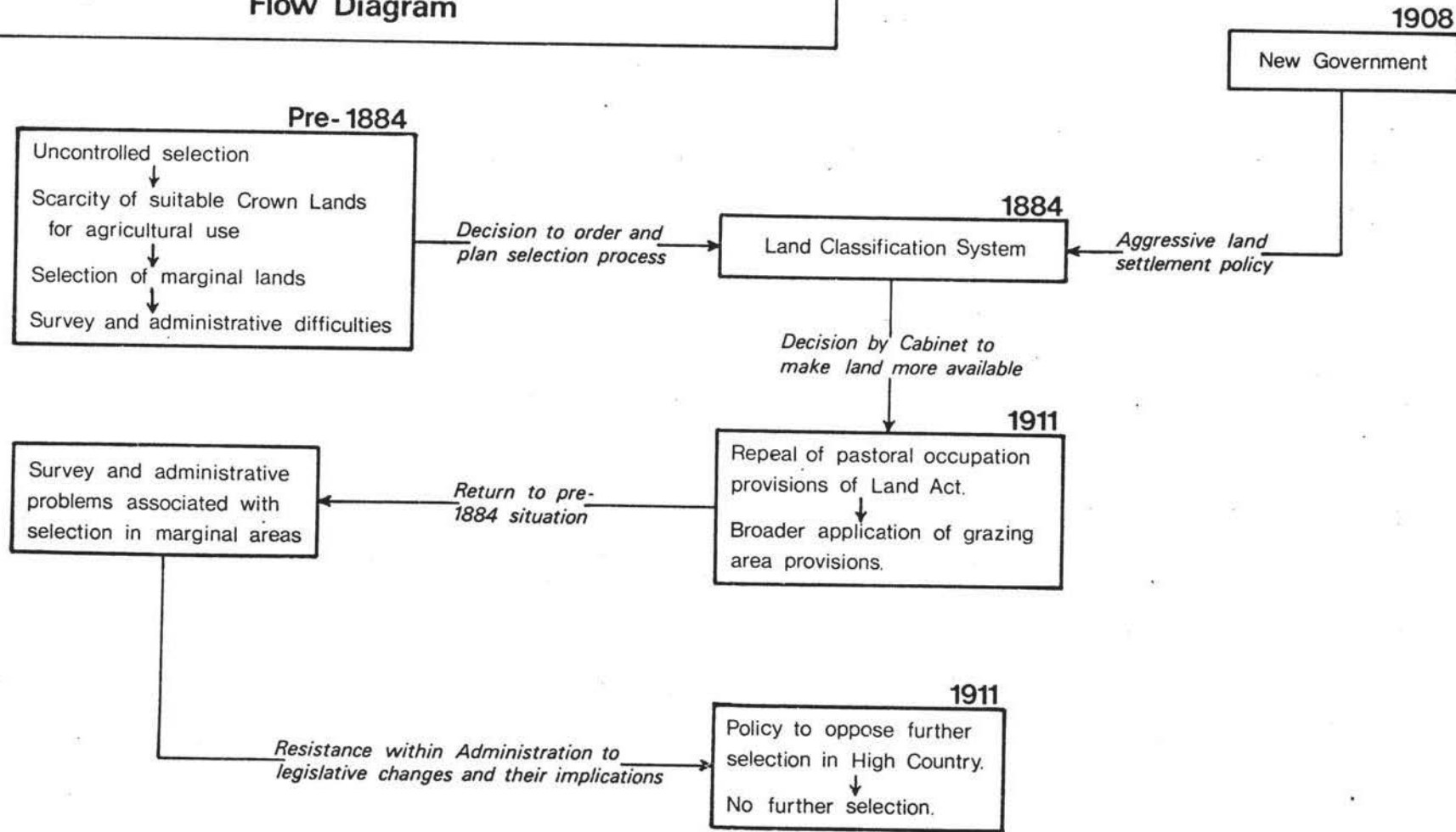


Source: Lands Department, plan and file records.

opportunity to acquire runs (many areas were already licensed) limited the spatial distribution of these graziers. They were concentrated on the Bogong High Plains and in the mountains east of Mansfield; elsewhere their representation was faint. During the late 1890s-early 1900s period, rougher and more inaccessible high areas which were previously unused were claimed along with other vacated mountain runs by large entrepreneurs as supplementary money making ventures. An example was the first recorded stocking of the Baw Baw plateau by Thomas Allen of Ten Mile, near Mansfield. Allen owned a number of hotels, grazing properties and a carting business.⁴⁰ Such business oriented occupations became quite common during the latter portion of the study period. In the late 1890s an infilling process therefore began and the number of high country graziers grew. By necessity and by opportunity more graziers began using the Alps. Established graziers retained their traditional summer pastures and new graziers also moved in and took advantage of the 1884 subdivision.

The final phase of pastoral occupation occurred with soldier re-settlement in the post-1918 era, when a substantial demand for high country runs was generated. This phase differed from preceding ones by the sheer number of new graziers it contributed and the new life it injected into the mountain grazing scene. The great post-war increase in the number of graziers was facilitated by the following factors: a tendency towards run sharing; some limited run subdivision to accommodate returned soldiers; a natural breakdown of run agglomerations during the war and pre-war period and the subsequent availability of runs after 1918. Most of the new graziers were, however, not returned soldiers, and the surge of interest in the high country cannot be directly attributed to soldier re-settlement programmes. Rather, it is likely that the explanation lies with improved economic conditions and possibly also a formalisation of some illegal occupancies that originated during the war period when there was little competitive interest in the high runs.

Figure 3.6
HIGH COUNTRY SELECTION AND GOVERNMENT POLICY
 Flow Diagram



Source: Author's Research.

The growth in occupation during the 1920s, while being substantial, was to some extent inhibited rather than facilitated by Government. This was because the grazing unit subdivision which defined the size and number of runs available had not been greatly altered since 1884 and was not reassessed in the light of new demands. There was a general review of mountain grazing blocks in 1908⁴¹ but this only represented a small and localised enlargement of the ceiling number of runs. The ceiling was not reviewed across the board after 1918 and the consequent scarcity of runs very probably inhibited and retarded what may have been an even larger post-war growth in the high country fraternity (see Figure 4.7).⁴²

Another limiting influence, probably of lesser import, was a decision within the Government Administration, after 1911, to prohibit further selection of isolated lands in the snow country. Existing Grazing Area leases were allowed to run their course but new ones were not issued. This decision was made with the knowledge of the failure of preceding settlement inducements (via Section 32 leases) in the high country and in response to new legislation which ignored this failure and aimed to promote further selection of Crown lands. The 1911 Land Act was framed by legislators who were strongly committed to populating the countryside (see Chapter 5) and in support of their objectives the statutes were altered to enable selection of Grazing Areas in lands formerly classed "Pastoral".⁴³ In effect this change opened the way, once again, for isolated and piecemeal selection, a process the Administration had considered undesirable in 1884 and to which it was still strongly opposed in the 1900s. The new internal policy thus emerged to counter the unfavourable implications of the 1911 legislation.

REFERENCES

Chapter 3

- 1 1869 L.A., Sections 63 and 67.
- 2 1869 L.A., Section 112.
- 3 Powell (1973), p.xviii.
- 4 See Register of Pastoral Licences 1875-1882 (3 volumes).
- 5 Parnaby (1951), p.1.
- 6 Through dummying and so forth. See for example Kiddle (1963).
- 7 Powell (1970); Buxton (1967).
- 8 V.P.Ds 1884, pp.1843-4.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 An example is the local legend about C. S. Holme of Eaglevale who is said to have shod his horse with solid gold shoes back in the gold days. But by the mid-1880s much of his wealth had gone and he had to mortgage his property to stay afloat.
- 11 V.P.Ds, various, 1870s and 1880s.
- 12 V.P.Ps 1879, Papers Nos. 72 & 73.
- 13 See Powell (1973).
- 14 C.L.C., p.x.
- 15 C.L.C., p.329. Questions 8040-8049.
- 16 See Chapter 5.
- 17 C.L.C., pp.329-330. Questions 8055-8058.
- 18 In some testimonies, and subsequently in the C.L.C.'s final recommendations, the Bogong High Plains were mistakenly referred to as the Dargo High Plains.
- 19 C.L.C. Questions 8329, 8379, 8464.
- 20 Powell (1969). Leasing of Crown Lands as opposed to alienation had been proposed as early as 1872 but it took a decade for the issue to receive serious attention in the houses of Parliament.
- 21 V.P.Ds 1884, vol. 46, p.810.
- 22 For example, the Otways. The Mallee Public lands were dealt with in 1883.

- 23 V.P.Ds 1884, vol. 46, p.889.
- 24 V.P.Ds 1884, vol. 45, p.510. A. L. Tucker (Minister for Lands) quoting a report by the Surveyor-General, Mr.A. J. Skene.
- 25 Ibid., p.501.
- 26 Leases were regarded as a chattel interest, licences were not.
- 27 Howitt's evidence to C.L.C., Question 8055.
- 28 See 1884 Land Classification Plans, Bogong County.
- 29 Lands Department file, Omeo I 1469, James Stirling to the Surveyor-General, 20 February 1886.
- 30 Illustrated Australian News, 16 May 1868.
- 31 See, for example, Lands Department file for Pastoral Allotment (Beechworth) Benambra 'A' (P.R.O.). This does not relate specifically to the high country but illustrates the point.
- 32 Lands Department file T 84820; Govt. Gazette 8 February 1889, p.541.
- 33 The third year has been chosen for examination as it took a number of years to institute the Act over the whole region, for all applications to be processed and for a picture to be displayed in the records.
- 34 Cabena (1975).
- 35 Lands Department file, Omeo H 49939 (P.R.O.).
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Note, it had already been managed for co-operative grazing under T. M. Hamilton who offered agistment. H. Campbell did likewise.
- 39 Lands Department file, Omeo 726/32 (P.R.O.), Richard Gow asking for a speeding up of survey arrangements so he could put on cattle without being harassed by the licensees of the run in which his Grazing Area was situated.
- 40 For further information about the Allens see Cabena (1975).
- 41 Lands Department files J/15115 and Sale H.75260.
- 42 Perusal of grazing licence files for the post 1918 period indicates that at least two to three applications were received for each grazing block advertised for tender.
- 43 See 1911 L.A. Section 2(1) which repealed provisions relating to occupation of Pastoral land. Because of this change in the high country at least land classification became an indicator of the scale of rental to be charged and of the maximum area that could be occupied as a Grazing Area and subsequently selected and alienated. It was no longer a planning instrument governing the type of tenancy appropriate for particular classes of land.

Chapter 4

USING THE HIGH COUNTRY

Growing Dependence on Mountain Grasslands

Decline of Mining

In the earliest days the high lands were not managed for grazing on a regular basis. Where altitude is comparatively low, and where approaches are gentle, cattle were able to wander between the high and low pastures according to the seasonal climatic conditions; they would find their way to the greener snow grasses during the summer and would be forced down to the lower pastures by the winter snows.¹ In other areas, where small numbers of stock were placed on high lands to demonstrate ownership, the high country was functionally independent of the runs. Cattle were often left to fend for themselves and in the absence of regular human contact soon became wild.

Regular and widespread utilisation of the high country followed the discovery of gold and the establishment of mountain mining centres. Butchers on the goldfields sought fat cattle for slaughtering and nearby graziers geared themselves to meet this demand. Those graziers with access to high pastures were often able to produce fats as their cattle could be kept on green feed for most of the year and came off the tops in better condition than stock that had spent the summer season in the drier, forested hill country. They generally sold two to three year olds, retaining some of the cows for breeding and milking. Dairy products were also sold to the miners and for this reason shorthorns - a multi-purpose breed - were the most appropriate stock to carry.

As time went by, the original mountain squatters east of Omeo, the Pendergasts and O'Rourkes, began to rely more heavily upon the high country

as their runs were divided amongst their descendants, and new squatters tended also to rely more upon the high lands for their income as the mountain mining industry crumbled away and with it the ancillary services that many of them had provided. The same process of gradually increasing reliance was evident amongst selectors who began to use the high country at a later date under the provisions of the 1884 Land Act.

Advancement of Settlement

Early selectors using the mountain range were often extended families who pooled their selection capabilities and worked on a partnership basis. To them the runs initially provided an opportunity to broaden their economic base, but recession in the mid-1890s, further decline in mining activity,² and the subsequent rabbit plague, pushed them towards a condition of dependency. As an example, the Doyle family, comprising three brothers, their spouses and three sisters, selected at Bindi in 1877 and concentrated on producing grain, potatoes, wool and milk for local consumers and the Bairnsdale market.³ The Nunnet grazing run, a tract of low altitude snow country, was used for growing beef cattle,⁴ and provided an additional string to their bow. They also had bullock teams carting goods between Omeo and Bairnsdale and a stock and station agency in Omeo.⁵ However, by the turn of the century the agency had folded up and rabbits had reduced the productive capacity of the lowland selections to such an extent that part of the family was obliged to take the dairy herd up to Nunnett for the summer period (see below).

In other cases, gold miners who had taken out selections broadened their interests by occupying available high lands for grazing. Similarly, stockmen and other employed farm hands looked to the high country in association with low bush runs or small selections to supplement their incomes. Their reliance upon the uplands increased as mining activity in the mountain region subsided, and because these people only began with



PLATE XVII

A MOUNTAIN ENCLAVE: TYPICAL OF THE LOWLAND COUNTRY OCCUPIED BY NEW SQUATTERS -
BEVERIDGES STATION, BUCKLAND RIVER (Author 1977)

small numbers of stock, they tended to work in co-operation with others.

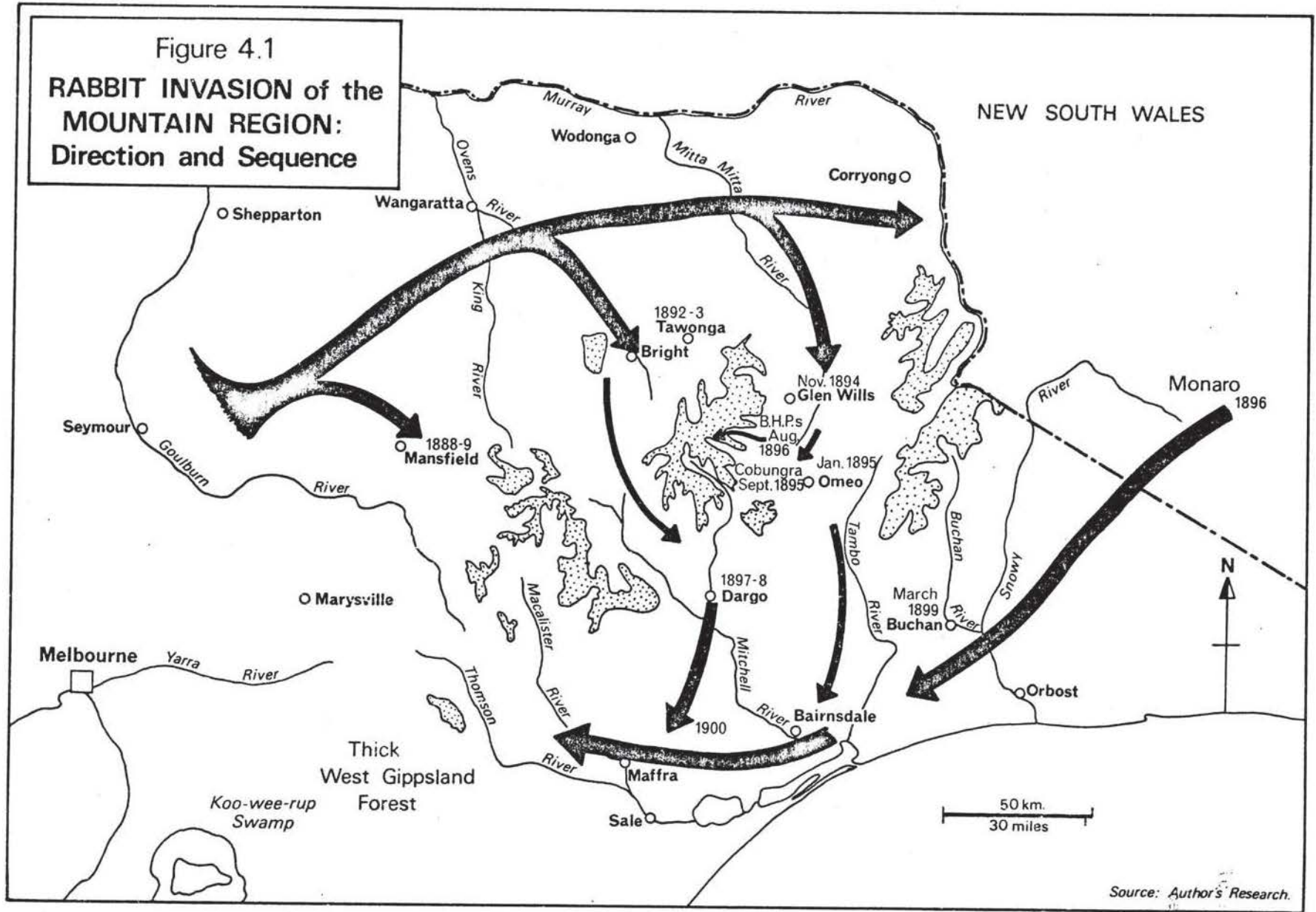
The distribution of runs held by early selectors was related to the availability of unoccupied snow country and the type of primary industry undertaken on the adjoining low country. The larger selecting families were located in the Omeo district where broad acres had been opened for selection in the late 1870s, and east of here some high areas were available for grazing. Elsewhere, where opportunities for selecting close to the high country were limited by the broken nature of the countryside, the available high runs were used by stockmen and miners seeking supplementary income.

These new part-time mountain graziers joined the new squatters and station owners during the 1880s and early to mid-1890s and contributed to a relatively slow but steady growth in the distribution and intensity of high country grazing; stocking rates increased as graziers became more dependent upon the high pastures for their livelihood. These increases occurred gradually during the 1870s and for a decade after the introduction of the 1884 Land Act. But in the late 1890s there was a surge of interest which added to the volume of stock and number of graziers using the high country. Rabbit infestations were responsible for this surge.

The Rabbit Plague

The decline of mining was a gradual process which operated over a number of decades, slowly squeezing farmers and others into beef growing. But the infestation of the low country lands by rabbits was dramatic and forced graziers to search for quick solutions to the sudden shortage of fodder. The threat posed by rabbits had been recognised before the 1884 Land Act was formulated, but the intention of the Bill to encourage occupation as a solution to the infestation of Crown lands was amiss; farmers had an uphill battle keeping the rodents off their selection paddocks, let alone the broad acre runs.

Figure 4.1
**RABBIT INVASION of the MOUNTAIN REGION:
 Direction and Sequence**



Source: Author's Research.

Rabbits spread through the mountain region in a clockwise and centripetal manner; problem numbers were experienced in the Mansfield district in the late 1880s⁶ and finally reached North Gippsland at the turn of the century;⁷ a minor path of infestation was in a southerly direction from Monaro to East Gippsland. The explanation for this phenomenon may possibly be attributed to major points of liberation in the Port Phillip region, and the thick forests and swampy lands of West Gippsland which would not have provided ideal habitats for the pests and may therefore have retarded their movement eastwards. Instead, the rabbits, like the early squatters, spread throughout the good grasslands before tackling the poorer pastures of the mountain forests.

The intensity and severity of the problem is indicated by the following report of control measures undertaken by station owner and high country grazier, J. C. H. Graves of Mansfield, in 1895, six years after rabbits invaded his property:

J. C. H. Graves informs us that he had 13 men working to destroy rabbits at Mt. Battery station proper (1200 acres) and in five weeks had dug out 11,000 rabbits, not counting those fumigated in their burrows ... the 1200 acres were poisoned six times this year before Graves started the men digging out.⁹

The impact of the rabbit plague upon farmers and graziers was obviously enormous. The productivity of their lands was reduced markedly and in attempting to control the pest valuable capital was used up. Moreover, financial problems thus caused were accentuated because, in most cases, rabbit infestation coincided with, or followed closely upon the heels of, economic recession. Consequently the viability of many grazing enterprises came into question.¹⁰

Cold, snowbound winter conditions precluded rabbit infestations of all but some of the lower altitude snow country so the high range became infinitely more valuable for grazing. Existing run holders became even more dependent on it and new graziers took possession of the remaining available tracts for permanent "rabbit relief" summer grazing. The latter



MR. T. M. HAMILTON.

PLATE XVIII

THOMAS HAMILTON: OWNER OF ENSAY STATION
AND LICENSEE OF THE BOGONG HIGH PLAINS (SLV)

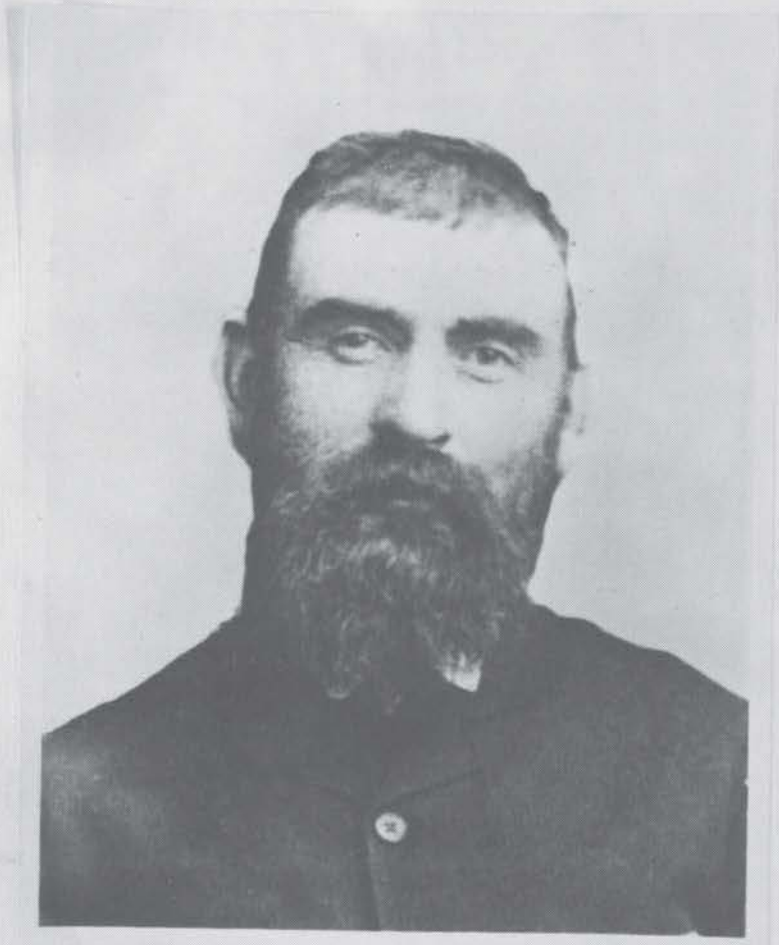
group were concentrated on the Bogong High Plains, because of its unofficial status as a common, and the high mountains east and south-east of Mansfield which had not previously been fully occupied. Elsewhere there was little scope for new pastoralists because most grazing blocks had been licensed and the Administration was not responsive enough to effect a finer sub-division.

Methods of Beef Growing

Breeding

Breeding, as opposed to buying, was the original and most widespread method of beef growing in the high country. But just how the breeders used the mountain pastures varied according to their dependence upon them and this, of course, varied with the type of grazier.

Station owners such as T. M. Hamilton, who had many acres of improved lowland, used the high plains mainly for summer relief when the home paddocks were parched.¹¹ The need for additional summer grass fluctuated by the year. For example, in 1885/86 cattle from Ensay Station were grazed on the Bogong High Plains from early December to late May,¹² while in 1895 stock were only grazed there from February to late April.¹³ Hamilton normally stocked the high plains with young cattle, representing a minor proportion of his total beef herd: in 1885/86 only 302 of Ensay's 2,000 stock (approximately one seventh) were depastured on the high plains¹⁴ and in 1895 only 380 out of 3,500 (approximately one tenth) were so depastured. The Bogong plains were actually only peripheral to the overall operations of Ensay, which was primarily a sheep station, and in the early 1890s carried upwards of 50,000 merinos.¹⁶ None of these sheep were taken to the high plains. Moreover, Thomas Hamilton had little to do with the runs himself and engaged Osborne Young, new squatter and fellow high plains licensee, to manage his Bogong run.¹⁷ Station owners in other districts who had similar arrangements included J. C. H. Graves



Cr. Osborne Young

PLATE XIX

**OSBORNE YOUNG: NEW SQUATTER, HORSE BREEDER
BOGONG HIGH PLAINS LICENSEE
(Shire of Oneo)**

(Mt. Battery Station and the upper King River country)¹⁸ and Charles Abrahm (Tawonga Station and Bogong High Plains).¹⁹

To most mountain graziers, however, the high country meant more than just summer relief and in many cases, especially after the coming of the rabbit, it was the prime country. Normally it was used in conjunction with low bush runs and cleared paddocks of unimproved pasture which carried the herd through till the winter snows melted. Where possible the young stock were wintered in the bush with the breeders being kept on the cleared paddocks. Graziers who had enough good country were able to retain the bulls and other valued stock at the home property all year round, moving the young bush stock and later the cows and calves to the tops for summer. Petersen Brothers from Omeo and the Gibsons from Benambra were amongst those who operated in this way. But smaller graziers who relied almost entirely upon licensed Crown lands often had to move all their stock to the high plains where calving, branding and joining were carried out. Fencing was employed, for example, on the Dargo High Plains by the Gow and Treasure families. Unfortunately, on the Bogong plains, where the location of grazing block boundaries was open to debate, few fencing works were undertaken so breeding activities could not be controlled satisfactorily, to the disadvantage of all licensees.²⁰ Nevertheless, the quality of high plains cattle was remarkably good throughout the region, and when marketed, at three and five years old, they were well sought after by fatteners.

In the early years when cattle were sold at local mining centres for slaughtering, quality would not have been a real issue in the face of scarcity. But as the local demand for fats contracted throughout the 1880s and 1890s and graziers had to sell store cattle in a more competitive market environment, the quality of herds improved and the high country became renowned for the class and quick fattening properties of its stock. Noted cattle man, Sir Sidney Kidman, referred to the mountain



PLATE XX

HEREFORD COW ON THE BOGONG HIGH PLAINS
(Author 1979)

grown Herefords of Gibson Brothers, Benambra, as the best line of Herefords he had ever seen.²¹

As the market changed so did the breed of cattle. Herefords became popular as the emphasis on beef production developed and by the early 1900s they were the predominant breed throughout the mountain region. They were regarded as specialist beef cattle and more able to handle the cold alpine conditions than shorthorns. Station owners and the larger scale new squatters had been producing for the large store markets early in the piece²² and undoubtedly they set the pace in choosing Herefords. However, other breeds had their stalwarts, hence Red Polls owned by J. C. H. Graves were often found in the upper King River area prior to the 1920s²³ and cattle emanating from Ensay Station were normally short-horns.²⁴

Dealing

While alpine beef growing was basically characterised by cattle breeding, at times, and in some localities, the purchasing and growing of young stock was more common. Of course at opportune times in dry years run holders throughout the region would acquire small numbers of cheap stock and hold them in anticipation of higher autumn prices. But such speculation was conducted on a relatively low level.

In the 19th century large scale speculative transactions were the realm of a few large station owners who had their fingers on the livestock pulse of Victoria and other colonies, particularly New South Wales and Queensland. Advice given to T. M. Hamilton in 1883 indicates that the Bogong High Plains were used for sizable sheep transactions by Ensay Station from 1875 to the early 1880s; in the following quotation the probable mode of operation is described and its inter-regional aspect underlined:

I see you have given up the idea of buying sheep for the top or high plain country. Owing to the shortness of grass in Riverina it

Table 4.1

Dealers in the High Country, 1900-1920

Name	District	Area Used	Date
W. Hoskin & li. Dale	Mansfield	Mt. Skene-Mt. Sunday	1930 →
F. Klingsporn and family	Mansfield	Mt. Buller, King Billy Upper King	early 1900s →
J. Barclay and J. Bullock	Mansfield	The Bluff	1909-1914
W.F. & G. Lovick	Mansfield	Mt. Cobbler and Upper King	1903 →
J. Lovick	Mansfield	Mt. Buller	1919 →
Phillips & Ritchie → Wonnangatta Syndicate	Mansfield	Howitt and Bryce Plains	1914-1934
J. Lawler	Ovens	Hotham & Bogong High Plains	mid-1890s- 1909
P. McCoy	Omeo	Nunniong	1910 →
P. Duane	Ovens	Bogong High Plains	1890s-1920s
J. Lewis	Ovens (Moyhu)	Mt. Cobbler	mid-1890s- 1902

Source: Personal Communication (various) - see Bibliography

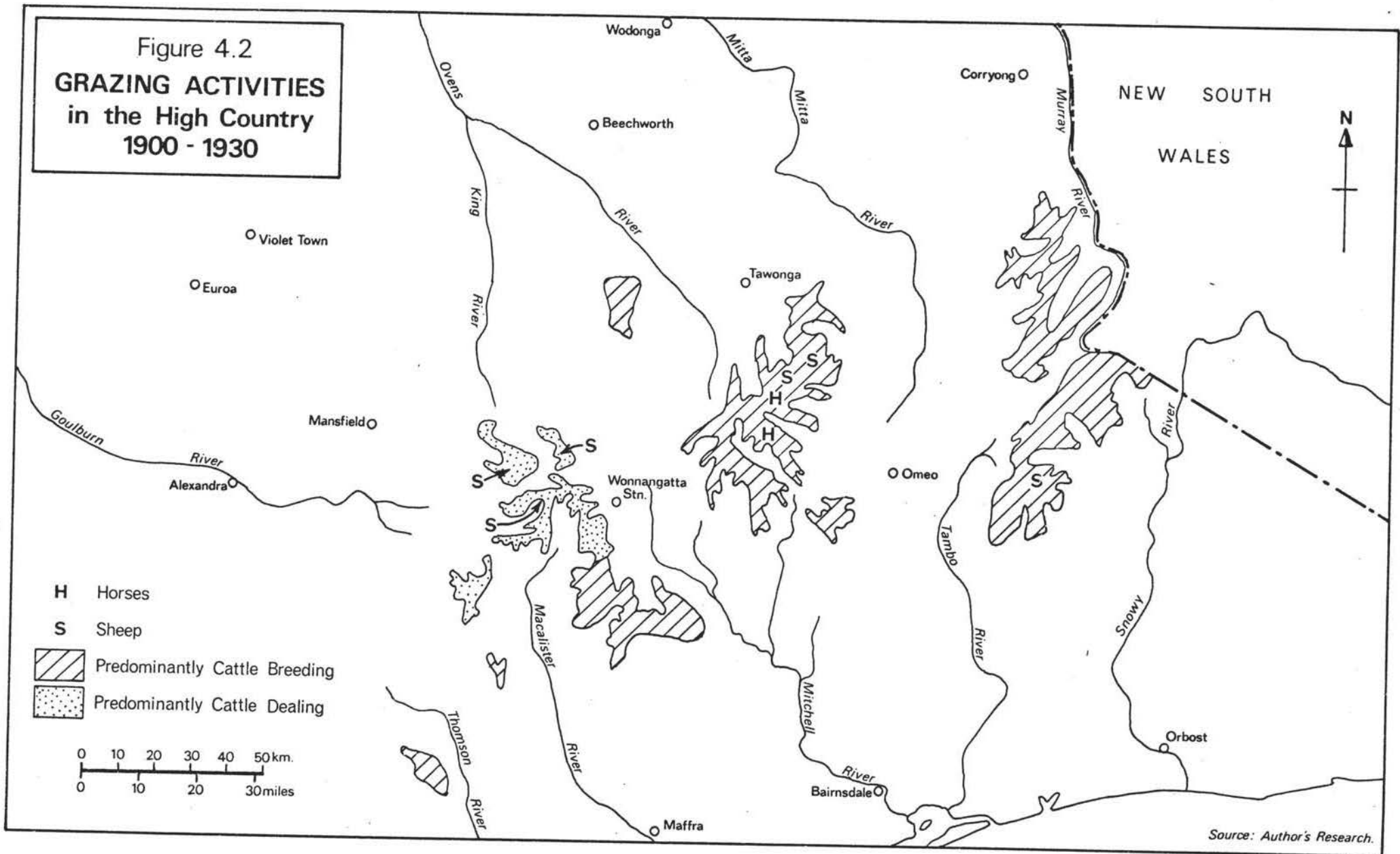
would be a very good season to buy in Manaroo as that is partly their outlet and prices will certainly be low. I think you are doing wrong not to try 400 or 500. You cannot but make money out of them. It is only a question of how much ... aged wethers would suit best ... However I will not try to persuade you against your will. Store bullocks have not been selling quite so well lately but will get better later on I suppose.²⁵

Monaro sheep were considered the most appropriate as they came from a cold environment and would not be adversely affected by the climatic fluctuations of the Bogongs. Hamilton decided against buying sheep but he did choose to dabble in cattle on a small scale, though apparently with some difficulties. For example, in January 1891 he purchased 480 shorthorn bullocks at the Wodonga saleyards and had them driven to paddocks on the Cobungra High Plains being sublet from A. H. Sharpe. By April the cold conditions were adversely affecting the stock which had been bred in Queensland and were unable to acclimatise.²⁶ This exposé indicates that Hamilton was not familiar with the mechanics of large scale stock speculation and there is no record of him buying on a large or continuing basis.

There were undoubtedly other isolated high country graziers, primarily station owners, who bought and sold stock in the early years but have escaped the records. Generally, however, mountain graziers were not involved because either they were not specialist pastoralists or they did not have sufficient resources.

After 1877 speculative buying of inter-colony stock was probably partially restricted by the imposition of Stock Tax which raised the ground price of livestock and so limited the opportunity of many mountain graziers to participate in buying and selling. Stock Tax was a levy placed on sheep and cattle entering Victoria and was designed to protect local breeders from inter-colony competition. It was introduced in the late 1870s to encourage land settlement and raise revenue.²⁷ It had been the practice for sheep and cattle bred in the Riverina and Queensland to be driven down to Victoria for fattening and selling at Newmarket,

Figure 4.2
GRAZING ACTIVITIES
 in the High Country
 1900 - 1930



Source: Author's Research.

Melbourne. Stock were bred on a larger scale and at a lower cost north of the Murray and could be sold in Victoria at a low price which threatened the viability of small graziers, especially those from marginal areas. The imposition of the border tax was therefore designed to lift prices and give the small man a better chance to compete. Speculative buying and selling depended upon the availability of cheap, young cattle which could be held and grown for a season or two and then resold at a higher price. It was important that purchased store cattle be cheap because of the regular losses incurred through poor acclimatisation, adverse weather and unfamiliarity with the unfenced mountain range.²⁸ Stock Tax raised the price of cattle, thereby making the option of buying and selling less attractive.

Other contributory factors at least equally as important as Stock Tax also operated to retard the development of dealing. To be successful, graziers needed to assess accurately the adaptability of stock to the cold mountain environment as well as having a good specialist knowledge of regional markets and climatic conditions. Until the early to mid-1890s the former skill was not fully evolved because regular high country grazing was still in its formative years; the latter talents were not well developed because many high country graziers were only in cattle growing on a part-time basis.

