

**Forgotten Footpath Fellow?: The latent legacy of
geographer Sir Archibald Grenfell Price**

Simone Elizabeth Cécile Cutler

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Flinders University

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Abstract

Sir Archibald Grenfell Price was a man of substance in Australian society. He was an author, an educator, a concerned Christian, a broadcaster, a politician, a pioneer and a mentor to many. Price received a knighthood for his achievements; his name lives on in the University of Adelaide residential college. He is a very interesting and complex man.

During his long career Grenfell Price concerned himself with many issues. These were key issues of his time, and some remain relevant today. In particular he investigated successful and unsuccessful settlement patterns, especially that of Europeans in tropical regions. Additionally he identified the characteristics of settlement which enabled some groups to be more prosperous than others. Price's writings had an impact on his peers and contemporaries and it is likely his contribution helped shaped patterns of Australian settlement in its tropical regions. Price was well regarded in society in Adelaide in particular, and yet now, some forty years after his death, he is little known.

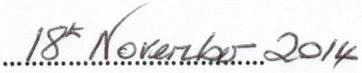
Grenfell Price's enormous legacy of ideas on a range of contemporary issues is thought-provoking. To understand why he is now known to only a few people within the geography discipline – the discipline in which he taught and wrote many of his books – three of the books which cover most of his publication career are considered in detail. The impact of his ideas is discussed by analysing references to his work by later researchers; this is a new evaluation method, applicable beyond this research, which has been developed to gauge Price's contribution to the discipline of geography. Further, Grenfell Price is compared with other academics of his time to assess how his peers regarded his work and his legacy.

Overall it is concluded that Price was an outstanding man of his time, but his legacy is overshadowed by more outspoken and opinionated contemporaries. International events, social and cultural changes, and his apparent reluctance to adapt limited his renown.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.


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This thesis would never have been started, let alone completed without the assistance of many people. Given that there are so many to thank I will only name a few, but to all those not named, this does not mean you are not remembered or your assistance much appreciated.

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The staff at The State Library of South Australia were unceasingly helpful and gave me ongoing assistance over a number of years of delving into Grenfell Price's archives. Without their help my task would have been much more onerous. The Somerville Reading Room staff were particularly patient and unflappable at times when I was in need of help and clarification. Similarly Heidi Ing and Dr Gillian Dooley of Flinders University library have been great friends and supporters especially when a fresh look at a particular problem was needed.

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There are no words that can explain the help and support I have had from Sel (Dr Selina Tually) and Brenton, with the added wonder of Clair's eventual birth. Clair's

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To my own parents Betty and Paul, now in their mid-nineties, and as I write this undergoing a huge change in their lives, as my mother moves to a nursing home and they are separated for the first time in 73 years of marriage, when you sacrificed so much to enable me to go to grammar school I had no idea how hard it was for you. It was the beginning of this journey to a Doctorate for me.

John, again there are no words to tell you how much I appreciate all you have had to put up with over the last six years. I suspect you will never read the thesis; it is not a wiring diagram, but if it was it would be the most complex one you have ever seen and I think you would enjoy unravelling all the parts. There is no way I would have got this far without you. The question that remains for us is where to next in the complex wiring diagram that is our lives?

Chapter One

Grenfell Price – a man of his time and place

Many of his students who have gone on to distinction in their own fields will say they are geographers because of Grenfell Price. (Marshall in Gale and Lawton 1969 p. xiiv)

'Sir Archibald Grenfell Price, CMG, 1892-1977, Geographer, Historian, Educationist.' So reads a commemorative plaque in the pavement of North Terrace, Adelaide. By happy chance, the alphabetic ordering of the plaques has placed this one outside the State Library, the home of the Royal Geographical Society of South Australia (see Figure 1.1). The plaque is part of the Jubilee 150 Walk, which recognises and honours major contributions to the State's founding and development from around 150 eminent South Australians. The Walk was installed in 1986 to mark the State's 150th anniversary (Healey 2003). In this diverse and distinguished group, only Grenfell Price is recognised as a 'Geographer'.

Among this group, often founders of the then colony and almost all male, many are remembered for their business activities in pastoralism, banking, mining, and others for politics, science and the arts. The plaques remind us of the Angas Family, early settlers but also pastoralists and humanitarians; scientists such as Lord Florey, Sir John Cleland, and Sir William and Sir Lawrence Bragg; artists, and poets and singers including Peter Dawson, C.J. Dennis, Sir Robert Helpmann and Sir Hans Heysen. Most conspicuous for the purpose of this current research is the number of plaques that commemorate explorers and educationalists. Among these are George Goyder, Sir Douglas Mawson, Robert Barr Smith, Sir Keith and Sir Ross Smith, John McDouall Stuart, Sir Charles Todd, Captain Charles Sturt, Sir George Hubert Wilkins and Sir Archibald Grenfell Price. Price (see Figure 1.1) clearly ranks among these other celebrated South Australians This thesis will argue that this honour is well deserved, but his name¹ is far less known by most Adelaide residents than those of many of the others commemorated.

¹ Throughout his life Archibald Grenfell Price was universally known as Archie. However, his widowed mother called herself Mrs Archie Price as Archibald Grenfell Price's father was also Archibald. When Archie himself married, to

Figure 1.1 Sir Archibald Grenfell Price commemorative plaque, North Terrace, Adelaide



Source: photograph by Dr Selina Tually

Sir Archibald Grenfell Price was a man of considerable substance in South Australia and nationally during the first half of the 20th Century. He was a man whose busy public career encompassed both scholarly and civic activity. He had an influence on many people's lives as an author, educator, broadcaster, concerned Christian, and a politician. He was a mentor to many of his generation. Grenfell Price was sufficiently well known and notable in Australia to be given a knighthood for his achievements. His name is honoured at the University of Adelaide residential college St Mark's, where he was the first Master, with the dining room and lodge being named after him. Additionally he left a legacy of more than 100 publications which reflect the breadth of his scholarly interest and his expansive understanding of 'geography'.

avoid the confusion of there being two Mrs Archie Prices, he began to place emphasis on his middle name, Grenfell. In his writing he used the name A. Grenfell Price' (Kerr 1983 p. 14). Within this thesis the names Grenfell Price, Price and Sir Archibald Grenfell Price, are used interchangeably.

As a scholar, Price was the author of books that remained standard texts for decades and helped shape the insights of generations of students. He wrote the first Australian geography text book for use in local schools, and followed this with a myriad of publications covering not only geography, but also social issues more broadly. He authored many government reports, particularly concerning the importance of public libraries.

His concern for native people worldwide led to thoughtful and provocative reflections on the relationship between settler and indigenous populations. His scholastic and professional achievements were clearly acknowledged by his peers during his lifetime. For example, he was made a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, London, in 1921 at the age of 29. Locally he was awarded The University of Adelaide's very first Doctorate of Letters (D Litt) in 1932; was an invited contributor and member of the Editorial Board for The Centenary History of South Australia in 1936; served as President of the South Australian Branch of the Royal Geographical Society of Australia and received the Branch's John Lewis Gold Medal in 1949 and was heavily involved in the early years of the Australian Humanities Research Council in the 1950s.

During his long career Grenfell Price concerned himself with many issues. They were key issues of his time; some remain relevant today. One of the themes which held his interest throughout his working life was identifying the characteristics which were fundamental to successful and unsuccessful settlement of Europeans in tropical regions. Price's writings on this theme had an impact on his peers and contemporaries, and it is likely his contribution subsequently helped shape today's patterns of Australian settlement in its tropical regions.

Here then is a person of importance in his own time, and one who it could be assumed would be remembered within the discipline in which most of his books were published. During his lifetime, Grenfell Price was clearly acknowledged as a leading contributor to State and scholarly life by public honours and peer respect. The State's appreciation seems to have endured, as evidenced by his inclusion in the select group of South Australians commemorated by the plaques of the Jubilee 150 Walk. However, within the world of geographical scholarship it seems that Grenfell Price and his substantial corpus of work have become invisible, omitted from mention in histories of

the discipline, overlooked by commentators, forgotten by anthropologists, remembered only by a rapidly declining cohort of former students. That such formative contributions to the development of Australian, and South Australian, geographical scholarship can apparently be so quickly and comprehensively ignored deserves investigation.

Numerous other geographers are remembered and their achievements lauded or criticised. Histories of the discipline identify these leaders and their contributions to geographic thought and theory. In the English-speaking world names such as Griffith Taylor appear frequently, but not Grenfell Price. The issue this research addresses is what is it about Price's writing and his work that makes his presence of considerable importance at the time but sees him subsequently missing from the record of Australian geographers? Price was well regarded in society in Adelaide in particular as is clear from the papers and other material preserved in the State Library archives, and yet now, nearly forty years after his death, he is little known. It is the purpose of this study to explore and explain the apparently transient impact of the work of Sir Archibald Grenfell Price, Geographer, and the reasons for his absence from the story of geographical scholarship.

Sir Archibald Grenfell Price – who was he?

Archibald Grenfell Price was born at his family home near the township of Crafers in the Adelaide Hills on January 28th 1892 (Lewis 2001). His mother was widowed when he was only three years old and his upbringing and later life were much influenced by a series of close relatives who also had varied and interesting lives. A number of his family members were associated with the European settlement and survey of much of South Australia. In particular, his Uncle – Walter Goalen – had a significant influence on him corresponding with the young Price during his overseas travels. Kerr (1983) describes the relationships and influences which impacted on a youthful Price as he moved from dame school to preparatory school before attending St Peter's College in Adelaide as a day student. Classical and religious aspects of his education were important later in his life. He also proved himself an all-round student, winning both a number of prizes for academic work and doing particularly well as an athlete. After matriculating he was accepted at Magdalen College Oxford, although Kerr explains he needed extra coaching in classics to achieve this. Interestingly he originally failed to be

accepted at The University of Adelaide due to a weakness in mathematics. Nevertheless his enrolment at Oxford had a great impact on his future life and work, and there is no indication that he ever regretted this choice.

Figure 1.2 Archibald Grenfell Price c 1940



Source: Trove collection, National Library of Australia.

Following graduation in history, and further study to obtain a teaching degree, he briefly taught at Sherborne College (a public school in Dorset, UK), before returning to Adelaide. Here he took up a position teaching history at St Peters College, but also found he was required to teach geography. It is at this point that his place in Adelaide society and the influence of his later work becomes the subject of the current study; investigating his now apparent invisibility in the history of the discipline of geography. Figure 1.2 is a photograph of Grenfell Price aged around 50 years from the archives of the National Library of Australia.

Why was Price selected?

There is no one single reason for selecting Grenfell Price and his ongoing legacy. There are serendipitous events which led to such decisions; but a clear justification, a single minded interest, is not the only driver for such an investigation. Nye (2006) summarises the way in which some of the scientific biographers she writes about picked their subjects. She notes a number of researchers who took many years to actually publish their research as they came to dislike what they found out about their subjects. In some cases their intense dislike had begun as admiration, but degenerated to loathing. Some people had the advantage, or disadvantage, of knowing their subjects personally 'but real detachment seems impossible to imagine in any event – for why, then,...begin a biographical project at all?' (Nye 2006 p. 327). This investigation is not a biography, it is more constrained and focussed. It stems from a geographer's fascination with Price. A fascination with the contrast between his contemporary influence and his current invisibility ensured he became the person of choice for this investigation. He would not be commemorated on the Jubilee 150 Walk had he not been of relevance or prominence, in what had been a somewhat class structured society. Healey (2003 p. vii) gives no clear justification for the choice of those commemorated but states 'the Jubilee 150 Board decided to honour a selection of men and women who have made significant contributions to the State's progress.'. Price contributed, he fits this criterion, so the puzzle then is to investigate what makes him now less publicly known?

Nye (2006), in her study of scientific biographers, shows how the history of a discipline can be linked with the history of an individual. Whilst her examples are drawn mainly from 'scientific' biographies, her points are equally relevant to investigating the role of a geographer within their discipline. There are strong links between the 'scientists' Nye identifies, and the science of geography. In fact we can perceive the discipline of geography as a tree with many branches. Geographers move around the tree and between the branches, yet the tree continues to grow and change according to the ideas in vogue and the new approaches of the scions of the tree. Assessing how they have contributed to an understanding of their discipline and where they situate their contribution, deserves investigation. Australia has produced many geographers, both

in a formal and informal sense. It has also produced many thinkers and people of influence; and many of these are geographers, either by training or predisposition.

In the early 20th Century, following federation and the unification of the country under one national government, many of these public figures emerged. They had a broad and long lasting influence in public thought, in education, and in a wide range of national interests. One such person was Griffith Taylor, who published his theories on the carrying capacity of Australia and ended up being castigated for his thoughts. Subsequently he left the country to exile in Canada where his now more accepted ideas were less controversial. Archibald Grenfell Price was another of these thinkers and leaders. He made a difference to many people's lives through his work over a long period of time. His influence on the discipline of geography and beyond is investigated in this thesis.

Was Price a geographer? After all, he had no university qualifications in the subject, and his Oxford degree was in history. However, defining the multifaceted discipline of geography is in itself complex. In the *Glossary of Geographical Terms*, edited by the highly regarded British geographer Sir Dudley Stamp (1961), there are a number of definitions taken from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, *Webster's Dictionary*, the *American College Dictionary* and an unpublished Dictionary of Geographical Terms which was prepared by the Royal Geographical Society, in the early 20th Century. Following the varied definitions is a comment:

The meaning of geography has undergone a progressive evolution...definitions range from...'a description of the earth and its inhabitants'...to 'science' to 'human ecology'...or...'the science of distributions'. It is still difficult to find a brief definition which the majority would accept. (p. 209)

Geographer R. J. Johnston who has written extensively on the history of the discipline over many years, does not actually define who he includes as a 'geographer' in his 1979 publication *Geography and Geographers*. He does however qualify his overview by noting he only discusses 'human geography', while other aspects of the discipline may encompass sub groups such as mathematical, physical, ecological or cultural geography. It seems, consequently, that a geographer is one of a self-identifying group and their interests and work differ through time and place; time and place themselves

being the two factors that are the keys to the study of geography. As the thesis will show, Price identified himself and was identified by others as a geographer as well as sometimes an historian, as his commemorative plaque demonstrates.

In the English-speaking world in historical terms geographers, however they are defined, have been prolific writers. Many of the earliest non-religious books available to readers were written by geographers, although they may not have been identified in that way. For example, *Britannia*, recently portrayed in a BBC programme (Crane 2010) and shown by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation in Australia, was based on William Campbell's 1586 survey of Britain and identified proposed routes for those travelling across the country. Such publications described topography, the people who lived in particular areas, specific locations and their uses, developments within areas and possible challenges which travellers might encounter. Semi-religious tales told of the travels of ordinary people to iconic centres. Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*, for example, exemplifies such an approach, while Shakespeare set many of his plays in various real and imagined geographic locations bringing to the reader a previously unknown and possibly unimagined world.

The last two hundred years have seen a wide growth in available publications and the formalisation of approaches to geographical interpretation and geographical thought. Authors of seminal works have not necessarily started out as geographers and as noted above the term 'geographer' has been subject to change and redefinition over time. Geographic schools of thought have developed in different continents and universities within each continent. As a consequence of this variation there is no one 'father' or 'mother' of the discipline. In addition, there is no one formal approach to any analyses of the topic or its content.

The challenge of identifying geographic writing and geographic tradition has been widely discussed. Within the English-speaking world there has been a series of attempts to formally name the various approaches undertaken by those who would regard themselves as geographers. These approaches have been adopted by large numbers of geographers for often relatively short periods of time. Consequently authors such as Peter Haggett (1990) and Ron Johnston (1979, 1983) have described the change from the study of physiography, to environmental determinism, to

regionalism, through the quantitative revolution and on to post colonialism, with all the challenges this presented. The role of historical geography has changed considerably, such that it is now rarely studied as a discrete part of the discipline and only rarely implicitly within other areas of geographic study. This is a curious trend given that without some understanding of the geography of past land use, settlement and the movement of physical and cultural frontiers it is hard to comprehend the patterns of today.

The late 19th and early 20th Century saw the emergence of many new social and educational structures within Australia. European settlement had brought with it the need for an understanding of the environment; the capacity of the land for successful colonisation on a scale different from that which had developed in other continents; the careful planning of cities and towns and; the opening up of transport routes and links with the rest of the world. Along with the need to understand the physical world came a need to evolve politically, to deal with a misunderstood Indigenous population, and even to understand perhaps the most basic geographic fact – that of living in a different hemisphere from that which most settlers had come from. There was early acknowledgement by some of the need to understand the local environment. Exploration of the interior of Australia and the possible population numbers and settlement patterns which the country could support were debated in many fora and this inevitably led to many publications about the country, its people and its future.

Nationally, and in Adelaide in particular, many important geographers and historical geographers emerged in response to ongoing social changes. In Adelaide the establishment of schools and then The University of Adelaide led to the development of the teaching profession. Consequently, a cohort of professionals – generally male – emerged as educationalists and leaders. Geography was taught in schools, but it was taught using British based texts, totally unsuited to the local environment and its characteristics. The early 20th Century therefore saw the emergence of locally born – although often overseas trained – professionals with a primary interest in local geography and the future of Australia as an independent country, within the British Empire. Price was one of this group

Price's involvement in geography was considerable. His academic output was extensive and complex, yet he is now little known as a pioneer of the discipline. This thesis aims to unravel the puzzle of his seeming disappearance. It is critical to do this in order that Price is not forgotten. He played an important part in South Australian and Australian society over a 50 year period, and was important enough to be considered one of South Australia's 'Greats' (Healey 2003). A fresh consideration of his legacy is therefore timely and should lead to an understanding of why he is not remembered.

Thesis aims and objectives

The aim of this thesis is therefore to explore and explain the virtual disappearance of Price's geographic work from the history of the discipline. This aim will be achieved by identifying the range of Price's writing and by selecting those books which best illustrate a common theme which he researched over most of his academic career. Identifying the themes within those books which were fundamental to his argument will then allow a broader discussion of the impact of his work on these themes on others.

A number of tools are used to determine Price's legacy. A wide range of literature was consulted to assist in the evolution of criteria to measure Price's impact. First the selection of some suitable books which are seen to be thematic and which Price himself saw as important is fundamental to measuring his legacy. Price himself identified three of his books as being a trilogy which focus on white settlement, making them appropriate for study. Each of the books discusses failure and success of different groups of settlers and the specific characteristics of settlement which were fundamental to their success. Understanding Price's approach to this area of his research and why he considered these characteristics important are therefore keys to understanding his writing. The relevant books are available and were widely reviewed when they were published. The reviews are important in showing if, and how, Grenfell Price's contemporaries considered his work original and influential.

Price's impact will be further analysed by using information on those who cite his work to measure his perceived leadership. The timing of citations, and the ways in which the material cited was used, indicates the extent to which his ideas influenced others at the time. It is also important to know if he was being cited by other academics or

people of similar academic status as this leads to a greater understanding of his impact on geography and other areas of social science. In addition, following these citations up to the present will reveal if there is any lasting legacy of his work. Together, the reviews and the citations will help to determine whether Price was a leader in thinking, or a follower of the ideas of others.

Another key to understanding more about how Archibald Grenfell Price was regarded by his contemporaries is to identify how and why he was rewarded globally and academically. His impact on the broader community can be assessed by finding why, for example, he was given a Knighthood, and other awards, and if he was unique in this situation or just one of a number of similarly placed professionals.

Thesis outline

There are three parts to this investigation to determine Price's legacy. A search of relevant literature forms the platform for establishing the criteria used to measure the impact and importance of Price. The literature includes biographies of past geographers, discipline histories, publications which search for the truth in historical enquiry (Chapter 2), and other work on evolving measures to identify the particular relevance of an author (Chapter 3).

Three criteria or conditions for assessing a body of work, and overall influence of an author are derived from the gaps that emerged from the background reading and earlier approaches to reporting on other geographers' life and works. In order to test these criteria a trilogy of Price's works are considered in depth and the specific themes that emerge from that analysis are discussed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. The themes relate to Price's particular focus on what he termed 'invasions and frontiers', 'settlers or sojourners', and 'scientific settlement'. Price's leadership, or otherwise, in exploring these concepts, is measured by considering how each of his theories is followed by other authors. The key to identifying this is by locating and following as many citations of Price and this work as practicable and understanding how each citation is used by the second author. The focus here is on how later authors use his ideas, or discount or denounce what he wrote on these themes, and how long after he wrote them he was still being used as a resource.

Chapters 7 and 8 use another set of measures to identify the importance of Price as perceived by others who were his contemporaries. These mechanisms include identifying how he was rewarded in his academic and broader career, who gave him awards, the sources of such awards and details of where and how he achieved his impressive publication record. To measure his achievements, primarily in academia, but also in wider society, comparisons are made with other geographers who were notable in public life at the same period of time and in similar academic circles.

The final chapter of the thesis plays two pivotal roles. It assesses if the methods used to measure Price's contribution to the field of geography are robust and can equally be applied to other similar authors' work. The evolution of such a methodology is a significant contribution of this research, as in order to know who to remember we need clear and appropriate criteria that can judge contribution in a meaningful way. Second, applying these criteria, the chapter identifies the characteristics that emerge from the research and using these evaluates Price's impact on geography and his perceived public persona in Australian society. It presents a 'balance sheet' of arguments for and against his recognition, and then discusses ways of explaining his lack of recognition in the history of the discipline, and his apparently transient impact on geography and geographic scholarship.

Chapter Two

Who do we remember? What do we remember?

Why do we remember?

This chapter reviews the approaches taken by a number of authors to record the acts of others, or indeed their own work, and thereby bring their actions and findings into the public arena. This search for models of how to establish a person's academic or professional credibility and understand their impact will assist in evolving the approaches that are then taken to evaluate the work and impact of Archibald Grenfell Price. The chapter begins with a discussion of relevant literature both of a comparative and process (how to do) nature. The material reviewed is varied. It covers the basic writings about geographers, some of which are biographies; others are reflections on the way geography has evolved over the last 150 years, particularly in the English-speaking regions of the world. Although Price worked in disciplines other than geography the intention here is to focus on his geographic legacy and therefore the reviewed material is mainly 'located' within that discipline.

An important stream of literature and literary review which was necessary to assist with evolving a methodology for the thesis is the literature which dealt with the topics Price wrote about. The books selected for the main analysis used in the thesis are based on his semi-historical research about white settlement in the tropical regions of the world. In order to evaluate his ideas and writings on this topic it was necessary to consider the various approaches taken by authors to past events. These events are recorded as they occur, but are interpreted through a very different social lens at a future time. Investigating the 'truth' of the past is therefore a stream of literature that is discussed here.

The search for a methodology to evaluate the impact of Price's writings and understand the dissonance of his long-term impact in academia is based partly on this review of literature. From the available literature, and other accessible materials a process of evaluation evolved. Key measures of impact were identified in order to ascertain the past influence and continuing importance of Price's work. These key

impacts lead on to investigation and interpretation of specific aspects of Price and his legacy.

Literature: variety and value

A major aim of the thesis is to evaluate the influence of the ideas which come from Price's work, thus this preliminary review identifies four distinct types of literature which contribute towards a methodology for this evaluation. These four streams are dealt with separately where appropriate, but when necessary references are linked across the streams to show how they interconnect. The categories identified here are as follows: (1) publications which analyse the works of other similar researchers, mainly but not restricted to geographers; (2) discipline histories and the way these have had specific foci; (3) work which investigates the way historians and others have interpreted, and reinterpreted past events, and (4) literature of a more technical nature which outlines approaches to the analysis of written material, the books written about Grenfell Price himself, or those dealing specifically with his work. By adopting this approach the strengths and weaknesses of a specific part of Grenfell Price's body of work can be satisfactorily evaluated and his importance in geography and geographer's memories within Australia identified.

Geographic biographies and analyses

There are many authors who have concerned themselves with the lives of those who may be considered foundation geographers. The contents of a number of biographies are described here to indicate the range and general content. The books were selected for variety of approach and content as it is clearly not feasible to discuss all such biographies.

In his book about the life and accomplishments of the American geographer Isaiah Bowman, Martin (1980) stresses the unique role and position of geographers in the late 19th and early 20th Century. These geographers grew up at a time when geography did not have a formal place in university teaching but was part of various other disciplines – often geology or physiography. Martin's approach to the life and thought of Isaiah Bowman is less chronological than Kerr's reflection on Grenfell Price's life discussed below. Bowman's place in American geography and geographic thought is stated to be of major importance, and he is shown to share with Grenfell Price a

reverence for evolving scientific method of exploration and recording, leading to systematic discussion of geographic concepts and developments.

Bowman's contribution to geography is identified in a myriad of major roles as a teacher in a number of United States universities including, Harvard, Yale and Johns Hopkins. He then undertook the arduous role of bringing together the expanding geographic community into the American Geographic Society, whilst also being an essential contributor to the First World War Peace negotiations, and working closely with the US President. Martin approaches this variety of employment and other activities in a thematic way outlining Bowman's various roles and the skills he brought to each. Dealing with concurrent roles in this way Martin avoids jumping from one 'job' to another, while still making it clear to the reader that Bowman was undertaking a number of different activities simultaneously. A significant criticism of this book however is in its title: *The Life and Thoughts of Isaiah Bowman*. While there are ten chapters concerning Bowman's life, only one short final chapter is dedicated to his thoughts and much of this either summarises the previous chapters or lists his publications. There is no attempt made to analyse the content of Bowman's writings or comment on the quality and impact of his publications.

An earlier geographer's contribution to the history of geography and geographic thought was published by J Gerald Kennedy in 1981. Kennedy's book *The Astonished Traveler – William Darby, Frontier Geographer and Man of Letters* again illustrates the evolution of geography as a theme and geographers as people who make major contributions to society. William Darby was the product of early US settlement and the movement of European settlement west across the American continent. His life was one of hardship and challenging circumstances, including the American Civil War. As with Martin (1980), Kennedy takes a semi-chronological approach identifying the critical periods of Darby's life and the contribution he made to geography – particularly through his map making based on field work which was often poorly resourced and lacked sponsorship. Interestingly much of Darby's writing was for commercial newspapers, magazines and journals as he had no regular income. He wrote under a pseudonym and mixed geographic and historical facts with fiction in order to sell his work. Kennedy has made little attempt to analyse what was written; his interest is in chronicling the achievements, not analysing the content.

Dr Bruce Bigelow presented an interesting and pertinent analysis of the influences on the American geographer Donald W. Meinig which identified and discussed how Meinig arrived at his ideas and evolved his own theories from the work of others as well as his own research. Bigelow (2009) was at great advantage in doing this as he had been a student of Meinig and in later life had time to discuss these influences with him. The paper is a useful model for understanding the impact of writers from a variety of disciplines on an individual geographer's thinking. It is the way that these ideas are put together and applied to new areas of research to produce new knowledge that underpins leadership in the field of endeavour. Acknowledging such influences in Grenfell Price's life will enable greater understanding of his legacy. Bigelow's table of people (all men) who had an early influence on Meinig is incorporated here (Table 2.1) to illustrate this range.

Table 2.1 Scholars with a major influence on Donald W. Meinig

Scholars name	Year of birth	Nationality	Discipline	University at which Doctorate earned, if any	Major Institutional Affiliation, if any
Halford Mackinder	1861	British	Geography	Oxford	London School of Economics
Alfred Kroeber	1876	American	Anthropology	Columbia	California
Oswald Spengler	1880	German	Philosophy	Halle	
Arnold Toynbee	1889	British	History	Oxford	Royal institute
Carl O. Sauer	1889	American	Geography	Chicago	California
Derwent Whittlesey	1890	American	Geography	Chicago	Harvard
Ralph Linton	1893	American	Anthropology	Harvard	Yale
F.S.C. Northrop	1893	American	Philosophy	Harvard	Yale
Ralph E. Turner	1893	American	History	Columbia	Yale
Lewis Mumford	1895	American	History		
W.G. Hoskins	1908	British	History		Leicester
J. B. Jackson	1909	American	History		
Carroll Quigley	1910	American	History	Harvard	Georgetown

Source: Bigelow 2009.

Martin, Kennedy and Bigelow show that biographies of geographers can be approached in a number of different ways, and while they may claim to identify the influence of those geographers there is generally more focus on their activities and output, than their long lasting impact. There can therefore be an increased risk of producing a hagiography, rather than an analytical consideration of the person's contribution and ongoing impact to the discipline. A greater focus on impact is found

in publications which purport to describe and analyse geographic thought, and generally consider a series of geographers, rather than any one person.

Revisionist publications of earlier work on a number of Australia's perceived heroes occur regularly; for example the biography of geographer Griffith Taylor, published in 2008 (Strange and Bashford), and David Day's recent reconsideration of the exploits of the ill-fated Mawson expedition to Antarctica (Day 2013). Strange and Bashford (2008 pp. 5-6) wrote candidly of Taylor's character:

Taylor claimed authority over many realms of knowledge, including self-appraisal. He published one autobiography...and followed it with [another] so massive and rambling that publishers rejected it. Taylor's carefully chosen subtitles for these life accounts reveal as much as the torrent of words within them. *The Education of a Scientist* was the subtitle of *Journeyman Taylor*, and [the unpublished] 'The Lighter Side of Science' subtitled 'Journeyman at Cambridge'. These phrases expressed his greatest wish...Taylor turned into a most idiosyncratic scientist...oddly misplaced in the twentieth century... [He]could not resist the temptation to push and pull science over the widest range of historical, cultural, political, environmental and philosophical questions...

Thus the reader sees, through the eyes of the modern day authors, what it was that they perceive Taylor wanted from his colleagues and the recognition *he* thought was due to him. But such revisionist work needs to focus on new material or information about the subject and not simply be a rewrite of the story already told.

History of geographic thought

Fundamental to understanding the position of Price and his writing within geographical scholarship is a consideration of the way the discipline of geography has evolved, and knowledge of where Price and his ideas sit within the discipline. There is an enormous body of literature concerned with the evolution of historical thought and the various schools of approach which have evolved (see for example Freeman 1971; Johnston 1979, 1983; Livingstone 1992). The literature reviewed here primarily focuses on authors who have looked at the discipline within the English-speaking world, and where possible within Australia, although this is generally subsumed into discussions of

European/American geographical theory rather than as a stand-alone development. As it is clearly not possible to discuss all books written on the history and evolution of the discipline, the focus here is on those with content encompassing the role of historical geography and that are the most comprehensive in their scope. In general they are also selected to represent books written shortly after Price's death, at a time when he might have been most likely to be recognised as representative of some aspects of geographic thought within Australia.

It is salient to consider here the definitions and interactions between geography and history, and therefore historical geography and how it has evolved because Grenfell Price was both an historian and a geographer. This may be part of the conundrum besetting his legacy today. In 1953 the eminent British geographer, H. C. Darby (later Sir Clifford Darby) presented a lecture to a Joint Meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, the Geographical Association and the Institute of British Geographers. In his lecture, entitled 'On the Relations of Geography and History' he stated 'I would like to offer some remarks about the geography behind history, about the geographies of the past, and about the history behind geography, and then to conclude with some comment about the bearing of these matters upon the study of geography as we conceive it today' (p. 1). Darby reviews how history has changed in its focus, and comments on the role of historical writing in Britain, the USA and continental Europe. He outlines what he refers to as classic examples of the practice of historical geography by historians, and stresses that each must be 'considered in their contexts' (p. 4). This is probably one of the most important lessons to be learnt when attempting to unravel the puzzle of Price's legacy. Everything he wrote, and in particular the use of specific words and concepts, must be considered as of their time. As Clifford Darby continues 'it is possible that none...would satisfy the specifications...that a historical geographer of today might set out...' (p. 4). It is vital to keep this constraint in mind.

A plethora of discipline histories have been published, but few acknowledge the contribution made by antipodean geographers. This is certainly not due to their lack of research, publications or professional organisations. Some authors have taken an all-encompassing approach; others select a few atypical examples to illustrate the range and diversity of those who consider themselves and their work to be geographical in nature. An example of this latter approach is Freeman's *The Geographer's Craft* (1967),

where he identifies his approach as a 'study of the work and, in so far as it seemed desirable, the lives of a few geographers chosen not for their greatness but for their variety of approach'. Freeman does not restrain his overview to fellow British geographers, instead using as his exemplars, Francis Galton, Vidal de La Blache, Jovan Cvijić, Elsworth Huntington, Sten de Geer, Percy Roxby and Alan Ogilvie. Thus he successfully reviews contributions to the discipline from Britain, France, Serbia, Sweden, and the United States. An idiosyncratic link between Freeman's chapter on Huntington, and the question asked in this thesis on the leadership and influence of Grenfell Price, is seen through a discussion of Huntington's allegations about the links between climate and civilization. Huntington rated countries as being suitable for the capacity to support a population with 'a good cultural inheritance and vigour' – ideas which are implicit in much of Price's work.

In 1979 Johnston, who has recorded many of the changes in geographic philosophy over time, published a major review of geographers – *Geography and Geographers: Anglo American Human Geography Since 1945*. Despite the title of his book he omitted any mention of Price or many of the other Australians who may have had an impact on geographical thought in the Anglo American sphere. In the Preface to his second edition (1983) Johnston comments on the movement across boundaries of human geographers, in particular into other disciplines such as sociology. Flows occur in and out of the discipline and with the flows of ideas can come and go flows of individuals. He writes this in the context of the authors whose works he includes in the review of the discipline, but it is pertinent to Grenfell Price whose initial training is as an historian but is studied here as a geographer. Johnston's methodology is mainly chronological charting the changes in methods of approach taken by the various schools of geography in the United States and Britain. The debates which Johnston describes and the resulting approaches to study which evolved from those debates are relevant to the methods taken by Price as many of the changes were occurring during the period that Price was writing his trilogy of books concerning white settlement. Johnston (1983 p. 46) points out that there were early differences between the British approach, particularly that led by Clifford Darby, and the US approach under Carl Sauer with regard to historical geography. Links between the knowledge of the physical geography of an area or region and the activities which could or should occur in those

regions were of specific importance. The British geographers, and Price was British trained and British in style, emphasised the need to understand the physical landscape and then to focus on what, where and how much of any phenomena. This was in contrast to Sauer and the American approach which 'encouraged research over a much wider field, but emphasised the study of cultural landscapes such that the geographer is obliged to make cultural processes the base of his thinking and observations' (Sauer 1941 in Johnston 1983 p. 46).

The introduction and adoption of the scientific method to the social sciences including geography in the early 1950s is illustrated by Johnston using the debates which occurred between geographers Fred Schaefer and Richard Hartshorne. Among other things these debates resulted in the publication of Hartshorne's second major treatise; *Perspectives on the Nature of Geography* in 1959. Further Johnston shows how order and economy are understood and developed into 'laws' which can be applied to many aspects of geographical research including the study of human settlement.

The lack of acknowledgement of any input by Australian geographers into geographic thought is replicated by other authors. For example despite expressing doubts in 'a feeling about much of the literature on the philosophy, methodology and even history of the subject' (p. 1) Stoddart (1986) confines his discipline history to the USA, European and British contributions. Griffith Taylor's inclusion in the discussion of race and culture, is due to the work he undertook at Toronto, but no other Australian, or even a mention of Australia is included.

The Makers of Modern Geography (Dickinson 1969) is even more limited in content. The book title belies the contents as the author makes clear:

The purpose of this book is to trace the development of modern geography as an organised body of knowledge in the light of the works of its foremost German and French contributors. (p. xi)

Nevertheless Dickinson gives context to his exploration by explaining the importance of the early writings of Homer and Ptolemy describing the geographic nature of their works, before moving quickly through the middle ages to the 18th Century and the 'founders of modern geography...von Humboldt and Carl Ritter' (p. xi). While of

considerable interest for its overall information on the discipline, for the study being undertaken here, this book is somewhat peripheral.

The role of Australian geographers, and any contribution they may have to the entire discipline, is also almost absent in the series of essays published by Peter Haggett in his book *The Geographer's Art*. Haggett (1990) acknowledges the limitations in what he presents in this fascinating overview of geography:

I'm struck that they [the essays] are personal and partial; that they give only one man's view of a subject so rich and complex. Too rich and complex for any short book to encompass...an interest in geography is immemorial and universal. Most of us surely will be touched by it.... (p. xvi)

There is a clear understanding here of geography's importance and universality, but not of the relevance or contribution of those who studied and worked in Australia. Nevertheless unlike many of his contemporaries Haggett does make some mention of the continent, though through the lens of the American Meinig's work on regionalism in South Australia. In addition his chapter 'The Arrows of Space' uses the spread of disease, in particular measles, throughout the Pacific to illustrate the geographer's art of mapping spatial diffusion, but this is an exemplar, not a tribute to Australian skills or body of research.

Livingstone's 1992 consideration of the evolution of geographic thought identifies many of the changes in approach that geographers have taken to their work. His book is divided into a series of 'episodes in the History of a Contested Enterprise' (subtitle of book). This approach allows Livingstone to investigate particular events which he sees as critical in the development of the discipline. His method is almost chronological, beginning with the initial 'spark' – an article in the journal *Science* which asked the question 'Should the History of Science be Rated X?' – and applying this to the history of geography, identifying the story tellers, and debating the various philosophies. Importantly for the analysis of a body of writing written well in the past, Livingstone (1992 p. 5) identifies the difficulties of fully understanding earlier geographies.

The past...is only contemplated in terms of the present...history is written backwards – from the present to the past...Inevitably historians are involved in

selecting from the available sources the material they deem significant in the light of the problem under scrutiny. They never have access to all the facts anyway...the historian stage-manages their performance on the contemporary scene...Selection then is inescapable.

Such observations lead to a greater understanding of how to deal with a broad body of literature written over 50 years ago and in a different social climate as is the case with the writings of Grenfell Price.

Livingstone deals with geography's place in historical terms, the Age of Reconnaissance, on to the early scientific revolution, the naturalists and navigators and the eventual establishment of a discipline of geography. The most pertinent of his chapters to the study of Grenfell Price's writings on settlement of Europeans in non-European regions is entitled 'A "Sternly Practical" Pursuit; Geography, Race and Empire'.

The chapter begins with a review of the role of nationalism and the links between geographic knowledge and militarism and government. Livingstone draws on a number of examples from non-English speaking regimes to illustrate that the phenomena was not limited to the British. He identifies Napoleon and the French obsession with 'appropriation' of colonies. Of particular relevance to the works of Price is the phrase cited to explain the Second International Congress of Geographical Sciences as a 'great international work in the pacific conquests of civilization over barbarism' (1992 p. 218). The greatest relevance of Livingstone's exploration into geographical knowledge that is pertinent here is his discussion of 'Climate's moral economy' (p. 221). As is discussed further in the analysis of the three books written by Price the links between successful settlement by white people and the climate of the locations they settled in was fundamental to Price's argument. In fact they are implied by the titles of the books: *White Settlers in the Tropics*; *White Settlers and Native Peoples*; and *The Western Invasions of the Pacific and its Continents*. Livingstone clearly outlines how geographers made common links between settlement, colonisation and climate and how, as he describes it, 'race and region were umbilically connected' (p. 222). There is plenty of evidence in his writing of the moral stance taken by many geographers in their writings about these issues, with the United States' Ellsworth Huntington seen as a leader of the genre. Most renowned amongst Australian geographers who followed

such environmental determinism with enthusiasm was Griffith Taylor, although his early publications on the topic in Australia, and his political rhetoric concerning Australia's population capacity, led to his eventual falling out with academia, and his later move to Canada.

While most of the books considered here focus on the role of geographers in the Anglo American sphere, eminent Australian geographer Professor Joe Powell specifically addresses the historical geography of Australia (Powell 1988). In the preface to his wide ranging book Powell notes:

Australia's geography fraternity can point to a distinctive national heritage, including extraordinarily deep roots in vernacular modes of environmental appraisal and frequent engagements of leading researchers in the clarification of prominent regional, national and international issues. (p. xiii)

This book is more about circumstances and changes within Australia than about geographic thought or the roles played by particular geographers. Nevertheless Powell acknowledges that changes in the discipline were linked to changes in national issues. The generally comprehensive bibliography contains the names of many of Australia's geographers and historians, and certainly covers material published over many years, yet there is no inclusion of the work undertaken by Grenfell Price. This is an odd exclusion given that at the presentation to Powell of the Griffith Taylor medal in June 2008, the citation, includes the following statement:

Possibly no geographer [Powell] has contributed more to an understanding, and indeed a promotion, **of the role of geography and geographers in Australian life**, and arguably no Australian geographer has so influenced academic history and historians in this country. (emphasis added)

Despite Powell's acknowledged importance in understanding the role of geographers in Australia, he ignores Price's contributions, adding further to the conundrum being explored here. This omission was identified by McCaskill (1989 p. 310) in his review of Powell's book:

The bibliography does not list any of the works by A. Grenfell Price whose last work, *Island Continent* (1972), is perhaps the most recent precursor and exemplar of the themes and approaches pursued by Dr Powell.

Whilst numerous authors have traced the history and evolution of geography and geographical thought in Britain, the USA and continental Europe, no corresponding volume looks in depth at antipodean geographers. It is surely unfair to presume that there has been nothing and no one over the last 200 years whose contribution is worthy of recording; equally the lack of such a publication cannot only be attributed to the tyranny of distance and the Anglo American myopia of those who have written such histories. *The Cambridge Handbook of Social Sciences in Australia* (McAllister et al. 2003) might have rectified this situation but failed to do so. Johnston (2006) reviewed this publication making his opinion clear in his title: 'Geography and the Social Sciences in Australia: an opportunity lost?'. He laments the absence of any 'detailed overview of geography's history and geographers' achievements in Australia' and contends that 'inclusion of the discipline within a compendium on the social sciences would have given increased visibility within that community as well as provide a much-needed synthesis of the discipline's work...'. He further notes that the authors confine 'their volume to what they identify as the "core" social science disciplines of economics, political science and sociology...Thus geography is summarily dismissed.' (p. 279) And not only geography but geographers.

Johnston (2006) sets out why he considers geography should have been included, and how he would approach its inclusion in this compendium. He also laments the way in which the exclusion of geography from the book 'suggests to readers that geographers...are at best peripheral to the country's current social science portfolio' (p. 283). Geography and geographers lack of visibility is an ongoing issue; if the history and impact of geographers is not adequately recorded it will disappear and the legacy of the discipline and its thinkers will fail to be recognised while their impact will not be understood.

In the Australian sphere Stratford (2001) masterminded The Millennium Project on Australian Geography and Geographers in an attempt to rectify this major omission from the discipline's place in Australian society. Her proposal 'arose from an

understanding that stories and memories of the discipline's foundational figures – pivotal to histories of geographic thought in this country – were being lost as they retired or died'. The aim of the project was to interview and record the thoughts and histories of Australia's geographers, and to therefore document 'changes to the field, to reflect on the philosophy, politics, practices and pedagogy of geography, and to remember the personalities whose works have contributed to the discipline'. Some individual reflections were published; for example Sheridan's (2001) reflection on the work of Dr Dennis Jeans and Rugendyke's (2005) paper based on her interviews with Professors Harold Brookfield, David Lea and John Connell. However it is a very sad reflection on the history of the discipline in Australia that although a number of interviews were successfully completed, no major publication or compendium of achievements emanated from this exciting initiative. Had such a publication eventuated it would have been key to understanding the evolution of Australia's geographic tradition, and given greater context to considering the impact of earlier geographers, such as Price, including understanding the importance of their legacy.

