



Environment & Society Portal



The White Horse Press

Full citation:

Stubbs, Brett J. "From 'Useless Brutes' to National Treasures: A Century of Evolving Attitudes towards Native Fauna in New South Wales, 1860s to 1960s." *Environment and History* 7, no. 1 (February 2001): 23–56. <http://www.environmentandsociety.org/node/3069>.

Rights:

All rights reserved. © The White Horse Press 2001. Except for the quotation of short passages for the purpose of criticism or review, no part of this article may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical or other means, including photocopying or recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission from the publishers. For further information please see <http://www.whpress.co.uk>.

From 'Useless Brutes' to National Treasures: A Century of Evolving Attitudes towards Native Fauna in New South Wales, 1860s to 1960s¹

BRETT J. STUBBS

*School of Resource Science and Management,
Southern Cross University,
Lismore, NSW, Australia 2480*

SUMMARY

The emergence of native fauna as a theme in conservation is used to explore the changing relationship between nature and human culture in late nineteenth century and early to mid-twentieth century Australia. Ideas about fauna conservation are traced through a century-long stream of protective legislation and associated parliamentary debate in the colony of New South Wales. During this period, animal protection legislation evolved in purpose from the protection of introduced game in the 1860s, to the protection of native birds, and eventually to the protection of other native fauna, particularly marsupials. In doing so, it conflicted with laws which encouraged the destruction of marsupials in the interests of agricultural and pastoral production.

KEYWORDS

Australia, New South Wales, legislation, game, fauna, marsupials

INTRODUCTION

In 1875, Edward Pierson Ramsay (1842–1916), the curator of the Australian Museum, remarked upon the large number of native birds which had lately been offered for sale in Sydney.² In doing so, Ramsay was identifying a significant shift in attitude towards the Australian fauna. People were beginning to find in the native fauna a plentiful supply of game, to satisfy their demand for food as well as their craving for sport. This was in distinction to the formerly widespread belief that there was little or no game to be found in Australia; a belief as senseless, Ramsay noted, as the commonly-heard statements that Australian flowers had no scent, and Australian birds no song.

Ramsay's observation came at a time when acclimatisation societies were busily enriching the Australian fauna with exotic game and other useful species, but several years after the potential value of some native birds had been recognised, and their protection provided for in legislation.³ The increasing awareness through the 1870s of the abundance of palatable native game is merely one aspect of the continually evolving relationship between the people and the native fauna of Australia. In this article, the emergence and development of native fauna as a theme in conservation is used to explore the changing relationship between nature and human culture in late nineteenth century and early to mid-twentieth century Australia. Ideas about fauna conservation are traced through a century-long stream of protective legislation and associated parliamentary debate in the colony of New South Wales. The period under consideration extends from the 1860s when the first legislation was enacted in that colony for the preservation of native fauna, through to the 1960s when fauna protection was combined with the management of national parks under a newly-created National Parks and Wildlife Service.

The *National Parks and Wildlife Act*, which came into effect in New South Wales on 1 October 1967, had two principal functions: first, the reservation and subsequent care, control and management of national parks, and secondly, also implicit in the title of the act, the protection of native fauna. It had earlier been intended to maintain the separation between national parks and wildlife by creating two separate conservation authorities. In a pre-election statement of the policy of the government-to-be in 1965, it was proposed to create, as well as a national parks authority, a completely independent Fisheries and Wildlife Commission to administer 'the protection, restoration, propagation and increase of game, birds, fish and fur-bearing animals'.⁴ These two proposed bodies were amalgamated, however, under the National Parks and Wildlife Bill introduced into parliament in 1966. The act thus merged two hitherto independent threads in the development of a nature conservation ideology.

Prior to the 1967 act, fauna protection in New South Wales rested with the *Fauna Protection Act* 1948. Under this act, some fifty-two areas of land across the state had, by 1967, been dedicated as reserves for the protection, propagation and study of native fauna. Consistent with the spirit of the new act in combining the management of national parks and wildlife under the one authority, these 'faunal reserves' were renamed 'nature reserves', better expressing the perceived need to preserve the environment as well as, and in order to, preserve the fauna.⁵ Thus, in addition to the twenty-five national parks, state parks, and historic sites which the *National Parks and Wildlife Act* 1967 reserved, fifty-two faunal reserves under the *Fauna Protection Act* 1948 were brought under the control of the National Parks and Wildlife Service in 1967.⁶

The origin of the faunal reserve, as an instrument of nature preservation, is revealed by the examination of the evolution of fauna protection legislation in New South Wales. Such an examination also elucidates the evolution of public

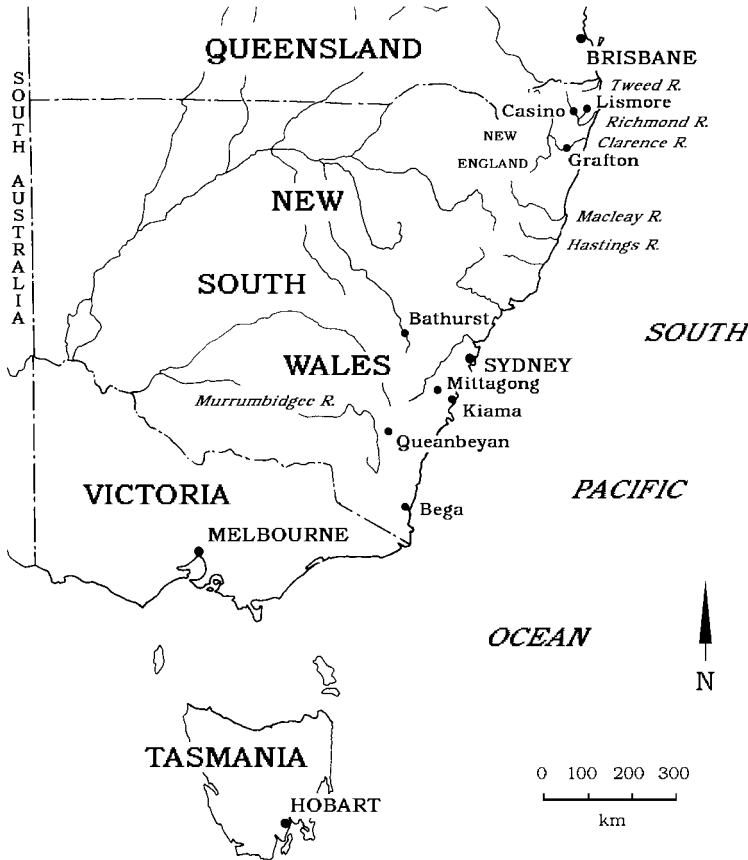


FIGURE 1. Map of south-eastern Australia showing New South Wales, nearby states, and other places mentioned in this article.

attitudes towards the native fauna itself. It can be shown that, from the point where native birds and animals alike were generally despised for the competition for pasture which they gave to graziers' stock, and for the damage they caused to the agriculturists' crops, attitudes shifted gradually through a recognition that the native fauna should be preserved for economic reasons (for example, it became recognised not only that native birds and animals provided good sport and valuable pelts and plumes so should be conserved, but, in a more ecological sense, that birds in particular were useful in the elimination of insect pests harmful to agriculture), towards a more enlightened belief that they were

inherently worthy of protection. This latter transition was largely a reaction to the uncontrolled slaughter and live export of native fauna for economic gain which came increasingly in the early decades of the twentieth century to be viewed as cruel and needless.

The analysis of parliamentary debates and the resulting legislation is one very effective way of elucidating long-term changes in public attitudes. The approach is used here as a tool to understand the evolution of attitudes towards native fauna, and, incidentally, towards the natural environment more generally. By confining the present analysis to a single jurisdiction, a coherent summary of a complex evolutionary process has been produced. Such a full and detailed account is extant for only one other Australian jurisdiction, namely South Australia (Newland 1961). A more general account of the history of flora and fauna protection in New South Wales is given by Walker (1991).

It is not my aim here to deal comprehensively with parallel developments in the other Australian colonies and states, for this would introduce undesired complication. It is recognised, however, that events and ideas in New South Wales are not unique, so some comment is made upon developments elsewhere in Australia in order to put the New South Wales experience into a wider context. Brief accounts of the history of fauna protection in Australia generally are provided in Mosley (1972), Bolton (1992), and Hutton and Connors (1999), all of which place the topic into the broader context of the history of nature conservation in this country. Dunlap (1999) considers the Australian experience along with that of other English-speaking nations.

BEGINNINGS OF FAUNA PROTECTION LEGISLATION IN NEW SOUTH WALES

The earliest legislation enacted in New South Wales for the protection of native fauna was the *Game Protection Act* 1866.⁷ Although designed principally for the preservation of imported game, such as pheasants, partridges, grouse, hares and deer, this act also included under its protective umbrella a number of native species, all of which happened to be birds.⁸ The inclusion of native species was, however, very much a secondary consideration.

It was first attempted to introduce legislation to protect imported birds and animals in 1865 when the Imported Game Protection Bill was brought before the Legislative Council. This bill was to provide absolute protection for five years to a variety of foreign animals and fowls which had been introduced at considerable expense into the colony during the previous few years by members of the Acclimatisation Society of New South Wales in pursuit of their objective of 'enriching the Flora and Fauna' of the colony.⁹ This bill was amended, however, to include protection for ten years for 'wild fowl' during their breeding season so that they too could 'increase and multiply'. It was probably this

addition, as well as a general desire to emphasise that the bill was different in principle from the exclusive Game Laws of England, that led to its being renamed the Wild Birds and Animals Protection Bill by the time it passed to the Lower House. Here the bill lapsed on 9 June 1865. Early in 1866, a substantially similar bill to that which had been presented the previous year was introduced to the Legislative Assembly. This was subsequently passed by both Houses and became the *Game Protection Act 1866*.