Stock Tax was abolished at Federation in 1901, about which time dealing emerged with particular spatial and structural characteristics. This was also the period in which the rabbit infestation of the whole mountain region was approaching completion and new grasslands were being sought out. Dealing was concentrated in the western sector of the Alps, generally in the Mansfield district where high pastures were still available, and was conducted by Crown tenants who were located on the mountain fringe, who had little or no paddock country, and who looked to the high country for much of their income. It was conducted on a local basis

rather than inter-regionally and was based upon growing stock rather than making a quick profit within a single season. Dealing was a means of bypassing the breeding stage for those small graziers who did not have sufficient lowlands and was favoured because young animals eat less grass than cows and calves and therefore enabled more marketable stock to be carried on the runs.

Young cattle, generally two to three year old bullocks,²⁹ were bought at spring sales in the immediate district and at nearby centres such as Wodonga and Euroa and placed straight on to the snow country until autumn. They were then mustered off the tops with the saleable three to four year olds being taken to market and the remainder depastured on lower timbered hills and valleys for winter. Roadside reserves in settled areas also provided some valuable winter pasture. Most bought stock were resold as stores after approximately 18 months, depending upon the market conditions. Dealing operations were usually conducted by extended families or partnerships as it was difficult for single small graziers to manage bush runs and conduct the buying single-handed.

A typical example of a small cattle dealing operation was that of George Hoskin and Richard Dale of Jamieson. Hoskin held land at Mitchells Creek which he worked with his brother Robert as a mixed farm up until approximately 1913, after which time he resided at Jamieson and managed the Mitchells property for cattle raising only. However, in the absence of frequent human contact cattle bred at Mitchells became increasingly difficult to handle so Hoskin teamed up with Dale and went into dealing: Dale did the buying and Hoskin and family worked the runs which comprised the old home selection, adjoining bush country and the nearby snow lands around Mt. Skene and Mt. Sunday.³⁰ Dale was an astute judge of stock and he generally bought Herefords and Shorthorns. They frequently averaged 250 - 300 head, although at times close to 400 were depastured on their runs.³¹



PLATE XXII

JAMES BARCLAY, MANAGER OF WONNANGATTA STATION, 1914-18,
PICTURED ON MT. HOWITT (I. Klingsporn)

Wombat Spur

One of the largest and most notable dealing enterprises was born in 1914 when station owners Arthur Phillips and Geoff Ritchie of Mansfield purchased Wonnangatta Station. The station was managed by Jim Barclay who did the spring buying, normally at Wodonga or in the Riverina. Stock were then walked to Wonnangatta where they were grazed on the high plains for the summer and on the broad flats of the Wonnangatta valley during the winter. Up to 300 or 400 bullocks would be bought each year and held until market prices improved. Then they were sold locally at Mansfield or Alexandra. The station would carry approximately 700 head through the winter.³²

Dealing was also carried out regularly to a limited extent in the 1920s by high country graziers based in North Gippsland, particularly the Heyfield-Maffra area. These cattlemen were basically breeders but they also bought young cattle, bred in the Omeo district, for growing on the bush and high country runs. Omeo cattle were suitable for putting in the mountains as they were used to cold climatic conditions and they were sold after two years or so, usually as stores.

Dealing, whether for growing or short-term speculative purposes, continued into the 1930s, displaying a definite concentration in the high lands east of Mansfield. Gradually it became less popular as small graziers improved the size and quality of their lowland paddocks and became more able to breed their own cattle. Breeding was regarded as desirable as it dampened the fluctuations in, and uncertainties about, profitability, by at least partially replacing the market place as the source of young stock. The Great Depression also played a role in the decline of dealing by squeezing some of the principal dealers, such as the Wonnangatta Syndicate, out of business.³³ However, limited buying and growing continued to survive in North Gippsland as a manifestation of inter-regional specialisation.



PLATE XXIII

HORSES DESTINED FOR INDIA,
PICTURED IN SALE YARDS AT AYLESFORD, 1890s (SLV)

Other Stock in the High Country

Horses

Horses were introduced to the high country by some of the earliest squatters as they were always valuable for stock work and general transport. Pioneer squatters such as the O'Rourkes are known to have run mobs of horses in the mountains³⁴ and the early occurrence of wild horses in areas such as the upper King River indicate unrecorded occupancies of squatters.³⁵ Throughout the succeeding years most pastoralists grazed at least a few horses on the tops with their cattle, but occasionally they had a serious commercial interest.

A small annual demand of approximately 2,000-3,000 head for artillery and cavalry remounts emanated from India³⁶ and from the mid-1880s to World War I this market was well served by graziers from Omeo and Gippsland, some of whom were regular contributors.³⁷ Horses were purchased by the Indian Government in India so producers or their agents were responsible for shipping to the main buying centres at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Some large Gippsland breeders sold direct to India and organised transport individually; in other cases, where graziers did not aim specifically at the Indian market, or where the number of horses they produced was small, they sold to specialist buyers who attended local sales. The most notable high country horse breeder was Osborne Young who is said to have had between 300 and 600 head running at times on the Bogong High Plains and his adjoining Bundaramunjie run.³⁸ He specialised in horses rather than cattle and sold large mobs annually at Sale; some mobs also found their way directly to Melbourne for shipping to India.³⁹

Horses presented a fundamental management difficulty when grazing the high plains: while cattle will head for the low country with the onset of snow, horses will often travel on to higher and higher ground and may ultimately perish through exposure.⁴⁰ This danger was particu-



PLATE XXIV

BRUMBIES IN A TRAP YARD NEAR MT. WELLINGTON, 1914
(I. Furcell)

larly real if mustering was delayed till late autumn. Nevertheless, wild horses originating from saddle stock or mobs bred for the local or Indian markets have been able to survive in the high country for well over a century. They are normally found on the lower and more dissected lands where winters are not so severe and where the access between snow and low lands is not difficult.

Dairy Cattle

There are only two known examples of dairying in the snow country, on the Dargo High Plains during the gold era and on the Nunnet plain after the turn of the century. Obviously the major commercial difficulty was the distance of the high plains from markets and this generally mitigated against development of the activity.

In the case of the former area, people were living on, or immediately adjoining, the high plains all year round, milking cows for their own domestic needs and for local mining residents. In the early 1890s the Treasure family milked approximately 30 cows.⁴¹ On the Nunnett plain, commercial dairying was carried out by Thomas Doyle and family for a season or two in approximately 1904/05 following disastrous rabbit infestations of their selections at Bindi, 15 km away. A hut and milking shed were constructed and about 20-35 cows were milked, with cream being transported by wooden sledge 40 kilometres to the Swifts Creek butter factory, three times weekly.⁴²

Sheep

The earliest record of sheep grazing concerns the Bogong High Plains and speculative ventures of Ensay Station during the 1870s.⁴³ But regular sheep grazing did not occur until the early 1900s when it became apparent in the Mansfield district. After shearing, young sheep intended for sale as stores were placed on the tops till autumn when they were returned to the home paddocks or sent to market. This practice was only

carried out on a small scale and was confined to the more substantial small graziers who were able to engage shepherds for the entire summer or absorb the inevitable losses which occurred without supervision. Franz Klingsporn was the principal participant, having sheep on Mt. Buller from about 1905 to 1918 and subsequently on Mt. Koonika for another few years.⁴⁴

The Bogong High Plains were also frequently used for sheep in the present century, though only in dry years when lowland paddocks became parched. Tongio Station, owned by the Johnson family, held grazing blocks after 1908⁴⁵ as insurance against dry years and supplied the greatest numbers;⁴⁶ other small graziers also grazed sheep on the high plains from time to time.

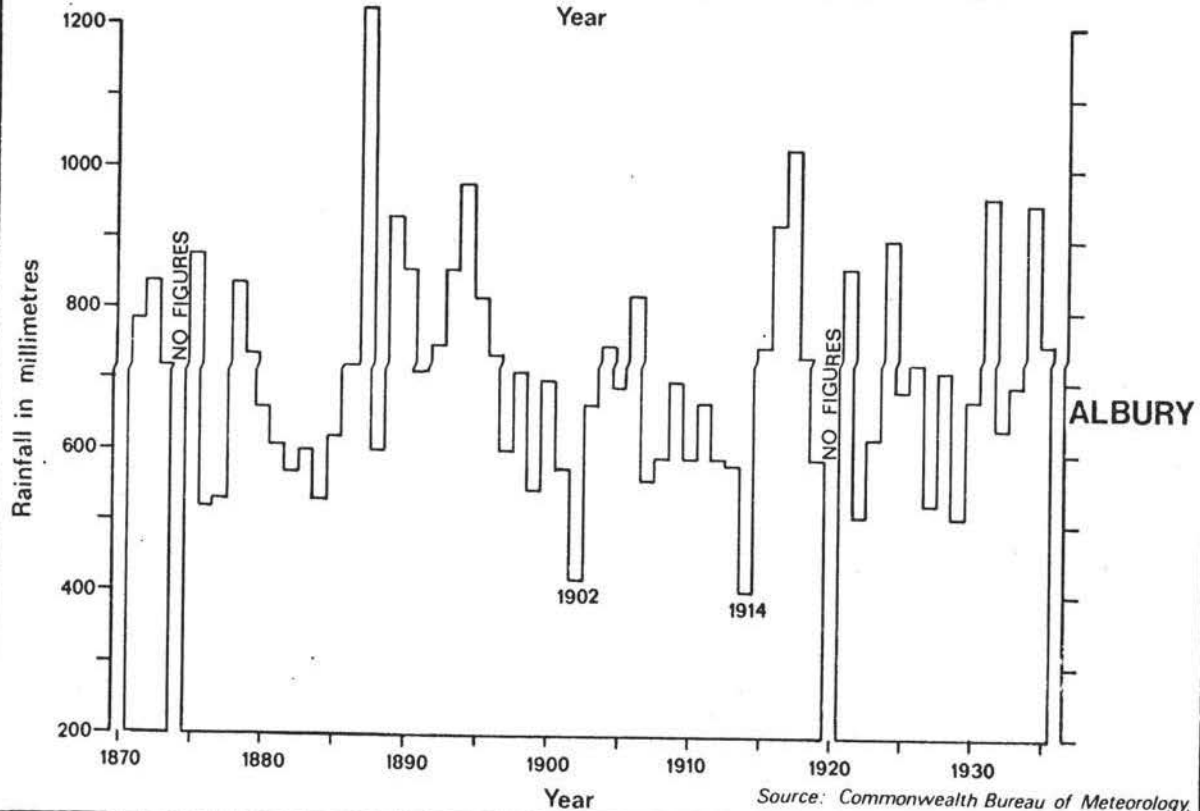
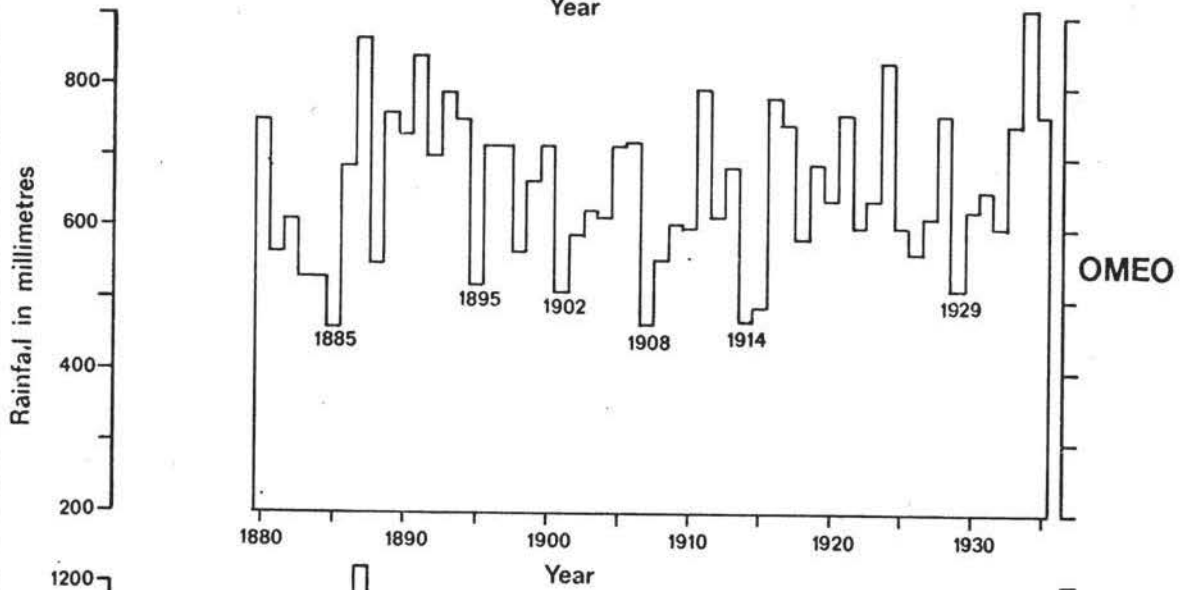
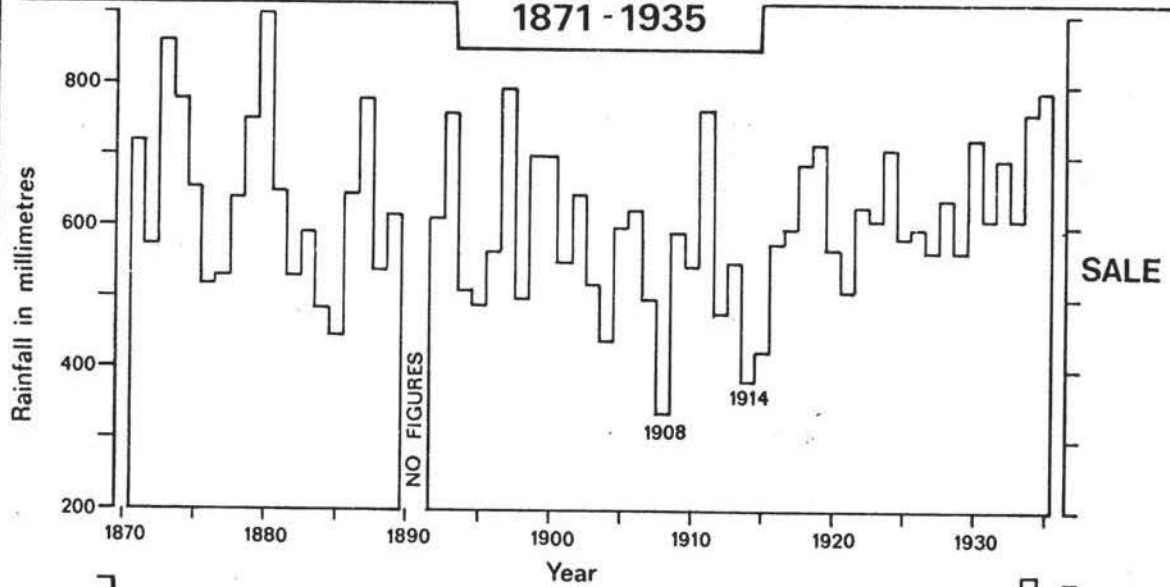
A number of practical problems ensured that high country sheep grazing did not become widespread. Dingos and wild dogs posed the greatest threat as they could easily disperse a flock and inflict casualties. Difficulties also arose when early snows preceded autumn mustering and caused serious losses or required shepherds to rescue individual sheep.⁴⁷ Scrubby country presented further problems as it complicated shepherding and provided entanglements for the sheep's wool which helped detract from their overall value. Consequently, the open plain country or bald mountain tops were the most appropriate places for sheep grazing.

In the western high country sheep grazing was discontinued after the early 1920s as prices rose and losses became less tolerable. On the other hand, the Bogong High Plains continued to be used in dry years until 1945 when depasturing of sheep thereon was prohibited.⁴⁸

Drought Relief Grazing

The volume of stock depastured in the high country each summer fluctuated from year to year in response to prevailing weather conditions. In dry years licensees would place more of their own stock on the high

Figure 4.3 ANNUAL RAINFALL FOR SALE, OMEO AND ALBURY, 1871 - 1935



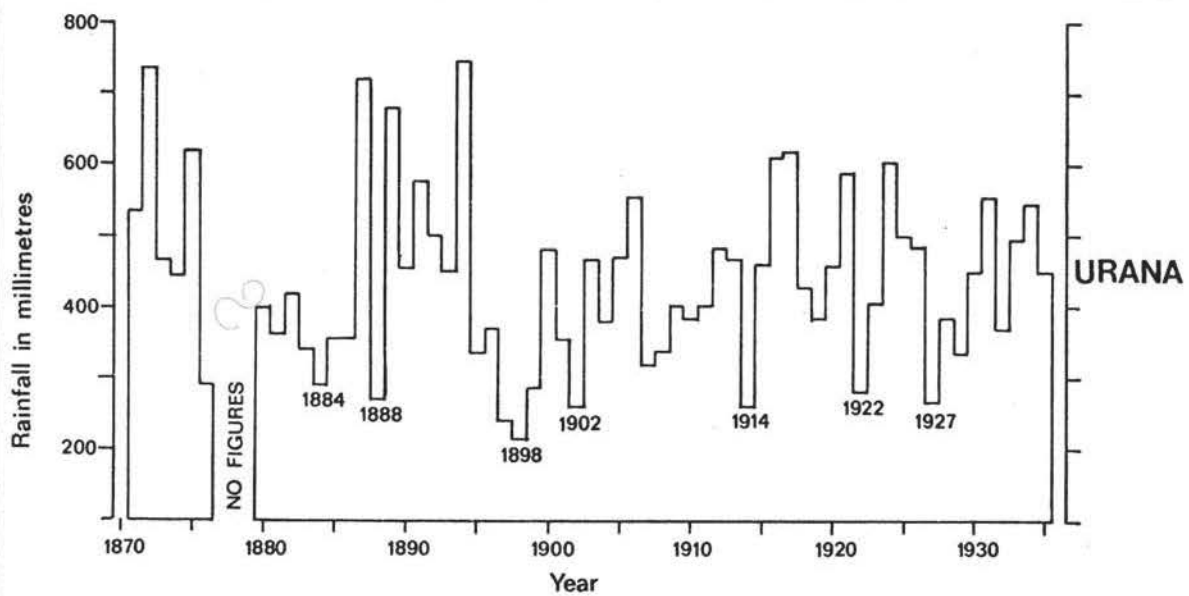
Source: Commonwealth Bureau of Meteorology.

plains and would often also accept for agistment other local stock belonging to friends or relatives, or would buy speculatively. The period and amplitude of these fluctuations depended upon the pattern and severity of drought conditions. Localised droughts resulted in comparatively gentle increases in stocking as the number of properties affected was limited and alternative agistment could be acquired in neighbouring districts. It should be noted that of the localised droughts, those affecting Omeo Shire had the greatest implications for the high country: mountain pastures bordered these lowlands in all directions and were more closely and conveniently situated than alternative paddocks in other districts.

Periodically, extremely severe and widespread droughts occurred which were of sufficient breadth and intensity to have implications throughout much of the mountain region, even though they were often not directly experienced there. Such droughts in 1884/85, 1902/03 and 1914/15 resulted in large influxes of stock from outside regions which boosted high country stocking rates exponentially, so to speak. The most attractive areas for extra-regional drought relief were the open grassy plateaux, such as the Bogong High Plains; other more wooded tracts such as the upper Buchan River were also sought out in desperate times. Figure 4.5 indicates the occurrence of extra-regional droughts and the recipient areas for starving stock.

In lean times graziers were free to tender for vacant grazing blocks and this was a means whereby some, especially the more wealthy stockowners, were able to acquire relief country. However, in dry years unoccupied blocks were soon snapped up, and, moreover, some of the most suitable high areas for relief grazing were held under broad ranging grazing licences, by only a handful of graziers. The scope for acquiring pasture in this way was therefore limited and up till the early 1900s drought relief country was largely organised directly and openly between

Figure 4.4 ANNUAL RAINFALL FOR URANA, RIVERINA DISTRICT OF NEW SOUTH WALES, 1871-1935



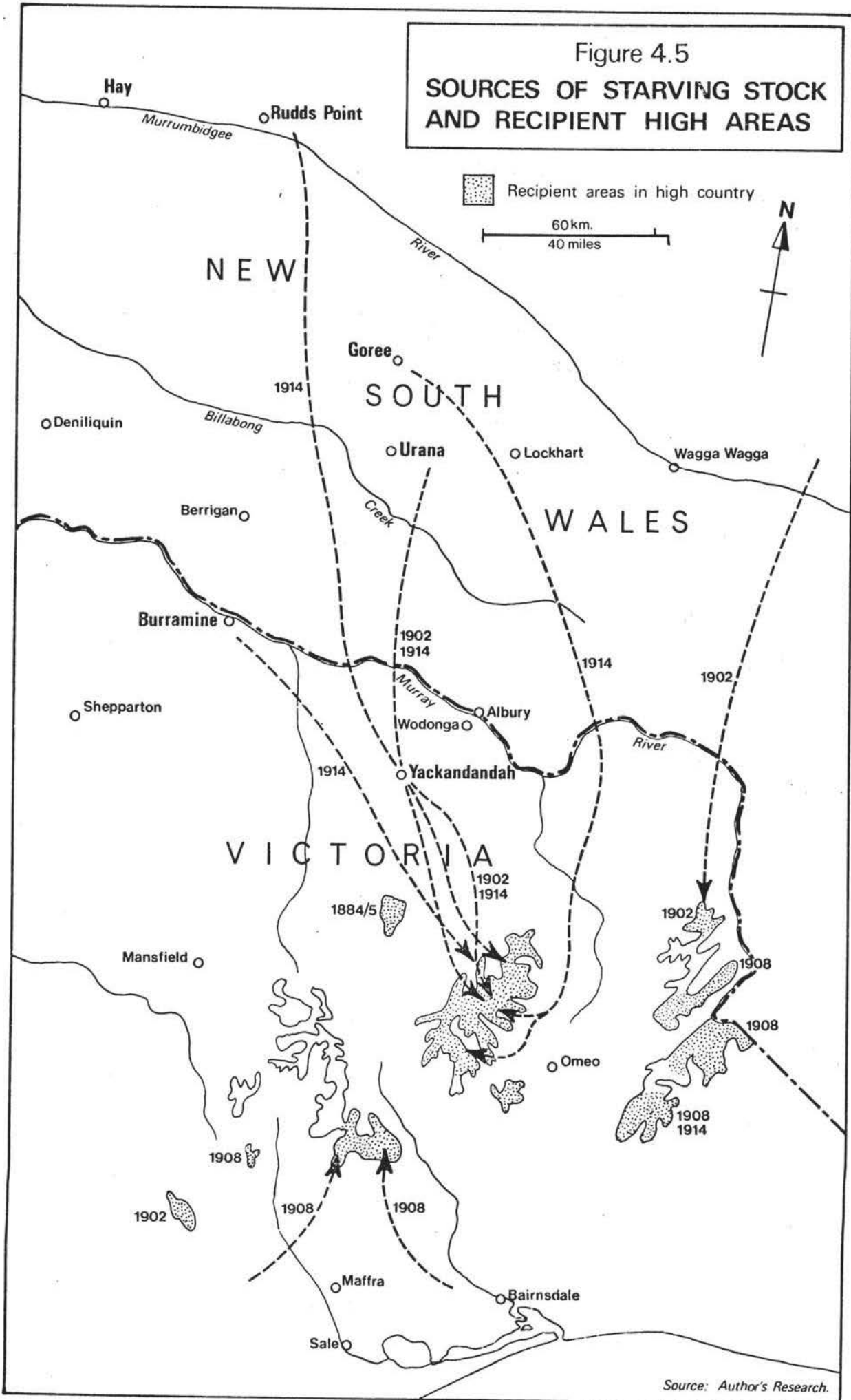
Source: Commonwealth Bureau of Meteorology.

the licensed run holder and the owner of starving stock. Commonly, the stock owner either bought the rights to a run for a specified term, or arranged agistment with the licensee. The former procedure was often required of unfamiliar extra-regional stock owners, while the latter, a more casual and flexible arrangement, was often available to neighbouring drought stricken graziers.

Following the 1902/03 drought, the Government curtailed sub-letting of licensed runs and the principle was established that all depasturing of starving stock not belonging to the licensees had to be conducted through official channels. The Lands Department was to be informed of all proposals and reserved the right to object. This bureaucratisation of procedure was brought about by a public scandal in 1903 in which the Minister for Lands resigned over accusations of unethical profiteering.⁴⁹ Sub-letting had never been officially permitted but apparently this was not widely understood and general practice was to the contrary.⁵⁰ After this date it is believed that depasturing of large mobs of starving stock would have been conducted via the Lands Department, although continual small-scale sub-letting would undoubtedly have continued to a less prominent extent at the local level.⁵¹ The Government forthwith maintained an interest in relief grazing. With further occupation of Public lands less country was available for depasturing starving stock and during acute droughts emergency arrangements were a political issue.⁵² The official ways of dealing with starving stock applications, adopted after 1903, were: to agree to a consenting licensee taking on stock without charge; to make unlicensed land available; or to issue permits for grazing on already licenced land. The first two methods were commonly practised, but the third was apparently only used during the 1914/15 drought when the Minister for Lands issued a handful of permits to agist starvers on the Bogong High Plains-Mt. Hotham area.⁵³

During localised droughts, high country grazing management

Figure 4.5
**SOURCES OF STARVING STOCK
 AND RECIPIENT HIGH AREAS**



Source: Author's Research.

remained in the hands of licensees with whom arrangements for depasturing stock were made. Authority relationships remained unchanged even though the nature and intensity of stocking, and the number of people involved, departed from the norm. For example, in the 1907/08 drought William Hollonds of Benambra arranged relief grazing for neighbours on his Tambo North run,⁵⁴ and being the organiser and overseer of this arrangement his authority in the field was not challenged. He was doing the right thing by needy neighbours and the drought stricken community benefited. Other run holders did likewise and hence the system of grazing occupancy was able to contribute positively to a crisis situation.

On the other hand, the influx of unfamiliar pastoralists from other districts, particularly the New South Wales Riverina, disturbed authority relationships during extra-regional droughts and had an unsettling effect upon the security of regular small high country graziers. These large-scale pastoralists had thousands of starving stock and were in desperate need of grass; they paid scant attention to the requirements of regular graziers and took grass where they could, either by successfully tendering for available grazing blocks or making private arrangements. Their stock flooded over many of the high plains, often with disregard for boundaries and at the expense of the regulars whose confidence in the tenure arrangements was consequently shattered.⁵⁵

The Riverina pastoralists were basically sheep men and in serious and widespread drought Victoria provided their only outlet for relief grazing.⁵⁶ The country they visited was generally the northern flank of the Alps, stretching from Mt. Buffalo to Mt. Pinnibar and centring upon the Bogong-Hotham area. The condition of their starvers was extremely poor and may help to explain their apparently ruthless desire for pasture.

A large flock of starving sheep (numbering 9,000) passed through Tallangatta ... in search of grass. The animals for the most part were shockingly emaciated and weak, their gaunt hollow frames and tottering gait exciting generally pity from people in these parts who are not calloused by familiarity with such saddening sights.

Table 4.2

Starving Stock in the High Country
During Major Droughts

Year: 1884/5Drought Area: Riverina

<u>Relief Country</u>	<u>Type of Stock</u>	<u>No. of Stock</u>	<u>Owner</u>
Buffalo Plateau	Sheep	9,000	- Cavanagh of NSW Riverina
Bogong & Hotham - Cobungra	Sheep	11,000 +	?

Comment: Estimated total of 30,000 sheep depastured in Bogong, Dargo and Hotham-Cobungra high country.

Year 1902/03Drought Area: Riverina

<u>Relief Country</u>	<u>Type of Stock</u>	<u>No. of Stock</u>	<u>Owner</u>
Hotham	Sheep	8,000	F.E.Whitehead, Urana, NSW
Bogong	Sheep	7,150	George Bell, Basin Creek, Yackandandah
"	Sheep	15,000 (possibly)	- McCulloch, NSW Riverina
"	Sheep	4,000	- Blaimey, " "
Bogong/Hotham	Sheep	2,000	}
	Cattle	300	
Baw Baw	?	?	?

Comment: Estimated total of 40,000 sheep depastured on Bogong and Hotham high country

Table 4.2 (Continued)

Year: 1908Drought Area: Gippsland & Omeo

<u>Relief Country</u>	<u>Type of Stock</u>	<u>No. of Stock</u>	<u>Owner</u>
Moroka	Sheep	?	Agisted by licensees
Nunniong	Sheep	?	Starving stock directed there by Lands Dept.
Bogong	Sheep & cattle	?	Agisted by licensees
Cobungra	" "	?	" " "

Comment: All mountains around Omeo received large numbers of local sheep and cattle. The Bogong High Plains carried 12,000 head of cattle (as well as sheep) which was approximately three times its usual number.

Year: 1914/15Drought Area: Riverina, Omeo, N.E. Victoria

<u>Relief Country</u>	<u>Type of Stock</u>	<u>No. of Stock</u>	<u>Owner</u>
Bogong	Sheep	2,000 +	George Bell, Basin Creek, Yackandandah
"	"	?	Clarke Bros., Burramine
"	"	?	J.S. McCulloch, Rudds Point, NSW
Hotham/Bogong	"	9,000	F.E. Whitehead, Urana, NSW
Hotham/Cobungra	"	1,000	Thos. Ballintine, ?
Dargo	"	2,000	R. Scott, Goree, NSW
Cobungra	"	5,000	J. C. Scott, Goree, NSW
Nunniong	"	?	?

Comment: Estimated total of 40,000 sheep depastured on Bogong and Hotham high country

Sources: A.O., O.S., Whitehead Papers, Lands Department Records, Pers. Com.

Table 4.3

F. E. Whitehead, Butherwah Station, Urana, N.S.W.

Starving Stock Arrangements, 1902

Total Number of Sheep	-	November, 1902, 24,000																				
Severity of Drought	-	Described by Whitehead as "frightful"; See Figure 4.3; preparations for moving stock to agistment were made immediately after shearing 16-25 September.																				
Relief Pasture Secured	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i) Mt. Hotham country, Pastoral Allotment 3S sub-let from J. Lawler, Freeburgh. ii) Native Dog, Pastoral Allotment 2E, apparently successfully tendered for. iii) Paddock at Omeo district, possibly on Cobungra High Plains, arranged through stock agent. 																				
Organizational Problems	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inoculation of stock at the Victorian border (Albury). Rail charges: full rates had to be paid as stock were leaving N.S.W. 																				
Number of Stock Moved	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 18,500 sheep (11,000 to Native Dog mid-October, 7,000 to Hotham in late November). 80 head of horses and several hundred head cattle to Omeo. To cut costs, 1600 sheep belonging to a neighbour at Urana, Mr. Newton, were also taken (1,000 to Hotham, 600 to Native Dog). 																				
Transport	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stock railed from Lockhart, N.S.W. to Bright, then walked to the high country. All stock at destination by December 1902. Returned to Butherwah March-April 1903. 																				
Casualties	-	500 sheep dead in snowstorm on Hotham and 700 at Native Dog																				
Cost of Operations		<table border="0" style="margin-left: 40px;"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th style="text-align: right;">£</th> <th style="text-align: right;">s.</th> <th style="text-align: right;">d.</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>- Hotham</td> <td style="text-align: right;">1521</td> <td style="text-align: right;">-</td> <td style="text-align: right;">8</td> </tr> <tr> <td>- Native Dog</td> <td style="text-align: right;">1296</td> <td style="text-align: right;">3</td> <td style="text-align: right;">7½</td> </tr> <tr> <td>- Omeo</td> <td style="text-align: right;">305</td> <td style="text-align: right;">2</td> <td style="text-align: right;">6</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right; border-top: 1px solid black;">3122</td> <td style="text-align: right; border-top: 1px solid black;">6</td> <td style="text-align: right; border-top: 1px solid black;">9½</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		£	s.	d.	- Hotham	1521	-	8	- Native Dog	1296	3	7½	- Omeo	305	2	6		3122	6	9½
	£	s.	d.																			
- Hotham	1521	-	8																			
- Native Dog	1296	3	7½																			
- Omeo	305	2	6																			
	3122	6	9½																			

Source: Whitehead Papers, SLV and Butherwah, Urana.

The stronger of the stock passed through about six hours ahead of the stragglers. Numbers of the first batch fell by the wayside; of these, some were able to get up after a short rest, while several others died where they dropped. A considerable number of the animals were young sheep - many of them had never seen grass until crossing into Victoria, having been hand fed previously - and these seemed to suffer more than the older members of the flock. The poor animals would lie down to rest, or fall from sheer weakness and fatigue and would simply be unable to rise again. When lifted up by the drovers, however, they would go along alright appearing all the better for their spell. Later on in the afternoon the stragglers came along and it was easily seen that their weary march was nearly ended. The men had a heavy job in saving numbers of sheep from drowning in the river, where they were being watered, the poor animals not having enough strength to extricate themselves from the riverside mud or to climb the bank after slaking their thirst. The tail end of the rapidly diminishing flock was indeed a pitiful sight. The sheep toiled laboriously along, too weak to respond to the rounding "yap" of the trusty dogs, which seemed to know that something was wrong and asserted their authority with a discretion and tolerance that were wonderful to behold. The faithful old stockhorse brought up the rear, bearing on his back a sad burden of dead sheep, taking no concern of their stiffened limbs dangling about his legs; the poor brute was doubtless too used to this sort of thing to offer protest. It touched the humanity in people to see thousands of poor dumb animals dying of starvation; it brought home to us living in these parts the horrors of drought and its concomitant famine.⁵⁷

Once on the high plains there was plenty of grass and water, but the sheep were still not safe; cold snaps claimed many lives, especially on the Bogong High Plains⁵⁸ and dingos were a constant source of irritation, making shepherding a necessity.

Contemporary records provide an opportunity to examine, as a case study, the arrangements made for starving stock in 1902 by F. E. Whitehead of Butherwah Station, Urana - see Table 4.3. Whitehead engaged local stockmen from the Bright and Omeo districts to assist his own shepherds on the relief country and he made only a few brief trips to the high plains to ascertain the quality of pastures and later to oversee proceedings. However, considerable time and resources were ploughed into the venture which succeeded in carrying the station's livestock through what was regarded as a "fearful" drought.⁵⁹

Drought had an obvious impact upon the level of stocking by adding sizably to the number of livestock "normally" depastured in the high country by locals. Pastoralists from the Riverina had the greatest



PLATE XXV

F. E. WHITEHEAD OF BUTHERWAH STATION, URANA, N.S.W.
(R. Whitehead)

impact as they operated on a large scale and possessed vast numbers of stock. While the absolute number of starvers contributed to the region by such persons cannot now be definitely ascertained, as an indicator it is estimated that approximately 30,000 to 40,000 starving sheep were moved to the Bogong-Mt. Hotham area during each of the three major inter-regional droughts - see Table 4.2. In the early years when the high plains were held by a handful of new squatters or station owners and were not heavily stocked, the Riverina sheepmen had little difficulty obtaining pasture and had little adverse impact upon other high country graziers. But as fuller occupation developed into the early 1900s, drought relief country became harder to acquire and sometimes friction with the small regular graziers occurred. This situation was most acute in 1914 when full occupation of popular areas had been reached and when dry conditions were also being experienced within the mountain region.