At a more micro level however there are a number of histories of the teaching of geography and those involved within individual establishments. The most relevant of these in an evaluation of Grenfell Price is the chapter written by Harvey in Harvey et al. (2012). On the occasion of the quinquicentennial of the Faculty of Arts at The University of Adelaide Harvey, and a group of other senior well established University academics, recounted the way Humanities and Social Sciences and the Bachelor of Arts degree became established and developed from 1876. The book is wide ranging with the inclusion of new disciplines and departments which grow and unite, then leave and become part of other Faculties within the University. The most germane to the discussion of Price is Harvey's own chapter 'Geography, Environment and Population at the University of Adelaide, 1904-2012'. He notes (pp. 188-189):

The year 1949 was important for the development of academic geography with the appointment of Archie Grenfell Price as a part-time lecturer...He was a great networker and students benefitted from his first hand knowledge and detailed analysis...as a member of the University Council for 37 years...[he] fought hard for geographical studies...In 1949 his effort along with his friends to

establish a proper Department of Geography at the University of Adelaide was successful.

Harvey draws on earlier reviews published about the teaching of geography at both The University of Adelaide and Flinders University. These previous studies were part of a series of reflections in the *South Australian Geographical Journal*, the journal of the Royal Geographical Society of South Australia. The year 2004 marked the centenary of the first official teaching of classes in geography at The University of Adelaide and Harvey (2004) discusses the debates within the Universities of Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney on the genesis of geography as a university subject. He also identifies the role of the establishment and continued success of both the Royal Geographical Society SA Branch and the Institute of Australian Geographers (IAG) as emanating from strong geographical bases in Adelaide, and led by local geographers. While others such as Edgeworth David and Griffith Taylor receive some credit for their early work, Price is not included in this discussion, other than his presence at the inaugural meeting of the establishment of the IAG.

Importantly Harvey (2004 p. 12) concludes that South Australia, and therefore it could be assumed, Grenfell Price, played an important role in the establishment of geography in Australia:

It appears that there are at least four reasons why South Australia should figure prominently in any debate. These are: There has been 100 years of academic geography in South Australia; The South Australia Geographical Society has provided continuing support for geography over this time: South Australia is the birthplace of the Institute of Australian Geographers; South Australian geographers have received a high proportion of the most prestigious awards for their contributions to academic geography in Australia. It is clear from the above that South Australia has been at the forefront of the development of academic geography in Australia.

Writing in the same journal Brian Ward (2004 pp. 14-25) identifies the importance of Price's contribution to the Royal Geographical Society (South Australia) as President and committee member for many years. He also sees Price's membership as indicative of a change towards the professionalism of the society, and an extension from its

earlier focus on exploration. Similarly Hugo's paper (2004 pp. 82-97) identifies the importance of Price as a founder of the discipline and this is acknowledged by the prize given in his name for geography students at The University of Adelaide. As with Stratford's work these Adelaide publications are somewhat limited; they tell the reader in detail about particular people or events, but in their very specialisation fail to give a comparative overview of the contributions of each of these individuals to a wider academic history. Which achievements does each person need to be remembered for, what was their impact and how long did it continue?

An ongoing series of articles about the lives and achievements of geographers has been published annually since 1977 on behalf of the International Geographical Union Commission. The *Geographers Biobibliographical Studies* contains information on over 400 geographers from all over the world. This interesting survey is not restricted to modern geographers; it contains entries on people who lived and worked over 2000 years ago (such as Eratosthenes c275–c195 BC), and includes profiles of explorers, navigators and scientists for whom geography was integral in their other activities. The current editors (Professor Hayden Lorimer and Professor Charles Withers) note: 'It is the only publication devoted to the assessment of scholars' contributions to geography and to geographical knowledge in an international context'. Each annual publication presents a series of essays, around ten or twelve, which concentrate on the subject's history and background – 'education life and work'; their philosophies – 'scientific ideas and geographical thought' and thirdly their impact – 'influence and spread of ideas'. A bibliography and in some cases a chronology of the person's career is also included. Notably Price is included in this series. The precise criteria for an individual's inclusion are not clear, either from the publication itself or the guidelines for future contributors.

A not dissimilar but less comprehensive publication is the *Biographical Dictionary of Geography* (Larkin and Peters 1993). The authors make the point in the preface to this volume that:

Because it would have been impossible to determine a definitive list of the most important geographers in the history of the field, we decided to include people who have made significant contributions and represent a cross section

of geographers from a variety of subfields within the discipline, from ancient to modern. Most of the geographers selected are deceased, although a dozen have made significant contributions to the field and are currently alive.

The authors of this dictionary acknowledge the work of the *Geographers Biobibliographical Studies*. The individual entries are less detailed and one to three pages in length but with useful bibliographies and chronologies of each person. There is somewhat of a focus on geographers from the United States, but although Griffith Taylor is included, there is no one else from Australia. Interestingly New Zealand is mentioned twice, once in reference to Captain Cook's voyages, and then an individual entry for Charles Cotton, New Zealand geographer and geologist.

This overview of some of the publications on the evolution of primarily Anglo American geographic thought shows that there are a number of different approaches taken by the various authors. For the purposes of unravelling and understanding the role of Price in current geographical knowledge it is apparent that there is a general lack of criteria established by the individual authors with regard to the selection of their subjects. There is only limited critical appraisal of people and their contribution. Their legacy and the prominence of any individual, evolves in many cases from a consistency and long standing innovation or pioneering research. In other cases it may be due to notoriety for a specific event or standpoint which made the person of interest at a distinct point in time. An objective assessment of this kind of recognition of individuals therefore raises the questions of 'truth' in historical research and historical context; that is how can we determine if any of the accounts of an individual's influence or contribution is actually 'true' or can a real 'truth' be identified; or is it that each author is coming from their own individual standpoint and no single approach to evaluation of contribution will explain the whole story?

Getting at the 'truth' in historical research

There are inherent problems in investigating the writings of any individual who worked a century ago. These problems may be judged to be interpretive or ethical. It is generally accepted that any researcher dealing with another's writings, as distinct from empirical data only, will be subject to their own biases and previous knowledge of the subject under investigation. Ann Curthoys and John Docker (2006) look at this dilemma

in depth in *Is History Fiction?* This highly complex analysis of the story of history as told by a wide range of experts writing shortly after various events, raises numerous questions pertinent to the current research.

So, can historians tell the truth about the past? Should history be written for the present or for its own sake? Is it possible to see the past in its own terms? Should we make moral judgements about people and actions in the past? Are histories shaped by narrative conventions, so that their meaning derives from their form rather than the past itself? (p. 3)

These questions apply equally to the research presented in this thesis and to the writings of Price himself. He was subject to the mores of his time and the beliefs of his upbringing and education. Consequently there are times when the language and ideas he presents need to be considered carefully within the context in which he was using them. As a public intellectual he was instrumental in introducing and explaining new and established ideas to the general public as well as a body of students. Curthoys and Docker caution readers, and writers of history, to be aware of the limitations history itself imposes. This caution is important. Price is now an historical figure. His training was as an historian, however he then wrote historical geographies and interpreted the records of historical figures, to support his arguments. There are therefore many truths that need to be analysed here. Taking Curthoys and Docker's arguments into account is it possible to establish a truth in the story being told by Price in the three books being analysed, and indeed is it then possible to identify the truth of the impact of Price and his works on his readers?

Curthoys and Docker illustrate the quandary of getting to the truth of events in a careful analysis of episodes which occurred in both 'ancient times' in Greece and Rome and more modern times in Europe and Australia. Importantly for the current analysis they discuss the separation of historical writing from that of literature (2006 p. 56). Is the writer telling a story that will appeal to their readers, or is the story (and within the story the facts) being adapted, skewed or manipulated to fit the readers' expectations? Within this context the bias of the writings of Price, in particular the first book discussed here, need to be considered carefully. For example one of the questions that

needed to be considered was whether Price was influenced by his association with the foundation that was partly funding some of his research (a question still asked today).

The search for truth, particularly historical truth, and subsequent clear understanding of books written in the past is also discussed at length by Curthoys and Docker. Taking as their example the ancient historical descriptions of Greek events as outlined by Herodotus and Thucydides, they identify the differences in perception and conclusion, but of most importance here is the fact that both ancient authors also acknowledge the limitations of their interpretations (2006 p. 48) They assure readers that there is frequently uncertainty, even writing this into their texts and using 'a rhetoric of uncertainty' (p. 48). This issue is also discussed by Livingstone (1992) throughout his book. He challenges the traditional 'sanitized history', commenting that 'new things need to be said' (p. 2), and searches for a 'more realistic picture of geographical knowledge'; not because the knowledge contained in other publications lacks truth, but because it needs greater and broader appreciation. Like Curthoys and Docker he acknowledges the inescapability of selection from available material to get at the story being told. This is both limiting and a cause of bias. However he warns '...manipulation is a quite different matter...the greatest evils...surface when partisans seek self-justification from the heroes of the past; when they suppress those parts of the story that do not enjoy contemporary respectability; and when they impose...fabricated order on the past'. Price rarely acknowledges this uncertainty, instead he refers to most of his examples as established, or believed facts. In analysing his books the lessons taught by Dickinson, and Curthoys and Docker are salient.

A major difficulty in writing about events which occurred in the past, and in dealing with ideas that authors have which are contemporaneous with their time, is for the contemporary writer to understand the thoughts and assumptions of the past. Curthoys and Docker (2006 p. 72) comment on how various historians have perpetuated this dilemma in particular the alleged (or perceived at any point in time) superiority of one race over another:

In terms of world view Burckhardt nevertheless shared...Ranke {'s] assumptions about the superiority of Latin-Teutonic Christian Europe on representing civilisation. A Rankean narrative of achievement of certain peoples against

other peoples on earth is all too evident, **perhaps rather repulsively so**....[and] perceives the course of world history in terms of a hierarchy of the civilised, the semi-civilised and the uncivilised or uncivilisable. (emphasis added)

When considering how the past has been reported, and how differing stories can emerge from the same observations, Curthoys and Docker (2006 p. 96) emphasise the importance of an author's awareness of their own limitations when considering past events. This constraint is most important in the discussion not only of Price's publications, as they are being considered many years after their publication, but also in acknowledging that Price himself was using past examples to reflect on his present situation and future events as he expected them to occur. That is:

...the historian can never deal directly with a past event, since the actual event has of course disappeared. All the historian can deal with is a statement about the event, which affirms the event occurred. If that is so, then the 'historical fact is not the past event, but a symbol which enables us to recreate it imaginatively'...[it] can only live on as reflections, images, and ideas which are contemplated...

However they also comment:

To find the truth of the past, the historian's picture, unlike that of the novelist, must be localised in time and space; the historian recognised there is only one historical world, whereas the novelist can conceive of purely imaginary worlds. (p. 105)

And:

...the historian should not be so detached as to refuse to judge: the historian is a kind of moral critic. (p. 119)

In researching Price and his writings the cautions identified by Curthoys and Docker give a greater insight into identifying the strengths and weaknesses of his work and assist in judging his longer term influence.

Technical analysis material

While the *Geographers Biobibliographical Studies* edited by Lorimer and Withers provided a useful model of what could be presented as an overview of an individual's life and work, it presents results, rather than guiding a researcher towards a method for getting those results. Approaching the way to measure and gauge the impact of Price needed the evolution of a specific model. A recent comprehensive publication concerning research in all aspect of geography is one edited by Clifford et al. (2010). This second edition of *Key Methods in Geography* was updated from the original Clifford and Valentine volume (2003), and a number of the 32 chapters proved useful here in initiating approaches to the puzzle being investigated.

Ogborn's (2010) 'Finding historical sources' confirms the importance of understanding the limitations of archival material and acknowledging that such material will not contain all the answers, but may well turn up a number of unexpected leads. Locating Price's personal papers in the State Library of South Australia showed the importance of this, although Ogborn warns that archives are '...created, and what survives in these archives is a social and political process...' (p. 92). Accordingly care must be taken in the interpretation. In practical terms he also warns of the difficulties of keeping accurate records of all material then located and subsequently sorting out what is relevant to the research being undertaken. Two other chapters 'Analysing historical and archival sources' (Black 2010) and Doel (2010) 'Analysing cultural texts' take the points made by Ogborn into an analytical framework and reiterate the need to understand the limitations and biases of what is available. Nevertheless the individuality of personal archives gives a special quality to research 'Precisely because they comprise records created by an individual...they possess a unique quality...' (Black 2010 p. 469). Most of Black's chapter concerns how to use specific data in reconstructing the past; in this respect it is less relevant to identifying Price's legacy. Nevertheless his caution regarding bias, and awareness of what is missing from a past record, serves as a useful reminder to question and investigate the context in which historical writing, such as Price's books, has taken place.

Doel's lively comments on how to approach what he defines as cultural texts not only expands the range of material that can be used as 'evidence' to prove a particular point of view or discourse, but explains how a simple phrase can be interpreted in

different ways. He uses as his example the slogan 'Mind that child!' which he saw as a child on ice cream vans. Doel (2010 p. 493-494) shows how this phrase appeared to him, as a child, to be threatening and a warning to him. As an adult he realises it was directed at drivers and adults in the vicinity of the ice cream vans to take care. This example leads him to caution anyone interpreting another's work:

...do not take its message at face value or assume that it was meant for people like you...work out for whom the text was produced...Investigate *who* produced the text, *why* they produced it, *how* they produced it and for *whom* they produced it...Set the text in appropriate contexts...investigate what work these texts do... (original emphasis)

While much of this book is not relevant to the investigation of Price and his legacy, and the enigma of his work now being relatively inconspicuous, there are many aspects of the publication which are useful in presenting different ways of analysing texts.

In his short section on writing a review Hay (2006) identifies the need to do more than summarise the authors' arguments, and avoid identifying only the possible defects of a work. While this may seem obvious it is seen as fundamental to a good critical analysis and is a point made by many authors of similar guides. Thus in Northey and Knight (1992 p. 60) the need to evaluate a variety of aspects of the written work is emphasised. Reference is made to organisation, assumptions, evidence, achievement of the publication, the writing style, author bias and clarity. Some of these issues will be addressed in considering the impact of Grenfell Price's writings, but any perceived shortcomings of Price's work need to be moderated by the warnings of Curthoys and Docker. It is necessary to remember at all times the period in which the author was writing, who he was writing for and the inbuilt biases and limitations that emerge from this. There is little value in being judgemental with regard to Price's style, for example, if it is typical of the period in which he was publishing. Similarly his bias and testimony are part of the approach of many others of the period but this does not make him immune from investigation. Nevertheless the evidence he used can only be judged fairly by acknowledging the limitations of the source materials that were available, and reading what his contemporaries thought of the way he then used such evidence.

Ongoing reference to these guidelines is a key to evaluating Price's work and assessing the importance of his legacy.

The strengths identified in the works discussed in this section inform my analysis of Price's contribution and legacy. However recognising the limitations around this analysis is fundamental to understanding Price's role and his influence in the broader geographic literature. As a first step it is important to identify the limitations of the works which discuss Price himself. Do such publications eulogise him or are they in any way critical of his work?

The major writings about Archibald Grenfell Price

Grenfell Price intended to write an autobiography but although he had begun making notes about his life and his experiences he did not complete this work. Many of his ideas and some draft chapters are held in the State Library archives, with his original hand written annotations highlighting particular aspects or events in his life he intended to emphasise. A brief overview of Grenfell Price's work was written by Marshall (1969) and a full biography was subsequently published in 1983 (Kerr 1983). It is noted in the acknowledgements to Kerr's book that Price's family asked 'Colin Kerr, well-known Adelaide author and former student of St Mark's to write a biography of Archie'. Kerr was assisted in this task by his own wife, but also had access to all of Price's papers and many family members, as well as numerous academics and friends of Price. Much of the Kerr volume is based on Grenfell Price's own notes. Indeed some of the chapters actually contain large segments of the original author's work. Kerr completed the work only shortly before his own death.

As discussed above biographies and autobiographies of individuals take a number of approaches. Analysis of an author's writing needs to be more than a chronological approach to their life and what they achieved. Kerr (1983) used Grenfell Price's personal papers and diaries in his biography to personalise the geographer's achievements and identify the milestones of Price's life. The aim of Kerr's publication is to outline the life work and achievements of Grenfell Price and describe the different trajectories his career took over time. Price's upbringing, his education and his career are mapped in detail as he moves from childhood, to university, and then to work as a teacher in schools and then university before becoming the first master of St Mark's

College, Adelaide. This is followed by Price's work in the Anglican Church, with the national libraries movement, and then on to a more public career as a Member of Parliament. Kerr intertwines this narrative with personal reflections of the Price family, marriage, travel, children and non-professional interests. However, while Kerr avoids eulogising Price, even though they were good friends and knew each other very well, there is little attempt to analyse the content of his books and articles or evaluate his impact.

On his retirement Price's colleagues at The University of Adelaide compiled a book of geographical studies which was dedicated to his life and work in historical geography and education. Marshall's overview was part of this publication. The foreword to this book identifies the high regard in which he was held by so many people in Australia and particularly South Australia (Gale and Lawton 1969). Neither of these publications on Price provides a systematic analysis of his work, although Marshall does, to some extent, discuss his impact. These contributors assist in giving a clear understanding of the background in which he was writing and the value with which he was regarded during his lifetime.

In this respect the Kerr biography of Price, and Marshall's overview are unlike the full biographies on Bowman (Martin 1980) and Darby (Kennedy 1981). The authors of these biographies were well separated in time from the subjects of their books and their work was based more on others' records than on personal reflections. Both Kerr and Marshall knew Price well and in this regard their work has more similarity with the work undertaken by Bigelow (2009) to show the life influences on Meinig. Marshall concentrated more on Price's contribution to geography at The University of Adelaide in particular, but Kerr is broader in approach and attempts to cover more of Price's life. This thesis moves beyond these in many ways one dimensional studies of Price. It is neither superficial nor simple in approach and moves to investigate his influence on particular aspects of geography in Australia and to identify why he is now absent from histories of the discipline.

Naturally there were a number of obituaries published following Price's death. Clearly these come under the category of writings about Price. They were published in a variety of academic and non-academic sources; academic journals and newspapers for

example. Such publications are discussed later in the thesis as part of the acknowledgement of Price's legacy by his peers.

Evolution of an evaluation methodology

This literature review has identified a range of material of substantial importance in this study. From this diverse literature emerges a series of ideas about how to assess an author's contribution to a body of work and how to decide on the best approach to learn from past analyses. But what are the actual criteria? As noted no single approach appears to be satisfactory by itself. There is no point in rewriting a biography if nothing new that has been discovered.

The purpose here, however, is not to rewrite Price's life, but to look under the surface at his achievements and legacy, and consider his impact and importance, particularly to geography. The quandary then is to identify why that contribution is not acknowledged in discipline histories. Despite his absence from such histories copies of many of Grenfell Price's major publications remain available through university and other libraries in Adelaide and elsewhere in Australia. In this regard he is not forgotten: this accessibility became important in the selection of which of his books had the greatest impact, and might subsequently have led to acknowledgement of his legacy by later authors.

In order to judge the contribution Price made or continues to make to the theory and practice of geography and geographic thought in Australia and internationally, the research for this thesis involved developing a series of measures against which his body of work can be evaluated. There is no prescribed way to approach this task but it is necessary to ensure that the selected measures are robust and able to be applied in a meaningful way. Classification of written material, and understanding its importance, needs a quite different approach from the analysis of quantitative data. There are accepted and rigorous approaches which allow well evaluated statistical tests to be used with numerical data to arithmetically link the various indices being investigated. Clifford et al. (2010) have devoted over 500 pages to describing many of these approaches, but warn that each researcher will need to adapt their method to the unique situation of their investigation. This is even more relevant when dealing with a particular person's work rather than a set of statistics.

Testing the contribution of an author to a body of literature, and understanding his influence, demands a very different approach from using well established statistical tests. It is not possible to measure the effect of the author by merely reading and analysing the books, journal articles, government reports, non-government reports and other aspects of grey literature which make up a body of work. Judging impact and understanding influence involves the evolution of surrogate measures which can be applied.

A number of guides contain chapters on undertaking critical analysis for individual pieces of writing (Hay et al. 2006; Hay 2006; Northey and Knight 1992). Each evaluation will be different from the next. They will be focussed on different aspects of an author's work, and not necessarily apply to an author whose writing was non-fiction and based on his own research and, importantly, with his own implicit biases. Gauging influence becomes even more challenging where the author under investigation produced his own work based frequently on personal observation and experience plus in depth research using primary and secondary sources and wide consultation with other researchers and, in the case of Price, with educationalists, government officials, and many others,

The methodology used in this analysis of Archibald Grenfell Price's work consequently evolved following in-depth reading of a number of his major works to get a basic understanding of his thoughts and ideas. To complement this reading, other similar literature was read. This allowed an interrogation of the methods used by the authors to evaluate the work of those they were investigating. However as noted above a limitation in this is that most published books are restricted to autobiographical accounts of the individual's life with mention of the body of work but a lack of evaluation of what either inspired the person to write, or why they found it important. The mere fact that the account is being written seems to support the notion that the subject is worthy of investigation and record, but not why. This might be mentioned in a foreword or preface, as in the comments by Kennedy (1981) discussing why William Darby wrote his 'tales' later in life under a pseudonym and only loosely based on fact. Similarly while Martin (1980) titled his book on Isaiah Bowman *The Life and Thoughts of Isaiah Bowman*, there is a concentration on his life rather than his thoughts and no identified measure of his influence in the long term although this is implicit in much of

the story told. Bowman's importance is assumed to be known to the reader of the biography. In many of the books read for this analysis the author appears to assume a great deal is already known about the subject of the book, before the reader actually reads what has been written. Such assumptions made it very difficult to identify a methodology which would help in understanding the lack of contemporary or lasting acknowledgement of Price's work by his peers, including those based overseas.

Approaches to evaluation used by other authors were sought via manual library searches of published books, particularly of local geographers or those whose profession was geographical in nature. Hence biographies of Sir Douglas Mawson (Ayres 1999), Sir Hubert Wilkins (Nasht 2005), Frank Worsley (Thomson 1998), Griffith Taylor (Strange and Bashford 2008), and others were considered. As noted above the focus of these publications was on what each of these notable men achieved during their lifetime rather than critical analysis of their work. While books, journal articles and other material are listed either chronologically or by theme within each of these books they essentially tell the life of the 'hero' rather than undertaking an examination of the content or measuring the individual's impact. Such books have been written for a general audience, often as a commemoration of a critical period; Australia's involvement in Antarctica; the half century or century after the birth or death of the book's subject; and so on. While publications about Australia's famous sons (and they are most frequently sons) are plentiful, their role is not to analyse, but to popularise. Nevertheless this is not to say there has not been some controversy concerning such books, not everyone agrees with the 'glorification' of heroes of the past, as has become particularly relevant in Day's recent publication on Mawson.

Taking all of these reservations into account it was necessary to identify a framework in which to measure the impact of Grenfell Price and investigate the conundrum of why his work is now little recognised. The criteria for this assessment are outlined below and will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters.

Assessment of contribution to geography and geographic thought – methods of evaluation

As noted earlier, the criteria to evaluate Price's contribution to geography, and measure his impact must be robust and rigorous. They must be objective and be able to be applied. Such criteria were not found in the literature reviewed; certainly they

have not been specified by the writers of discipline histories. There was no model to follow that would give clarity to Price's absence from the literature. Some authors have given clear histories of an individual's place within the discipline, others have identified those they consider to be leaders and discussed their contributions; but what of the unacknowledged and their role? In this way the literature gives some insight, but leaves many questions to be answered. How are the lesser known and their contributions evaluated? How is it that they have made contributions which are important but apparently ignored? What is it that makes them irrelevant? It is therefore necessary to specifically define what is needed to 'measure' Price (or others in his situation) impact and to understand his absence. To the best of my knowledge and based on the strength and extent of the reading, a new approach, with greater depth and originality is required. While others have investigated contribution and impact using one or two similar measures, the three measures below are innovative in approach, and combine to give a new and robust form of evaluation of a person's contribution.

There are three keys to the approach: understanding Price as a leader or contributor of ideas; understanding the period of time during which his ideas had an impact, and who thought they were significant; and, finally, investigating and comparing the way he was awarded by others for his achievements. These three criteria are expanded on below.

Development of ideas

Many people are remembered because they are leaders in their field of endeavour. Often they were successful initiators of important ideas or made a unique contribution to their sphere of study. As a consequence their names are known and they continue to be recognised within their own area and in some cases outside that discipline. Such leaders are generally held in high esteem, their work is followed by others and they may act as mentors to those who study in a similar or related field. They influence other thinkers and indeed their ideas may be so important, solid, innovative or controversial that they have an effect on how a branch of learning progresses.

The first consideration in understanding the contribution of Price is to establish if the ideas put forward in his writings were leading ideas of the time or was he one of many writing on similar topics. Implicit within this consideration is did he bring something

unique to the way that he promoted and developed these ideas, and what were the distinctive aspects of his perspectives?

If they were leading ideas, or had a particular and characteristic emphasis, how influential were they and what was the effect of this? In order to understand this it is vital to know if others followed his line of thought and whether his contemporaries debated the ideas he put forward. Alternatively was he following the fashion of what was being discussed at the time and not evolving his own ideas at all, or taking others' key ideas and moulding them to his own way of thinking?

Clearly it is not possible to read everything Price wrote over the entire period of his output. As such three of his books are examined here to understand his role as a leader, and the same three books are used to identify his period of influence. Themes common to all three of the books under discussion are identified and compared with the work of his contemporaries to clarify if he was the originator of such ideas, or borrowed these from others. Thematic examination of Price's books is also a key as to if Price changed in his approach over the period of these publications, or if his ideas were fixed early in his career and he was reluctant to alter them despite social and cultural changes in the discipline of geography and Australia generally.

Period and sphere of influence

A second measure of Price's impact is to estimate the length of time that he had an influence on geographic thought and ideas. An author who is cited long after their books were written is clearly remembered more than one whose work is only used briefly as a source. Hence longevity is important but this needs to be combined with how the work was used.

Knowing who cited Price's ideas and why they were used gives an indication of how others saw his work and when combined with the concept of leading ideas allows a temporal identification of his importance and influence. None of these measures work in isolation. For example if the only citations are those of the author himself citing his own work many years after an original piece was written, this could hardly be considered a true indicator of the period, or the sphere of influence. This is not to say that citing one's own work is not acceptable. It is simply that in itself it does not show that the original work influenced others' thinking for any length of time.

There are a number of key indicators used to identify the sphere and period of influence of an individual's work. For example, modern electronic data bases allow a broad search of citation indexes to accurately monitor who cited an author's work and to what extent it is still used today. In many cases it is possible to identify if the citations use Price to support or negate a new argument, or are censorious of his findings or approaches. This method allows not only a check of published works, but also electronically available theses and other grey literature.

As Price is cited by many authors it is not practical to follow every reference to his work in detail; hence this measure identifies available examples where specific reference is made to one of Price's trilogy of publications concerning white settlement in tropical regions (Price 1939, 1950, 1963). The selection of these books to represent the body of literature is discussed further within the methodology of how the books were chosen and these searches were undertaken.

Contributions to geography, education and society

When considering Price's overall career it is immediately clear that he contributed to many aspects of Australian society over a long period of time. The major focus of this thesis is the apparent current invisibility of his contributions to geography and geographic education. Information to allow his inputs to be ascertained and judged have been gathered from the material written about Grenfell Price by his peers and others. Knowing how he was rewarded in his own time and understanding what he did to achieve these awards is also another key to identifying his contributions.

A key indicator to understanding Price's role will be the analysis of the awards and scholarships offered to him during his career. The timing of such awards, and knowing what aspect of his work was acknowledged, will identify what the official bodies and associations who presented such awards were recognising. The separate citations and which particular aspects of his life were seen as important by professional and non-professional bodies are of considerable importance in measuring Price's contemporary value.

It is acknowledged at the outset that while the main aim of the thesis is to identify and understand Grenfell Price's contribution to geographic thought and its manifest disappearance, he had a number of simultaneous roles. His work for The University of

Adelaide's St Mark's College is critical, as is his work for the Libraries Board of South Australia and also his work as a Member of Parliament. While these are not a primary focus of this research they had an influence on his writing at various times and cannot be ignored. Awards given to Price in these roles are therefore also important in fully understanding his impact. Separating one aspect of his life from any of the many others is not possible. His life was complex and each facet was intertwined with another. Examination of all the awards, Fellowships and other commendations he received is therefore also fundamental in fully understanding Grenfell Price.

Conclusion

This chapter has considered some of the literature streams available which assist in the analysis of a body of work and allow the evolution of a research method to identify an individual's continuing influence. The review shows that there are a number of ways a body of work and an individual can be evaluated and no one way can adequately and comprehensively tell the whole story of the person's contribution to a discipline or school of thought. By identifying the range of material produced by an author, the new or unique ideas or thoughts advanced within some of those publications, and the ways in which contemporaries of the author acknowledged those publications, it is argued that a valuation of the impact of an author, in this case Sir Archibald Grenfell Price, can be gauged.

The following chapter outlines in greater detail the techniques used to select the publications analysed further within this thesis and to obtain the supporting documents used to underpin the evaluation. Once the ideas within these publications are understood, and a more clear perception of Price's role emerges, his concepts and the influence of these beliefs can be measured using the criteria noted above.

Chapter Three

The search for evidence

Criteria to evaluate Price's contribution to geography, and implicitly a number of other aspects of his academic and cultural life, were developed following consideration of a range of literature as discussed in the previous chapter. No single example of how to accomplish this was found, although various authors reviewed identified important factors, and stimulated further thought into how an evaluation could be accomplished. The three criteria developed underpin the investigation methodology which evolved as information became available over time, as one resource led to another, or in some cases resources which it was hoped would be available were found to be unobtainable. The chapter outlines the research methods undertaken to establish how to best investigate Price and his impact. It explains and describes how each aspect of his work and achievement was identified and which approaches of investigation were the most successful.

Fundamental in the consideration of Price's academic legacy and ongoing importance of his contribution to geography was the selection of which of his books to study in-depth. The books needed to be representative of an interest Price pursued over his publishing career, and to be geographic in nature. The major topic investigated within the selected books should, if possible, remain relevant in today's society, and be one in which contemporary researchers retain an interest. This would ensure that any impact Price has could still be seen in the work of authors writing on similar topics today. The longevity of his ideas could thus be established.

Choice of books

Price's output

Grenfell Price was a prolific writer and it is clearly neither practical nor rational to attempt to read and investigate everything he wrote in order to establish his leadership and legacy. Price's output included books, pamphlets, published papers, numerous speeches and presentations to a formidable range of committees, conferences and public meetings. As a member of numerous societies, many of which he represented on many occasions, he gave speeches at political events; he spoke at

the Centenary celebrations of South Australia; he talked on the radio and at the commemoration of public works such as monuments; and he spoke at prize givings for all manner of recipients, including other authors, schools and the Girl Guides. In addition to these public events he taught for many years at The University of Adelaide and the Workers Education Association (WEA). He also ran St Mark's Residential College for many years. All of these positions involved presentations and replies to others' speeches.

Initially in order to make sense of the range of Price's work, and therefore select books which illustrated his output over a long period, it was vital to obtain a full bibliography of his books and other publications. Kerr (1983 p. 242) notes that the bibliography compiled by the State Library of South Australia (Brown and Schmidt 1978) listed 106 entries. This exceeds that listed in the earlier compilation in *Settlement and Encounter* (Gale and Lawton 1969) which stopped at 61 publications. Even so neither of these lists is likely to be all-inclusive.

Price's own notes held in the State Library of South Australia contain numerous other draft speeches and addresses. Many of these were never actually published in printed form, but nonetheless needed an often significant amount of research and preparation by Price. It is not feasible to investigate all of this body of work. Though much has been found through investigation of his personal papers in the State Library and the bibliographies and papers and books written about his life, the need to be focused in selecting which of his works to use as a basis of this investigation was clear from the beginning. It was vital not to become overwhelmed by the wealth of material.

As a first stage to making sense of the multitude of materials available the two published bibliographies on Price were compared to establish the correlations between them. There was general agreement between the two. Helpfully Brown and Schmidt (1978) also included extra information regarding how many editions had been printed of some of the earlier books, and this information could be confirmed when copies of books became available.

Details from Price's own notes were then matched with the available published bibliographies and the resulting records reorganised into categories. This process resulted in the division of Price's work into sub-groups which reflected his career

trajectory over around fifty years. The publications were categorised into books, journal articles, book chapters, reviews of others' work, obituaries, and other ephemeral material. These categories were further divided into areas of specialisation; geography, history and historical geography, politics and economics, education and library matters. Some publications spanned more than one category. If the work was available and could be briefly read then this guided my decision of how it should be classified. In cases where a copy could not easily be located I was directed by the title, or any other comments I could find which were linked to the work in Price's notes.

Once this sorting and classification was completed the extent and enormity of the body of work became even more confronting. The need for a logical approach to analyse and understand Price was unmistakable. Table 3.1 summarises Price's main output over the period 1918 to 1972 to illustrate the range and diversity of his work, the type of publication and the topic area. Figure 3.1 shows the same data graphically and illustrates further the tremendous written output Price achieved during his working life.

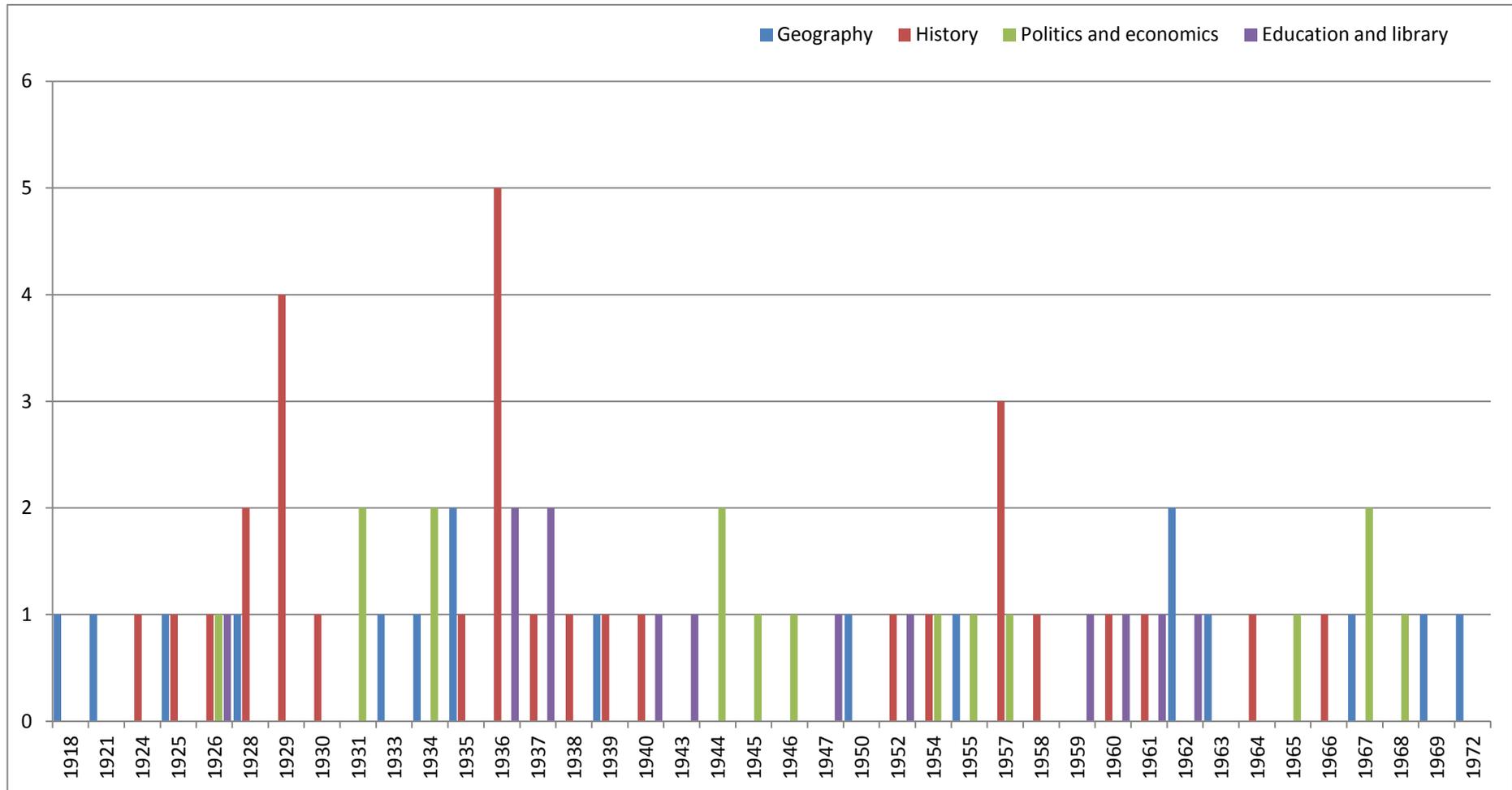
Table 3.1 Price's major works by chronology and type 1918-1972

Year	Number	Type of publication	Topic area
1918	1	Book	Geography
1921	1	Book	Geography
1924	1	Book	History
1925	1	Book	History
	1	Article	Geography
1926	1	Article	History
	1	Article	Politics and economics
	1	Article	Education and library
1928	1	Book	Geography
	2	Articles	History
1929	2	Books	History
	2	Articles	History
1930	1	Book	History
1931	2	Booklets	Politics and economics
1933	1	Article	Geography
1934	1	Article	Geography
	2	Booklets	Politics and economics
1935	2	Articles	Geography
	1	Article	History
1936	1	Book	Education and library
	5	Articles	History
	1	Bibliography	Education and library
1937	1	Report	Education and library
	1	Chapter	Education and library
	1	Article	History
1938	1	Article	History
1939	1	Book	Geography
	1	Article	History
1940	1	Book	History
	1	Article	Education and library
1943	1	Article	Education and library
1944	2	Article	Politics and economics
1945	1	Book	Politics and economics
1946	1	Article	Politics and economics
1947	1	Book	Education and library
1950	1	Book	Geography
1952	1	Article	Education and library
	1	Review	History
1954	1	Article	History
	1	Chapter	Politics and economics
1955	1	Book	Geography
	1	Article	Politics and economics
1957	1	Book	History
	1	Booklet	Politics and economics
	1	Article	History
	1	Review	History
1958	1	Review	History
	1	Obituary	Mawson
1959	1	Report	Education and library
1960	1	Report	Education and library
	1	Article	History
1961	1	Report	Education and library
	1	Article	History
1962	2	Reviews	Geography
	1	Bibliography	Education and library
1963	1	Book	Geography
1964	1	Book	History
1965	1	Book	Politics and economics
1966	1	Article	History
1967	1	Book	Geography
	1	Report	Education and library
	1	Article	Education and library
1968	1	Book	Education and library
1969	1	Book	Geography
1972	1	Book	Geography

Note: Table 3.1 does not include Price's numerous speeches and talks. Some speeches, including Presidential addresses, are published in the journals of the relevant societies and drafts of others are in the State Library of SA.

Source: Brown and Schmidt 1978; Gale and Lawton 1969.

Figure 3.1 Graphical representation of Price's major publications by type and year, 1918 – 1972



Source: Brown and Schmidt 1978; Gale and Lawton 1969.

Selecting the 'right' books

On his return to Australia from Oxford University Price began teaching at St Peter's College Adelaide. He was initially employed to teach English and History, but soon found himself teaching geography and was not at all happy with the text books he was required to use. As a consequence he decided to rectify this situation and subsequently *A Causal Geography of the World with Maps and Diagrams* was published in 1918. It was his first book and specifically geographical in approach, rather than historical. As his first book it is fundamental in illustrating how his interest in writing such books evolved from a young age and continued to develop during his teaching period. It is of great importance as it was one of the earliest books written specifically for Australian upper level secondary and tertiary students. It is clear from Price's papers that he was particularly pleased with the reception of this book among others who were teaching in the State. It subsequently ran to eight reprints.

Another early publication by Grenfell Price (1924) *The Foundation and Settlement of South Australia 1829–1845* shows the direction that Price took when he first began writing about the history of the State. As the title suggests this work is an historical survey of pre-settlement and settlement decisions which led to the establishment of the Colony of South Australia. It is of considerable importance to contemporary understanding of the way in which South Australia was settled, as Price is one of the first authors, if not the very first, to make in-depth use of the British records and thoroughly investigate the unique way that the colony was established. The prodigious attention to detail and use of primary resources to clarify and reinterpret this process is a great strength in this book and the methods used by Price are fundamental in understanding how he approached his work.

The place of Australia in the world was a frequent theme of Grenfell Price's writing. During the time of the Second World War he expanded this in *Australia Comes of Age* – a small volume which identifies the political geography which in his view makes Australia's history so different from that of other English-speaking nations.

The major theme however, which absorbed Grenfell Price was the ability of white races to settle in areas which he considered to be less habitable – mainly the world's tropical regions. He published a trilogy of books on this topic between 1939 and 1963.

These books have been selected from all of his output for in-depth consideration in this thesis. *White Settlers in the Tropics* was published in 1939 by the American Geographical Society and based on a series of visits made by Price and his wife to tropical regions while in receipt of a Research Fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation. This was followed by *White Settlers and Native Peoples* (1950)¹ which he subtitled 'racial contact between English-speaking Whites and Aboriginal Peoples in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand' and subsequently in 1963 *The Western Invasions of the Pacific and its Continents* 'A study of moving frontiers and changing landscapes 1513–1958' (sub-title of the book).

There are specific reasons for selecting these particular books. As a trilogy they have a number of recurring themes. Exploring these themes allowed investigation of the changes, or lack of changes, in Price's approach to his work over a long period of his academic life. Importantly Price himself considered the books as a trilogy and they exemplified his research interests. The preface to the third book in the trilogy *The Western Invasions of the Pacific and its Continents* notes his significant interest:

The use which scholars are making of *White Settlers in the Tropics* and *White Settlers and Native Peoples* has encouraged me to complete the trilogy by publishing this study of the invasion of the Pacific...As in previous books, the scope of the inquiry is wide, but I have used the researches of leading authorities on the various topics, and have tried to guard against sweeping generalizations...any conclusions must be regarded as tentative, and as bases for future research. (p. v)

Another reason for the selection of these particular books is that their publication covers a substantial period of Grenfell Price's professional life. It is therefore again possible to identify any ways he modified his approaches over this time, and if such changes impacted on other people's knowledge of Price and his writing.

Within a wider context these three books are also situated in a time of great change within local society and the world at large. The first book was published almost simultaneously with the beginning of the Second World War. By the time the third was

¹ The two available bibliographies of Price's work list his book *White Settlers and Native Peoples* as published in 1949. The copy of this book used throughout this thesis is dated 1950 and is not marked as a reprint, as such I have referred to the 1950 volume throughout.

published the political and economic situation in Australia, and many other places in the world had undergone major transformations. In addition the colonial system which had a great influence on Price, was breaking down. Many of the British Empire (now Commonwealth) countries were seeking independence and self-determination movements were occurring in other European territories all over the world. It was indeed a time of changing geography. Former European settlement was being challenged worldwide and Price was seeing the empire he had grown up with changing irrevocably.

Also external to Price, but impinging on his society in many ways, were transforming economic events; the growth of manufacturing in many countries including Australia, and the 'speeding up' of such developments. Communication advances during Price's lifetime – radio transmission, telegraph, cable technology, the personal availability of telephones – were having an important impact on space and attitudes to distance and isolation. Travel was also increasingly fast as internally private transport and the ability of the population to possess their own cars multiplied. The beginning of regular commercial air transport between Europe and the antipodes weakened the tyranny of distance which previously meant that Australia was four to six weeks by sea from Britain. The context in which Price was publishing therefore changed considerably over the period 1939 to 1963, but does he change with it? Selecting books that would illustrate this was therefore essential to developing an understanding of his contribution to geographical thought.

The three selected books were read consecutively to obtain a sense of their content and continuity, and from, handwritten notes of the contents the main themes within the books emerged. It was clearly necessary to read the books thoroughly more than once; the initial readings allowed an overview to ensure that the selection was suitable for analysis and would reflect Price's relevance within geography. Second and subsequent readings elucidated aspects of the writing which were then deemed to need further exploration. This method lent itself to the electronic searching for citations outlined below.