This act was not unique in Australia. Already by this time several other Australian colonial parliaments had legislated for the protection of imported fauna: Tasmania in 1860,¹⁰ Victoria in 1862,¹¹ Queensland in 1863,¹² and South Australia in 1864.¹³ Some of these colonies had also provided for the protection of native fauna. The Tasmanian parliament legislated separately in 1860 for the protection of native game during the breeding season, and of black swans.¹⁴ The Victorian act of 1862 also protected some native birds during their breeding season. The South Australian act of 1864 prevented the 'wanton destruction' of certain wild as well as acclimatised animals. New South Wales was therefore conforming to a trend toward the protection of native game which was apparent across the continent by the mid-1860s.

The inclusion in the New South Wales *Game Protection Act 1866* of a schedule of native species was one of its more contentious aspects. It was objected that the law might prevent a person, on his own private property, from destroying birds or animals that might be a destructive nuisance. The act would, it was warned,

be highly injurious to the agricultural interests of the Colony, already sadly depressed, by the protection thereby afforded to the multiplication of certain birds and animals which are notoriously destructive of growing crops, fruit, and domestic fowl, viz.: – The Native Companion, Wild Geese, Wood Duck, Red Bills, and other Graminivorous Birds, whether imported or native, as well as animals injurious to the interests of the farmer.¹⁵

Even the kookaburra, subsequently the avifaunal emblem of New South Wales,

did a great deal of harm in the farm-yard. He was a great enemy to young chickens, one of his habits being to seize...and kill them in the most scientific manner by dashing them on the stones.¹⁶

It would be 'hard that a man should not be allowed to shoot the bird that he found killing his stock'. The kookaburra, however, preyed upon vermin of all descriptions. Snakes, for example, 'would be very numerous in this colony were it not for the laughing jackass destroying them'. This bird, it was decided, ought therefore to be protected.¹⁷

The ten year period of protection which the *Game Protection Act* afforded certain native birds expired in 1876 and legislation to renew it was soon being considered.¹⁸ The result of this process was the *Animals Protection Act 1879*.¹⁹

This differed only slightly from the original act: the white (mute) swan was added to the seven introduced animals protected under the old law, while the list of native game birds was augmented from fifteen to twenty-nine kinds.

It was claimed that the original act had given ‘entire satisfaction’, and George Day, in introducing the Birds and Animals Protection Bill in October 1878, said that ‘he never heard any one desire to have it repealed, but he had heard people express their wish that it should be renewed’.²⁰ This wish was certainly not universal, however, and a number of petitions were received from farmers in the Bathurst district objecting to the new bill. Agriculturists and horticulturists already suffered from the introduction of the rabbit, the hare, and sparrows into their orchards, vineyards, and gardens, and the proposed addition to the schedule of protected native birds of the magpie and ‘other granivorous birds’ would add to these evils. Moreover, it was claimed that the former law was ‘all but inoperative from its unpopularity’.²¹

The *Animals Protection Act*²² came into effect in March 1879, but careless wording of the operative section of the act meant that it expired after February 1880, rendering fresh legislation necessary. It was not until late in 1881 that a bill for such new legislation passed through both Houses of Parliament. The Animals Protection Bill of 1881, which was renamed the Birds Protection Bill,²³ subsequently became 45 Vic. no. 29.²⁴ The act contained three schedules – imported game, native game, and native and imported song birds – which altogether contained forty-five birds or categories thereof, and to which further birds could be added by notice in the *Gazette*. The act defined a six-month ‘closed season’ – 1 September to 28 February inclusive – during which all scheduled birds would be protected. In addition to the closed seasons, all imported birds (schedule 1) and song birds (schedule 3) would be protected for a period of five years from the commencement of the act. Native game birds specified in the act (schedule 2), including the emu, black swan, and lyre bird, would be protected only during the closed season.

The explicit inclusion of song birds among those birds which were now to be protected was a significant extension of the scope of the legislation which was originally designed to protect only game, and in particular introduced game. Song birds which had been introduced into the colony were, it was now recognised, in need of protection, as were some native species such as the magpie, the ‘peewit’, the ‘wagtail’, the rifle bird, and the ‘regent bird’ (regent bower bird).

FAUNA DESTRUCTION LEGISLATION²⁵

The passage of the *Birds Protection Act* 1881 came only eighteen months after that of the *Pastures and Stock Protection Act* 1880 which had as its main principle the protection of the pastures and livestock of the colony ‘from the

FROM 'USELESS BRUTES' TO NATIONAL TREASURES

depredations of certain noxious Animals'.²⁶ These included rabbits, native dogs, and marsupials, the destruction of which the act encouraged. The irony of enacting legislation to provide on the one hand for the destruction of fauna, and on the other for its protection was not lost on Leopold de Salis, a Queanbeyan grazier, who commented during debate on the Animals Protection Bill that:

we are stultifying ourselves by passing a bill for the destruction of native game, and in now seeking to protect the importation of fresh nuisances, for they are nothing better.... It is all very well for those who hold no land to regard themselves as philanthropists in promoting the introduction and preservation of these creatures; but if animals are imported we ought to let them take their chance, for to some they afford gratification without loss, while to others they may be a pest.²⁷

This feeling is evident, too, in an 1866 petition from Richard Sadleir. The legislature had granted the squatter the protection of his flocks by the *Native Dogs Destruction Act 1852*,²⁸ and Sadleir prayed that the same legislature would not, by passing the Game Protection Bill,

interdict the farmer from destroying and keeping down the increase of birds or animals injurious to his crops, fruit, domestic fowls, or interests in general.²⁹

Despite these alleged contradictions, it is notable that the fauna protection legislation of New South Wales had evolved since the 1860s to be concerned by the early 1880s solely with birds, be they imported or native, game or song birds. The fauna destruction legislation, however, although it had extended its scope from its initial concern with native dogs to encompass rabbits and native marsupials by 1880, remained unconcerned with birds of any sort. This conceptual division between native birds and other native animals was to become accentuated in later years.

The *Pastures and Stock Protection Act 1880* instituted an organised programme of animal destruction, in the interests of pastoralism. It was directed principally against rabbits, which had become 'extremely mischievous' in Victoria, and were beginning to appear in New South Wales to the alarm of people in occupation of the land.³⁰ The rabbit problem was a consequence, according to Sir John Robertson, of 'the overzealous enterprise of colonists to acclimatise some of the nuisances of the Old World', and now 'the colony is being invaded by a multitude of rabbits, no doubt coming from the adjoining colony'.³¹

The act was also directed specifically against native dogs, despite their number having already been reduced greatly, and marsupials, which were now greatly increasing in number. The increase in marsupials, in particular kangaroos, was the result, according to one commentator, of 'the destruction of the aboriginal natives'. 'If the blacks had not been destroyed the marsupials would not have so largely increased'.³² Robertson, however, offered an alternative explanation:

With regard to kangaroos, thirty years ago we could scarcely obtain one to hunt; now they are driving us out of the county. The true reason for this is to be found in the destruction of the native dogs....Nature intended that the dogs should keep the kangaroos in moderate numbers....For one kangaroo killed by the aborigines fifty were killed by native dogs.³³

Whatever the true reason for their late perceived increase, marsupials – which were defined in the act as kangaroos, wallaroos, wallabies, and ‘paddamelons’ – were considered a nuisance on the pastoral lands of New South Wales, and their destruction was to be encouraged. Indeed, in 1878 pastoral and agricultural interests petitioned the Legislative Assembly that:

the increase and ravages of the marsupials in many parts of the Colony are becoming alarming, and a large extent of country, Crown lands and alienated, are virtually valueless to the occupiers, being wholly over-run with these pests....some stock-owners have attempted to grapple with the evil, but without success. It is an undertaking of such magnitude that it can be dealt with only by special legislation.³⁴

A bill was introduced subsequently to address the problem but it did not complete its passage through parliament.³⁵ Shortly afterwards, however, marsupials were included within the scope of the *Pastures and Stock Protection Act 1880*.

The act was designed to be self-supporting and the mode of operation was, in simplified terms, as follows: within each sheep district (as defined from time to time under the *Diseases in Sheep Act*)³⁶ a board of directors was established; an annual assessment was levied by the board on the stock in each district for the purpose of establishing a fund, called the Noxious Animals Destruction Account; and, out of this fund rewards were paid for the scalps of noxious animals delivered to the board by land owners within the district. It was the responsibility of each land owner to make provision for, and ensure, the destruction of noxious animals at large upon his land.

The system of noxious animal destruction instituted by the *Pastures and Stock Protection Act 1880* was continued, albeit in occasionally modified form, through a series of amending and consolidating acts, the most recent of which was the *Rural Lands Protection Act 1989*.³⁷ The *Pastures Protection Act 1934*, although it continued the scalp system, excluded marsupials (including kangaroos, wallaroos, wallabies, and pademelons) from the general definition of noxious animals for the first time.

Year ended 31 Dec.	Total paid (£.s.d.)	Kangaroo	Wallaby	'Padamelon'	Native dog
Grafton					
1881	48.0.0		no details available		
1882	70.9.0		no details available		
1883	51.15.0		no details available		
1884	44.13.6	1,071	281	-	87
1885	36.1.0	932	140	-	88
1886	86.4.6	2,377	498	68	109
1887	78.10.3	2,011	307	85	156
1888-90			no data available		
1891	46.3.6	2,859	33	-	195
Casino					
1884	22.5.2		no details available		
1885	103.5.3	1,694	649	101	174
1886	227.17.4	3,121	2,236	1,831	439
1887	64.9.0	870	2	1,999	228
1888	115.12.7	3,033	2	1,758	530
1889			no data available		
1890	110.10.4	488	572*	384	455
Tweed-Lismore					
1891	188.12.3	8	8	14,303	77
1892	451.0.11	-	-	27,736	31
1893	312.15.0	-	-	25,745	-
1894	283.11.6	-	5,887	17,021	-
Total (incomplete data)		18,464	10,615	91,031	2,569

Table 1. Payments for scalps by Pastures and Stock Protection Boards at Grafton, Casino and Lismore, 1881 to 1894.³⁸

* This figure was given for wallaroos, but was probably intended for wallabies as wallaroos appear nowhere else in the data for this region.