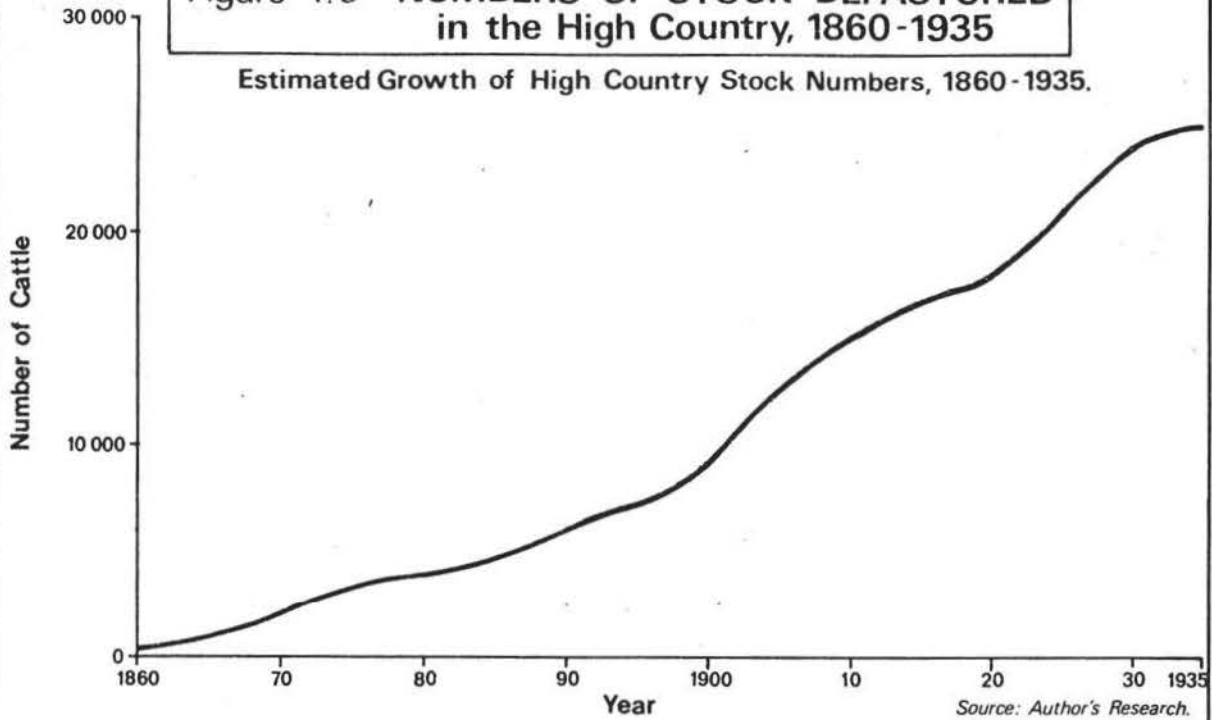
Trends in Stocking Levels

The growth in stocking the high country is believed to have roughly paralleled the various stages of occupation. Stocking was obviously lightest in the pioneering days and rose as new squatters and selectors became involved and subsequently as mining contractions and rabbit infestations forced graziers into a reliance upon the high summer pasture. Once this process of occupation and dependence had run its course, the only long term changes in stocking levels were related to the improvement or enlargement of lowland selections and the gradual expansion of breeding herds. Short term fluctuations were caused by economic, climatic, and, at a local scale, personal circumstances, and did not represent structural modifications to the general stocking levels.

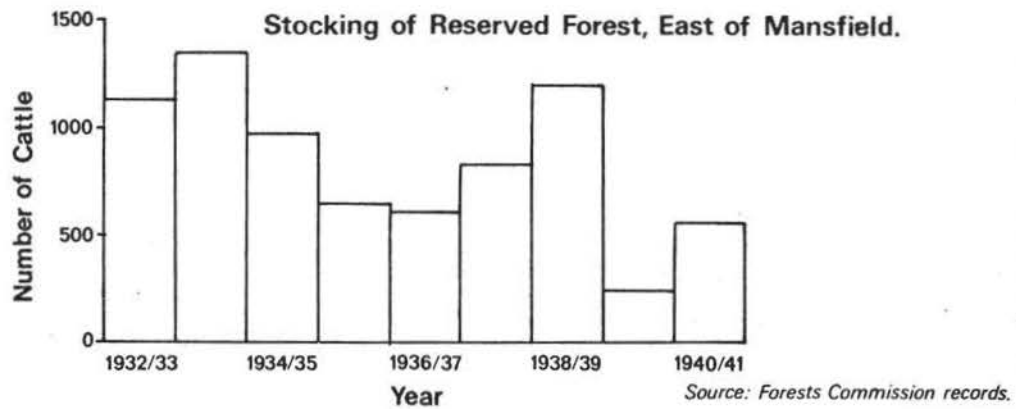
Estimating precise stockings during the above periods of occupation and for individual unit areas is a highly dubious exercise in view of the surviving statistics. Only scant records remain, but they do

Figure 4.6 NUMBERS OF STOCK DEPASTURED in the High Country, 1860-1935

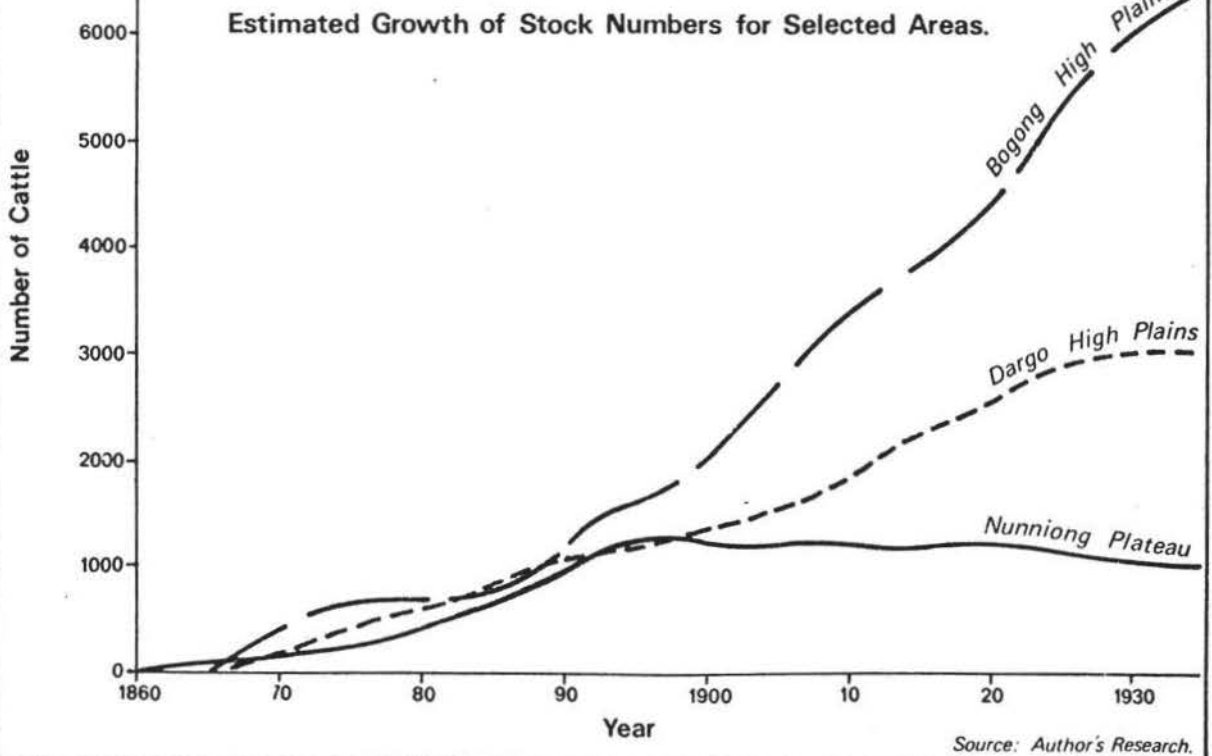
Estimated Growth of High Country Stock Numbers, 1860-1935.



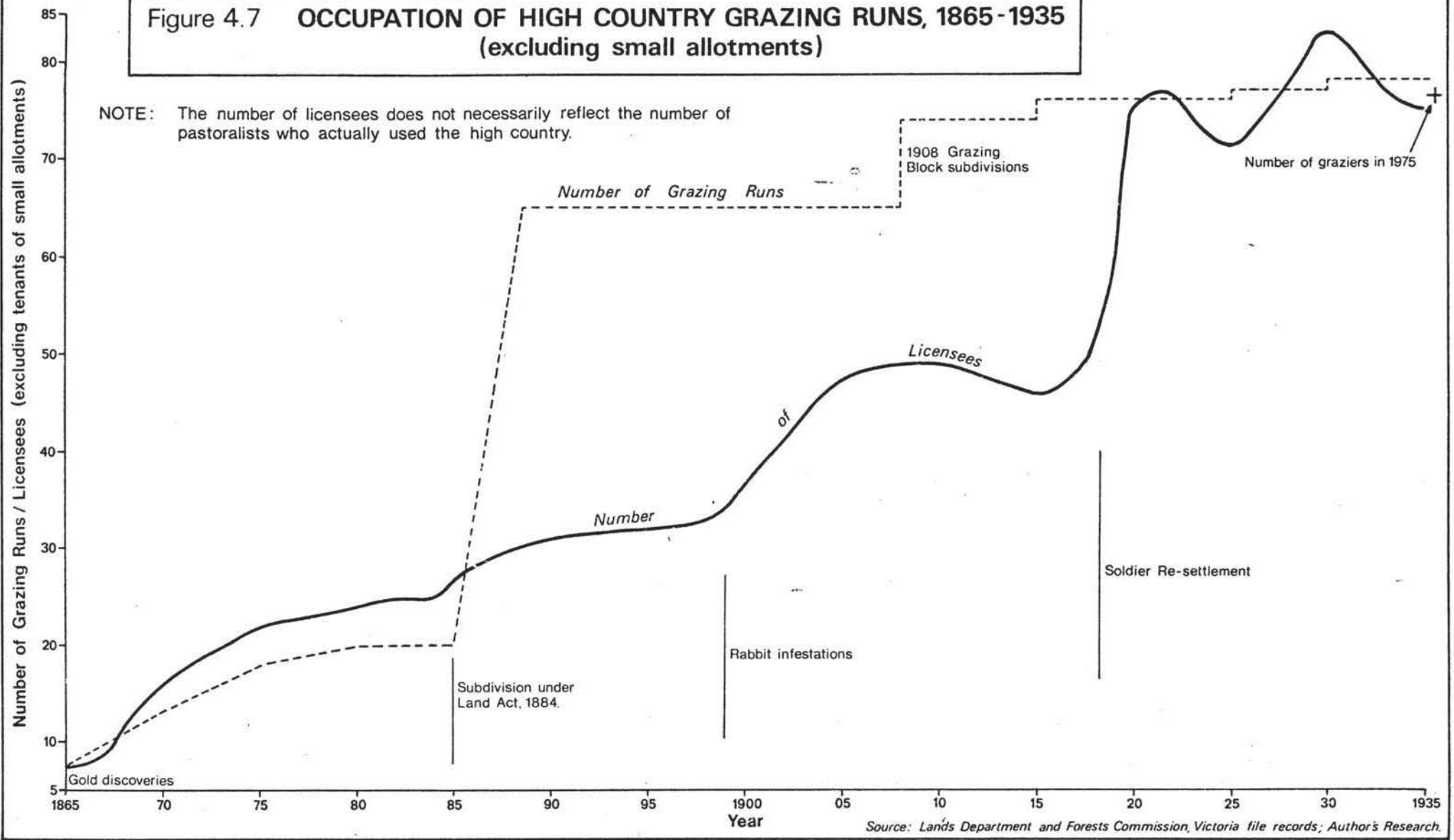
Stocking of Reserved Forest, East of Mansfield.



Estimated Growth of Stock Numbers for Selected Areas.



**Figure 4.7 OCCUPATION OF HIGH COUNTRY GRAZING RUNS, 1865-1935
(excluding small allotments)**



(Copyrighted films by federal government, authorized for sale by National Archives)

Figure 4.6. NUMBERS OF STOCK MAINTAINED
in the High Country 1900-1935

Estimated Growth of High Country Stock Numbers, 1900-1935



PLATE XXVI

STOCKMAN JIM KINLEY AT WORK
ON THE DARGO HIGH PLAINS, c.1937
(T. Bibby)

help to draw a general picture in conjunction with occupation trends. This is presented in Figure 4.7.

It is believed that during the study period regional stocking levels were greatest in the late 1920s and early 1930s although it is clear that capacity levels were reached much earlier in some areas. This is because the process of grazing occupation was not uniform over the region and tended to be more advanced in high areas adjoining mountain goldfields. Other factors also affected the changing levels of high country stocking. Rabbit infestations of lower alpine areas such as the Nunniong plateau reduced the carrying capacity and thus had a retarding influence upon the regional growth rates. On the other hand improvement of lowland pastures was a primary reason for rising stocking levels, especially after 1930 when the growth in high country occupancies had ceased. It is believed that the latter factor was responsible for continuing increases in high country stocking beyond 1935 and into the 1940s, particularly on the Bogong High Plains.

Some Common Management Features

Capital Improvements

Climatic conditions ensure that high country grazing can only be carried out for part of each year when the mountains are free of snow. During the study period, in practically all cases graziers' homesteads were located below the winter snow line and consequently there were few major capital improvements such as roads and houses that are associated with permanent human habitation. Even where the high plains were the principal pastures for small breeders, improvements were few and far between.

To some extent this situation could be seen as a product of the temporary grazing tenure system which did not allow major land improvements such as clearing or cultivation and did not guarantee compensation

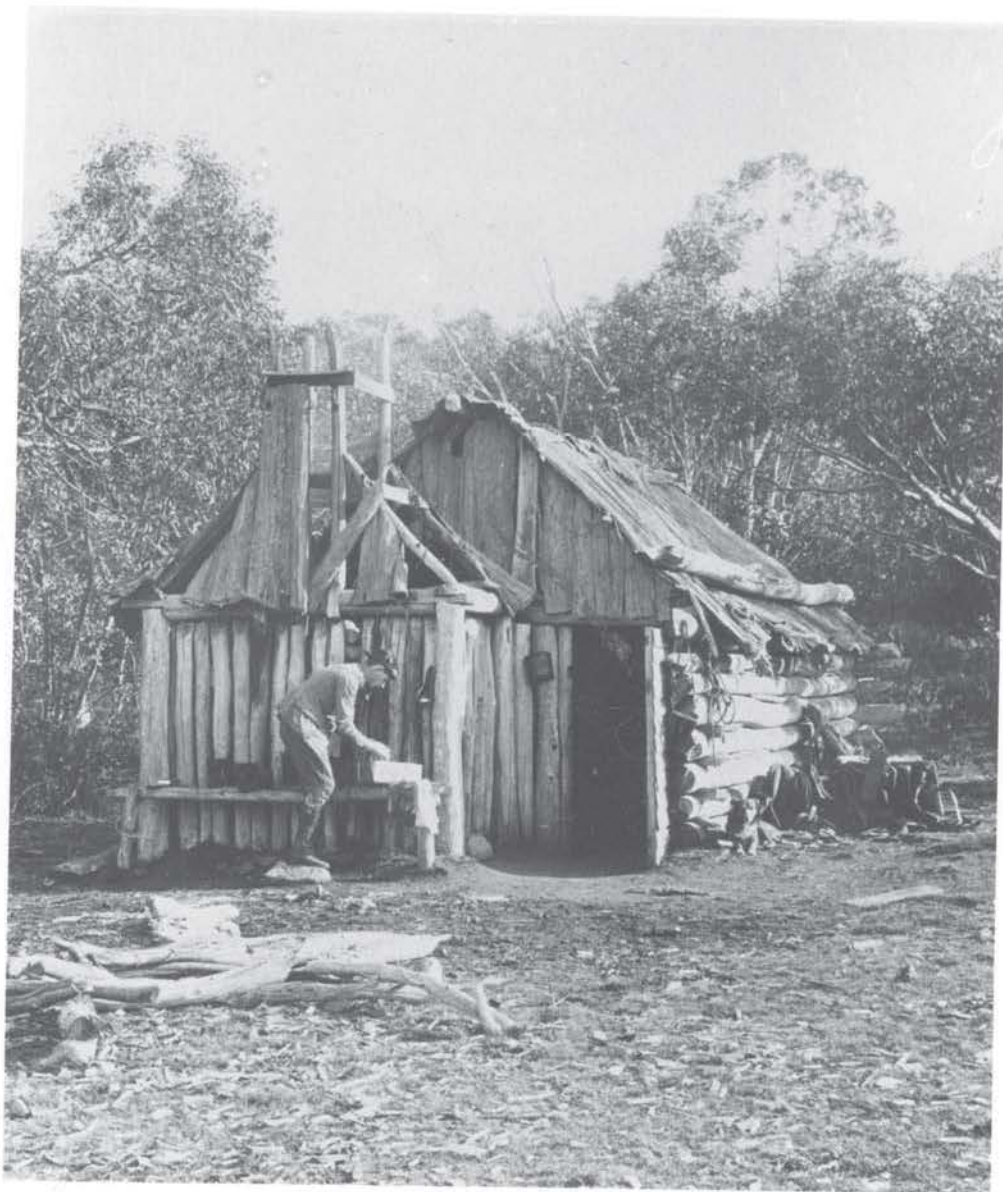


PLATE XXVII

RIGGALL'S HUT, NEAR MT. WELLINGTON, 1914
(I. Purcell)

for other minor works such as fencing if a licensee was out-tendered for his run. However, annual licences had been chosen above the leasing alternative which was provided in the 1884 Land Act and the dearth of improvements really reflected the fundamental intrinsic nature of high plains grazing - a broad acre, capital extensive activity adopted essentially to supplement lowland pastures.

Time spent in the high country by graziers varied according to the size and nature of their operations. Small cattle breeders who relied heavily upon the snow country spent the most time there, and in some cases, for example on the Bogong High Plains, men were stationed on the tops to supervise stock.⁶⁰ In other cases where young bullocks were depastured, stockmen made only short visits each two or three weeks. The overall historical time-span is also important here. Before the high lands were thoroughly known by graziers and before management practices had crystallised over the whole region, there was a higher level of labour committed to stock work, and records indicate that cattle were constantly supervised in a number of areas.⁶¹ In some such instances the runs were operated as out-stations where a stockman or two would be charged with supervision for the summer period. However, as time passed, the need for continuous supervision became less obvious and adjustments were made.

Improvements made were confined to small huts, fences and yards. Graziers who spent most time on the tops often built huts for shelter and to store equipment; where appropriate, small sections of strategically placed fencing were sometimes erected, in conjunction with topographical features such as steep slopes and cliffs, to control stock movements;⁶² yards were also used for branding or for holding cattle overnight immediately before droving back to the lowlands. Additionally, larger holding paddocks were useful at autumn time for depositing mustered stock and holding them in relatively confined spaces till the end of the summer season. However, such paddocks were not common until fencing wire became



PLATE XXVIII

OLD CATTLE YARD ON BRYCES PLAIN, SNOWY RANGE
(Author 1975)

available and made enclosure relatively easy. Subsequently they became popular in the more wooded high areas where the location and rounding up of stock was most difficult. On the more open areas like the Bogong High Plains, mustered stock could generally be retained within sight on the broad, treeless sub-alpine valleys, hence fenced paddocks were not necessary.

Prior to the 1890s, few of these minor improvements were evident. Huts and yards were built on high country selections, for example on Bryces Plain and the Cobungra High Plains, but they did not become common throughout the high country until after the rabbit-induced dependency on mountain pastures occurred. Until then, stockmen would normally camp in canvas tents and before stock were returned to the lowlands a practice known as "tailing out" was often carried out. This involved stock being shepherded by day and night to prevent them from negating the muster by wandering back to the woodlands. Tailing out was superseded by the advent of holding paddocks.

Salting

Salting was a method of stock control which was particularly useful at mustering time. As the high country soils are largely organic,⁶³ and as the streams are fed by pure winter snows, the grazing environment is salt deficient and cattle living on the high plains display a partiality towards the compound. Strategically located salt troughs or "licks" were often used by graziers to control the location of cattle on the runs, and by training them to answer to the call "Salt", or some other signal, mustering the sub-alpine woodlands was made much easier. It took a number of years to train a herd to answer so the practice was confined to breeders who used the high country on a regular basis for cows and calves. The practice was very useful where rough topography or thick vegetation made mustering on horseback and with dogs difficult.



PLATE XXIX

CATTLE CONGREGATING AT A SALT LICK, SNOWY RANGE, 1914
(I. Purcell)

Burning

Cool burning of the sub-alpine woodlands was an almost universal practice. Burning was intended to increase or maintain the carrying capacity of runs by encouraging growth of more palatable young grass shoots and by controlling the growth of scrub and heath. The practice was not necessary while stocking rates were low but it probably came into vogue once fuller occupation was reached in the 1890s.

Every three years or so fire would be put through an area. This was normally done in autumn after the stock had been mustered and, once lit, fires were left to burn. In the right conditions they would smoulder through the forest floor and eventually burn themselves out or be extinguished by inclement weather. Autumn was the most popular time as it was the safest: the chance of fires getting out of hand was least, and being followed by winter snow and rain, spring growth was guaranteed. But in some localised instances, for example on the Pinnibar plateau, spring burning was traditionally preferred to remove dead materials following from the snow season, as well as to remove scrub.

Tenure Arrangements and Run Management

In the earliest years of high country grazing, little attention was paid to obtaining tenure. Tenure was acquired only as interest developed during the gold era and often covered broad physiographic units. Subsequently the mountains were sub-divided into smaller units under the 1884 Land Act and this sub-division formed the basic framework under which full occupation took place. Licences were the most popular occupancies and were often held for long periods even though they were legally only of short term duration, being annually renewable. If interest was expressed in a run, the Administration could terminate the licence and invite tenders, and on rare occasions this did happen, producing a fear of large pastoralists amongst small graziers in some areas. In the main, however, tenants

Table 4.4

Court Cases Regarding High Country Grazing

Participants	Date	Unit	Form of Tenure	Case	Issue
R.Riggall vs. J.Mathieson	28.8.1895	Mt.Wellington	lease	Claim for damages for trespass and driving of cattle	Confusion over boundaries
J.C.H.Graves vs. W.F.Lovick	13.2.1904	Upper King	licence	Claim for damages and trespass: driving cattle across informant's land without giving notice	Imprecise boundaries
A.Dibbin vs. J.Lawler	10.3.1905 11.4.1905	Bogong High Plains	licence	Illegal impounding of cattle	Imprecise boundaries
D.Inge (Forest Officer) vs. J.Bullock	14.2.1923	Upper King	-	Unlawfully depasturing of stock on a Forest Reserve	Illegal depasturing
Doyle Bros. vs.J.O.Holstein	20.5.1896	Nunniong	lease	Trespass and damages	Disturbance of stock caused by shooting vermin on run

Source: M.C., A.O., O.S., G.M.

were not disturbed and over the years they developed a personal identity with the land and a sense of pastoral tradition, both of which tended to over-shadow the short term implications of the grazing licence concept and create and support the assumption that high country grazing was a right rather than a privilege. A corollary to this perceived right was that range management was the sole prerogative of the grazier. For much of the study period this assumption went unchallenged.

Where individual grazing blocks corresponded to physical units, or could be combined to encompass such units, runs were managed individually by their respective licensees. But where run boundaries did not correspond to identifiable physical features and were not fenced, licensees often worked with each other. The Bogong High Plains provide the classic example of co-operation in grazing management. Co-operation was important because of the fickle climate and the need to have all stock off the high plains before winter set in. Unfortunately, however, conflicts between graziers developed on occasions as a result of personality clashes, misunderstandings and so forth, and in many cases they highlighted the arbitrary and imprecise delimitation and demarcation of boundaries. Boundaries were not surveyed but were merely lines drawn on government plans and often bore little resemblance to topography. The Crown refused to take any part in disputes between tenants other than to state the legal situation as set out in the statutes.⁶⁴ Solution of differences, therefore, rested with conflicting parties or the courts (see Table 4.4). The Crown's attitude of non-involvement characterised its relationship with its tenants: the Lands Department saw its role as administering the Land Act - issuing occupancies - and any matters concerning land use which did not infringe upon this narrow field were apparently considered to be beyond the Department's interest or capabilities or resources. Consequently graziers could manage their runs virtually as they wished, short of directly removing the forest or disturbing the soil, and had absolute



PLATE XXX

HOWITT HUT ON HOWITT PLAIN, SNOWY RANGE, c.1918
(I. Klingsporn)

*or could be
Rogers.*

discretion in determining stocking rates and practising cool burning.

However, as the 20th century developed other government bodies became involved in the mountain region and some element of control over graziers' activities evolved. The Victorian Forests Commission emerged as a separate body from the Lands Department in 1908 and took an active interest in protecting the State's timber resources. The Commission was given administrative and management authority over gazetted Forest Reserves and a number of these fell within the high country (see Figure 3.4). It continued the system of annual grazing licences but looked unfavourably upon the burning practices of graziers, which were interpreted as a threat to timber resources. In an attempt to come to terms with this practice, a review of grazing licences was made in the early 1920s,⁶⁶ which created considerable disturbance amongst mountain graziers in some districts, particularly at Mansfield where the area of Reserved Forest is quite extensive. Forest officers strove to eliminate burning and were prepared to revoke occupancies to this end. Surveillance was difficult because the mountains were unroaded and firing continued to occur east of Mansfield until 1934 when the system of licensed grazing blocks was replaced in that district by an agistment arrangement under which graziers paid according to the number of stock they grazed on the high lands; they were allocated particular areas, but if fire occurred they were issued with a different area the next season so as to deprive them of the benefits of firing.⁶⁷ This new arrangement did not interfere with depasturing per se but it did virtually eliminate burning and effected some control over stocking rates in the interests of the land. It also prevented sub-letting and made the high country more available to small new stock owners.

On the Buffalo plateau prohibition of grazing was unsuccessfully attempted in 1909 in association with the management of the area as a National Park.⁶⁸ The issue was periodically resurrected over the following fifty years, with a level of public support,⁶⁹ until grazing in the

Park finally ceased. Other high areas, principally the Bogong High Plains, have received closer attention from land management bodies since the 1930s in connection with major public works.⁷⁰

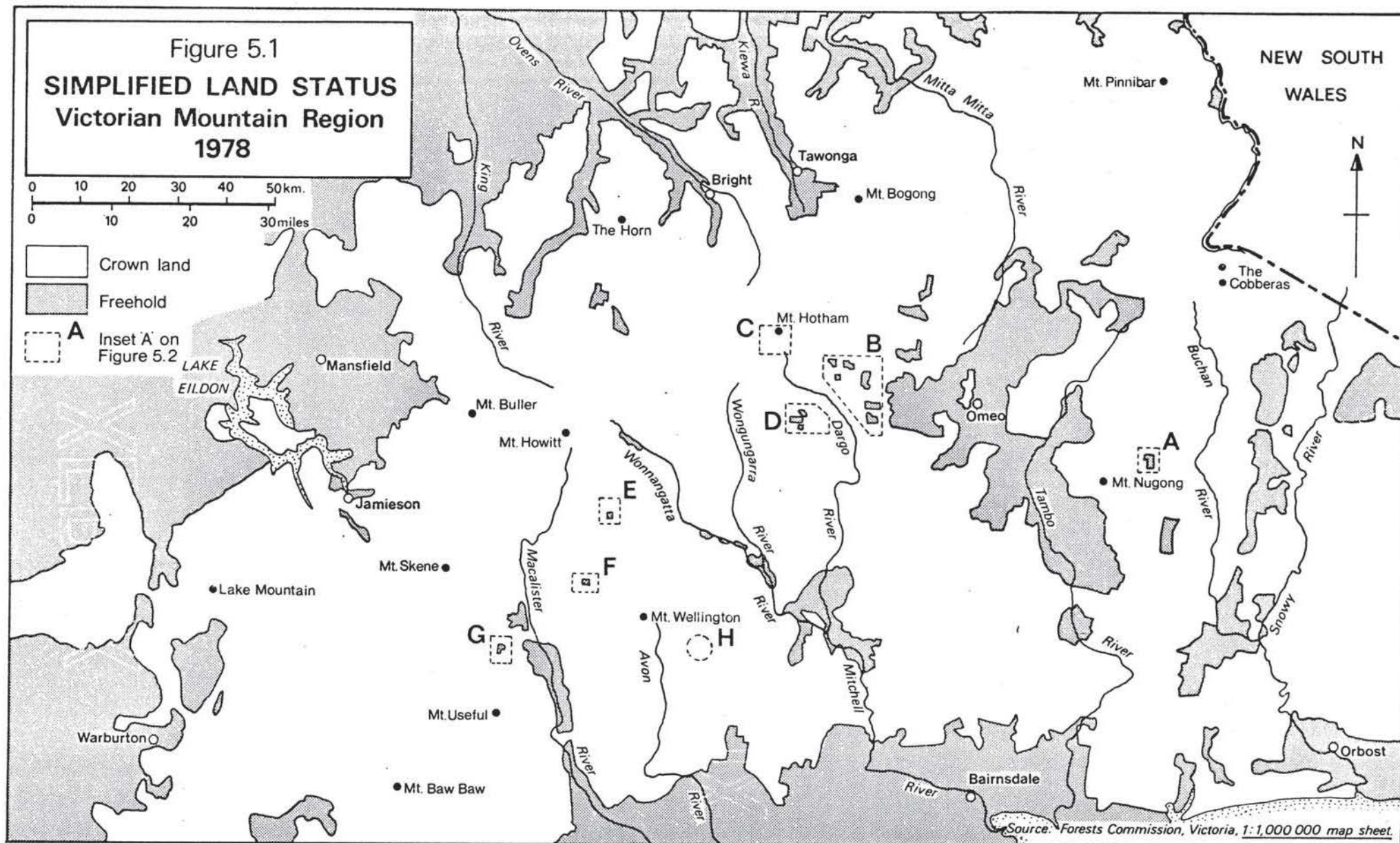
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- 4 O.S. 30 May 1896.
- 5 Papers held by R.Grinter.
- 6 M.C. 21 December 1889.
- 7 M.S. 1 August 1898; O.S. 5 March 1897; Davidson (1954), p.49.
- 8 Davidson (1954).
- 9 M.C. 26 October 1895.
- 10 See for example Lands Department file Omeo 244/19.20 (P.R.O.) regarding Doyle family's difficulties.
- 11 See Appendix A.
- 12 Hamilton Papers, Outwards LB 1, No.571, T. M. Hamilton to O. Young 19 December 1885.
- 13 Hamilton Papers, Outwards LB3, No.456, T. M. Hamilton to O. Young 14 February 1895.
- 14 Fennessy (1974), p.101; Hamilton Papers, Outwards LB1, No.571, T. M. Hamilton to O. Young 19 December 1885.
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- 17 Hamilton Papers, Outwards, LB1, No.538, 26 September 1885.
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- 22 G.M. 31 October 1876; W. Hollonds, Pers. Com.

- 23 M.C. 4 June 1904; Pers. Com. with F. Ross and A. Graves.
- 24 The Australasian, 2 July 1917.
- 25 Hamilton Papers, Inwards 10 October 1883, T. M. Grant to
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- 34 Pers. Com. K. Higgins; Bairnsdale Advertiser 28 April 1936.
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Chapter 5

HIGH COUNTRY PUBLIC LANDS - SEARCHING FOR A FINAL DESTINY

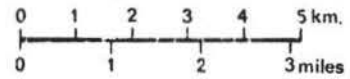
High country grazing developed as a low intensity broad acre pursuit based on vast expanses of unimproved Crown lands. Under the terms of annual grazing licences - the most popular form of tenure - major land improvements such as clearing were not permitted and in a sense the licensee was analogous to the early squatter who was an interim tenant, pending agricultural settlement. General conditions of a squatter's licence restricting improvement were perpetuated and developed in latter day licences which allowed the grazing of uncommitted Crown lands until the final destiny of such was determined. In isolated cases finality was reached by way of alienation but for most of the high country no decisions were made, despite the consideration of a series of land settlement schemes and tourist development ideas.



The Process of High Country Selection

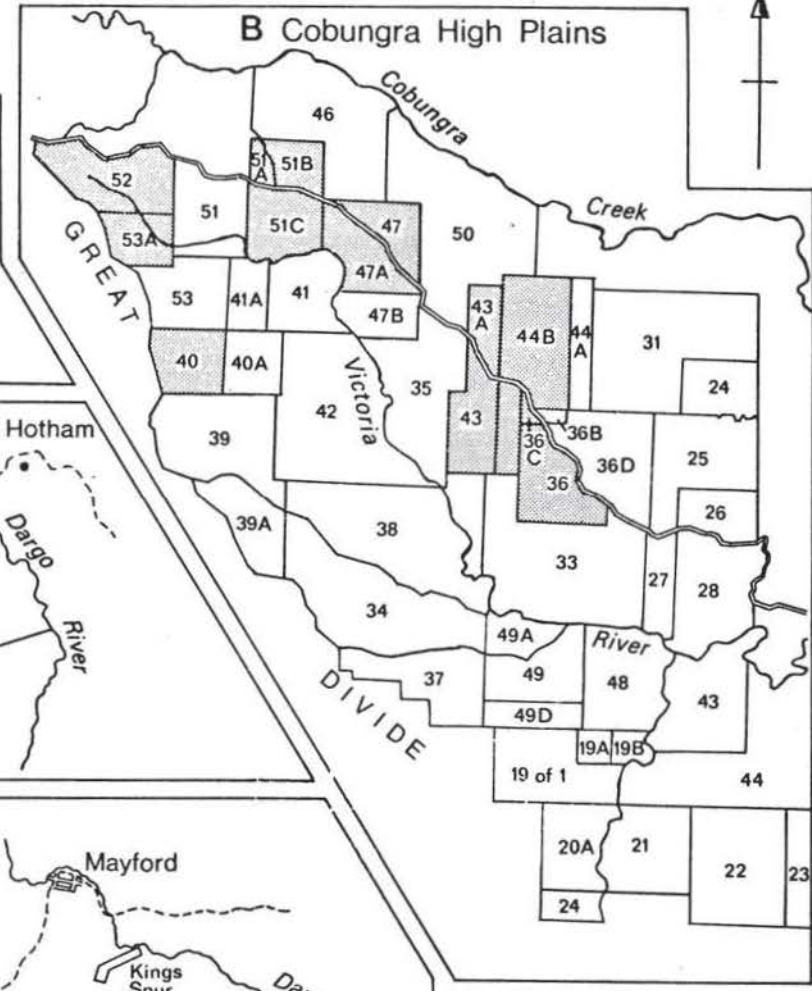
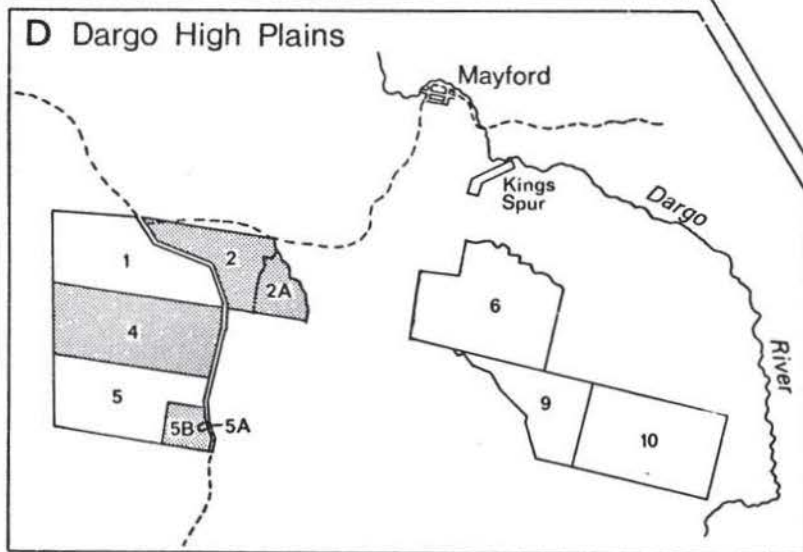
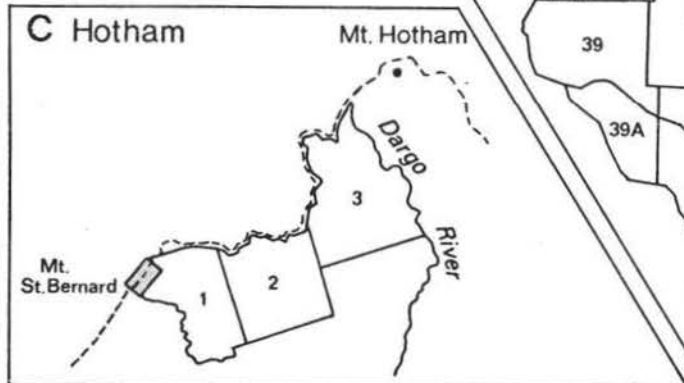
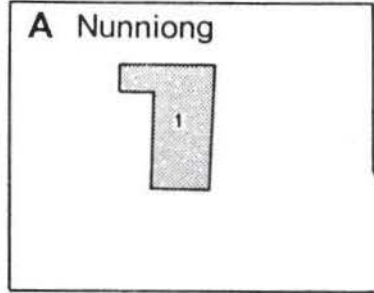
Why and How Selections Took Place

High pastures were of critical importance to many graziers, but because of their physical characteristics they were not the centre of year-round activities. For a start, they were remote from population nodes, and with the onset of winter snows stock had to be moved to less elevated lands. It was upon such lands that homesteads and major capital improvements were located and from whence mountain grazing operations were directed. During summer limited time was spent on the tops and for most stock owners high plains grazing was a part-time activity. For this reason, and because of the restrictive conditions of the grazing licences,

**Figure 5.2 LAND STATUS
Crown Allotments in the High Country**

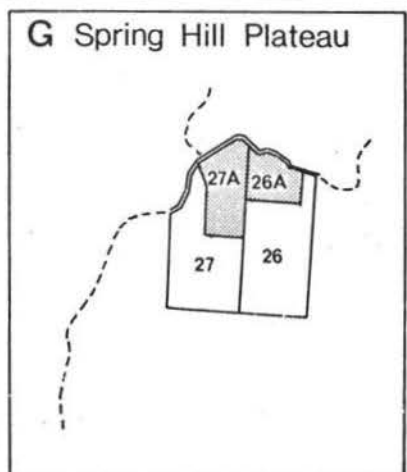
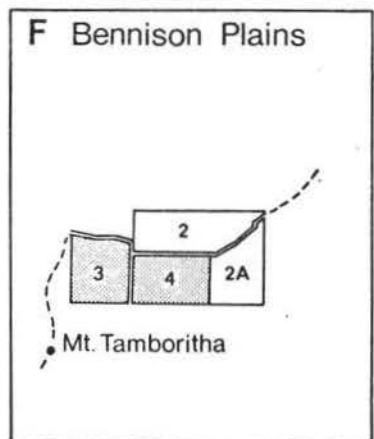
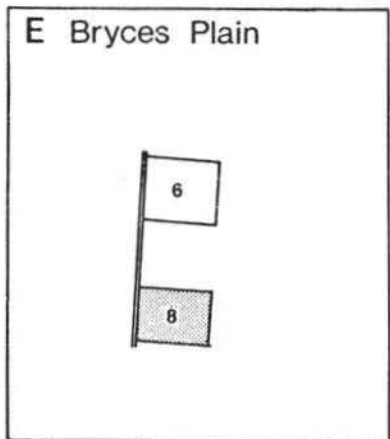


 Unalienated
 Freehold



H Moroka Valley

No details of sub-division.
No land alienated.