Although only three books were selected for in-depth analysis many of Price's other publications were read and their contents noted in order to understand Price's own

background more thoroughly and thereby why he wrote what he wrote and how he selected his topics. These other books by Price are also referred to within other sections of the thesis, but the concentration in the thematic analysis is on his trilogy.

Electronic searches

Citations

One measure to enable the evaluation of Grenfell Price's impact was to attempt to identify how long his work continued to be used by other academics in their research, and how they cited his work. A key indicator of this impact was to find as many references to his books in other academic writing as was possible, and having identified such references to read the sections of those publications where he was cited to find if they were used in a positive or negative way. It was also important to have some understanding of the qualifications and status of each of those authors who cited Price, as this added depth to an understanding of his impact, and subsequently his possible current lack of prominence. A number of techniques were used to search for these citations and bibliographic listings.

Initially an electronic search was undertaken using Google Scholar. It was clear that the search needed to be limited to specific publications written by Price, hence the books selected for full analysis and a number of Price's other books were used as key words in the searches. It became apparent immediately that such searches were less than satisfactory and were not going to be as effective as had been hoped.

The difficulties encountered were due to a number of reasons. The first limitation of course is that the electronic system only identified material that is either available in full electronic format, or where parts of books had been made electronically accessible. Nevertheless the first searches using this method resulted in many links which could be followed, although others were more obtuse and did not result in locating useful citations of Price's work.

A second weakness in the method was an embedded difficulty inherent in electronic searching when key words include words which have more than one meaning. Hence a search for White Settlers, and Price, would identify all publications where the words White Settlers were used, and a monetary price, or the word price, used in the text. Similarly identifying Grenfell Price brought up numerous other publications containing

both of these words, even when the name was limited by the prescribed use of quote marks to ensure the name appeared as one. Limiting the searches to phrases or words in a particular order was generally successful, with far fewer non-relevant cases detected. When the searches were further narrowed to, for example 'Grenfell Price and settlement' or 'Grenfell Price and invasions' more useful citations were obtained.

A further complication in electronic searching was caused by the very name of the author being investigated. Whilst throughout this thesis Archibald Grenfell Price is generally referred to as Grenfell Price or Price, his first given name is Archibald and he decided to be known as Grenfell Price in adulthood. Consequently when using the available library systems and electronic systems used by search engines, further searches needed to be made for material which was indexed using 'Archibald' rather than 'Grenfell' Price. Awareness of these limitations however did not constrain the utility of the method as a way to identify authors who cited Grenfell Price, but did ensure a constant reappraisal and double checking of each example found.

As each electronic reference to Price's books was located it was transferred to a database using Endnote software. Separate Endnote files were kept for each of Price's publications. In many cases it was possible to obtain a complete record of the relevant publication; however some references had insufficient or inaccurate detail. Such cases were recorded in as much detail as was available and further investigation to obtain full details was undertaken at a later stage.

Once all the results using Google Scholar had been transferred to Endnote it was necessary to physically locate each citation in order to see how Price had been cited. In about half the cases the material was electronically available and could be obtained in PDF or other format and hence complete article or journal papers could be found. However many of the publications were not available electronically and library searches were required. This applied particularly to older citations and books no longer in publication. Searching Flinders University Library and the archived Universities' Research Repository South Australia located many of the publications, others were found in other libraries in Adelaide, including The University of Adelaide and the State Library of South Australia. Where local sources were not available books, and in some case copies of journal articles, were obtained through the Flinders University

Document Delivery Service on limited loans and could be searched for the relevant citations.

Whilst the initial search used Google Scholar as an instrument for locating authors who had cited Price's work, when the utility of this tool had been exhausted further search methods were explored. A range of other data bases elicited more references to Price's work, but it was clear that many were duplicates and the usefulness of continuing to search for more citations was balanced against the time taken to retrieve very few new citations and therefore the law of diminishing returns influenced further searching.

Grey literature was a source of a few citations. This literature is defined variously as:

By its broadest definition, grey literature is a body of materials that cannot be found easily through conventional channels such as publishers. Can include government research, non-profit reports, think tank assessments, reports from observations, investigations, and other primary resource materials (Huffine 2010).

And/or

Information produced on all levels of government, academia, business and industry in electronic and print formats not controlled by commercial publishing (Grey literature web site 2013).

Other researchers consider even wider 'literature' including electronic files, photographs, guidebooks, field reports, pamphlets and even list serve queries in this context. For the purpose of the examination of citations of Price's work as many of these sources as possible were investigated, however the results located few further examples, other than those from conference papers that I had given myself.

Once citations were identified, and the publications located, each was read to assess how Price had been used as a source. The results of this activity are discussed in the thematic chapters where reference to many relevant citations is included. The identification and reading of each citation was very time consuming and not always successful. A series of limitations (frustrations) emerged. Many of the older books were written in a way which disregarded what might now be seen as normal academic

conventions. Consequently there was a lack of formal references and little or no attribution of ideas to particular sources. Hence while Grenfell Price, A. G. Price, or even A. Price, was listed in the reference list or bibliography, there was a lack of in-text referencing or footnoting of where his ideas had been used. Conversely some books used meticulous footnoting or chapter endnotes. Where footnotes were used each one was read through to find where Price was cited, then the citation, footnote and page number recorded. In the case of chapter endnotes the same process was adopted. The endnotes were thoroughly checked, then the endnote number traced back to the text and the use of Price's work identified and recorded.

While the initial search had been undertaken using the key words as identified above, i.e. the author's name (Price, Grenfell Price, A. G. Price, or A. Price), and key words for book titles (White Settlers, Western Invasions, Native Peoples and so on), on a number of occasions the search of the publications revealed a different citation from the electronic search. Where this occurred the result was recorded under the actual publication cited not the publication originally found. The recording of each citation involved noting the name of the author, year of publication, name of publication, number of times the author used Price in that particular publication and a short summary of what they had cited. Again these findings are linked to the themes discussed in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 to identify when Price's concepts were perceived to be leading in his field of study, or if he was seen to be following others' ideas. In this way they act as a measure of his legacy.

Book reviews

A key determinant of the impact of Price's writing on his peers was locating and analysing contemporary reviews of his work. A number of strategies were used to locate such reviews, some of which had already been identified through the Google Scholar and database searches.

The documents available at the National Library of Australia could be searched electronically via Trove.² These searches elicited further avenues of research, and links

² A guide to Trove: 'Trove is an exciting, revolutionary and free search service. With millions of items, Trove is an unrivalled repository of Australian material. Trove is for all Australians. Whether you are tracing your family history, doing professional research, reading for pleasure, teaching or studying, Trove can help.' (National Library of Australia 2011)

to more material, but again the search criteria limitations mentioned above proved problematic. Too many results proved to be picking up the key word 'Price' and were not appropriate. Such searches did however lead to a number of different journals held electronically in remote locations, or identified local journals that could be found in hard copy on the shelves of nearby libraries including that of the South Australian branch of the Royal Geographical Society.

As with searching for peer citations, electronic searches did not always achieve the original aim. For example journals which included their cover price all needed to be eliminated when actually searching for Grenfell Price. It was interesting that though the initial searches through Google Scholar for reference citations should, in theory, have also resulted in all reviews being identified, this was not always true. Where a journal is now fully available on line, for example *Geographical Review*, it was possible to make a much more thorough search and identify a number of reviews of Price's books using the electronic search mechanisms embedded within journal sites themselves.

Some reviews were also published in less formal publications including newspapers and magazines. In many cases a Trove search located these, but in some cases a manual search was needed using microfiche or microfilm. This final method entailed estimating the period after which it was likely that a review of a book would be published and searching the relevant publication for any listing. As the time required to undertake such a search was considerable it is accepted that this was a limited strategy. It also relied on one of the available local libraries containing hard copies or microform copies of journals and newspapers up to 70 years old which could be checked.

As Grenfell Price was President of the Royal Geographical Society (SA Branch) for many years his Presidential reports and the older copies of the society's journal contained many references to his own and others' work. Each of these was followed up in the original source if available and then in other similar longstanding journals in which society members were congratulated on their recent work. Where possible copies of the original reviews were obtained and used in analysis of Price's impact and these are discussed further in Chapter 8. It was important to assess if his peers considered what

he had written was ground-breaking or a reworking or reiteration of others' ideas. The number of reviews of each publication was also important. Reviews bring publications to the attention of a wider audience than might originally have seen a 'new' book, especially at a time when most advertising was through publishers' flyers or personal dissemination of information. Given the timing of the publications considered in detail in this thesis, immediately prior to and post Second World War, and at a time when resources such as paper were rationed, there may be a case to be argued for any review of a book being of importance, as publication space was at a premium.

Awards, obituaries and ephemera

One of the key indicators of the contemporary importance of Price is the variety and type of awards he received for his academic and other endeavours during his life time. The source and type of awards were diverse and a number of resources were used to identify those relevant to his writing as a geographer and historian. Kerr's biography and the various overviews of Price published in academic lists such as the Australian Society of Humanities Fellows, the *Geographers Biobibliographical Studies* and later a number of obituaries, give some details and a timeline of major awards. His own notes hold drafts of a number of acceptance letters and possible speeches, with the award citation. It was possible to get copies of the relevant speeches made during some award presentations however far too often these were not available. One of the problems of identifying Price's importance throughout this work has been attempting to assess the aspects that are missing. Hence it is not possible to find if there were awards for which he was proposed, or for which he applied, and was turned down.

Notably Price received a knighthood for his services to literature and education. The process of being knighted is filled with mystique. The current government of Australia (under Prime Minister Tony Abbot) recently re-introduced a limited version of the British system of awarding such honours, announcing in March 2014 that up to four knights or dames would be appointed in any one year. However in order to find if it was possible to obtain information from fifty years ago contact was made with the current protocol officers but even today the proposers and information on any of the past recommendees is not made available. In fact it would appear that records may not have been kept of such detail once an award was made.

An intensive newspaper search was conducted manually and electronically to find as much as possible about the conferring of Price's knighthood. Local papers, as well as the major British papers such as *The Times*, were checked for relevant information about why Price was knighted. While some newspaper archives are electronically available others had to be searched on microfilm available through the State Library of South Australia. Such searches clarified not only the process but the reports also identified the weighting given to Price's awards as compared with others who were knighted at the same time. A full discussion of the reports of this and other awards underpins a later chapter of this dissertation on society's acknowledgment of Price and his work.

Price was a Fellow of a number of institutes including the Royal Geographical Society in London. Part of the investigation to identify how such awards came about was conducted in London where a visit to the society's rooms meant that, unlike the knighthood proposal, his original sponsorship forms could be viewed. The reasons for which he was nominated and the names of his nominees were further evidence as to the high regard in which he was held at that time.

In discussing Price's influence and status it became clear that his achievements needed to be compared at least briefly with those of his contemporaries. A number of British or Australian geographers were considered to be relevant as the trajectories of their careers, the time over which they were active in academia, and to some extent the similarity of their interests, meant that the accomplishments of Sir Clifford Darby,³ Sir (Laurence) Dudley Stamp,⁴ and Professor Griffith Taylor⁵ were also investigated. The methods used to obtain information about these geographers were similar to those used for Price, however, there is no thematic analysis of books or journal articles which

³ Henry Clifford Darby (Sir Clifford in his later years) was arguably Britain's most well-known historical geographer. Originally appointed a lecturer at Cambridge University when only 23 he undertook work for the British navy during the Second World War. He then moved to the John Rankin Chair of Geography at the University of Liverpool, before transferring to University College, London in 1949. In 1966 he returned to Cambridge as Chair of Geography for ten years before his retirement. He is particularly well known for his work on the Domesday Book.

⁴ Sir (Laurence) Dudley Stamp studied as a geographer and geologist. His geological background took him to Burma (Myanmar) as Professor at Rangoon University in 1923. After moving back to the UK in 1926 he held a number of positions at the London School of Economics including Professor of Geography. His major works included land utilisation studies across the British Isles.

⁵ Griffith Taylor was born in England but migrated to Australia with his parents in his early teens. He originally studied mining and metallurgy at the University of Sydney. He went on to study in Cambridge prior to joining Scott's expedition to Antarctica. He returned to become the head of the first geography department at Sydney. His later work on the population carrying capacity of Australia resulted in conflict with the establishment. He left Australia first for Chicago and later moved to Toronto. In 1951 he returned to Australia, and Sydney.

they wrote included here. They are used only in the second half of the thesis to identify how Price's achievements fitted the pattern of authorship and peer acknowledgment common for the time.

State Library of South Australia – the wealth of archives

Price bequeathed his voluminous written notes to the State Library of South Australia and by request these were made available to me for this research. The Archives contain 6.5 metres of notes and materials relating to Price. There are 16 'boxes', all filled with many files, envelopes and notebooks. A number of lists compiled by library staff are available to enable a researcher to identify material they might find relevant, and theoretically to reduce the searching time. The Box list contains a very brief description of the contents; for example Box 6 is listed as 'Overseas research trips, *The skies*'. Within any box are various series; Series 4 therefore is listed as 'Correspondence and notes concerning his role in the Emergency committee of South Australia 1931-1932. 15 cm. See special list'. The 15 cm relates to the shelf space, and the 'special list' is the key to the expanded version of the contents of the various files. While the special list is useful it is not a complete catalogue or indexed record of the contents. As such it was only used as a guide to the content of the archived material.

An in-depth search of all of Price's papers available in the library was undertaken as the initial research method applied in this research. Although some attempt was made by Price to keep his records in order they were clearly less than perfectly filed and are relatively unsorted despite the efforts of the library staff to identify the main themes and content of the resources. There is some degree of chronological and topic grouping, but little organisation within the actual files. Lack of indexing and organisation made the task of locating material which could be useful very time consuming. As a consequence of this the papers proved to be a wealth of interesting information, but not all that information was germane to this study. Drafts of letters, books, personal notes of his overseas trips and ideas for everything from lectures to students, to speeches at the openings of historical monuments, and his regular radio broadcasts are muddled together with book reviews and complimentary letters received from friends and members of Australian and overseas society.

Together the papers revealed much about Grenfell Price's family life and concerns, and his status in Adelaide over the years. It was possible to identify his frustrations and also to pinpoint some of the key concerns he had with society and the trajectory of development in Australia and South Australia in particular. Of especial interest to this current research are those which reveal the relationship he had with his publishers and their editors particularly as they strove to meet deadlines or change inaccuracies in proofs. These letters and cables (telegrams) reveal some of the difficulties of getting a publication to press on time when the majority of items sent between Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States were transported by ship. This is compounded by war time losses of ships and material and the general shortage of paper which delayed publication at that time.

An important element of the archival search was that it revealed how Grenfell Price undertook his research and continually revised and rewrote his papers and books. A multitude of papers related to each area of his life have been kept, and searching through the files was complex and at times frustrating. Parts of a letter or elements of research would be located in one file, and then on another day, the other part would be located in another file. It was not possible to obtain (photo)copies of much of the material contained in the files, but notes of all relevant points were taken and summaries of documents were recorded. In addition the library was able to supply a copy of an ABC radio interview with Price which could be listened to, although not copied, which also leant greater depth to understanding Price and his philosophy. Listening to the actual voice of the person being researched ensured Price became a real person and not simply an object to be investigated.

In addition to the notes, plans and drafts of material later published or given as speeches, were more ephemeral items: a copy of the Prices' marriage certificate; newspaper cuttings; invitations to public events; ships' menus and 'crossing the line' certificates; letters from family and friends when Price was overseas and even his tailor's bills. It was not possible to ignore all this material as many items needed to be perused to identify if they included reference to his publications, or had been sent to him for inclusion in one of his books or articles.

The archival search identified more leads to follow in tracing references to Price's work. Importantly it also showed more clearly how and why his research followed the trajectory it did over the whole of his career. It also identified the national and international geographers, historians, politicians, churchmen and others with whom he had contact. Usefully on many of the letters Price received he noted what he intended to say in reply. He also kept copies of many of his actual replies and these gave further insight into his character and who he considered to be mentors in his writing.

The in-depth search through Price's papers revealed much about his character and the group of people he corresponded with. The very nature of the resulting search also uncovered previously unknown evidence of Grenfell Price's links with others and gave a sense of his place in Adelaide society. Within the thesis material from the papers is used as evidence to substantiate how Price evolved his ideas and to establish the impact his work had on others.

Conclusion

The methodology developed to allow investigation of the impact of the work of Archibald Grenfell Price evolved from an understanding of the range of his publications. As his written output and his long career moved through so many phases it was necessary to select a workable number of publications to read and consider in detail here, and for this reason the three books written on one general theme were deemed the most appropriate. Equally important was the manageability of the project. The availability of resources, including Price's own papers, was significant in allowing an understanding of the man and his work.

The first step in understanding Price and his impact is the identification of three themes within all of the books noted above. In *White Settlers in the Tropics*, *White Settlers and Native Peoples* and *The Western Invasions of the Pacific and its Continents* Price considers the patterns of settlement and how it was that some settlers were 'successful' while others failed. In each of the books he discusses the roles of 'invasions and frontiers', 'sojourners or settlers' and 'scientific settlement'. Each of these concepts is discussed separately in the following three chapters. These discussions focus on assessing if Price was following others' ideas on these hypotheses, or was a leader in the way he considered them. Ensuing authors who cited Price are identified,

and the way in which they used his work is examined to determine the extent and duration of his impact.

Chapter Four

Colonial impact – invasions across frontiers?

Evaluation of the impact of Price's work requires an understanding his viewpoint and the words he used. It demands that the language used within his books should be carefully scrutinised in order to gauge the full meanings he wished to convey to his readers. This chapter considers the first of the themes which emerge from the three books studied; *White Settlers in the Tropics*, *White Settlers and Native Peoples*, *The Western Invasions of the Pacific and its Continents*; that of colonial impact caused by invasions of Europeans.

It is clear from the notes Price kept while undertaking his own research that he was an inveterate editor of his own writing and valued the input of those he saw as mentors in reviewing his work at various stages prior to its publication. However when scrutinising his notes, and in the in-depth reading of his books, the concepts which stand out as being of major importance to Price, and which are discussed here, are not actually defined by him. Particular words, and the way in which they are used, and the way others go on to use their interpretation of Price's ideas conveyed by these words, are discussed here. First the theme is identified, this is then followed by a variety of definitions, before a consideration of how Price uses the terms in the three books is examined. How these ideas are then used, adapted or dismissed, shows whether Price could be considered a leader in using them. The comments on these terms made by others who cited his work is then analysed in order to assess the period of his influence and leadership in the discipline of geography.

Price's work always needs to be set in the context of his time and place in society. The Adelaide in which Price lived was a relatively small early to mid-20th Century colonial city, in a country which was still establishing its European identity as a united nation, and not a collection of colonies which had been inhabited by Aboriginal people for thousands of years. All discussions of what he wrote need to be couched within this framework.

The overarching theme which emerges from reading the three books *White Settlers in the Tropics*, *White Settlers and Native Peoples* and *The Western Invasions of the Pacific and its*

Continents (Price 1939, 1950, 1963), is the concept of invasion and with this the concept of frontier. The full titles of the books clearly show that Price was particularly interested in this idea, and it sustained his research interest for almost his entire academic life. While the focus here is on these three books it is germane to remember that Price's third publication *The Foundation and Settlement of South Australia 1829-1845* (Price 1924), had also considered this fundamental idea. Although in that publication he concerned himself with the people who settled South Australia, partly as his own family was with the initial group of British settlers, he continued to write on this theme and extended it to the whole world, in particular the tropical regions.

Definitions

As it has such an impact on all of his work, including its use in book titles, Grenfell Price's use of one particular word – invasion – is of considerable importance. It might be expected that Price would define what he meant, and how he was using the term, at the beginning of the first book. He opens *White Settlers in Tropics* with a section on definitions to clarify how he uses a number of relevant phrases, but invasion is not among them.

As shown in Box 4.1 the general understanding of 'invasion' has negative connotations.

Box 4.1 Multiple definitions of 'invasion'

<i>Shorter Oxford Dictionary</i>	the action of invading: an entrance or incursion with armed force; a hostile inroad; infringement by intrusion; encroachment upon the property, rights, privacy etc. of any one.
<i>The Macquarie Dictionary</i>	act of invading as an enemy; the coming of anything troublesome or harmful, as disease; infringement by intrusion of privacy.
<i>Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English</i>	an act of invading especially an attack in war when the enemy spreads into and tries to control the country, a city, etc. And with a second meaning supporting the negativity of the first: the incoming spread of something usually harmful.
<i>Cambridge Dictionary</i>	when an army or country uses force to enter and take control of another country; when a large number of people or things come to a place in an annoying and unwanted way; an action or process which affects someone's life in an unpleasant and unwanted way.

From the multiple definitions in Box 4.1 it might be seen that invasion *per se* does not

have any positive outcomes. Even a cursory overview of Grenfell Price's writings shows that while he must have been fully aware of these meanings, he uses the word throughout much of his writing. Simultaneously, within the books he identifies perceived positive outcomes of the invasions of white people into hitherto non-white areas including Australia. These (perceived) positive consequences are almost entirely linked with Price's own background as an educated, politically aware and socially motivated individual, but he fails to note the irony of the opportunities he has had as a result of being the descendent of one of the white invaders of South Australia.

Nevertheless the use of this term in a strongly negative sense is not seen by all as universal. In 1997 in his book entitled *Ecology and Empire, Towards an Australian History of the world*, Tom Griffiths (p. 6 footnote 31) discusses the way Price was using the term:

Invasion is a term that geographers used well before historians, because of their discipline's instinctive environmental orientation. There is less of the historian's moral angst in their use of 'invasion' and more of the scientists cool background perspective; the geographers knew that they were describing lurching frontiers of environmental practices and alien life-forms, and not just the calculated 'settlement' of political beings.

If therefore Griffiths' broader adoption of the geographic nature of invasion – and indeed frontier – is accepted, it becomes clear why Price did not always see invasion as having negative impacts on the colonised areas he was examining. This point is expanded on below in the section concerning how invasions are discussed within the publications analysed and how other authors use Price's work.

Combined with the concept of invasion is the concept of frontier. In order to invade another's space there needs to be a frontier across which to move. This frontier may be physical and visible to all; it may be visible only to those who recognise it as a frontier, or it may be only known through particular knowledge of a group or persons within a group.

The way frontier is defined is again varied depending on the source used. *Merriam Webster* notes that the main use of the word is 'as a border between two countries' with

'a region that forms the margins of settled or developed territory', listed only as a sub use. *The Oxford Dictionary* definition is also focussed on a country border but goes on to expand this with a secondary meaning as 'the extreme limit of settled land beyond which lies wilderness, especially in reference to the western US before Pacific settlement'. From these definitions it would appear that there is little dictionary acknowledgment of the frontier as perceived by Price or indeed other authors who discuss frontier and invasion in their work. In fact Price (following Turner, discussed further below) uses the terms 'invasion and frontier', as do later geographers, for example Meinig (1970), Heathcote (1994) and Williams (1974), writing in the context of white settlement in Australia and in South Australia in particular. All three of these later authors describe how landscapes and the activities of all within those landscapes are changed in a colonial context. They adopt the concept of movement across a margin or frontier as the invading culture impinges on cultures that had existed for millennia, and quickly alters the physical and cultural landscape. Indeed it is clear that the concept of frontier continues to exist in Australia even in 2014. One example of this is highlighted by Research Australasia's submission to the Federal Government Joint Select Committee on Northern Australia which identifies the great potential that the north has in tropical knowledge and innovation but also states:

[h]istorically north Australia was overlooked by post-European settlement. Early settlers bypassed northern Australia in favour of the more temperate environments of the eastern and southern coastal regions. The European settlers and their exotic stock and crops were not acclimatised to the rigours of a tropical climate, hence the far north did not attract early settlement and was regarded as foreign and inhospitable.

For over 150 years after European settlement, northern Australia was regarded as a 'frontier'. (Research Australasia 2014 p. 2)

Price's uses of these terms is a combination of all these meanings.

Price's invasions and frontiers

This section identifies the way in which Price incorporates the ideas of invasion and frontier into the three books analysed in detail in this thesis. The use of the concepts in each book is identified and discussed in the chronological order in which they were published. It can be seen from this examination that the adoption of the particular terms was deliberate and the context in which Price used them changed little throughout his writing career. Hence the ideas he adopted in 1939 are still evident in the ensuing thirty to forty years. However by considering the use of 'invasion' and 'frontier' in more detail it is possible to identify if his emphasis changed and whether he considered each of the concepts to be of different importance or intensity.

White Settlers in the Tropics

When *White Settlers in the Tropics* was published in 1939 it was the result of a great deal of field work undertaken by Grenfell Price under the auspices of the American Geographical Society and with the aid of a Rockefeller Scholarship. This scholarship was one of the earliest academic awards Price received, and indicative of his perceived potential for research. Much of the field work he undertook was in the tropical regions of the Americas: Florida, Panama, and many Caribbean islands including Cuba, Saba and St Martin. His personal notes show that much planning went into the book. His preliminary drafts are dated 1933, indicating his thorough preparation for the eventual publication which was interrupted and made more complex by the threat and onset of the Second World War and clearly hampered by communication difficulties across the Atlantic during the pre-war period.

Interestingly Price's comments about invasions within this publication were not restricted to the areas in which he did his field work. The invasions of the Spanish, Portuguese and others into South America are the subject of a great deal of discussion, as are further incursions by other European powers, including Germany, into Africa. These invasions may have been deemed to be unsuccessful (see later discussion on sojourners or settlers) with the reasons generally linked to class and colour. Such invasions though are clearly invasions of one society into the space and culture of another, supporting both the

standard dictionary definitions of the terms and also Griffiths' more liberal concepts around 'sense of place'.

White Settlers in the Tropics is divided into three main parts; a general outline of the problems of white settlement as observed by Price; some regional studies and then the factors which he sees govern white settlement. In the following discussion the focus is on the way Price uses the word invasion and its linked concepts, frontiers and margins within his analysis.

Price uses the first chapter of the book – 'The problem of white settlement in the tropics', to define some of the terms he uses and to discuss the relevance of white settlement and the problems he confronted in its investigation. His second chapter goes straight to the idea of invasion – 'Prescientific invasions of the tropics'.¹ He notes that 'white settlers poured into the tropics' (1939 p. 13), outlining the impacts of early colonisation and the lack of real knowledge of the explanations of why many of these invasions were only short-term in success (see discussion on sojourners and settlers for further analysis). Within the introductory section of this chapter there are frequent references to both 'white invasions' and 'white invaders'. The chapter presents an overview of the approaches by the various invading nations, mainly European, as they moved into the Eastern and Western hemispheres of the world. Price uses the failure of the Portuguese invasion into Asia, the East Indies, South America and Africa to illustrate how prescientific invasion tended to be temporary with regard to settlement, although introduced invaders, including plants and animals were more permanent.

The fourth chapter of *White Settlers in the Tropics* – 'The scientific invasions of the tropics', again highlights the concept of invasion and combines this with other language which creates a positive viewpoint. Price describes this period of scientific invasion as a 'promising era' (1939 p. 33) and a time of 'lifting the clouds of abysmal ignorance'. He illustrates this by citing transport and health advances which occurred during the period of scientific invasion. Further in-depth discussion of the concept of scientific settlement follows in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

¹ The concepts of pre-scientific and scientific invasions are fully discussed in Chapter 6 of this thesis.

As discussed earlier the concept of invasion goes hand in hand with crossing frontiers and margins. These terms are used throughout the case studies Price selects to illustrate his arguments. The first case study region, Florida, is situated in the trade winds margin. The margin here is a geographic measurable entity. Price selects Florida and eastern Queensland to discuss the challenges white settlers have faced, and continue to face, during the period he is discussing. One aspect of invasion which Price highlights when discussing Queensland is what he terms 'The Italian penetration'. The section is particularly relevant in revealing Price's Anglo bias and implicit belief in racial superiority. It gives a clear indication as to why much of what he wrote is no longer acceptable in 21st Century society, but was indicative of his class and some ideas current in European society immediately pre Second World War.

In this section Price expresses considerable concern that so many Italians had moved into Queensland during the late 19th and early 20th Centuries. He considers this to be what could be described as a secondary invasion of 'aliens'. In addition Price views the Italian migrants as having lower than acceptable living standards and thus being a threat to 'white' settlement. These ideas are discussed further in the section on settlement and sojourners, but are raised here to show that Price's writings on invasion and crossing margins focused on many different groups and covered a considerable historical period.

The discussion moves from trade wind margins to the islands of the West Indies and then tropical Australia, Costa Rica and South America, Africa and Panama. Price deals in greatest detail with the invasions into the interior of Australia, where he identifies a 'squatting invasion' (1939 p. 105). 'The squatting invasion of tropical Australia rolled forward in three great streams'; the first from southern areas of Queensland, the second from South Australia and the third via Western Australia. Such invasions, mainly of pastoralists, had devastating effects on the native peoples of the areas invaded. Price puts forward a series of suggestions as to how Aboriginal lives could be improved before what he regards is their inevitable, though tragic, extinction.²

² It should be noted here that much of the research Price undertook throughout his career focussed on the need to protect Aboriginal Australians from the incursions of white settlement. His books and reports dealing with this are not analysed here, but are another facet of his broad interests, and probably of his conservative Christianity.

Each of the chapters on the other regions Price discusses outlines the progression of white invasion into formerly non-white regions. His main hypothesis concerns the success or failure of each of the invaders, and he links this with the various states of pre-invasion settlement. For the purpose of the discussion here it is the constant use of the word invasion and with it the negative connotations for the native peoples of the countries invaded that are the salient points.

Part three of Price's analysis of the success of white settlers in tropical regions of the world is concerned with the factors he sees as limiting or governing successful settlement. This section does not reintroduce the concepts of invasion or marginality in a physical sense but does touch on invasions of species – plants and animals – and of cultural mores; particularly religions and politics. Interestingly in the introductory paragraphs of the section Price no longer uses the term invasion or invader, but introduces the idea of 'immigrant peoples' (1939 p. 171), thus changing the status of the invader to one of settler.

White Settlers and Native Peoples

In the Introduction to *White Settlers and Native Peoples* (1950), Price outlines what he considers to be the three stages of white-native relations. The first of these stages is seen to be that of the 'pioneer invasion' of whites into formerly non-white regions of the world. The book is structured to contrast and compare the effects of white settlement on a series of native people: those of the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

Price describes the contact of each colonial nation with the countries he discusses and their impact on each of their native peoples. He begins with a description of the moving frontier of white invasion into the United States as (native) Indian culture was permanently altered in a remarkable variety of ways. On the first page the concept of invasion/invader is dominant. The negative consequences of the first contact between Europeans and Native Americans results in destruction of the indigenous groups by 'such factors as disease, slaughter, and land robbery, along a vast and moving frontier' (Price 1950 p. 5). Despite these effects and the terminology used to describe the interactions of the invaders Price acknowledges that many Europeans did in fact make use of the skills

and culture of those they were invading. Hence in the United States Price writes 'the permanent value of Indian civilisation was of great importance...the whites learnt from the natives the cultivation of corn, beans, pumpkin and tobacco' (p. 10). As a smoker for much of his life it would appear he was particularly grateful for this last innovation. In the same section he both decries the impacts of invasion but lauds the importance of native-invader contact; 'it is fair to say that without the aid of the Indians and their culture many of the early settlers would have starved through inexperience or failed through lack of staples for trade' (p. 10).

From the United States Price then moves north to Canada with another chapter title linked to this major theme: Canada – the moving frontier. He begins with 'The progress and results of the white invasion of Canada generally resemble those in the United States ...' (1950 p. 59). The initial ideas presented contrast 'white invaders and their methods...' and Price makes constant reference to frontiers and invasions. The different consequences of geography, in particular the hot and cold deserts, which acted as buffer zones, or impenetrable margins, prevented initial invasion across the whole North American continent. Nevertheless, as in the United States, eventually the white invaders succeeded in inhabiting all regions of Canada to the general detriment of the native peoples.

As in his comments on the contact with Native Americans, Price identifies some aspects of the invasion into Canada which he sees as positive. First he identifies the chaos which resulted from indigenous tribes who 'slaughtered and exhausted one another' (1950 p. 79) before moving on to note 'Deprived of their resources and self-sufficiency, their needs became the same as those of the white invaders' (p. 79). This then led to a decline in all aspects of culture, the introduction of white economic progress, and a complete change in life for those who had been invaded. The invasion:

ended such practices as warfare, cannibalism, torture, the blood feud, infanticide and the abandonment of the sick and the aged...They lost their ambition and will to live and steadily declined. Thus the Canadian moving frontier produced similar consequences to the moving frontier in the United States.

Whilst he considers this invasion to be more merciful than that which occurred in the USA the section ends with the sad reflection that 'white diseases and other innovations proved disastrous to the Indians in both regions, and palliatives, such as small reservations and missions, in general failed to ease the shock of contact' (p.80). Price's sympathy is with those who are invaded, but his own cultural bias is towards an acceptance of the loss of whole nations and cultures.

With regard to Australia, as with the previous two countries Price begins with 'Australia the moving frontier in colonial days' (1950 p. 99). The concept of invasion is again emphasised from the first paragraph of the chapter, 'British peoples formed the vast majority of the invaders...'. In addition Price emphasises the negative effects of this invasion on Aboriginal people, and he is extremely critical of the way the invaders dealt with the native people of Australia who he considered were 'exceptionally unfitted to adapt themselves to European civilisation' (p. 99).

Price constantly refers to the concepts of invasion and frontier, and the Aboriginal people's links to the land and territory. He expresses understanding of the intimate links which Indigenous Australians have with their country, and the destruction which occurred after European invasion. In the case of Australia the invasion is particularly brutal; Price describes the confrontational aspects of the movement of mainly British people across the continent. He outlines many of the atrocities which occurred as the cultures clashed and retribution was dealt out to native people. The destructiveness of the invasion and moving frontier is briefly described, region by region. However '... within a very few years of the establishment of the moving frontier even kindly and well-meaning whites were firmly convinced that it was impossible to civilize the natives and that they would inevitably perish – primarily from disease and vice' (1950 p. 121).³

Price also turns his attention to New Zealand, but here he does not begin with frontier and

³ In alleging this probability Price relies on evidence gleaned from a series of letters which had been gathered together and published as an edited volume by the Public Library, Museums and National Gallery of Victoria. These letters (Bride 1898) were the result of an attempt by Lieutenant Governor La Trobe to record the experiences of early settlers. The preface to the volume includes the comment 'It cannot be claimed for these papers that they are infallible records of our early history in every point, but they do contain the first impressions of those who had ample opportunities of learning at the fountain head what could be learnt amid the hardships of early colonial days'.

invasion but goes straight to 'New Zealand – the Maori decline' (1950 p. 150). The idea of invasion is introduced, but within the context of the perceived superiority of Maori culture compared with the other native peoples he has discussed. The second section of the chapter picks up on the moving frontier concept with an overview of the way the European invasion impacted on Maori society. He notes 'The period 1792-1840 presents a terrible example of the effects of a moving and uncontrolled frontier on a primitive people' (p. 152). The invasion of white disease and war goods has a devastating effect on the people of New Zealand with much bloodshed due both to the invaders and also to subsequent wars between tribal groups.

The moving frontier in New Zealand is also illustrated by Price in his focus on the role of missions and the missionary enterprises, and he writes 'Hence devoted English missionaries reached the moving frontier even before the establishment of official settlement or administration, and their labours shine as the only light in a dark and horrible picture' (1950 p. 154). This section holds up the missionaries as being morally stronger and more trustworthy than the other white invaders. Price does not refer to their incursion as an invasion across the frontier, rather he uses terms such as 'progress' and 'advance' thus implying a much more positive situation based on his perception of the positive role of missionary education and Christianity. His strong links to the Anglican Church in Adelaide, even the fact that during his career he gave talks in the Anglican Cathedral, clearly influences his views in this regard. His comments reveal the depth of his belief in Christianity as a model for fruitful invasion and settlement.

The moving frontier in New Zealand is not only under the missionaries control but also that of the British Empire. Britain's acquisition of New Zealand followed what Price refers to as 'legalise[d] land robbery'. He outlines the taking of the Maori lands and subsequent Maori wars without recourse to any further ideas of invasion and frontier.

White Settlers and Native Peoples concludes with a chapter entitled 'The importance of white invasion' (1950 p. 189). The chapter emphasises how important the white invasions have been in settling the four countries discussed, but also acknowledges that the invasions have had many long standing negative effects, and that 'certain features of the

invasion, however, cause deep regret' (p. 189). Most of these regrets Price maintains are linked with the early invaders and their crude and cruel treatment of the native peoples; yet he also acknowledges that governments have a continuing responsibility for the people whose lives they disrupted in their 'legalised' invasions, under the various European regimes. He does nevertheless conclude that the specific invasions discussed in this particular book are only a sample of invasions which have occurred throughout human history, and that many other invasions were even more disastrous for the invaded parties than those he describes. The consequences of all invasions are identified as being unnecessarily destructive, particularly of culture, but Price leaves this book with a question that is clearly troubling to him throughout his writing; 'whether the future policy should be to hasten the absorption of the remnants [of the native peoples] or to foster their continuance and increase as minority groups...?' (p. 209). Later this process developed to become integration or assimilation of indigenous populations.

White Settlers and Native Peoples is an analysis of the contact of different white invaders and Price is by no means lacking in bias when it comes to discussing the different groups. Interestingly, despite the title of the book, Price's concentration is on primarily English speaking invaders, though he notes the Spanish were the first to invade the southern region of the [now] United States and impose their mission system on the native people. The missions 'showed a humanity, a sincerity, and a transitory success which contrasted sharply with the encomendero⁴ system and the English-speaking brutality and indifference in the regions to the north'. In other sections of his writing he is contrastingly scathing of

⁴ 'encomienda [Span. *encomendar*=to entrust], system of tributary labor established in Spanish America. Developed as a means of securing an adequate and cheap labor supply, the encomienda was first used over the conquered Moors of Spain. Transplanted to the New World, it gave the conquistador control over the native populations by requiring them to pay tribute from their lands, which were "granted" to deserving subjects of the Spanish crown. The natives often rendered personal services as well. In return the grantee was theoretically obligated to protect his wards, to instruct them in the Christian faith, and to defend their right to use the land for their own subsistence. When first applied in the West Indies, this labor system wrought such hardship that the population was soon decimated. This resulted in efforts by the Spanish king and the Dominican order to suppress encomiendas, but the need of the conquerors to reward their supporters led to de facto recognition of the practice. The crown prevented the encomienda from becoming hereditary, and with the New Laws (1542) promulgated by Las Casas, the system gradually died out, to be replaced by the repartimiento, in Spanish colonial practice, usually, the distribution of indigenous people for forced labor. In a broader sense it referred to any official distribution of goods, property, services, and the like and finally debt peonage, a system of involuntary servitude based on the indebtedness of the labourer (the peon) to his creditor. It was prevalent in Spanish America, especially in Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, and Peru. Similar systems of land and labor apportionment were adopted by other colonial powers, notably the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French.' (The Colombia Encyclopedia on line)

the Spanish and Portuguese invasions and their impacts. His apparent classification of Europeans into positive and negative invaders shows a clear preference for anyone of Anglo, and preferably British, antecedents. This prejudice impinges on all of his writing. It is part of the person he was, reflecting his upbringing and background.

Western Invasions of the Pacific and its Continents

The third of the trilogy of books used here, *Western Invasions of the Pacific and its Continents*, was published in 1963, towards the end of Price's career. It is the only one of the books analysed which includes the word invasion in the title and the one in which Price uses the ideas of invasion the most. It is also the first time he acknowledges the idea of invasion as he uses it as coming from another source and 'by extending F. J. Turner's magnificent conception of moving frontiers of the invaders flowing across the United States, we can picture how other moving frontiers of Western peoples and cultures swept across the lands and waters of the Pacific, leaving in their wake changes which were in many cases vast and permanent' (1963 p.1). In this respect Price is seen to follow others' ideas, rather than lead, especially as many North American authors were abandoning the theory. However the concept of invasion is discussed in many other books and it would be hard for him to claim leadership here; it is his interpretation and use of the term and the way others then follow him that is relevant in this analysis.

Historian Professor Frederick J. Turner is best known for his 'Frontier Thesis' published in 1893 which outlined how pioneers adapted to their new environments as they moved west across the American continent to settle in hitherto uncolonised lands. It was posited by Turner that a new American character emerged from this settlement pattern. Similarly Price writes that Westerners changed the landscapes they invaded, but also were themselves changed by the lands and the people they invaded. For example they adopted a diverse range of artifices which enabled them to become better invaders, in particular Price (1963 p. 2) identifies the use of the 'lateen sails from the Arabs, the compass and gunpowder from the Chinese...without which the invasions might never have taken place'. This supports the notion introduced above that he saw the invasions as bringing clear benefits to the invaders, although those whose homes were invaded did, Price maintains, also benefit from the invasions in increased access to education, health care and modern

resources. This was an uneven benefit however, as while white invasion resulted in acquisition of new countries and new resources, for the invaded the impact was loss of livelihood, culture, and society and the introduction of new diseases, ways of life and in some cases decimation.

Many of the chapters and sub sections of this book have titles which include 'invasion' and 'frontier'. Although much of the research for this volume was done many years earlier, Price was obviously well aware of what had occurred during the Second World War, and the pressures of resettling many displaced Europeans. Price begins with a brief overview of the pre-invasion Pacific, and then discusses 'the invaders and their resources' (Chapter 3). He asks many questions aimed at identifying the traits or reasons why invasions occurred also stressing the limitations of his own analysis. In 'The invading peoples' (1963 pp. 26-30), Price gives a brief outline of the historical strategies adopted by the various European nations; Portugal, Spain, Holland, France and Germany. He then goes on to consider the particular methods each invader adopted. He starts with consideration of invasions by sea 'The white invasions of the Pacific and other areas began, of necessity, as sea invasions...' (p. 30), then highlights how land invasion was important once sea invasion 'had established bridgeheads'. The European sea culture is of great importance in terms of invasion spurred on by improvements in ships and sails. Of supplementary but equal importance were advances in weaponry, instruments and maps – though Price maintains that the Europeans needed to adopt Eastern navigation tools to enable them to successfully invade realms far from home. In these comments Price appreciates the distinctive skills of those who were invaded. Simultaneously he shows his realisation that many of their cultural traits, while very different from his own, also offer significant benefits.

While most chapters of this publication specifically identify invasion, Price does include a section on 'Conquest and colonization' (1963 pp. 43-61) but he returns to the dominant theme of invasion and frontier for the following chapters. Within the 'Sweep of white settlement' it is noted 'In all these regions the moving Western frontiers swept over the native peoples, culture, plants, and animals, and the invaders created changed landscapes' (p. 62). A detailed consideration of the North American frontier describes the impact of

exotic disease invasions on the native people; white exploitation resulting from invasion is also described. This exploitation is of both land and sea resources, especially native fisheries and other resources.

Any positive notion of a cultural frontier is limited, with the introduction of education cited as a specific example. However – when discussing advances in Siberia – he also contends that ‘frequently in the Western invasions the real colonizing pressure was not exerted until quite recent times’ (1963 p. 89). Hence in most of the areas of white invasion the tenure of the invaders, (discussed further in Chapter 5 of this thesis) needs to be acknowledged in order to comprehend fully the positive and negative effect of the moving frontier on invaded populations.

In discussing the invasions and their negative impacts on aboriginal populations Price refers to his earlier works, in particular *White Settlers and Native Peoples* and the effect the invasions had on the number of the original populations in the various countries he investigated. He identifies frontier ebbs and flows, especially in the North American continent as different streams of invaders moved into the various sectors of the regions. The effect on numbers is important as it is a theme Price takes up throughout his writing especially with regard to whether or not white populations can successfully settle permanently in tropical regions. The initial impact of each invasion changes over time with frontier contact and eventual colonisation.