Source: Statements of Revenue and Expenditure of the Pastures and Stock Protection Boards at Grafton, Casino, and Lismore. NSW, *Government Gazette*, 1882–1896.

A detailed study of the effects of this legislation on the marsupial fauna of the colony has not been attempted here, but some indication of its effectiveness in destroying unwanted fauna can be gauged from the numbers of scalps on which bounties were paid by the Pastures and Stock Protection Boards within the northern rivers region, in the north-eastern corner of the colony, during the first decade-and-a-half of operation of the system (Table 1). The dominance of pademelons in these figures reflects the rapid expansion of settlement into the brush (rainforest) lands of the Tweed River catchment and the eastern part of the Richmond River catchment from the mid-1880s. The pademelon (*Thylogale* spp.) is a small, compact-bodied macropod which inhabits rainforest and tall open-forest with dense understorey. Its habitat was greatly reduced by the expansion of agriculture and dairying into such areas, although it thrived on the crops of maize and pastures of exotic grass which replaced the native vegetation. The settlers attempted to reduce their numbers through organised 'paddy drives', such events also becoming popular social and sporting occasions (Figure 2).³⁹



FIGURE 2. Pademelon and wallaby shoot, Bega, NSW. Beagle dogs were used to flush out the game. (Source: State Library of New South Wales, Bicentennial Copying Project. Reproduced with permission from the Library Council of New South Wales)

FAUNA PROTECTION LEGISLATION FROM 1893

The *Birds Protection Act* 1881 was repealed by the *Birds Protection Act* 1893⁴⁰ which provided extended protection for a greater range of birds, in particular native birds not considered to be game birds. The act provided protection for a range of Australian game and other birds during a closed season from 1 August to 31 January, two months longer than in the 1881 act, and a number of imported game birds would be protected during a closed season from 1 October to 31 March. In addition, some twenty-five kinds of Australian and foreign birds would be protected absolutely for five years, then afterwards during their respective closed seasons.

By 1893, when the *Birds Protection Act Amending Bill* was introduced into parliament, the five year period of protection provided for in the original act had long since expired. Joseph Carruthers,⁴¹ who introduced the bill, argued for its renewal on the grounds that not only had the previous period been too short to allow many introduced birds to become acclimatised, but that

many of our native birds which are not harmful or destructive to anything which is valuable in the community...are in very great danger of being absolutely exterminated.⁴²

This was the result both of the expiry of the five year protection period, and of many native birds worthy of protection not having been included in schedule 2 in the original act. Carruthers proposed that the lyre-bird, the black swan, and the emu, all considered 'game' in 1881, be removed from that definition and included among those birds given absolute protection for five years under the new act. The lyre-bird, Carruthers said, was shot 'for no other purpose except to secure its tail as an ornament'. Hundreds of the tails of these birds were sold 'in the London market to decorate ladies' hats'. Consequently, 'many thousands of young Australians are grown up who have not even seen this beautiful bird, and unless it is protected we shall soon find that it is exterminated'. The emu, too, was without protection, except during the closed season, and would 'soon be driven beyond the bounds of civilisation, and before long it will be exterminated'. The black swan, which was 'useless for food', was 'among the most graceful and ornamental birds in the colony' and if 'many more of our lagoons and creeks were inhabited by those beautiful birds, it would afford great pleasure to those who take pleasure in our indigenous fauna'.⁴³

The *Birds Protection Act Amending Bill* passed through both Houses with little fuss, although the black swan was omitted from the schedule of birds absolutely protected for five years. The swan was, it was argued, not a rare bird. It was 'very plentiful even in the neighbourhood of cities', and, moreover, it was 'in some parts of the colony'... 'a necessary article of food to persons in poor circumstances, and it would be a serious wrong to deprive them of this article of

diet'.⁴⁴ The emu remained on the same schedule despite arguments that it was 'an absolute nuisance' in some parts of the colony, where it destroyed fences and trampled and destroyed the grass.⁴⁵ The pragmatic Leopold de Salis thought the House was 'seriously wasting time, and, in fact, trifling in talking so much about the preservation of birds':

Whilst we had such enemies as rabbits, hares, and foxes interfering with the wealth of the colony, we ought to give our attention to them, and not such ridiculous trifles as the protection of a few birds.⁴⁶

The *Birds Protection Act* 1901⁴⁷ was a consolidating act which effectively continued the provisions of the 1893 act except for the five year period of absolute protection which by then had expired. The law now treated all scheduled birds, foreign and native, equally, in that all (except quail) were subject to a uniform closed period from 1 August to 31 January. No significant changes in the fauna protection legislation came until 1903 in which year there appeared the *Native Animals Protection Act*. This was the first legislation in New South Wales to provide protection for native animals (as opposed to birds), and the first since the end of February 1880, when the *Animals Protection Act* 1879 expired, to protect animals of *any* description, native or otherwise.

THE NATIVE ANIMALS PROTECTION ACT 1903

The Native Animals Protection Bill was introduced into parliament by the Premier and Colonial Secretary, Sir John See, who disclaimed, however, any responsibility for it. This belonged, he said, to F. E. Winchcombe, the member for the city seat of Ashfield. Winchcombe had pointed out 'very forcibly' to the Colonial Secretary that steps should be taken to protect several native animals. See was told that:

millions of skins of native bears, opossums, kangaroos, and other such animals have been sent away for purely commercial purposes, and the result has been to almost decimate these animals....if the present wholesale destruction by means of shooting and trapping, coupled with the ravages of the drought, is not stopped, very shortly very few of these valuable animals will be left.⁴⁸

See was in 'full sympathy' with Winchcombe's proposal and, realising the difficulty of having it put through as a private member's bill, he formally introduced it as Government business.

The *Native Animals Protection Act* 1903⁴⁹ introduced a period of absolute protection for scheduled native animals⁵⁰ for a period of two years – to 31 January 1905 – followed by regular closed seasons (1 August to 31 January). These periods of protection were adopted, See said, in view of 'the ruthless destruction which is in progress', and with the desire to 'protect our native animals as a

national asset'. The closed seasons and period of absolute protection applied notwithstanding the *Pastures Protection Act* 1902, which otherwise encouraged the destruction of several native fauna species, especially marsupials. This contradiction applied initially to the red kangaroo and the wallaroo which were protected by the *Native Animals Protection Act*, but simultaneously classed as noxious animals, the destruction of which was required by the *Pastures and Stock Protection Act* 1898. The *Native Animals Protection Act* also provided for the Colonial Secretary, by notice in the *Gazette*, to prescribe periods of absolute protection in respect of any of the birds named in the schedule to the *Birds Protection Act* 1901, overcoming the omission from the latter act of provision for a period of absolute protection.

Although the Native Animals Protection Bill passed easily through both Houses of Parliament (albeit with several amendments to the schedule of protected animals), it did not do so without argument, and the nature of this dissent reveals something of the attitudes towards the native fauna current in early twentieth century New South Wales. Alexander Campbell, who represented the south coast electorate of Kiama, agreed with the 'desire to protect harmless animals' but took exception to the granting of protection to the opossum, an animal which 'certainly is a great pest to the pioneer settlers of this country':

The pioneers in the coastal districts, where maize is one of the first crops produced, find the opossum a source of great trouble; and it would be very hard indeed upon one of those settlers if, when he found his crops destroyed, he was fined £5 as the penalty for shooting an opossum....The opossum is the greatest enemy the settler has to face in new districts, and on that account...I should like to see that name struck out of the schedule.⁵¹

Robert Davidson, who represented the north coast electorate of Hastings and Macleay, agreed that in the coastal districts the opossum was regarded as one of the greatest enemies of the maize farmer.

Any hon. member who could see the result of two or three nights' work by two or three opossums in a corn-field would be convinced that no law we may pass will prevent the farmer from shooting an opossum when found doing damage to his crop.⁵²

Samuel Charles recalled his experience as a settler in the Kiama district where 'a party of gentlemen came down from Sydney on one occasion, and in four hours they filled a dray with wallabies from my property'. His experience on the northern rivers, too, showed that settlers there were 'plagued in trying to keep these animals from their crops'.

The usual custom there is to clear a piece of land in the bush. When that is done they put in a crop, and I have seen the crop for a distance of 5 to 6 chains [100 to

120 metres] eaten out by these small animals. What is the use of these animals? They are of no use. And it is generally the poorest settlers that suffer most. From what I have seen I consider that it is the duty of the agricultural societies to give a premium for the destruction of these animals. I hope the bill will be thrown out, because they are a nuisance.⁵³

Sir Samuel McCaughey, describing his 'experience with marsupials', said:

On one station alone it cost me about £1,000 to destroy kangaroos. Some ten years ago we killed 18,000 kangaroos, which were eating the grass that would support 30,000 sheep. Since then we have had to keep them down every year. I understand that by this bill it is intended to preserve opossums, but that is very undesirable. We have to set traps to destroy them. They are not only a nuisance about gardens, but they get underneath the iron roofs, and over the ceilings. At Coonong Station [in the Murrumbidgee River district] I had a man employed for a fortnight nailing up every place where they could possibly get in, and yet they have succeeded in making a hole. I think that the framers of the bill scarcely understand the nuisance which they are going to perpetuate.⁵⁴

Henry Dangar, representing an extreme view on the question, stated bluntly:

I do not care what the reason for the introduction of the bill may have been. I entertain no sort of doubt that instead of bringing in a bill to protect native animals it would have been far better in the interests of the settlers generally to bring in a bill to exterminate the whole lot of them....all these animals are harmful, and if I am not greatly mistaken we have passed acts of Parliament to encourage their extermination. What does the Pastures and Stock Protection Act mean but that something was done to prevent nearly every one of these animals from using up the grasses of this country upon which our salvation almost depends. I cannot help thinking that there is some spurious sentiment at the bottom of the bill....I can see no earthly good on the score of mere sentiment for continuing the existence of these useless brutes.⁵⁵

Besides preventing the destruction of agricultural pests, a second objection raised against the Native Animals Protection Bill was the hardship it would impose on persons engaged in the fur trade. In defence of this complaint, Winchcombe, the author of the bill, stated that he had made inquiries of persons making a living from collecting animal skins by whom he was advised that there should be absolute protection of these animals for two years. This recommendation was made less for the sake of the animals themselves, however, than for the sake of those interested in procuring their skins; during the drought of the previous few years, the skin trade had been carried on in a reckless manner, and if this continued 'their means of living would disappear'.