Source: Lands Department plan records

Table 5.1.1

Freehold Allotments in the High Country

Unit	Allot. No.	Area acres	Details of Selection		Details of Alienation		
			Date	Section of LA	Date	Section of LA	Grantee
Bennison	3	300	1903	35	1941	50.51	P. Higgins
	4	155	1883	19.20;	1941	50.51	M. & J.C. Higgins
			1900	29			
Cobungra	40	369	1895	32	1936	44.81.49	A. Petersen
	52	571	?	35	1954	44.49	T.J. McNamara
	53A	238	1903	35	1946	50.81.51	A. Petersen
	51A, B & C	637	1902	35	1930	50.81.51	E, J, & W. Naughton
	47 & A	877	1902	29	1948	44.81.49	" " "
	43 & A	612	1886	32	1941	50.81.51	E. E. Hunt
	44 & B	912	1887	32	1947	44.81.49	C. H. Rundell
	36C	28	1888	32	1938	50.81.51	V.J.H. Sharpe
	36	639	1888	32	1940	50.81.51	A. H. Sharpe
Dargo	2 & 2A	567	1886	32	1920	59.61	G. Treasure
	4	947	1886	32	1953	50.81.51	S. J. Treasure
	5A	1 ac.	1913	S36, Mines Act 1890	1915	Mines Act	C. V. Treasure
	5B	149	1908	35	1940	48.81.49	" "
Nunniiong	1	640	1905	29 (1901)	1905	29 (1901)	T. Doyle
Snowy	8	320	1878	19.20	1906	19.20	A. Bryce
Spring Hill	27A	300	1906	35	1929	54.56	A. Rumpff
	26A	193	1905	35	1939	54.56	Exec. A. McMichael

Source: Lands Dept. plan and file records.



PLATE XXXI

A SMALL ALLOTMENT ON THE COBUNGRA HIGH PLAINS
PARTIALLY CLEARED OF TIMBER
(Author 1977)



PLATE XXXII

ROUGH FENCE OF FALLEN TIMBER
COMMONLY USED BY EARLY GRAZIERS TO ENCLOSE CATTLE YARDS
(Author 1978)

improvements were few and were limited to such minor investments as holding paddocks, yards and huts. The emergence and proliferation of these facilities roughly paralleled the increasing dependency upon mountain pastures and the associated rise in stocking levels.

While the high pastures were generally ancillary to the home block, they were, nevertheless, a vital component of the whole. Operations were based around the removal of stock to the summer pastures even though often little attention was directed towards the stock once they reached the high plains. More intensive activities such as branding and weaning were usually carried out on the home property and the high country remained a venue for extensive grazing because of its physical properties, harsh climate and remoteness. Consequently there was little demand for selections in the snow lands. Yet, selection did occur and some alienation and partial steps towards alienation did take place, the details of which are presented in (Figure 5.2). The total area of these small allotments was tiny in comparison with the huge areas held under grazing licence but they are important as they indicate some nodes of more intensive land use and because they were excised from the public estate.

Selection occurred throughout the alpine region bit by bit as individual run holders felt the need for greater security of tenure. It conformed to the general spatial guidelines identified by land classification maps of 1884, although early selections on the Snowy Range predated this pattern which was subsequently also breached by later selections at Spring Hill and Nunnett Plain.¹ By and large, however, the limitations identified in 1884 were observed. The first selections were made under the 1869 Land Act on the Snowy Range, where new squatters William Bryce and C. S. Holme secured the focal points of their high country runs.² Subsequently, under the 1884 Land Act Grazing Areas were available for leasing and carried with them the possibility of limited alienation of up to 320 acres. In later Land Acts of 1898 and 1901 the maximum area a

Table 5.1.2

Legislative Provisions Used for Alienation of the
High Country 1869-1935

Land Act	Section(s) of Act	Explanation
1869	19 & 20	General provisions for agricultural selection
1884	32	Grazing Area lease
1898	29	Grazing Area lease
	59 & 61	Grazing Allotment licence and subsequent Perpetual lease
1901	29	Selection of homestead block from Pastoral Allotment
	35	Grazing Area lease
	54 & 56	Grazing Allotment licence and subsequent Perpetual lease
1928	44	Residential lease
	50	Non-residential lease
	81	A special provision concerning mining rights

Source: Lands Department Plan Records and various Land Acts

grazier could select was varied according to the class of land, the maximum area selectable being a much larger 980 acres.³ Such selected "Grazing Allotments" were different from Grazing Areas as they were taken out of them and were held under either a special licence or lease depending upon the progress of selection - see Table 5.1.2. To avoid confusion the term "small allotments" has been used to denote both Grazing Areas and Grazing Allotments; the distinction between the two is not immediately necessary in this discussion, the important point being that comparatively small areas were available and taken up by graziers. Some small allotments were taken as a reflex action by existing and prospective pastoralists who wished merely to secure some land for themselves, and this is demonstrated by the number that were forfeited within the first year of occupancy.⁴ Lasting occupancies pointed to a successful establishment of grazing by the tenant and were associated with large pastoral runs: if new tenants did not have large runs before taking the allotments it was not long before they had acquired them. Small allotments on the high plains were not suitable for use on their own as they were too small for broad acre grazing and did not encompass winter country. In association with the larger runs they often became sites where rudimentary capital investments were located and where stockmen would base themselves during their periodic visits.

In some places, specifically the Cobungra High Plains, the existence of small allotments did not necessarily imply a spontaneous and straight-forward intensification of grazing activities, although it did mean minimal capital improvements according to the requirements of tenure. A number of high plains allotments were held by G. and H. Petersen of Omeo and by Richard Riggall of Cobungra, and it is believed that these graziers also dummied for further areas.⁵ This illicit activity seems to have begun after the passing of the 1898 Land Act which emphasised the availability of small allotments, and it was continued at least into the

second decade of the 20th century. Moderate public interest in the Cobungra plains was generated in the Omeo district and this seems to have started the ball rolling: Riggall had recently acquired the remnant Darbalary run (1898) and was apparently dummying to protect or consolidate his new holdings. Petersens, on the other hand, seem to have been trying to use the system to broaden their operations.

Acquisition of small allotments carried with it the possibility of alienation if certain improvement conditions and payment obligations were fulfilled, and this represented the final step in the selection process. Most alienated allotments, except for some on the Cobungra High Plains, were located at the core of grazing runs, at sites of most intensive land use. All allotments had capital improvements such as fences, (requirements of tenure) and they were usually also the centre of stockmen's activities. Other selections not converted to freehold were often also focal points but for various reasons remained Crown land: sometimes they were only secondary holdings and were less important to the grazier than the main selection; in other cases selections could have been outdated by changes in land use patterns and consequently forfeited. Forfeited selections actually outnumbered the alienated ones, as can be ascertained from Figure 5.2 .

Freehold paddocks and terminated selections were not the only sites for more intensive land use associated with the working of pastoral runs. A licensee could just as easily fence out a paddock on his grazing block and construct huts and yards if he felt his tenancy was safe. He ran the risk of losing his investment if he was upstaged, but actually this rarely happened. The fear of losing licences largely derived from the experiences of graziers during drought years, and normally licensees were able to hold on to grazing blocks for as long as they wished. On the occasions the Lands Department did think about putting their blocks up for public tender, graziers were often able successfully to plead

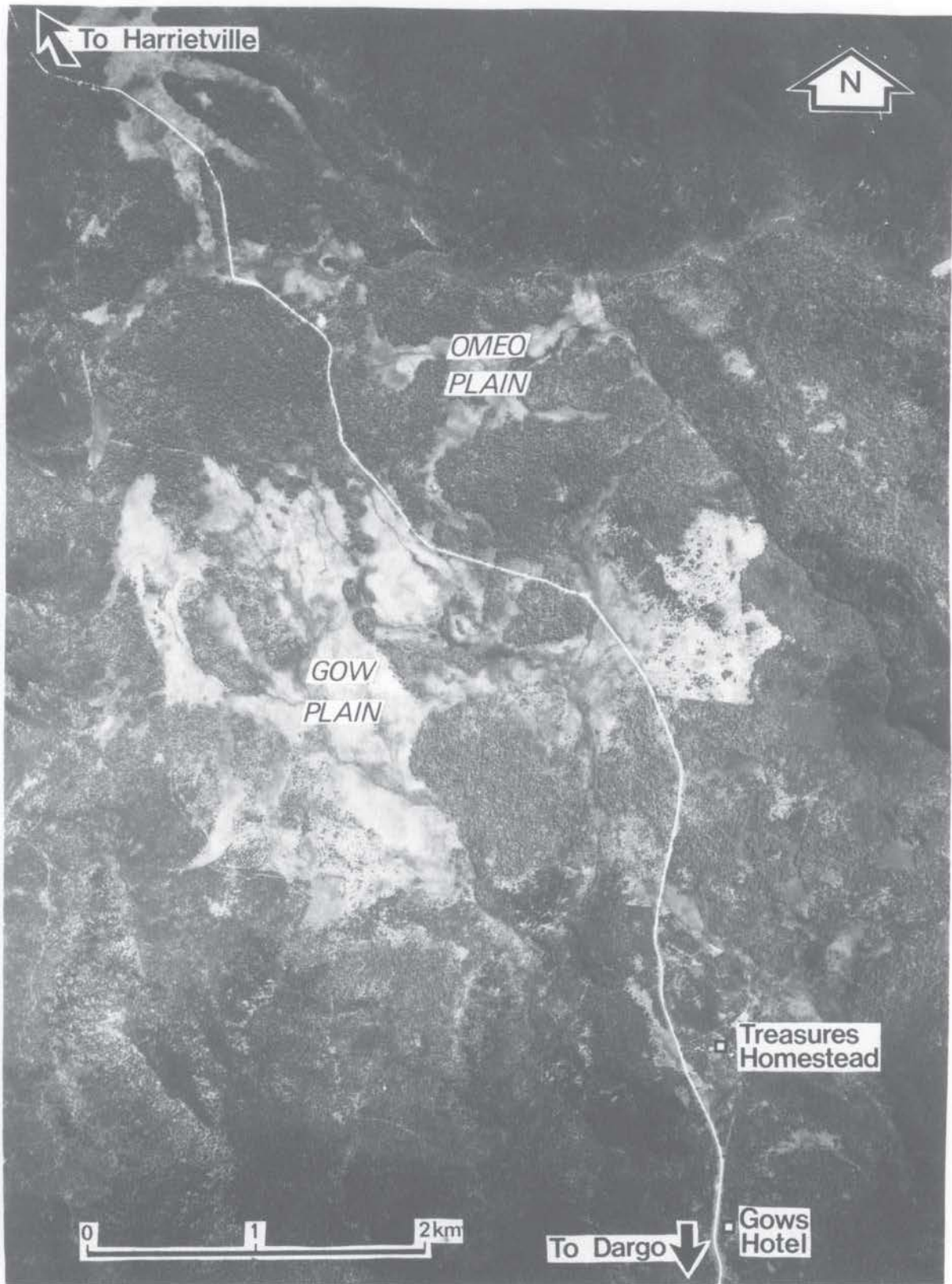


PLATE XXXIII

AERIAL VIEW OF THE DARGO HIGH PLAINS
(Lands Dept., 1976)

cases of hardship.⁶ Thus, for the grazier who felt little challenge to his tenancy there was no need to acquire small allotments for security purposes. Moreover, after the early 1900s there was no further opportunity to select new allotments (see below and Chapter 3) so any desired works had to be, and were, located on the ordinary grazing lands without special protection.

Selections, therefore, only partially corresponded to the distribution of capital improvements. Yet they were the sites for certain more intensive service and agrarian land uses over and above the level of intensity normally associated with high plains grazing. Such activities occurred on the Dargo and Nunnett plains and at both these locations land was alienated.

Special Sites of more Intensive Land Use

The Dargo High Plains hosted some more intensive activities conducted by graziers in connection with nearby gold mines. After 1885 the Gow family from Harrietville rented small allotments on the high plains and the old Beechers Hill run,⁷ and when mining activity on the Upper Dargo accelerated during the late 1890s they responded by diversifying into service industries.⁸ Richard Gow took over "Noones Halfway House", a rough accommodation house on the high plains road 57, 46 and 31 kilometres from Omeo, Harrietville and Grant respectively. He developed it into an hotel which operated all year round with accompanying butchers' and bakers' shops and he also became the local mining registrar, postmaster and electoral registrar.⁹ Noones remained open until approximately 1908 by which time most miners had left the district.¹⁰

While the Gows' operations prior to 1900 were characterised by diversification, their counterparts east of the high plains road were forced by necessity to specialise. George Treasure took his family to King's Spur on the easterly approach to the Dargo High Plains in 1878



PLATE XXXIV

GOW'S HOTEL ON THE DARGO HIGH PLAINS, 1920s
THE BUILDING WAS DERELICT AT THIS TIME
(W. Begg)

and they subsisted there for a number of years by running a store and hotel and a small mixed farm, by fossicking for gold and packing goods to the mines. But by 1887 the revenue derived from these activities was dwindling and the family looked towards cattle breeding for a livelihood.

We have been living on the land here for over nine years. We have an 8 room house, garden, yards and our family is so large that we can't leave here. We also have 40 acres of land here but it is not enough for us to make a living from. The hotel and store has failed and there is nothing but cattle breeding for us to get a living from ...¹¹

By 1888/89 Treasure had purchased a one-third share of the Dargo High Plains run, by 1901 he had bought out his two co-licensees and in later years his family acquired the remainder of the high plains from the Gows. Their gradual takeover began in 1890 when they wrested control of the original high plains homestead, built by new squatter Alfred Jones prior to 1878, from Donald and Richard Gow¹² and it reached completion in 1953 when the last of Gow's small allotments was acquired.¹³ The process was not without its moments and involved considerable ill feeling at times.¹⁴

After 1890 the Treasures lived on the high plains for most of the year attending to cattle and during the snowbound winter months, when stock were depastured on the lower eastern slopes from the high plateau, the family returned to King's Spur. Rabbit infestations caused a further change in lifestyle by reducing the bushland's winter carrying capacity, and in 1901 the family purchased property at Lindenow; further lowland was bought in 1908 at Castleburn, near Dargo, and at this stage the King's Spur house was abandoned. Stock were then shifted greater distances from winter paddocks to summer range and in this sense the Treasures' stock management practices began to resemble more closely the operations of most other high country graziers. However, the focus of activity remained on the snow country and they continued to reside there each summer, adding to their list of land improvements.¹⁵ The high runs and



PLATE XXXV

TREASURES, HOMESTEAD, DARGO HIGH PLAINS, 1932 (SLV)

selections, rather than being regarded as ancillary to the low country properties, were considered of at least equal importance.

For a limited period the Nunnett paddock was also used for more intensive activities, when dairying, subsidiary pig raising and grain cultivation were carried out by Thomas Doyle of Bindi (see Chapter 4). Similarly, around the turn of the century portion of Cowombat Flat, near the Cobberas, is said to have been cultivated for oats to be used as horse feed, and there is evidence that occasional cultivation of the Nunniong plain may have occurred prior to 1900.¹⁶ The Nunniong and Cowombat cultivations were apparently illegal croppings because occupancies were only annual grazing licences.

Nodes of intensified land use also occurred in association with activities other than grazing. Miners cultivated small paddocks on the Cobungra High Plains prior to 1878 and wherever they went in search of gold they depastured small numbers of stock. Additionally, land was alienated near Mt. Hotham where an accommodation house, the St. Bernard Hospice, once stood and there were other shanty hotels operating along the Harrierville to Omeo track from time to time. Such uses, however, were not connected with the conduct of commercial mountain cattle grazing.

Policy towards Alienation

Selection of new allotments was resisted by the Lands Department as a matter of policy after 1909 when a new Government intent on an aggressive land settlement programme came to power (see below) and especially after the implementation of the 1911 Land Act (see Chapter 3). This 'policy' was not crystalised in any formal statement but was adopted on a number of grounds by surveyors who dealt with high country selection applications. Firstly, and less significantly, continued selection was opposed on conservation grounds and in this connection it was even suggested that occupied land in sensitive areas such as the Cobungra High



PLATE XXXVI

DOYLE'S PLOUGH, ON NUNNETT PLAIN

The plough was used by Thomas Doyle for cultivating the Plain in association with dairying and pig raising in the early 1900s

(Author 1978)

Plains should be resumed by the Crown.

I would point out that in certain parts - more particularly on the [Cobungra High Plains] - which cover the gathering grounds of important streams in the river system of the northern watershed of the Great Dividing Range, it is very necessary that the natural vegetation and other conditions of virgin country should be preserved. Resumption here is therefore highly desirable. This is a matter of National interest and the importance of it can not be too strongly emphasised.¹⁷

Secondly, piecemeal selection would interfere with proper subdivision of Crown lands in the future when demand for land was apparently expected to regain momentum, and in the short term it would detract from the value of surrounding grazing blocks and make them less attractive for licensing.¹⁸ Then there was the pragmatic objection that isolated new selections would necessitate expensive and time consuming surveys which the Lands Department was not inclined to undertake.¹⁹

The Crown was committed to dealing with allotments already taken out but it refused to consider new applications on an individual basis even where they adjoined existing selections.²⁰ It was only prepared to act if there was significant concentrated interest to justify a comprehensive design of subdivision and to enable a broad area to be dealt with as a whole.²¹ The implication of this policy was that further selection could not proceed unless it had considerable and demonstrable public support and was deemed by the Administration to be appropriate.

The philisophical position towards selection in the high country had therefore changed. In the earliest days under the 1869 Land Act selection of virtually any plot of land was permitted and the onus was on the selector, by fulfilling the covenants of tenure, to convince the Administration that alienation should proceed. In 1884 broad parameters for selection were set by way of land classification and through this medium the scope for future selection and alienation was controlled and rationalised. Now, in the early 1910s, by refusing to process individual applications for marginal lands, the Administration was throwing the ball

Table 5.2

High Country Settlement Schemes

Date	Area	Origin of Idea	Circumstances
1893	Bogong High Plains	Administration	Depression, unemployment
1909	Bogong High Plains Nunniong Snowy Range	Parliament) Parliament) Administration)	Political crisis - over- throw of Premier
1920s	Nunniong Snowy Range	Administration) and Soldier) Settlers) Administration)	Resettlement of Returned Soldiers after the 1914-1918 War

Source: Newspapers; Lands Department file records

back into the prospective selector's court: it was up to the public to demonstrate why certain lands should be made available.

Land Settlement Schemes

In the years leading up to the 1930s a number of settlement schemes were unsuccessfully proposed for various tracts of the high country. These schemes, although they were presented as overall concept plans for physiographic units, were not derived from spontaneous grass roots desires for land but were propagated from above by Parliamentarians and members of the Administration and emerged during political crises - see Table 5.2. They represented attempts by legislators to come to terms with the continued existence of vast areas of unsettled and unproductive Crown lands in times of stress when solutions to economic and political problems were anxiously being sought. Their lack of success can be explained by the general impracticability of close settlement of marginal lands in a country where broad acre grazing was the norm, the difficulty of convincing the decision makers of the schemes' practicability, and the passing of the crises.

Unemployment in the Early 1890s

The first specific high country settlement proposals emerged during depressed economic conditions of the early 1890s when the Government was searching for ways and means of diverting concentrations of urban unemployed on to the land.²²

While there are thousands of people looking in vain for employment in the metropolis, thousands, nay millions of acres of magnificent lands in the country districts are lying unimproved and unproductive ... for want of the necessary labour to extract from the soil those elements of wealth that are so necessary to the best interests of the country.²³

Reports as to the suitability of various Crown lands for settlement were requested of Government officials and papers were received from both James Stirling, now Assistant Government Geologist, and Ferdinand

von Mueller who both dealt with the high plains. Their observations and imaginative suggestions were couched in optimistic terms and envisaged agricultural land use along the lines of European mountain settlement.²⁴ Stirling stuck to his previous recommendations that the Bogong plains be reserved as a Public Park but also suggested that -

The Snowy Range and Dargo High Plains comprise good country for carrying esculents; and taken as a whole the soil is fairly well adapted to agricultural purposes, being suitable for the cultivation of oats, barley and other hardy grain ... certain native plants, such as wild parsnip, might, if cultivated, make excellent table esculents, while in their native state they are readily eaten by stock. Then there are the native aromatic pepper, useful for medicinal purposes, and other plants ... while there are several flowering shrubs suitable for aboreal cultivation.²⁵

He recommended that a site be selected above Harrietville at an altitude of about 1200 metres for the experimental cultivation of some of the above products and was apparently supported by the Secretary for Mines who believed there was considerable scope for settlement of alpine districts.²⁶

Von Mueller was similarly imaginative and also directed his remarks towards the Hotham region.

When nearly 40 years ago I discovered, ascended and named Mt. Hotham and traversed our ... snowy regions ... I became impressed with the importance of our alpine country becoming fully developed. Permanent settlement is possible in our latitudes up to 4,500 ft. [approximately 1400 metres] elevation, and during the summer months pastoral, cultural and mining operations are possible to the summits of our alps. We can have table fruits and vegetables from one to two months later if grown in our sub-alpine regions and the railway now already extended to Bright affords facilities of bringing such products to the markets of the lowlands, when otherwise out of season there. Hardy grain could also be raised at high elevations, poultry be kept and depasturing by herds and flocks carried on in the high regions from September to March. This would give encouragement to mining prospectors for more perseverance in their searches as re-supplying of provisions could be effected from farms cheaply and locally, instead of packing up on horses, as now, all that is necessary for sustenance from the lowlands ... Highlanders from Scotland, Swiss and Scandinavian people among us would be particularly those fit to be placed for rural purposes in our Alps as they are accustomed to a cold climate. The produce of the farms would in many cases be more tasty than that of the lowlands. Surplus stock, when frosty weather sets in, could be brought to market, or, as in the colder European countries is much done, salted or smoked, and be sold in casks to town customers for family supply as food more cheap and superior than under ordinary circumstances available.

Natural irrigation can be obtained for most of the alpine valleys, also the herb culture plants are much less subject to diseases than those in the lowlands of ours.²⁷

There is no evidence to suggest that these reports were followed up. Such pioneering land settlement projects really required a preliminary pilot scheme, as Stirling indicated, and probably for this reason, because high plains settlement did not provide an immediate solution to the unemployment problem, the recommendations were not adopted.

Political Turbulence, 1909

Fifteen years later the issue of high country settlement resurfaced amidst political turbulence when Sir Thomas Bent was overthrown as Premier following internal wrangles within his government.²⁸ He was replaced in January 1909 by John Murray.

A major philosophical difference between Bent and Murray was over the settlement of rural lands: Murray and supporters had a very strong belief in the need to encourage more intensive agricultural settlement, partly to avoid immoral "wastefulness" where potentially productive agricultural lands were lying undeveloped²⁹ and partly to arrest a perceived drift of prospective settlers, and therefore producers, away from Victoria to other States where land was still available for selection. This latter argument, coupled with widespread discomfort about the urbanisation of Victoria's population, had been propounded for well over a decade.³⁰ Murray's supporters had been pushing for a vigorous rural settlement policy but did not believe Bent's government was doing enough, so when they came to power they initiated, inter alia, investigations into the suitability of vacant Crown lands for settlement, and in this regard the Bogong High Plains came into focus.

James Cameron, MLA for Gippsland East, had been pushing for further settlement of the back country in his electorate³¹ and in January 1909 he made a hurried trip to the Omeo district for the new regime. After

visiting the Bogong plains he recommended to the Minister of Lands that road access be provided and the plains cut up into 500 to 2,000 acre surveyed blocks, which would be fenced and leased for ten year terms, to facilitate more intensive and controlled cattle growing.³² He did not believe the high plains were suitable for agriculture,³³ but as he was informed that parts of the high country had been proved suitable for cultivation³⁴ he did not rule out the possibility and favoured enlisting the aid of a certain Rev. Dr. Capra, an Italian who had intimate knowledge of land use in the Italian Alps and who could advise what grasses and cereals were best adapted for culture in the snow country.³⁵ Other possibilities such as using the high plains for dairy farming and cheese production were floated at the local level³⁶ but were never formally presented to the government.

In the following year, 12 months after Cameron's recommendations were submitted to the Minister of Lands, the Bogong High Plains were inspected by Assistant Surveyor S. Callanan who disagreed with Cameron and did not favour any change in tenure.

The cost of making a road to the high plains would be very great and would not, in my opinion, be justified by the benefits it would confer as the land is not suitable for other than grazing purposes owing to its high altitude which makes it unfit for occupation during about seven months in the year, and its exceptionally stony nature.³⁷

No further steps were taken, though Cameron did persist with some futile lobbying.³⁸ The Nunniong plateau was also identified by Cameron as a possible site for subdivision into 640 to 1,000 acre blocks and this plan was briefly considered and rejected by the Lands Department.³⁹

Similarly, the Moroka basin and portions of the Snowy Range further north were also examined soon after Murray and Co. came to power. This land had previously been partially divided into Grazing Areas in 1900 and was looked at during late 1908 in connection with a proposed tourist track between Mt. Buffalo and Mt. Wellington.⁴⁰ It was revisited in January 1909.⁴¹ The suggestion was posed that a tourist

Table 5.3

Returned Soldiers with High Country Runs

Name	Residence	Run	Period of Licence
J. Bullock	Mansfield	Grazing Block E3	1919-1924
G. E. Brown) H. Hill) H. S. Flett)	c/o G. Brown, Richmond	Grazing Blocks B1 & B2 (Ingeegoodbee)	1920-1924
L. J. Brumley	Myrtleford	Grazing Block C11	1920-1922
R. L. Colleen) E. Foster) G. Pearson)	Omeo	Grazing Block C11	1922-1925
J. Conley) W. J. Carthew) J. H. Davies)	Myrtleford	Grazing Block D1	1920-1923
J. Culhane	Talbotville	Grazing Block D2	1921-1924
W. Greenwood	Omeo	Grazing Block C11	1925→
J. V. Kelly	Glenmaggie	Grazing Block F5	1920→
Jack Lovick	Merrijig	Mt. Buller	1919→
A. A. McMichael	Glenmaggie	Grazing Block F8	1920-1929
C. H. V. Pendergast	Benambra	Pastoral Allotment 1S	1924-1940s

Source: Lands Department Grazing Licence Records

road would assist with settlement in these high lands and as a result a 1.25 metre track was constructed to the area via the Avon valley in 1912.⁴² But no further action was taken until the region was inspected as a possible recipient of starving stock in 1915.⁴³ In this instance Government Surveyor Catani believed the Moroka lands could be settled and he tried to arouse support for this idea.⁴⁴ However, the concept received sceptical coverage at the local level and did not proceed.⁴⁵

The amending Land Act of 1911 embodied the aims and philosophies of the new regime with regard to settlement. However, it had very little effect in the high country because of resistance from the Administration and because, as Murray's government settled into the job, the fervour of its new lands policy began to wane. It became increasingly apparent that the underlying trend of rural settlement in the mountain region was towards an enlargement of farm sizes rather than an intensification of farming.⁴⁶ This enlargement was brought about at least partially by a specialisation in livestock production which accompanied the decline of mining.

Post World War I - Re-settlement of Soldiers

After the 1914-1918 war, re-absorption of returned soldiers into the domestic economy was both an economic and political issue. It was widely believed that returned soldiers should be assisted, as a mark of gratitude, if they wished to establish themselves on the land. To this end soldiers applying for pastoral runs were given preferential treatment and a number of new high country graziers came on to the scene after 1919, (see Table 5.3). High country settlement schemes were also proposed in connection with soldier settlement.

In 1919 a Crown Lands Investigation Committee was formed to investigate Crown lands suitable for settlement.⁴⁷ Members of the Committee inspected the Nunniong plateau and surrounding country in March

Table 5.4

Avonmore Estate Soldier Settlers

Settler's Name	Grazed High Country 1927/8	Duration of Tenancy at Bindi	High Country Used
A.R.Boucher	Yes	Continued	Purchased Nunnett Paddock 1943
F.P.Cleary	Yes	Failed by 1935	-
W.D.Cleary	Yes	Continued	Arranged agistment on Nunniing Plain with licensee
J.H.Davies	-	Failed by 1935	-
C.S.Gallagher	-	Failed by 1935	-
J.Harding	Yes	Continued	Possible arrangement with licensee

Source: Author's research
Land's Department records

1923⁴⁸ as it was proposed to make the most suitable lands available for settlement: nearby portions were to be made available for soldier settlers at Bindi and Ensay and the remainder for other interested people.⁴⁹ In their final report to the Director of Land Settlement the investigation party stated that

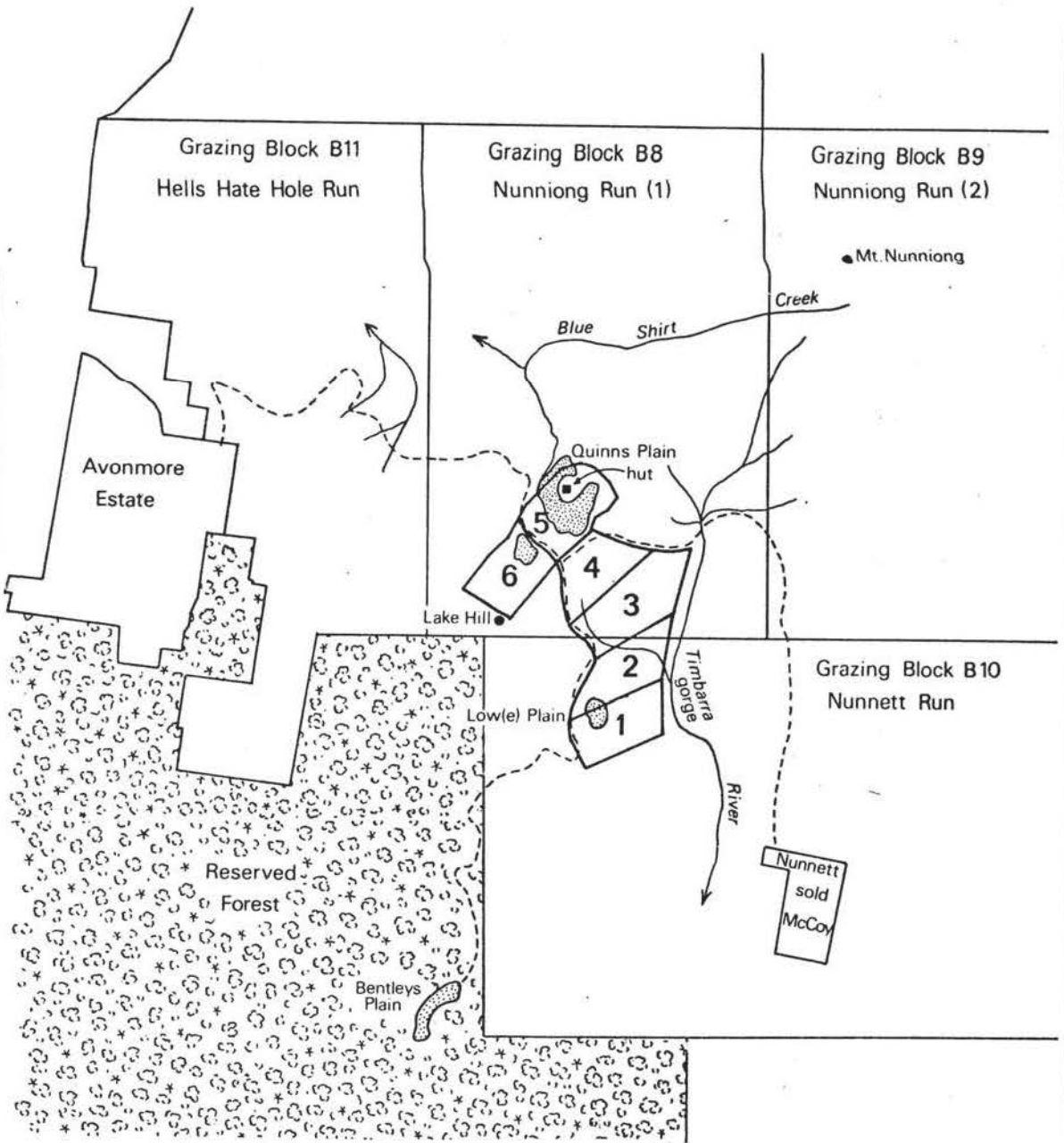
... there is an almost compact area of about 12,000 acres of volcanic land and included in it are the well-known plains Quinns, Low [e] and Nunnett, all well watered. The highest elevation of these plains is 4,000 ft. [approx. 1200 metres] above sea level; stock are bred and wintered on these plains, and the climate is, in our opinion, not too rigorous for general occupation.