Having dealt with the human invasions of the Pacific, Price moves on to discuss ‘Moving frontiers of disease’ (Chapter 6), followed by ‘Moving frontiers of animals and plants’ (Chapter 7). With regard to disease Price begins by linking the early incursion of Spaniard Cortez into Mexico in 1519, with the invasion of smallpox into the country.⁵ The long-term effects of this particular invasion on the native population of the country may have been instrumental in their eventual ability to withstand some aspects of later European invasions as Price maintains ‘that a considerable number of indigenous groups passed through stages of numerical decline, followed by recoveries in which the growth of

⁵ Price quotes Castillo who states Cortez ‘brought with him in 1519 a negro who was in the small pox’. This quote seems to unnecessarily emphasise Price’s negativity towards ‘Negros’ (the term then in popular use for anyone of black African background) found in many other places in his writing.

immunity and the advance in the control of exotic diseases [were] leading factors'. (1963 p. 146)

Despite the comments concerning smallpox Price approaches the invasion of diseases in a cautious manner using many quotes and references to others' work to support his argument. He argues that while few facts concerning the historical spread of disease can be fully authenticated, most contemporary observers considered that native populations were generally healthy before white contact, and had few natural diseases which affected their lives. In fact he cites other authors who noted that native peoples rarely died of disease but were vigorous and healthy until old age, unless they died prematurely in childhood or as a result of accident or war (1963 p. 148).

Specific diseases were carried by the invaders and simultaneously affected the invaders themselves. Diseases such as scurvy and beriberi were typical and were often the result of the long voyages taken by the invaders. Such diseases were not passed to native people by the invaders but by the culture they brought with them. When foods and working conditions were changed by the impact of invasion and traditional habits died out, native people and settlers alike would become susceptible to the same disease.

In his sub section on 'eruptive fevers' (1963 p. 155) Price describes 'scourges such as smallpox, measles, typhus and influenza...outstanding killers in...most of the conquered lands'. In outlining the scourge of these diseases which followed the invasions, Price also notes the reporting of smallpox in Canada which

[a]ided the Iroquois to defeat the Hurons...the English described decimating visitations from about 1616, but punctuated their woeful accounts with paeans of gratitude to the Almighty who had so mercifully made room for his elect to settle by the destruction of barbarous savages...and [quoting Puritan Johnson] 'By this means Christ, whose great and glorious works throughout the earth are for the benefit of his churches and chosen, not only made room for his people to plant, but also tamed the hearts of those barbarous Indians'.

Extraordinarily Price makes no personal comment in the book on this attitude towards such an appalling assumption made by the original invaders. He merely cites it as an example and yet he must have found it abhorrent in its message and completely unacceptable to his own Christian morality (or any other person's sense of probity). Price goes on, expressing some regret, to further cite many other cases of smallpox, measles and typhus invading and decimating native populations throughout the Pacific region.

Price (1963 p. 159) is somewhat critical when he identifies the 'social disease' invasion as being the result of the particular characteristics of the early invaders, or at least of his perception of these characteristics.

In very many of the invasions the conquering males, often of the roughest type and far removed from their own women, engaged in an orgy of sexual licence with the willing or unwilling women of the conquered with the result that venereal disease took a terrible toll, which was not only widespread in the colonies, but may have been responsible for very grave repercussions in the metropolitan countries.

He goes on to blame both the sailors and the 'coloured labourers' who were taken to the countries invaded for carrying all such diseases, but notes that since the introduction of penicillin there was a more positive invasion which was providing a cure to such diseases. Price summarises the history and impacts of the various diseases and the epidemics suffered by invaded peoples. In conclusion he notes:

[t]aken as a whole a great mass of evidence indicates that the diseases of the Western invaders and of their labour forces were a powerful factor, perhaps in some cases the most powerful factor, in the defeat of the indigenous peoples, and not infrequently in their destruction.

In discussing the 'Moving frontiers of animals and plants' (1963 p. 176) Price looks first at the invasions of flora and fauna and the effects of these on indigenous landscapes. He uses the word invasion and couples this with colonisation, linking this with G. P. Marsh's early work on similar topics (*Man and Nature*, 1864), in particular the way that introductions of exotic species not only upset, but destroy the balance of nature which

formerly existed. It is the exploitative nature of some of the early invasions which introduced this instability. The invaders destroyed the marine stocks including whales and fur seals. On land they plundered herds of native animals many of which, Price observed, had been carefully harvested by indigenous people to ensure their conservation. Here Price cites various authorities who have noted the destructive impact of replacing soft footed animals with cattle and sheep, and the resulting erosion that occurs. He can find little positive to say of these invasions. For example, while he did recognise that indigenous people were able to take advantage of invaders' tools, the introduction of the steel axe or firearms led to an increasing speed of destruction (pp. 180-181) of both the environment and the culture of those who relied on it.

Not all invasions are intentional. Inadvertent introductions of plants and animals have similar destructive actions – detrimental to the original flora and fauna and impossible to control once the invasion had occurred. In reviewing the work of numerous researchers who have identified these invasions Price refers to many examples of animals introduced as 'requirements' for the settlers which he describes as 'banes instead of blessings' (1963 p. 199). In the New Zealand case for example, these included rabbits, deer, goats, ferrets, stoats, weasels, sparrows, and starlings. He notes that the ferret, stoat and weasel were introduced to control the rabbit, unsuccessfully. In addition the introduction of the Australian wallaby and possum into New Zealand led to a new and still current problem, as white settlers moving within the region attempted to increase local resources. Reflecting Price's attention to detail here he even includes the invasions of insects which had devastating effects on the native insects and on the plants and animals which had no natural resistance to their invasive effects. Price (p. 201) concludes:

[n]ot only did the invading peoples destroy the indigenous flora and fauna for their settlements, and introduce exotics but domestic and pests, but they disturbed the biota in an important manner...by permitting native species of subordinate importance to become prominent...

It may be that in Price's view these almost accidental invasions were of greater long-term impact than many of the others he discusses within this book. Overall by including the

non-human invasions in this publication Price is able to expand his investigations into the impacts he sees on the original inhabitants, and to show more sympathy in his writing than he does when describing the effects of the human invasions. The originality in the way Price uses the term invasion in his work should not be downplayed. In many ways he can be seen to be a radical thinker in his use of the term. It should be remembered that many Australians of Price's period, and indeed many 21st Century Australians, do not consider that there was a British invasion of Australia, rather they consider it was colonised and settled. As a conservative, and Liberal Member of Parliament Price was ahead of many people in his thoughts and confidently wrote using the strong word 'invasion' with all the negative connotations this implied.

Who were the followers? The impact of these ideas

The influence on others of Price's writings on invasion is illustrated here through citations to them by later authors. All three of the books discussed above in detail have been 'used' in various ways: to support a new concept; to criticise or back up a changing idea; or to add value to a particular argument. It is important to note that as the books were published over many years, the citation of the earlier books took place before the publication of the last of the trilogy, and Price would have been aware of who was referring his writings in their own. Little was found in the investigation of the archival material held in the State Library of South Australia to indicate how Price reacted to others citing his publications, although there are copies of the reviews of his books, and these are discussed separately.

The results of the invasion across the frontier on the first nations of the various countries used as case studies by Price are complex and discussed by a broad range of authors including geographers, historians, sociologists and others. The main hypotheses which he puts forward are that there are always negative impacts on indigenous non-white society and then subsequent negative effects on the invaders/settlers. These negative effects of invasion are seen in the substantial loss of local cultures plus the physical effects of changing land use. In a relatively short time enormous changes are wrought; they are irreversible and result in disaster for many of the original indigenes. There are also effects

on the settlers as a result of their various associations with those of a different ethnic background.

Specific adoption of Price's use of the word invasion can be traced through some of the citations investigated below. The identification of a frontier is necessary in order for an invasion to occur across that frontier, and this is clearly part of the Turner thesis noted earlier. Other authors continue with this theme. As an example of Price's continuing significance as recently as 2003 Jane Samson, Professor of Classics and History at the University of Alberta and a specialist in British maritime and imperial strategies, cites Price and how he extended Turner's frontier concept. She acknowledges that Price's work was forward looking; 'He did not limit his field of vision...he described his own position as a contemporary of decolonization'. In her introduction to *The Pacific World* Samson (2003 p. xxi) notes that Price believed that frontiers were not just located in the past, but also in the future with post colonialism and the developments which emerge from this. She comments 'He [Price] was excited by the new identities and cultures arising; [but] he noted that racial frontiers would remain after the formal empires had gone'. This shows great appreciation of Price's writing and clear acknowledgment of his ideas as fundamentally important in understanding the invasions of the past.

Other authors link Price's concepts of frontier to the invasion of both people and a wide range of other living organisms. In his chapter entitled 'Ecology, imperialism and deforestation', Professor Michael Williams (in Griffiths and Robin 1997) for example commented that colonisation across the frontier unleashed 'an unconscious and premeditated ecological/biological imperialism as crops, weeds, germs and pests accomplished dramatic demographic takeover' (p. 169). He drew admiringly on Price's work: 'Attention should be given to the pioneering work of the Australian writer Sir A. Grenfell Price...[an] early but neglected manifestation of this genre'.

US geographer and historian Andrew Sluyter (2002) is another current author who builds on Price's work in particular *Western Invasions of the Pacific and its Continents* to develop his own arguments regarding the effects of invasions on indigenous people and landscapes. Sluyter shows his esteem for Price's work, identifying him as one of the

'mainstream geographers' who studied these effects. He notes '*The Western Invasions of the Pacific and its Continents* provides a prominent illustration of the mature version of that genre by one of its leading scholars...[for] such geographers the benefits...far outweighed the costs...'. It is likely that Price would have been heartened by such positive comments on his work, forty years after it was published.

Professor Barry Gough writes widely on colonialism and maritime exploration. In his paper on the Chinese frontier and colonial invasion into that region (originally published in 1974 and reproduced in 2003) he cites Price and extends the idea that the invasion of the Pacific by white settlers was one of the most significant events in human history. Gough stresses that it is a challenge to measure these events in any meaningful way particularly given that the timing of settlement of any humans in the region is still subject to ongoing revision.

The invasion of non-human species, diseases, plants and animals, is picked up by other authors who use Price's work to support their arguments. Hence Professor Bryan Farrell, writing in 1972, used Price to support his theories on the spread of disease; specifically smallpox, measles, typhus, typhoid, leprosy, syphilis and tuberculosis to the region. This was also picked up by social anthropologist Professor John Clammer (1976) when he outlined how measles was introduced to Fiji by workers returning from overseas (Australia) to their own country. Similarly historian Ralph Shlomowitz (1989) credits Price as being one of few scholars who 'have attempted to quantify the depopulation of aboriginal populations from imported diseases' and thus gives credence to this extremely negative impact of white invasion on native peoples. More recently Price's research is used by Rowse (2004) when discussing genocide and the long term effect of 'white' diseases on Australian Aboriginal populations. His work acknowledges the early identification of the effects of depopulation on native society caused by the introduction of many diseases. These examples are all indicative of the strength and longevity of Price's research and the respect that later academics have for his work.

Price is also seen as a leader with regard to ideas on invasion by the editors of *Darwin Laboratory* (Macleod and Rehbock 1994). In their introduction to a collection of papers

originally presented at a conference held at the University of Hawaii they identify Price as a leader in the effects of cultural invasion and the changes wrought by such invasion. The authors contend that Price's work was also followed by Alan Moorehead in his significant book *The Fatal Impact: An Account of the Invasion of the South Pacific, 1767-1840* originally published in 1966 and then revised in 1987.

Donald G. Baker of the University of Minnesota is another highly qualified author who considers Price an important source for information on cultural impacts at the frontier of invasion. Baker has a number of separate references to Price's books in his publication *Race, Ethnicity and Power* (1983). Among the points he uses are comments made by Price on the stress which invaded cultures experienced, and which, in some cases he observed led to increased infanticide, suicide and other practices previously unknown to such cultures. Baker considers that Price had a clear understanding of the enormity of the impact of invasion, and was even able to clearly differentiate between the different types of invasion, especially with regard to differing attitudes by Christian religions and their subsequent effects on the indigenous residents of a number of countries.

As identified above the authors who cite Price with regard to invasion and frontiers are from different backgrounds and approaches. In 1980 the then Professor of Geography at York University (Canada), James R. Gibson, used Price's work concerning Pacific invasion to add strength to his own discussion on Russian expansion in Siberia and Alaska. Gibson agreed strongly with Price that such invasions could not have taken place had it not been for the evolution of a sea going culture based in part on the development of sails and navigational aids which were originally based on indigenous craft. Such elements of invasions had been overlooked by other authors who, as noted earlier, regarded the regions they invaded as offering only physical resources ready for exploitation, rather than advanced local technologies.

A more diverse reader and user of Price is K. B. Nunn, writing for the *Florida Law Review* in 1996. Nunn's paper 'Illegal aliens: extra terrestrials and white fear' links Price and other sources who discuss the scope of invasion to his (Nunn's) concern for the marginalisation and dispossession of indigenous people from their lands and culture. Whilst noting that

Price is only one of a number of authors who have outlined this dispossession, in this source there is a strong link with the term invasion in a legal sense.

The examples of the researchers identified here who used Price and his ideas illustrate the fact that his work continued to be used well after his death and in many different ways. As outlined earlier in the methodology chapter it is unlikely that all references to Price were found, however these are indicative of the way his contributions to the discussions on invasions and frontiers have been cited.

Conclusion

The concept of invasion was not new in the mid-20th Century, and Price was certainly not the first to use it. In using the term to identify the numerous incursions by Europeans into aboriginal territory worldwide he was following others' leads. Nevertheless the way he extended the concept to include not just people but animals, plants, diseases and even skills was indicative of his originality. But the choice of which words he used in his research was limited and within the context of the time, and the books he wrote, it would be naïve to consider that he used the words carelessly. He was far from careless in his approach to his work as shown by his habitual note taking and the annotated chapter revisions and letters he retained.

While the words 'invasion' and 'frontier' do not belong to Price, the fact that a number of other accomplished academics use his works as their references indicates his leadership and their scholarly regard for his ideas. The citations identified above add strength to this argument and lend support to the research objective of measuring Price's influence. It is equally important to note that the authors who followed Price in this matter are not restricted to a single academic discipline, nor are they limited to any one time period. His notions on invasions and frontier were cited immediately following the publication of his first book on this topic in 1939, and they continue to be cited into the 21st Century. The breadth and depth of this acknowledgment is important in the overall consideration of Price's influence. The rigour of his empirical work is appreciated long after he conducted his research and his legacy extends to both a number of well thought through ideas as well as facts about the locations he investigated.

The following chapter considers another concept which emerges from the three books discussed here in detail; that of 'sojourners or settlers'.

Chapter Five

Did they mean to stay? Sojourners or settlers

This chapter considers the second of the three themes in the trilogy of books by Price reviewed for this research, the theme sojourner or settler which is discussed at length by Price and commented on by many of those who cited his work in their writings. Price found it important to distinguish between these two types of incomers as there were differences in their impact on the original inhabitants of tropical places, as well as on the physical landscape.

The chapter first considers a variety of definitions of the terms 'sojourner' and 'settler' before moving on to outline how Price identified these groups; the impact he considered they had on white settlement in the tropics; and how well these ideas have held up in the 21st Century.

Definitions

There are a number of dictionary definitions of both sojourners and settlers which can be seen as the starting points for this discussion.

According to the authoritative *Oxford English Dictionary* to sojourn is 'to make a temporary stay in a place, to remain or reside for a time; hence a sojourner is one who sojourns; a temporary resident'. A settler however is 'one who or a thing which settles; one who settles in a new country; a colonist; one who settles in a place as a resident'. The entry for settle, which is first noted as being used in 1573, is; 'to cause to take up one's residence in a place, especially to establish a body of persons as residents in a town or country; to plant a colony'.

The online *Oxford Dictionary* continues with almost identical words. The noun form of sojourn is listed as a temporary stay: the verb, to stay somewhere temporarily, but unlike the standard dictionary 'sojourner' itself is also listed as a derivative of sojourn. The definition of settler is similarly slightly differently nuanced in this source: 'a person who settles in an area, typically one with no or few previous inhabitants'.

The online *Cambridge Dictionary* definitions are similar with the entry for sojourn reading 'a short period when a person stays in a particular place', with a much shorter and more pertinent definition for settler as: 'a person who arrives, especially from another country, in a new place and takes the land in order to live on it and farm it'. The final part of this definition is particularly relevant to Price's use of the words as his focus was not just on permanence but also on settler use of the land, either as plantation owners, pastoralists or agriculturalists. Similarly, the *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* defines sojourn as: 'to stay as a temporary resident' whereas a settler is 'one that settles'. Settle has a whole series of meanings most of which are related to permanence: 'to place so as to stay'; 'to establish in residence'; 'to furnish with inhabitants'; 'to establish or secure permanently'; 'to come to rest'; 'to become fixed, resolved, or established'; 'to establish a residence or colony'; 'to take up an ordered or stable life'.

From these various definitions it is clear that whichever way Price uses these words they are indicative of two very different processes. To be a sojourner is to stay temporarily in a country other than one's own. However there is no indication of how long a stay can last and still be called temporary, so perhaps the definition depends on the intent of the person rather than any duration of time. There is less flexibility in the use of the term settler. It is clearly a permanent movement of a population from one location to another, and further if the *Oxford Dictionary* definitions are used, in a location which has few native inhabitants and where colonial activities – farming and urban development – will result.

Price's sojourners and settlers

Throughout his three books Price makes consistent references to the various actions of sojourners and settlers and the impacts these two groups have on the countries they move to. Thus this theme emerges strongly over the whole period over which he is writing these books.

Early in the first book discussed here Price himself (1939 p. 3) defines successful settlement as:

permanent colonization, under which the incomers and their descendants follow all the usual routine of life, including manual labor, maintain their standards of health, energy, civilization, and culture, and raise families that do not exhibit mental or physical degeneracy.¹

Clearly he considers settlement to only be a success if those involved remain healthy in body and mind. Such settlers are distinctively different from those who go to the tropics temporarily with no intention to remain or make their homes and future homes for their descendants in the region. This latter group includes soldiers, missionaries, administrators, traders and so forth – the people Price classifies as sojourners, but does not clearly define in his first book *White Settlers in the Tropics*. In fact it is not until the third of the trilogy, *Western Invasions of the Pacific and its Continents* that he actually defines the term as he perceives it and this is in a specific section of this book entitled 'Sojourner colonisation' (Price 1963 pp. 45-50). This section is extremely important to his argument and is the culmination for his thesis on this topic. He explains sojourner colonisation as

...all those colonies, trading posts, and strategic points which are occupied by migrant peoples purely as sojourners – missionaries, traders, soldiers, plantation owners, and miners – temporary dwellers bent upon fulfilling religious or military duties or acquiring wealth before **returning to their homelands**. (emphasis added)

Equally bewildering to a reader following these distinct patterns of invasion which Price sees as so important, is the fact that while this is a fundamental theme throughout all three of the books no listing for 'sojourners' appears in any of the indexes, despite the term being used so frequently by the author. On this point there is no indication in the books, or in Price's State Library notes, if he compiled the indexes to his own books. This was probably not the case, but it is likely, given the thoroughness with which he researched and wrote, that he would have checked their content. Such an omission, when

¹ Price expressed his concerns regarding 'psychological disturbances' and 'tropical neurasthenia' in a number of places. Their importance to this thesis is discussed further in Chapter 6 with regard to scientific settlement.

the theme is so strong through all three books, does seem at odds with his systematic research approach. It also emphasises Price's closeness to the topic as he clearly did not see any reason to fully explain his meaning to his readers.

The sojourners

Price begins *White Settlers in the Tropics*, his first book about white settlement, with the question 'Why in general have the whites failed?' (1939 p. 3). He perceives failure as being the inability of 'the white races, particularly the northern races...to colonize the tropics'. While he agrees that others are researching this question and indeed coming up with some answers, it is first seen as essential to understand what settlement is. The reasons for this perceived failure cannot be separated from the aims of such incursions into the tropical region.

Price's overview of the early invasions into tropical regions focuses on colonisation, mainly by European nations, into the Americas, Asia and Africa. He considers the temporary nature of much of the settlement noting that some groups of Europeans were able to establish outposts for a number of years, but that they were eventually defeated by the climate and retreated to more habitable locations. For example although Price considers the Portuguese were particularly well suited to living in the tropics and even successfully colonised parts of Africa, initially 'they made no real progress and established no real settlements' (1939 p. 15), i.e. they were sojourners. Both the number of native people in the areas being colonised and the number of invaders are critical in whether an invasion eventually results in sojourners or settlers.

When the Portuguese were followed by other invading countries they were also initially unable to establish permanent settlement and thus became sojourners; 'Yet none of the nations established permanent communities...but relied...on various plantation systems operated by indigenous labor' (1939 p. 17). In a reflection of possible post-colonial developments, and awareness of what is occurring within Europe, Price also considers that European political power is weakening, particularly in the Far East, and 'sojourner-rulers must see the writing on the wall'.

Trade is strongly linked with the sojourners who become established in non-European centres. The impact of such establishments is long-term even if the individual sojourners do not settle permanently. Price frequently emphasises the fact that whether contact between the invaders is short, i.e. they are sojourners, or long, i.e. settlers, each impact has consequences for the local indigenous people, their environments and their lives.

Sojourners are by their nature temporary, but the causes of this short-term residence are linked by Price to the characteristics of many of the people who originally moved to the new countries. Price describes the sojourners as 'adventurers and persons of low character...anxious to make money rapidly by any legal or illegal means' (1939, p. 21). Even if some of the group were acceptable (to Price) their servants were not; they were from 'rebellions, kidnapping and indentures' thus he saw it was almost impossible for a seemingly honest and hardworking sojourner to become a permanent settler as they had no positive role models to follow. In fact Price is more than scathing about early attempts by the English at settlement in the West Indies, due in his opinion almost entirely to the lack of ability of such people to live successfully in the tropics and the links between this and the characteristics of those who went there.

As discussed in *White Settlers and Native Peoples*, the second of Price's main books considered here, the initial contact of Europeans with native peoples in North America, New Zealand and Australia was by sojourners. This was particularly the case in terms of the exploitation of resources; fishing and whaling were the most relevant. These activities would bring the protagonists into contact with new lands and new people. As most of those on board the ships were male there were frequent confrontations with indigenous people regarding women and these led in some cases to small numbers of white sailors becoming sojourners on land. Further contact was needed to obtain resources, including food and fresh water, but the seaman sojourners initially had little intention to permanently settle in the countries they fished near.

Subsequent contact by sojourners was initiated by other forms of trade. Commerce was frequently operated by early European companies who sent small groups of people to operate for them in the new colonies. Their relationships with the native people were

based almost totally on exploitation and although some became permanent residents and moved from sojourners to settlers their lives were fragile and poorly established without much needed support from the colonial power, usually in the form of military and administrative operations.

Many individual missionaries are also regarded by Price as sojourners rather than settlers. He acknowledges the temporary nature of their residency, particularly when the missions were established and run by Catholic Fathers. Although their intention may have been to establish permanent missions with regard to individual French missionaries in Canada, Price (1950 p. 65) identifies the fact that many of them suffered during their 'heroic labours' and martyrdom was not uncommon. The period of their residency may well be cut short by ill health, lack of local support or in their early and unforeseen demise.

By the time Price's final book of the trilogy *Western Invasions of the Pacific and its Continents* was published Price had begun to focus more on the different impacts of colonisation than on the definitions of settlement types. Nevertheless he continues to distinguish between intended permanent settlement and temporary settlement, i.e. sojourners. The reason for this is that many of the sojourners are seen to have travelled to new places as a result of their occupation or calling, not primarily to raise a family and settle in perpetuity. He repeats the points made earlier that the first of the sojourners could be regarded as the accidental fishermen, but these are followed by 'innumerable colonies or posts which have been founded purely for trade or strategic purposes' (1963 p. 44). These 'colonies' were not intended to lead to permanency but were exploitative by nature and provided the short-term residents with monetary gain and only incidentally long-term settlement.

Price continues his discussion with an analysis of what he describes as 'sojourner turnover'. Many changes take place within sojourner societies. The temporary residents spend their allotted time in the colony and then return to their home bases. The terms of their deployment may be fixed prior to their departure, as in the case of some military or administrative assignments; others are incidental in the period of time. Their tenure may

be decided by climatic restrictions, work on plantations, ecclesiastical directives or marine activities.

Sojourner settlement occurred not only in the tropical regions of the world but also in other regions. However it is in tropical regions that Price observes this phenomenon as being of most significance for his argument. The lack of permanency is frequently linked to the climatic limitations he observes that western people have in regard to more permanent settlement. His comments with regard to these factors are discussed further in the section of this thesis on scientific settlement, seen by Price as fundamental for successful long-term residence. However he identifies the most important factor causing sojourning colonisation rather than permanent settlement as being the 'number and strength of the indigenous inhabitants' (1963 p. 46). Price's examples of lack of permanent European settlement success include China and Japan where there were many indigenous people with well-established cultural and administrative systems. Consequently attempts at white settlement were restricted mainly to roles as traders and missionaries; primarily they were also males and few families ventured into long-term migration either as sojourners or settlers.

In addition to the established numbers of indigenous groups in areas of sojourner settlement Price develops the notion of the growth of these groups subsequent to contact with incomers. This numerical growth is linked with what he considers to be better food and health standards brought from westernised nations. Western sojourners, however, also brought with them all the negative impacts of the longer established settlers. Hence even if only visitors or temporary residents they established outposts of western disease, western importations of colonisation species, weeds, animal and other pests, and even when they left these unwanted imports remained.

Price's final major point about the characteristics of the sojourners was that they had major and ongoing cultural effects – what could now in 21st Century parlance be considered to be the early effects of globalisation. 'Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that the cultural effects...are likely to prove the most outstanding...of Western sojourner colonization...' (1963 p. 50).

The settlers

Price begins *White Settlers in the Tropics*, his first book about white settlement, with a reflection on what he refers to as 'The problem of white settlement in the tropics'. It is clear that he is perplexed by a seeming inability of European people, particularly those from northern climes, to be successful colonisers of tropical regions. This sense of puzzlement is accompanied by the assumption of an implicit 'right' of these people to become settlers. This perceived right underlies much of what Price writes in all three of his books used here, but it needs to be remembered that he was writing at a time when for many of his class and education there was an inherent 'right' to colonise and 'subdue' tropical regions and their people.

Price contends that many settlements failed. This failure was sometimes due to the way the incomers used and abused the land they conquered; to their miscegenation with indigenous people, or 'the poor quality of the workers and their inadequate number' (1939 p. 21). British failures in the West Indies are singled out as an example in this context. While settlement was the goal, failure resulted as local wars, poor administration and the inability of most of the intended settlers to adapt to life in the tropics ensured that they either left the region or did not survive. Price also notes that those who died were often the victims of poorly adapted diets and drinking too much alcohol, but traditional northern clime clothing and poor housing added to the lack of permanency and were significant elements in the failure of early settlements.

White Settlers and Native Peoples, the second of Price's main books, is a comparative study which describes and analyses the effect of white settlement, specifically of English speaking people on three main indigenous groups, those of North America, New Zealand and Australia. As the people he is writing about have generally been resident in these countries for many years they are clearly settlers and not sojourners. Critically the incoming residents have raised their families, instilled their cultures, including government and social systems, and permanently altered the lives of the original inhabitants in a wide variety of ways.

Price sees the movement from sojourners to settlers as coming with an increase in the numbers of colonists, generally better organised and maintained, and the subsequent effects on indigenous populations which resulted in reducing the numbers of these people through war, disease and loss of land and culture. All groups, he considers, follow a similar trajectory; initial impact and attempts to trade (i.e. sojourners), settlement and attempts to work with the local people, then as more settlers arrived increasing tension between the groups and violence towards native people. This violence led to cumulative tensions and difficulties and eventual destruction of traditional societies. At this stage Price acknowledges that despite colonial problems settlement had achieved its aims and white populations supplanted native peoples.

The time period within which sojourners are displaced by settlers is different for the various countries Price considers. In the Australian context initial sojourners were the convict miscreants, their guards and administrators. While numbers of these stayed in the country and became settlers this was not the case for all. Price also introduces another term when discussing Australian settlement. The use of the word 'squatter' is specific to rural settlers in Australia (Price 1950 p. 105). Chronologically squatters followed sojourners, military and government personnel, but they moved into country regions which were not occupied by the convicts and their keepers sent to Australia by the colonial power. Price also acknowledges that settlers 'began to come as early as 1793' and numbers of free born and free settlers increased far more quickly than the number of prisoners.

With regard to missionaries, settlement and permanency came about only for a few individuals although particular denominations within Christianity established long-term outposts of both religious and medical importance. As a consequence while the French Catholic clergy had a long-term impact on French Canada, initially the missionaries were not native born. As settlement increased and Catholicism grew stronger, later missionaries and clergy were the sons of the settlers, rather than imported sojourners.

The evolution of permanent settlement rather than sojourners is marked by more than simply the colonisation of each individual country. As Price sees it there is a greater impact when the colonial power seeks to annex land and culture and to impose on each country the colonial footprint. It is a permanency marked by transference of power in the form of first a Governor or similar status man, and then eventually a degree of self-determination for the colony. This self-determination may be freely given or, in the case of the United States, the result of rebellion against the colonial power.² At this stage in settlement the invading nation or nations dominate the native inhabitants and a new set of rules and constraints come into full force.

In his conclusion to the second book (*White Settlers and Native People*) Price (1950) focuses on the similarities of the patterns he has described as white settlers invaded the countries discussed. It is his reflection on the success or otherwise of each colonial power and the consequences to the native people. In most cases while he regrets the negative impacts of settlement he can also see some positive aspects for each group. The reasons for this are discussed further in Chapter 6 which focusses on the third theme in his books – scientific settlement. Price assesses how each group with which white settlers made contact was affected by this interaction, not only in physical terms but also with regard to cultural and traditional futures. He notes with deep regret that some groups of native people were destroyed and that their destruction occurred particularly quickly: ‘The rapidity of deterioration probably varied with the degree of cultural development which the native had achieved’ (1950 p. 193). Here it is clear that Price had a very limited understanding of traditional Australian Aboriginal culture, for example, assuming and overstating its backwardness compared with other native cultures.

Further for some people the biggest impact was not from settlers but sojourners – the missions ‘as these well-meaning but often destructive pioneers of white culture broke down the native systems too rapidly and without adequate replacement’ (1950 p. 194). This could be followed by an intense reorganisation of culture in which cults of despair

² The United States is the only case Price cites of rebellion against colonial power actually achieving independence. He does not look at the broader post Second World War anti-colonial movements; they are outside the scope of his publications.

evolved leading to indigenous quasi-Christian practices which replaced both traditional society and Christianity, as white settlement grew stronger.

It is clear that settlement has far overtaken sojourning throughout the regions discussed in *White Settlers and Native Peoples*. White populations in general far outnumber the native people of each country, but the quandary Price leaves the reader with at the end of this publication is his concern with the morality and logistics of assimilation of native people into settler groups.

Although comparatively few in numbers the native peoples are scattered over vast territories. They are still of great value to important industries...and they present grave problems as islands of ill-health, under nourishment and social inferiority, or as in part responsible for such evils as American soil erosion...whether the future policy should be to hasten the absorption of the remnants, or to foster their continuance and increase as minority groups it is the duty of the English-speaking Governments and peoples to deal humanely, generously and scientifically with the descendants and heirs of the dispossessed. (1950 pp. 202, 203)

Price focusses much of his discussion on how some sojourners become settlers and also how other sojourners leave their mark in their country of sojourn as a result of relationships with the local indigenous people. Though his emphasis is on definition and discussion of the differences between sojourners and settlers, he becomes involved in the debate about white and non-white relationships and the results of these. In other places Price has expounded at length on the results of miscegenation, seen (by him) in the main as negative and leading to poor results for both groups of people involved. He takes as his case study here that of India (1963 pp. 45-46) which was exposed to many years of British invasion by sojourners, particularly military and administrative incomers. While this section is allegedly about sojourner colonisation, Price actually becomes diverted into a discussion on the number of non-white and mixed race people within various countries. He is particularly concerned about the fate of the Eurasian who is the result of these incursions by white sojourners into Asian regions. Unlike in the two earlier books Price is able to reflect on the effect of this colonisation in the post-colonial era. He notes the

research of Paul Van der Veur who considered what has happened to many Indonesian Eurasians following the withdrawal of the Dutch post World War Two.

In contrast Price describes settler colonisation as tending to be in climatic regions more suitable for western adaptation and 'in areas not already thronged by indigenous folk' (1963 p. 50). His section on 'Settler colonization' identifies a number of different characteristics he considers to separate sojourners from settlers. For example he contends that settler colonialism is strongly associated with climates which could be successfully inhabited by northern colonists. 'In such regions the exotic could settle permanently, bring out a European wife, and rear a white family which succeeded him in the task of developing the new habitat' (p. 50). It is this difference – being accompanied by a wife and with long-term aspirations for the future that differentiates the settler from the sojourner.

There are of course many shared characteristics of settlers and sojourners, with each having similar effects on the native people. Whenever white invaders arrive they bring with them the negative impacts identified above – diseases, weeds and invasive animals. Price notes that their technological equipment was of importance in the conquering of native peoples, but those with a longer outlook for settlement were also more likely to bring in other native peoples. Hence while sojourners might bring in 'Negro slaves' to act as workers on plantations or other agricultural activities, far greater numbers came with settlers and there was a broader mix of ethnicity introduced. Permanency also led to increasing intermixing of workers with the native peoples of the various countries discussed by Price. The effects of this are seen particularly in the Americas as this area 'became the outstanding racial mix or melting-pots of recent times' (1963 p. 51).

As noted in the sections on invasion and scientific settlement Price links settler incursions with frontiers and movement; these occur with permanence on the part of the colonists; exploration led to settlement which led to spread and growth. As the Europeans moved into new areas and brought with them new ideas, a minor degree of adoption of indigenous technology took place. In general terms though there was significantly greater destruction of local culture and technologies, and little appreciation of what was already

in place when the settlers arrived. This had long-term and only recently acknowledged impacts on the original inhabitants.

Certainly many of the aspects of settlement Price considered as positive are now seen to have had negative and demoralising impacts which have been discussed by many others and are not explored further here, but nevertheless must be acknowledged as being of great importance in the lives of indigenous populations worldwide. It is unlikely that Price understood the full impact of either sojourners or settlers when he was writing. It is also important to note that by the time he was writing this third book of the trilogy he was still basing many of his assumptions on research undertaken twenty years earlier. Although he did make further forays into the field they were not as rigorous as his initial trip under the Rockefeller scheme and he does state 'any conclusions must be regarded as tentative, and as bases for future research' (1963 p. v).

It is clear that in searching for the differences between sojourners and settlers Price is building on his observations as recorded in all these books and discussed in his personal papers. There are a number of references to the characteristics which he sees as being critical in this analysis within his correspondence, and these are discussed further below in the assessment of the impact of Price's ideas on future authors.

Who were the followers? The impact of these ideas

During the time Price was writing the first book of his trilogy, there was considerable discussion worldwide about the importance of white settlement in tropical regions. As a consequence of world events following the First World War, the subsequent Great Depression and ongoing tensions in European countries with their colonies, many researchers were discussing the spread of permanent settlement into areas of the world in which white settlement had been minimal. Such settlement had been taking place for a number of years within the colonial framework but the final phase of traditional European colonialism was imminent.

Price's analysis of this process identified that he believed there had been a distinctive trajectory of settlement and as discussed above he identified what he saw as two

distinguishing forms of colonisation: the sojourner and the settler. The authors reviewed below are just some of the few who entered this discussion; there are both adopters and critics of Price's approach, and researchers who either agree and disagree with particular points Price makes. In part the impact of his work, and the legacy from that work, can be judged by the number who cited it in their own work, and the length of time over which he has been cited. Discussion of how later authors have used Price's work to support their argument, or to argue against his approach, is therefore important to an assessment of his influence

White Settlers in the Tropics was published in the opening year of the Second World War, but prior to the official entry of the United States into the conflict. Its ideas on settlers are picked up early by a number of authors who are looking past the end of the fighting to the future settlement of the victors, or of refugees from fighting.³

An early adopter of Price's ideas and a link with Price's later political career was W. D. Forsyth. Writing in 1942 in his book *The Myth of Open Spaces*, Forsyth⁴ cites Price as an expert on settlement of white people in tropical regions. He agrees with Price that there may be prospects for white sojourners to employ coloured labour in Northern Queensland, an argument which Price pursued in many of his early writings on this topic. It is also clear from the timing of this publication that Price was situating his research in the prevailing worldwide anxiety associated with the international conflict, and the knowledge that there would be many displaced individuals who would need to be offered a place to live in the future. Forsyth's role was to bring this work to the attention of the incumbent government in Australia.

The permanency of white settlement in tropical regions is seen as problematic by later authors who used Price's analysis as evidence. While not all use the term 'sojourner' they adopt the mantra of the inability of white people to adapt quickly to tropical environments as being an indication of their unsuitability for these environments. This is

³ The material used here was all published in English and this discussion does not consider any work undertaken in other languages so it is not known if Price's hypothesis was discussed by non-English speaking authors.

⁴ Curtin (Australian Prime Minister 1941-1945) created the Inter-Departmental Committee (IDC) on Post-War Migration. W. D. Forsyth, an economist from the University of Melbourne was seconded to this committee and his book was written as a result of this work (Zubrzycki 1995).

discussed further in the section on scientific settlement (in this thesis) with regard to the ability of science to change environments.

W. E. Moore (1944) from the Office of Population Research at Princeton University offers some interesting perspectives on Price's approach to the analysis of sojourners and settlers. Writing about the economic limits of settlement in the *American Sociological Review* he considered that Price had written the most comprehensive survey of available evidence on permanent white settlement then available. His major criticism of Price however was related to the fact that he believed that Price had not fully considered what white settlement actually meant and, more importantly from Moore's perspective at least, the fact that white culture was clearly superior. In fact he criticises Price as being somewhat limited in his approach to both white and non-white settlement.

The most comprehensive survey of the evidence [*White Settlers in the Tropics*] is marred by the author's almost total failure to distinguish the aspects of 'white' settlements that are relevant to the problem. Had he done so, it would certainly have appeared that the presumed success of colored peoples in the tropics is grossly overrated if judged by 'white' standards of consumption, health, longevity, and the like.

Moore's paper is concerned with planned migration and its links with development of 'the many remaining areas of the world that await transition to a modern economy' (1944 p. 274). Writing mainly from an economist's viewpoint he finishes his overview by acknowledging that some non-economic factors are important in settlement; thus climatic suitability is relevant. The final part of Moore's paper indicates as much of the author's US/Eurocentric bias as it does of Price's approach, but Moore was also writing from a particular standpoint at a complex and difficult time when European resettlement was looming following the destructive consequences of the Second World War.

A later author, Edward C. Lydon (1975) examined Chinese settlement in Hawaii, looking particularly at the anti-Chinese movements which spread across the islands during the latter part of the 19th Century. He cites Price as one of his secondary sources particularly with regard to Chinese establishment in Hawaii as sojourners. In addition he links this to

an analysis by Barth (1964) who studied the general movements and settlement patterns of the Chinese in many regions of the world. Barth, who became Professor of History at The University of California Berkeley, also cites Price's work. The language used by both of these authors clearly shows their familiarity with Price's books and his research in this area and their high regard for the work he had done.

D. G. Baker (1983) makes a number of references to Price's writing. The distinction between settlers and sojourners is implicit in much of what he writes. Baker is complimentary in noting the value of Price's work in comparing different locations. He admires the clarity of the emphasis on permanent change being introduced by white settlers or sojourners, even if contact is short due to the temporary nature of the incomers' activities. Baker also identifies the increase in negative impacts and the effect of colonisation on culture and sees Price's analysis as giving a new insight into the brutality of early settlers and the subsequent loss of local culture.

The concept of sojourners or settlers continues to be developed in the work of later authors who consider these differences to be relevant to their own writings. Such authors include noted historian Paul Kennedy who in 1987 referred to Price in the introduction to his book *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*. Kennedy developed further arguments on the themes of the problems associated with white sojourners. Sluyter (2001, 2002) makes much use of Price's work especially with regard to the numbers of indigenous people who were affected by the impact of both settlers and sojourners. He also considers the importance of climatic conditions in settlement, returning to the themes of permanency being more strongly linked to regions of moderate or temperate climatic conditions and less likely in tropical regions unless adaptations of conditions were possible.

In a paper published in 1998 concerning the interaction between settlers and native peoples in four different countries, Alison Palmer makes the point that in Price's opinion serious conflict arose when it was seen that sojourners were no longer temporary, but had become permanent settlers. Her specific discussion concerns the role of the state in native genocide, but her links to Price's work are related to 'the minority-majority

questions'. 'Genocide' is seen as a function of either the state institutions or societal led, and she cites Price's comments regarding the period of time at which 'European settlers became a numerical majority'. This observation adapts Price's contentions on the various sojourner and settler dichotomies to see the relationship as numerical, not time related.

A recent historical overview of important material written regarding settlement in the tropics (Hoxie 2008) contains a synopsis of Price's work in a summary of a number of contributors to the argument. While Hoxie, a history professor who specialises in (American) Indian Studies, focussed on white settlement in the United States, and the colonisation of 'Indian' country, he made considerable use of Price and his use of the term 'settler colonisation'. Hoxie examines the way Price analysed the different effects of sojourner and settlement processes and identifies his writings as critical in later understanding of these effects. He does however note 'The Australian geographer belonged to a generation that endorsed this colonial process...but those who followed him have viewed the linkages between the settler process and the violent and tragic displacement of Native peoples differently...' (p. 1158). Hoxie's view highlights the fact that Price's work is of importance but also very much of the time in which he was writing. It does not reflect most current attitudes towards European settlement.

One of the most recent uses of Price's work in this regard was found in Reeves, Frost and Fahey (2010) contribution to the literature on historical settlement patterns in nineteenth century Australian gold rushes. Their discussion concerning the historiography of the mining pattern draws on Price to categorise those taking part as either sojourners or settlers. It is clear from the way Price used these terms in his books that in the main miners would be sojourners as they exploited available resources for temporary gain. However in the case of the gold miners in some parts of Australia some sojourners became settlers, whilst for many others their sojourn was indeed of a very transient nature. This was particularly so where the gold fields turned out to be lacking in early promise or the individual miners were unlucky in their exploits and returned to their former settlements or indeed were forced to become sojourners in other locations.

In 2012 Russell McGregor published an overview of the history and impact of Australia's White Australia policy. He draws on a wide range of sources but acknowledges Price as 'the prominent Adelaide geographer' (p. 337) who wrote widely on settlement and its effects on individuals in the northern regions of Australia. Even more recently Veracini (2013 p. 313) explores 'the historiographical evolution of "settler colonisation"'. He comments on Price's 'systematic and comparative analysis of the worldwide experiences of white settlers'. Veracini goes on to identify the importance of distinguishing between sojourners and settlers. He notes:

Price was aware of the crucial need to distinguish between colonial and settler colonial forms...settlement was permanent colonization...Permanent should be here understood in its contextual ambiguity...the very definition of settler is premised on an intention to stay that is contrasted to the intention to return of colonial sojourners and adventurers... (p. 315)

Veracini's discussion of the different settlement concepts as used by Price goes further by linking Price with an earlier essay published by Isiah Bowman. He contends that Bowman and Price were 'thus detecting an epochal transition, and perceived that environmental, demographic, geographical and structural limits [to settlement] had been finally encountered'. This very interesting paper entwines the story of settlement in colonial times together with ideas on its analysis in three separate phases and is the most recent paper to be found that makes such use of Price's initial ideas.