The drought is over, at all events, for a time, and there may not be so much need now for these men to seek a living in shooting these animals. But the drought may

FROM 'USELESS BRUTES' TO NATIONAL TREASURES

come again, and it may then be necessary for them to seek a living in the same way, but if we allow these animals to be slaughtered needlessly, those men's means of living will be done away with before that time comes.⁵⁶

Thus, the bill would protect commercial interests, rather than damage them. This was evident to Henry Kater who complained that:

this bill has not been submitted for the protection of native animals, or in order to prevent their extinction, but to foster and keep up the trade in skins....If the object of the bill were to protect native animals from extinction, I would vote for it, but from what I have heard I think it has been brought forward simply by those interested in the fur trade, and in order to keep up that trade.⁵⁷

Despite Kater's suspicions, there is evidence that commercial considerations were not the only ones underlying the introduction of this bill. Winchcombe himself said that a bill of this sort should be passed 'both from a commercial point of view and from a naturalists' point of view', and if by a 'naturalists' point of view' he meant conservation for non-commercial ends, such a view had wide support. Kater viewed 'with great sorrow the idea of any animal, and especially a harmless animal, becoming absolutely extinct'. It was very easy, he said, 'to utterly destroy native animals, and once that is done they can never be reproduced'.⁵⁸

Robert Davidson pointed out that during the last few years many men in the coastal districts had been making a 'good living' by shooting 'native bears' (koalas). He admitted that these animals were harmless, and did little or no damage to crops, but still they were 'recognised as one of the commercial products of this country'. Sir John See replied that it was 'a wicked thing to shoot a native bear'. 'They should go and split wood rather than shoot bears!'⁵⁹ Highlighting the commercial motive behind the bill, but simultaneously implying a higher concern for the fauna, Colonel James Mackay introduced the bill into the Legislative Council with the following words:

Its object is to protect our native animals...and to protect them from absolute extinction. There is no doubt the drought has had something to do in this direction; but, quite apart from that, for purposes of profit, and very frequently, I am afraid, simply from a ruthless desire to kill, our native animals and birds are being decimated throughout the country....Many of these birds and animals have a commercial value, and it stands to reason that unless we are prepared to protect them that asset will be taken from us.⁶⁰

Alexander Ross supported the bill: not because of the fur trade, but from a desire to protect native animals. He recalled that in the southern districts of the state:

thirty or forty years ago, there was an opossum in nearly every tree, but now you can go shooting the whole night long and not see one. It is not right that the native animals should be exterminated because they do a little damage to some people.

We can see what has been done in America in this matter. There they have nearly exterminated the buffalo. There were immense numbers of buffalo there at one time, and they were considered a nuisance, but now the American Government are protecting them. Hundreds of thousands of acres are devoted to the protection of native animals.⁶¹

Henry Dangar had thought the bill to be motivated by sentiment, and Broughton O’Conor implied as much when he noted that:

The bill protects a lot of animals absolutely of no use whatever. Of what use is the wombat or the hedge-hog [echidna]?...Of what good to the country are a thousand or even a million kangaroos? They simply afford amusement for some city sportsmen.⁶²

It is evident from the above that early in the twentieth century there persisted the old attitude that the Australian native fauna had little merit, and in fact were a nuisance that ought to be exterminated. Set against this belief, however, there had developed a strong desire to conserve the native fauna. This latter feeling was based principally on commercial motives – especially the perpetuation of the fur trade, but more generally on the view that the native fauna were a commercial asset – but creeping into the debate was an unashamedly sentimental attitude towards the native fauna which would have them conserved for their own sake. Such an attitude was not detectable in debates twenty years earlier, when not only were no native animals included in the wildlife protection legislation, but when a systematic destruction of marsupials had been institutionalised through the *Pastures and Stock Protection Act* and its boards.

‘AN ALTOGETHER DIFFERENT ATTITUDE’: THE BIRDS AND ANIMALS PROTECTION ACT 1918

Both the *Birds Protection Act* 1901 and the *Native Animals Protection Act* 1903 were repealed by the *Birds and Animals Protection Act* 1918⁶³ which combined within a single piece of legislation measures for the protection of both birds and animals. The new act had its genesis in a bill first presented to parliament in 1911 but which took over seven years to finally achieve passage through both houses (Table 2). The bill had been prepared by the newly-formed (1909) Wild Life Preservation Society of Australia, and was intended to take the place of the existing legislation, considered by the Society to be ‘unwieldy’ and ‘complicated’. Not only was the bill greatly prolonged in its passage (a result, the Society believed, of it being ‘nobody’s business to see it through’) but it was ‘considerably mauled’ in the process. Any elation that the Society might have felt at the accomplishment of the passing of the measure was ‘sadly tempered by a number of inconsistencies and more than one fatal weakness’.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, the act did represent a considerable improvement upon the existing legislation.

FROM 'USELESS BRUTES' TO NATIONAL TREASURES

Although it did not apply to domestic birds and animals, or to reptiles, or to rats or mice of any species, the *Birds and Animals Protection Act* 1918 considerably broadened the scope of protection offered to other fauna by departing from the principle of the earlier legislation that all birds and animals were unprotected unless specifically protected. In the new act, all birds and animals were protected except those which were considered noxious and were mentioned in the schedules. These initially included, in the case of birds (Schedule 1), the cormorant (five species), crow, galah, white cockatoo, rosella, rainbow lorikeet, and wedge-tailed eagle, among others; and in the case of animals (Schedule 2), the rabbit, hare, fox, dingo, fruit bat, wallaby (five species), pademelon, wombat, bandicoot (three species), among others. Recognising, however, that the same birds or animals might not be pests at the same times and in the same places,⁶⁵ the act included a safeguard clause which provided for the addition to or the removal from the schedules, either in respect of the entire state or just particular localities, of any birds or animals.

Like the *Birds Protection Act* 1893 and the *Native Animals Protection Act* 1903, the new act was motivated by a desire to arrest the perceived devastation of the native fauna. Increasingly, however, this desire was based on other than economic considerations, and this is reflected in the objects of its sponsor, the Wild Life Preservation Society of Australia, which had been formed in Sydney in 1909.

The Wild Life Preservation Society has been formed for the purpose of preserving intact the typical fauna of Australia. Many birds and animals of great scientific interest and national value are in danger of extinction, and the present generation of Australians must not incur the reproach of allowing even a single species to perish.

But while the Society wishes to preserve every type of creature, it fully realises that the rights of the pastoralist and agriculturist must be considered in dealing with indigenous noxious animals; and its aim in connection with such animals is to have reserves set apart where they may breed unmolested, but from which they cannot escape.

The means by which the Society hopes to accomplish its aims are mainly educational....The Society will pay particular attention to the younger generation, for children especially are in need of the teaching of love for the wild things around them, and of their duty to protect what they love.⁶⁶

Among the members of the inaugural General Council of the Society were Sir Joseph Carruthers, M.L.C. (who had been a strong supporter of the Native Animals Protection Bill in 1903, and was the author of the *Birds Protection Act* 1893) and F. E. Winchcombe, M.L.C. (whom it will be recalled was responsible for the Native Animals Protection Bill of 1903). Winchcombe, in addition to his public office, was the head of a firm of woolbrokers, skin and hide merchants, and he brought to the Society an expert knowledge of the skin trade (through



FIGURE 3. Pademelon pelts, Bullio, Mittagong, NSW, 1907. (Source: State Library of New South Wales, Bicentennial Copying Project. Reproduced with permission from the Library Council of New South Wales.)

which he was able to assist the Society to expose the clandestine export trade in marsupial skins) as well as a genuine interest in fauna preservation.⁶⁷

In introducing the Birds and Animals Protection Bill into the Legislative Council in October 1917,⁶⁸ John Garland described the provisions of the existing acts as comparative failures. The bird life and animal life of the state had been 'devastated during the last decade' despite the legislation.

Bird life has in many cases been blotted out, and the same applies to certain classes of native animals. I am quite sure that all nature lovers will regret this devastation of bird life.⁶⁹

Not only from the point of view of nature lovers, however, was this devastation of bird life regrettable. From a purely economic point of view the result had disastrous consequences for the state. Garland referred to a very great increase in insect pests, some of which were devastating sheep flocks across the state, and others threatening agricultural pursuits. He attributed this problem to 'the wholesale destruction of birds which has taken place in recent years'.

Sir Joseph Carruthers spoke at length in support of this new measure. On the question of utilitarian grounds for the protection of birds, he cited several

FROM 'USELESS BRUTES' TO NATIONAL TREASURES

examples of the unforeseen economic consequences of 'interfer[ing] with Nature's system of economy': an increase in mice had followed the destruction of hawks, and an increase in orchard pests had followed the destruction of various insectivorous birds, and so on.

Carruthers also denounced what he described as a spirit of destructiveness which had long been encouraged in Australia, and as a consequence of which:

there are hundreds of thousands of people growing up who have never seen many of the birds which are characteristic of this country. They are being totally exterminated from the neighbourhood of our great towns and cities.