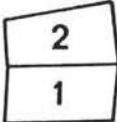

Probably 2,000 acres of this area is cultivable plain. In former times portions were cropped with good results. If this area of 12,000 acres were divided in such a manner that 80 to 100 acres of the rich cultivable plain were attached to 600 to 1,000 acres of the rougher volcanic and granitic country, there should be no doubt about successful settlement, provided, of course, that a road to connect with Buchan is constructed. It is our well convinced opinion that without proper road access no settlement in any portion of the area can succeed.⁵⁰

Road works were the essential pre-requisite for the Nunniong scheme, as they were for all areas the Committee investigated.⁵¹ A main road extending from Buchan to Nunniong and possibly further north was proposed as the primary outlet for settlement, with other lateral roads connecting with Bindi, Ensay and Timbarra.⁵² However, no action was taken in response to the above recommendations and Government initiatives ended here. But the concept did not die; it was taken up in March, 1927 by six soldier settlers on the Avonmore re-settlement estate at Bindi who were seeking supplementary summer pasture.

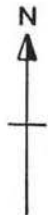
Avonmore embodied the lowland selections formerly held by the Doyle family and traditionally used in conjunction with the adjoining Nunniong plateau. These high lands were now considered by the soldier settlers as critical to the success of their farms which had been subject to a damaging dry summer during 1926/27 and which were generally running into difficulties because of their small size.⁵³ The Lands Department was prepared to create six 500 acre grazing allotments which could be

Figure 5.3
NUNNIONG PLATEAU SUB-DIVISION PROPOSAL
 Compromise Suggestion, July 1930




 Proposed Grazing Allotments

 Bridle Track

0 1 2 3 4 5 km.
 0 1 2 3 miles



offered to the settlers as annually renewable licences, but the proposals ran aground. In the words of the Closer Settlement Board -

Before the issue of the licences could be finalised the settlers wrote asking that the land be made available for selection and granted to them under Conditional Purchase lease. They also intimated that they would require advances for wire netting to make the blocks rabbit proof and dog proof and also desired that the track leading to the country be improved by side cuttings to give better access ... To meet the cost of the side cuttings the lessees proposed that their holdings be loaded to the extent of 2/- per acre, but they are at present heavily in arrears and the land cannot with wisdom be further encumbered ... (wing to the fact that this is snow country, some of it over 4,000 ft. [1200 metres] above sea level, and that it is only available for portion of the year, the Board feels that the expenditure of the money that would be involved in the settlers' ... suggestions is not justified and is not prepared to make the necessary advances.⁵⁴

Further representations by the Avonmore settlers led to the creation of a draft subdivision of 500 acre allotments in July 1930, and the compromise suggestion that licensed communal rights be given over the allotments which would only be fenced around the perimeter; such a scheme would save on dividing fences and would allow 'simple' (minimum survey) boundaries to be adopted.⁵⁵ However, this proposal did not proceed⁵⁶ and the soldier settlers were forced to make their own private arrangements within the existing system of tenure administration. During deliberations between 1927 and 1930 the grazing licence covering Quinns Plain had been cancelled and the Avonmore settlers were able to graze their sheep there during the summer. But after 1930 they had to fend for themselves. The situation eased in the early 1930s as climatic conditions were more favourable and because three of the settlers failed and their land was distributed amongst the remainder. But in the post-depression years Nunniong became important again and individual arrangements were made to secure summer grazing on the high plateau, (see Table 5.4.).

Another of the 1909 vintage ideas to re-emerge after 1918 concerned the Snowy Range. The proposals were more specific than previously enunciated and envisaged a combination of alluvial flats along the



PLATE XXXVII

LOWE PLAIN, NUNNIONG PLATEAU

(Author 1977)

Wonnangatta and Wongungarra rivers, which would be used for cultivation, with grazing areas on the adjoining high volcanic plains.⁵⁷ Here again the requirement for suitable road access was emphasised, and the importance was stressed of any new settlers being experienced enough to cope with the physical hardships and difficulties associated with the locality. The latter requirement implied a gradual piecemeal release of lands as demand was generated within the region by people born and bred in the mountain environment. But this practice was contrary to the contemporary policy of comprehensive subdivision of new lands, and was not entertained by the Administration. Additionally, because there were no forceful demands for use of the Snowy Range by struggling new selectors, as was the case with Nunniong, the Lands Department did not pursue a serious examination of the prospects of this high country.

The Settlement Schemes - an Overview

The preceding settlement schemes were born in periods of political strife and were offered by parliamentarians and public administrators as possible ameliorative measures; to wit, during the mid-1890s and 1920s the basic problem was to find new sources of employment; in 1909 the problems were on a more philosophical level. In all cases, however, high country settlement schemes proved to be unsuitable solutions; they often failed to gain acceptance at either the ground level or at the decision-making level from whence they emanated.

The type of settlement generally envisaged embodied the farmer-grazier principle, which was first recognised in the 1870s. Some proposals also drew heavily upon the European experience and involved cultivation. But normally only an intensification of pastoral occupation and use was proposed by way of finer subdivisions and minor capital improvements such as fencing. Previous experience had indicated that high country grazing was essentially a broad acre affair: finer subdivisions



PLATE XXXVIII

TOURIST PARTY AT RIGGALLS HUT, 1914
(I. Purcell)

into small allotments had already been tried under the 1884 Land Act, and although they were persevered with in succeeding decades they were taken in conjunction with much larger runs and were not successful in settling new small graziers into the mountains. There was little or no real demand for single small high plains grazing units. In the post-1918 period, in the only crisis where any grass roots pressure existed for access to the high country, demands by returned soldiers were accommodated within the existing design of grazing blocks and allotments. Little change was made in the number, size or design of the grazing blocks offered or the nature of tenure.

A major reason why the initiatives failed to get off the ground was that they did not offer cheap or swift solutions to pressing problems. Investigations underlined the need for pilot schemes or preliminary capital investment in roads and land surveys, or finding the right type of settler, and these recommendations were enough to make the decision makers think twice. The length of time over which proposals were processed and investigated by the Administration was also a factor working against the adoption of any schemes. Investigations and reports were stretched over such a long period that the initiating crisis had often passed and the pressure for action subsided by the time recommendations were being considered. Additionally, the field officers who conducted the investigations were usually aware of the practical difficulties of the schemes and were able to recommend successfully against inappropriate proposals. Thus, the system of government consideration had a two-fold dampening effect.

Tourism

Tourism was an activity that occurred in the mountain region before 1935 but it was not viewed as an alternative land use to grazing by Government authorities.

The tourist potential of the Alps had been recognised from the

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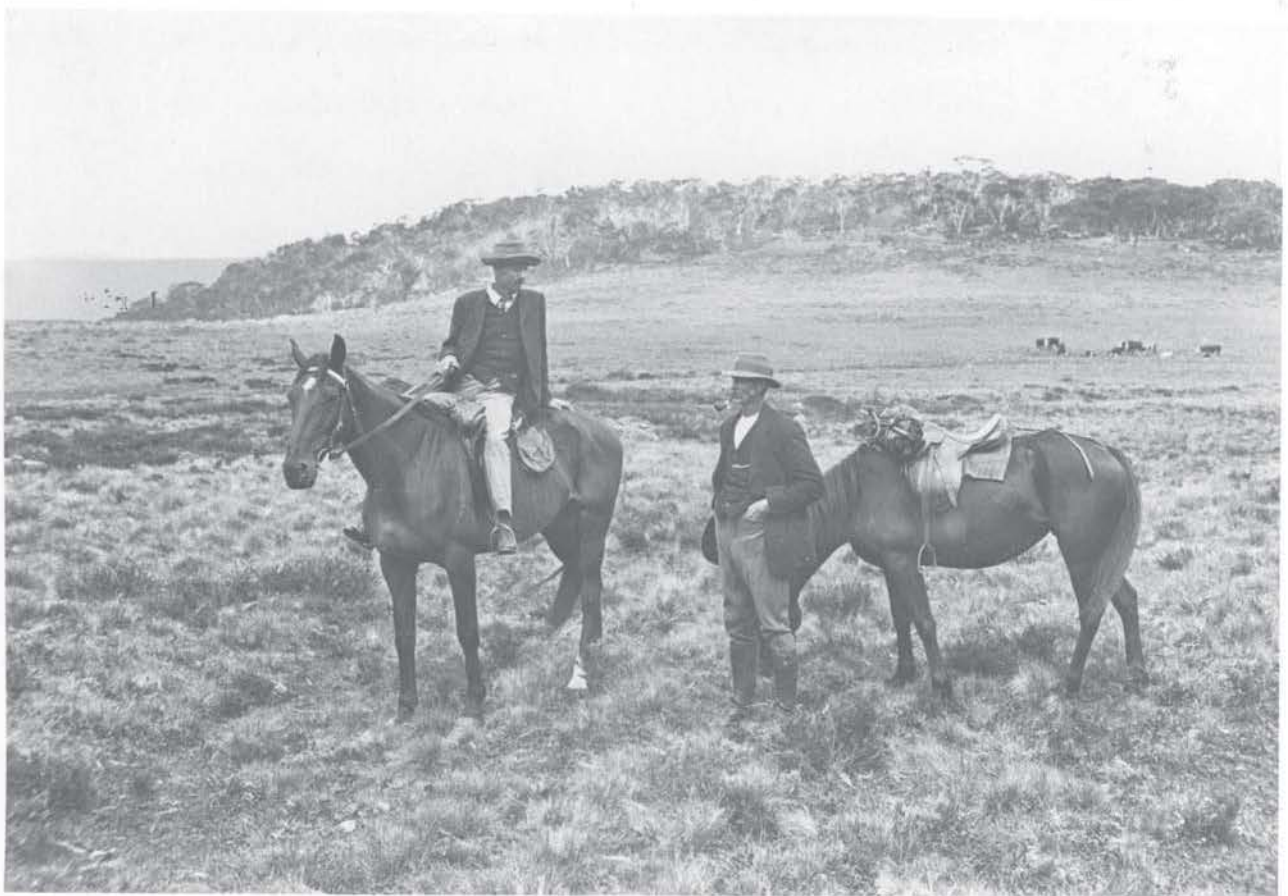


PLATE XXXIX

CATTLEMAN HENRY MILLER, (RIGHT)
WITH A TOURIST ON THE SNOWY RANGE, 1914

(I. Purcell)

*Cattlemen Arthur Phillips (left)
and Jim Barclay on the
Howitt Plain*

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earliest days of high country grazing⁵⁸ and during the 19th century Mt. Buffalo and the Feathertop-Hotham region became recreational nodes. Tourist development in these areas has been documented elsewhere⁵⁹ and it is not within the bounds of this thesis to pursue similar investigations. However, tourism must be mentioned as it was closely associated with mountain grazing.

Scenic grandeur was the main tourist resource of the Alps in the study period and graziers played a part in its exploitation. By giving passing visitors advice and assistance, and just by maintaining a human presence in the high areas, graziers provided the proverbial staff for the tourist. Moreover, some individual cattlemen guided organised riding parties through the Alps. Pioneering examples include Richard Riggall, (Mt. Wellington, January 1888)⁶⁰, Henry Miller (Mt. Wellington, February 1914)⁶¹ and Albert Weston (Mt. Buffalo, 1880s)⁶². In later years, in the 1930s, many other graziers were employed by the Victorian Railways to lead the popular 'Skyline' riding tours.

Besides their knowledge of the terrain, cattlemen were of further significance as they were actually part of the visitor's mountain experience. They were the users of the high country owning the cattle and huts and knowing its history and moods. Not surprisingly, tourism was viewed as being compatible with grazing and was rarely considered a primary land use in its own right. The exception was the Buffalo Plateau which was permanently dedicated as a National Park in 1898 after being known as an outstanding beauty spot for nearly half a century.⁶³ But even here grazing was allowed to continue and there is no evidence to indicate that it was regarded as anything else but compatible with recreation and tourism.⁶⁴ Similarly, in the pre-1915 period tourism was seen as one means by which land could be opened up in preparation for settlement⁶⁵ and in 1922 the Tourists Resort Act saw tourism as an overlapping land use that could be developed in conjunction with other materially productive industries.⁶⁶

The latter initiative represented an attempt to preserve and exploit scenic resources for tourism by rationalising administrative responsibilities and procedures. The motives were financial and nationalistic and there was never any question of other productive industries being displaced by tourism.

Tourism in the Alps began to assume noticeable dimensions in the mid and late 1880s and it was probably no co-incidence that the times when it was being most seriously considered by the Government were also those when land settlement investigations were being prompted.

Summary

Piecemeal occupation of small paddocks characterised selection in the high country and was generally accompanied by minor improvements to runs, such as fencing, which graziers were able to make secure. But it did not account for the universal set of improvements. The process of selection, which often culminated in alienation, was halted during the first decade of the 20th century by a policy to oppose individual applications. After this time the Lands Department was only prepared to consider further selection where there was sufficient demand to justify comprehensive subdivisions. However, this policy was not consistent with the nature of high country selections up to that date as it was intended to cater for larger numbers of immediate new selectors rather than for the periodic desires of a small number of existing broad acre pastoralists. The settlement schemes, born during periods of crisis, satisfied the "overview" approach required by the Administration, but they were not accompanied by any sufficient or demonstrable grass roots support and were rejected by decision-makers. And tourism had very little claim to the high country in its own right as it was viewed as being compatible with, and to a large extent dependent upon, other land use activities.



PLATE XL

TOURIST PARTY ON THE SNOWY RANGE, 1914
(I. Purcell)

The process of deciding the final destiny of high country Public lands had, therefore, come to a halt by the first decade of the 20th century. It was largely associated with the occupation of small allotments under the 1884, 1898 and 1901 Land Acts. Subsequently many selections were naturally discontinued and new applications which arose from time to time were rejected by the Administration

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- 1 Nunnett Paddock was one of the very few cases where alienation occurred in accordance with provisions of the 1884 L.A. concerning Pastoral Allotments.
- 2 Lands Department file 1076/19.20 (P.R.O.).
- 3 For inferior grazing lands. See 1901 L.A.
- 4 Lands Department Register of Leases and Licences, 1884 L.A.
- 5 Lands Department file T81234.
- 6 Once, in 1908, tenders were called for all grazing blocks on a region wide basis.
- 7 Lands Department file for Dargo High Plains run (P.R.O.).
- 8 A.O. 6 December 1889.
- 9 A.O. 13 May 1898; O.S. 8 July 1898.
- 10 Pers. Com.
- 11 Lands Department, op.cit., G. & E. Treasure to Minister for Lands 30 July 1887, and 1890.
- 12 A.O. 6 December 1889
- 13 Lands Department file Omeo 83/50.81.51.
- 14 A.O. 6 December 1889; Lands Department file Omeo 28/ 121.
- 15 Pers. Com. James Treasure.
- 16 See for example O.S. 4 May 1923; Pers. Com. L. Pendergast.
- 17 Lands Department file T84820. Report from George S. Pinner, District Surveyor, Bairnsdale, on Grazing Area leaseholds in connection with resumption proposal.
- 18 The underlying assumption was that full occupation of Crown lands was desirable.
- 19 Lands Department file T95250, T104566, Omeo 021/35
- 20 Lands Department file T79373.
- 21 For example, Lands Department file T74607
- 22 There were two legislative attempts to this end: the unsuccessful Village Settlements Bill, V.P.Ds 1892-3, p.567; the

succeeding Land Settlement Bill, V.P.Ds 1893, p.362.

- 23 V.P.Ds 1892-3, p.563.
- 24 See, for example, Carrier (1932).
- 25 A.O. 21 August 1891.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Memorandum by Baron von Mueller to T. R. Wilson, Esq.,
25 December 1893, Supplementary Records No. 24 (P.R.O.).
- 28 V.P.Ds 1908, pp. 1714-1785.
- 29 See, for example, M.S. 1 June 1908.
- 30 V.P.Ds 1892-3 and 1893, Village Settlement Bill; Argus,
12 November, 1902; A.O. 15 August 1902.
- 31 M.S. 1 June 1908.
- 32 Lands Department file T2982.
- 33 A.O. 26 February 1909.
- 34 Probably portions of the Cobungra High Plains. See Alfred
Howitt's evidence to C.L.C., Ch.3.
- 35 A.O. 26 February 1909.
- 36 Ibid; O.S. 19 January 1909; M.S. 1 June 1908.
- 37 Lands Department file T74607.
- 38 O.S. 2 December 1910.
- 39 lands Department files T72982, T95111
- 40 M.S. 2 July, 1908.
- 41 M.S. 7 January 1909.
- 42 Argus, 16 January 1912.
- 43 M.S. 25 February 1915.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 M.S. 18 March 1926.
- 46 Lands Department file T84820.
- 47 V.P.Ds 1921, p.1336.
- 48 O.S. 13 March 1923.
- 49 Lands Department file T82810.

- 50 Lands Department file T95111.
- 51 *V.P.Ds 1921, p.1336.*
- 52 Lands Department file T95111
- 53 V.P.Ps 1925, Paper No. 32, Report of Royal Commission on Soldier Settlement; Lands Department file Omeo 99/121.
- 54 Lands Department file Omeo 99/121.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 No reason is evident in the records.
- 57 Lands Department file T95348.
- 58 Hoy (1965); Illustrated Australian News, 16 May 1868.
- 59 Hoy (1965); Cabena (1979).
- 60 M.S. 9 January 1888, 19 January 1888, 23 January 1888; Riggall also conducted trips in 1891 and 1895, see M.S. 9 February 1891, 12 February 1891, 31 January 1895, G.M. 29 January 1895.
- 61 Argus, 31 January 1914; M.S., 12 March 1913.
- 62 P. Weston, Pers. Com.; Lands Department file Beechworth W23092 (P.R.O.); Albert Weston made many trips on to the Buffalo Plateau as guide. So did other members of his family.
- 63 Lands Department file RS121.
- 64 Grazing licences were cancelled in 1909 upon addition of further areas to the Park, but this can be seen as a reflex administrative action to end all interim occupancies on permanent reservation of the land. The subsequent renewal of licences supports the proposition that no incompatibility between grazing and recreation was perceived at the time. See Lands Department file RS121.
- 65 M.S., 7 January 1909.
- 66 Tourists' Resort Act, 1922.
- 67 V.P.Ds 1922, pp. 4055-4059.
- 68 Cabena (1979).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

High country grazing has traditionally been a cattle growing activity based upon the seasonal use of unimproved Public lands. Its history can be traced back to the earliest years of pastoral settlement in Victoria and can be associated with important pioneering identities such as Angus McMillan.

The alpine region was first explored by pastoralists in the 1830s, 40s and 50s but regular and substantial stockings did not occur until later when gold discoveries encouraged new squatters and station owners to use the Alps. These pastoralists came to rely increasingly upon the high tops for a livelihood as their original markets at mountain mining centres decayed and vanished and as lowland selections depleted squatting runs. This trend towards growing dependence was accentuated by rabbit infestations of lowland pastures and was accompanied by an increasing intensity of grazing occupancy. The latter reached a static level by 1935, 100 years after the process of occupation had first begun. The chronological pattern displayed was one of gradual increase punctuated by three major periods of rapid growth associated with gold discovery, rabbit infestation and soldier settlement. More intensive stocking occurred as the number of graziers and their dependence upon the Alps increased, but was also related to other factors such as lowland pasture improvement; stocking continued to rise beyond the 1930s.

An evolution of stock management practices and capital investments, suited to beef production in an alpine environment, accompanied changes in the number of Crown tenants and the levels of stocking. 'Tailing out' was superseded by the construction of holding paddocks, and as graziers became increasingly dependent upon the high country the number of stockmen's huts multiplied, bush burning became widespread

and salting was adopted to control stock movements and assist with mustering. By the first decade of the 20th century these features were well established. But there were also basic structural characteristics that remained constant throughout the study period: the obviously necessary practice of shifting stock to lower ground for winter; the accent upon breeding rather than buying; and the broad acre characteristics. These factors were largely determined by climatic and physiographic properties of the high country.

The high country was generally occupied under temporary annual licences which were intended to allow land to be used without committing it to any particular activity or any particular person. For this reason major capital improvements were forbidden. But just how the land was actually managed within these broad parameters was of scant interest to the authorities. In times of drought the Government did become more involved but this was largely for political reasons. Little or no attention was paid to land management issues until government agencies became interested in natural resources of the alpine region, such as timber, water and scenic beauty. Only then did the objectives of government supervision begin to develop beyond the narrow field of tenancy.

The interim occupant philosophy was derived from early squatting regulations designed to monitor and control pioneering pastoral activity and to ensure that squatting oriented land use would not pre-empt future land settlement planning and decision-making. Later on, by 1884, when most of Victoria's suitable agricultural land was selected, opportunities were offered for semi-permanent and permanent settlement by way of Pastoral Allotment and Grazing Area leases and limited associated selection. These provisions were intended to facilitate more intensive settlement of the mountain region and can be interpreted as tentative steps towards making a permanent land use commitment. However, they failed to attract any real attention and the growth of occupancy levels

after the mid 1880s was brought about by the associated re-design of runs - a measure which could have been carried out without the legislative initiatives.

Initiatives of the 1880s intended to foster settlement were abandoned in the early 1900s. Simultaneously, and not co-incidentally, there was a change in attitude towards selection and alienation in the high country. This change terminated further selection and has been attributed to the Administration's reluctance to deal with isolated and inconveniently located selections and, less significantly, to a growing concern about the dwindling volume of Public lands. But it can also be argued that isolated selections associated with grazing licence occupations were not consistent with the overall philosophy of Public land settlement. From the beginning the high country was available for temporary grazing occupation until its ultimate fate could be determined. Alienation in connection^{with} with a land use founded upon temporary occupancies was inconsistent with this approach and tended to pre-empt options for future use. That alienation of isolated allotments did occur reflects the legacy of past settlement programmes and the pragmatic way in which selection was sometimes dealt with, even after 1884, when particular attention was paid to land capability and planning of selection subdivisions.

Continued selection of high country lands was theoretically possible after the early 1900s, provided the demand was strong enough to justify a large area being comprehensively laid out for settlement. However, the nature of selection demands did not conform to these guidelines. Consequently, the snow country continued to be available for productive use on a short term and conditional basis only and grazing remained under the auspices of the Crown.

The Administration had a very strong influence upon the characteristics of high country occupation but clearly graziers did have some in-

put into the system. Their recommendations concerning the boundaries of runs were influential during the early years and information and opinions about land use were sought from them prior to formulation of the 1884 Land Act. Most significantly, by shunning the new opportunities presented in 1884, graziers were at least partially responsible for the continuation of annual grazing licences as the main form of tenancy and the implied decision that grazing was not an activity to which Public land in the alpine region could be permanently dedicated. The rejection of long term tenure and its associated maintenance and improvement obligations has been explained by two factors: the fact that high pastures supplemented holdings and were not central to the graziers' operations (even though they were of critical importance), and the relatively undeveloped and part-time nature of high country grazing at the time.

But despite these inputs from graziers, throughout the study period the relationship between landlord and tenant featured an overriding and pervading structural influence of the Administration. After all, the Administration defined the conditions of tenure and finally decided the extent to which the high country was subdivided for grazing. At times the apportionment of runs was insufficient to meet demand and so the growth of occupancy levels was restricted. And in the post-1900 period the Administration had a further dampening effect by virtually abolishing long-term tenure, opposing alienation, and thus withdrawing the opportunity to obtain security over improvements. Graziers were not prevented from establishing minor ancillary facilities, such as huts and stock-yards, but the absence of any means of making these investments secure was undoubtedly a deterrent.

No decisions on the final destiny of broad areas of high country Public lands were made during the study period and in fact the matter was given very little attention, except for brief periods during a handful of political crises. In the absence of any strong alternative

activity competing for land rights, and in the absence of any historical government involvement in land management, pastoralists appear to have established in their minds an a priori right to the high country which manifested itself when moves to control grazing were initiated. This perceived right was progressively strengthened by the passing of time, which established both a personal feeling for the land and a tradition with which succeeding high country graziers could identify. Had James Stirling's suggestions for reservation of the Bogong High Plains as a public park been followed up and positive ideas been developed in a number of areas for tourism or other uses besides grazing, perhaps the notion would not have become so deeply ingrained. However, there was little apparent public support for dedication of land exclusively for recreation and tourism and contemporary pragmatic decision-makers did not share Stirling's foresight. Fortunately, the decision-makers' matter-of-fact approach to some extent compensated for their lack of imagination by preventing a trickle of individual selection requests and a series of ill-conceived land settlement schemes from fragmenting the continuity of Public ownership in the high country. The result of this unresponsive, dampening approach was to leave a broad spread of land subject to an interim land use, the temporary basis of which became dimmed with time.

Thus, over the hundred years ending in 1935, the basic characteristics and spatial features of high country grazing were laid down. This occurred in an atmosphere of somewhat static bureaucratic involvement centred upon occupation and selection procedures; very little attention was paid to the actual use of high country resources. However, a new trend in government control began emerging during the first three decades of the 1900s and lay in the field of land resource management. This trend has increasingly characterised relationships between landlord and tenant in the post-1935 period. Just how it has

influenced the high country grazing scene is a matter for further investigation. But what is certain is that some change will have been effected. In the social sciences "things never stay the same" although strands of continuity may be observed over time which give us a better idea of what we are actually dealing with.

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(f) Maps

1. Division of National Mapping, 1:100,000 Series:

Benambra	Jacobs River	Omeo
Buffalo	Maffra	Stratford
Dargo	Moe	
Howitt	Murrindal	

2. Australian Military Forces, 1:50,000 Series:

Jamieson
Matlock
Skene

3. Forests Commission Maps, 1:63360 Series:

Benambra	Glenmaggie	Murrindal
Buffalo	Glen Wills	Omeo
Cobbannah	Howitt	Stirling
Cobberas	Jacobs River	Stratford
Dargo	Jamieson	Tawonga
Deddick	Mansfield	Walhalla
Feathertop	Matlock	Wellington
Gembrook	Moroka	Wonnangatta

4. Other Forests Commission Maps:

Macalister River Watershed, 1977, 1:125,000
Victoria - Forests Reserves, 1978, 1:100,000

(g) Interviews

Snowy Range/Baw Baw Plateau:

Norman Chester	-	Heyfield
Bob Dunsmuir	-	Briagolong
Andy Estoppey	-	Briagolong
Kevin Higgins	-	Glenmaggie
Norman Jans	-	Boisdale
Jack Kelly	-	Maffra
Rex Miller	-	Mornington
Kevin Molphy	-	Heyfield
Jim Monds	-	Heyfield
Harry Rawson	-	Erica
Horton Riggall	-	Tinamba
Bill Shaw	-	Glenmaggie
Mrs. Shaw	-	Glenmaggie
Hec. Stagg	-	Tinamba

Dargo High Plains:

Tom Bibby	-	Harrietville
Roy Gow	-	Wandiligong
Jim Treasure	-	Lindenow

Mountains East of Mansfield:

Bill Allen	-	Toorak
Roy Dundas	-	Mansfield
Alex Graves	-	Mansfield
Charlie Hearn	-	Mansfield
George Hoskin	-	Jamieson
Irene Klingsporn	-	Merrijig
Jack Klingsporn	-	Merrijig
Jack McCormick	-	Merrijig
Bob Ritchie, Snr.	-	Delatite
Fred Ross	-	Mansfield
Bill Sutcliffe	-	Mansfield
Bert Walker	-	Mansfield
Jack Ware	-	Mansfield
Jim Ware	-	Dandenong

Bogong High Plains/Hotham-Cobungra:

Ross Blair	-	Germantown
Mrs. Rod Condon	-	Paynesville
Arthur Dibbin	-	Freeburgh
Jack Edmondson	-	Tawonga
Mr. & Mrs. David Evans	-	Myhree
Mrs. George Faithful	-	Omeo
Brinny Fitzgerald	-	Shannonvale
D'arcy Fitzgerald	-	Omeo
Ernie Foster	-	Omeo
Bill Hodgkins	-	Eskdale
Stewart Hollonds	-	Mt. Beauty
Bill Howard	-	Harrierville
Jack Keating	-	Harrierville
Andy Kelly	-	Bairnsdale
Kevin Kelly	-	Omeo
Mrs. Lawler	-	Germantown
Jack Maddeson	-	Mt. Beauty
Mrs. Jack Roper	-	Tawonga
Sid Ryder	-	Wodonga
Wally Ryder	-	Tawonga
Colin Scott	-	Omeo
Stewart Scott	-	Glen Iris

Buffalo Plateau:

Sid Beveridge	-	Brookside
Reg Lewis	-	Myhree
Percy Weston	-	Porepunkah

Gibbo-Pinnibar/Upper Buchan:

Jean Carmody	-	Nariel
Jim Commins	-	Ensay
Gerald Doyle	-	Hawthorn
Doug Duke	-	Bairnsdale
Bill Gibson	-	Benambra
Jo Gibson	-	Thowgla
Ron Grinter	-	Swifts Creek
Bill Hollonds, Snr.	-	Benambra
Mr. Johnson	-	Paynesville

Reg Jones	- Swifts Creek
Mr. & Mrs. George Mitten	- Bairnsdale
Mick Murphy	- Tongio
Claude Pendergast	- Benambra
Jack Pendergast	- Benambra
Lou Pendergast	- Benambra
Norman Pendergast	- Benambra
Dick Rogers	- Bairnsdale
K. C. Rogers	- Bairnsdale
Son Roth	- Ensay
Sid Simpson	- Nariel
Bert Yapp	- Bairnsdale
Miss Yapp	- Bindi

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APPENDIX A

EXTRACT FROM EVIDENCE PRESENTED TO THE CROWN LANDS COMMISSION BY JAMES STIRLING, LANDS DEPARTMENT OFFICER, OMEO, 1878

Name of Run.	Lessee.	Area.	Approximate Area suitable for Selection.	Approximate Area for Grazing.	Interior Grazing Land.	Climate.	Soil.	Vegetation.	Physical Conformation.	General Remarks.
Black Mountain (let under L. A. 1863)	E. O'Rourke ..	Acres. 40,000	Acres. 2,000	Acres. 20,000	Acres. 18,000	Cold sunny country	Decomposed trap rock, shallow on ranges.	All well grassed; covered in parts with belts of stunted gum.	Broken rangy country; some open sloping sites of limited extent.	Moderately good summer run; suitable in winter on account of snow.
Becher's Hill (let under L. A. 1863)	M. Mackintosh ..	160,000	..	22,000	140,000	Cold on ranges; moderately warm in valleys.	Inferior shallow loam on ranges; a few small flats on Westworth River.	Moderately grassed; land rather thickly timbered in places.	About a string of high ranges; broken country, with a few flats of limited extent among the ranges.	All such mountainous country; valuable for any purpose except grazing with a large area.
Bogong High Plains (let under L. A. 1869)	H. and J. Campbell ..	90,000	30,000	80,000	80,000	Cold bleak snowy country; snow lies to a depth of 12 feet during winter; generally seven months snowy weather.	Rich volcanic	All well grassed; slopes covered in parts with low stunted gum in belts; moderately timbered open country on slopes towards Coburgs and Bundara rivers.	High undulating table-land, 5,000 feet above sea level; steep fall towards Little River and headwaters of Coburgs, Bundara, and Big rivers; abounding in steep moss beds.	This is the soil of Mount Victoria; open flat plain estimated Mount Victoria 15,000 feet above sea level, and surrounding it are Mounts Featherston, Hotham, Coppi, and Wills. The proprietors use it as a summer run for cattle, transferring them from the lower levels during November, and bringing them back in March. This appears to be the only legitimate use to which this place of country can be put; stock should exist on it for four months in the year.
Buenbra (let under Land Act 1869)	J. Murphy ..	45,000	3,000	30,000	19,000	Cold, similar to Benambra; owing to difference of elevation it is slightly colder.	Good black fertile soil on flats along Glibbo Creek; moderately good coating of loam on surrounding ranges.	Similar to Benambra, but more undergrowth in valleys.	High ranges surrounding thickly timbered flats on Glibbo Creek; ranges rather steep; peaks attain an elevation of 3,000 feet.	Cattle run; the flats, although fertile, are not altogether suitable for selection owing to late frosts; moderately good grazing country; could stand subdivision into two or three cattle-grazing areas. Adjoins Benambra.
Bundaramunje (let under L. A. 1869)	J. Higgins and O. Young ..	37,000	3,000	30,000	8,000	Cold, similar to Benambra.	Moderate depth of alluvium on flats along Bundara River, not of any extent; sloping spurs from Bogong High Plains covered with volcanic soil.	Moderately thickly timbered; well grassed; scrubby in places.	Rangy country, partly slopes from high table-land near Mount Bogong; spurs precipitous in places.	Cattle run; an agricultural land worth mentioning as a rule, good grazing land on slopes on ranges towards high lands during winter; good summer country; might be subdivided into two cattle-grazing areas to advantage. Adjoins Benambra.
Coburgs West	J. Parlow ..	12,728	2,000	8,000	3,000	Similar to Coburgs East; slightly cooler in parts towards High Plains, owing to difference of elevation.	Rich black on Victoria Plains; good chocolate on slopes from High Plains.	Similar to Coburgs East; slopes from High Plains covered with patches of low stunted gum.	Part open plains and part rangy slopes from Bogong High Plains; Victoria River runs through it.	Cattle run, similar to Coburgs East; selection still going on. Adjoins Dalbarney.
Dalbarney (let under L. A. 1863)	J. Peterson and H. Box ..	30,000	If climatic influence could be overcome about 10,000, would be available for selection.	15,000	5,000	Colder than Coburgs. Snow lies on table-land during winter months; liable to late frosts.	Volcanic dark chocolate; steep bare rocky ledges towards Dargo River.	Good summer herbage on table-land, snow in winter; clumps of stunted gum in parts; and small open plains.	Table-land and slopes towards Dargo and Coburgs rivers; includes headwaters of the Victoria River; fall towards Dargo River of 2,000 feet.	Well adapted for grazier during summer months; snow falls heavily during winter; situated on Omeo and Bright roads; would stand cutting up into three summer grazing areas. Adjoins Coburgs West.
Dargo High Plains (let under L. A. 1869)	A. and W. E. Jones ..	121,000	About 20,000 if climatic influence could be overcome.	10,000 in summer time; 10,000 in winter.	71,000	Too severe for selection, owing to snow and late frosts.	Rich volcanic and chocolate and black soil on High Plains; rather bare on steep slopes towards Dargo and Crooked rivers; good depth of alluvium on flats along Dargo River.	Splendid summer herbage; poor in winter when not covered with snow; patches of stunted gum on plains; tall timber on slopes towards Crooked River.	Part open undulating table-land about 3,000 feet above sea level, and steep spurs forming part of headwaters of Little Dargo River.	Cattle run. The proprietor of these plains grazes them during summer months, taking the stock down the hills on to Little River during winter. This run would stand subdivision into six summer grazing areas. Adjoins Dalbarney.
Eaglevalle ..	C. S. Holmes ..	103,680	1,808	80,000	80,000	Moderately cold	Good soil on ranges; good soil on snowy plains; moderate depth of alluvium on flats along Wonnangatta River.	Moderately well grassed; thickly timbered in places.	Rough mountainous country and some open table-land; a few flats along Wonnangatta River.	Not suited for agriculture; too mountainous; the flats along Wonnangatta River are too small. Cattle run.
Fairform Hope (let under L. A. 1869)	E. O'Rourke ..	Acres. 20,000	Acres. 1,000	Acres. 10,000	Acres. 18,000	See Black Mountain, which adjoins this ..	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .	Cattle run; cold and bleak in winter.
Limestone ..	J. Fendergast ..	45,000	6,000	30,000	10,000	Cold bleak snowy country.	Fine dark chocolate along Limestone Creek flats; shallow loam on ranges.	Good grass land; ranges covered in parts with native hop.	Rangy mountain country; small open sloping flats on table-land along wide ranges; open flat varying from half a mile to a mile on Limestone Creek.	Used for cattle. The winter months are very severe, and late frosts very prevalent.
Mount Wills ..	F. Stratwhite and J. A. Herp-hill ..	30,503	400	28,000	6,000	Late frosts very prevalent; snow falls heavily during winter.	Good volcanic slopes from Mount Bogong; decomposed granite on eastern watershed of Big River.	Fair grass land, moderately timbered.	Spurs on west side of Big River proceeding from Bogong High Plains, and steep rocky ledges on E. and N.E. side proceeding from Mount Wills range; flats along Big River are limited in extent, and not very fertile.	Flanks the Bogong High Plains; would stand subdivision into two smaller runs or areas; used as a cattle run. Adjoins Bundaramunje.
Naninyong Ort (let under L. A. 1869)	H. W. and F. Lowe ..	8,000	1,000	6,000	1,000	Moderately cold; snow lies in valleys for weeks during winter.	Rich brown, and inferior decomposed schistose.	Moderately well grassed; thickly timbered in parts with gum.	.. .. .	Used as a cattle run; adjoins Dalbarney; includes headwaters and branches of Bundara River.
Tom Groggin (let under L. A. 1869)	C. Fendergast ..	20,000	3,000	10,000	8,000	Cold and bleak	Very little good soil on this run fit for selection; principally loam, timbered in places.	Rather thickly timbered towards ranges and also on flats; part covered with undergrowth of native hop.	Principally steep slopes from high range forming western watershed of the Inli River and the western margin of that river with a few flats of limited extent.	Cattle run; moderately well grassed towards Inli River.
Tambo North (let under L. A. 1862)	Wm. Soutter ..	27,419	3,000	10,000	15,419	Cold and bleak	Poor on ranges; good depth of spongy soil on headwaters of Tambo River.	Moderately grassed; covered with mesquite and gum, rather low and stunted.	Broken rangy country, rocky and barren in places; some well grassed mossy flats at head of Tambo River.	Used as a cattle run; late frosts rather too prevalent for agriculture.
Wonnangatta ..	.. .. .	163,070	3,000	40,000	120,000	Moderate; surrounding peaks cold.	Similar to Eaglevalle..	.. .. .	.. .. .	Cattle run.