This identification of some of the people who cited Price's concepts regarding sojourning and settlement is indicative of the ongoing interest shown in the process of colonisation and its aftermath. The literature on the topic is vast.

Conclusion

It is evident that the themes 'sojourn' and 'settle' are dominant in all three of Price's books. It is also clear that he did not invent these terms but used them to illustrate the particular methods of settlement, or colonisation he was discussing. The distinctions assisted Price in his descriptions of why some groups of colonisers were more successful

than others. He also contended that both groups were important in the impact that they had on the settled nations, and these impacts were not wholly dependent on length of contact time, nor on the numbers of people making contact.

A diverse group of authors have cited Price and his ideas on sojourning and settling. Some are historians, others sociologists or demographers. It is clear from this that his work was and still is being read more widely than merely by geographers. His work in this area also had a political influence, as it was used for a short while by policy makers in Australia and overseas. As a measure of his impact this is important. It confirms that Price has been widely read by others. Equally it adds to the argument that he could be seen as a leader, if not an instigator, of particular philosophies which had relevance at the time he was writing. Additionally, as the evidence presented shows people still see Price's ideas as very helpful, as he developed and expanded on the distinction between sojourner and settler, advancing this to a new level. Recent academic use of Price's ideas confirm his current importance in this area.

The following chapter completes the investigation into particular themes discussed by Price in this trilogy of books; that of scientific settlement and its relevance to the perceived success of numerous white settlers.

Chapter Six

Scientific advancement: if you are going to stay, science is the key

The previous two chapters have dealt with specific themes which emerge from Price's approach to his analysis of white settlement in formerly non-white areas of the world. The discussion in both chapters also acknowledges the time in which Price was writing and the attitudes of colonial powers towards their impacts on the various colonies considered.

In each of the trilogy of books investigated here Price discusses the characteristics he identified as leading to successful settlement by white people, either in tropical or temperate regions of the world. As outlined previously the settlers may be short-term sojourners or permanent settlers. Both these categories of people invaded the new lands and brought with them a range of impacts which could be identified as positive for some and negative for others, depending on the strength of the impact or the recipient of that impact. In all three books there is however a fundamental movement seen by Price as being essential to 'successful' invasion and permanent settlement; the use of scientific advancement. The three books focus on different aspects of white settlement. In particular the second of the trilogy *White Settlers and Native Peoples* is a comparison of various settlement patterns and within this book the role of science is dealt with differently from the other two books.

This chapter begins with a brief overview of the perceived 'scientific methodology' and then goes on to identify what Price regarded as 'scientific' and how he classified this. Examples from the three books are used to illustrate his argument. The final section of the chapter analyses the use of this concept by other authors and their specific comments on Price and the value of his work.

Definitions

Johnston (1983) is one of a number of authors to identify the various approaches taken by geographers towards their discipline. In his influential work he describes how the discipline of geography evolved and then promoted a number of different approaches to the subject. While Johnston does not cite Price it is germane to consider how Price would have fitted Johnston's chronology and where his work would be positioned. The emergence of the ideas associated with the scientific approach are reflected in Price's analysis of scientific settlement. Johnston focuses his discussion on the methods of research, identifying the seminal work of McCarty et al. (1956), Ackerman (1945) and Gregory (1978). While these authors were mainly concerned with the application of scientific methods to research and the state of the discipline of geography within that paradigm, Price was already concerned with the role of scientific advancement in settlement itself. Nevertheless the adoption of analysis and its links to development are strong in what Price writes and understanding settlement through the lens of science was clearly close to his theory of settlement.

Johnston's discussion focuses on how researchers evolved their research methods, and changed the way they undertook the collection and analysis of their data. The scientific revolution involved the collection and replication of data by observation, experimentation and analysis. Hypothesis testing enabled translation of the 'speculative law into an accepted one' (1983 p. 71) with theory being revised and adapted if the first hypothesis was unproven or unsatisfactory. The role of the hypothesis is important in creating a new 'law' which can then be applied to other situations. Scientific settlement as discussed by Price fits this model, moving from hypothesis to enabling mechanisms which allowed settlement to be successful. Each new system could be replicated and if need be adapted, to enable more successful settlement.

Price specifically discussed scientific settlement referring to such advances as improvements in transport, medicine and sanitation (1939 p. 33). He fails to actually define his understanding of 'scientific', and chooses to focus on particular elements of 'science' that he perceives to be of the greatest relevance to his argument. Scientific

discovery 'began to bring revolutionary assistance to white sojourners and settlers' (p. 33), however what is this scientific growth and why is it of such importance?

Unlike definitions of 'invasion', 'frontier', 'sojourners' and 'settlers' it is not possible to concisely or elegantly define 'scientific settlement', 'scientific discovery' (in the context used here), or 'scientific invasions'. Rather it is necessary to use these phrases in particular situations and specific applications. Price tends to associate them with a time of settlement and this is explored further with the use described in each of the books. It is therefore significant in all of his writing.

As Johnston (1983) has outlined geographic thought and method were changing at the time Price was writing, but simultaneously there were major advances in science. In part it is these changes that Price discusses. While he would have been aware of the worldwide advances he only looks at them in the light of how they enabled or advanced settlement. It is particularly the way advances in science led to permanency which was of greatest interest to his analysis. Sojourners were followed by intending settlers, but permanent settlement needed a further step forward and was made possible by scientific settlement. The advances in scientific practice and the use of science in its broadest sense in everyday life are the basic elements of this.

Price does not restrict his understanding of science to 'laboratory' science but extends this to the role of education, religion, law and land rights, among other advances in the social sciences.

Price's scientific settlements

In all three of the books discussed here Price incorporates the concept of scientific settlement. The following discussion identifies how he uses these ideas within each of the books. Why is it that scientific settlement, however it is described, is more successful for the settlers? Are there issues with applying such science, and which particular aspects of science are of most value to the settlers? The use of the concept in each book is identified and discussed in the chronological order of book publication which gives an indication of whether Price's attitudes towards science changed over time and if they did change did

they grow or lessen in importance. As science, and scientific endeavour were evolving, and had made major leaps forward during the Second World War, how he considered the relevance of science in settlement should also have changed.

White Settlers in the Tropics

The scientific approach to geographic writing was in its early stages when Price published *White Settlers in the Tropics* in 1939, but he was conscious of the approach and the application of science to successful European settlement.

Price's initial tactic of separating the less successful invasions and settlers from what he perceives as the later successes comes in the fourth chapter of *White Settlers in the Tropics* where the last part of the first section of this book is entitled 'Scientific invasions of the tropics'. It is salient to note that Price avoids giving a date for the transition from non-scientific to scientific settlement, focussing instead on the characteristics that made the invasions scientific in their approach. The degree of science used by each invasion and settlement is different according to which group was invading and what their purpose was. In this book Price particularly deliberates on what he calls 'two prominent aspects of the scientific advance: the developments in transport and in medical and sanitary science' (1939 p. 33).

Scientific advance is fundamental in allowing long-term permanent settlement. It does this in a number of ways. First it may enable potential colonists to move more safely and healthily across greater distances. The adoption of quasi scientific innovations by early settlers is referred to by Price a number of times. For example the use of a compass, lateen sail, and even canoe are acknowledgment of indigenous scientific developments. But the tangible scientific invasions which led to successful long-term establishment by colonial powers are driven by the evolution of western science. Thus Price identifies the 'progress of transport' (1939 p. 33) as being vital. Efficient and regular transport, via steamships, railways and early planes not only brought the comforts of their homelands to the settlers but also facilitated the temporary movement of people 'to recuperate in the comparatively cool tropical highlands' (p. 33) in order that they could live permanently in the new tropical colonies.

Price describes how important the advances in railway transport were to settlers in many tropical regions. Further when plane travel was introduced he saw this as an additional step in scientific transport and one which was absolutely essential for the success of individuals. Not only could people travel around more freely but products of the lands could be exported expeditiously, hence each new settlement was assisted to become economically viable as well as residentially acceptable. Price then links advances in transport with the advance in medical knowledge and access to medical services. He takes as an example the ability of modern Australians to be airlifted by air ambulance, even in the late 1930s. Another valuable characteristic for Price's scientific settlement requires the techniques and efficiency of scientific communication, telephones, cables, and other modern technical resources.

The second major scientific advancement examined here by Price and given credence for successful settlement is the relevant advances which occurred in medicine and sanitation at the time he is writing. The early to mid-20th Century saw many major advances in these areas and better understanding of the vectors which spread disease and their links to particular environments. Price (1939 p. 34) describes the prevalence of many diseases which abounded in tropical regions and which were a constant threat to all settlers. In particular he is concerned with parasitic diseases, and the growing knowledge of the spread of disease – the evolving geography of diseases. In addition to infectious diseases and those spread by other vectors Price acknowledges that 'certain diseases reflect the incidence of the social and economic, as well as of the geographical environment' (p. 15). It was not possible for successful settlement to occur until the European colonists had either come to terms with how these diseases spread, or found ways of diminishing their effect.

Price spends some time in this publication outlining the history of scientific advance against diseases of all types. He cites many authorities who have investigated how diseases occur, how they spread and how they developed with increasing numbers of people in closer settled areas. He also pays tribute to the role of the Rockefeller Foundation; his sponsors in much of the travel and research undertaken for this book. The Foundation is awarded primary responsibility for attacking and overcoming the spread of

yellow fever (1939 p. 35) throughout Central America and into South America, which Price visited. Price also strongly links these medical advances, and subsequent scientific settlement, to the successful completion of the Panama Canal by the Americans (p. 148-149).

Despite the strong recommendation for the increase of medical science in successful settlement Price is however guarded in what he considers science can ultimately achieve. He is critical of researchers who consider that 'Anglo-Saxons could live as healthy lives in the tropics as in the temperate zone' considering that these people are exaggerating the success which has been achieved. He is even prepared to forecast two to three hundred years into the future, doubting that white settlement in the tropics could ever create 'the chief centres of [European] population, culture and wealth' (1939 p. 36). These doubts run against the opinions of former US Surgeon General and tropical disease specialist General Gorgas in Panama and authority on tropical medicine Sir Raphael Cilento in Queensland. The State Library Archives show that Price had frequent correspondence concerning Cilento's projections regarding permanent white settlement in tropical Queensland and he clearly used this work in writing about this aspect of scientific settlement.

Despite his faith in science and its ability to alleviate many of the problems earlier sojourners and attempting settlers had faced, Price is conservative in what he believes scientific settlement can achieve. He identifies what he describes as 'three great obstacles: disease, climate, and the colored races' (1939 p. 37) which will continue to challenge permanent settlers in tropical regions. It is clear that Price considers there are many negative effects of climate on white settlement and he sees some of these as unsurmountable. Climate, specifically heat and humidity cannot be mitigated, and instead he cites Cilento's observation that rather than people changing the climate, the people themselves are changing physiologically to fit the climate. At this point he does not identify how people are evolving to fit their new environment, but he does consider this in other places, including a lecture to the Natural History Society of Panama in 1933, discussed later in this chapter.

Price's approach to the increasing numbers of 'coloured' people in tropical regions, as a result of the scientific advances of the white settlers, is not investigated in great depth in this thesis. As discussed previously it is beyond the scope of this work. However it is salient to note that he becomes increasingly concerned that the non-white people will outnumber the white people, to the detriment of everyone. Partly this is because he considers non-white people to be more likely to carry disease but he is simultaneously relentlessly concerned about the fate of coloured races, in particular Australian Aboriginals. His comments on this topic are complex and show a dichotomous attitude towards all non-white people. Price is overly concerned about the effect of large numbers of coloured people living in areas in which white people are settling. He sees this as a matter of control, and as a consequence of this anxiety he is doubtful of the efficacy of scientific settlement; it is a necessary characteristic in the settlement of tropical regions, but the benefits it brings have negative effects on the ability of European settlers. Hence he concludes this discussion on scientific settlement with the comment 'Apart from all questions of climate, health, and soil, racial and economic problems in the Pacific make the future of the white man in the Australian tropics far from certain' (1939 p. 38).

Links between advancing science and settlement are strong throughout the sections of this book which discuss failures and successes of permanent settlers. Science is perceived by Price to include the advances made in farming techniques. Hence he considers how the artificial fertilizers developed by scientists have enabled successful farming of cotton and tobacco in the southern states of the United States, particularly Florida (1939 p. 49). With regard to northern Queensland he takes the example of the location of townships as requiring a scientific approach. Such an approach would ensure that tropical climates were fully taken into account by planners in order that potential settlers would benefit from sea breezes and other moderating characteristics of the regions. Instead he claims the planners of Australian towns have failed to learn the lessons of examples such as Panama:

Towns such as Cairns and Townsville...are low-lying and largely shut off from the prevalent winds. Hills, which could provide accessible, cool, and airy suburbs, are

partly or wholly neglected, and the demands of the tropics are largely overlooked...
(1939 p. 68)

Despite this observation Price also comments on the success of these poorly planned cities and notes, somewhat sarcastically, 'if the Australian has done so well by unscientific slapdash methods, he will do far better when he adopts scientific plans' (p. 68).

Another necessary aspect of successful scientific settlement is linked with developing housing specifically suitable for the environment. Again Price draws comparisons between development in Panama, Florida and Queensland. Successful scientific settlement demands that housing fit the climate, but this is unfulfilled in many areas. He draws links between the poor planning of many homes built in the tropics and the subsequent poor mental health noted among many of the early settlers who failed to adopt scientific principles, particularly the women. He cites Sir Raphael Cilento's allegation: 'The woman who does hard physical labor such as scrubbing offices, remains healthy in the Australian tropics. The sedentary worker like the typist, deteriorates, and the woman who does nothing becomes sick' (1939 p. 62). In a section on British Australian settlers Price suggests that while most 'manual workers...retain their vigour' the same cannot be said for their wives. 'Most doctors are, however, less satisfied with women than the men. They consider that women age rapidly, lose vitality and in the drier areas suffer from dehydration of the tissues' This alleged deficiency is picked up by other commentators and Price's findings are cited as very relevant to overall success by a number of future authors as identified below.

White Settlers and Native Peoples

The essential use of science in successful settlement is implicit in much of the description of the way European settlers developed their permanency, described by Price in his comparison of settlement in North America, Australia and New Zealand in *White Settlers and Native Peoples* (1950). Science in this book is a much broader concept than he has discussed in his 1939 volume. Here it is not just linked to the success of white settlement but also to the destruction and then growth in the numbers of native residents. Similarly it is not limited to the science of Johnston's scientific approach outlined above, nor the

science of the advances in agriculture or technology. The approach in *White Settlers and Native Peoples* is instead to consider how European settlement changed the lives of the original inhabitants of each country. Therefore the science encompasses many aspects of social science, including the reorganising of social networks through introduction of new administrative procedures, new laws and of course new religions. While many of these activities would now be classed as professions their genesis is within the gamut of social sciences and thus discussion of their roles in settlement are included here.

Each of these scientific and social science traits impacted on the settler and the settled in a wide variety of ways. There were similarities for the native people of each country discussed, but there were also differences. In writing this book Price adopts a country by country approach to describe the settlement process and the way it affected each of the groups of native people. He is meticulous in his analysis and use of examples, illustrating his own scientific approach. The analysis which follows here mirrors the structure of the book making similar comparisons where applicable, but attempting to avoid the repetition of events that are sometimes apparent in the original volume.

The book begins with a discussion of white settlement in North America, first looking at what is now the United States. Price cites the establishment of a range of communication systems across the North American continent as enabling white settlers to extend their original trading areas, where they had been sojourners, to permanent States and Territories (1950 p. 16). The particular science involved in this settlement was the building of roads, canals and use of river steamers which he suggests 'were penetrating the Indian country...'. Throughout the early 19th Century scientific advance also allowed mining to expand into hitherto unexplored regions and permanent settlement frequently resulted.

The introduction of European 'science' in the form of firearms and various metal tools was significant in the way that invasion and settlement could succeed and native people's lives were changed. Using both the United States and Canada as examples Price shows how European settlers were able to increase their exploitation of resources – in particular marine species, whales, fish and seals. Importantly however indigenous people also were seen to have benefitted in some ways from these introductions. While their traditional

fishing and sealing activities were reduced and access to their cultural foundations threatened, they found work in new scientifically-based occupations including more modern fishing and its linked employment such as canneries – a scientific advance that enabled a new approach to harvesting of resources. At the time Price was writing there was little understanding of the negative effects of the over harvesting of these resources that scientific settlement was to cause.

Price also comments on the abysmal use of one aspect of the European settler's scientific advance over the non-white native peoples when he quotes how 'In California the whites killed the Indians...Kingsley had to use his 38 calibre revolver to shoot children as his "56 calibre rifle tore them up so bad"'.¹ It is clear that such scientific superiority enabled horrendous acts of brutality against the aboriginal population of the region, with Price describing the many acts of violence as 'a ghastly picture...miners...lumbermen, farmers and cattlemen, who were contemptuous of the peaceful Indians' (1950 p. 17). Price is more than scornful of the way science was used against these people, and many examples of devastating actions are cited by him to show his concern at the events that occurred. These incidents also reflect the points made earlier in Curthoys and Docker (2006) on the morality and complexity on reporting truth in history.

Price moves from scientific exploration and scientific settlement – to what could be termed social science applications – in particular administrative and reform programs which allowed the indigenous people of the United States and Canada to have an increased role within their countries. This scientific approach was exemplified by the introduction of the reservation system and ensuring that indigenous children were given health and education services and, as their populations increased, were (theoretically) protected from exploitation by settlers and others. The approaches were different in the United States and Canada and Price fully explores these in his comparison. Further he contrasts the implications of the development of land rights (mainly on reservations) and

¹ This is an original quote taken from W. C. Macleod, 1928 *The American Indian Frontier*, London. Price uses this book frequently in this context to establish the number of Native Americans in pre-Colombian times, and to identify the way their lives were affected with European contact. In this particular occurrence it was part of a discussion on the conflicts known as the Indian wars. European participants included miners, economic settlers, politicians and 'even Methodist clergy'.

the different types of constitutional rights given to native people by the various rulers of different sections of North America. The application of laws which ensured some native people had new roles in farming and other non-traditional occupations, as well as particular rights within society, can be contrasted according to whether the authority was local, as in the case of the United States after independence, or imperial as in the case of Canada.

The other 'science' discussed at length by Price in this book is religion. He identifies the role of the various missions and how their actions affected both local people and settlers. It can be seen immediately that this approach to settlement began with sojourners, (as identified in Chapter 5 of this thesis) and then moved on to settlement of a more permanent nature. The Christian missions were fundamental in introducing a new culture (social science) and also in some cases an education system which totally changed traditional learning and lore. While not all missions were long-term or could be deemed a success, even those of short duration brought immeasurable change. They cleared the way for numerous new settlements, many of which were based on particular religious groups who were looking for 'new' land on which to settle. Price cites the role of the Mormons who 'made their heroic trek and proved Utah was suitable for white settlement' (1950 p. 16) and subsequently when indigenous groups evolved their own 'Messiah Religions' (p. 37), these were influenced by the fundamental convictions which had developed their own place in North American society.

The religious influence on settlement was important in all the countries discussed in this book. Each religion had a different approach to settlement and therefore settlers. The science of each religion (almost entirely various different Christian sects) strongly affected the people they settled amongst. Price cites examples of religious impact and the ability of native people to adopt and adapt specific aspects of these religions.

The role of law and cultural change led to formalised rights for many native people and also for the settlers. Settlers were able to become fully and successfully established as a result of the actions taken by colonial powers, bringing western law, rights and limitations

to the organisation of settlement, and with the use of a new economic system changing early trade and missions into permanent inhabitation (as described in Chapter 4).

The state of medical science and its role in scientific settlement is clearly different for each of the countries discussed in this book as each was settled by European invaders at a different stage of western development and therefore medical knowledge. Initially Price focuses on disease and sanitation, but medical science is more than this. He notes the use of enforced vaccination against smallpox which was instigated for native people, but also notes that the disease had initially been introduced by the settlers. In some regrettable instances smallpox was actually spread through native society when blankets from deceased infected Indians² were passed on intentionally by the settlers to other Indians. The earliest European settlements took place when medical knowledge in Europe was barely capable of dealing with basic illnesses and the roles of sanitation, germs and the spread of disease were little understood. Later invaders had more medical knowledge, though unfortunately they often disregarded local knowledge against known diseases and thus did not benefit from traditional medical knowledge.

Overall the importance of science and its increasing role in the ability of Europeans to evolve from sojourners to permanent settlers is fundamental to Price's argument throughout this book. He takes a broad view of science here and incorporates the methods of scientific understanding to the actual settlement process.

Western Invasions of the Pacific and its Continents

As discussed in the previous two chapters Price's focus in the third book of his trilogy *Western Invasions of the Pacific and its Continents* is the moving frontiers and changing landscapes of newly (white) settled Pacific countries. His historical overview of the way white colonists settled the countries surrounding the Pacific is geographic in focus. He moves across frontiers and into new regions, outlining the impact of the invasions and the ongoing long-term effects of settlement. Science is important in understanding the geography of the region. In this case the science first identified is the physical sciences

² The authors cited within this thesis use the term 'Indian' to refer to populations of native people who are now sometimes known as people from 'First nations' or as Native Americans. This terminology has been maintained where relevant to their argument or discussion.

'the realms of geology, biology, and other sciences' (1963 p. 9), which define the region being discussed, but then led to an understanding of the environments into which people were moving. Similarly, understanding climate – another scientific pursuit, is necessary and with climate come factors such as topography, soils and mineral resources. Knowledge of such phenomena is critical to successful settlement, and hence scientific settlement in Price's judgement.

Price sets the context of the invasions into the Pacific by Europeans within the historical changes taking place within the region. The ability to travel, emergence of capitalism, expansion of trade and adoption of other's early technology are again stressed as being part of the scientific revolution which led to successful scientific settlement. In this way Price repeats the points made in his earlier publications. He combines these technical advances with the role of religion and culture and the subsequent changes that then evolved. Scientific exploration by the Dutch is made possible by 'biological factors, and to the[ir] inventive genius, courage and perseverance' (1963 p. 28) as they first exploited far off fishery resources and then expanded to settle in Pacific regions, particularly what is now Indonesia.

Scientific advance in the form of the development of sea power is fundamental to the ability of settlers to move permanently to new regions. Thus the early science, the adoption of better technical understanding of the winds, and the ships that could use these winds is again identified by Price as of considerable importance in the way Europeans were able to spread across the 'New World'. Adoption and adaptation of new techniques, as Price points out in all three of the books, is characteristic of early movers, risk takers and innovators. Science allowed the settlers to travel further and more reliably and find new resources suitable for exploitation, as 'Westerners evolved the means to carry their conquerors and colonists throughout the seven seas' (1963 p. 35). In this respect Price's expands on the points he had made originally in his 1939 publication.

Similarly, as noted above in the discussion of science in *White Settlers and Native Peoples*, advances in weaponry also enabled the scientific settlers to advance more quickly. As with shipping and understanding of the physical attributes of the globe, much of the new

weaponry was based on early discoveries 'filched' from non-western developers. The ability to use gunpowder (originally attributed to the Chinese) and cannon at sea gave certain countries initial advantage. Price considers that these attributes enabled western settlement to increase at greater speed than had these skills and strengths not been developed so quickly. The great importance of navigational science, particularly the reliable use of longitude, was essential in transporting large numbers of people to new areas of the world. Once longitude could be calculated efficiently and accurately, the period of time taken to reach Pacific nations from the northern hemisphere, and to reach them with confidence, enabled more settlers to be successfully transported.

The scientific advances which were occurring in all regions of Europe, commencing with first the agricultural and then the industrial revolutions, led to increased populations and perceived population pressure in many countries. The consequent need for new resources which Price identifies as being instrumental in expansion to new territories, began first with the explorers, then the traders and short-term settlers – the sojourners, followed by the permanent settlers. He acknowledges here that the chronology of settlement, pre-scientific relating to the period from around 1500 to 1800, followed by the scientific period, is important in his argument. Price also emphasises that 'democratic, industrial and scientific revolutions, and the immense growth in European population...culminated in entirely new human phenomena' (1963 p. 53).

Price identifies the significance of settler colonies as being likened to their ability to be able to 'succeed...in the task of developing the new habitat' (1963 p. 50). Science was needed to cope with the vagaries and challenges of local flora and fauna and also to develop the land, even if this meant the import of many exotic species, including Price notes 'imported Negro slaves' (p. 51).

One of the particular aspects of scientific settlement which Price again focuses on in this publication is the advance in land transport, particularly railways, which enabled permanent settlement to take place. As outlined above when discussing *White Settlers in the Tropics*, Price makes frequent reference to the extension of railways which allowed greater access into regions such as Alaska and Russia and 'it was not until the completion

of the Trans-Siberian Railway in 1903, that a boom in colonization began' (1963 p. 90). Further 'almost the whole of the industrial development is close to the trans-Siberian railway, away from which industrial development has been very limited' (p. 92).

Advances in medicine and prevention of disease are also fundamental characteristics of successful scientific settlement discussed in this book (as they are in both the previous two scrutinised here). Many of the diseases which limited early settlement were related to climatic conditions. Price notes that in some regions 'The white exotic, and still more his wife and children, [remained] as visitors rather than as settlers' (1963 p. 105). Early introductions of diseases into countries where the population lacked the medical skills to deal with epidemics of smallpox, measles, mumps and so forth, led to the decline of native populations, clearing the way for the advance of settlers. Subsequently the evolving medical knowledge also facilitated greater stabilisation of both native and incoming health. By the time this book was published Price would have been aware of many of the advances of medical science which had evolved during the Second World War. He also acknowledges the limitations of his own knowledge in this area, and of the fact that much had been written on the subject. For example on the battle against many tropical diseases Price (pp. 150-151) notes:

Medical scientists now possess a great deal of scientific information on the facts which underlie the building up of resistance. These phenomena have been clearly explained by a number of writers and need not be examined in this book. It is also impossible to describe adequately in a work such as this the course of the revolution in medical science...Medical scientists realized...there was a geography of disease...they found that some of our worst afflictions were due to parasites, and that the geography of such diseases was a biological fact, existing in the limitation by temperature and moisture of the range of the parasite...geographical factors influence the vector...The two most important of these geographical factors seem to be rainfall and temperature...Certain diseases reflected the incidence of social and economic as well as of geographical environments,...through the colonies differences in sanitation, diet, or medical science produced different standards of health.

Medical scientists therefore have a clear and fundamental role in enabling successful settlement. Once they understood the way in which the various diseases were 'caught' and could work towards their eradication, sojourners became more confident in their ability to settle permanently and, in the case of many occupations where formerly only the males had stayed in the tropical regions, wives and families could now live permanently in less hospitable areas.

The advance of medical science could also be combined with advances in technical areas. Accordingly Price not only sees a role for the medical specialist, but also for the newly evolving aircraft. He acknowledges that aeroplanes could be a vector for carrying mosquitos, and therefore malaria, but the same planes could also be a vector for spraying against the mosquito, although using such 'advances' as DDT, may not now be seen to be as positive as he believed it was in the mid-1940s (1963 p.168).

Other advances in science dealt with by Price in this book, and which resulted in greater advances of scientific settlement, are linked with changes in the environment as plants and animals were introduced and developed for the new regions. The scientific exploration for reserves discussed above was required to feed the growing demand for resources linked to the scientific and industrial revolutions taking place in Europe. More supplies led to greater scientific advance, and this led to a greater need for new resources and therefore more advances. Wherever the Europeans spread around the Pacific Price sees their advance as being linked with the introduction of new species, as well as the decimation of native species. He notes that not only did science play a role in facilitating the decimation by the invaders, but supplying native people with new scientific instruments (for example metal axes and guns) enabled them to destroy their own environment in a very efficient way, rather than living with the resources available, as had previously occurred (1963 p. 182).

There were many other living invaders other than humans. Price points out that scientific introductions, the spread worldwide of many food species, often accompanied by the spread of vermin, can be classified as one of the most important mechanisms facilitating European settlement in the Pacific regions. He cites the intentional introduction of crops

'some of which are of great economic value...includ[ing] maize, cocoa, tobacco, sweet potatoes, peanuts, tomatoes, avocados, guavas, papayas, strawberries, and pineapples' (1963 p. 184). All of these originated in the Americas. Successful settlement in Australia, and subsequent economic growth, meant that 'the whole of her vast production and export trade is now based on exotics' (p. 184), and these introductions were of necessity carefully conducted and in general, after early failures, scientifically tested prior to success.

Notably scientific settlement brought with it invasions of weeds and other species. In the main these introductions were accidental, but some plants and animals introduced to aid the settlers were soon identified as feral and changed the landscapes irrevocably. Price discusses these at some length using as one of his case studies the introduction of prickly pear into Australia. Prickly pear was originally to support a local cochineal industry (1963 p. 196) aimed at supplying the red dye to be used for soldier's coats. Subsequent disastrous effects resulted as the plant infested over 60 million acres (approximately 2.5 million hectares) of mainly semi tropical Australia. Nevertheless at the time he is writing scientific eradication has enabled the land to become productive again, a situation which has remained for the fifty years since scientists evolved this response.

Unfortunately in the case of New Zealand alleged scientific introductions continued to lead to the destruction of native species and despite their best intentions New Zealand scientists had been able to do little to combat some of the worst excesses of these activities. Here Price is particularly concerned about what he regards as 'the dramatic transformation during its brief history' (1963 p. 200) of the introduction of many plants, animals and insects. Despite scientific knowledge and extensive work, the changes are mainly detrimental and Price sees little chance of any success in eradication of the many hundreds of exotic species which early invaders introduced to the country. Certainly he was right in this. This situation remains today as the people of New Zealand continue their fight against many pest species – deer, rabbits, hedgehogs, possums and the like – that have decimated so many native species and resulted in numerous extinctions.

The role of science in settlement, in its broadest terms, is implicit throughout this book as with the first two in the series. Price's consideration of European settlement in the Pacific

region concludes, as might be expected given the time he was writing, with a return to the theme of social science and its role in settlement. He considers 'Geopolitics and security in the Pacific', analysing the threats he perceives of possible new power groups emanating from the United States and Russia impacting on the settlement that has taken place. He predicts that military science itself may be evolving more rapidly than many people realise and that democracy and economic strength may be unable to withstand perceived economic advances in the form of nuclear war. In this respect Price is quite negative about human capacity for advancement.

Who were the followers? The impact of these ideas

Permanent and successful settlement by Europeans in non-European regions of the world is the strongest theme which emerges from the three books discussed here. The use of science in its many manifestations is fundamental to this. A number of authors cited in earlier chapters on invasions and sojourners and settlers have also followed Price's lead in considering the role of science in their discussions of settlement.

Price himself spread his theories to a variety of other audiences who might not read his books and therefore be able to cite him in their work, but such presentations had impact in an important way. For example in a lecture given to the Natural History Society of Panama in 1933 (available in Price's own notes in the State Library archive 7/2/26), he made the following comments on the importance of science in settlement and the results from that settlement:

As the White Australia Policy took form, it led to a new and scientific invasion of the tropics, and under modern conditions of health and transport sanitation and the closed laboratory idea took concrete form...It is admitted we are developing a new type in the tropics – the tall, light, loose-limbed, slowly moving Australian, who possess energy but who conserves it in every way...The final acclimatization of whites in the tropics is still an open question, on which the [medical] doctors disagree. Further scientific work...is needed.

Certainly it seems Price hoped that there would be an appreciation of the use of science in its many forms, and that his audience would understand that the application of science allowed successful settlement. Additionally, adoption of scientific methods acted to improve the understandings and fortunes of settlers themselves, and science allowed a specific group of people to evolve with greater capacity for settling successfully.

Shortly after the publication of *White Settlers in the Tropics* in 1939, W. D. Forsyth (1942) cited Price's expertise as an authority on white settlement in tropical areas. Forsyth was particularly interested in Price's focus on the increasing numbers of native peoples in some regions because of better hygiene and medical science. Forsyth is enthusiastic about the prospects of scientific settlement occurring in northern Queensland, especially for non-white settlers to succeed, and sees other parts of Queensland as being able to be settled by white people if a scientific approach is taken to agriculture in the region. As noted in the previous chapter Forsyth was part of a government committee on post-of the war migration, hence it is not surprising that he was using a local author to support that committee's stance on future settlement in Australia.

Another of the earliest authors to link his writing with Price's ideas on scientific settlement was Julius Isaac from the London School of Economics in 1947. Resettlement of refugees and displaced persons in the immediate post-war period was of great interest to many and Isaac focussed on the economics of such settlement. He used Price's comments regarding the cost of settlement, and the monies wasted in past experiments in migration, to stress the requirement of a scientific approach to any future successful resettlement. Isaac found Price's concern for the need for science to be fundamental in what was perceived to be an ongoing necessity to resettle numerous displaced Europeans (as a result of the Second World War) and to expand the economic value of such settlements.

Scientific settlement is also approached via other avenues by a number of authors. Alan Moorehead's book *The Fatal Impact*, originally published in 1966, is a case in point. Moorehead analyses the impact of Captain James Cook's various voyages into the southern hemisphere and the effect of these voyages when Cook and his crews came into contact with the aboriginal populations of a number of islands and nations in the Pacific.

He does not link the wide number of facts used with the short list of references included in the book, though is much more diligent in ascribing photographs and copies of pictures to their original sources. However he lists Price (1963) as one of his sources for the book in the short general bibliography. Within Moorehead's exposition of the results of contact there are many references to the characteristics of the scientific settlement discussed above. Moorehead laments the effect of the introduction of everything from clothing to changing hut style, to beads and fripperies, to axes and armaments and of course to liquor and its fatal results. Within the social science realm the introduction of religion, restrictions on native dance and culture and a complete change in attitude of the aboriginal people towards their former life, opened the way for settlers to establish trade centres and then permanent residence within all the Pacific areas explored by Cook and later western explorers.

As a former war correspondent and renown author, Moorehead wrote widely on war and its effects and took the knowledge from his earlier publications into this analysis of the 'war' of European impact into his book on the Pacific. He cites French explorer Bougainville's warning to the Tahitians on the effects of Christianity, telling the islanders that western religion would change their lives irrevocably and 'one day under their rule you will be almost as unhappy as they are' (1966 p. 63). Like Price he also considers the role of Missionary Societies in Britain in settlement in the Pacific (p. 101). Funding for these missions was by 'contributions and stirring up a conscience about the Pacific. The end...justifying the means, a not too nice distinction was made between scientific fact and moral principle...'. Thus funds were extracted to support the change of what was reported to be a callous and violent society, into a Christian and caring society.

In the same way that Price cites the introduction of modern scientific weaponry as changing native lives forever, Moorehead identifies the introduction of guns as changing the entire culture of the people Cook met. This was not only the case when guns were introduced, but also because of changes in clothing and even the design of their huts. In addition the exploitation of resources by more scientifically able white invaders discussed by Moorehead uses a similar argument to that of Price's.

It was an adumbration of the tragic future: the white man and the blacks competing for the possession of the natural resources of the country. Now it was the turtles that were in dispute, soon it would be the land, and there was not much doubt about what the outcome would be. (1966 p. 141)

The only region that Moorehead describes as being within the gamut of Cook's explorations which has still not been permanently settled, despite advances in science and application of scientific methods, is the Antarctic. Today this marginally hospitable region hosts sojourners throughout the year, but so far has not been colonised by humans in a permanent way, even though the continent has been divided into a number of zones for political and exploitative reasons.

As *Western Invasions of the Pacific and its Continents* was published just a few years prior to Moorehead's exposition of the impact of Cook's explorations, it is not surprising that there are clear similarities between many of the points made in the two books. In 1994, Macleod and Rehbock also made this link, stating that Price 'pioneered the theme of cultural clash in the Pacific in his writings and was followed by Alan Moorehead...'. Acknowledging this link thirty years after the original publication shows the length of time over which some of Price's work is considered noteworthy.

Scientific settlement as discussed by Price is also taken up by a number of other authors who cite his work. For example the Canadian geographer Gibson (1980) used Price's work in a number of contexts. Gibson wrote about scientific settlement, and particularly the role of improved transport, in the settlement of Russia, particularly the Siberian region. He notes the importance of Price's work in explaining how the scientific revolution increased the efficiency and ability of navigation, and thereby the accuracy of travel and successful exploration followed by settlement.

In one of her many publications concerning history, human rights and her writing about American Indian policy, noted historian Christine Bolt (1987) makes frequent reference to Price and his work, particularly *White Settlers and Native People*. Her citations (of Price) deal particularly with the science of resettlement of native peoples. She sees the strength of Price's work as being in his understanding of the need for adequate land resources to

be 'given' to the remaining Indians in order that they survive on the newly created reservations. As Price discusses and Bolt supports, reservations cannot be small; inevitably if the native people of the USA and Canada are to survive they must be given land of adequate size and capacity to enable independence. Bolt also follows the arguments of Price with regard to how the two countries dealt differently with their native populations and the successes and failures which followed. The area of the land required by each group needed to be calculated scientifically. Bolt is not totally convinced by Price's arguments concerning the 'type' of people who settle in the New World. She is however convinced by the need for a scientific approach to their settlement. Bolt is especially concerned about the way non-scientific settlement has resulted in environmental damage to the land, particularly the overgrazing of many areas, and resultant desertification of major regions of North America.

The social science of settlement is also a theme followed by Bolt and here again she cites the work of Price. As noted above the role of religion in scientific settlement was a much discussed theme. Bolt questions Price's theory concerning the likelihood of the Christian missions being able to protect native people and discusses at length the role of the Churches in either assimilation or protectionism of Canadian Indians. Like Price her concern is about the future place of so termed 'half-breed' offspring, and she supports Price's assertion that many early education efforts by Churches in Canada were lacking in their suitability for the native people. In particular Bolt agrees with Price's point that not only was there far too little attention paid to the health of indigenous children, but that the education proposed and applied to them was unsuitable for the native people and therefore yielded poor results. Price (1950 p. 82) laments that as a result 'most relapsed to pagan life'; a sentiment with which Bolt agrees.

Price's discussions on health science and the lack of proper services are also cited by D. G. Baker (1983). Like Bolt, Baker's focus is on the contrasting approaches of the United States and Canadian governments to their native populations. He not only identifies the location and size of reservations as being part of successful scientific settlement, but uses Price as a major resource with regard to settler-native relationships and the cultural effects on natives of these changes which occurred with impact. He cites Price's comments on the

disruptions of native life, the loss of their traditional economy and culture and the need for a planned approach to resettlement. As with other authors who cite Price, Baker also supports the notion that different religious groups had different effects on the lives of the native people, partly a result of the timing of their contact, prior to scientific settlement, but also related to the particular doctrine of the relevant missions.

Another medical aspect of scientific settlement which is much discussed and linked to Price's writing is the ability of white settlers in tropical regions to undertake manual work, and if they are able to do this how it is likely to affect their health. Many authors cite Price's analysis and there is both agreement and disagreement with his ideas. While some agree that white settlement in tropical regions is marginal and will remain so into the future, others such as Pollock (1980) lament the fact that so many lives have been lost and so much money wasted without success in the region. Pollock wrote widely on settlement in countries such as South Africa and strongly agrees with Price that more modern scientific approaches are necessary to prevent further loss and waste.

As well as the various diseases discussed above that needed a scientific approach to settlement to ensure they could be overcome, Price also identifies some mental incapacities. He deliberated on problems he asserted afflicted a number of white women who were exposed to tropical regions for any length of time. With the scientific advances such as air conditioning that made their lives more manageable he recognised an advance in their living conditions and therefore perceived fewer problems. His original argument is however discussed further by others. Anthropologist Ann L. Stoler (1997) follows Price's references to the 'tropical neurasthenia' of women in the tropics and goes on to discuss the prevalence of neurasthenia and its causes. She had previously cited Price's work a number of times, not just with respect to neurasthenia, in a curiously named publication 'Carnal knowledge and imperial power' (Stoler 1991), but also concerning other conditions such as anaemia which Price considered affected women and children in particular. Additionally, when discussing nursemaids employed by European women, Stoler was moved to conclude, that based on Price's evidence and her own research, she was forced to agree with his statement that children 'thrived only up to the age of six', and subsequently needed to be moved to climatically more suitable locations. A similar

comment was contained in a publication by Professor Kerry Howe the Distinguished Professor of Anthropology at Massey University in his publication *Nature, Culture and History* (2000). Howe's consideration of settlement picked up on Price's research and the difficulties faced by new settlers especially prior to scientific developments. Howe links back to Price's apparent agreement with Ellsworth Huntington on the difficulty of tropical living and the role of science in overcoming limitations.

Price has also been cited by authors writing about the settlement of non-English-speaking regions of the tropics. Among such authors is photographer and writer P. H. Hiss (1943) in his treatise *Netherlands America: the Dutch Territories in the West*. Hiss was very negative about the prospect of successful settlement for people of his background and specifically quotes Price's points regarding the hazards of tropical living. Like other writers of his time who also cite the perceived perils of non-scientific settlement, he is especially concerned about the long-term effects of intermarriage noting this has 'affected them physically and intellectually'. These allegations, however, are not backed up by scientific investigation.

Another author who was clearly impressed by the need to use science in settlement as discussed by Price is Carron (1985). Unlike most authors whose citations have been used here Carron was not writing on settlement *per se*. His book is entitled *A History of Forestry in Australia*. Nevertheless within this publication he finds space to identify Price as a leading author and to expound on Price's warnings about settlement. He notes that Price had warned that Australians needed to stop boasting about the country's resources and develop a full scientific knowledge of what is available, before they exploit the country to the point of no return. It seems many of these warnings failed to be fully considered in the current exploitation of Australian resources.

Similarly a 1982 publication *The Australian House, Homes of the Tropical North* (Saini and Joyce) is primarily a book illustrating the type of housing which can lead to successful habitation of tropical regions by settlers. The photographs show the need for 'science' in architecture, and while there is no in-text referencing used in the book, Price is listed in the references as one of the sources used with regard to suitable housing. It is clear from

such citations that Price's work with regard to scientific settlement was widely read and used in a variety of research areas, not only those written by geographers and historians.

In 1999 Professor of History at Texas A & M University, Thomas. R. Dunlop, published *Nature and the English Diaspora*. His book included an exploration of the settlement and adaptation of settlers into a number of Anglo countries with particular focus on what he termed the 'shift from natural history to ecology'. He uses Price's comments on settlement of Europeans in his discussion of the need for governments to understand and support settlers, indicating that law and land rights are particularly important. The application of the scientific approach to understanding the land and its capabilities, as well as the way nature was appreciated, influenced the settlers and how they adapted to, or attempted to subdue, their new environments. Price's earlier ideas are adopted as important in this argument.

Dr David McBride (2002) continues the theme of technology and settlement. In investigating United States technology and medicine and its use in America's 'African' world he draws on Price's comments regarding the American success in completing the Panama Canal following the early practical problems they had faced. In particular he uses Price to illustrate how the scientific approach to settlement could protect the workers and their families by relocating them into 'enclaves' where they could use the (then) modern science of air conditioning and disease control. In *White Settlers in the Tropics* Price described at length the conditions the Americans had created to ensure the canal could be built, how they improved the health of the workers and 'pushed forward with splendid determination' (1939 p. 149). McBride adopts these ideas in his discussion of settlement in a number of countries. It is particularly significant that McBride should be citing the work Price completed sixty years after the original research had taken place. This is indicative of the quality of Price's research and the unique approach which he had taken when visiting Panama and other tropical regions. It shows that for some researchers Price remains an important investigator and that the theories he put forward still stand true for other researchers even in the 21st Century.