In the neighbourhood of Sydney...I can recollect when you could see 10,000 or 20,000 swans in their natural habitats.... They come very occasionally now, and, when they do, people organise battues and go out to destroy them, as if they were Germans invading our shores. What is their object? It is just to show how true they can aim with their guns, and what they can destroy.⁷⁰

People were entitled, Carruthers believed, to have protected the 'beautiful bird-life of the country for the purpose of the enjoyment of those who may see it in its natural state'. In addition to such utilitarian goals as being able to 'grow fruit in our orchards and keep under control many of the pests we now have',

we should have that delightful thing which is part of the higher training of mankind – we should have instilled into the minds of the growing population of this country a love of Nature, a love of what God has created, teaching them their usefulness, and making them grow up better men and better women than by implanting in them, in their early days, a spirit of destructiveness, wantonness, and vandalism.⁷¹

Not everyone, however, accepted Carruthers's 'spirit of destructiveness' as the principal cause of the loss of native birds and animals. Henry Kater, in response to Carruthers, claimed that in the west of the state the greatest number of birds were destroyed, not by 'men with guns', but by potassium cyanide and arsenic, laid as baits for rabbits.

The poison cart travels miles every day, and drops little pellets of pollard, made up into dough, and poisoned with arsenic. The birds pick that up and are straight-way destroyed. In the next place, one favourite plan of destroying rabbits in the far west is to put cyanide of potassium in little troughs, so that birds and rabbits can get at it, while larger animals cannot. By this means rabbits are destroyed in thousands, but birds of all sorts are also destroyed.⁷²

Garland admitted the difficulty of dealing with the issue of rabbit poisoning, which was also a difficulty with the whole issue of fauna protection, and which could be reduced to a question of 'two great conflicting claims':

There are the claims of the men who want to protect bird life at all hazards. On the other hand, there are the claims of the stockowners, who consider that their lands will be rendered valueless unless they can destroy certain noxious animals.⁷³

In addition to 'the unscientific and slipshod methods of our pastoralists in using poison for the destruction of rabbits and other vermin', Broughton O'Connor identified destruction of habitat as a major cause of the loss of native fauna.

I want to know how you are going to preserve bird life while at the same time destroying Nature's shield for them by ringbarking trees and cutting down undergrowth. The natural sanctuary provided for the birds is being destroyed for the purpose of adding to the material wealth of the world. The hon. member places the destruction of birds at the door of so-called sportsmen. Nothing of the kind; it is caused by the destruction of scrub and timber.... The reason why the National Park is a sanctuary for birds is not because people are prevented from shooting there, but because the indigenous flora, which provides the habitat for the bird, is preserved.... Once you destroy the natural habitat of any birds and animals, you cannot hope to preserve them.⁷⁴

It was even suggested that 'domestic cats run wild' had caused 'the destruction of a great number of our most valuable small birds and of the rarer marsupial and other animals that are no danger in themselves, and are, as a matter of fact, a beauty and an attraction to the countryside generally'. It was proposed, therefore, but without success, to include cats of this description in the schedule of unprotected animals.⁷⁵

The *Birds and Animals Protection Act* was passed with relatively little opposition. Although there were problems with the legislation, and even claims that it would be inoperable, especially in the west of the state, it was generally supported regardless of these difficulties. The destruction of native fauna, and particularly bird-life, had reached such 'alarming proportions' that action was considered necessary in the interests of 'our primary industries'.⁷⁶ This recognition represents an early application of ecological thinking to the solution of environmental problems in New South Wales. It also represents the application of what Peter Loughlin called a 'new mental attitude' which he perceived to have been recently assumed towards the bird-life of the country.

This measure seems to me to represent an effort to establish that new mental attitude more firmly and to extend its influence. It is not only the economic side of the question that is entitled to our consideration. There is a different viewpoint from which we may appreciate the value of the bill. That is from the aesthetic side. Not so many years ago many of our mountain valleys echoed to the liquid note of the lyre bird, and yet to-day there are no lyre birds to be found. Out in the white-box country on almost any morning a few years ago a walk of half an hour would

FROM 'USELESS BRUTES' TO NATIONAL TREASURES

reward one with a perfect feast of bird music, but to-day the same country is a silent wilderness.⁷⁷

Loughlin admitted that there were some particularly good principles in the bill, but pointed out that 'we must not expect too much from legislation'. As a 'student of this matter' he had been convinced for some years that adequate protection would not be secured by legislation. Our chief hope lay in 'the better education of the people' such as through the 'magnificent work' of the Gould League of Bird Lovers. The great value of the bill therefore lay in its potential to help cultivate, especially in the young, 'a proper mental attitude towards birds and animals'. By departing from the old principle that all birds are unprotected unless they are specifically protected, the new legislation would, Loughlin hoped, 'gradually lead our children to understand that all birds and animals are protected and to some extent sacred unless they are specially exempted'. This should induce them to adopt 'an altogether different attitude towards native birds and animals'.⁷⁸

SKINS, PLUMES, AND LIVE EXPORTS: THE SLAUGHTER CONTINUES, 1918 TO 1948

The *Birds and Animals Protection Act* 1918 remained in force for thirty years, during which time the Wild Life Preservation Society persevered in its efforts to have the legislation improved. It was, the Society considered, without any 'really effective machinery of administration', and was 'full of loopholes for the sanctuary vandals, the sellers of illicitly-obtained skins and plumes, and the cagers of "protected" fauna'. One of these loopholes was left wide open by a court decision in 1920 which rendered the act 'practically a dead-letter' and necessitated emergency amending legislation.⁷⁹ Section 17 of the act allowed the 'owner' of any bird or animal to keep it in confinement, offer it for sale, or even kill it, so when the court ruled that any person capturing a wild bird or animal *ipso facto* became its legal owner, whether it was caught in the open season or not, the intent of the protective legislation was completely undermined. The amending legislation, the *Birds and Animals Protection (Amendment) Act* 1922⁸⁰ overcame this problem by vesting in the Crown the ownership of all wild protected birds and animals.

The Birds and Animals Protection (Amendment) Bill of 1922 began as a much more comprehensive measure than that which eventually became law. Because of the urgency of dealing with the ownership loophole, however, this bill was withdrawn, and in its place, later in the same session, was introduced the Birds and Animals Protection (Amendment) Bill No. 2 which dealt only with this matter. Peter Loughlin, as one who had been 'immensely interested' in the passage of the 1918 act, described the administration of that act, after three or

four years, as 'a howling farce', and he was 'in great hopes' that a much-needed comprehensive amending act would be passed during the session.⁸¹ Although it was not, the Colonial Secretary, C. W. Oakes, gave his assurance that such a bill would be brought forward in the next session.⁸² The next measure dealing with the protection of native fauna was not seen, however, for more than seven years.

The *Birds and Animals Protection (Amendment) Act* 1930⁸³ was a 'somewhat improved' act, but one which, in the opinion of the Wild Life Protection Society, was 'still without any really effective machinery for administration'.⁸⁴ This act prohibited the use of cyanide, which was considered to be one of the principal causes of the destruction of native birds and animals. Although cyanide had by this time been superseded by strychnine and phosphorus in the destruction of rabbits, cyanide was still used for the purpose of killing possums for their skins. Baits set for this purpose were also the inadvertent cause of the destruction of valuable stock and of native birds and other native animals. The act effectively prohibited the possession and use of potassium or sodium cyanide. Under the act, all areas within one mile of any public school were declared bird and animal sanctuaries. Supervision of the act was considerably broadened by providing for a variety of public officers, including public school teachers, field officers of the Department of Agriculture, officers of the Forestry Commission employed on state forests, and fisheries inspectors, among others, to serve in addition to members of the police force as rangers. Controls were also strengthened over trafficking in native birds and animals by introducing a system of permits for persons so engaged. It was not until 1948 that any further changes were made to the New South Wales native fauna protection legislation.

Throughout the thirty years during which the *Birds and Animals Protection Act* 1918, as amended, remained in force, two main issues dominated the debate over fauna protection. These were the slaughter of birds for plumes and marsupials for skins, and the trade in live birds and animals. Although the question of safeguarding the interests of the primary producers by allowing for the elimination of pests remained an issue during this time,⁸⁵ it was very much less significant than it had been during the earlier period. Farmers now generally recognised their dependence on insectivorous birds, and deplored the activities of the possum cyaniders, from whom they also suffered hardship though the loss of stock. There was now a large and growing body of keen enthusiasts, acting through several societies, taking a practical interest in the protection of native birds and animals. In 1930, for instance, such societies included the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the Ornithological Section of the Royal Zoological Society of New South Wales, the Wild Life Preservation Society of Australia, the Dumb Friends' League, the New South Wales Rangers' League, and the Gould League of Bird Lovers.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, there were still many persons who had 'no regard whatever for our beautiful birds' and would 'destroy them without compunction and without respect for the reputation of the State'.⁸⁷ They included a number of persons engaged in a booming illicit trade in live birds and animals, and in the plumes and skins of dead ones.

'The providing of furs for the world's woman', wrote David Stead in 1949, 'has...led to a constant onslaught on many of the rarest mammals in many countries; and none has suffered more than Australia in this connection'. 'An equal problem has been that brought about through the widely spread feminine craze for adornments of wild bird plumage'. From its formation, the Wild Life Preservation Society of Australia became concerned with having the trade in the products of protected animals prohibited, and in stopping the 'public parading of these fruits of callous cruelty'. The Society sought and obtained the support of several women possessing 'social leadership' in declaring their opposition to the wearing of wild bird plumage. Queen Mary, for example, responded by making a public statement 'expressing her detestation of the practice' and stating that 'she did not and would not wear any plumage of any wild bird'. In Australia, birds slaughtered for the purposes of feminine adornment included the osprey, egrets, herons, rifle birds, regent bower birds, and lyre birds.⁸⁸

In the case of animals, possums and koalas were killed in their millions for their skins. In its Annual Report for 1920–21 the Wild Life Preservation Society recorded that Queensland authorities had admitted that during the previous year 5.25 million possums and 1 million koalas had been slaughtered and traced through the markets. The Society traced about 7.5 million (including the above) which the Minister concerned later accepted as 'probably not too large an estimate of the slaughter'. During 1936 the Queensland Government declared an open season for possums covering the months of July and August, and during this short period sales of skins totalled about 5 million. It is not likely that this many animals could have been caught, skinned, prepared, and shipped in so short a space of time, which highlights a problem with 'open seasons': they were used as a 'save-face' for skins mostly already collected.⁸⁹ In addition to the sale of the feathers and skins of protected fauna, a flourishing export trade in live fauna, birds mainly, was carried on during the 1920s in particular. The Society, in its Annual Report for 1921–22, recorded that 55,000 wild birds had been officially shipped from the port of Sydney in one year alone, and many others, not officially recorded, were sent away during the same period. Many of these birds died in transit, and those remaining alive brought high prices from affluent 'bird fanciers' and zoos.⁹⁰

EDUCATION AND RESERVATION: THE FAUNA PROTECTION ACT 1948

After the *Birds and Animals Protection Act* 1918, apart from the two amendments to that act which have been discussed, no new fauna protection legislation was enacted in New South Wales until 1948.⁹¹ The Fauna Protection Bill of that year was drafted on the recommendations of a Fauna Investigation Committee which had been set up by the Colonial Secretary in about 1944 to report upon 'the action necessary to ensure greater protection to Australian bird and animal life'.