Benambra ..	Cold, liable to late frosts; snow lies on surrounding peaks two and three months during depth of winter.	Rich black on flats along Benambra Creek; rather shallow loam on surrounding ranges.	Splendid herbage on open flats during summer months; surrounding ranges thickly timbered with gum and well grassed.	Open marshy flats along Benambra Creek; sloping flats, steep in places, proceeding from higher ranges forming watershed of Benambra Creek; generally mountainous country.	Used at present as a cattle run; good agricultural land also. Flats on lower river are good feed for selection; the severity of the climate the only drawback. The run could stand subdivision into two or three smaller grazing areas, with the flats for agriculture. Adjoins Benambra.
Coburgs East	Cold; snow falls heavily during winter months; liable to late frosts.	Rich black on Victoria Plains; moderately brown soil on ranges.	Well grassed open plains; ranges well timbered with gum; scrubby in places.	Part open undulating plains, part broken ranges surrounding plains; fall towards Dargo River precipitous.	Cattle run; although the soil on the plains is well adapted for agriculture, the severity of the climate would interfere with agricultural operations; selection still going on in this locality. This is the only one between Omeo and Bright. Adjoins Bundaramunje.

APPENDIX B

HORSES FOR THE INDIAN ARMY - SPECIFICATIONS AND CONDITIONS, 1889-1890

1. ... it is hereby notified that the Government of India are prepared to purchase about 2165 horses suitable for Army purposes during the year 1889-90 classed as follows:

Class I - Australian and Cape South African horses - 1285.
In Calcutta - medium cavalry hussars, 295; field artillery, 385; horse, 220. In Madras - medium cavalry and hussars, 165; field artillery, 110; horse, 70. In Bombay - field artillery, 50; horse, 50.

Class II - Country bred, 590. In Bengal - 49. In Bombay - 100. As many as possible full-grown horses, the remainder young stock from 1½ years old and upwards.

Class III - Arabs and Persians, 290. In Bombay - field artillery, 35; medium cavalry, 63. In Madras - native cavalry, 192.

Total 2165

2. The purchases will be made in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay and at various horse fairs and horse shows in India by remount agents under the orders of the Director, Army Remount Department.
3. The Calcutta land and remount depot will be open for the reception of horses from 1st October to the end of the purchasing season, ... purchasing to commence as soon after the arrival of the shipment as the remount agent may direct.
4. Horses and mares of all breeds will be received, but they must be within the prescribed age, 4-6 years, except as regards country bred, and in the case of Australian horses, 14 hands 3 inches to 16 hands high. It is to be distinctly understood that in regard to Class I and III remounts three year olds and mares in foal will not be purchased.
5. Greys will not be purchased for horse or field artillery.
6. The average price for an Australian or Cape remount has been fixed at 650 rupees which will be paid at the Indian port of purchase. The average price for Arabs and Persians is 550 rupees; for other horses according to their merits; but every horse present for purchase will be valued separately and higher or lower prices may be given, provided that the averages fixed above are not exceeded.

E. G. BARROW
for Secretary to the Govt. of India

(Source: Omeo Standard, 14.6.1889)

APPENDIX C

TRIALS OF AN EARLY HIGH COUNTRY GRAZIER

JOHN WARE (SNR)

Letter on behalf of John Ware who wished to select
1280 acres of Howqua Hills, 29.9.1899 (Lands
Department Reference Alexandra 5/130)

Background

John Ware resided in the Howqua Valley from 1885 to approximately 1935. He selected land on the Howqua River in 1884, but worked for a large portion of each year at Howqua Hills station where he was employed as a hand. He began establishing himself as an independent grazier in the mid to late 1890s as Howqua Hills station was wound down. In 1909 he acquired the grazing run around Mt. Clear (Grazing Block E8).

"Letter to Mr. K. McKenzie, Esq., M.P.

The Applicant, Mr. John Ware, some 14 years ago wended his way back into this country, when there was no track or any possible means of getting anything in the way of machinery to work his land. In fact for years he lived on kangaroos and whatever else he could get and by sheer downright pluck and energy he managed to improve his building in a manner that reflects great credit on him. Now that he is a married man with a family growing up he finds it impossible owing to the situation of his holding being so far from a market, to continue on. So small an area of ground that he has, and on account of all the back country around him being held as a run, affords him no opportunity of raising young cattle which is the only marketable and paying product for him. On the other hand he has to suffer at the hands of the parties leasing the country in the event of his stock by chance straying on to their run. I particularly crave your most valued attention and if you can succeed or assist in the cause of this application being granted you will certainly do a most worthy act."

APPENDIX D (1)(a)

HIGH COUNTRY GRAZING RUNS AND THEIR OCCUPANTS

Squatting Run	Area acres	Occupants
Beechers Hill	160,000	Aug. 1866 Simon Frazer Dec. 1869-Feb. 1872 Constantine Shiras Holme Apr. 1872-Aug. 1873 George G. Harper 1875-1886 Murdoch Mackintosh 1887-1908 Donald Gow Subdivided in 1908 into Grazing Blocks D2, D3 and part D1
Bogong High Plains	90,000	Aug. 1866-1868 Pierce, Jones & Williams 1875-1878 Malcolm K. McKenzie 1878-1883 Henry Campbell 1883 Thomas McKnight Hamilton Subdivided in 1887 into Grazing Blocks - see below
Buemba	45,000	Oct. 1872-Dec. 1886 John Murphy Subdivided in 1887 into Pastoral Allotments, primarily Pastoral Allotment 10
Bundaramunjie	37,000	Oct. 1857-1862 Edward Gray May-Oct. 1862 Fred Dallimore Oct. 1862-1867 J. H. Clough & Co. 1867-Apr. 1870 The Melbourne Banking Corp. Ltd Aug. 1870 Thomas Lavis Nov. 1870-1879 John Higgins Jan. 1879-Oct. 1879 Osborne Young & Eugene Higgins Oct. 1879-1882 Arthur Pyle & Osborne Young Aug. 1882-1886 Osborne Young Modified to become Pastoral Allotment 3N in 1887
Carlingford	116,000	Subdivision of Mt. Wellington (1): Apr. 1873-Dec. 1887 John Whitbourne Subdivided in 1885 into Pastoral Allotments 7V and 7W
Cobungra	25,000	Sept. 1851-1859 George Gray Nov. 1859-1868 James Parslow & John Meighan Oct. 1868-1871 James Parslow & Joseph R. Rawson Subdivided in Sept. 1871 into Cobungra East and Cobungra West

APPENDIX D (1)(a) (Continued)

Squatting Run	Area acres	Occupants
Cobungra East	12,300	Subdivision of Cobungra: Sept. 1871 J. R. Rawson Sept. 1871-1878 Fred W. Drevermann Jan. 1878-Dec. 1878 Hans Maass & Claus Maass Dec. 1878-1884 Hans Maass & Richard King Aug. 1884 William & Walter Coughlan
Cobungra West	12,728	Subdivision of Cobungra: Sept. 1871-1884 James Parslow Apr. 1884-1896 James Parslow & Richard King June 1896 Richard Riggall
Darbalary	30,000	1859-1861 Meighan & Gray Nov. 1861-1870 J. H. Clough & Co. Dec. 1870-1872 Jens Petersen 1872-1889 Jens Petersen & Fred Box 1889-1901 Fred Box Mar. 1901-1908 Richard Riggall Reduced in size by creation of Grazing Areas in 1885, 1898 and 1901
Dargo High Plains	121,000	Aug. 1866-1867 Pierce, Jones & Williams Apr. 1867-1869 John Ettershank May 1869-June 1869 William G. Baillie June 1869-1870 William Plummer Apr. 1870-1872 William H. & Henry Sweetapple & William F. Gibb Apr. 1872 Alfred Jones Oct. 1872-1882 Alfred Jones & Walter E. Jones 1882-1887 Wellington H. Morgan & Co. (Breen & McLean) Mar. 1887 Jens Petersen, Fred Box & Richard King Feb. 1889 Fred Box, Richard King and George Treasure May 1898 Richard Riggall & George Treasure July 1901 George Treasure Subdivided in 1908 into Grazing Blocks D4, D5 and Part D1, D6, C28 & C29
Eaglevale	103,680	1861-1868 Bennison Plains grazed by Richard Bennison who held Mt. Wellington run 1869-1883 Constantine Shiras Holme Jan. 1883-Dec. 1885 Bank of Victoria Sub-divided in 1885 into Pastoral Allotments 7E, 7H, 7I and part 7D

APPENDIX D (1)(a) (Continued)

Squatting Run	Area acres	Occupants
Forlorn Hope	29,000	1877-1887 Subdivided in 1885 into 2G, 2J Edward O'Rourke
Howqua Hills (renamed Sea- forth in 1888)		Apr. 1864 Apr. 1867 Sept. 1868 Jan. 1873 May 1874 July 1874 May 1877-1888 1888-1893 Subdivided in 1885 into Pastoral Allotments, but these were not used individually until after 1893. Pastoral Allotment 7R was the principal high country one. Charles Thomas Fred Wilkinson & Henry Lawes Sidney S. Crisp & G. N. Craig Richard Serpell Colin Campbell Bertram William Martin William Thomas Rowe William Hynam
Ingeegoodbee	35,000	Jan. 1896-Apr. 1870 Dec. 1870-1887 Subdivided in 1885 into Pastoral Allotments 2A & 2B Edwin Desailly Christopher O'Rourke
Limestone Creek	45,000	Mar. 1858-approx. 1860 1862-1886 Subdivided into Pastoral Allotments 1S & 1T David Jones James Pendergast
Mt. St. Bernard East	14,000	Mar. 1876 June 1877-1885 William Howman Richard King
Mt. St. Bernard	7,800	Jan. 1878 Thomas Breen
Mt. Useful	16,000	1860-1864 A. G. McCrae
Mt. Wellington(1)		approx. 1855 - 1860s Subdivided in 1873 into Carlingford and Mt. Wellington Malcolm McFarlane (unlic- ensed)
Mt. Wellington(2)	67,000	Subdivision of Mt. Wellington(1) 1873-1877 Nov. 1877-1882 1883/84-1887 Subdivided in 1885 into Pastoral Allotments 8Q & 8R Angus Shaw Murdoch Mackintosh Richard Riggall
Nunniong	8,000	1863-approx. 1866 1870-1871 1873-Dec. 1887 Subdivided in 1885 into Pastoral Allotments 2L & 2M Richard Simpson (unlicensed) Tongio Station Horatio & Fred Love

APPENDIX D (1)(a) (Continued)

Squatting Run	Area acres	Occupants	
Suggan Buggan	13,000	Oct. 1856 1858-1885 Part of it became Pastoral Allotment 2D in 1885	James McGuffie Edward O'Rourke
Tambo North	27,419	1875 Subdivided in 1885 into Pastoral Allotments 2H & 2I but continued to be held by Souter into the 1890s	William Soutter
Wonnangatta	163,000	July 1870 Divided into Pastoral Allotments 7E, 70 & 7P (75,500 acres) in 1885/6 but continued to be held together by Bryce's family until 1914	William Bryce (occupied since 1865)
Pastoral Allotment	Name	Area	Occupants
1E	Mt. Pinnibar	36,000	No information
1L		27,200	No information
1M		39,000	1886-? C. Pendergast
1N			No information
1O	Buembra	30,000	Part of old Buembra run 1886-1891 John Pendergast 1891-1908 Elizabeth Pendergast
1R	Davies Plain	34,000	1870s-1880s Owners of Tom Groggin Station 1892-1908 J. Gibson
1S	Limestone Creek	27,500	1886-1910 W.J.C. Pendergast 1910-1924 James Pendergast 1924-1940s Charles H. V. Pendergast
1T	Limestone Creek	27,000	1886-Jan. 1897 James Pendergast Jan. 1897-1910 W.J.C. Pendergast 1910-1948 H. L. Pendergast
2A		10,700	Formerly part of Ingeegoodbee 1886-1896 Walter Coughlan 1896/7-1908 William Pendergast

Pastoral Allotment	Name	Area	Occupants
2B	McFarlanes Flat	13,300	Formerly part of Ingeegoodbee 1886-mid 1890s 1896/7-1908 William O'Rourke William Pendergast
2D	Mt. Wombargo	12,200	No information - but grazed by O'Rourkes till 1901, then by Rogers family
2E	Native Dog	14,500	Formerly part of Suggan Buggan 1886-1901 1901-1908 Thomas J. O'Rourke J. C. Rogers
2F	Upper Buchan	17,900	Formerly part of Little River or Forlorn Hope 1886-1901 1901-1908 Annie M. O'Rourke J. C. Rogers
2G	Native Cat	26,700	Formerly part of Forlorn Hope 1886-? 1901-1908 Ann T. O'Rourke J. C. Rogers
2J	Forlorn Hope	24,700	Part of old Forlorn Hope run 1886-1901 1901-1908 Edward O'Rourke J. C. Rogers
2L	Nunniong	26,800	Part of old Nunniong run Apr. 1886-1896 1896-? Nov. 1902-1908 Thomas Quinn Christina Quinn Fred C. Lowe
2M	Nunnett	15,600	Part of old Nunniong run 1886-1904 1904/05-1908 Thomas Doyle Fred C. Lowe
3G	Mt. Bogong	32,300	1884/5-1900s George Maddison & Peter Howman. Un- licensed occupation
3N	Bundaramunjie	33,000	Part of old Bundaramunjie 1886-1908 Osborne Young
3Q	Mt. Phipps	26,900	Formerly part of Cobungra West 1886-1887 after 1887 J. Holland Used by holders of Cobungra West
3S	Upper Kiewa - Feathertop	10,000	Initially used by Tawonga Station - 1870s Nov. 1868-1890 Oct. 1897-1908 John Evans John Lawler

APPENDIX D (1)(a) (Continued)

Pastoral Allotment	Name	Area acres		Occupants
4A,B,C,D,E & F	- see Dargo High Plains and Beechers Hill			
5B & C	Mt. Buffalo	44,850	Up till 1890 1891-1922 early 1900s	Thomas Goldie (not licensed; he may have worked for someone else) A. H. & B. Weston and John Brady also Richard Hughes
6Q	Razorback - Mt. Stirling	28,000	1888/9-1908	J. C. H. Graves
6R	Upper King	32,000	1888/9-1908	J. C. H. Graves
6S	Mt. Cobbler	28,500	Mid 1890s-1902 1903-Dec.1909 Became Grazing Block E2 in 1909	Joseph Lewis George H. Lovick
7D	Bennison Plains	37,500	Formerly part of Mid 1890s-1908	Eaglevale Possibly M. Higgins
7H	Lower Moroka	15,400	Formerly part of 1886-1908	Carlingford James Holme
7I	Holmes Plain	23,000	Formerly part of 1886-1908	Eaglevale Constantine Shiras Holme
7L	Mt. Buller	21,700	1897-1899 1903/4-1919 1919-1948	H. Ricketson F. Klingsporn J. Lovick
7V	Mt. Wellington	38,000	Formerly part of 1888-1889 1890-1892 1893-Mar.1894 Mar.1894-1898 Oct.1898-1908 1904-1908	Carlingford Thomas Irwin Hugh McFarlane W. E. Gibson for Richard Ince, Jr. Richard Ince William Gibson - up until 1904 sub-let by Gibson or Ince to Riggall & Garvey Sub-let to Henry Miller
7S	Mt. Useful	32,700	?	?

APPENDIX D (1)(a) (Continued)

Pastoral Allotment	Name	Area acres	Occupants
7W	Upper Moroka	36,600	Formerly part of Carlingford 1886-1887 Ewan McMillan Jan.1889-1890 W. J. Irwin 1890-1893 H. D. McFarlane Jan.1895-May 1898 John O'Brien 1900-1908 Alex Guy Depleted through creation of Grazing Allotments in 1898. Allotments were a failure and were licensed together 1903/4-1908 by John McDonald

8Q & R		67,000	1887-1898 R. Riggall 1898-1908 ?
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9A,C,D,F No record of occupation prior to 1908

Bogong High Plains Green Area

Grazing Block	Area acres	Occupants
A	5,000	1887-1908 Thomas McNamara
B	5,000	1887-1889 Samuel H. Young
C	3,000	1887-1908 William Hollonds
D	5,000	1887-1888 Alex Whyte 1890-? Thomas Hollonds & John Stewart
E	2,000	1887-1908 Marcus Hobbs
F	8,000	1887-1902 T. M. Hamilton 1902-1908 J. S. McCulloch
G	3,000	1887-1908 William Wallace
H	3,000	1887-1888 Arthur Woodside & Dennis Farrington
I	2,000	1901-1908 J. Robson 1887-1888 H. Faithful 1902-1908 T. Robinson
J	3,000	1887-1888 T. B. Sheean 1890-1908 Stewart Wallace

APPENDIX D (1)(a) (Continued)

Grazing Block	Area acres		Occupants
K	3,000	1887-1888	William Condon
		1888-1893	John Evans
		- ?	
		1897	G. B. Huggins
		1901	G. H. Gray
L	8,800	1887-1908	Osborne Young
M	7,600	1887-1888	John Gibson
		1888-1893	John Evans
		1894-1901	Fred Box
		1901-1908	Richard Riggall
N	2,000	1887-1888	E. Brewer
		1897-1901	John Evans
		1902	J. Condon
		1903-1908	Mathis Duane
O	3,200	1887-1888	Jens Petersen
		1888-1893	John Evans
		1894-1901	Fred Box
		1901-1908	Richard Riggall
P	3,800	1887-1888	Fred Box
		1888-1898	Andrew H. Sharpe
		1898-1901	Fred Box
		1901-1908	Richard Riggall
Q	2,500	1887-1908	Andrew H. Sharpe
R	2,000	1887-1900	Patrick Duane
		1902- ?	Albert E. McNamara
S	2,000	1887-1888	Florence Faithful
Old Mt. Hotham Reserve	640	Previously grazed in conjunction with Pastoral Allotment 35 and Green Area Grazing Block O -	
		1905-1908	William Howard & Walter Dibbin
		1908-1909	John Lawler
		1909-1935	Ellen Lawler

Other graziers known to have been on Bogong High Plains from the late 1890s, but for whom there is no licence information: P. J. Kelly, F. Roper, J. Higginson, and others who are now unrecorded.

APPENDIX D (1)(a) (Continued)

1908 Redesign of Grazing Blocks

Grazing Block	Occupants
A1	Prior to 1934 used by graziers holding nearby areas; 1934-1975 Ernest McCallum
A2	1908-1919 Joseph Gibson 1919-1965 John Gibson
A3	1908-1913 R. & R. Worcester 1913-1931 John Pierce 1931-1967 Harry Nankervis
A4	1908-1910 Elizabeth Pendergast 1910-1958 W. J. C. Pendergast
A5	1908-1956 John Gibson, for Gibson Bros.
A6	1908-1938 James Gibson, for Gibson Bros.
A7	See Pastoral Allotments 1S and 1T
B1	1908-1917 William Pendergast 1917-1920 McKay Brothers 1920-1924 G. Brown, H. Hill, H. Flett 1924- ? K. C. Rogers ? -1931 John Freebody 1933-1936 L. C. Rogers
B2	1908-1917 William Pendergast 1917-1920 McKay Brothers 1920-1924 G. Brown, H. Hill, H. Flett 1924- ? K. C. Rogers ? -1931 John Freebody 1933-1939 L. C. Rogers
B3	1908-1934 J. C. Rogers 1934-1938 L. C. Rogers
B4	1908-1913 James Braid, A. Pither, T. Dowick 1913-1914 C. & V. Pendergast 1914-1919 John A. C. Pendergast 1919-1920 James Noonan 1920-1922 J. C. Scott 1922-1949 Claude J. Pendergast
B6	1908-1911 T. J. Collett, F. Eyre and William Hollonds 1911-1926 William Hollonds, Snr. 1926-1927 R. H. Hodge 1927-1928 K. C. Rogers

APPENDIX D (1)(a) (Continued)

Grazing Block		Occupants
B6 (continued)	1928-1933	J. A. Soutter
	1933-1937	M. J. Pendergast and J. A. Soutter
B7	1908-1927	J. C. Rogers
	1927-1928	L. C. Rogers
	1929-1932	Fred Jarvie
	1933-1934	William Rogers
	1934-1937	J.E. Hollonds
B8	1908-1912	John C. Scott
	1912-1928	James Duke and James McCoy
	1928-1933	Avonmore Settlers
	1933-1940	James Duke
B9	1908-1918	James Duke
	1918-1936	Richard Duke
B10	1908-1932	J. McCoy and Sons
	1933-1959	William Murphy
B11	1908-1909	Fred C. Lowe
	1909-1924	James McCoy
	1927-1929	Peter McCoy
	1929-1959	William Murphy
B12	Prior to 1933	William Murphy
	1933	T. Hamilton and others
C1	1908-1913	P. H. Howman
	1913-1914	James Walker and Thomas Hollonds
	1918-1919	Peter W. Howman
	1919-1920	R. G. McIllree and P. Norman
	1920-1921	J. T. Robinson
	1921-1924	P. H. Howman
	1925-Jan. 1926	T. J. Hollonds
	1926-1927	Thomas Maddison and Thomas Arter
	1927-1936	Thomas Maddison, Thomas Arter and W. Hodgkin (1927, Hodgkin replaced by P. J. Kelly)
C2	1908-1911	M. B. Duane
	June 1912-1913	Bert Roper
	1913-1919	P. L. Duane
	1919-1925	P. H. Howman
	1926-1928	Edward L. Maddison
	1928-1933	Len Prichard
	1933-1934	L. Prichard & W. Hodgkin
	1934-1935	G. T. Maddison and Ronnie Neilson
	1935-1940	L. Prichard & W. Hodgkin

APPENDIX D (1)(a) (Continued)

Grazing Block	Occupants	
C3	Prior to 1922 Jan.1923-Oct.1923 Resumed 1925-1937	W. B. Regan P. O'Connell
C4	1908-1946	Fred Roper
C5	1908-1914 1914-1924 Feb.1924-1948	Patrick L. Duane F. J. Ah Sam Chris. T. Johnston
C6	Prior to 1903 1903-1910 1913-1914 1918-1921 1921-1923 1927-1939	Patrick Duane, Jnr. Thomas McNamara George Robson S. A. McDonald Stewart Hollonds J. Dann
C7	1908-1913 1914-1916 1918-1921 Apr.1922-1924 Jan.1926-1930 Apr.1931-1936	J. K. Marum J. S. McCulloch (per J. K. Marum) J. P. O'Brien J. H. Condon and Pat Healy J. B. Goldsworthy C. S. Rowe
C8	1908-1915 1918-1921 1921-1961	P. J. Kelly Sub-divided in 1915 into C8 & C9 Alex F. McDonald C. B. T. Cooper
C9	May 1914	P. J. Kelly and family
C10	1908	Ryder family
C11	1908-1910 1918-1920 1920-1922 1922-1925 1925-1950	J. S. McCulloch and K. Marum Arthur Woodside Leslie J. Brumley R. L. Colleen, E. Foster and G. Pearson W. C. Greenwood
C12	1908-1910 1910-1912 1914-1915 1918-1921 1922-1931 1931-1936	William Johnston J. Robinson Clarke Bros. John Woodside H. E. Petersen H. E. Petersen and Thomas A.Morgan
C13	1908-Mar.1931 Mar.1931-Jan.1940	Charles Howard Victor Lawler

APPENDIX D (1)(a) (Continued)

Grazing Block		Occupants
C14	Prior to 1914	?
	1914-1918	George Bell
	1918	P. F. Seymour
	1919-1921	John L. Bowman
	1921-1931	W. F. Blair
	1931-1939	J. W. Edmondson
C15	1908-1910	J. Lawler
	1914-1915	F. E. Whitehead
	Jan. 1919-1938	Percy Norman
C16	1919-1938	Percy Norman
C17	1908-1914	James H. McGeach, Jr.
	1914-1915	J. S. McCulloch
	Apr. 1917-app. 1929	Thomas Hollonds, Snr.
	App. 1929-1948	Thomas J. Hollonds
C18	1908-app. 1914	William Wallace
	1914-1916	F. E. Whitehead
	1918-1920	Percy Norman
	1920-1937	William F. Blair
C19	1908-1910	John Lawler
	1914-1915	F. E. Whitehead
	1919-1924	William Lawler
	1925-1927	Michael Lawler
	July 1931-1937	Fred Mommsen, V. Attridge & C. Dyason
C20	1908-1911	Arthur Dibbin and others
	1911-1928	A. W. Dibbin
	Subdivided 1928 into C20 and C25	
	Jan. 1929-1943	T. Briggs and E. Weston
C21	1908-1913	Osborne Young
	Apr. 1914-1915	John C. Scott
	1918-1933	Pat McNamara
	1933-1937	P. McNamara, A. C. Sharpe and T. J. McNamara
C22	1908-1920	Dan McNamara
	Mar. 1920-1946	Thomas J. McNamara
C23	1908-1916	Thomas J. McNamara
	1919-1921	John C. Scott
	Mar. 1922-1943	F. A. Morgan
C24	Prior to 1933	?
	1933-1936	S. Hodgkins and L. Prichard

APPENDIX D (1)(a) (Continued)

Grazing Block	Occupants	
C25	Subdivision of C20 1927-1936	A. W. Dibbin & William Howard
C26	1908-1922 1922-1930 1930-1960	Richard Riggall Ellen Riggall E.J., J. and W. J. Naughton
C27	1908-1922 1922-1930 1930-1960	Richard Riggall Ellen Riggall Naughton Bros.
C28	1908-1909	Albert Treasure
C29	1908 1936-1960	H. Petersen; later H. Petersen and D. McNamara Naughton Bros.
C30	Prior to 1923 1923-1931 1933-1947	? Thomas Hollonds Stewart Hollonds
D1	1908-1920 1920-1923 1923 divided into D1 and D6 1923-1948	Harry Treasure C. Conley, J. Conley, W. Carthew and J. Davies (V. & R. Sharpe took over from Davies in 1922) H. L. Treasure and Sons
D2	Formerly part of D3 Jan. 1921-1924 Mar. 1927 Nov. 1927-1931 1931-1948	James Culhane H. L. Treasure, G. Lucas and M. Culhane A. Guy H. L. Treasure
D3	1908-1911 1911-1936 Subdivided in 1921 into D3 and D2	Donald Gow H. L. Treasure and C. L. Treasure
D4	1908-1909 1909-Jan. 1911 Jan. 1911-1920 1920-1924 1924-1935	John Edward Treasure and William S. Treasure Ernest Gow H. L. Treasure Scott and Riley H. L. Treasure, William Riggall and Thomas Phelan (Riggall dropped out in 1930)
D5	1911	H. L. Treasure and family

APPENDIX D (1)(a) (Continued)

Grazing Block	Occupants
DE	Formerly part of D1 1926-1929 H. L. Treasure 1929-1947 H. L. Treasure, A. J. Treasure, Victor Attridge, D. Moran
E1	1908-1915 William Frank Lovick May 1919-1920 F. Klingsporn 1920-1922 L. O. Smith 1922-1925 Fred A. Ross and Lewis T. Graves 1925-1932 J. W. Hearn and J. H. Seymour
E2	1914-1915 George H. Lovick 1919-1923 Martin Tiernan Jan. 1926-1931 John A. McLeod and Lewis T. Graves 1933-1935 Sam J. Christopher 1935-1941 J. E. Gorman
E3	Prior to 1914/15 W. F. & G. H. Lovick 1918-1919 F. Klingsporn 1919-1924 John C. Bullock 1924-1938 J. W. Hearn and J. H. Seymour
E4	1908-1918 J. C. H. Graves 1918-1922 Lewis (Bob) Graves 1920s-1935 J. W. Klingsporn, E. McCormick, John Bullock, Frank Klingsporn
E5	See Pastoral Allotment 7L
E7	1909-1918 James Barclay 1919/20-1935 William Frank Lovick
E8	July 1909-Nov. 1909 John Ware Nov. 1909-1927 John Ware, Franz Klingsporn and Franz Julius Klingsporn 1927-1935 John W. Klingsporn and John Ware
F1	1908-1914 Allan C. Bryce 1914-1918 Arthur J. Phillips 1918-1928 E. J. Allen 1928-1934 John J. Hoban, John Rennie, Reg Barnewall, Allen Bros. (4), (Wonnangatta Syndicate) 1934-1969 Guy family
F2	1908-1914 David Bryce 1914-1918 Geoffrey Ritchie 1918-1928 John W. Allen 1928-1934 Wonnangatta Syndicate 1934-1969 Guy Bros.

APPENDIX D (1)(a) (Continued)

Grazing Block	Occupants	
F3	1908-1914 1914-1918 1918-1928 1928-1934 1934-1969	David Bryce Ivy E. Phillips Edward C. Allen Wonnangatta Syndicate Guy Bros.
F4	1908-1910 Aug. 1910-1915 Subdivided in 1915 1917-1919 1919-1920 May 1921-1927 1933-1934 1934-1935	William Reid Pat Higgins into F4 and F4A Franz Klingsporn Frank Lovick Joe Coloe Pat Higgins William J. McMichael
F4A	Formerly part of F4 1915-1931 1931-1933 1935-1937	Pat Higgins J. Coloe J. C. Higgins
F5	1908-1909 1909-1921 1921-1956	Charlotte Flanagan John Norton J. V. Kelly
F6	Prior to 1925 App. 1925-1933 1933-1936 1936-1938	? T. J. Higgins Pat Higgins W. J. McMichael
F7	1908-1911/12 Apr. 1913-1923 1924-1925 Feb. 1928-1933 Feb. 1934-1939	James Holme Peter Norton J. Coloe Michael Higgins P. Coloe
F8	1908-1912 Mar. 1913-1914 1914-1920 Mar. 1920-1929 1929-1943	Edward Riggall Ferguson Bros. Arthur McMichael Alfred A. McMichael W. J. McMichael
F9	1908-1936 1936-1943	Henry Miller H. Miller and W. J. McMichael
F10	Jan. 1909-1910 Aug. 1910-1918 1918-1924 1924-1927 1927-1944	Hugh Morrison Henry Miller Boisdale Syndicate (John Burns, Dan L. McDonald, W. H. Carr, W. L. McCole, A. G. Foster - J. Diver replaced Burns in 1919) Alex Guy Henry Miller

APPENDIX D (1)(a) (Continued)

Grazing Block	Occupants	
F11	Prior to 1916	?
	1916-1918	Michael McCarthy
	1919-1921	W. S. McCale
	1921-1923	P. H. Smyth
	1924-1928	C. D. Estoppey
	1933-1936	A. J. Estoppey
F12	1908-1919	C. H. Cameron
	Jan. 1923-1944	Henry Miller
F13	1909-1914	Alex Guy
	1914-1918	Henry Miller
	1918-1921	Boisdale Syndicate
	1921-1924	R. E. McFarlane
	1926-1928	Jack Guy
	1929-1936	Henry Miller
G1	Prior to 1920	?
	June 1920-1921	Sidney Allen
	1921-1929	W. Sutcliffe
	(probably used from approx. 1908 to 1930s by G. Hoskin and R. Dale)	
G2	1908-Apr. 1910	C. S. Gleeson
	1920-1921	Frank Higgins
	1922-1923	J. H. Seymour (used illegally by Hoskin & Co. probably from 1908-1923)
	1923-1938	Richard Dale
G3	1909-1938	J. B. Hoskin for Hoskin Bros. (J. B. Hoskin dropped out 1913)
G4	Feb. 1909-1913	Drew Norman
	1913-1927	Thomas McMichael
	1927-1931	Alfred J. Kumpff
	1931-1953	D. E. Flynn
H1	Formerly part of H2	
	1915-1920	Thomas Allen
	1921-1922	W. Sutcliffe
	1922-1923	N. Freeman
	1923-1943	Fred Jans
H2	1908-1910	Thomas Allen
	1913-1915	James Anderson
	Subdivided in 1915 into H1 and H2	
	1915-1916	Edward Anderson
	1917-1920	Thomas Allen
	1920-1921	George F. Sparke
	1922-1925	William G. Freeman

Grazing Block	Occupants
H2 (continued)	1925-1946 Fred Jans (Note: Sparke was Jans' nephew; Sparke, Freeman and Jans worked in together)
H3	Grazed in conjunction (illegally) with H1 and H2 up till 1931 1931-1932 Fred Jans

APPENDIX D (1)(b)

OCCUPANTS OF SMALL ALLOTMENTS (FREEHOLD & CROWN)

Unit	Allot. No.	Area acres		Occupants
Nunniong	1	640	Approx.1900-Nov.1907 Nov.1907-Oct.1923 Oct.1923-Dec.1943 Dec.1943-Jan.1949	Thomas Doyle James McCoy William Douglas McCoy & John Malcolm McCoy Daisy P. A. Boucher
Cobungra	24	317	1895-1899 1899-1921 1921-1936	Gustave Petersen Henry Petersen H. E. & G. Petersen
	25 & 26	1,258	Mar.1887-June 1889 Feb.1891-1914 1914-1923 1923-1936	William Petersen Charles Edwin Rundell Eugene M. Petersen H. E. & G. Petersen
	27	827	1903-1918 1918-1919 1919-1930 1930-1960	Mary A. B. Spencer R. Riggall Ellen Riggall E.L., J. & W.J.Naughton
	31	800	Dec.1887-1891 1898-1936	W. M. Sharpe Henry E. Petersen
	32	1,279	Jan.1903-1918 1918-1919 1919-1930 1930-1960	Florence A. Spencer R. Riggall E. Riggall Naughton Bros.
	34	1,112	Prior to 1926 1926-1930 1930-1960	? William Riggall Naughton Bros.
	35	858	1903-1906 1907-1915 1915-1940	Sarah M. Gray Constance M.S.Spencer Francis H. Morgan
	36	640	Prior to 1901 1901-1937	? (Gus Petersen in 1888) Andrew H. Sharpe
	37	543	1902-1936	Ida Maria Petersen
	38	1,280	1907-1909 1911-1926 1926-1930 1930-1960	Mary I. Spencer Gustave & H.E.Petersen E. Riggall Naughton Bros.