In his discussion on white settlement in tropical regions McGregor (2012) returns to the discussions which took place between Sir Raphael Cilento and Price concerning adaptation of settlers to living in what he describes as the 'torrid zone' (p. 337). The reassertion that Cilento argued 'that the tropical climate was so potent that it was giving rise to a "distinctive tropical type"', is considered by McGregor to be 'positive evolutionary adaption'. He goes on to argue that 'prominent geographer Archibald Grenville [sic] Price' had the opposite view, and in fact there was actually a negative effect on the people who settled resulting in 'some degree of physical decline'. There is little exploration here of the possible mental neurasthenia mentioned by Price although McGregor does continue his argument citing other medical experts who were concerned about the unhealthiness of the tropics and the need for a scientific approach to successful white settlement. He cites Dr. H. W. Cheyne who considers that 'even if medical science showed that white people could inhabit the tropics "whether the north will become closely settled by whites is quite another matter"'. Whichever of these arguments proves to be correct the important issue here is that Price and his publications are still being cited into the 21st Century by those investigating settlement in tropical regions.

An example of the ongoing importance of the concept of scientific settlement emerges from the 2014 Australian Academy of Sciences submission to the Joint Select Committee of the Australian Federal Government on Northern Australia. Many submissions have been sent to the Committee which is inquiring into the future of Northern Australia -- the tropical regions of the country. While much is made of the available resources in the north by a number of those who have written submissions, the Australian Academy of Science is chiefly concerned with the need for a careful approach, based on scientific knowledge. The authors of the submission do not cite Price however the words used could quite easily have come from his work. The Academy (2014 p. 2) cite work done by the CSIRO, Australia's premier scientific research organisation. They note:

whilst there are a wealth of opportunities in Northern Australia, failure to utilise scientific knowledge will seriously hamper progress...Scientific evidence shows that available water is not abundant...ecological consequences of increased water extraction...are largely unknown.

The Academy stresses that not only does existing science and knowledge need to be incorporated into planning, but that gaps in knowledge must be identified and new scientific research undertaken to cover these gaps. It seems that Price's ideas and recommendations are still in use today, even if his name is not actually given as one of the authors of these ideas.

Conclusion

There is great strength in Price's arguments concerning the importance of science in the process of successful European settlement. His comments relating to such 'scientific' advances as air conditioning and modern (mid-20th Century) medical advances certainly cannot be ignored. Current 21st Century scientific discussions on accelerated climate change and future prospects for human settlement throughout many regions make these observations particularly relevant today throughout the world. It could be argued that climatic control of human settlement is increasing, rather than decreasing. Recent global weather events, from floods to hurricanes, and sea level rise, all need scientific intervention in some way if settlement is going to continue in many areas of the world.

With regard to the science of medicine and the consequences of medical developments, Price was writing during the time that control of infectious diseases and the understanding of disease vectors was increasing. While he shows concern about the spread of tuberculosis, malaria, yellow fever, and epidemic fevers of many sorts, he is well aware that science is advancing and while eradication may not be possible, control is an increasing option. Of course while the methods of control he identified, use of DDT for example, are no longer acceptable, other responses, vaccination and inoculation have continued to expand. Interestingly he makes no mention of penicillin and other such antibiotics, although these were in regular use by the time his third book was published.

Although Price looks forward in many ways to future settlement he does not predict the emergence of new diseases. The late 20th Century and early 21st Century has been a period of evolution of such diseases (bird flu, AIDS, Severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS), Ebola virus, resistant bacteria, and so forth), but Price does not delve into such

possibilities. Indeed he was careful to admit to his reliance on other's research for his information on disease.

The growth of scientific applications such as air conditioning and better housing plans was part of the broader aspect Price discussed. In his predictions of these characteristics he was certainly a leader.

The themes discussed in this and the previous two chapters have shown that over the many years Price was publishing on the topic of white settlement, he changed his approach very little. This said, it is clear that he made important contributions to the field of scientific settlement analysis over a long period, and these ideas have been widely adopted.

A number of significant authors from a variety of academic backgrounds used Price's research and ideas to support their own beliefs. Many in fact built on the points he made. Some however were more critical and made use of his work in a negative sense, refuting or negating his concepts. It is clear that his contemporaries paid due regard to what Price wrote. They appreciated his contributions in terms of the distinction between sojourner and settler; the effects of white settlement on native peoples, with an emphasis on the unfavourable consequences; and the importance of science (very broadly conceived) in the success of white settlement.

His contributions thus clearly added value to discussions on white settlement especially in tropical regions. Through these three books, and the three key themes within these books discussed here, Price left an important geographic legacy. A legacy which by rights should have led to his being widely lauded as a thinker and contributor to the history of geography and geographic thought.

Chapter Seven

Sir Archibald: recognised, revered, rewarded

A scholar's reputation is not assessed by public opinion polls, but by the judgement of his peers (Sir Robert Menzies, 'Foreword' to *Settlement and Encounter*, Gale and Lawton 1969 p. v)

Grenfell Price was held in high esteem by a wide range of people in Australian society. He was a remarkable figure within the Adelaide establishment during the mid-20th Century. Price received awards which other academics and contemporaries of his, for example Griffith Taylor, did not receive, despite their presumed similar or superior status. A key indicator of Grenfell Price's influence and importance to his contemporaries can be measured by identifying the various regal and academic awards he received during his lifetime. Such awards acknowledged remarkable admiration from his peers and others, as well as his contribution to public affairs and academia. His exceptionally busy life, his contact with people from all walks of life in Australia, and his prodigious written output ensured that he was in the public eye for most of his adulthood. This noteworthy presence is manifest in the formal and less formal commendations he received. The purpose of this chapter is to identify these awards and to show how his contribution to geography, education and society earned him accolades and appreciation over a long period.

Among the most notable awards Price received was the knighthood which came relatively late in his life, when he was aged 71. Much earlier in his career he received a CMG¹ and a number of Fellowships, scholarships and other acknowledgements from his peers. These awards are wide ranging; some academic and others for less academic activities which kept Price in the spotlight in Adelaide, and Australia for much of his lifetime. The acknowledgment of success from his peers in all aspects of Price's life was significant, the breadth of acknowledgments reflecting the variety of his occupations and the depth of his involvement in many levels of society. The following discussion is

¹ 'The Most Distinguished Order of St Michael and St George (1818) honours service overseas or in connection with foreign or Commonwealth affairs. Ranks in the Order are Knight or Dame Grand Cross (GCMG), Knight or Dame Commander (KCMG or DCMG) and Companion (CMG)' (The Churchill Society 2012).

important in understanding the value of Price's works. The discussion outlines the reasons awards were presented and links these with the longevity of Price's legacy.

As the range of rewards accumulated by Price was so varied they are presented here primarily in sequence of reputation, but also grouped together where the sources or bestowees are similar. While as far as possible the awards are discussed in order of national importance, in the case of some presentations from international societies, or the various Fellowships Price received, it is difficult to gauge the individual status, especially as Price's career took so many diverse routes and covered such a wide range of interests.

The knighthood and Order of St Michael and St George are both regal honours and discussed first, this is followed by the academic awards associated with geography, and then those from other aspects of Price's life. Finally a group of ephemeral activities which Price found time to accomplish and for which he was variously rewarded, show what an extraordinary full life he led and one in which it seems inconceivable that he still had time for leisure or social activities.

The material I have used here was obtained from a variety of sources. Price's papers held in the State Library of South Australia were invaluable in this process. As he kept copies of many of the letters he wrote, and also kept many letters sent to him, it has been possible to read his comments on receiving some of the awards presented to him. The admiring letters sent to him show the extent of people who wrote to congratulate him at various stages of his life. While it is unlikely that all such letters have been located, those that are cited give some idea of just how much he was appreciated. Other sources used include Kerr's biography of Price (Kerr 1983), a number of obituaries, newspaper articles and the web sites of associations and organisations to which Price belonged.

In some cases it is not possible to identify the individuals or associations who sponsored or recommended Grenfell Price for a specific award, but where possible the primary source is cited. The period of time which has elapsed since such awards were conferred is also a limiting factor in identifying specific patrons. However by using archival material and the records of various organisations it was possible to trace the

lineage of many awards and identify the people who considered Grenfell Price worthy of much of the acclaim he received.

The regal awards

Knighthood

Archibald Grenfell Price was awarded a knighthood in the 1963 New Year's Honours for his services to literature and education. His knighthood is listed in *The Times* (January 1 1963) under the banner heading Commonwealth of Australia List, Knights Bachelor.² Only six Australian knighthoods were awarded under Federal government sponsorship at that time. In South Australia James Robert Holden, the director of General Motors Holden, and Roland Ellis Jacobs, a businessman, brewer and philanthropist, were also knighted, but they were nominated by the South Australian government. It is interesting to note that the industrialist who made such an impact on South Australia's manufacturing development was rewarded by the State government, but Grenfell Price, an academic and literary figure, received his award from the Federal government which was then led by Liberal Prime Minister Sir Robert Menzies. Some insight into the significance of this difference may be inferred from the report in the Adelaide paper *The News* (January 1 1963) which devoted almost an entire page to its report of the activities of the new knights. Much of the newspaper article was taken up by a photograph of Sir Archibald and Lady Price, and little space was given to the activities of either Sir James Holden, who certainly would now be remembered by more South Australians, or Sir Roland Jacobs.

The social status of Grenfell Price and appreciation of his academic achievements is very clear from the article in *The News* (see Box 7.1). A brief overview of his achievements is included, although his links to geography are implicit in the quoting of the title of his latest book, rather than explicitly outlined.

² In 1963 in Australia honours such as knighthoods were directly linked with the Commonwealth Office in the United Kingdom. Other Commonwealth countries, for example New Zealand and South Africa had separate lists, all of which appear under the individual country's name in *The Times*. This system changed over time as different countries instigated their own honours system such as that now in place in Australia where honours are still awarded on Australia Day and the Queen's Birthday, but no longer come from the United Kingdom.

Box 7.1 Extract from *The News* January 1 1963

Double Celebration

Two of South Australia's new knights are spending the day at home and the third is holidaying in Tasmania.

Publication of another book has given double cause for celebration to Sir Archibald Grenfell Price.

Sir Archibald is spending the day quietly at his Menindee home with 'probably a little party this evening.'...

Sir Archibald Price, knighted for his services to literature and education, said today he hoped to use the remaining years to help the development of Canberra particularly in the building of a graet [sic] national library 'that is so gravely needed.'

Sir Archibald was the first chairman of the first council of the National Library of Australia. He has also been chairman of the Advisory Board of the Commonwealth Library Fund since 1953.

Sir Archibald a few days ago had word his latest book 'The Western Invasions Of the Pacific and Its Continents' had been published by the Oxford University Press in England.

About three months ago he had published 'The Winning of Australia, Antarctica and Mawson's Banzare [sic] Voyages'

Sir Archibald was master of St Mark's College, University of Adelaide, from 1925 to 1957.

He received a rare honor in 1932 when South Australia's first Degree of Doctor of Letters was conferred on him.

The awards to the industrialist, Sir Robert Holden and philanthropist and brewer Sir Roland Ellis, receive much less attention from the newspaper. Given the importance of industrialisation and the popularity of the brewing industry this emphasis on the academic work undertaken by Price supports the contention that at that time he had an important place in the profession and an ongoing legacy. I believe it is also a measure of his renown that his knighthood was award by the Federal government rather than the State, the more local level of government. When Price led the Emergency Committee³ he had considered it vital to prevent the incursion of communism into Australia. He later became a Liberal Federal Member of Parliament in the Adelaide seat of Boothby. He served under Prime Ministers Menzies and then Curtin for the period from May 1941 to August 1943 when he failed to retain the seat.

The conferring of a British knighthood on an individual at any time could be seen as the highest reward a nation could bestow on a member of society. Over the last fifty years such titles have changed considerably with regards to eligibility and the frequency at which they are given. One thing that has not changed is access to the records of who made the initial nomination and whether or not multiple proposals were made prior to the actual award of the honour. This information is not available even after many years

³ A full account of the Emergency Committee and Price's involvement can be found in Kerr (1983). Price's considerable notes and his presentiments with regard to the Committee and its subsequent work are held in his papers in the State Library of South Australia.

as was ascertained in an email response from the Honours and Appointments Secretariat of the Cabinet Office of the British government. My request to obtain details of Price's knighthood received the following response:

I regret that it is not possible for us to disclose the information that you seek (assuming that any such information is held here in the UK in the first place). Nominations are accepted on a strictly confidential basis and, for that reason, we would never reveal the identity of any person making a nomination. Nor would we reveal details of the nomination itself.

As Sir Archibald was resident in Australia, it would appear likely...that his knighthood was approved on the recommendation of the Prime Minister of Australia. (Email Alan Toumey, February 16 2011)

Sponsorship for an Australian knighthood could come either from the Federal or State governments, and when awarded these were identified separately in the relevant honours list. The recipients' credentials, and a brief citation concerning the award was published in the press, with the most complete listing in *The Times* (UK). National Australian newspapers generally listed only the Australian recipients. As with today, the State papers focussed on those who were local, though also paid tribute to national figures where deemed appropriate.

A different view of the award of knighthood comes from another of Adelaide's newspapers, which was certainly less concerned with academic achievement, but was also constrained by the fact that it is published on a Sunday, and by then the news of the knighthood was five days old. For this reason *The Sunday Mail* (January 5 1963) has no mention of the award until page 50 and is more concerned about the visit by the Queen (see Box 7.2) who was soon to be in Adelaide for the investitures.

These comments are more a reflection of the focus of the newspaper than the way in which the recipients were regarded, and cannot be considered to reflect the way in which Grenfell Price was regarded or the strength of his academic legacy.

Box 7.2 Extract from *The Sunday Mail* January 5 1963

They will be knighted by her Majesty

When the Queen's baggage arrives in Adelaide aboard the Britannia on February 19, it will include a box containing the special sword with which the Queen will dub her new SA knights during her three-day visit.

The sword is the one used for investitures by her father the late King George VI.

The Adelaide investitures will be at Government House on the concluding day of the Royal visit, but the hour has not yet been fixed.

Sir Baden Pattinson, Minister for Education, was knighted last June, and will therefore receive the Queen's sword tap before Sir James Robert Holden, Sir Archibald Grenfell Price, and Sir Roland Ellis Jacobs, in the New Year's list.

A particularly amusing reflection on the knighthood is recorded in a number of papers including *The Canberra Times* (January 11 1963). In commenting on 'Archie' becoming Sir Archibald the newspaper correspondent reported that the students at St Mark's College, where he was Master, did not know whether to 'change the name painted on their 6 in. tortoise's shell' to reflect the honour. There is no follow up report on whether the change took place, or if the tortoise remained simply 'Archie'. Either way it is perhaps another achievement that the tortoise was named after Grenfell Price, although by all accounts of his activities, the choice of such an animal may have been less than appropriate given the energy Price expended in all his endeavours.

Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George (CMG)

Receiving the award of the Companion of the Order of St Michael and St George is a very important milestone in Grenfell Price's life. In many ways this can be seen as the first time Price was considered as a person of national importance within the broader hierarchy of Australia's population. It came about as a result of his actions in a non-academic field, but without his academic endeavours it is unlikely that he would have been selected for the role or been linked with many people who became influential in his later activities. He was recommended for the award by the then Prime Minister, Joseph Lyons, and his reactions to the nomination give further insight into his character and enthusiasm for any opportunity which came his way.

Price received the news of the award in 1933 after he had returned to his geographical work and research and was on field work in St Kitts (West Indies) where he was staying with the Governor; a fact that also indicates his connections in society. It is clear that

Price is both surprised and gratified by the award. It is also a sign of the complexity of his character that his letter to his family about the notification shows a sense of fun and amusement, and despite the fact that he had attended Oxford University with the then heir to the British throne, there is an element of naivety concerning the British Honours system in his response.

We have had a delightful cable over the CMG. Lyons wired and the Governor General sent a most cordial cable....

The whole thing was most amazing and unexpected. Neither of us dreamt of anything even when Dadd [sic] said that Lyons had wanted my cable address...in St Kitts the Governor got me in and gave me a secret cable with his drafted reply, and was most congratulatory and kind. I knowing no more about such things than bars of soap asked for information, and got a long lecture on such matters, including how few there were etc. etc. (June 1933)...

The news of the award was met with fervour by the local paper in Adelaide (*The Advertiser* June 3 1933) where it was reported:

Dr. Grenfell Price, C.M.G. – now in America, where he is engaged in research work under a Rockefeller Foundation, Dr. Price is an outstanding South Australian educationist. He came under public notice by reason of the enthusiasm he displayed as chairman of the Emergency Committee at the last Federal General election.

This is followed by a brief overview of Price's life and other accomplishments, including his books on 'historical research and other subjects'. However the only credit given to his role in geography is the mention of his being a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain.

An abbreviated acknowledgement of the award also appears in *The Border Watch* (June 6 1933). The Mount Gambier (southern South Australia) newspaper report reads '...in the Commonwealth list of honors Dr. A. Grenfell Price, master of St. Mark's College, Adelaide, and now abroad doing research work for the Rockefeller Foundation, becomes a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George'.

As noted Grenfell Price's interests were wide ranging and early in his career he became involved in politics in a very broad sense. This can be seen through some of his early geographic and historical writing, but during the Great Depression and at a time when Australian politics was at a crossroad, Price was invited to convene The Emergency Committee of South Australia,⁴ which would attempt to make clear to the people of the State the way in which the economic dilemma could best be solved, and in doing so ensure a particular government was installed. When Price led the Emergency Committee he considered it vital to prevent the incursion of communism into Australia. There was economic and political mistrust of the Federal government during the early 1930s throughout much of Australia and it is a measure of Price's status as a relatively young academic, and the regard in which he was held, that he took on this task. It might have been expected that a business leader would convene the Committee but instead the local university lecturer took on the role. Price later became a Liberal Federal Member of Parliament in the Adelaide seat of Boothby. He served under Prime Ministers Menzies and then Curtin for the period from May 1941 to August 1943 when he failed to retain the seat. His academic notability had clearly brought his name to the fore and led to his selection to chair the Committee.

Price's personal papers held in the State Library of South Australia (Box 7/4/1) contain many notes outlining the work of the Committee and the trepidation with which he approached the task. Price understood that the papers were clearly highly sensitive and wrote on them:

On loan under seal to S.A. Archives Department during the life of A.G. Price. To be property of archives on death of A.G. Price but to remain under seal until 1970.

His conservatism and strong South Australian loyalty meant that he approached the task in a way which ensured success in the endeavour. By the time the Committee disbanded, as it had agreed to immediately the 1931 election was held, it was clear that he had become even more well known, although not for his geographic work.

⁴ A full account of the Emergency Committee and Price's involvement can be found in Kerr (1983). Price's considerable notes and his presentiments with regard to the Committee and its subsequent work are held in his papers in the State Library of South Australia.

It is ironic that Price's first national award should be for a bi-partisan political action which was designed to protect Australia from the perceived growing threat of communism, about which he also wrote (in *The Menace of Inflation, Communism or Commonsense*, and *The Progress of Communism* 1931). He kept letters concerning the Committee's work from a diverse and renowned group of supporters including: Edward Shann, Professor of History in Perth; A. H. (no surname given), Manager of Colonial Sugar Adelaide; Elder Smith (renowned South Australian); H. W. Knox, Collins House, Melbourne; Charles Whiting, Steamship Buildings, Currie Street, Adelaide; Frank Downer (Chairman of Directors Norwich Union Insurance, SA President Royal Society of St George); E. Bagot (best known for his adventuring and right wing politics) and the then Manager, Australian Westinghouse Electric Co Ltd. The local newspaper – *The Advertiser* – supported the Committee for its important work in the 'breaking down of party political barriers'. (December 28 1931)

In addition to the official papers Price retained a set of notes and memos (Box 7/4/1) in which he reflected on the Emergency Committee and how he regarded his work within it. His own words show his leadership and the insightfulness which came with the position:

It is a remarkable thing that the great move to save Australia in the crisis of 1930-31 originated in South Australia and was strongest in that State...there were several reasons...geographical, political and economic in type. First South Australia had a clean hereditary. Her people came from honest stock, and the behaviour of the Lang repudiationists of New South Wales produced more bitter feeling in South Australia than perhaps in any other State...Second there is no doubt that South Australia, as a poor State afflicted by frequent droughts, had always been most cautious in financial affairs.

The work of the Committee and Price in particular was arduous, and in fact took him away from his teaching role. In April 1931 he explained this situation seeing his mission as to write a series of leaflets notifying the population of the task ahead of them to turn around the economic threats that were menacing the world. His letter to Professor Shann regarding the political situation and the needs for such publicity shows Price as a man who spoke his mind and could be somewhat condescending;

although it also shows that he was not always as careful about his proofreading as he might have been:

My ideas is a serious [sic] of leaflets to be distributed throughout Australia in similar perfectly childish language which will get down to the level of the average elector with the brains of a schoolboy of sixteen.

During his work with the Committee Price came further to the notice of the political hierarchy in Federal politics; this had an impact later in his life. He worked hard with the then Leader of the Opposition, Joseph Lyons, who wrote personally to Price;

Splendid support and assistance...[I] appreciate very deeply the wholehearted and energetic way in which supporters...have thrown themselves into the campaign [for the subsequent election].

It is clear that Price took great pride in this award, and the recognition it gave him in Australian and British society. Nevertheless it is of less importance as a measure of his success within the discipline of geography. It was, however, important throughout his career for the kudos that it gave him in his many other endeavours. The satisfaction that he expressed and the status it endowed helped to open more doors and increase his role in the public arena, especially in Adelaide.

Geographic and academic acknowledgement

The various awards and Fellowships granted to Price that were primarily associated with his achievements in geography show to the greatest degree his impact within the discipline and the way in which he was regarded. Being a member, and particularly a founding member, of one of the Academies in Australia,⁵ carried great prestige, and this continues to be the case. Fellowships of the various geographical societies were only achieved through recognition of the recipient's body of work in the discipline. Membership of a society might be open to anyone who paid their dues, but becoming a Fellow is far more prestigious and to be made an Honorary Fellow even more so.

⁵ There are four learned academies in Australia, the Australian Academy of the Humanities (AAH), The Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia (ASSA), The Australian Academy of Science (AAS) and The Australian Academy of the Technological Sciences and Engineering (ATSE). The roles of the Academies include promotion of learning and the advancement of knowledge and research in specific areas. Becoming a Fellow of an Academy is a significant step in academic recognition. Each of the Academies has its own web site explaining its aims and philosophies.

Australian Academy of the Humanities

Grenfell Price was a founding member of the Australian Academy of the Humanities (AAH) (1956) (see Kerr 1983 p. 231 for a somewhat muddled account of these events) and had formerly been involved with the Australian Humanities Research Council which preceded it (AAH 1938; Spate 1978; Wilde et al. 1994 p. 52). The Australian Humanities Research Council was established by a group of 26 academics, led in particular by two other University of Adelaide staff, Brian Elliot and A. N. Jeffries (Wilde et al. 1994 p. 62). Price took a leading role in the Council's work. One of the first actions of the Council was a survey of the state of the humanities in Australia. Price edited the publication which emerged from this survey *The Humanities in Australia* (1959) which continued to have considerable influence on the disciplines involved.

Price's role with the AAH shows he was very much a leader among his peers and was highly regarded for that leadership role. The Humanities Research Council and later the Australian Academy of the Humanities, played an important role within the development of the two disciplines with which Price was involved for all his academic life, although geography is probably more strongly linked with the ASSA. It is a further indication of his leadership that he took on the Honorary Secretariat role of the Research Council, and then became a Fellow of the later established Academy (Kerr 1983 p. 227). His achievements and contribution to the Academy are outlined in a number of the obituaries which were published following his death.

Becoming a Fellow of the Academy illustrates the esteem in which other professionals held Grenfell Price. Fellowship was not granted lightly, and could only be achieved by those who had contributed significantly to the profession and whose work was of a very high standard. Few geographers have attained this honour, then or since.

Fellowship of the Royal Geographical Society

The Royal Geographical Society (RGS) was established in 1830 and was considered by many in the English-speaking world to be the premier association of geographers and explorers. It sponsored numerous expeditions throughout the world and served as a meeting place and association for practical field work geographers, professional geographers in all spheres and interested amateurs. It continues with this role today and attracts membership from all over the world. Whilst there was some expectation

of (ordinary) membership for those teaching geography or involved in geographic research, becoming a Fellow of the society was a more complex procedure. In the 21st Century the Fellowship system is more flexible and there are many current Fellows, however, at the time Price became a Fellow the criteria were more stringent and Fellowship was open to only a select few.

The current rules for membership of the RGS (2013) outline the conditions under which a member of the organisation can become a Fellow. According to information from the Society some of the criteria have changed little since the 1920s. An applicant still needs to show that they have sufficient professional experience in geography and be recommended by two existing Fellows. The eligibility as per the RGS web site is shown in Box 7.3.

Box 7.3 Eligibility for election as a Fellow to the RGS

To be elected as a Fellow, you must either be teaching or researching geography in a Higher Education Institution, or you need to be proposed and seconded by existing Fellows and have:

- A sufficient involvement in geography or allied subject through training, profession, research, publications or other work of a similar nature; or
- Not less than 5 years continuous commitment to the Society as an Ordinary Member at the discretion of Council.

Fellowship is open to anyone in the world over the age of 21 who meets the criteria of Fellowship.

Nevertheless today becoming a Fellow of the association is no longer an award as (at least in 2014) it involves application and payment of a fee. Once the application is accepted the recipient is entitled to use the letter FRGS after their name.

When Price became a Fellow on 21 November 1921 it was necessary to be sponsored by two already very well regarded geographers and Fellows of the Society. Fellowship was not granted lightly and proof of excellence, either in academic fields or exploration or some equal endeavour, needed to be established. Research in the library of the Royal Geographical Society in London resulted in the retrieval of the original application for Price to become a Fellow of the Society (see Figure 7.1 Copy of Certificate of Candidate for Election).

Figure 7.1 Copy of Certificate of Candidate for Election

Dued 20.7.1977

CERTIFICATE OF CANDIDATE FOR ELECTION.

Name Sir Archibald Grenfell Price C.M.G.

Description Schoolmaster, St Peter's College, Adelaide

Residence Margaret St, Walkerville, South Australia

Photocopy of Archive Material
RGS-IBG Collections

being desirous of becoming a Fellow of the ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, We, the undersigned, recommend him as a suitable candidate for election.

Dated this 20th day of September 1921

C. J. Madigan F.R.G.S. (From personal knowledge.)

J. Mawson F.R.G.S.

Qualifications.- (The Proposer should state the Geographical Work or qualifications of the Candidate.)

Received 29 Oct 1921. Proposed- 7 NOV 1921 Elected 21 NOV 1921

M.A., Honours History, Diploma in Education, Oxford (Magdalen College)

Publications - Causal Geography of the World for Australian Schools, 1918
2nd Edition, 1920
South Australians and their Environment
To be published in Nov. 1921.

C. J. Madigan

Source: from library of the Royal Geographical Society, London.

It is a clear measure of the esteem in which Price was held by his peers that one of the sponsors of his Fellowship was Sir Douglas Mawson, the South Australian polar explorer. The second sponsor was Cecil. J. Madigan who annotated his endorsement with 'from personal knowledge'. Like Price, Madigan had also studied at Magdalen College Oxford and subsequently was part of Mawson's Antarctic expedition and awarded the King's Polar Medal.⁶ Price's qualifications are listed on the Certificate of Candidate and Election as M.A. Honours History, and Diploma in Education Oxford (Magdalen College), followed by the titles of two of his publications, *Causal Geography of the World for Australian Schools*, and *South Australians and their Environment*, which was about to be published at the time.

This Fellowship was of great importance to Price, and in particular the status of the sponsors lends greater evidence to his own repute within geography and society in Adelaide.

Fellow of the American Geographical Society

The American Geographical Society (AGS) was established in 1851, partly in reaction to the loss of the Franklin Expedition and the appeal by Lady Franklin⁷ for help in searching for her husband's lost Arctic polar expedition. It is one of the oldest established geographical societies in the English speaking world and to be a Fellow of this society has great kudos among geographers worldwide.⁸

In 1933 Grenfell Price became a Fellow of the AGS. Kerr (1983 p. 118) links this with the number of papers which Price went on to publish in the society's journal *Geographical Review*. The report in the *Review* with regard to its Fellows (April 1933 p. 314) states that;

At the December, January and February meetings of the society were presented with the approval of the Council the names of 113 candidates who were duly elected as Fellows of the Society.

⁶ Madigan had an illustrious career as a geologist, explorer and with the Royal Engineers in France during the First World War. He is credited with naming Australia's Simpson Desert, and later lectured for many years in geology at The University of Adelaide.

⁷ The British polar expedition led by Sir John Franklin was attempting to navigate the North West Passage when the ships disappeared. Details of this expedition, and the attempts to find the lost ships can be found in many places, but one of the most factual is on the web site of the Royal Museums Greenwich (2012)

⁸ A full history and outline of the activities of the Society can be found at www.amergeog.org.

From this report, and given the number of Fellows admitted, it would appear that Fellowship was open to those who applied, and either had the appropriate sponsors, or paid the relevant fee. They did however have to pass the scrutiny of the Council and have some relationship with geography.

Investigation conducted to establish the relationship Price had with the AGS and how he became a Fellow is outlined in Box 7.4.

Box 7.4 Correspondence with the AGS re A.G. Price's Fellowship

Dear Ms. Cutler,

We checked the AGS-NY Archives and this is all we could find in response to your question:

According to the by-laws, "Honorary Members shall be chosen on account of their distinction in the science of geography, or of statistics, and not more than three of them shall be elected in any year" (chapter 1.2). Furthermore, "Fellows, Honorary Members, and Corresponding Members shall be elected to the Society as follows: Candidates shall be nominated in writing at a regular meeting of the Council by a member thereof and shall be elected upon receiving the affirmative vote of a majority of the members of the Council present at the meeting" (chapter 1.4).

Wilma Fairchild brought up Price's name for Honorary Fellowship to the Honors Committee (Chauncy Harris - chair, Thomas Malone, J. Warren Nystrom, and Walter Sullivan) in 1973. They agreed to have him and the other nominees awarded their respective honors for the year, and presented these names to the Council, who then made everything official. There is some additional information in the files on Price, mostly just a listing of his accomplishments as reason for the nomination.

There is no record of who suggested Price's name for Fellowship in 1933. He became an official on November 21, 1933. However, regarding this in the council minutes it only states "For names of candidates see record in office." We've tried looking for this material before, but to no avail. There are some records for who nominated who and when, but they are sporadic, and there is nothing here for this time period. I hope this is of some help to you.

Sincerely, Susan Peschel

More significantly in regards to the esteem in which Price was held is the fact that in either 1973 or 1974 he was awarded an Honorary Fellowship of the AGS. The year of the award is given as 1973 by both Kerr (1983) and Heathcote (2002), but appears in the society's papers as 1974. The award was reported in the *Geographical Review* (1974 p. 264) where it was noted 'Sir A. Grenfell Price, professor emeritus of geography at the University of Adelaide, had been awarded his certificate in August during a special meeting of the Royal Geographical Society of Australia'. His name was proposed to the committee by the esteemed editor of the *Geographical Review*,

Wilma Fairchild who had succeeded to this position following Gladys Wrigley. There were only two Honorary Fellowships granted that year, the other recipient being Meredith F. Burrill (American Geographical Society 2012).

Price kept many notes from and to Gladys Wrigley concerning publication of his book *White Settlers in the Tropics* by the Society and these are held in his papers at the State Library of South Australia. He had a close relationship with many of the people at the Society and frequently wrote comments on his interaction with its staff and use of the library and other facilities. It is clear he was well known for his visits to the Society's offices when on his trips to the United States.

Price's Honorary Fellowship further reflects his already strong links with the American Geographical Society; for example he acted as their representative at the inauguration of the Mawson Institute of Antarctic Research in April 1961. The Mawson Institute was founded at The University of Adelaide to encourage continuing Antarctic research. Price is described in the report of the occasion as 'a Fellow and good friend of the Society for many years'. These comments also show the esteem in which he was held by the upper echelons of the American society.

Doctor of Letters, The University of Adelaide

In all likelihood the awarding of the degree of Doctor of Letters to Price in 1937 when he was aged 40 was the greatest acknowledgement he received of his academic achievements. At the time of the award The University of Adelaide was more than 60 years old (established in 1874) and yet had needed to amend its constitution some years earlier in order to make such awards. However Grenfell Price was the first to receive the accolade.⁹

⁹ The Doctor of Letters is a higher doctorate, above the Doctor of Philosophy (PhD). It is the highest of academic awards offered by the University, and is only awarded to candidates who are eminent in their field. Higher doctorates are generally only ever awarded on the basis of a collection of works that have been published or accepted for publication by the candidate (adapted from The University of Adelaide website 2012).

The local paper *The Advertiser* (January 23 1937) made much of the honour giving a full report of the event and its value.

Dr. Grenfell Price

Honor for St. Mark's Head

First Letters Degree in S.A.

The degree of Doctor of Letters, which has never before been conferred in South Australia, is to be awarded to Mr. A. Grenfell Price at the next commemoration to be held by the Adelaide University. The degree was established in 1926. It may be conferred upon "a Bachelor of Arts with honors, or a Master of Arts, or a doctor in any other faculty who has satisfied the Faculty of Arts that he has had an adequate training in Letters." He must have published a work, or a type-written thesis, containing an "original, scholarly, and substantial contribution to some branch of letters."

As the degree had not been previously awarded, it was necessary for the University to establish a standard for it. For this purpose Professor R. Coupland (professor of colonial history at Oxford), and Professor Scott (professor of modern history at Melbourne) were appointed as examiners. They made a joint report warmly recommending Mr. Price for the degree. The Council of the University has now adopted their report.

Mr. Price, who recently came before the general public as chairman of the Emergency Committee, is an eminent scholar, a student of history, and an indefatigable worker. Before his appointment as principal of St Mark's University College, he was a master at St. Peter's College. He is an Adelaide product, his father Mr. Henry Archibald Price, having been a well known bank manager. Mr Price had a brilliant scholastic career, first at St. Peter's College, and then at Oxford. He won a number of notable prizes. He is an historian and author of several works, one a history of South Australia. Recently he delivered the Macrossan lectures in Brisbane, taking as his subject an analysis of the efforts made by South Australia and the Commonwealth to develop the Northern territory, and the reasons why they failed. He is in his 40th year.

It is notable that this reporting of the awards makes no mention of geography or Price's contribution in this area, but specifically identifies his historical writings. Yet by this time he had written a number of geography texts, including his *Causal Geography of the World*, which ran to many reprints and was being used throughout high schools.

He was also teaching geography at The University of Adelaide and giving many addresses on the topic at venues throughout the State. It appears that even in the 1930s geography was struggling for recognition among the people of Adelaide.

Membership of the Council of The University of Adelaide.

The 1926 February 27 issue of *The Register*, then one of Adelaide's daily newspapers, contained an article concerning The University of Adelaide's calendar which had recently been published. Included in this report is an overview of the finances and granting of the patent of arms to the university as part of its Jubilee celebrations, as well as noting 'The management of an institution so vast is a serious matter'. The report goes on to commend the two new members of Council, Mr. Grenfell Price, and Mr E. Holden, one with wide scholastic experience, and the other as a 'sound financier and man of business'.

Grenfell Price appears to have been somewhat embarrassed by his election to the council which was sponsored by his colleagues at St Mark's and related to his work as secretary of the South Australian Teachers' Association. At only 33 years old he was very young to be elected to such a position and his own comments on this elevation makes it clear that he was aware of having upset some of the more established Council members:

To the horror of the ruling powers we both got in...the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor...took many years to forgive this young interloper...(Kerr 1983 p. 85).

Regardless of this early reservation he remained on the Council from 1925 to 1962 and appears to have been very active on other committees within the ambit of the Council. In particular The University of Adelaide archive chronicles a number of photographs of Price, associated with athletics and rowing, as well as awards committees, showing his enthusiasm and commitment to the executive and organisation of the non-academic section of the University, as well as the educational sector.

Rockefeller Travelling Fellowship

Rockefeller Scholarships have been granted to many people to undertake studies overseas since their inception in the early 20th Century.¹⁰ The Fellowship is one of the

¹⁰ The work of the Rockefeller Foundation began in 1913 after John D. Rockefeller inaugurated the first global US foundation. Scientists, scholars, economists, and grassroots leaders supported by the Foundation have spearheaded

most prestigious travelling awards and at the time Price was an awardee very few were given. Kerr (1983) notes that Price initially failed to secure the award, despite his already strong academic reputation. He was considered too old and also needed to undertake some local 'tropical' research to become eligible. Price's records outline his initial frustration at the rejection and then his more positive reactions when he received the organisation's suggestions as to how to progress. Subsequently, having made the recommended changes to his application, he received a scholarship to travel through many tropical areas. Among all the awards Price received during his career, it can be argued that this was of the most importance in establishing his reputation as an international scholar within the discipline. The research he undertook became the foundation for many of his publications, in particular the three books discussed in depth in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 of this thesis.

Among the suggestions to improve Price's Rockefeller application was inclusion of travel to Panama, a study which became fundamental to the arguments Price put forward in the first major publication which emerged from his travels (*White Settlers in the Tropics*). In Price's own notes (State Library of South Australia) he comments that he received the first award of its kind from the Rockefeller Foundation. Indeed it was a Special Fellowship granted specifically for exploration of the unique study of white working settlers in the tropics, and stipulated that he needed to investigate the successful settlement of Americans in order to complete the building of the Panama Canal, essential for development of the western regions of the United States. It appears that Price's potential was appreciated when he made his original application, but the committee was keen to harness his enthusiasm and have him undertake the research which would show all North Americans the importance of the tropical regions and how to approach settlement in these areas.

Price needed an outstanding reputation to obtain the scholarship, but how he used the time, and the logical and systematic way he approached the studies he undertook, and which informed his later writing, further enhanced his status as a researcher and author. While undertaking the studies facilitated by the scholarship he travelled widely through tropical regions – mainly in America and a number of Caribbean islands – and

the search for the solutions to some of the world's most challenging problems, particularly related to health. A full description of their history and activities is available at <http://www.rockefellerfoundation.org/>.

evolved his theories on white settlement of these areas. His theories were to some extent built on the environmental determinism promoted by a number of his mentors, including Ellsworth Huntington, and others he met such as Ellen Semple, but he evolved their theories further. As discussed in the chapter on scientific settlement he did not see this settlement as totally reliant on the characteristics of the races settling, but on their ability to manage environments in a scientific way. While undertaking this study under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation he could be seen to evolve his own theory of environmental possibilism with regard to settlement.

John Lewis Gold Medal

The John Lewis Gold Medal was presented to Price in 1949. It is the most important award presented to geographers in South Australia and is the premier award of the Royal Geographical Society of South Australia (RGSSA). 'The Gold Medal is awarded for noteworthy Geographical achievements in Exploration, Research or Literary Work undertaken while the nominee is resident in Australasia'. It is presented on an ad hoc basis with only outstanding nominees awarded.

Named after its bestowee, a pioneer of South Australia who was involved in pastoralism, politics and exploration (Kearns 1986), the medal is only awarded to those at the top of the profession, and who are deemed to have made notable contributions to the discipline. Lewis himself was a former President of the RGS in South Australia and also a member of the Legislative Council for many years. Price had emulated these achievements, although his political career was much shorter. He received the award in 1949 at a time when he was involved in many non-geographic activities and had begun to develop his strong interest in libraries and the need for a National Library of Australia. It was however clear to the geographic community that Price was a worthy winner of the prestigious medal and as a recipient of this medal it is clear that Price was held in high regard by his peers in the geographic fraternity in Adelaide.

Despite the importance of the award the journal of the Society contains little information on the presentation – in fact there is only a very short comment in the President's Address that Sir Grenfell Price was to receive the medal. No commendation is recorded in the minutes nor is there any record found of the discussion or process leading to the award. Grenfell Price's acceptance (Box 7/1/1) is equally casual in its

approach though he clearly must have appreciated the honour. He received the notification from the secretary of the Society in a brief note which was almost curt in its tone:

Dear Dr. Price,

The President, has asked me to advise you that you have been [sic] awarded the Gold Medal for 1949 under the John Lewis Memorial fund for Geographical Literature.

This Medal will be presented to you at the Annual General Meeting of the Society on Monday, 31st October at 8 p.m.

Will you please advise me if you will be present on this occasion.

May I also add my personal congratulations on this well earned award.

Yours faithfully

K. Melville Cornish

Honorary Secretary

Grenfell Price's response dated 17 October 1949 was similarly short and to the point.

Dear Mr Cornish

Thank you for your note and kind congratulations re the Lewis Medal. I feel very honoured at being awarded this tribute by the Royal Geographical Society.

As my University evening lectures are ending this week, I will be very pleased to attend the ceremony.

With kind regards and thanks,

Yours very sincerely

While appreciative of the award Price does not appear to consider attending the presentation a major priority. In fact he makes a point of the fact that he will only be able to attend because he will have completed his teaching commitments by that time. The acceptance response reads almost as a reminder to the Society that while he appreciates the honour his students, and teaching them, are his primary responsibility and he will only attend as his teaching for the term is completed. Yet as the meeting was the Annual General Meeting of the Society it does seem incongruous he had not kept this particular evening free.

Price's attitude towards his peers is interesting here. Perhaps he felt the award was overdue, after all he had written many books by this time and had been Vice President or President of the RGS in South Australia for a number of years. As such he was a

doyen of the group that was making the award and could well have considered himself to have been eligible for the award in a previous year. The award had been instituted just two years previously and in the initial year, 1947, it had been given to Charles Fenner who had preceded Price as President by a number of years. Fenner was President of the RGSSA from 1931-1932. The second medal, in 1948 went to Professor John Prescott, a much awarded soil scientist of Waite Institute, University of Adelaide.

Price had originally joined the South Australian branch of the Royal Geographical Society in 1921. He became a member of the Council in 1925 when he was co-opted mid-term (RGSSA Proceedings Council Minutes 28 August 1925):

Resolved: That Dr. A. A. Lendon and Mr. A. G. Price be appointed members of the Council pursuant to Rule 18 and consequent on the alteration of Rule 10.¹¹

At the subsequent Annual General Meeting (22 October 1925) Price was duly elected to the Council by the members of the association. At the AGM on 27 October 1930 he was elected Vice President, but this was a temporary elevation as in 1932 Mr F. L Parker took this position. Nevertheless Price was President from 1937-1938 and as his son K. B. Price noted (1985 pp. 40-41), when Grenfell Price retired from the Council in 1974 he had served as a 'Council member for 49 of the Society's then 89 years of existence'. This record was unlikely to be matched by many others. Should he have been the first recipient, and was he slighted in being third? While it is not possible to establish this, it is interesting to note his somewhat cavalier approach to the award, although he was clearly pleased to receive it.

Festschrift

Price's contribution to geography, particularly at Adelaide University, was commemorated in the publication of a book of essays, a *festschrift*, in 1969. *Settlement and Encounter* was produced by the staff with whom he had worked and whose lives he had enriched, and in some cases, people in whose careers he had played a major role. While a number of other academics may have an issue of a journal dedicated to their career, in Price's case the book contains a diverse range of chapters, each linked with his main area of study. The contributors are all associated with The University of Adelaide Geography Department, either as lecturers or researchers, and their

¹¹ These rules allow members to be nominated to the Council due to untimely resignation of serving members.

biographical notes (Gale and Lawton 1969 pp. 245-246) attest to their status within the discipline and to the leadership of Price within that department. Notable among the contributors are Fay Gale, who later became the Vice Chancellor of the University of Western Australia (only the second woman nationally to achieve this); Graham Lawton, the first full-time head and Professor of Geography at Adelaide University; Ann Marshall, one of the first full-time women lecturers employed at Adelaide; Donald Meinig, who was not only a Fulbright Scholar but is renowned for his work on settlement in marginal areas of South Australia; and Michael Williams who had a long and successful career specialising in historical geography not only of South Australia but also in Britain, his native land. In addition to the high academic status of the contributors the foreword to the volume was written by the former Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies (PM 1939-41, 1949-66), who describes Price as

...a geographer and an Australian historian. He is, and has been for a long time, a good friend of mine. His scholarship is of an enviable kind...it is a joy to me to know that his students and colleagues are publishing a book of geographical studies in his honour...a scholar's reputation is not assessed by public opinion polls, but by the judgement of his peers...a just and enduring memorial.