This committee comprised a representative of the Agriculture Department with experience of grazing and agricultural problems, an ornithologist from the Australian Museum, and an administrative officer of the Colonial Secretary's Department. The committee took evidence from many bodies representing wildlife protection interests, from 'man on the land' organisations, from Government bodies, scientific societies, and others.⁹²

Among the recommendations of the Fauna Protection Committee in its 1946 report were some which echoed closely observations made concerning fauna protection during debate on the Birds and Animals Protection Bill thirty years earlier. The committee was not sanguine as to the future of native birds and animals unless 'bold and imaginative measures' could be instituted. They formed the view that with the extension of agricultural and grazing pursuits in the state, the 'chief hope' of protection lay in 'the natural reserve', an idea that Broughton O'Connor had effectively put forward in October 1917 when he argued forcibly that the key to protecting the fauna was to maintain its natural habitat. The committee also concluded, echoing Peter Loughlin's observations of August 1918, that fauna protection involved 'more than the passage of a bill through Parliament'; it required 'a proper policy of education to stress the value, economically and nationally, of our bird and animal life'; it depended upon 'an enlightened public interest, and this can be awakened only by a wise policy of education'. The preservation of Australian fauna, the committee believed, 'must be accepted by the State for economic reasons and as a very deep and lasting moral obligation'.⁹³

The *Fauna Protection Act* 1948 provided, among other things, for the setting up of a Fauna Protection Panel and for the appointment of a Chief Guardian of Fauna (who was a member of, and the chairman of, the panel). Membership of the fourteen-strong panel included representatives of the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Conservation, the Forestry Commission, the Chief Secretary's Department, the Australian Museum, the Department of Education, the Department of Lands, the Ministry of Tourist Activities and Immigration, as well as a person engaged in agricultural or grazing pursuits, a nominee of the Senate of the University of Sydney, and three nominees of organisations concerned with the preservation, conservation, protection, or scientific investigation of fauna. The panel would be the authority for the protection and care of fauna in New South Wales, having among its functions advising the Minister on matters relating to the administration of the act, engaging in educational activities which it considered necessary 'to awaken and maintain an appreciation of the value of bird and animal life', and having the care, control, and management of faunal reserves.

Faunal reserves, the centrepiece of the act, were something of a new concept in fauna protection in the state, being the expression of the view of the committee that the best hope of saving bird and animal life lay in the 'natural reserve'. The panel was empowered to recommend the dedication of any Crown lands as

faunal reserves for the purpose of 'the protection and care of fauna, the propagation of fauna, and the promotion of the study of fauna' (s. 9.1). Once dedicated, a faunal reserve could be revoked only by an Act of Parliament (s. 9.4), but the reserves were correspondingly difficult to create, requiring the concurrence of the Secretary for Lands (s. 9.2). Having determined that the procedure for the selection of faunal reserves should be to 'secure large areas as diverse in natural systems as possible' and that overall the reserves should include examples of all natural systems in the state, the panel encountered 'a positive reluctance in the Lands administration to make any Crown land available for the purpose'. Consequently, the first faunal reserve was not dedicated until September 1954, and the pattern of reserve dedication which emerged subsequently was 'a scramble for whatever was offering, few being what might be called "large areas"'.⁹⁴

The faunal reserves created under the *Fauna Protection Act* were, in theory at least, the first areas of Crown land to be dedicated for wildlife protection in New South Wales which were selected according to a strategy that aimed to create a system of large reserves, spanning the entire state, and representing the range of natural systems. They were not, however, the first wildlife reserves in the state. Prior to 1948, many areas of Crown land had been reserved, in terms of the various Crown lands acts, as reserves for the preservation of native flora and fauna. All forms of reservations such as these were, however, easily revoked, but areas of Crown land dedicated to fauna protection under the *Fauna Protection Act* 1948 had a more secure, almost permanent status, requiring an Act of Parliament for their revocation.

AN EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

The evolution of fauna protection legislation in New South Wales, up until 1967, has been traced closely above, and is outlined in Table 2. The process can be generalised into six stages, in terms of the public attitudes towards native wildlife which are expressed in the various parliamentary debates over proposed protective legislation. These stages are summarised below, and reference made to some parallel developments in other Australian colonies.

1. Protection of imported game

In the first stage, the protection of the 'investment' of an affluent minority in imported species of game – both birds and animals – was of primary concern. This is represented in New South Wales by the *Game Protection Act* 1866. Similar protective legislation was passed in other Australian colonies during the early 1860s, and this has already been discussed above.

TABLE 2. Evolution of native fauna protection legislation, New South Wales, 1865–1967.

Session	Bill
<i>Birds</i>	
1865	Imported Game Protection Bill; renamed Wild Birds and Animals Protection Bill (lapsed in Assembly 9 June 1865)
1865-66	Game Protection Bill (became Game Protection Act, 1866 ; 29 Vic. no. 22; expired 1876)
1866	Game Preservation Act Amendment Bill (leave only, bill not presented)
1867-68	Game Preservation Act Amendment Bill (leave only, bill not presented)
1870	Game Preservation Act Amendment Bill (leave only, bill not presented)
1875-76	Animals Protection Bill (interrupted by prorogation)
1876-77	Animals Protection Bill (interrupted by prorogation)
1878-79	Animals Protection Bill (discharged)
1878-79	Animals Protection Bill (became Animals Protection Act, 1879 ; 42 Vic. no. 10; expired February 1880)
1879-80	Animals Protection Bill (discharged and withdrawn 9 July 1880)
1881	Birds Protection Bill (withdrawn 22 July 1881)
1881	Birds Protection Bill No. 2 (withdrawn 19 August 1881)
1881	Animals Protection Bill; renamed Birds Protection Bill (became Birds Protection Act, 1881 ; 45 Vic. no. 29; repealed 42 Vic. no. 10)
1882	Animals Protection Bill (discharged and withdrawn 14 November 1882)
1892-93	Birds Protection Act Amending Bill; renamed Birds Protection Bill (became Birds Protection Act, 1893 ; 56 Vic. no. 18)
1901	Birds Protection Bill (became Birds Protection Act ; No. 26 of 1901)
<i>continued ...</i>	

Source: Compiled from NSW, *Parliamentary debates* and NSW, Parliament, Legislative Council, *Consolidated index to the Minutes of the proceedings and Printed papers*, 5 vols.

Session	Bill
<i>Animals</i>	
1902	Native Animals Protection Bill (not presented)
1903	Native Animals Protection Bill (became Native Animals Protection Act ; No. 18 of 1903)
<i>Birds and Animals</i>	
1906	Birds and Animals Protection and Acclimatisation Bill (did not reach Council)
1911-12	Birds and Animals Protection Bill (lapsed 14 November 1911)
1914-15	Birds and Animals Protection Bill (interrupted by prorogation)
1915-16	Birds and Animals Protection Bill (not presented)
1917-18	Birds and Animals Protection Bill (became Birds and Animals Protection Act ; No. 21 of 1918)
1922 (2)	Birds and Animals Protection (Amendment) Bill (withdrawn 16 November 1922)
1922 (2)	Birds and Animals Protection (Amendment) Bill No. 2 (became Birds and Animals Protection (Amendment) Act ; No. 37 of 1922)
1929-30	Birds and Animals Protection (Amendment) Bill (became Birds and Animals Protection (Amendment) Act ; No. 12 of 1930)
1948-49-50	Fauna Protection Bill (became Fauna Protection Act ; No. 47 of 1948)
1964	Fauna Protection (Amendment) Bill (became Fauna Protection (Amendment) Act ; No. 50 of 1964)

2. Protection of some native game species

The second stage, the protection of certain native game species, occurred simultaneously with the first stage in most Australian colonies. Protection was limited to a 'breeding season', and the choice of species accommodated fears from the numerous farming community that such protective legislation would prevent the destruction of agricultural pests. Such fears were clearly in evidence in Queensland in the late 1870s. Queensland's *Imported Game Act* 1863 had included no indigenous species, unlike the South Australian, Tasmanian, Victoria, and New South Wales acts of the early-mid 1860s. The first legislation in

Queensland to protect native birds was the *Native Birds Protection Act 1877* under which it was an offence to kill any of a range of game and song birds during a five month closed season.⁹⁵ This act was swiftly amended, however, so as not to apply to farmers killing native birds for the protection of their crops.⁹⁶

3. Protection of native birds for aesthetic reasons

A third stage is defined by the introduction of an aesthetic element. Song birds, among which were a number of native species, were included in the schedules of protected fauna in New South Wales for the first time in the *Birds Protection Act 1881*. The *Birds Protection Act 1893* added more non-game species, and in the debates at this time can be found the first clear expression of non-commercial motives for the protection of native birds. This element of the act was a reaction to the late perceived loss of native birds, both song birds and others of predominantly visual appeal. The protected birds were, however, usually of kinds harmless to agricultural and grazing interests which remained strongly influential.