Unit	Allot. No.	Area acres		Occupants
Cobungra (continued)	39 & 39A	1,278	1907-Jan. 1912 ? 1930-1960	George P. G. Spencer ? Naughton Bros.
	40	370	1896-1898 1899-1923 Subdivided in 1923 into 40 & 40A 1923-1936	Charles Kind Hugh McFarlane Athel L. Petersen
	40A	337	1923-1930 1930-1960	William E. Riggall Naughton Bros.
	41	410	Prior to 1930 1930-1960	? Naughton Bros.
	42	1,050	1907-1912 ?	Mary Spencer ?
	43	612	Nov. 1886-1920 1920-1941	Andrew H. Sharpe Estelle E. Sharpe
	44	629	May 1887-1895 1895-1920 1920-1923 Subdivided in 1923 into 44 & 44A 1923-1927 1927	Fred Box George H. Steed Violet J. Riggall Ellen Riggall Charles E. Rundell
	44A	240	1923 1923-1924 1925-1927 1927-1928 1928-1930 1930-1960	J. P. O'Connell H. D. McFarlane Allan Riggall Andrew Sharpe E. Riggall Naughton Bros.
	46	1,024	1902-1914 1914-1931 1931-1937	Thomas McNamara Edith G. Sharpe V. J. Sharpe
	47 & 47A	877	1902-1940	Francis A. Morgan
	49 & 49A	639	1887-1888 1899-1923 1923-1930 1930-1960	G. W. Powney (49 only) Mary A. B. Spencer Ellen Riggall Naughton Bros.
	50	491	1902-1914 1915-1937	Albert Edward McNamara Vincent J. Sharpe

APPENDIX D (1) (b) (Continued)

Unit	Allot. No.	Area acres	Occupants
Cobungra (continued)	51A, B & C	637	1902-1930 1930-1960 Catherine A. Rundell Naughton Bros.
	51	496	1902-1955 Patrick McNamara
	53 & 53A	239	1903-1925 1925-1946 Ida M. Petersen Athel L. Petersen
Note: Information for some allotments could not be located			
Dargo High Plains	1	655	1886 Donald Gow, Snr. Occupancy continued by Gow family. In 1940s held by Wraith and Gow
	2 & 2A	664	1886-1889 Early 1890s- 1920 Richard Gow George Treasure Treasure family
	4	947	1886-1902 1902-1945 Donald Gow, Jr. Ernest Gow
	5	823	1886-1889 1890s or early 1900s-1910 David Gow J. H. Gamel
	5A	1	Formerly miner's right held by Treasures 1913 Treasure family
	5B	150	1908-1917 1917-1940 John H. Gamel Clara V. Treasure
	9	526	1888-1893 Richard Gow
Moroka	1		1900-1903 Herbert A. O'Brien
	2		1900-1903 Mary G. O'Brien
	3		Possibly up to 1908 H. Morrison
	4 & 4A	1,277	1900-1903 Jan. 1905-1906 1907-1908 Charles Joseph McLean Angelina McDonald C. Maguire

Moroka allotments consolidated into Grazing Block F13 in 1908. Plan details of the subdivision could not be located.

APPENDIX D (1) (b) (Continued)

Unit	Allot. No.	Area acres		Occupants
Snowy Range	2	680	1888-1903	Cecil Zohrab Ede (nephew of C. S. Holme)
			1907-1914	Sydney C. Ede
			1915-1921	Patrick Higgins
			Subdivided into 2 and 2A in 1921	
			1922-1940s	Patrick Higgins
	2A		1921-1922	Myles Higgins
			1922-1940s	Patrick Higgins
	3		1903-1927	Michael Higgins
			1927-1940	John C. Higgins
	4	319	1884-1886	Charles H. Biddle
1892-1894/5	Thomas Culhane			
1900-1927	Michael Higgins			
1927-1940	John C. Higgins			
6		1883-1890s	William T. Bryce	
		Then incorporated with surrounding Grazing Block		
8		1884-1914	Annie Bryce	
		1914-1918	Philips & Ritchie	
		1918-1934	Allen Bros./Wonnangatta Syndicate	
Spring Hill	1	193	1903-1921	Annie McMichael
			1921-1940s	Rumpff Brothers
	2	300	1903-1921	Thomas McMichael
			1921-1940s	Rumpff Brothers

Sources: File records and registers of the Department of Crown Lands & Survey; Government Gazettes

APPENDIX D (2)

HIGH COUNTRY GRAZIERS 1835 - 1935

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Dates of Tenancy
Ah Sam, F. J.	Omeo	C5	1914-1924
Allen Brothers (Edward J., John W., Thomas H., Sidney)	Darlingford 1914-1924 Thornton 1924-1934	F1 F2 F3 (Wonnangatta Station) - in 1928 combined also with J. Hoban, J. Rennie and R. Barnwell - not listed - to form Wonnangatta Syndicate	1918-1934 1918-1934 1918-1934
Allen, Sidney	Darlingford	G1	1920-1921
Allen, Thomas	Ten Mile	H1 H2	1915-1920 1908-1910 and March 1917-1920
Arter, Thomas	Dederang	C1	Jan. 1926-1936
Attridge, Victor	Harrietteville	D6 C19	1929-1935 1931-1937
Ballie, William G. (Speculator) <i>Barclay, James</i>	?	Dargo High Plains	May-June 1869
Bell, George	<i>Merrin</i> Basin Creek, Yackandandah	C14 C15	1914-1918 1916-1917
Bennison, Richard	Gippsland	Bennison Plains (part of Eaglevale run but Bennison actually held licence for the Mt. Wellington run)	1861-1868
Bertram, Colin Campbell (Speculator)	?	Howqua Hills	May-July 1874
Biddle, Charles H.	Eaglevale	Snowy S.A.4	1884-1886
Blair, Frank	Bright	C14	1921-1931
Blair, William F.	Bright	C18	1920-1960
Boisdale Syndicate	- see Burns, J., McDonald, D.L., Carr, W.H., McCole, W.L., Foster, A.G., Diver, J.		

APPENDIX D (2) (Continued)

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Dates of Tenancy
Box, Frederick	Cobungra	Darbalary	1872-1901
		Dargo High Plains	March 1887- May 1898
		Bogong High Plains 'M'	1894-1901
		Bogong High Plains 'O'	1894-1901
		Bogong High Plains 'P'	1887-1888, 1898-1901
		Cobungra SA44	1887-1895
Brady, John	Eurobin	Mt. Buffalo	1891-1922
Braid, James	Hinnamunjie	B4 (shared with Pither, A. and Dowick, T. - not listed separately)	1908-1913
Breen, Thomas	Ovens Valley	Mt. St. Bernard Dargo High Plains	Jan. 1878-? 1882-1887
Brewer, E.	Omeo	Bogong High Plains 'N'	1887-1888
Briggs, T.	Eurobin	C20	Jan. 1929-1943
Brumley, Leslie J. (Retd. Sold.)	Myrtleford	C11	1920-1922
Bryce, J. P. William and family	Wonnangatta	Wonnangatta	1870-1866,
		PAs 7D, 7P, 7E	1887-1914
		Snowy SA6 (William T.)	1883-1890s
		Snowy SA8 (Anne)	1884-1908
		F1 (Alan C.)	1908-1914
		F2 (John)	1908-Jan. 1915
		F3 (David)	1908-1914
Bullock, John C. (Retd. Sold.)	Mansfield	E3	1919-1924
Burns, John	Boisdale	F10 & F13 (Boisdale Syndicate)	1918-1919
Campbell, Henry	Ensay	Bogong High Plains	1878-1883

APPENDIX D (2) (Continued)

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Dates of Tenancy
Carr, W. H.	Boisdale	F10 & F13 (Boisdale Syndicate)	1918-1924
Christopher, J.	Merrijig	Agistment east of Mansfield	1932-1933
Christopher, Sam J.	Cheshunt	E2	1933-1935
Clough, J. H. & Co.	?	Bundaramunjie (Mortgaged to Melbourne Banking Corp.Ltd. 1867-1870) Darbalary	1862-Apr.1870 1861-1870
Collen, R. L.	Omeo	C11	1922-1925
Coloe, Joseph	Boisdale	F4A F4 F7	1931-1935 May 1921-1933 May 1925-1927 & Feb.1934-Feb.1939
Cormins, J. L.	Ensay	B12	1930s
Condon, Charles	Omeo	Bogong High Plains 'G'	1902-1903
Condon, John	Omeo	Bogong High Plains 'N'	1902-1903
Condon, J. H.	Tongio	C7	1922-1924
Condon, William	Omeo	Bogong High Plains 'K'	1887-1888
Cooper, C.B.T.(Ben)	Tawonga	C8	1921-1973
Coughlan, Walter	Cobungra	Cobungra East PA2A	1884-mid-1890s 1886-1896
Coughlan, William	Cobungra	Cobungra East	1884-mid-1890s
Craig, George N. (Speculator)	?	Howqua Hills	1868-1872
Crisp, Sidney S. (Speculator)	?	Howqua Hills	1868-1872
Culhane, Thomas	Talbotville	Snowy SA4	1892-1904/05
Culhane, James	Crooked River	D2	Jan.1921-1922

APPENDIX D (2) (Continued)

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Dates of Tenancy
Dale, Richard	Mansfield	G2	1923-1938
Dallimore, Frederick (Speculator)	?	Bundaramunjie	May-Oct. 1862
Damm, J.	Tawonga	C6	1927-1939
Desailly, Edwin	?	Ingeegoodbee	Jan. 1869-Apr. 1870
Dibbin, Arthur W.	Freeburgh	C20 (Shared with others not listed) C25	1908-Jan. 1929 1927-1939
Dibbin, Walter	Freeburgh	Old Mt. Hotham Reserve Bogong High Plains	1905-1908 early 1900s
Diver, John	Boisdale	F10 & F13 (Boisdale Syndicate)	1919-1924
Doyle, Thomas	Bindi	PA 2M Nunniong SA1	1886-1904 1900-1907
Dreverman, F. W.	?	Cobungra East	1871-1878
Duane, Mathis	Tawonga	Bogong High Plains 'N' C2	March 1901-1908 1908-1910
Duane, Patrick	Tawonga	Bogong High Plains 'R' C2 C5	1887-1900 1908-1919 1908-1914
Duke, James	Gelantipy	B8 B9	Mar. 1912-appr. 1935 1908-1917
Duke, Richard	Bruthen	B9	Feb. 1918-1936
Dyason, C.	Melbourne	C19	1931-1937
Ede, Cecil Zohrab	Eaglevale	Snowy SA2	1888-1903
Ede, Sydney C.	Eaglevale	Snowy SA2	1907-1914
Edmondson, James W. (Retd. Sold.)	Tawonga	C14	Aug. 1931-Feb. 1939
Estoppey, Andrew J.	Briagolong	F11	1933-1936

APPENDIX D (2) (Continued)

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Dates of Tenancy
Estoppey, C. D.	Briagolong	F11	Feb. 1924-1928
Ettershank, John (Speculator) <i>Solicitor in High Plains</i>	Melbourne	Dargo High Plains	1867-1869
Evans, John	Myhree	PA 35 ^S	1888-1890
		Bogong High Plains 'K', 'M' & 'O'	1888-1893
		Bogong High Plains 'N'	1897-1901
Farrington, Dennis	Freeburgh	Bogong High Plains 'H' (Unlicensed grazing of Bogong High Plains from at least 1882 - possibly from late 1870s)	1887-1888
Faithful, Henry	Wangaratta or Omeo	Bogong High Plains 'I'	1887-1888
Faithful, Florence	Wangaratta or Omeo	Bogong High Plains 'S'	1887-1888
Ferguson Brothers	Glenmaggie	F8	1913-1914
Foster, A. G.	Boisdale	F10 & F13 (Boisdale Syndicate)	1918-1924
Frazer, Simon (Speculator)	?	Beechers Hill	1866-1867
Freebody, John	Gelantipy	B1	1931-1933
Gamel, John H.	Mayford	Dargo SA 5B	1908-1917
Gibbs, William F. (Speculator)	?	Dargo High Plains	April 1870-1872
Gibson, James	Benambra	A6	1908-1938
Gibson, John	Benambra	A5	1908-1938
		PA IR	1892-1908
		Bogong High Plains 'M'	1887-1888
Gibson, Joseph	Thowgla	A2	1908-1925
Gibson, John	Thowgla	A2	1926-1967

APPENDIX D (2) (Continued)

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Dates of Tenancy
Gibson, William E.	Sale	PA 7V	1898-1908
Gleeson, C. S.	Jamieson	G2	1908-April 1910
Goldie, Thomas	Buckland Valley	PA 5B & 5C (Mt. Buffalo)	possibly 1870s up to 1890 (unlicensed)
Goldsworthy, J. B.	Huon	C7	Jan. 1926-1930
Gow, David	Harrietville	Dargo SA5	1886-1889
Gow, Donald, Snr.	Harrietville	Dargo SA1	1886-early 1900s
Gow, Donald, Jnr.	Harrietville	Dargo SA4 Beechers Hill D2 & D3	1886-1902 1887-1908 1908-1911
Gow, Ernest	Harrietville	Dargo SA4 D5	1902-1945 1909-Jan. 1911
Gow, Richard	Harrietville	Dargo SA2 & SA2A Dargo SA9	1886-1889 1888-1893
Graves, James C. H.	Mt. Battery, Mansfield	6R & 6Q	1889-1918
Graves, Lewis J. (Bob)	Mt. Battery, Mansfield	E1 E2	1922-1925 Jan. 1926-1931
Gray, Edward	Cobungra	Bundaramunjie Darbalary	1857-1862 1859-1861
Gray, G. H.	Omeo	Bogong High Plains 'K'	1901-approx. 1908
Gray, George, Snr.	Pelican Lagoon, Wangaratta	Cobungra Station	1851-1859
Gray, Sarah M.	Omeo	Cobungra SA35	1903-1906
Greenwood, Walter (Retd. Sold.)	Omeo	C11	1925-1956
Guy, Alexander	Crooked River	PA 7W F10 F13 D2	1900-1908 1924-1926 1909-1912 1922-1924

APPENDIX D (2). (Continued)

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Dates of Tenancy
Guy, Alex. & Sons (John D. & Arthur)	Crooked River	F1	1934-1969
		F2	1934-1969
		F3	1936-1969
Guy, John D.	Crooked River	D2	1927-1931
		F13	1936-1929
Hamilton, Thomas McKnight	Ensay	Bogong High Plains	1883-1887
		Bogong High Plains 'F'	1887-1902
Harper, George G. (Speculator)	?	Beechers Hill	1872-1873
Healy, Patrick	Tongio	C7	April 1922-1924
Hearn, J. W.	Boorolite, via Mansfield	E1	1925-1932
		E3	1925-1938
		Agistment east of Mansfield	1932-1933
Higgins, Eugene	Benambra	Bundaramunjie	Jan.-Oct.1879
Higgins, John	Omeo	Bundaramunjie	1870-1879
Higgins, John C.	Newry	F4A	1935-1937
		Snowy SA3 & SA4	1927-1940
Higgins, Michael, Snr.	Talbotville, Cowwar after 1920	PA 7D	mid-1890s-1908
		Snowy SA3	1903-1927
		Snowy SA4	1900-1927
Higgins, Michael, Jnr.	Glenmaggie	F7	Feb.1928-1933
Higgins, Myles	Dargo	Snowy SA2A	1921-1922
Higgins, Patrick	Talbotville, Cowwar after 1919	F4A	1915-1931
		F4	1933-1934
		F4	1910-1915
		F6	1933-1936
		Snowy SA2	1915-1940s
		Snowy SA2A	1920-1940s
Higginson, J.	Tawonga	grazed Bogong Plains from late 1890s-early 1900s without licence	
Hobbs, Marcus	Tawonga	Bogong High Plains 'E'	1887-1908

APPENDIX D (2) (Continued)

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Dates of Tenancy
Hodge, R. H.	Butchers Ridge	B6	1926-1927
Hodgkin, W. J.	Eskdale	C1 C2	1927-1930 1933-1937
Hollonds, J. E.	Benambra	B7	1934-1937
Hollonds, J.	Omeo	PA 3Q	1886-1887
Hollonds, Stewart	Tawonga	C6 C30	1921-1923 1933-1947
Hollonds, Thomas, Snr.	Tawonga	Bogong High Plains 'D'	1890-early 1900s
Hollonds, Thomas J., Snr.	Tawonga	C1 C17	1913-1925 April 1917-1925
Hollonds, Thomas J., Jr.	Tawonga South	C17 C30	1926-1949 1923-1931
Hollonds, William, Snr.	Benambra (from Kiewa in 1880s)	B6 Part C24 Bogong High Plains 'C'	1911-1926 1908-1916 1887-1908
Holme, Constantine Shira	Eaglevale	Beechers Hill Eaglevale PA 7H	Dec. 1869-Feb. 1872 1869-1885 (1883- 1885 mortgaged to Bank of Victoria) 1886-1908
Holme, James	Eaglevale	F7	1908-1913
Hoskin, J. B.	Jamieson	G3	1908-1928
Howard, Charles	Harrietville	C13	1908-March 1931
Howard, William, Snr.	Harrietville	Old Mt. Hotham Reserve	1905-1908
Howman, Peter H.	Eskdale	C1 C2 PA 'G' 3/4	1908-1924 1919-1924 1884/85-early 1900s
Howman, Frank A.	Eskdale	C2	1919-1922
Howman, William	Harrietville	Mt. St. Bernard East	1876-1887

APPENDIX D (2) (Continued)

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Date of Tenancy
Huggins, G. B.	Tawonga	Bogong High Plains 'K'	1897-1908
Hughes, Richard	Eurobin	Mt. Buffalo	early 1900s-1922
Hynam, William	Merrijig	Howqua Hills	1888-1893
Ince, Richard, Jnr.	Maffra	PA 7V	1893-1898
Irwin, Thomas (Speculator)	Sale	PA 7V	1888-1889
Irwin, W. J. (Speculator)	Sale	PA 7W	1889-1890
Jans, Frederick	Traralgon	H1 H2 H3	1923-1946 1925-1946 1931-1932
Jarvis, Frederick	Benambra	B7	1929-1932
Jarvis, H. J.	Benambra	Part C24	1919-1926
Johnston, Christopher T.	Tongio	C5	1924-1948
Johnston, William	Tongio	C12	1908-1910
Jones, Alfred	Summerlea, Dargo	Dargo High Plains	April 1872-1882
Jones, Walter Edwin	Dargo Flat	Dargo High Plains	Oct. 1872-1882
Jones, David	Omeo	Limestone Creek	March 1858-1860
Kelley, John K.	Eskdale	C2	1920-1922
Kelly, Patrick J.	Omeo	Bogong High Plains area C8 C9	illegally late 1890s-1908 1908-1915 1915-1930s
Kelly, Thomas	Omeo	C1	1930-1936
Kind, Charles	Cobungra	Cobungra SA 40	1896-1898
King, Richard	Omeo	Cobungra East Dargo High Plains	Dec. 1878-1896 1887-1898

APPENDIX D (2) (Continued)

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Dates of Tenancy
Klingsporn, Franz, Snr.	Merrijig	PA 7L	1903/04-1919
		F4	1917-1919
		E2	1919-1920
		E3	1918-1919
Klingsporn, Frank	Merrijig	E8	1909-1927
		PA 7L	1903/04-1919
Klingsporn, John W.	Merrijig	E8	1927-1932
		Agistment east of Mansfield	1932-1940s
Lavis, Thomas (Speculator)	?	Bundaramunjie	April-Aug. 1870
Lawes, Henry (Speculator)	?	Howqua Hills	1867-1868
Lawler, Ellen (wife of John, Snr. dec'd 1909)	Germantown	C15	1909-1910
		C19	1909-1911
		Old Hotham Reserve	1909-1943
Lawler, E. A.	Bright	C14	June-Oct. 1933
Lawler, John, Snr.	Germantown	PA 3S	1897-1908
		Old Hotham Reserve	1908-1909
		C15	1908-1909
		C19	1908-1909
Lawler, John Edward	Harrietville	D6	1923-1926
Lawler, Michael (Manager of Estate of J. Lawler)	Freeburgh	C19	1925-1927
Lawler, Victor N.	Freeburgh	C13	1931
Lawler, William	Freeburgh	C19	1919-1924
Lewis, Joseph	Moyhu	Mt. Cobbler (unlicensed)	mid-1890s-1902
Lovick, John	Merrijig	PA 7L	1919-1948
Lovick, George H.	Merrijig	E2	1908-1909, 1914-1915
		Agistment east of Mansfield	1932-1935

APPENDIX D (2) (Continued)

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Dates of Tenancy
Lovick, W. Frank	Merrijig	F4	1919-1920
		E1	1908-1915
		E3	1908-1915
		E7	1919-1935
Lowe, Frederick, Snr.	Omeo	Nunniong	1873-1887
Lowe, Frederick Charles	Bindi	PA 2L	1902-1908
		PA 2M	1904/05-1908
		B11	1908-1909
Lowe, Horatio	Omeo	Nunniong	1873-1887
McCale, W. S.	Maffra	F11	1919-1921
		F10 & F13	1918-1924
		(Boisdale Syndicate)	
McCarthy, Michael	Dargo	F11	1916-1919
McCormick, E.	Merrijig	Agistment east of Mansfield	1932-1935
McCoy, James	Ensay	B8	1912-1920
		B11	1909-1920
		Nunniong SA1	1907-1923
McCoy, William Douglas & Malcolm	Ensay	B8	1920-1940
		B11	1920-1927
		Nunniong SA1	1923-1943
McCoy, M. & Sons	Ensay	B10	1908-1932
McCoy, Peter	Bairnsdale	B11	1927-April 1929
		B12	1930s (share J, Commins)
McCrae, A. G.	?	Mt. Useful	1860-1864
McCulloch, J. S.	Rudds Point, Carrathool, N.S.W.	Bogong High Plains 'F'	1902-1908
		C7	1914-Feb. 1916
		C11	1908-1910
		C17	1914-1915
McDonald, Angelina	Wa-de-lock	Moroka SA4 & 4A	1905-1906
McDonald, D. C.	Boisdale	F10 & F13 (Boisdale Syndicate)	1918-1924
McDonald, John	Maffra	Part PA 7W	1903/04-1908

APPENDIX D (2) (Continued)

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Dates of Tenancy
McDonald, S. A.	Huon	C6	1918-1921
		C8	1918-1921
McDonald, Alex. F.	Huon	C8	1918-1921
McFarlane, Hugh D.	Glenmaggie	PA 7V	1890-1892
		PA 7W	1890-1893
		Cobungra SA 40	1899-1923
		Cobungra SA44A	1923-1924
McFarlane, James	Currawong Station, N.S.W.	Unlicensed use of McFarlane's Flat 1835 up to possibly 1840s	
McFarlane, Malcolm	Glenmaggie	Occupied Mt. Wellington country without authority approx. 1855 to early 1860s	
McFarlane, R. E.	Talbotville	C13	1921-1926
McGeoch, James H., Jnr.	Wodonga	C17	1908-1911
McGuffie, James	Bombala, N.S.W.	Suggan Buggan	1856-1857
McIllree, Norman & Robert G.	Albury	C1	1919-1920
Mackintosh, Murdoch	Dargo Flat	Beechers Hill	1875-1886
		Mt. Wellington (2)	1877-1883
Mackay Brothers	Delegate, N.S.W.	B1	1917-1920
		B2	1916-1933
McKenzie, Malcolm Kenneth	Ensay	Bogong High Plains	1875-1878
McLean, Charles Joseph	Wa-de-lock	Moroka SA4 & 4A	1900-1903
McLean, ?	Ovens Valley	Dargo High Plains	1882-1887
McLeod, John A.	Mansfield	E2	Jan. 1926-1931
McMichael, Alfred Austin (Retd. Sold.)	Glenmaggie	F8	Mar. 1920-1929
McMichael, Annie	Glenmaggie	Spring Hill SA1	1903-1921

APPENDIX D (2) (Continued)

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Dates of Tenancy
McMichael, Arthur	Glenmaggie	F8	1914-Mar.1920
McMichael, Thomas	Glenmaggie	Spring Hill SA2	1903-1921
McMichael, W. J.	Glenmaggie	F8	1934-1935
McMillan, Ewan	Gippsland	PA 7W	Jan.1889-1890
McNamara, Albert Edward	Omeo	Bogong High Plains 'R' Cobungra SA50	1902-1908 1902-1914
McNamara, Daniel	Omeo	C22 C29	1908-Mar.1920 1908-?
McNamara, Patrick	Omeo	C21 Cobungra SA51	1918-1959 1902-1955
McNamara, Thomas	Omeo	Bogong High Plains 'A' C6 Cobungra SA46	1887-1908 1908-1910 1902-1914
McNamara, T. J.	Omeo	C21 C22	1933-1946 Mar.1920- Feb.1943
Maass, Claus	?	Cobungra East	Jan.-Dec.1878
Maass, Hans	Cobungra	Cobungra East	Jan.1878-1884
Maddison, Edward L.	Tawonga	C2	1926-1928
Maddison, George	Tawonga	PA G (unlicensed)	1884/5-early 1900s
Maddison, G. T.	Tawonga	C2	1934-1935
Maddison, Thomas	Dederang and Tawonga	C1	Jan.1926-1959
Maguire, C.	Dargo	Moroka SA4 & 4A	1907-1908
Martin, William (Speculator)	Gardiner (Melbourne)	Howqua Hills	1874-1877
Marum, J. Kiernan	Tawonga	C7	1908-1910
Meighan, John	Omeo	Cobungra Station Darbalary	1859-1868 1859-1861

APPENDIX D (2) (Continued)

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Dates of Tenancy
Miller, Henry	Upper Maffra	F10 F9 F12 F13	1910-1918 1908-1936 1923-1940s 1914-1918 & 1929-1940s
Mommsen, Frederick & Co.	Wandiligong	C19	1931-1937
Morgan, Francis A. (Retd.Sold.)	Omeo	C23 Cobungra SA35 Cobungra SA47 & 47A	March 1922-1943 1915-1940 1902-1940
Morgan, Thomas A.	Cobungra	C12	1931-1943
Morgan, Wellington H.	Buckland Valley	Dargo High Plains	1882-1887
Morrison, H.	Dargo (?)	Moroka SA3	possibly 1900-1908
Murphy, John	Benambra	Buemba	1872-1886
Murphy, William	Swifts Creek/ Tongio	B10 B11 B12	1933-1959 1929-1959 mid-late 1920s- 1930s
Nankervis, Harry	Corryong	A3	1931-1950s
Naughton Bros. (Edmund L., "Merungle", John N. & J.)	Booligal, N.S.W.	C26 C27 Cobungra SAs 39,39A,27,33, 34,38,51A,51B, 51C,40A,44A, 49A & 19A	1930-1960 1930-1960 all 1930-1960
Neilson, Ronnie	Tawonga	C2	1934-1935
Noonan, James	Benambra	B5	1919-early 1920s
Norman, Percy	Albury/Bowna, N.S.W.	C1 C15 & 16 C18	1919-1920 Jan.1919-1938 1918-1921
Norton, Peter	Dargo	F7	Apr.1913-1924
Norton, John	Dargo	F8	Jan.1910-1920
O'Brien, Herbert A.	Sale	Moroka SA1	1900-1903

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Dates of Tenancy
O'Brien, J.P.	Swifts Creek	C7	1918-1921
O'Brien, John	Wa-de-Lock	PA 7W	Jan.1895-May 1898
O'Brien, Mary G.	Sale	Moroka SA2	1900-1903
O'Connell, J. P.	Omeo	Cobungra SA44A	1923 only
<i>O'Reilly, Bernard</i>	<i>Black Mountain</i>	<i>PA 2F</i>	<i>1886-1901</i>
O'Rourke, Annie	Black Mountain	PA 2F	1886-1901
O'Rourke, Ann T.	Black Mountain	PA 2G	1886-1901
O'Rourke, Christopher	Black Mountain	Ingeegoodbee	1870-1887
O'Rourke, Edward	Black Mountain	Suggan Buggan Forlorn Hope Black Mountain PA 2J	1858-1885 1877-1887 1877-1901(?) 1886-1901
O'Rourke, Thomas Joseph	Black Mountain	PA 2E	1886-1901
O'Rourke, William	Black Mountain	PA 2B	1886-mid 1890s
Parslow, James	Cobungra	Cobungra Station Cobungra West	1859-1871 1871-1896
Pendergast, C. H. V.	Omeo Station, Benambra	A7 B4 PA 1S	1921-1940s 1913-1914 1924-1940s
Pendergast, Claude J.	Benambra	B4	1922-1949
Pendergast, Cornelius	Benambra	PA 1M	1886-?
Pendergast, Elizabeth (wife of John Pendergast)	Benambra	PA 10	1891-1908
Pendergast, H. L.	Benambra	PA 1T	1910-1948
Pendergast, James	Benambra	Limestone Creek PA 1T PA 1S A7(B)	1862-1886 1886-Jan.1897 1910-1924(?) 1870s-1924
Pendergast, John	Benambra	PA 10	1886-1891
Pendergast, John A. C.	The Brothers/ Spring Hill, Benambra	B4	1914-1919 1922-1949

APPENDIX D (2) (Continued)

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Dates of Tenancy
Pendergast, L. H.	Kimberley Park, Benambra	A7(A) A7(B)	Appr. 1920-1948 1924-1948
Pendergast, M. J.	Penders Court, Benambra	B6	1933
Pendergast, William	Benambra	PA 2A PA 2B	1896/7-1908 1896/7-1908
Pendergast, William James Charles	Springvale, Benambra	PA 1S PA IT A4 B1 B2	1886-1910 1897-1910 1908-1958 1908-1917 1908-1916
Petersen, Athel L.	Omeo	Cobungra SA40 Cobungra SA53 & 53A	1926-1936 1925-1946
Petersen, Eugene M.	Tongio West	Cobungra SA25 & 26	1914-1923
Petersen, Gustave	Omeo	Cobungra SA24 Cobungra SA25 & 26 Cobungra SA36 Cobungra SA38	1895-1899 & 1921-1936 1923-1936 1888-? 1911-1926
Petersen, Henry	Omeo	Cobungra SA24 Cobungra SA25 & 26 Cobungra SA36 Cobungra SA38	1895-1899 1921-1936 1923-1936 1888-? 1911-1926
Petersen, Henry	Omeo	Cobungra SA24	1899-1921
Petersen, Henry E.	Omeo	C12 C28 C29 Cobungra SA24 Cobungra SA25 & 26 Cobungra SA31 Cobungra SA38	1922-1936 1909-1936 1909-1936 1921-1936 1923-1936 1898-1936 1911-1926
Petersen, Ida Maria	Omeo	Cobungra SA37 Cobungra SA53 & 53A	1902-1936 1903-1925

APPENDIX D (2) (Continued)

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Dates of Tenancy
Petersen, Jens	Omeo	Darbalary	1870-1889
		Dargo High Plains	Mar.1887-Feb.1889
		Bogong High Plains '0'	1887-1888
Petersen, William	Omeo	Cobungra SA25 & 26	1887-1889
Phillips, Arthur John	Glenroy, Mansfield	F1 & F3	1914-1918
Pierce, Jones & Williams (Speculators)	?	Bogong High Plains	Aug.1866-1868
		Dargo High Plains	1866-1868
Plummer, William (Speculator)	?	Dargo High Plains	1869-1870
Powney, G. W.	Cobungra	Cobungra SA49A	1887-1888
Pritchard, Lennie	Mitta Mitta	C2	1928-1937
Pyle, Arthur	Hinnomunjie, Omeo	Bundaramunjie	1879-1882
Quinn, Christina (wife of T. Quinn, dec'd 1896 and F. Lowe, dec'd 1880s)	Doctor's Flat	PA 2L	1896-1902
Quinn, Thomas	Doctor's Flat	PA 2I	1886-1896
Rawson, Joseph R.	Cobungra	Cobungra Station	1868-1871
		Cobungra East	Sept.1871 only
Reid, William	Glenmaggie	C12	1908-1910
Ricketson, Henry	Delatite, via Mansfield	PA 7L	1897-1899
Riggall, Alan (son of Richard)	Cobungra	Cobungra SA44A	1925-1927
Riggall, Ellen (wife of Richard, dec'd 1920)	Cobungra	C26 & 27	1923-1930
		Cobungra SA27	1923-1930
		Cobungra SA33	1923-1930
		Cobungra SA38	1926-1930
		Cobungra SA44A	1928-1930
		Cobungra SA44B	1923-1927
Cobungra SA49A & 19A	1923-1930		

APPENDIX D (2) (Continued)

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Dates of Tenancy
Riggall, Edward	Tinamba	F8	1908-1913
Riggall, Richard (son of Edward)	Glenfalloch (Glenmaggie) up till 1896, then Cobungra	Mt. Wellington(2) PA 8Q & PA 8R Cobungra West Darbalary Dargo High Plains Bogong High Plains 'M', 'O' & 'P' C26 C27 Cobungra SA27 Cobungra SA33	1883-1887 1887-1897 June 1896-1918 1901-1908 May 1898-July 1901 1901-1908 1908-1923 1908-1923 1918-1923 1918-1923
Riggall, Violet J.	Dargo	Cobungra SA44	1920-1923
Riggall, William (son of Edward)	Dargo	D4	1924-1930
Riggall, William Edward (son of Richard)	Cobungra	Cobungra SA34 Cobungra SA40A	1926-1930 1923-1930
Riley, ?	Dargo	D4	1920-1924
Ritchie, Geoffrey	Delatite, via Mansfield	F2	1914-1919
Robinson, James T.	Omeo	Bogong High Plains 'I' C12 C1	approx. 1902 1910-1912 1920-1921
Robson, George	Tawonga	C6	1913-1914
Robson, J.	Tawonga	Bogong High Plains 'H'	1901-1908
Rogers, John C	Black Mountain	PAs 2E, 2F, 2G & 2J B3 B5	1901-1908 1908-1934 1909-1928
Rogers, K. C.	Black Mountain	B1 B6	1924-1929 1927-1928
Rogers, L. C. (Dick)	Black Mountain	B1 B2 B3 B5 B7	1933-1936 1933-1939 1927-1928 & 1934-1938 1928-1931 1927-1928