In her appreciation of Price, which opens the book, Ann Marshall comments that 'Price has a high place in Australian geography' and 'Many of his students who have gone on to distinction in their own fields will say they are geographers because of Grenfell Price'. These are more than mere words of praise; they are well supported by the evidence of Price's scholarship and leadership both in Marshall's comments and in those of her fellow contributors to the book. In his biography of Price, Kerr (1983 pp. 195-200) also identifies the importance of this publication in honouring Price and linking his presence in Adelaide with the success of geography as a university subject at the time.

The Jubilee 150 Commemorative Walk

The impetus for this thesis and investigation of the legacy of Price was the fact that he is the only geographer commemorated in the series of plaques along North Terrace in

Adelaide. There were only 150 South Australians selected for this honour¹² which is therefore a clear reflection of the status of Price within the State. A full list of those commemorated with a brief outline of their contribution to South Australia's development was published by the Historical Society of South Australia (Healey 2003). Interestingly there are no clear criteria given for how the selection was made. Healey (2003 p. vii) states 'the Jubilee 150 Board decided to honour a selection of men and women who have made significant contributions to the State's progress'. Unfortunately extensive research failed to locate any further information regarding this decision. It would have been interesting to know and understand the mechanics of the decisions; who was selected; who was rejected and why, but while these records must exist they are not accessible. Healey (2003 p. vii) does add that those commemorated included 'many of whom gained national or international recognition for their work', but what was the level of that recognition and how far it extended is not elucidated.

Other Awards

Redmond Barry Award

Another prestigious award granted to Grenfell Price was the Redmond Barry Award.¹³ This award celebrated his long commitment to libraries and especially the establishment of a National Library in Canberra. It is regarded as the premier award of the Australian Library and Information Association (formerly the Library Association of Australia) who describe it as:

awarded in recognition of outstanding service to or promotion of a library and information service or libraries and information services, or to the theory or practice of library and information science, or an associated field.

Price was the first recipient of the award, receiving this recognition in 1973. As with so many other award criteria there is no information on whom his sponsors were. In fact

¹² There are now more than 150 plaques as some additions have been made to the original walk. In addition the names are a reflection of more than 150 South Australians. In some cases a group is commemorated, e.g. Vietnam veterans, in others two or more family members may be remembered, e.g. the Braggs (Sir William and Sir Lawrence).

¹³ 'The award is named after Sir Redmond Barry, 1813 – 1880, who is regarded as the founder of the State Library of Victoria. Sir Redmond emigrated from Ireland to Australia in 1839, practised law in Melbourne and became Victorian Solicitor-General and a Judge of the Supreme Court of Victoria in 1852. In 1853 he was appointed Chancellor of the University of Melbourne and Chairman of Trustees of the Public Library of Victoria and held both positions until his death.' (Australian Library and Information Association 2012).

the web site of the Australian Library and Information Association makes it very clear that confidentiality in the nomination process is essential. As Price worked tirelessly for many years to ensure public access to libraries, and many of his later publications focussed on the need for a National Library, it is likely this led to the award and no doubt was a substantial achievement.

Price's connection with the library and other literary matters was one of the topics about which he spoke during a recorded interview (State Library of South Australia Oral TRC1/194) and no doubt also led to him becoming a recipient of this award:

In 1953 Bob Menzies made me chairman of the Advisory Board of the Commonwealth Literary Fund, which probably does the best job in the world in helping authors with government funds that, in our case, now amount to \$40,000 a year. We recommend fellowships, and aid for publication and for literary journals and for lectures. The United States Government gives nothing at all for these purposes, and Britain gives only 5,000 pounds a year for poetry.

Again, in 1960 Menzies made me the first chairman of the first Council of the National Library of Australia, a glorious marble building on the shores of Lake Burley Griffin. It will do much more than simply house millions of books, for it holds thousands of manuscripts, historic paintings, maps and films. Sir Robert himself, at the most earnest wish of our Council, set the foundations stone in March 1966, and I would like to say – and I know him well and have seen a great deal of his work – that that was the conclusion of the most wonderful job that has ever been done for Australian education.

It is very clear from these comments that he was particularly pleased with these achievements, but also with the fact that he had been invited to undertake these roles by other highly influential Australians.

Ephemeral material

Price's personal notes and research material held in the State Library of South Australia contain a myriad of papers which further illustrate the impact and esteem with which he was held by people in geographical community and the wider population. Some of the tasks he took on were clearly acknowledgements of his

geographical knowledge and historical investigation skills. Kerr (1983) gives some indication of this range, but there is so much it is clear that his role as a public figure within Adelaide can hardly be fully recognised. His papers contain copies of a large number of the hour-long radio broadcasts he presented six nights a week from October 1939 until May 1941, and many of these are based on his wide geographic knowledge which he applied to the contemporary issue of the day – the need for Australia to be united in its fight to protect its shore.¹⁴

Many of the actions taken by others which could be classified as ‘awards’ to Price, were related to his contribution to St Mark’s College, where he was Master from 1925 to 1957. A number of the facilities within the College bear his name, and this is perhaps one of his most lasting legacies; though cannot be judged to be directly related to his geographic skills, but rather his immensely broad interest in education and public life. Kerr also notes that Price ‘once won an ugly man competition at a school fete’ (1983 p. 3), but it is not stated if he himself entered this competition or was selected randomly for this ‘accolade’. Certainly it shows again his lively interest and involvement in local events and his amusement at the achievement adds further to an understanding of Price’s character and *joie de vivre*.

The request to write other’s obituaries was also an ‘honour’ which fell to Price on numerous occasions. Again his personal papers reveal that he approached each of these requests with great sincerity. He published obituaries of renowned public figures such as Sir Langdon Bonython and Sir Douglas Mawson. Grenfell Price’s own death was recorded in local and national papers, as well as professional journals in disciplines with which he was associated. These are discussed fully in the following chapter.

It is also appropriate to consider here the number of times Price’s influence is cited in the obituaries of others and how this reflects his position within geography and the broader society. For example the author of the obituary of Professor Fay Gale, the first woman Pro Vice-Chancellor of the University of Adelaide and later Vice-Chancellor of the University of Western Australia, noted she studied her ‘PhD under the supervision of internationally acclaimed Australian geographer Sir Archibald Grenfell-Price’ (Harvey 2008).

¹⁴ A full account of the broadcasts on Adelaide radio is outlined by Kerr (1983 pp. 159-168 in particular).

In addition Price is mentioned in a number of published 'thank you' speeches by other professionals for honours they were receiving. In his Presidential Introduction to the Institute of Australian Geographers in 1959 (IAG website) Griffith Taylor identified the importance of Grenfell Price's work in the field of geography. Similarly when Ann Marshall was awarded the first Griffith Taylor medal in February 1989 her commendation (IAG website) included reference to Grenfell Price's work at maintaining geography at The University of Adelaide.

Price was also a frequent speaker at a wide range of local and national institutions. He was clearly much in demand as a public speaker and spoke on many topics with a geographic or historical focus. In May 1964, for example, he addressed the Royal Australia College of Surgeons Inaugural Ceremony giving the Syme Oration on 'The Historical Importance of Disease – A Geographers Viewpoint'; later he spoke to the British Medical Association on 'The White Man in the Tropics', and so on. Price frequently presented addresses on behalf of the Pioneers Association of South Australia, including at State events, and to the Commonwealth Club on a variety of subjects. While he gave classes in geography at the Workers Education Association (WEA) he also regularly spoke in St Peters Cathedral, at various schools, prize givings, business conventions, literary awards, the Girl Guide Association, and at the dedications of many geographical monuments around the state.

On his overseas trips Price was also called upon to lecture on a variety of topics close to his heart. One United States visit led to a lecture reported in *The Arizona Star* and although this cutting was undated (it would appear to relate to the 1950s) Price retained it among his archives (Box 7/11/11), with no comment on its contents and inaccuracy of reporting:

Australian Scientist to Speak at University

Dr Archibald Grenfell Price, well known Australian archaeologist will deliver a chamber lecture...'Australia and her Pacific Neighbours'...Rated one of the world's leading authorities in his field, Dr Price is the author of 'White settlers in the tropics'... and 'The management of Indians, Maoris, and Aborigines'.

Two other newspaper cuttings, both unsourced but evidently from the same period, contained similar information. In one he is named as an anthropologist and in the other specifically as an historical geographer.

Price's life and thoughts were considered to be of sufficient national interest to be the subject of an interview with Hazel de Berg¹⁵, a copy of which is held in the State Library archive (Oral TRC1/194). The interview was recorded on October 30 1966 and its contents elucidate aspects of Price's character which may have had an influence on his later impact. The interview begins with Price briefly outlining his childhood and time at Oxford. He then remarks

The Prince of Wales, now the Duke of Windsor, was at Magdalen. He was very democratic, and he dodged all lords and other troubles. He should have coxed at his light weight, the wonderful eight to which I succeeded when Queen Mary wouldn't let the prince cox.... The Magdalen crew got six bumps, one every night, and a record place on the river. The crew got the oars and I as the cox got the rudder which should have been the prince's.

The rest of the interview briefly reminisces on the highlights of his career and interests. He is not averse to name dropping, ensuring he identifies his relationships with Prime Ministers Robert Menzies, Arthur Calwell and Harold Holt. In addition he notes that he knew:

Sir Douglas and Lady Mawson well, and after the death of that great Australian, Lady Mawson gave me his papers, from which I wrote 'Mawson's B.A.N.Z.A.R.E. Voyages of 1929-31'. Realising that nothing adequate in the Antarctic had been named after Mawson, I suggested when Sir Robert opened the Mawson Institute of Antarctic Research in The University of Adelaide that a coast should bear Mawson's name. The Prime Minister accepted this suggestion, and now, to our great delight, we have the Mawson coast in MacRoberston Land which Mawson himself discovered.

¹⁵ Hazel de Berg was an oral history pioneer in Australia. Between 1957 and 1984 she made recordings of many people worldwide. She began by recording Australian writers, novelists and playwrights and then extended this to interviews with 'prominent and rising figures in their fields'. (Powell 2007)

This interview is also a place where he records publicly his appreciation of the support he had from his wife, and so crediting her in this way is another insight into his character

Now I cannot end this recording without a tribute to my wife, who has travelled with me in nearly all my research visits and has been an immense help in all types of work. She herself was a main founder of St Mark's and of St Ann's Colleges, and without her foresight and her generosity, one doubts if the university college system in Adelaide would ever have met with success.

Comparison

The purpose of this chapter is to identify the awards and acclaim Price received through his academic and other work and to identify how this status showed his importance to geography. A contemporary of Price, Griffith Taylor, affords a useful comparison. He had similar interests to those of Price, as discussed here, in particular European settlement in the tropical regions of Australia, and the carrying capacity of the country. Although Griffith Taylor left Australia for many years he was the recipient of more international and Australian awards directly attributed to his work than Price. He was also more rewarded within the academy and with long standing named awards. There is no major geography award named after Price, although The University of Adelaide offers an annual award to the highest achieving student in an advance level geography course known as the Archibald Grenfell Price Prize in Geography. Conversely, the Griffith Taylor Award is the top award for Geography nationally in Australia, presented by the Institute of Australian Geographers.

Griffith Taylor was honoured in other ways by geographic organisations. For example he was the first President of the Geographical Society of New South Wales (1927); the first non-American to become President of the Association of American Geographers; he was the first geographer to become an elected Fellow of the Australian Academy of Science (1954); the first President of the Institute of Australian Geographers; and was made a permanent Honorary President of the Canadian Association of Geographers (Powell 2004 pp. 893-894). In 1923 Taylor received the David Livingstone Centenary Medal, which is 'awarded by The American Geographical Society for scientific achievement in the field of geography of the southern hemisphere' (AGS Honors list).

Griffith Taylor was even commemorated by postage stamps in Australia on two separate occasions. None of these accolades were accorded to Grenfell Price. Conversely it is evident that Griffith Taylor coveted a knighthood (Strange and Bashford 2008), but this was never awarded; in that respect Grenfell Price, Clifford Darby and Dudley Stamp all achieved this greater acclaim.

A number of buildings are also named after both Grenfell Price and Griffith Taylor. In the case of Price most of these are connected with St Mark's residential college in Adelaide and his long association with the college as Master. For example the Archibald Grenfell Price Dining Hall, and the Archibald Grenfell Price Lodge honour his achievements ensuring his name continues to live on at the college, although not at the main campus of The University of Adelaide. At the University of Sydney the Griffith Taylor Building was dedicated to geography, and although Griffith Taylor himself did not live to see the building completed Strange and Bashford (2008 p. 224) comment that 'assigning his name to the geography building was like bestowing his name on his own child'. Thus although the building is currently occupied by the psychology discipline, it ensures his name lives on within the University and geography.

Another contemporary of Price and Griffith Taylor was the British geographer Sir Clifford Darby (1909-1992). Darby was also an historical geographer, known particularly for his work on the history of geography and the Domesday project. He received the first PhD in Geography to be conferred at Cambridge University at the age of 22 and went on to hold many academic positions. In 1967 he was the first geographer to be elected a Fellow of the British Academy; one of the most prestigious acknowledgments of academic excellence available. Other awards which Darby received include the Charles P Daly Medal from the American Geographical Society in 1963 and the Royal Geographic Society's Victoria Medal in 1975. Neither Griffith Taylor nor Price received either of these medals, despite their strong links to the Royal Geographic Society, and the fact that both were Fellows of the Society. Darby also received an Honors award from the Association of American Geographers (AAG) in 1977 (AAG website), but while Price had been recognised by American geographers

with an award from the American Geographical Society (Honorary Fellowship 1973/74) he did not receive one from the AAG.¹⁶

With regard to the written legacy about Price and other geographers of his time, unlike many of his peers Price did not publish his own autobiography, although this was planned. His preparatory notes were used by Kerr to write a biography, and sections of Kerr's book are directly taken from Price's notes. Chapter 8 (of Kerr 1983) for example, on 'Meeting an emergency' begins by quoting Price's notes, and in chapter 10 'Survival in the sun' Kerr refers directly to Price's memoirs. Chapter 15 'Canberra in wartime' is Price's own work, and Blainey (Foreword in Kerr) remarks that it 'show[s] what a perceptive autobiography he could have written had he begun the task much earlier'. It is a further indication of the spread of Price's interests and his inability to ever turn down a challenge, that despite his intentions to publish a memoir he was never able to accomplish this; a new challenge always intervened. Kerr's biography therefore remains the only major overview of Price's life.

In contrast there are at least three books which illustrate the life of Griffith Taylor. His own autobiography *Journeyman Taylor* was published in 1958 and was followed by a *festschrift* (Strange and Bashford 2008 p. 221) and two biographies. He was the subject of a PhD written by Marie Anderson, one of his students, who later also wrote the first biography which was published in 1988 by Carleton University Press, Ottawa. Twenty years further on Griffith Taylor was still sufficiently remembered or notorious for Strange and Bashford (2008) to produce their biography, this time from an Australian perspective published by the National Library of Australia, in Canberra. The work undertaken by Price, and his role in the establishment of the National Library, makes this an interesting disparity. Price is not similarly remembered.

Despite Sir Clifford Darby's important role in geography in Britain and the fact that he was 'knighted in 1988, the first British geographer to be awarded a knighthood for services to scholarship' (Cymdeithas Hanes Resolfen History Society web site), there is no record of either an autobiography nor a biography, although there are many

¹⁶ The Association of American Geographers is the more formal and academic of the two societies. Formed in 1904 its 'members are geographers and related professionals who work in the public, private, and academic sectors' (website) and publishes 'two scholarly journals (*Annals of the Association of American Geographers* and *The Professional Geographer*)'. The American Geographical Society 'is an organization of professional geographers and other devotees of geography who share a fascination with the subject and a recognition of its importance'. Its publications are *Geographical Review* and *FOCUS on Geography*

references to his work. He is also listed as a Welsh inventor and has an entry in *The Welsh Academy Encyclopaedia of Wales* (Davies 2008). Clout (2007) in his entry on Darby in the *Geographers Biobibliographical Studies* notes in his final paragraph, that on his retirement 'Darby cleared his filing cabinets and destroyed their contents'. While his passing is recorded it would appear that Darby preferred his record and legacy to be judged by his written output, and not from his private papers.

An interesting assessment of the comparative international status of Darby, Griffith Taylor, Stamp and Grenfell Price can be made by considering who is included in encyclopaedic compendiums of those judged to be influential. *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* affords such a comparison. The 2004 revision of this enormous work identifies its purpose as to:

Cover people who were born in the British Isles, people from the British Isles who achieved recognition in other countries, people who lived in territories formerly connected to the British Isles, at a time when they were in contact with British rule, and people born elsewhere who settled in the British Isles for significant periods or whose visits enabled them to leave a mark on British life...[to] establish a roll-call of national pre-eminence...

Professor Joe Powell contributed an overview of the life and work of Griffith Taylor, while Stamp's achievements are outlined by Wise (2004 pp. 83-85). Darby's entry is contributed by Michael Williams (2004 pp.112-113). Importantly in the case of all three of these entries the first word following their name and title is the word 'geographer'. There is no entry for Price, but he was clearly known to the editors as he wrote the entry on the polar explorations and other work of Sir Douglas Mawson.

All the geographers compared here are listed in the *Geographers Biobibliographical Studies*, which confirms their relevance to the discipline. However the publication series criteria leave considerable flexibility to the editors to decide who will be included, and also relies somewhat on the availability of authors to contribute. As noted earlier the major Australian contributor is Professor Joe Powell who as an historical geographer was aware of the work of Griffith Taylor and Grenfell Price and ensured that their work was acknowledged and their names recorded in international fora.

Conclusion

Sir Archibald Grenfell Price was a much awarded public figure. Certainly he was well acknowledged by the English speaking geographic population, with Fellowships from the Royal Geographical Society, an Honorary Fellowship from the American Geographical Society, the receipt of the Rockefeller Foundation Travelling Scholarship, and locally the John Lewis Gold Medal. It is clear that while his work in geography was well rewarded overall he received acknowledgement for the extraordinarily wide range of work in which he became immersed throughout his life. While the latter was recognised by formal national awards, his knighthood and CMG for example, he also received some of the highest awards his geographic peers could present him with, directly related to his discipline. History, the discipline with which Price was first associated, does not appear to have rewarded him in any similar way, therefore his recognition in geography is both important and a real indicator of his standing within geographic thought and writing.

When the awards to Price are compared with some of his contemporaries it is clear that he received comparable acclaim in some regards, and greater in others such as the regal area. However, while his reputation and renown could be considered to be equivalent within local society, outside Australia there are areas where he was less acknowledged than his British or North American based peers.

The following chapter extends this assessment by considering how and where Price published his writings. In addition where possible reviews of some of his work are cited to illicit and comprehend his peers' opinions of his output. Measurement of academic impact is an ongoing and complex process and differs across time and space. Price's work is therefore compared with the other geographers cited here to obtain as unbiased view as possible of his continuing impact.

Chapter Eight

Impact and evaluation: today's evaluation reflects yesterday's quandaries

The evidence in previous chapters has shown that the scope of Grenfell Price's engagement with society was exceedingly broad and his renown reflected this. But does this give a 21st Century reader enough information to evaluate his continuing significance? This question remains relevant in academia today as funding and acknowledgement from national bodies is increasingly linked to research performance and influence. Australian Research Council (ARC) grants, the attempts to evaluate academics work through the ERA (Excellence in Research Australia) and the ranking of journals and books, all lead to attempts to measure academic performance in contemporary society. How to apply these measures though is fraught with problems. Nevertheless, despite the problems encountered, and inadequacies of the various systems, evaluation remains important today. It is an ongoing challenge within the academic environment.

Recent governments in Australia and elsewhere have attempted to ensure academic achievement can be linked with future research funding. Currently academic quality can be allegedly measured with a range of instruments; number of citations, ranking of books and journals published, and impact of those publications. The mechanics of modern publication, increasing numbers of journals and electronic counting and searching of citations have enabled rubrics to be developed and scores allocated, but concern exists about the measures and their efficacy and relevance. Those whose jobs, income and research futures depend on them can be challenged by the lack of apparent transparency within the system. However it is unclear if this angst is due to the fact that many do not agree with the use of the bibliometric measures, or if it is that they just do not like being 'measured' in this way.¹ It seems evaluation is imperfect but remains important today. There is still a struggle to evolve a simple measure. Despite availability of citation analysis, journal quality measures and the

¹ Bibliometrics are defined by Alan Pritchard (1969) as 'the application of mathematics and statistical methods to books and other media of communication...Bibliometrics will be used explicitly in all studies which seek to quantify the processes of written communication'. Methods used to apply such measures include citation analysis and content analysis.

number of citations being available the actual measure of impact needs to be more than a simple quantitative value. The quality and ways citations are used are required to get closer to the 'truth'.

Price was not at the whim of these controls. He published frequently, but did he publish in a broad range of journals, and would they be considered top journals at the time? He was cited by many authors, for many years, and the citations identified in the thematic chapters of this thesis illustrate this range. The ideas he used continue to be developed in other's writing today, even though they may not be attributed to Price and his work. This chapter further considers the impact of Price by applying the key measures used to evaluate his impact in the journals and other places in which he published. Price's patterns of publication are then compared with some of his contemporaries from Australia, Britain and North America.

Price's legacy

Grenfell Price was an inveterate writer. His personal papers take up volumes of space in the State Library archives. He kept handwritten and typed drafts of numerous lectures, papers, speeches and other ephemeral material. In addition he kept annotated copies of letters he received and responded to as well as copies of invitations, bills and receipts and quantities of research notes. His writing became almost unreadable as he aged, often tiny and scrawled across note paper or in note books. His personal files indicate that he may have been always in the process of sorting things out, as original letters and their responses are found in separate places, and sometimes longer letters or lecture notes appear misplaced in a range of files. This section of the chapter, however, focusses on his publications which give an indication of the scope of his interests and the variety of places, publishers and journals in which he published.

Book publications

Grenfell Price's first book was published in 1918 and his final major book in 1963, although this was followed by a number of monographs. Within this 45 year span were books covering geography, historical geography, history, social commentary, politics, economics, biography and education (in particular the role of libraries). This alone indicates depth and breadth, but also a mind that could be turned to almost any topic.

Favourite publishers or publisher's favourites?

A useful way of measuring the importance of Price's publications and their likely influence is to consider who were his publishers. During the mid-20th Century Australia had a number of book publishers, and Adelaide was well represented. Price had a strong relationship with Rigby Limited, a major Adelaide publisher and bookseller (dB 1990). Price's first book, *A Causal Geography of the World*, was published by Rigby and was specifically written for the school market following Price's dissatisfaction with the British books that were being used to teach geography in South Australia. It ran to nine editions between 1918 and 1930. This was followed shortly after by *South Australians and their Environment*, again published locally by Rigby, this time with six editions between 1921 and 1988. The number of books published in each edition is not known, but clearly both were sold successfully throughout the State and probably more widely to require so many successive editions.

Price continued to use a local publisher for his next book *The Foundation and Settlement of South Australia 1829-1845* (1924), but moved from Rigby Limited to Preece publishers. Preece's were also an old Adelaide company, specialising in the publication of local books, and in particular those related to the State's history (Dutton 1988). Clearly there were strong relationships between Price and these local publishers as the use of their services continued throughout Price's publishing career.

The first internationally published book in which Price is involved was released in 1928 when he combined with geographer Dudley Stamp (Professor of Geology and Geography in Rangoon 1923-1926, and Reader in Economic Geography, London School of Economics from 1926) to publish the bravely titled *The World, a General Geography*. This atlas remained important in teaching nationally and internationally for the following 25 years. The original edition was published by Longmans, Green and Co in London, and in 1950 the Toronto branch of the same company published a further edition. Three years later the Atlas was revised and again republished from Toronto.

Another in Price's stable of locally produced books followed shortly after with a clear focus on South Australia and South Australians. *Founders and Pioneers of South Australia* (1929) presented life studies of nine of the State's founders, and would have been aimed particularly at the local market. The book was again published by Preece

and possibly emanated from Price's involvement in the Pioneer Society of South Australia and his own family links with the original British settlement of the then colony. *Founders and Pioneers* would have found a ready market among the descendants of these forefathers. In his preface Price comments that 'For the present purpose the selection has in general been limited to those early leaders about whom fresh information has been gained'. In particular he thanks 'the late Mr C H Angas [who] kindly placed the remarkable private papers of George Fife Angas in my hands'.² Certainly Price must have been held in very high regard by this old established family to be entrusted with such material. A second reason Price cites for publishing the book is that interest in the centenary of the establishment of the colony of South Australia which would occur in 1936 was 'awakening'. Therefore;

Should this book serve in some small measure to quicken this movement by stimulating interest in the early leaders of the province, through a brief portrayal of their splendid conquest of almost insuperable difficulties, the labour involved in the writing will be amply repaid.

In making this comment on his own book, and in publishing it locally and for a very specific audience, it is clear that Price was leading the field in identifying who he thought should be honoured and by whom. It also ensured that the centenary of the foundation of South Australia was celebrated, and implicitly that he should be very involved in such commemorations.

Preece continued to publish Grenfell Price's books and monographs throughout the early 1930s, in particular those publications linked with Price's increasing involvement in the political arena. His tenure leading the Emergency Committee of South Australia was marked by publication of two editions of *The Menace of Inflation*, both in 1931, and then *Progress of Communism* in the same year. These are short publications intended for a lay reader, designed to stir emotion and warn people about how to use their votes in forthcoming elections. Their impact would have been both local and national, and although they bear Price's name as the author, it is likely this was as

² George Fife Angas spent much of his adult life involved in benevolent and charitable endeavours. He developed a strong interest in Australia and free settlement, and became part of the South Australian Land Co., and the establishment of the colony. He is especially renowned for his encouragement to a group of German Lutherans led by Pastor August Kavel to settle in South Australia at Angaston in the Barossa Valley. He later moved to Angaston and continued to take a public role being elected to the first Legislative Council in South Australia. (adapted from the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1966)

much an artifice to ensure a degree of respectability to the work of the Committee as it was a serious piece of writing on Price's part. Nevertheless the monographs were not given away, they were sold to the public, each at a cost of 2/6 (two shillings and six pence). Price considered them to be an important way to 'educate' the general population of the dangers of the political and economic developments of the period.

Price's first international publication as an individual author did not occur until 1939 with *White Settlers in the Tropics*; one of the three books discussed in depth in this thesis. In this case the publishers were the American Geographical Society, who had sponsored his visit and underwritten the Rockefeller Scholarship which had enabled him to undertake his research in the tropical regions. Price was not always happy with the directions he received from the book's sponsors. His original book notes from the State Library (Box 7/2/9) contain the comment 'The text contains in Ch VII a section on Cuba which the A.G.S. got me to delete from the published work. The excuse given was that the material was or had been published before but I suspected that the A.G.S. did not want to publish strong criticisms of the US' (original emphasis). Despite this altercation the book was sold throughout the world through the auspices of the Association, and the research also led to a variety of other publications (as discussed below). However his investigations do not appear to have resulted in any extensive book publication by Price in the wider geographic arena with other international publishers.

Following the Second World War, and with the expansion of Price's interest into even more diverse academic areas, his work was published by a variety of other concerns. Primarily these remained local companies. Georgian House, Melbourne, for example was a business which had begun in 1943 for the purpose of publishing books by Australian authors (*Georgian House* nd) and listed *Australia Comes of Age* as being 'a sound study of Australia's foreign policy against an historical background'.

The background to the writing and publishing of *Australia Comes of Age* tells a fascinating story of Price and his relationships with the United Kingdom Ministry of Information; the then Prime Minister of Australia – John Curtin; Oxford University Press, and Longmans Publishing. It is interesting to reflect on whether Price's name would have been known more widely in Britain, and his work appeared in others'

histories of the discipline, if the initial booklet had been published by the British Ministry of Information as first intended. Nothing in Price’s notes explains how he was selected to contribute the original manuscript, but Professor Harlow, then Head of the Empire Division of the British Ministry of Information, had written a number of books on the founding of the British Empire and British colonial history generally. It is likely he had corresponded with Price and heard of his work through the publication of Price’s earlier books, in particular *White Settlers in the Tropics*. There are no apparent citations of Price’s research by Harlow in his own major work *The Founding of the Second British Empire 1763-1793* the first part of which was published in 1952, and the second in 1964.³ Neither does there appear to be any acknowledged use of Harlow’s work by Price, although as their interests were so similar it seems likely they would be aware of each other’s publications. The fact that he was selected by Harlow and the Ministry for this role shows a high level of recognition by Price’s overseas peers, at least in Britain, but overall it is a case of what might have been rather than what actually eventuated as the full story tells.

The controversy around *Australia Comes of Age*, as recorded in Price’s personal papers is outlined in Box 8.1 and clearly gives insight into Price’s character and determination.

Box 8.1 The story of ‘Britain and Australia’ and how it became *Australia Comes of Age*

1943	
January 25	Letter sent to Price requesting he write an information pamphlet (no copy of letter in files).
February 12	Cable sent to Price from Professor Vincent Harlow, Ministry of Information, London, confirming request to Price to write a pamphlet of 20-25,000 words for which he would be paid £20.0.0. No copy of Price’s response but clearly he replied in the affirmative.
February 26	Cable to Price from Professor Harlow: ‘Delighted. Historical interpretation Anglo Australian relations as vehicle for expounding value and significance of relationship is what we need. Walkers South African pamphlet a good guide.’
April 1	Letter from Price to Harlow in which he notes he has been in touch with Miss Moodie Heddle, the Australian Educational Advisor at Oxford University Press, Melbourne. Price notes that because he is now an MP he has been busy but ‘I will keep the general design [of the pamphlets], but may emphasise rather more the British character of the immigrants etc...the recent changes are the problem. Alterations since December 1942 are naturally profound for the Japanese attack has made Australia face the Pacific and look North instead of N.W.’.
20 May	Letter to Price from Longmans of London, Melbourne office and signed by Miss Heddle regarding publishing Price’s pamphlet in Australia at OUP Melbourne. ‘Since last writing to you I have had time to read your pamphlet, and I should congratulate you on the very able and interesting way you have made, to my mind, quite the best review of the growth of Australia I have ever read. I feel sure the Ministry and Longmans should be well satisfied.’
9 June	From Bartholomew OUP Melbourne, ‘I have gone very carefully into the whole matter [of producing an Australian edition of “Britain and Australia”]...the whole stumbling block the acute shortage of paper...’.

³ This publication consists of two large volumes, the first 664 pages and the second 820 pages. It is a broad ranging description of the expansion of the British Empire, using many sources and British Colonial documents. Harlow had formerly published an edited selection of documents, from letters of instruction given to British ship’s captains such as Cook, to legal papers concerning the expansion of the British into their colonies worldwide.

	There is then a whole series of letters re the content and release of paper and availability of maps between Price, Longmans, Moodie Heddle and Bartholomew.
18 August	Letter to Price from Australian Prime Minister Curtin who has heard of the pamphlet from the United Kingdom Ministry of Information. Curtin requests a copy of the manuscript from Price as the United Kingdom Ministry has asked if the Commonwealth Government [Australia] 'has any objection to the publication of the pamphlet dealing with Australia'.
7 September	Curtin's secretary returns the booklet to Price, with the copies of the similar pamphlets on India, South Africa and Ireland which Price had also sent.
29 September	Letter from Miss Heddle regarding a letter Price had sent her (not on file) concerning what Price considered to be censoring of his booklet. Miss Heddle notes 'quite satisfied with their plans for printing the pamphlet in the country [England] and sending considerable supplies to Australia'. [This seems to be to do with the control of where work will be printed and who has the available paper supplies as there are shortages associated with war time rationing.]
1944	
15 January	Cable sent to Price: 'I am very sorry to have to tell you that it will not be possible to include your manuscript "Britain and Australia" in the series for which it was written. We much regret this and it will be best therefore if I tell you frankly how the difficulty has arisen. When your manuscript arrived we found that its method of approach rather differed from that suggested in my letter of 25 th January 1943 and that in particular certain important passages were likely to stir up political controversy in Australia. Since the responsibility rests with this Ministry for whom the publishers are rating on commission we felt that a British Government Department ought not to foster a book which contains some hard hitting contributions to Australia (sic) political controversies. We are forwarding the fee of £21.0.0 together with the MS and I should like to make it clear that as the Ministry cannot itself make use of the text it would seem only reasonable that we should not wish to retain rights in the product of so much historical research. The Ministry therefore regards all rights as reverting to you and would again wish to express the regret it feels in reaching its decision. Harlow'
17 January	Price's response to Harlow, by cable: 'Many thanks for your cable. I am sorry that the pamphlet did not fill the bill, but rather suspected trouble when Mr Curtin wrote to me personally that the British Ministry of Information had asked whether or not there would be any objection to the pamphlet, and asked me to send him the MS. Perhaps it is early days for a really historical overview of affairs, especially in the face of somewhat tender consciousness. I followed Walker as you suggested but did not see that could not have published his frank work of the South African Opposition had gained office. Thankyou for returning all rights. I am only sorry that this business means a rather long delay for your series. Would you kindly retain the honorarium. I would rather meet the expenses myself.'
17 January	Letter from Price to Harlow following the cable: 'Thankyou for your cable, the contents of which are not unexpected. In August last I received a personal letter from Mr Curtin, who informed me that the United Kingdom Ministry of Information had asked the Commonwealth Government "whether it has any objection to the publication of the pamphlet dealing with Australia". The Prime Minister returned the MS in September without comment, but with marks against a few passages, all of which referred to the past policy of his party. These passages were almost taken from the <i>Cambridge History of Australia</i> , and other leading authorities...I am sorry that the Ministry considered the work too outspoken.'
25 January	Letter from Price to Mr Binns: 'As you and your officers were so very kind and helpful in my historical work for the British Ministry of Information I am writing privately to let you know why some other writer will contribute the pamphlet "Britain and Australia" in Longman's series...'. Price then goes on to explain the situation, details and letters 'the whole matter is unfortunate particularly owing to the delay caused to the English series'.
7 February	Letter to Price from E.E.Bartholomew, OUP, Melbourne: 'I am so sorry to hear of the bad spin you have had in regard to your pamphlet "Britain and Australia". When we decided some while back now, that the shortage of paper and manpower prevented an early publication in Australia, and I advised Messrs. Longman Green to that effect, we continued to submit to the leading booksellers in all States, and were able to book up a considerable aggregate number of orders which we forwarded to Longmans to supply from the edition I concluded they were printing. I also put an order on a good number for ourselves to have a reserve stock. So far I have had no word from Longmans and it seems strange that they have not let me know if they are not publishing, which I take from your letter, is the case. I should be glad if you will confirm that I am right in the above conclusion. I mention the above efforts we have made for the sale of the London produced pamphlet, in this Territory so that you will know we did do our best to ensure good quantities came to Australia which would have been the case if publication had gone through at London. If I hear further from Longmans I will let you know.

	Enclosed is the MS you asked us to return.'
1945	
3 August	Letter from Price to Professor Gerry Portus [normally Jerry]: This letter explains all about the writing of the pamphlet and its contingency... 'Imagine my annoyance when in August 43 I got a letter from Curtin saying that England had cabled out about the publication and asking for a copy of the MS so the Government could consider the matter. I nearly threw in the sponge and refused to forward the MS but felt it might create further delays for England so I simply protested to Longmans in Australia about political censorship, and forwarded the MS. It came back with pencil marks against every reference to the Labour (sic) Party and nothing else, so the final result was obvious. In January 44 I got a long cable from Harlow saying that the MS had not been quite what they wanted, and they could not publish it as it might create political difficulties in Australia...I agreed with London that it was a pity to waste the work so offered it to the agents of OUP...they suggested I doubled the length and this I did and also added full references and strengthened anything that might appear controversial. The name was also changed to <i>Australia Comes of Age</i> so as not to interfere with the British publication. Harlow never had the decency to answer my tactful note, and I have never heard a word from them since. I told very few people...one or two thought I should get legal advice in view of treatment they considered a perfect disgrace...however I am very glad now that Harlow turned the MS down as the present book is a very great improvement, particularly as it contains full references. The first review published pays a tribute to its impartiality.

Source: Price's personal papers, State Library of South Australia.

It can therefore be seen that the local publication of *Australia Comes of Age* was a long drawn out event. Its eventual completion was the culmination of frustration and disappointment for Price, and denied him a presence with a non-Australian publisher. Perhaps it also suggests why he kept his focus mainly local in ensuing years.

Although publishers rationalised their services and the number of local publishers has declined, some companies used by Price are still in existence today. Angus and Robertson published his books on Captain Cook, and scholastic work related to the humanities in Australia. During the post-war period this company was one of Australia's premier publishing houses although it is now part of a larger chain of publishers (Angus and Robertson 2012). Further work was published by university presses in Sydney and Melbourne, while the 1960s saw Price's work published by international companies such as Clarendon Press Oxford, and Tri-Ocean books, San Francisco. His relationship with his publishers, and the editors and advisors within them also comes to the fore in regard to one of his last books *The Skies Remember; the Story of Ross and Keith Smith* (1969). Price's papers contain his notes and remonstrations concerning the eventual title of the book, with which he strongly disagreed, but in order to have his work published he had to acquiesce to the advice and insistence of the publishers. Nevertheless overall the majority of Grenfell Price's work was published by local publishing houses, but it is unclear if this was due to

Price's familiarity with the local market, or indicates that his work was not regarded as highly by larger international publishers.

Contemporary and comparable authors, such as Sir Clifford Darby, Sir Lawrence Dudley Stamp and Griffith Taylor, had considerably more access to a broader range of publishers. Being located either in Britain or on the American continent was very different from living in Australia and having to correspond either through airmail or telegraph with overseas publishers. It is therefore difficult to make a meaningful comparison with the publishers used. This dilemma is apparent when the first of Price's books used in this thesis, *White Settlers in the Tropics*, is considered. The American Geographical Society introduction comments on 'the problem of distance and the fact that the author has agreed to have comments on tropical climate added to the book'. Price had to agree to these additions in order for the publication to go ahead. He did not get a chance to check what had been added, time and distance prohibited this. To lose such control of a major work must have been very galling to him.

As befits a Cambridge professor and alumni most of Sir Clifford Darby's books were published by Cambridge University Press, with only joint publications being issued by international publishers. An early chapter (Pioneer problems in Rhodesia and Nyasaland) was written for Joerg's *Pioneer Settlement* published in 1932. The work was similar to Price's in that it was sponsored by the American Geographical Society. In 1938 a joint publication *The Library Atlas* (Philip and Darby) was published by George Philip in London, but other than this Darby rarely used publishers outside his University. While his output of journal articles was extensive Darby was more conservative with regard to book publications, although he was an editor of a number of books on historical geography and scientific surveys particularly those associated with the Domesday project for which he was most renowned.

Dudley Stamp's first book was published in 1923 and over the ensuing forty years his output was prodigious. Many of his earlier publications were written and published during his time in Burma (Myanmar) and were specifically written for geography teaching in Burma, India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka). These early books were published in Calcutta and Bombay and translated into local languages. Initially he published jointly

with F. G. French, but later also with his wife and a number of other authors including Grenfell Price. Throughout his life his output had an emphasis on the teaching of geography primarily at school level. While initially the focus was East Asia, by 1931 he was also producing a series of New Age West Indian geographies, jointly with A. J. Newman. Following the West Indies series he moved to the southern continents, and then Canada and on his return to work in London many further books were added for use worldwide. Stamp was not only a prolific author but also an editor of compilations of others' work, and succeeded in amassing *A Glossary of Geographical Terms* which many others had failed to complete despite many attempts (Stamp (ed.) 1961 pp. ix-x). Nevertheless as with the other authors discussed here it is clear that Stamp's work was associated with specific local publishers, depending on his location and the intended audience of the work.

As might be expected from an author who was a resident of a number of countries and worked in various universities during his lifetime, Griffith Taylor's work was published more broadly. Clarendon Press, Oxford published some of his early jointly written books. On his move to Chicago, the University of Chicago Press published *Environment and Nation* in 1936, and in the following year *Environment, Race and Migration* was a joint publication of the Toronto and Chicago University Presses. The Toronto Press continued to be favoured by Taylor and then in the 1950s he wrote and published jointly with Dorothy Seivewright⁴ and Trevor Lloyd, with their books published by Ginn, Toronto. Griffith Taylor's return to Australia saw a return to the Sydney based publishers Angus and Robertson. His autobiography – *Journeyman Taylor* (1958) – was his only recorded publication through the London publisher, Robert Hale. Overall the pattern of publishers used by Griffith Taylor is a reflection of the peripatetic nature of his employment and locale throughout his long career.

This brief comparison with other contemporary geographers who to some degree had career trajectories which had similar characteristics with Price, but in other ways were very different, shows that each tended to publish their books within specific locations and focussed on one or two publishers. Their relationships with these publishers were ongoing over long periods of each author's career showing a strong loyalty on the part

⁴ There is some disparity in the spelling of Dorothy's surname. Various sources use Seivewright while others use or Sievewright. Attempts using internet sources have failed to clarify which is correct, but the Trove website of the National Library of Australia lists the joint publication *Southern Lands* and uses the spelling Seivewright.

of both the author and the publisher. The pattern of Grenfell Price's publications is more restricted than each of the other geographers discussed here. It is likely that this is due to a number of reasons and not just his geographical location and the separation of Australia, and in particular Adelaide, from the larger European and North American market. Price was far more isolated, and the specific nature of his work, combined with the complex twists and turns taken by his career, ensured that he kept a close relationship with local publishers. In addition unlike Griffith Taylor, Dudley Stamp or Clifford Darby, he spent his entire career working from Adelaide, and was not attached to any overseas university thus ensuring a more inward focus and less likelihood of promoting his work overseas. The major exception to this is the joint publication with Stamp, *The World a General Geography*, noted above. This book brought Price's name to a much wider audience and for a longer period of time than any of his locally produced publications, yet nothing was found of this publication in his personal notes. Kerr comments that it was Stamp's 'custom to invite local authorities to cooperate with him in his works...' (Kerr 1983 p.56) implying that Stamp at least considered Price a worthy contributor and authoritative in his knowledge about South Australia specifically and Australia in general.

Journal publications

Journal publications give another important measure of impact and influence. They allow academics to explain and publicise their research interests and play an important role in giving recognition to academic endeavour. Current academics are required to publish; in fact there is increasing pressure to not only publish, but to publish in journals adjudged to belong to the highest categories. This was far less of an issue for Price and his contemporaries but clearly they still considered journal publication to be of great importance and engaged in this activity throughout their long careers. In Price's time there were fewer journals published overall and clearly there was no thought of electronic journals and other modern outlets in which today's academics can publish. The journals of the elite European, British and North American geography associations had (and still have) great kudos. It is therefore important in judging Price's contemporary importance to consider where he published. Knowing this leads further to understanding his role in geography and the overall discipline.

Favourite journals or journal favourites?