4. Protection of native animals

The protection of native mammals represents a fourth stage in the evolution of Australian fauna protection legislation. In New South Wales, animals were first brought under the umbrella of the protective legislation in 1903. As for the *Birds Protection Act 1866*, the *Native Animals Protection Act 1903* received a hostile reaction from farming interests fearing the law would interfere with the destruction of pests. It was not the legitimate destruction of pests, however, that motivated the act. Just as Joseph Carruthers in 1893 had responded to the diminishing numbers of native birds, F. E. Winchcombe ten years later was reacting to the diminishing numbers of native marsupials, a consequence of a burgeoning fur trade. Winchcombe combined commercial motives – the perpetuation of the trade – with ‘sentimental’ ones – preventing the extinction of native fauna, and purely aesthetic considerations.

5. Protection of native birds and animals generally

The growing trade in native animal products, together with the developing sentimental attachment to native fauna, motivated the formation in 1909 of the Wild Life Preservation Society of Australia. This Society was largely responsible for the passage of the *Birds and Animals Protection Act 1918* which combined the separate functions of the *Birds Protection Act 1901* and the *Native Animals Protection Act 1903*. The 1918 act introduced a new principle into the fauna protection legislation, namely that native birds and animals would be protected unless specifically excluded. This reversal of approach, together with

the treatment of birds and animals together in a single act, signifies the completion of the transition from the protection of game which was the principal concern of legislation in the 1860s and 1870s, to the protection of native fauna for its own sake. A similar transition in South Australia was the main concern of Newland (1961) who saw its culmination there in the passage of the *Animals and Birds Protection Act* 1919.

Like the 1903 act, the 1918 act in New South Wales was a reaction to the continuing devastation of the native fauna through the fur, feather, and live animal trade, and to the incidental death of native animals through rabbit baiting, but was based more than ever before on non-commercial motives, such as nationalism and a revulsion of cruelty to animals. Responding to the failure of the previous legislation to arrest the destruction of the fauna, the 1918 act emphasised education, especially of the young, in order to inculcate a new respect for the native fauna. It accommodated farming interests through variable declarations, but increasingly farmers were appreciating the benefits of encouraging rather than killing many native birds.

6. Creation of sanctuaries to protect fauna habitat

In 1930, fauna sanctuaries were created around public schools, and many more rangers were created to supervise the legislation, but it was not until 1948 that the idea of 'natural reserves' was formalised. This concept recognised the link between preserving habitat in order to preserve fauna, and created a new secure tenure which ensured that once created, the faunal reserve could not easily be revoked. The *Fauna Protection Act* 1948 also continued the emphasis on education of the young which had been first incorporated into the *Birds and Animals Protection Act* 1918. This, fundamentally, is the stage that fauna protection had reached in New South Wales on the eve of the passage of the *National Parks and Wildlife Act* 1967.

NOTES

¹ This article is based on a chapter in my Ph.D. thesis (Stubbs 1996). It has benefited from comments by Tom Dunlap, Robert Lambert, and one anonymous referee.

² Ramsay 1876.

³ For more about the acclimatisation movement see: for Australia, Le Souef 1965, Gillbank 1980, 1986; and elsewhere, Dunlap 1997.

⁴ Quote from the *Australian Liberal* by Rex Jackson, 16 August 1967, NSW, *Parliamentary debates*, p. 508.

⁵ Lewis, NSW, *Parliamentary debates*, 1 December 1966, p. 3052.

⁶ The *Fauna Protection Act* was administered by the National Parks and Wildlife Service from 1967 until 1974 when it was repealed and its provisions incorporated into an expanded *National Parks and Wildlife Act*.

⁷ 'An Act to provide for the preservation of Imported Game and during the breeding season of Native Game' (29 Vic. no. 22; 7 April 1866).

⁸ See schedule 2 of the act.

⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (SMH), 15 May 1865, p. 5; A list of animals, birds and plants introduced during the previous year was published in the fourth annual report of the Society in *SMH*, 27 April 1865, p. 2.

¹⁰ 'An Act to provide temporarily for the protection of native game' (24 Vic. no. 18; 4 October 1860).

¹¹ 'An Act to provide for the preservation of imported game, and, during the breeding season, of native game' (25 Vic. no. 161; 18 June 1862).

¹² 'An Act to provide for the protection of imported game' (27 Vic. no. 6; 3 September 1863).

¹³ 'An Act to prevent the wanton destruction of certain wild and acclimatized animals' (27 and 28 Vic. no. 23; 9 December 1864).

¹⁴ 'An Act to provide for the protection of native game during the breeding season' (24 Vic. no. 19; 4 October 1860); 'An Act to provide for the protection of black swans' (24 Vic. no. 20; 4 October 1860).

¹⁵ Petition from Richard Sadleir; NSW, Legislative Council, *Journal* 1865–66, vol. 1, p. 893.

¹⁶ Legislative Assembly, 9 June 1865; reported in *SMH*, 10 June 1865, p. 8.

¹⁷ Legislative Assembly, 21 February 1866; reported in *SMH*, 22 February 1866, p. 3.

¹⁸ Unsuccessful bills aimed at achieving this end were introduced in the parliamentary sessions of 1875–76, 1876–77, and 1878–79.

¹⁹ 'An Act to secure the protection of certain Birds and Animals' (42 Vic. no. 10; 12 March 1879).

²⁰ Legislative Assembly, 4 October 1878; reported in *SMH*, 5 October 1878.

²¹ Petitions, Birds and Animals Protection Bill, NSW, Legislative Assembly, *Votes and proceedings* 1878–79, vol. 7, pp. 983–1011.

²² The word 'birds' had been dropped from the title, it having been argued that, as birds were animals, the simple word animals would suffice. A. H. Jacob, Legislative Assembly, 4 October 1878; reported in *SMH*, 5 October 1878.

²³ The renaming was in recognition of the fact that only birds were included in the schedules of 'animals' proposed to be protected. Deer and antelope, both 'imported game', were the only non-birds in the schedules to the 1879 act; they were excluded from the 1881 act.

²⁴ 'An Act to protect certain imported and other Birds' (45 Vic. no. 29; 20 December 1881). The three schedules to this act contained only birds.

²⁵ For the initial idea for this section I acknowledge Ryan 1994.

²⁶ 'An Act to protect the Pastures and Live Stock of the Colony from the depredations of certain noxious Animals' (44 Vic. no. 11; 12 July 1880).

²⁷ Leopold Fane de Salis, 14 December 1881; NSW, *Parliamentary debates*, p. 2649.

²⁸ 'An Act to facilitate and encourage the destruction of Native Dogs' (16 Vic. no. 44; 28 December 1852). This act set out procedures whereby the owners of stations or estates could recover from the owners of neighbouring stations or estates, or from the Crown, a portion of the cost of laying poisoned baits around their boundary lines.

²⁹ Petition from Richard Sadleir; NSW, Legislative Council, *Journal* 1865–66, vol. 1, p. 893.

FROM 'USELESS BRUTES' TO NATIONAL TREASURES

- ³⁰ Sir Henry Parkes, NSW, *Parliamentary debates*, 18 June 1880, p. 2888.
- ³¹ Sir John Robertson, NSW, *Parliamentary debates*, 24 June 1880, p. 2986.
- ³² C. Campbell, NSW, *Parliamentary debates*, 24 June 1880, p. 2987.
- ³³ Sir John Robertson, NSW, *Parliamentary debates*, 24 June 1880, p. 2987.
- ³⁴ Petition from Residents of New England District, NSW, Legislative Assembly, *Votes and proceedings* 1878–79, vol. 7, p. 891 (see also pp. 889 and 893).
- ³⁵ The Marsupials Destruction Bill, 1878–79, was initiated in the Legislative Assembly but did not reach the Council in the session. It was discharged and withdrawn on 20 June 1879. See *SMH*, 21 June 1879, p. 3.
- ³⁶ *Diseases in Sheep Act* 1866 (30 Vic. no. 16).
- ³⁷ Notably, the *Pastures and Stock Protection Act* 1880 (44 Vic. no. 11) was repealed by the *Pastures and Stock Protection Act* 1898 (Act no. 14, 1898; 27 July 1898); which was repealed by the *Pastures Protection Act* 1902 (Act no. 111, 1902; 24 December 1902); which was repealed by the *Pastures Protection Act* 1912 (Act no. 35, 1912; 26 November 1912); which was repealed by the *Pastures Protection Act* 1934 (Act no. 35, 1934; 14 November 1934); which was repealed by the *Rural Lands Protection Act* 1989 (Act no. 197, 1989; 21 December 1989).
- ³⁸ In 1885, the Casino sheep district was defined as embracing the Police Districts of Richmond River and Tweed, and the Grafton sheep district as embracing the Police District of Grafton (NSW, *Government Gazette*, 28 January 1885, pp. 825–826). Tweed-Lismore district was separated from Casino district in June 1890. The former included the Tweed River catchment and the eastern part of the Richmond River catchment, and thus a large proportion of brush (rainforest) land. The latter included the remainder of the Richmond River catchment and the catchment of the upper Clarence River (NSW, *Government Gazette*, 10 June 1890, pp. 4564–4565). The absence of figures for Casino after 1890 possibly means that all or most of the scalps for Casino district before 1891 were taken in the eastern portion of the district, in what became the Tweed-Lismore district from 1891.
- ³⁹ See, for example, *Northern Star* (Lismore), 'District News', 10 January 1900, 31 January 1900, 7 February 1900, 9 February 1901.
- ⁴⁰ 'An Act to protect certain imported and other Birds' (56 Vic. no. 18; 1 June 1893).
- ⁴¹ J. M. Ward, 'Carruthers, Sir Joseph Hector McNeil (1856–1932)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 7, pp. 574–578. Carruthers was Minister for Public Instruction (1889–1891), Minister for Lands (1894–1899), and Premier and Treasurer (1904–1907).
- ⁴² NSW, *Parliamentary debates*, 14 February 1893, p. 4124.
- ⁴³ NSW, *Parliamentary debates*, 14 February 1893, p. 4124.
- ⁴⁴ NSW, *Parliamentary debates*, 14 February 1893, p. 4128.
- ⁴⁵ NSW, *Parliamentary debates*, 14 February 1893, p. 4129.
- ⁴⁶ NSW, *Parliamentary debates*, 23 February 1893, p. 4569.
- ⁴⁷ 'An Act to consolidate the enactments relating to the protection of certain imported and other birds' (Act no. 26, 1901; 30 October 1901).
- ⁴⁸ Sir John See, NSW, Legislative Assembly, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1 September 1903, pp. 1982–1983. A major drought devastated all of NSW and much of the rest of Australia from about 1895–1903. See Bolton (1992: 31–34), for instance.
- ⁴⁹ 'An Act to protect native animals, and to amend the Birds Protection Act, 1901' (Act no. 18, 1903; 5 December 1903).
- ⁵⁰ These were the red kangaroo, wallaroo, koala, platypus, echidna, three species of wombat, and four species of gliders.