APPENDIX D (2) (Continued)

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Dates of Tenancy
Roper, Bert	Tawonga	C2	1912-1913
Roper, Frederick	Tawonga	Grazed Bogong High Plains from late 1890s to 1908 without licence C4	1908-1946
Ross, Frederick A.	Mansfield	E1	1922-1925
Rowe, C. S.	Omeo	C7	Apr. 1934-1946
Rowe, William Thomas	Cape Clear (near Ballarat) and Howqua Hills	Howqua Hills	May 1877-1885
Rumpff Brothers	Seaton	Spring Hill SAs 1 & 2	1921-1940s
Rundell, Catherine A.	Glen Valley, via Omeo	Cobungra SAs 51A, B & C	1902-1930
Rundell, Charles Edwin	Cobungra, later Glen Valley	Cobungra SAs 25 & 26 Cobungra SA44B	1891-1914 1927-1930s
Scott, John C.	Buchan and later at Hinnomunjie Bridge, Omeo	B8 B4 C21 C23	1908-1912 1920-1922 1914-1918 1919-1921
Scott, J. and D.	Dargo	D4	1920-1924
Serpell, Richard (Speculator)	Doncaster	Howqua Hills	Jan. 1873-1874
Seymour, J. H.	Jamieson	E1 E3 G2	1925-1932 Apr. 1925-1938 June 1922-1923
Sharpe, Andrew Hawthorne	Cobungra	Bogong High Plains 'P' Bogong High Plains 'Q' Cobungra SA36 Cobungra SA43 Cobungra SA44A	1888-1889 1887-1908 1901-1937 1886-1920 1927-1928
Sharpe, Edith G.	Cobungra	Cobungra SA46	1914-1931

APPENDIX D (2) (Continued)

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Dates of Tenancy
Sharpe, Estelle E.	Melbourne	Cobungra SA43	1920-1941
Sharpe, Vincent T.	Cobungra	Cobungra SA46 Cobungra SA50	1931-1937 1915-1937
Sharpe, William M.	Cobungra	Cobungra SA31	1887-1891
Shaw, Angus	Glenmaggie	Mt. Wellington(2)	1873-1877
Sheean, Thomas B.	Benambra	Bogong High Plains 'J'	1887-1888
Simpson, Richard	Bindi	Unlicensed occupation of Nunniong area 1863-approx. 1866	
Sleed, George H.	Melbourne, then Newcastle	Cobungra SA44	1895-1920
Smyth, P. H.	Valencia Creek	F11	1921-1923
Soutter, J. A.	Benambra	B6	1928-1933
Soutter, William	Benambra	Tambo North Part PAs 2H & 2I	1875-1885 1885-mid 1890s
Spencer, Constance M.S.	Sunnyside, via Omeo	Cobungra SA35	1907-1915
Spencer, George P.	Cobungra	Cobungra SAs 39 & 39A	1907-Jan. 1912
Spencer, Florence A.	Sunnyside, via Omeo	Cobungra SA33	1903-1918
Spencer, Mary	Cobungra	Cobungra SA42	1907-1912
Spencer, Mary A. B.	Sunnyside, via Omeo	Cobungra SA27 Cobungra SAs 49 & 19A	1903-1918 1899-1923
Spencer, Mary I.	Sunnyside, via Omeo	Cobungra SA38	1907, 1909
Stewart, John	Tawonga	Bogong High Plains 'D'	1890-possibly early 1900s
Sutcliffe, William	Jamieson	H1 G1	1921-1922 1921-1929

APPENDIX D (2) (Continued)

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Dates of Tenancy
Sweetapple, William H. & Henry (Speculators)	?	Dargo High Plains	Apr.1870-1872.
Terry, E.W.	Mansfield	G7	1919-1932
Thomas, Charles (Speculator)	Melbourne	Howqua Hills	Apr.1864-1867
Tiernan, Martin (Retd.Sold.)	Rose River, via Cheshunt	E2	1919-1923
Tongio Station	Unlicensed occupation of Nunniong area 1870 -		
Treasure, Albert	Dargo High Plains	C28	1908-1909
Treasure, Clara V.	Dargo High Plains and Dargo	Dargo SA5B	1917-1940
Treasure, Emily (wife of George)	Lindenow	Dargo High Plains Dargo SAs 2 & 2A	1901-1908 1901-1920
Treasure, George	Dargo High Plains	Dargo High Plains Dargo SAs 2 & 2A	May 1898-1901 early 1890s-1901
Treasure, Harry (son of George)	Dargo	D1 D2 D3 D4 D5 D6 Dargo SAs 2 & 2A Dargo SA5A	1909-1940s Mar.1927- 1911- Jan.1911- 1911- 1926- 1920- 1913-
Treasure, John Edward (son of George)	Dargo High Plains	D4 C28	1908-1909 1909
Treasure, William Sidney (son of George)	Dargo High Plains	D4 C28	1908-1909 1909
<i>Walden</i> Walker, James	Tawonga	C1	1913-1914
Wallace, Stewart	Kergunyah	Bogong High Plains 'J' C18	1890-1908 1908-1914

APPENDIX D (2) (Continued)

Name	District of Residence	Grazing Run	Dates of Tenancy
Wallace, William	Kergunyah	Bogong High Plains 'G'	1887-1908
		C18	1908-1914
Ware, John, Snr.	Howqua Hills	E8	1909-1932
		agistment on E8	1932-1935
Weston, A. H.	Porepunkah	Mt. Buffalo	1891-1922
Weston, B.	Porepunkah	Mt. Buffalo	1891-1922
Weston, Eric A.	Eurobin	C20	Jan. 1929-1958
Whitbourne, John	Lindenow Flat	Carlingford	Apr. 1873-1887
Whyte, Alex	Omeo	Bogong High Plains 'D'	1887-1888
Wilkinson, Frederick (Speculator)	?	Howqua Hills	Apr. 1867-1868
Woodside, Arthur	Barwidgee, via Myrtleford	Bogong High Plains 'H'	1887-1888
		C12	1918-1920
Woodside, John	Barwidgee, via Myrtleford	C11	1918-1920
Young, Osborne	Benambra	Bundaramunjie	Jan. 1879-1889
		PA 3N	1886-1908
		Bogong High Plains 'L'	1887-1908
		C21	1908-1913
Young, Samuel H.	Omeo	Bogong High Plains 'B'	1887-1889

APPENDIX E

EVOLUTION OF GRAZING OCCUPATION PROVISIONS

A

Rules for Regulating Squatting Occupation in New South Wales

Proclaimed in October 1847

RULES TO BE ENFORCED WITHIN THE UNSETTLED DISTRICTS.

SECT. 1.—It shall be lawful for the Governor for the time being of the said Colony, or the officer for the time being administering the Government of the Colony, and he is hereby empowered to grant leases of runs of land within the unsettled districts, to such person or persons as he shall think fit, for any term or terms of years, not exceeding fourteen years in duration, for pastoral purposes, with permission, nevertheless, for the lessee to cultivate so much of the lands respectively comprised in the said runs as may be necessary to provide such grain, hay, vegetables, or fruit for the use and supply of the family and establishment of such lessee, but not for the purposes of sale or barter; and so, nevertheless, that such leases shall in no case prejudice, interrupt, or interfere with the right of the Governor or other officer for the time being administering the Government of the said Colony to enter upon any of the lands comprised in the said leases for any purpose of public defence, safety, improvement, convenience, utility, or enjoyment, agreeably to the provisions for those purposes contained in the 9th section of the second chapter of this Order in Council, or otherwise.

SECT. 2.—The rent to be paid for each several run of land shall be proportioned to the number of sheep or 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. Each run shall be capable of carrying, at least, four thousand sheep, or equivalent number of cattle, according to the scale aforesaid, and not in any case be let at a lower rent than ten pounds per annum, to which two pounds ten shillings per annum shall be added for every additional thousand sheep, or equivalent number of cattle which the run shall be estimated as capable of carrying.

Source: New South Wales Government Gazette,
October 5 1847

APPENDIX E (Continued)

B

Conditions of Pastoral Licence
1869 Land Act

SCHEDULE XXVI.

CONDITIONS OF LICENSE UNDER SECTIONS 63 AND 69 OF "THE LAND ACT 1869."—
(Chapter XIV., Section 1.)

1. This license shall not be deemed to prevent the said run, or any part thereof from being sold, leased, or licensed under Parts I., II., or III. of *The Land Act 1869*, or proclaimed a common, or occupied by virtue of any miner's right or business license, or any license under *The Land Act 1869* issued for other than pastoral purposes, or from being alienated or dealt with under the authority of this or any other Act now or hereafter to be in force.

2. The rent for pastoral occupation of the said run shall be paid in half-yearly instalments on the last day of June and on the last day in December, to
at _____ or to any other officer who may be authorized by the Board of Land and Works to receive the rent.

3. If the licensee, or any person claiming an interest through or under the licensee in the run for which this license has been issued, shall, at any time during the period for which the license has been issued, employ any person to apply for a license of an allotment under *The Land Act 1869* contrary to the true intent of the provisions thereof, or shall make or cause to be made any agreement or contract, or shall give or take or cause to be given or taken any negotiable security for the purpose of defeating or evading the provisions of, or shall in any way whatsoever directly or indirectly commit, or be privy to, a fraud upon the said Act, this license shall be liable to be forfeited and revoked.

4. No land comprised in roads from time to time surveyed and marked out within the boundaries of the said run, and no lands temporarily or permanently reserved, and no land within the meaning of the latter part of the 63rd section of *The Land Act 1869*, shall be deemed to be unappropriated Crown lands, or within the operation of this license.


5. The holder of this license may cultivate so much of the said run as may be necessary to provide such grain, hay, vegetables, or fruit, as may be required for the use and supply of his family and establishment, but not for the purposes of sale or barter, and the licensee making such sale or barter shall be liable for every such offence to forfeit a penalty of not less than Ten nor more than Fifty pounds.

Source: The Land Act, 1869 and Regulations
Government Printer, 1877

APPENDIX E (Continued)

C

Conditions of Grazing Licence
1869 Land Act

£ s. d.	Fee per annum—	V.		R.	No.

SCHEDULE VIII. A.

LICENSEE TO DEPASTURE ONLY, UNDER 47TH SECTION "THE LAND ACT 1869."

Department of Lands and Survey,
Melbourne, Victoria, 187

Know all men that I, _____, being the person duly authorized in that behalf, in pursuance of *The Land Act 1869*, and in consideration of the sum of _____ duly paid by the person hereinafter mentioned, do hereby give to _____ of _____ a license to enter with sheep, cattle, horses, or other animals, upon all those Crown lands not forming any part of any run or common described in the Schedule hereto. And this license shall be in force until the 31st December of this year, and no longer, and shall be subject to the conditions printed on the back hereof.

Schedule.

All these Crown lands, containing _____ acre or thereabouts.

Signature—

CONDITIONS.

1. This license shall not be deemed to prevent the land comprised therein, or any part or parts thereof, from being sold, leased, or licensed under any of the provisions of Parts 1, 2, or 3 of *The Land Act 1869*, except subdivision 7 of the 47th section thereof, or proclaimed a common, or occupied by virtue of any miner's right or business license, or alienated or dealt with under the authority of *The Land Act 1869* or any other Act now or hereafter to be in force, otherwise than for pastoral or depasturing purposes, or resumed by order of the Governor, acting by and with the advice of the Executive Council, for railways, roads, telegraph lines, dams, reservoirs, races, catchwater drains, pipe tracks, quarries, or other public purposes; and no licensee shall in any such case be entitled to compensation other than the return of such portion of the fee paid by him as the Minister may think fit.
2. If the licensee, or any person claiming an interest through or under the licensee in the land comprised in this license shall, at any time during the period for which the license has been issued, employ any person to apply for a license of an allotment under *The Land Act 1869*, contrary to the true intent of the provisions thereof, or shall make or cause to be made any agreement or contract, or shall give or take, or cause to be given or taken, any negotiable security for the purpose of defeating or evading the provisions of, or shall in any way whatsoever, directly or indirectly commit or be privy to a fraud upon the said Act, this license shall be void.
3. No land comprised in roads from time to time surveyed and marked out within the boundaries of the land comprised in this license shall be deemed within the operation of this license.
4. This license entitles the holder thereof during the period therein specified to use the land in respect of which the same is granted for depasturing purposes only, and does not confer any right to build thereon, or to cultivate or fence any portion thereof; but if the holder thereof desire such use of the land beyond such period, notice to that effect must be given by him to the Minister one month prior to the expiry thereof.
5. The interest in this license may not be transferred without the consent of the Minister and payment of a fee of One pound (£1), and upon sanction of transfer thereof a new license will issue to the transferee.
6. No claim whatsoever shall be made or entertained by reason of this license not being renewed or transferred.

Source: The Land Act, 1869 and Regulations
Government Printer, 1877

APPENDIX E (Continued)

D

Conditions of Grazing Licence
1884 Land Act

SCHEDULE LXXV.—(CHAP. XXI. s. 9.)

Fee per annum, £ s. d. No.

GRAZING LICENSE UNDER 119TH SECTION "LAND ACT 1884."

Department of Lands and Survey,
Melbourne, Victoria, 188 .

KNOW ALL MEN that I, [the Governor of Victoria]
(being the person duly authorized in that behalf) in pursuance of *The Land Act*
1884, and in consideration of the sum of
duly paid by the person hereinafter mentioned, do hereby give to

of license and liberty
upon the park
* Describe kind of to enter with* stock, lands, reserves, or other Crown lands specified in the schedule
hereto, not being lands forming part of any common, or held under lease or license
or taken up or required for the purposes of the said Act, and therewith to depas-
ture the same. This license will continue in force until the
day of and no longer, and is issued subject to the conditions on
the back hereof.

Schedule.

All these Crown lands
containing acre or thereabouts.

CONDITIONS.

1. The issue of this license shall not prevent the land comprised therein or any part or parts thereof being sold, leased, licensed, alienated, or dealt with under any of the provisions of *The Land Act* 1884, except under the 119th section thereof, or being resumed by order of the Governor or Administrator of the Government of Victoria, with the advice of the Executive Council, for any of the purposes for which land may be reserved under section 10 of *The Land Act* 1884, or for mining purposes.
2. In case the said land or any part thereof should be sold, leased, licensed, alienated dealt with, or resumed as aforesaid, the licensee shall not be entitled to any compensation other than the return of such portion of the fee paid by him as the responsible Minister of the Crown for the time being administering *The Land Act* 1884 may think fit. This license is also subject to the rights of the holders of miners' rights or of mining leases now issued or hereafter to be issued to enter upon the allotment hereby licensed, and to search for gold and to mine thereon, and to erect and occupy mining plant and machinery, without making any compensation to the licensee, his executors, administrators, or assigns, for surface or other damage.
- 2a. Subject to these conditions the licensee shall be entitled to use the land for the purpose for which this license has been granted until notice has been given in the *Government Gazette* that such land or any part thereof has been sold, leased, licensed, alienated, dealt with, or resumed as aforesaid, and immediately upon such notice being given all the interest of the licensee in the licensed land described in such notice shall cease and be determined, and any person entitled to occupy the licensed land or any part thereof may lawfully make entry upon and hold the same without the permission or sanction of the licensee or anyone claiming under her, him, or them.
3. No land comprised in roads from time to time surveyed and marked out within the boundaries of the land comprised in this license shall be deemed within its operation.
4. This license entitles the holder thereof, during the period for which it is granted, to use the land therein comprised for depasturing purposes only, but does not confer any right to build thereon, or to cultivate, or to fence any portion thereof.
5. If the licensee desire a renewal of this license, notice to that effect must be given to the Minister aforesaid one month prior to the expiration thereof, but nothing herein contained shall be deemed to confer a right to any renewal.
6. The interest in this license may not be transferred without the consent of the Minister aforesaid and the payment of a fee of £1.
7. No claim whatever shall be made or entertained by reason of this license not being renewed or transferred.
8. This license is to be used under and in accordance with the regulations made or to be made under the provisions of the said Act and for the time being in force.
9. The license may be forfeited if the licensee commit a breach of or neglect to comply with these conditions.
10. The publication of a notice in the *Government Gazette* purporting to declare that the Governor or Administrator, with the advice aforesaid, has forfeited this license shall be conclusive evidence that the license is forfeited.

And the Honorable John Lamont Dow, Her Majesty's Commissioner of Crown Lands and Survey for Victoria, shall give the necessary directions herein accordingly.

ROB. WADSWORTH,
Clerk of the Executive Council.

By Authority: ROBT. S. BRAIN, Government Printer, Melbourne.

Source: *The Land Act, 1884 with the Regulations*
Government Printer, 1888

APPENDIX E (Continued)

E

Conditions of Pastoral Lease
1884 Land Act

SCHEDULE VI.—(CHAP. IV. s. 4.)

LEASE UNDER SECTION 21 OF "THE LAND ACT 1884."

THIS Indenture made the first day of _____ in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and eighty-Queen Victoria of the one part and _____ between Her Most Gracious Majesty in the colony of Victoria hereinafter called "the lessee" of the other part.

Whereas the Governor with the advice of the Executive Council has agreed to grant this lease for pastoral purposes of the pastoral allotment hereinafter demised for the term of _____ years and _____ calendar months at the annual rent of _____

being the rent computed according to the provisions of *The Land Act 1884* to the lessee who has acquired the right or become entitled thereto under the provisions of the same Act and the lessee has paid half a year's rent in advance: And whereas the Governor with the advice aforesaid has approved of and directed the conditions and provisions hereinafter contained to be inserted in this lease framed in accordance with the regulations made in pursuance of the provisions of the said Act: Now this indenture witnesseth that in consideration of the payment aforesaid and of the rent hereby reserved and of the covenants of the lessee hereinafter contained Her Majesty doth by these presents grant and demise unto the lessee his executors administrators and assigns all that pastoral allotment situate in the parish of _____ county of _____

in the colony of Victoria containing _____ more or less and delineated on the plan prepared in accordance with the provisions of the 19th section of the said Act and thereon numbered _____ in the said parish

and also delineated on the plan drawn in the margin of these presents and therein coloured yellow together with the appurtenances: Excepting and reserving unto Her Majesty her heirs and successors all gold and auriferous earth or stone and all mines containing gold in and under the said demised premises together with liberty for Her Majesty her heirs and successors and her and their agents and servants at any time or times during the said term to enter upon the said land and

to search and mine therein for gold and to remove therefrom any gold and any auriferous earth or stone and for the purposes aforesaid to sink shafts and do any other things which may be necessary or usual in mining: And also excepting and reserving unto Her Majesty her heirs and successors by the Governor with the advice aforesaid to grant in manner and on the conditions prescribed in Part VIII. of the said Act licenses to any person to enter upon any of the land comprised in this lease and search for cut dig and take away live or dead timber coal and other mineral gravel salt guano sand resin stone or limestone loam brick or other earth: And also excepting and reserving to Her Majesty her heirs and successors and assigns and every other lessee of any pastoral allotment and her heirs and their agents and servants tenants and workmen liberty and right of ingress egress and regress at all times through over and across the premises hereby demised with or without horses cattle and other animals carts waggons and carriages to and from such allotment or part thereof respectively from and to any public road or track subject to the regulations to be made by the Governor with the advice aforesaid: To have and to hold the premises hereinbefore expressed to be hereby demised unto the lessee his executors administrators and assigns for the term of _____ years and _____ calendar months from the day of the date of this lease:

Yielding and paying therefor during the said term the yearly rent of _____ by two equal half-yearly payments in advance on the first day of _____ and the first day of _____ in every year clear of all deductions the first

of the said half-yearly payments having been made as aforesaid the next of the said half-yearly payments to be made on the first day of _____

next and the last of the said half-yearly payments to be made on the first day of _____ next preceding the expiration of the said term: And the

lessee doth hereby for himself his heirs executors administrators and assigns covenant with Her Majesty her heirs and successors that he the lessee his executors administrators or assigns will during the said term pay the said rent hereinbefore reserved at the times and in manner hereinbefore appointed for payment thereof clear of all deductions: And also will during the said term pay all existing and future rates assessments and taxes for the time being payable either by landlord or tenant in respect of the said premises: And also will not assign sublet or subdivide or part with the possession of the land hereby demised or any portion thereof without the previous consent of The Board of Land and Works signified in writing: And also will at once after the granting of this lease commence and continue to destroy and will within three years after the granting of this lease have destroyed to the satisfaction of The Board of Land and Works the animals and birds by the said Act included in the term "vermin" or which the Governor with the advice aforesaid may by proclamation in the *Government Gazette* declare to be vermin for the purposes of the said Act upon such land and will keep the same free of such animals and birds Bathurst burr wild briar and gorse to the satisfaction of The Board of Land and Works during the currency of the term hereby granted: And also will repair and keep in good condition and repair during the continuance of the term hereby granted all houses fences wells reservoirs tanks dams and all substantial and permanent improvements situated on the land hereby demised whether made erected or constructed by the lessee his executors administrators or assigns or not reasonable wear and tear and damage by fire storm and tempest alone excepted and that the lessee his executors administrators or assigns will not remove fill up or render useless or cause to be

removed filled up or rendered useless any of the same without first obtaining the permission of The Board of Land and Works signified in writing: And also will at the expiration or sooner determination of the said term hereby granted peaceably deliver up to Her Majesty or her successors the premises hereby demised together with all houses fences wells reservoirs tanks dams and all improvements that now are or may be made erected or constructed thereon in such good and sufficient repair and order as aforesaid and in all respects in such state and condition as shall be consistent with the due performance of the several covenants hereinbefore contained: And also will permit any person appointed in that behalf by The Board of Land and Works at any time to enter upon the premises hereby demised to ascertain if the conditions and covenants of this lease are being performed by the lessee: And also will not during the currency of this lease ring or destroy or except for the purpose of fencing or building on the land hereby demised cut down any timber in or upon such demised land unless with the previous sanction of The Board of Land and Works signified in writing and only then under the supervision of an officer appointed in that behalf by the said Board: And also that every holder of a miner's right or of a mining lease shall have the right and shall be allowed by the lessee his executors administrators and assigns to enter upon the allotment hereby demised and search for gold and to mine thereon and to erect and occupy mining plant and machinery without making any compensation to the lessee his executors administrators or assigns for surface or other damage: And also that these presents shall become absolutely void on any assignment thereof save under the provisions of *The Land Act 1884*: Provided always and it is hereby agreed and declared that Her Majesty her heirs and successors may at any time and from time to time during the said term resume possession of any part or parts of the land hereby demised which may in the opinion of the Governor with the advice aforesaid be required for the purposes of water supply irrigation works races dams and ditches forest or timber reserves or for public railways roads canals or for tramways or other internal communication through such lands or for mining purposes or for the purpose of obtaining or removing therefrom guano or other manure stone or earth or for sites of inns stores smithies bakeries or similar buildings or of bathing-houses bathing-places fishermen's residences drying grounds fellmongering establishments slaughter-houses lime-kilns bridges ferries toll or punt houses tanneries factories saw or paper mills stores warehouses or dwellings quays docks landing places or the deposit of materials ship-building and repairing boat-building and repairing or for the working of mineral springs or for the manufacture of salt or for the purpose of erecting pumps or for the purpose of cutting digging and taking away any live or dead timber gravel stone ballast limestone salt shell seaweed and loam brick or other earth: Provided always and it is hereby also agreed and declared that Her Majesty her heirs and successors may at any time and from time to time during the term hereby granted in accordance with the regulations aforesaid resume as sites for townships or villages or for mining purposes and re-enter upon any lands forming part of the land hereby demised upon payment to the lessee his executors administrators or assigns of the full value of all houses fences (being fences within the meaning assigned to the word "fence" by *The Land Act 1884*) wells reservoirs tanks dams and of all substantial and permanent improvements made erected or constructed by such lessee his executors administrators or assigns on the lands so resumed but nothing herein or in the said Act contained shall be construed to give a better tenure to the lessee his executors administrators or assigns in regard to the right of miners to enter upon the land hereby demised in search of gold than was possessed by pastoral tenants under *The Land Act 1869*: Provided always and it is hereby expressly agreed and declared that neither of the preceding provisions shall prejudice or be construed as restricting the generality of the covenant on the part of the lessee hereinbefore contained conferring on the holder of a miner's right or of a mining lease the right to enter upon the demised land and exercise the rights in such covenant mentioned: And in case of any land being required to be resumed for mining purposes the Governor with the advice aforesaid shall determine and have the election whether it shall be resumed under the provisions of the 68th section of the said Act or under the provisions herein before contained and if so under which of such provisions it shall be so resumed or taken: And it is hereby declared that in case possession of any part or parts of the said land shall be resumed under either of the preceding provisions the covenants provisions and agreements herein contained with reference to the whole of the premises shall continue in force and apply to such parts of the same as shall be left in the possession of the lessee his executors administrators or assigns: Provided always and it is hereby also agreed and declared that the term hereby granted may be determined by Her Majesty her heirs or successors at any time by not less than three years' previous notice in writing of such intention addressed to the lessee his executors administrators or assigns being served upon him or them or left upon any part of the lands comprised in this lease and published in three consecutive ordinary numbers of the *Government Gazette* and upon payment to the lessee his executors administrators or assigns for his interest in this lease together with the value of houses fences (being fences within the meaning aforesaid) wells reservoirs tanks dams and of all substantial and permanent improvements made erected or constructed by the lessee prior to the date of such notice and during the currency of this lease on the lands so resumed provided that the sum paid in respect of such improvements by The Board of Land and Works shall not exceed the sum expended thereon by the lessee his executors administrators or assigns and that such sum shall be determined in accordance with the regulations aforesaid and every such determination shall be binding and conclusive and the compensation to be paid to the lessee in respect of his interest in this lease shall be determined in manner provided by *The Lands Compensation Statute 1869* or any Act amending the same: Provided always and it is hereby agreed and declared and these presents are upon this condition that if and whenever there shall be a breach of or non-compliance with any of the covenants by the lessee herein contained and the Governor with the advice aforesaid shall determine that this lease shall in consequence be avoided (and the production of the minute of the proceedings of the Executive Council whereat such determination was arrived at shall be conclusive evidence thereof) or if the land hereby demised or any part thereof is assigned whether by operation of law or otherwise except as hereinbefore mentioned or as in *The Land Act 1884* otherwise expressly provided then these presents and the term hereby created shall be

void and of no effect and immediately thereupon it shall be lawful for any bailiffs of Crown lands or for any other agents or officers authorized in that behalf by Her Majesty or by the Governor with the advice aforesaid without any demand whatsoever to enter upon the land hereby demised and the lessee his executors administrators and assigns and all persons claiming under him or them for ever to expel and remove therefrom without any legal process whatsoever and as effectually as any sheriff might do in case Her Majesty had obtained judgment in ejectment for recovery of possession of the said land or in an action for the recovery of land and a writ of *habere facias possessionem* or writ of possession or other process had issued on such judgment directed to such sheriff in due form of law: And that in case of such entry and any action being brought or other proceeding taken for or on account of the same by any person whomsoever the defendants or defendant to such action may plead leave or license in bar thereof and these presents shall be conclusive evidence of the leave or license of the lessee his executors or administrators and all persons claiming under him or them to any bailiffs of Crown lands and all persons acting in the matters complained of in such action or other proceedings: And it is hereby lastly agreed and declared that the term "Governor" in these presents shall mean the Governor or the Administrator of the Government of the Colony of Victoria for the time being unless such meaning shall be inconsistent with the context.

SPECIAL CONDITION.

In witness whereof His Excellency Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Colony of Victoria and its Dependencies hath on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen caused this demise to be sealed with the seal of the said colony and the lessee hath hereunto set his hand and seal the day and year first above written.

Signed sealed and delivered by the above-named }
 in the } (L.S.)
 presence of

Source: The Land Act, 1884 with the Regulations
 thereunder
 Government Printer, 1888

APPENDIX E (Continued)

F

Conditions of Grazing Licence
1915 Land Act

CONDITIONS.

1. The issue of this licence shall not prevent the land comprised therein or any part or parts thereof being sold, leased, licensed, alienated, or dealt with under any of the provisions of the *Land Act 1915*, except under the 121st section of the *Land Act 1915*, or being resumed by order of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Administrator of the Government of Victoria, with the advice of the Executive Council, for any of the purposes for which land may be reserved under section 10 of the *Land Act 1915* or for mining purposes.
2. In case the said land or any part thereof should be sold, leased, licensed, alienated, dealt with, or resumed as aforesaid, the licensee shall not be entitled to any compensation other than that which the responsible Minister of the Crown for the time being administering the *Land Act 1915* (hereinafter referred to as the Minister) may think fit.
3. This licence is subject to the rights of the holders of miners' rights or of mining leases now issued or hereafter to be issued to enter upon the allotment hereby licensed, and to search for gold and to mine thereon, and to erect and occupy mining plant and machinery, without making any compensation to the licensee, his executors, administrators, or assigns, for surface or other damage.
4. Subject to these conditions the licensee shall be entitled to use the land for the purpose for which this licence has been granted until such land or any part thereof has been sold, leased, licensed, alienated, dealt with, or resumed as aforesaid, and thereupon all the interest of the licensee therein shall cease and be determined.
5. No land comprised in roads from time to time surveyed and marked out within the boundaries of the land comprised in this licence shall be deemed within its operation.
6. This licence shall entitle the holder thereof, during the period for which it is granted, to use the land therein comprised for depasturing purposes only, but shall not confer any right to build thereon, or to cultivate, or, without the permission of the Minister, fence any portion thereof, or construct a dam or tank.
7. That in the event of the Minister granting permission to fence the whole or any part of this area, the licensee shall provide gates or slip panels in suitable places for the convenience of the public. No compensation will be allowed for fencing erected on boundaries of allotments alienated or in course of alienation.
8. That where improvements shall be authorized under section 122 of the *Land Act 1915*, the licensee shall notify, on completion, that such improvements have been made, otherwise the work will not be recognized.
9. The interest in this licence shall not be transferred without the consent of the Minister, and the payment of a fee of 10s.
10. The licence shall be liable to forfeiture if the licensee commit a breach of or neglect to comply with these conditions.
11. The publication of a notice in the *Government Gazette* purporting to declare that the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Administrator of the Government of Victoria, with the advice aforesaid, has forfeited this licence shall be conclusive evidence that the licence is forfeited.
12. The ring-barking of the timber upon the land by the licensee is expressly forbidden, and he shall not be entitled to destroy or cut and take away any such timber.
13. Free access to water shall be kept open at all times for travelling and other stock, and for persons desiring to take water for domestic purposes.
14. The licensee shall destroy all *thistles* on the land and on the half-width of the adjoining roads, and shall be responsible for the destruction of ~~thistles~~ under the *Thistle Act 1915* in like manner as holders of freehold lands.
15. The licensee shall keep the land free from vermin, and should he fail to do so the licence shall be liable for forfeiture.
16. This licence is issued subject to the right of sawmillers to graze on this area such horses and bullocks as are actually used in connexion with their licensed operations on this land.
17. The taking in of stock for agistment, or otherwise allowing the use in any way of the land or part thereof by any person other than the licensee, without authority in writing by the Minister, is forbidden.
18. The licensee shall thoroughly and effectively protect the land within the boundaries of his licensed area from fire, and shall extinguish any fire which may break out on such area or may spread to it. In the event of the area being damaged by fire, the licence may be forfeited, unless the licensee satisfy the Minister that neither he, directly or indirectly, nor his workmen or servants, were in any way responsible for such fire.
19. The licensee shall not interfere in any way with any survey marks on the land hereby licensed.

Source: Licence Document attached to Lands
Department File

APPENDIX E (Continued)

G

Conditions of Grazing Licence
1928 Land Act

CONDITIONS.

1. The issue of this licence shall not prevent the land comprised therein or any part or parts thereof being sold, leased, licensed, alienated, or dealt with under any of the provisions of the *Land Act 1928*, except under section 121 of the *Land Act 1928*, or being resumed by order of the Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, for any of the purposes for which land may be reserved under section 14 of the *Land Act 1928* or for mining purposes.

2. In case the said land or any part thereof should be sold, leased, licensed, alienated, dealt with, or resumed as aforesaid the licensee shall not be entitled to any compensation other than that which the responsible Minister of the Crown for the time being administering the *Land Act 1928* (hereinafter referred to as the Minister) may think fit.

3. Any holder of a miner's right or of a mining lease or mineral lease under the *Mines Act 1928* or any corresponding previous enactment shall have the right and shall be allowed to enter upon the land and search for gold, silver, and minerals as defined in the *Mines Act 1928*, and to mine thereon, and to erect and occupy mining plant or machinery within the area without making compensation to the licensee for surface or other damage, provided always that such portions of the land as shall be occupied by buildings shall be secure from such intrusion, unless with the consent of the licensee.

4. Subject to these conditions the licensee shall be entitled to use the land for the purpose for which this licence has been granted until such land or any part thereof has been sold, leased, licensed, alienated, dealt with, or resumed as aforesaid, and thereupon all the interest of the licensee therein shall cease and be determined.

5. No land comprised in roads from time to time surveyed and marked out within the boundaries of the land comprised in this licence shall be deemed within its operation.

6. This licence shall entitle the holder thereof, during the period for which it is granted, to use the land therein comprised for depasturing purposes only, but shall not confer any right to build thereon, or to cultivate, or, without the permission of the Minister to fence any portion thereof or to construct a dam or tank.

7. That in the event of the Minister granting permission to fence the whole or any part of this area, the licensee shall provide gates or slip panels in suitable places for the convenience of the public. No compensation will be allowed for fencing erected within the boundaries of allotments alienated or in course of alienation.

8. That where improvements shall be authorized under section 123 of the *Land Act 1928*, the licensee shall notify, on completion, that such improvements have been made, otherwise the work will not be recognized.

9. The interest in this licence shall not be transferred without the consent of the Minister, and the payment of a fee of Ten shillings.

10. The licence shall be liable to forfeiture if the licensee commit a breach of or neglect to comply with these conditions.

11. The publication of a notice in the *Government Gazette* purporting to declare that the Governor of Victoria, with the advice aforesaid, has forfeited this licence shall be conclusive evidence that the licence is forfeited.

12. The ring-barking of the timber upon the land by the licensee is expressly forbidden, and he shall not be entitled to destroy or cut and take away any such timber.

13. Free access to water shall be kept open at all times for travelling and other stock, and for persons desiring to take water for domestic purposes.

14. The licensee shall destroy all vermin and noxious weeds on the land and on the half-width of the adjoining roads, and shall be responsible for the destruction of the same under the *Vermin and Noxious Weeds Act 1928* in like manner as holders of freehold lands; should he fail to do so the licence shall be liable for forfeiture.

("Vermin" includes dingoes or native dogs, dogs run wild, dogs at large, foxes, rabbits, and any other animal or any bird which the Governor in Council may by proclamation in the *Government Gazette* declare to be vermin.)

15. This licence is issued subject to the right of sawmillers to graze on this area such horses and bullocks as are actually used in connection with their licensed operations on this land.

16. The taking in of stock for agistment, or otherwise allowing the use in any way of the land or part thereof by any person other than the licensee without authority in writing by the Minister is forbidden.

17. The licensee shall thoroughly and effectively protect the land within the boundaries of his licensed area from fire and shall extinguish any fire which may break out on such area or may spread to it. In the event of the area being damaged by fire the licence may be forfeited, unless the licensee satisfy the Minister that neither he, directly or indirectly, nor his workmen or servants, were in any way responsible for such fire.

18. The licensee shall not interfere in any way with any survey marks on the land hereby licensed.

Source: Licence Document attached to
Lands Department File