- ⁵¹ Alexander Campbell, NSW, Legislative Assembly, *Parliamentary debates*, 1 September 1903, pp. 1983–1984.
- ⁵² Robert Davidson, NSW, Legislative Assembly, *Parliamentary debates*, 1 September 1903, pp. 1984–1985.
- ⁵³ Samuel Charles, NSW, Legislative Council, *Parliamentary debates*, 14 October 1903, p. 3309.
- ⁵⁴ Sir Samuel McCaughey, NSW, Legislative Council, *Parliamentary debates*, 10 September 1903, pp. 2287–2288.
- ⁵⁵ Henry Carey Dangar, NSW, Legislative Council, *Parliamentary debates*, 14 October 1903, pp. 3307–3308.
- ⁵⁶ Frederick Earle Winchcombe, NSW, Legislative Assembly, *Parliamentary debates*, 1 September 1903, p. 1986.
- ⁵⁷ Henry Edward Kater, NSW, Legislative Council, *Parliamentary debates*, 14 October 1903, p. 3306.
- ⁵⁸ Henry Edward Kater, NSW, Legislative Council, *Parliamentary debates*, 14 October 1903, pp. 3306–3307.
- ⁵⁹ NSW, Legislative Assembly, *Parliamentary debates*, 1 September, 1903, pp. 1984–1985.
- ⁶⁰ Colonel James Mackay, NSW, Legislative Council, *Parliamentary debates*, 10 September 1903, p. 2286.
- ⁶¹ Alexander Ross, NSW, Legislative Council, *Parliamentary debates*, 14 October 1903, p. 3308.
- ⁶² Broughton Barnabas O’Conor, NSW, Legislative Assembly, *Parliamentary debates*, 1 September 1903, p. 1986.
- ⁶³ ‘An Act to provide for the protection of certain animals and birds; to repeal the Birds Protection Act, 1901, and the Native Animals Protection Act, 1903; to amend certain other Acts; and for other purposes consequent thereon or incidental thereto’ (Act no. 21, 1918; 12 September 1918).
- ⁶⁴ Stead 1949, pp. 36–37. David Stead was a co-founder of the Society.
- ⁶⁵ This dilemma is discussed in ‘Farm and station: protection of wild birds, a complex question’, *SMH*, 19 June 1909, p. 9.
- ⁶⁶ Extracts from a 1909 leaflet published by the Society to publicise its objects; quoted in Stead 1949, p. 35. See also ‘Wild life preservation, new society’s objects’, *SMH*, 18 June 1909, p. 10.
- ⁶⁷ Stead 1949, pp. 34–35.
- ⁶⁸ By which time Winchcombe had recently died.
- ⁶⁹ John Garland, NSW, Legislative Council, *Parliamentary debates*, 17 October 1917, p. 1709.
- ⁷⁰ Sir Joseph Carruthers, NSW, Legislative Council, *Parliamentary debates*, 17 October 1917, p. 1712.
- ⁷¹ Sir Joseph Carruthers, NSW, Legislative Council, *Parliamentary debates*, 17 October 1917, p. 1715.
- ⁷² Henry Edward Kater, NSW, Legislative Council, *Parliamentary debates*, 17 October 1917, p. 1718.
- ⁷³ John Garland, NSW, Legislative Council, *Parliamentary debates*, 18 October 1917, p. 1797.
- ⁷⁴ Broughton Barnabas O’Conor, NSW, Legislative Assembly, *Parliamentary debates*, 17 October 1917, pp. 1718–1719.

- ⁷⁵ Thomas Davies Mutch, NSW, Legislative Assembly, *Parliamentary debates*, 21 August 1918, p. 894.
- ⁷⁶ George Fuller, Colonial Secretary, NSW, Legislative Assembly, *Parliamentary debates*, 15 August 1918, p. 833.
- ⁷⁷ Peter Ffrench Loughlin, NSW, Legislative Assembly, *Parliamentary debates*, 15 August 1918, p. 833.
- ⁷⁸ Peter Ffrench Loughlin, NSW, Legislative Assembly, *Parliamentary debates*, 15 August 1918, pp. 833–834.
- ⁷⁹ Sir Joseph Carruthers, NSW, *Parliamentary debates*, 27 July 1922, p. 645.
- ⁸⁰ 'An Act to amend the Birds and Animals Protection Act, 1918, in certain respects' (Act no. 37, 1922; 28 November 1922).
- ⁸¹ Peter Ffrench Loughlin, NSW, Legislative Assembly, *Parliamentary debates*, 21 November 1922, p. 3949.
- ⁸² Charles William Oakes, NSW, Legislative Assembly, *Parliamentary debates*, 21 November 1922, p. 3950.
- ⁸³ 'An Act to amend the Birds and Animals Protection Act, 1918; to repeal the Birds and Animals Protection (Amendment) Act, 1922; and for purposes connected therewith' (Act no. 12, 1930; 17 April 1930).
- ⁸⁴ Stead 1949, p. 37.
- ⁸⁵ See, for example, the comments of the Colonial Secretary, Captain F. A. Chaffey, NSW, Legislative Assembly, *Parliamentary debates*, 12 March 1930, p. 3650.
- ⁸⁶ Arthur Tonge, NSW, Legislative Assembly, *Parliamentary debates*, 12 March 1930, p. 3652.
- ⁸⁷ Captain F. A. Chaffey, NSW, Legislative Assembly, *Parliamentary debates*, 12 March 1930, p. 3650.
- ⁸⁸ Stead 1949, pp. 38–41.
- ⁸⁹ Stead 1949, pp. 41–43.
- ⁹⁰ Stead 1949, pp. 55–60.
- ⁹¹ 'An Act to make provisions for the protection and preservation of fauna; to repeal the Birds and Animals Protection Act, 1918–1930, and to amend certain other Acts; and for purposes connected therewith (Act no. 47, 1948; 24 December 1948).
- ⁹² NSW, Legislative Assembly, *Parliamentary debates*, 9 December 1948, p. 1285.
- ⁹³ NSW, Legislative Assembly, *Parliamentary debates*, 9 December 1948, p. 1285.
- ⁹⁴ Strom 1979, p. 68. Allen Strom was the nominee of The Wild Life Preservation Society of Australia and The Sydney Bushwalkers on the first Fauna Protection Panel. He was the panel's first Hon. Secretary, and became the second Chief Guardian of Fauna in 1958.
- ⁹⁵ 'An Act to provide for the protection of native birds' (41 Vic. no. 7; 10 August 1877).
- ⁹⁶ 'An Act to amend "The native birds Protection Act of 1877"' (41 Vic. no. 16; 1 November 1877).

REFERENCES

- Bolton, G. C. 1992. *Spoils and spoilers: a history of Australians shaping their environment* (2nd ed.). Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Dunlap, T. R. 1997. Remaking the land: the acclimatization movement and Anglo ideas of nature, *Journal of World History* 8: 303–319.

- Dunlap, T. R. 1999. *Nature and the English diaspora: environment and history in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand*. Cambridge University Press.
- Gillbank, L. R. 1980. The Acclimatisation Society of Victoria, *Victorian Historical Journal* **51**: 255–270.
- Gillbank, L. 1986. The origins of the Acclimatisation Society of Victoria: practical science in the wake of the gold rush, *Historical Records of Australian Science* **6**: 359–374.
- Hutton, D. and Connors, L. 1999. *A history of the Australian environment movement*. Cambridge University Press.
- Le Souef, J. C. 1965. Acclimatization in Victoria, *Victorian Historical Magazine* **36**(1): 8–29.
- Mosley, J. G. 1972. Towards a history of conservation in Australia. In Rapoport, A. (ed.) *Australia as human setting*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.
- Newland, B. C. 1961. From game laws to fauna protection Acts in South Australia: the evolution of an attitude, *The South Australian Ornithologist* **23**: 52–63.
- Powell, J. M. 1976. *Environmental management in Australia, 1788–1914. Guardians, improvers and profit: an introductory survey*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Ramsay, E. P. 1876. Remarks on the large number of game birds which have of late been offered for sale in Sydney, *Proceedings of the Linnean Society of New South Wales* **1**(3): 215–220.
- Ryan, M. 1994. 'If it runs, shoot it': some historical 'reasons' for our wildlife slaughter, *Australian Folklore* no. 9: 122–127.
- Stead, D. G. 1949. A brief history of the Wild Life Preservation Society of Australia, 1909 to 1949, *Australian Wild Life* **2**(2): 33–72.
- Strom, A. A. 1979. Some events in nature conservation over the last forty years, *Parks and Wildlife* **2**(3–4): 65–73.
- Stubbs, B. J. 1996. A question of competing values: forest and timber conservation in New South Wales, 1838–1996. Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Southern Cross University, Australia.
- Walker, R. B. 1991. Fauna and flora protection in New South Wales, 1866–1948, *Journal of Australian Studies* no.28: 17–28.