Price used the local Royal Geographical Society (RGSSA), of which he was President for many years, almost as his own personal publishing outlet. His Presidential addresses were included in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, South Australian Branch* annually as were the results of his research. His first recorded paper went into print in 1925. 'Geographical problems of early South Australia' (vol. 25, pp. 57-80) was followed a year later by 'The work of Captain Collett Barker in South Australia' (vol. 26, pp 52-66). Table 8.1 shows the full list of his papers, many of which appeared in the RGSSA journal, continuing through to 1960. The journal was distributed to all members of the society, including its 'mother' society the Royal Geographical Society in London, and would have been widely read among geographers and others in Adelaide and interstate. Strangely the journal is now more widely available than it would have been when Price was writing for it. A search of *The Internet Archive* (archive.org) lists the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, South Australian Branch* as among the digitised material available, and the records show that a number of downloads of the journals have been made. The South Australian branch of the RGS is unique in this, although naturally the Archive also contains many of the journals from The Royal Geographical Society London.

Table 8.1 shows that very few of Price's journal articles were published in international journals. Importantly, his research was accepted in a number of non-geographic journals and hence reached a wider audience, probably increasing his credibility and impact. As noted above with his books Price clearly had less access to international journals than would authors in Britain, Europe or North America. It is unclear from his personal records if he submitted papers to other journals that were in publication at the time, and if they were rejected, but in the main his research was either published in books or locally. The exception to this was the *Geographical Review*, the journal of the American Geographical Society in which he published on six occasions. The link with this journal is not surprising. He received his Rockefeller scholarship under the auspices of Isaiah Bowman and the society; they published his research findings in *White Settlers in the Tropics* (1939) and subsequent books, and in general the papers published in the journal were linked to the research undertaken for these books. The themes of the papers published were similar: white settlement in tropical regions,

including central and north Australia (vol. 25, pp. 353-371), Saba Island (vol. 24, pp. 42-66), and the Panama Canal Zone (vol. 25, pp. 1-11).

Table 8.1 Journal articles published by Price 1925 to 1968*

Year	Journal	Volume/pages	Title
1925	RGS	25: 57-80	Geographical problems of early South Australia
1926	RGS	26: 52-66	The work of Captain Collett Barker in South Australia
1926	<i>St Peters College Magazine</i>		The old boys column
1928	RGS	28: 46-52	Sturt's voyage down the Murray; the last stage
1929	RGS	29: 46-57	The founders of South Australia
1930	RGS	30: 21-73	Extracts from the journal of a voyage in His Majesty's ship 'Buffalo' from England to South Australia
1933	GR	23: 353-371	Pioneer reactions to a poor tropical environment. A journey through central and north Australia in 1932
1934	<i>Australian Banker</i>	11: 4-5	Problem of Northern Australia
1934	<i>Australian Quarterly</i>	6: 61-71	State and provincial disabilities in the Australian and North American federations
1934	GR	24: 42-66	White settlement in Saba Island, Dutch West Indies
1935	<i>Medical Journal of Australia</i>	1: 106-110	The white man in the tropics
1935	GR	25: 1-11	White settlement in the Panama Canal zone
1935	RGS	35: 82-92	Early South Australian maps in London
1936	RGS	36: 57-65	Geographical problems in the founding of South Australia
1937	<i>Institution of Engineers of Australia Journal</i>	9: 103-110	Century of South Australian history
1938	RGS	38: 99-100	Additional secret instructions to Lieutenant James Cook, 1768
1939	RGS	39: 9-48	The mystery of Leichhardt; the South Australian Government expedition of 1938
1940	<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	18: 659-670	Refugee settlement in the tropics
1944	GR	34: 476-478	Australian native policy: a review of three recent studies
1944	<i>Royal Australian Historical Society Journal</i>	30: 293-298	The comparative management of native peoples – America, New Zealand, Australia
1946	<i>Medical Journal of Australia</i>	33:557-558	The increase in White-Aboriginal mixed bloods
1951	RGS	52: 1-12	The geopolitical transformation of the Pacific and its present significance
1952	RGS	53: 25-27	St Mark's College scientific work at Fromm's Landing
1954	<i>Australian Planning Institute Proceedings</i>	3	William Light
1955	<i>MAN</i>	55: 166	The relations between white settlers and aboriginals in the border lands of the Pacific
1960	RGS	61: 13-20	The winning of Australian Antarctica; Sir Douglas Mawson's BANZARE voyages
1961	GR	51: 575-577	Captain James Cook's discovery of the Antarctic continent?
1964	<i>Hysterisis</i>	41-45	The Australian tropics – the history and problems of New Guinea
1966	GR	2: 283-285	Further notes on Captain Cook's possible sighting of the Antarctic Continent
1968	<i>Australian Library Journal</i>	17: 259-262	The opening of the first building of the National Library of Australia on 15 th August 1968
1968	<i>International Nickel</i>	2: 12-17	Captain Cook: a remarkable record

* Excludes RGSSA Presidential and other addresses later published in journals.

GR: *Geographical Review*

RGS: *Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, South Australia Branch, Proceedings*

Throughout Price's career he continued to publish successfully in the journal of the Royal Geographical Society (SA Branch) on a more varied range of topics. This was indicative of the way his career in general wove through a maze of themes which sparked his interest and kept him involved in chronicling the history and settlement of people and their explorations. In addition to the local geography journal he had a number of papers and monographs published by the Libraries Board in Adelaide and Canberra, while the *Australian Library Journal* and the *Australian Book Review* were also recipients of his work. Importantly two papers appeared in the *Medical Journal of Australia* (1935 vol. 1, pp 106-10; 1946 vol. 33, pp. 557-558); individual contributions were published by the *Institute of Engineers of Australia Journal* (1937 vol. 9, pp. 103-110), *Foreign Affairs* (1940 vol. 18, pp. 659-670) the *Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society* (1944 vol. 5, pp. 293-298) the *Australian Planning Congress Proceedings* (1954) *MAN* (1955 vol. 55, p. 166)⁵, *Hysteresis* (1964 pp. 41-45)⁶ and *International Nickel* (1968 vol. 2 pp. 12-17); all indicative of his broad interests. Of particular interest in this list is the fact that only one of the publications represented history, the discipline in which Price initially trained and received his degree. It is even more germane that the published article was the written version of an address given by Price to the Royal Australian Historical Society. The address and paper were in effect an advertisement for the way he researched his topic and the subsequent publication of his books.

But what of his contemporaries, where were they publishing? Again using Sir Clifford Darby, Sir Dudley Stamp and Griffith Taylor as comparisons, it must be remembered that they had much greater access to a wider range of journals. However this also meant that they were in competition with a greater number of academics and while all were regarded well in academia this was by no means a free passage to publication.

Interestingly, as a man who is much lauded for his Welsh antecedents, Darby published frequently in *The Scottish Geographer*. *The Transactions and Papers of the Institute of*

⁵ *MAN* was the title of the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland from 1901 to 1995.

⁶ *Hysteresis* was the official journal of the Adelaide University Engineering Society. In 1964 the society held a symposium on 'The development of Northern Australia'. Among the papers presented was Grenfell Price speaking on 'The Australian tropics – the history and problems of New Guinea'. The distributors of the journal noted that 'this particular edition will receive a wide distribution among persons and organisations not directly associated with the Society but who share our concern in the matter of Northern development'. The journal continued publication under the same name until 1979.

British Geographers were also an important outlet for his research, particularly the theoretical writings on links between geography and history. The *Geographical Journal*, the journal of the Royal Geographical Society, was also favoured by Sir Clifford, and he branched out to *Geographische Zeitschrift* on one occasion (1964) but there is much variety in where his papers appear, although as Table 8.2 shows there is a concentration in British journals.

Table 8.2 Journal articles published by Darby, by year and location, 1919-1968

Period	Britain	United States	Other
1928-1929	2		
1930-1939	17	1	
1940-1949	5	1	
1950-1959	8		
1960-1969	4		2
1970-1979	2		
1980-1987	5		

Within this concentration is a range which includes *Antiquity*, *Geography*, *British Geography*, *Journal of the Institution of Water Engineers* and *The Journal of the Town Planning Institute*. To this eclectic mix was added some more local publications such as *The Lincolnshire Historian*, *New Naturalist*⁷ and *The Journal of the National Library of Wales*. It seems in comparison with Grenfell Price that although the number of publications each achieved was not dissimilar, and the period over which they were published was also the same, Darby was able to spread the results of his research more extensively and certainly contributed to a greater number of national (British) and widely read journals than Price. Clout (2007) comments on Darby's pressure on his staff as well as himself to constantly publish their research findings. In fact he made it mandatory for junior staff on short-term three year contracts, 'Darby's declaration to a junior colleague: "No publication, no job"', and further 'Ultimately you had to deliver the publications...Darby was tough and single-minded – both on himself and others'. It is clear by his record of journal publications that he followed his own mantra and

⁷ A monograph series on a range of topics to which many geographers including Dudley Stamp contributed. Topics ranged across many subjects, including flowers, birds, insects and the physical landscape. Darby's contribution was entitled 'The draining of the fenland'.

insisted that others obeyed if they wished to stay in employment at University College under Darby's auspices.

Stamp similarly published in many journals over a long period (see Table 8.3). Between 1918 and 1966 his work appeared in almost 70 different journals or magazines beginning with *The Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society* and *Proceedings in Geology* before branching out into overseas journals for example the *Annales de la Société Géologique du Nord*.⁸ His geological work was simultaneously translated to appear in French and Belgian journals prior to his move to Burma and subsequent publications in India and Burma.

Table 8.3 Journal articles published by Stamp, by year and location, 1918-1966

Period	Britain	United States	Europe	Asia
1918-1919	1			
1920-1929	21	2	1	7
1930-1939	18	9	3	1
1940-1949	36	5		
1950-1959	40		3	2
1960-1966	38	4	2	1

In addition to the range of journals in which Stamp published the eclectic nature of his academic interests saw a move through geological journals to those focused on geography and ecology. Along this journey he branched out into such diverse publications as *Farmer and Stockbreeder*, *The Harvard Business Review*, *Journal of Electrical Engineers*, *Science*, *The Scottish Geography Magazine*, *Nature (London)* and *Stamp Collecting*. It would be hard to find a similarly broad range of publications achieved by any other of his contemporaries. Nevertheless within this broad mix there are journals favoured by Sir Dudley. *Nature (London)* published his papers 22 times between 1929 and 1964, while he also had papers accepted by the *Geography Journal* (19 between 1924 and 1968), *Geographical Review* (9, 1930-1958) and *Geography* (7, 1927-1965). When Price is compared with this output his publications appear almost

⁸ Stamp was not averse to having papers translated into non-English language journals. In 1921 his paper 'On the beds at the base of the Ypresian (London Clay) in the Anglo-Franco-Belgian Basin' was published in *Proceedings in Geology* and as 'Sur les couches de base de l'yprésien dans le bassin Anglo-Franc-Belge' in *Annales de la Société géologique du Nord*.

paltry, but where Price was spreading his career in a very diverse way, Stamp was much more focussed and while his interests moved from geology to geography and human settlement, importantly he had none of the involvement that Price had in politics or more public issues and was very much a career academic.

Griffith Taylor also published very frequently and widely in journals during his peripatetic career. He had over 100 articles published worldwide as shown in Table 8.4. Much of his earlier works, like that of Stamp, was in his premier scholastic discipline, geology. His research on local geological patterns was followed by publications centred on his Antarctic experiences and it is not until later in his career that he moves almost entirely from geologically focussed journals to geography, and occasionally sociological and psychologically based publications. His interests clearly changed through his career and his output naturally reflects this. Between 1903 and 1963 he achieved at least one published journal article almost every year; in some years – such as 1945 – up to six publications. Unlike some authors he rarely had the same material published in translation, but occasionally as in 1938 he appears to have been successful in publishing either the same paper, or a very slightly different paper with the same title in a variety of different journals. Griffith Taylor was most published in the *Geographical Review* (the journal of the American Geographical Society) with 14 papers between 1919 and 1950, and *The Canadian Geographical Journal* (8 papers between 1936 and 1945). As with the other authors used here for comparison, there are some distinctive outliers and individual publications with single papers in around 30 journals including *Nature* (1938) and *Foreign Affairs* (1927).

Table 8.4 Journal articles published by Taylor, by year and location, 1903-1963

Period	Australia	United States		Britain	Canada	Other
		GR	Other			
1903-1909	6					
1910-1919	4	3		1		
1920-1929	9	3	1	2		5
1930-1939	1	5	11	5	4	4
1940-1949		2	7		12	1
1950-1959	4	1	2		1	3
1960-1963	3		1	1		1

Note:

GR: Geographical Review

It is clear that publishing in journals was as important for these authors in the early to mid-20th Century, as it remains in the 21st Century. The range of journals in which each of these geographers published is indicative of their desire to share their research findings and their need to develop the strong collegiate links which were fundamental to their successful careers in academia and more broadly. Griffith Taylor in particular was a very widely published author and over an extremely long period but even he had what might be regarded as his favourite or preferred journals. Price compares reasonably well with Taylor, Stamp and Darby and certainly succeeded in spreading some of his research in national and international journals. Nevertheless over his long career there was undoubtedly a greater concentration in Australian and South Australian journals in particular as is shown by comparing his output with the other authors. As he moved between the various branches of his career and his extraordinary range of interests he was led into different avenues for his publications, but only in a limited way.

Book chapters

A further important form of publication for researchers, disseminating their work more widely and increasing its impact, is via publication in others' books. This can take place either by writing jointly with a main author or contributing a chapter to a collected edited work.

During his career Grenfell Price wrote a number of book chapters, and like his output of complete books and journal articles, their content changed over time according to his particular interest or focus. Relatively early in his career he was a contributor to *The Cambridge History of the British Empire* published in 1933, providing a chapter entitled 'Experiments in colonisation' which allowed him to expand on his ideas concerning colonial settlement. It is clear that Price was pleased when he was invited to contribute to this volume and subsequently he retained the letter sent to him by the publishers thanking him for his work (State Library archive).

Price continued to be a somewhat infrequent contributor to others' work. For example in 1958 he had a chapter entitled 'The exploration of South Australia' in *Introducing South Australia* (Best (ed.) 1958) which was a publication associated with the ANZAAS Congress held that year in Adelaide. In 1966 he had two chapters published, one in

Andrews' *Frontiers and Men*⁹ and another in *The Heather in the South* (Wannan 1966¹⁰). These two chapters were rather different in content, although both were in the historical geography genre. His piece for *Frontiers and Men* was strongly linked to his own books, and was similarly titled: 'Moving frontiers and changing landscapes in the Pacific and its continents'. For the Wannan anthology he investigated the life and legacy of one of South Australia's pioneers, Francis Cadell.¹¹ He had originally included Cadell as one of his case studies in his own early publication *Founders and Pioneers of South Australia* published 37 years earlier, and no doubt was pleased to be again asked to publish this chapter on the subject of one of the less appreciated pioneers of settlement in the State.

Various politically themed chapters written by Price were included in a number of publications during his foray into federal politics, including a chapter in Campbell Garnett's *Freedom and Planning in Australia* (1949) where he wrote about 'Contemporary party politics', but overall Price is not a frequent contributor to the work of others. Where he does achieve a higher degree of recognition from his peers in this respect is in the role of the author of writing introductions or forewords to others' books. In 1926 for example he wrote an Introduction for W. E. Cawthorne's publication *The Kangaroo Islanders* and then in 1936, somewhat curiously he contributes a piece on the 'Foundation of Port Adelaide' to the Port Adelaide Centenary Celebrations Regatta Official Programme. More seriously in 1937 he provides the foreword to M. Mayo's publication of the *Life and Letters of Colonel William Light*, which would have been a very popular book celebrating the centenary of white settlement in South Australia.

Whether because of Price's physical isolation in Australia, and separation from many other professional or academic geographers of his time, or because he was uncomfortable writing with others, his record of chapters in other people's books is less than those written by Dudley Stamp, Clifford Darby or Griffith Taylor. Each of

⁹ John Andrews edited this volume as a memorial anthology to the work of Griffith Taylor.

¹⁰ In 1966 Bill Wannan compiled an anthology 'to show something of what I can only describe as the "Scottish quality" in Australian life'. Price's contribution is one of nearly 50 items, encompassing stories, essays, poems and profiles of Scottish-Australian settlers.

¹¹ Francis Cadell was a Scottish settler who was involved with the development of the Northern Territory and trade on the Murray River.

these other authors had more joint publications although not necessarily spread over the whole of their career.

While Dudley Stamp frequently co-authored books (see above) most of the chapters he submitted to others' publications were sole authorships. In fact for the first 25 years of his publishing career he appears to only have published in books where he was first named author. In 1941 when *The Land of Britain* series was being issued he wrote various sections on particular British counties, and similarly in 1943 he contributed further sections to this mammoth series. In addition at the same time he was writing about land utilisation and land classification in various city plans, for example 'Land classification and agriculture' in the *Greater London Plan, 1944* edited by P. Abercrombie. The final days of the Second World War, and the subsequent need to replan Britain's cities gave Stamp a number of opportunities to contribute similar pieces which focussed on planning and better land use techniques. By 1950 he had broadened his sphere to sections in *Chambers Encyclopaedia* with articles on Asia, Burma, Great Britain and Siam (Thailand). Towards the end of his writing career Stamp contributed to a variety of publications, almost entirely focussed on land utilisation and land resources, including 'Land use and food production' in a 1961 book edited by Russell and Wright, *Hunger: Can it be Averted?*.

Whilst Clifford Darby was also a well published author he was less commonly a contributor to other people's publications, or a joint author of chapters in others' books. Early in his career, 1932, he had a chapter published in Joerg's *Pioneer Settlement*, 'Pioneer problems in Rhodesia and Nyasaland'. Much later, 1956, is a chapter on 'The clearing of the woodland of Europe' followed the year after, by 'The face of Europe on the eve of the great discoveries'. Similarly he rarely co-authors with other academics, and his overall body of work shows much more focus on publishing and editing in his own right than working in a co-editorial or co-authorship role.

Of the four geographers compared here Griffith Taylor appears to be the one with most co-authored or book chapters in others' books. The entry by Powell in the *Geographers Biobibliographical* series breaks Griffith Taylor's publications down by theme. His early work on the regional geography of New South Wales was produced in 1911, jointly with A. W. Jose and W. G. Woolnough and then in 1913 he had two

chapters concerning Antarctic exploration in *Scott's Last Expedition* (Huxley ed.). Throughout 1914 further chapters in major publications were the focus of Griffith Taylor's work. He contributed four pieces to the *Oxford Survey of the British Empire* on topics including settlement, climate and weather, mining and geology, and Antarctica. Griffith Taylor continued to contribute chapters on these topics for his whole career, and overall (depending on how sections of reports are counted), a total of around 40 chapters were published under his name.

Chapters in others' books, or sections in major reports, are a useful tool in considering the impact of any author and their links with others in their discipline. They show the range of knowledge and research each author has, and also serve as an acknowledgement from other researchers that each individual contributor has specialist expertise to add strength and depth to the publication. The comparison above serves to position Price's achievements in this regard in comparison with his contemporaries. While he was a contributor to some publications this was a secondary stream in his work, and it was clearly not a major outlet for him during his writing career. It is unclear if this was because he preferred to write by himself, or he was too busy to take up other opportunities to be more involved with other authors.

Peer acknowledgement

As noted in Chapter 2, and fundamental to the work undertaken for this thesis, Grenfell Price is acknowledged by few international authors discussing the foundation of the geography discipline, but he is mentioned by some that write about geography in Australia (see Harvey et al. 2012 for example). Price is also listed with around 400 deceased geographers in the *Geographers Biobibliographical Studies* publication which covers geographers worldwide from the Greek Eratosthenes who lived around 275 to 195 BC, the Arabic geographer Al-Muqaddasi (c945-988 AD) and Shen Kuo (c1044-1097 AD).

This series of reviews of geographers and their contribution to geographic thought emerged from a number of meetings of the International Geography Union's Commission on Geographical Thought. It was first published in 1977. The aim was to identify geographers who had made the greatest contribution to the discipline. Around

ten to twelve geographer's inputs are outlined each year and an attempt is made to cover all continents and language speakers.

All entries follow a similar format with a short overview, followed by more detailed information concerning the education, life and work of the person being discussed, followed by sections on scientific ideas and geographical thought, influence and spread of ideas, and finally the references used, a selected bibliography, and a chronology. In the earlier years of the publication, including that for Griffith Taylor, the chronology played a greater role, matching dates with career highlights, activities, publications and contemporary events and other people's publications. Such a table was of immense effectiveness in helping the reader comprehend how and why any geographer had written what they wrote and gave some measure of the influences that were playing out during the subject's lifetime.

Griffith Taylor is one of the earliest entries, appearing in 1979 in an account written by Joe Powell who is Australia's main contributor to this book series. Powell (p. 141) comments that:

Griffith Taylor...moved gradually towards geography before and during the First World War, through his association with David, with Scott in the Antarctic, and with W.M. Davis, A.J. Herbertson and Ellsworth Huntington. During the inter-war period, Taylor moved more boldly into the highly controversial application of geographical approaches to the study of settlement expansion. He founded Australia's first school of geography at Sydney University and after a brief but productive interval at Chicago founded Canada's first school at Toronto. Although he is often remembered principally as one of the last modern exponents of 'environmental determinism', Taylor's prolific individualistic contributions towards physical, cultural, urban and political geography, together with his successful regional texts on Australia and Canada, reflect much more broadly the general scope and spirit of the great formative period of university geography in the English-speaking world.

These comments may at first appear to be complementary and enthusiastic concerning Taylor and his career, but there is a second possible interpretation. Is Powell in fact damning with faint praise by calling Taylor the last of his type? Is he perhaps a

dinosaur rather than a leader and holding on to ideas which should be abandoned or revised? In addition care needs to be taken in interpreting how Powell has used the terms 'highly controversial' and 'individualistic'. Does this actually mean he was difficult to deal with and this contributed to the conflict which followed him and led to the various changes he made throughout his career? Powell's summary of Taylor's role in geographic thought shown here is at variance with Powell's entry for Grenfell Price in the 1982 volume. Price's reputation is discussed more factually, and he is favourably compared with Taylor in this passage:

Sir Archibald Grenfell Price was a prominent Australian educationalist, geographer and historian. His international reputation was built on a relatively small number of major scholarly works, including valuable pioneering analysis of the historical geography of South Australia and well received comparative studies of the social, political and environmental context of European settlement in the Australian, Pacific and Caribbean regions...Price is now strongly emerging from the shadow of the swashbuckling Griffith Taylor as another of the founders of academic geography in Australia during the inter-war and early post-war periods. (p. 87)

The contrast between these two entries in the biobibliographical series is striking, Grenfell Price's work is judged to be 'valuable' and 'pioneering' and his role in Australian geography is clearly acknowledge as being of significance. In contrast Powell's comments on Taylor are more ambiguous and it is unclear if he is commending or condemning his contribution.

The biobibliographical series also has a much later entry on Sir Clifford Darby stressing in particular the influence he had on the growth of historical geography; 'Darby had an enormous influence on the development of historical geography in the UK and in some Commonwealth countries' (Clout 2007). His important links to the International Geography Union during the 1920s and 1930s and wider work in both the *Naval Intelligence Handbooks* and the ongoing Domesday research project are identified as leading to long lasting influence in the discipline, although Clout also notes that later in Darby's life there were 'unhappy working relations'. He is however respected for his contribution to the discipline and foresightedness in linking historical and geographical

studies. For the purposes of this study and understanding of the importance of Price, the way he is aligned with these other geographers in this book series is significant.

At the national level both Grenfell Price and Griffith Taylor have entries in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Heathcote 2002; Powell 1990). These entries are similar to those published in the *Geographers Biobibliographical Studies* but with a few more personal details. For example Heathcote is more specific about Price and his personality and how others viewed him – of ‘Pickwickian appearance’, ‘an all-rounder of an uncommon kind’ and as ‘a Renaissance man...at home in several fields of knowledge’. He further remarks on Price as a man who ‘enjoyed fishing and shooting’. As an indication of Price’s impact on other people’s lives he and his work are also mentioned in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* entries on 15 other Australians, including that of Sir Douglas Mawson, a number of politicians and various book publishers. Conversely Griffith Taylor appears only four times, once in his own entry (Powell 1990), and then also with Mawson, Henry Hunt, who was one of Australia’s meteorology pioneers and his (Taylor’s) brother-in-law, and polar explorer Sir Raymond Priestly.

Histories of the geography discipline, and the sub-discipline of historical geography, have also been published by a number of writers. In their quest to classify the changes that have taken place over the last 150 years the authors have identified who they consider to be the leaders of the various movements as theory and practice within the study of geography changes over time.

In 1972 Alan Baker from Cambridge edited *Progress in Historical Geography*, a review of what were then recent developments in how the discipline was being studied and who were the protagonists worldwide. The leading researchers in each continent were asked to review the way historical geography had been studied, and who had led those studies. Baker himself writes the section on Britain with the work of Darby being at the forefront of the discussion. Darby is cited as a leader in the methods used to identify and explain the historical patterns of settlement in the UK in particular, and his study related to the Domesday Book. His methods are seen to be ‘widely accepted and well known aspects of Darby’s scholarship represented a new and radical approach when he first adopted and advocated them’. Clearly according to the contributors to this

volume he is a leader in this area. But Darby's influence is international; it reaches the USSR and Latin America. The role of local (Australasian) geography is contributed by Heathcote and McCaskill who cite both Grenfell Price and Griffith Taylor in their discussion. Griffith Taylor is accorded core recognition as first professor of geography, despite his training as a geologist, to illustrate the importance of his contributions to the burgeoning discipline. Grenfell Price, they note 'placed more emphasis on individual actions as formative influence, but also saw climate — in this case humidity — as a constraint for European settlement in the north of Australia as well as other tropical areas...' (pp. 146-147). Nevertheless when it comes to investigating the overall role of historical geography since 1945, Heathcote and McCaskill give equal credence to the contributions of two visiting scholars, Donald Meinig and Michael Williams, although it should be noted that Williams in particular spent many years at The University of Adelaide. In addition both the authors of the chapter had adopted Australia as their home country; New Zealander McCaskill coming to Flinders University as the foundation professor of geography, and Heathcote (from England) following shortly afterwards. Both remained at Flinders University until their retirement.

Dickinson (1976) considered who the leaders of Anglo-American regional geography were over the period from the Victorians through to the 1960s. Rose (in Dickinson 1976 pp. 114-116) identifies Griffith Taylor as being the major Commonwealth leader — his section is entitled 'The Commonwealth leader', intimating there is only one. Rose notes his importance in England, Australia, and North America: 'Griffith Taylor was perhaps the most widely travelled and experienced geographer of his generation, and possibly the most controversial person the field of geography has produced'. Darby is similarly lauded with many of his publications and his contribution to the discipline given considerable space. But of Price there is no mention by any of Dickinson's contributors. The focus of the publication may well have been too limited, as although the British Commonwealth has some credence, there is a concentration on links between Britain and the United States. Price's links were limited to his personal relationships with many US geographers, his Rockefeller scholarship, his links with the American Geographical Society and his subsequent studies in the country.

Similarly when Johnston published his consideration of Anglo-American human geographers in 1979 and revised it for 1983, Darby's work is acknowledged for its importance in the discipline, but there is no comparable identification of the importance of either Grenfell Price or Griffith Taylor. Both of these geographers were still active in the early period Johnston considers, but with regard to work by Australians his focus is only on work published by Powell. He cites seven of Powell's publications including the entry on Griffith Taylor in the *Geographers Biobibliographical Studies*.

Powell himself specifically addresses the historical geography of Australia (Powell 1988). In the preface to his wide ranging book Powell notes:

Australia's geography fraternity can point to a distinctive national heritage, including extraordinarily deep roots in vernacular modes of environmental appraisal and frequent engagements of leading researchers in the clarification of prominent regional, national and international issues. (p. xiii)

Powell condenses one hundred years of historical geography into this single volume, and the work includes many chapter notes and an extensive bibliography of both Australian and international authors. Despite many of the topics Powell covers being akin to Price's research, he fails to acknowledge Price's work, a point identified by Professor Murray McCaskill in his review of the book: 'the bibliography does not list any of the works by A. Grenfell Price whose last work, *Island Continent* (1972), is perhaps the most recent precursor and exemplar of the themes and approaches pursued by Dr. Powell' (McCaskill 1989).

Overall these examples show that Price was well regarded by his peers in Australia and overseas and his contribution to geography was recorded in a number of publications, but in several respects he was less recognised than Stamp, Darby and Taylor, particularly outside Australia.

Book reviews

Book reviews provide evidence on how people evaluate the quality of a publication and its contribution to knowledge, and provide another method of assessing Price's academic output. Price kept copies of many reviews of his publications. While the

discussion here focuses mainly on the trilogy of books used throughout the thesis, some of his other publications are also included as they show that he considered book reviews to be important, and the reviews come from a variety of sources. Many older reviews were found in his notes. It is unlikely that even with modern electronic search methods all reviews have been located, and while some are cited they have not been viewed. It is the range and diversity of where they were published, and who found Price's books worthy of review, which is considered to be an important measure of his success and renown.

Price's received many reviews for his early (1924) publication *Foundation and Settlement of South Australia 1829-1845*. A few of the more pertinent are included here. The reviews are both complimentary and critical of his research and writing, but for a young author he must have been very pleased to see his locally focussed book internationally reviewed in *The Times Literary Supplement* (July 24 1924), though not necessarily elated by some of the comments:

Mr Price has made a valuable addition to the scanty records of early colonization in Australia. Perhaps he has overloaded his story with details which were a little confusing to those who do not know his subject as well as he does himself...

And

...the passage of eighty years, and the development of great agricultural, pastoral, and mineral resources has failed to prevent the growth of the urban centres of the Commonwealth at the expense of the rural districts. Small wonder that Labour leaders cling obstinately to the theory that immigration spells unemployment.

The later excerpt seems more a reflection of the reviewer's concern about European events of the period and a need to make a statement regarding development in the [then] British Empire, than a comment directly related to Price's publication.

The very long review (abbreviated here) published in *The Australasian* (June 14 1924) might well have caused him some bewilderment, being both approving and judgmental, but nevertheless he kept a copy.

Mr A Grenfell Price has written a valuable book on *The Foundation and Settlement of South Australia 1929-1845*. We may criticise his method and some of his conclusions, but his material is fresh and he has used it with diligence and intelligence.... There is not much in the book, indeed, that is not drawn from sources hitherto scarcely utilised by any previous writer...[The book's] object [is] not to amuse but to enlighten...Mr Price has been somewhat too much influenced by the official papers...Such records never tell the whole truth. They need to be checked by references to narratives which were not official.

Mr Price's particular point of view is that of a historical geographer. Geographical factors interest him most. His observations upon them are amongst the most interesting in the book. But we are not sure that we always understand what he means.

Mr Grenfell Price is to be warmly commended...His book will be indispensable to all who wish to know how South Australia came into being. He has his own point of view...But the whole story is not one for treatment on these lives, nor do the official papers contain all the truth...

While not a formal review Price also received a personal, almost illegible hand written letter from Griffith Taylor about this particular book which noted that he [Griffith Taylor] had actually received the copy Price had inscribed to R. J. Rudall (Box 7/2/19). He assumed Rudall had received his copy. While congratulating Price on the book and its usefulness, Griffith Taylor adds:

Many thanks indeed for your fine study of South Australian Settlement. I have just received it, and can see that it will be of great interest. Further I can use it in my discussion of the Evolution of Sydney – which I consider in 3rd term. I fear this won't sell many copies, as students are mostly women teachers and shy of this world's pelf!

I send you my last address which I hope will cause the propagandists to gnash their teeth! Probably they won't 1. Because there (sic) mostly such old fogies they have lost their teeth 2. Because they never will read anything!

The comments here reflect as much on Griffith Taylor as on Price's authorship! Taylor was clearly unimpressed by his female students' proclivity with regard to book purchases, and the likelihood of his own theories on settlement being accepted by those in power.

Price's *Australia Comes of Age* which was published in 1945 was reviewed by *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Age*, *The Argus*, *The Advertiser*, and *The Coromandel*. It would be interesting to know what Price thought of the comment in *The Argus* whose reviewer wrote 'an interpretation of Australian history by a leading Australian conservative...Dr Price criticises the shift in emphasis made soon after Pearl Harbour [to the US from the UK]... [The] sections on population, the aborigines, and White Australia policy also lead to much the same degree of agreement with [government] policies at present accepted as official'. Regrettably while he kept a copy of the review, there is no annotation by Price to indicate how he reacted to being described as 'a leading Australian conservative'; knowing if he saw this as a compliment or not would give further insight into his character and viewpoint.

The first major book of Price's to be considered here is *White Settlers in the Tropics* (1939). Interestingly, given its timing and content, with much emphasis on settlement in tropical regions and invasion by Europeans into non-European regions, the book was widely reviewed in international literature. There were a number of reviews in German journals as well as those from publications in English. Locally the book received a long and complimentary review from fellow geographer Charles Fenner that was published in *The Advertiser*. More formal reviews of the book were also presented in *Economic Geography*, *The Economic Record* and *American Anthropologist*. The review in *The Economic Record* (The Journal of the Economic Society of Australia and New Zealand) is interesting in the approach taken. The reviewer congratulates Price on his method;

[T]he task was forbidding but attractive...since an effective analysis of the difficulties [of settlement] demands a unique combination of historical and scientific knowledge in the investigator. Dr Price has met those demands with distinction, and the result is a comprehensive statement of the hazards of tropical settlement...and of the limited progress which modern science has

made in exposing the causes of failure or in prescribing the methods for success.

The unnamed reviewer continues 'the author [Price] realizes what so many zealots ignore, that the capital costs of making the tropics comfortable for white races must be enormous'. Society in the 21st Century is only just coming to realise the truth of these words, as anthropogenic accelerated climate change increases the need for greater resource use and the inevitable costs involved.

The editorial in the respected journal *Nature* (vol. 144, no 3639 Saturday July 29 1939 pp. 171-173) was titled 'White settlement in the tropics'. The timing of this editorial is significant. Although the Second World War had not at that time been declared, there was already increasing concern regarding the settlement of current and future European refugees. The author begins his comments with:

It is now more than a century since Sir Samuel Baker recorded his lamentable failure to establish an English country gentleman's estate on the grassy plains of the heat of Ceylon...Since then, many advances have been made in the knowledge of tropical agriculture, yet many of the major problems of white settlement in the tropics and acclimatization to tropical environments remain unsolved...The problem of finding areas for large-scale settlement of mid-European refugees has thrown into prominence the need for more accurate knowledge of many of the more sparsely peopled areas of the earth's surface...

These observations are followed by a brief overview of the work undertaken by the Advisory Committee on Political Refugees (US) and the ability of countries and regions such as British Guiana, tropical Australia, North Africa and Brazil to absorb further population. Around a third of the editorial is given to consideration of Price's research and publication. The author of the editorial (unnamed) is very impressed by Price and his publication 'the first comprehensive scientific study of white settlement in the tropics'.

The author is an Australian with a very wide experience of tropical Australia, who has made detailed studies in many parts of the world...Price...is careful to show that the long and dismal record [of white settlement] throws little light

on the effect of climate *per se*, [and] the scientific invaders of the tropics still face three great obstacles: disease, which can and has largely been conquered, the coloured races, a condition which can be eliminated, and climate, the unsolved problem...and Price agrees...that failures in Central and South America are due to isolation, rather than to climate.... The admitted dangers of disease, ignorance, isolation and racial conflict are to be removed as largely as possible...

This broad use of Price's book in the editorial must have been of great significance and pride to the author. It publicised his research and his book to a range of readers who might otherwise not have read it, or even read a review published in the same eminent journal. In terms of today's understanding it is unclear exactly what the editor meant by the phrase 'a condition which can be eliminated' although other parts of the editorial envisage populations from different backgrounds settled together. The choice of words needs to be put in the context of the international situation of the time and the political attitudes towards colonisation which existed. No reference to this editorial was found in Price's papers, (which does not mean it is not alluded to in other private letters which are not available) although clearly he must have been well aware of it.

The *Geographical Review* (1939) lists *White Settlers in the Tropics* in its 'Recent Publications' section, reviewing the contents and the status of the author who they say; 'has travelled extensively in the tropics, where he has a wide acquaintance among settlers, administrators, and medical men... [it contains] detailed studies in northern Australia and the Caribbean region...a record of firsthand observations. Much of the history of white settlement is a story of wasted lives, wasted efforts and wasted resources...'.

The *Quarterly Journal of the Royal Meteorological Society UK* (1939) reviewer (listed only as L.C.W.B) has a natural focus on the climatic data added to Price's book by Robert Stone. However the review also discusses the 'appalling death rates among Europeans in the early days of tropical immigration' noting the deaths of so many particularly military cohorts. Price's interest in scientific settlement is seen as a very strong aspect of the publication and overall this is a very positive and complimentary international review.

Over the two years subsequent to the publication reviews appeared in a number of German journals: *Geographische Zeitschrift* (1940 vol. 46, no. 2, p. 67), *Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde* (1940), *Geographischer Literaturbericht* (1940), *Allgemeine Geographie* (1939), and *Meteorologische Zeitschrift* (1939).¹² Price also notes that there were reviews in *Tijdschrift Kon. Ned. (The Journal of the Royal Dutch Geographical Society)* and *The East African Agricultural Review*, but the text of these has not been located.

Price was not shy about using his connections to publicise his work and consequently sent a copy of *White Settlers in the Tropics* to the then Duke of Kent. The book's receipt was acknowledged by the Duke, or at least a staff member, though no comment was made of the contents, at least not kept in Price's notes. He did however keep hand written congratulations and a review of the book from Glenville Smith, Box 241, Cold Spring, Minnesota.¹³ Smith (Box 7/1/1) wrote:

[A]bsorbing presentation... [it is clear that the] saving element that had made survival possible...[was] work of the manual kind...[which was] important in maintaining the independence of the blacks i.e. a vertical rather than horizontal stratification between the races.

Another member of the public, rather than an academic, who received a copy of *White Settlers in the Tropics* and was fascinated by Price's arguments was A. A. Griffiths of Toowoomba Foundry Pty Ltd. (Queensland). Griffiths was one of the managing directors of the company, which among other things were the developers and makers of Southern Cross windmills and of great importance in the opening up of regional Australia.

Griffiths' original letter to Price (Box 7/2/31) commented on the settlement problems which were then being confronted, including allusions to the differences between permanent settlement and temporary sojourners:

¹² My thanks to Hamish Beer for translations of these titles: *Geographische Zeitschrift* – Geographical Journal; *Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde* – Journal for Racial Studies; *Geographischer Literaturbericht* – Geographic Literature Report; *Allgemeine Geographie* – probably best translated as 'General Geography' or 'Universal Geography'. "Allgemeine" also refers to the administrative branch of the SS, so it is possible this was a Nazi publication, but no details have been located; *Meteorologische Zeitschrift* – Meteorological Journal.

¹³ This was obviously of importance to Price, but electronic searches do not clarify who Smith was or why Price felt this so important.

Dear Dr Price

It has taken me much longer to read your book 'White settlers in the tropics' than I expected...To my mind settlement which does not provide for the raising and permanent residence of families isn't settlement at all...We are fortunate that we are not compelled to grapple with the problem of a dense indigenous population or an imported one such as the Negroes in America out numbering the whites and undermining their living standard. Our Aborigines demand careful and just treatment, but their numbers are relatively small.

Griffiths also sends Price a copy of his paper on 'Development of northern areas'. The emphasis in Griffiths' paper is on communication especially the railway from Darwin to Adelaide, better roads in regional areas and so forth. Probably as he owned a foundry in a regional Queensland town this was a promotional paper, but Price's response is very positive and encouraging though he stresses the need to develop due to 'dangerous proximity to Asia' (Box 7/2/31).

The reception of the book led to it quickly being oversubscribed and within three years Price was corresponding with John Wright of the American Geographical Society, who wrote to Price 'White Settlers has been out of print for some time...orders and requests are still frequently coming in [and it is]...one of two of our books that are most in demand' (Box 7/1/1). Further in the 1944 copy of *Geographical Review* (vol. 34, no. 3, p. 485) it is noted 'His [Price's] *White Settlers in the Tropics* is being widely used and commended as a pioneer study in its field'. Such comments, while not reviews in the most strict sense would certainly have pleased Price and given him further confidence and motivation to continue his writing.

In 1951, more than a decade after its publication, the American Geographical Union Secretary-Treasurer and Director, further congratulated Price on the long-term interest in *White Settlers in the Tropics*, and on his enthusiasm for establishing geography:

It was a great pleasure to read your letter of February 14th, and to know of your continuing researches in the field in which you have rendered such distinguished service to the profession. As one who has long been interested...I make bold to say that your AGS volume [*White Settlers in the Tropics*] is

outstanding, and that it will long remain the authoritative work on the subject. For this reason alone it gave me the greatest pleasure to know that the continuing demand for it was such as to warrant a reprint.

I am equally happy to hear that your University is becoming seriously interested in developing a graduate school of geography...(Box 7/2/7)

The publication of *White Settlers and Native Peoples* (1949 and reprinted in 1950 and 1972) was somewhat delayed (by the Second World War), but was also generally well received and again reviewed both locally and internationally. As might be expected, as the publisher of the earlier book, the American Geographical Society's *Geographical Review* considered the book a useful addition to the literature on the topic of settlement and development. It is not clear how many copies of the book Price sent personally to people, but his papers contain a number of letters thanking him for their copies, including correspondence from politicians in Australia such as Sir Robert Menzies and Paul Hasluck.¹⁴ These letters also coincide with Price's election as a Member of Parliament and in some cases combine their congratulations with some criticisms. For example Paul Hasluck writes 'wishing you every success in Parliament...I found [the book] intensely interesting but at times very disappointing', although he does not identify which aspects fitted this latter category. A further letter was from Norman Tindale, then of the South Australian Museum who expressed thanks at receiving the copy of the book. He commented 'an excellent idea to contrast the three culture contacts...From the list of references given I can appreciate the work and reading that went into the background of your study....'.

More formal reviews appeared in a number of antipodean publications. The reviewer in *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand*, (November 1950 pp. 289-291) stated:

Dr Grenfell Price's study is a valuable pioneer study of contacts between Anglo-Saxon settlers and aboriginal peoples in temperate zones...Dr Price is aware of the existence of the fur trader but fails to distinguish between the different types of frontier...It is difficult in a comparative study to avoid repetition...[but]

¹⁴ Sir Robert Menzies was Prime Minister of Australia 26 April 1939-28 August 1941 and 19 December 1949 to 26 January 1966. Sir Paul Hasluck was an educationist and historian who went into book publication before becoming a Member of Parliament and later Governor General of Australia.

on the whole, Dr Price has succeeded...This interesting and informative study is illustrated by first-hand knowledge...

The *New Zealand Listener* (15 September 1950) also took notice of the publication in a generally good review, but was critical of some aspects of the publication:

It is a pity that the care with which Price develops his theme has not been matched by similar care in the setting out of the book. Photographs are largely 'publicity handouts.'...careless spelling of place names and typographical errors are also surprising. The map on page 177 is misleading. It actually shows the areas where the Maoris constitute a significant proportion of the total population...This is a book to stir the conscience. Here are the facts. You may quarrel with the conclusions that Price draws from them. You cannot quarrel with his care in collecting them, or with the fairness and sincerity with which he presents them.

Christchurch's daily newspaper *The Press* (14 Jan 1950) published a short review, which was mostly a summary of the contents but concluded 'However Dr Price has many criticisms to make of New Zealand...His comparative method and the clear way in which he writes should make this a most interesting and valuable book to all who are concerned with the native problem'.

Comments and reviews from New Zealand continued. In 1953 Ruth Underhill, from the Department of Anthropology, Auckland University College was very complimentary.

Ever since I read your extremely interesting book on native acculturation I have been full of comments and thanks...I shall use it in my teaching both on Indians and other peoples. I only wish I had it on hand when I wrote my own summary of government measures...The whole book is a strikingly clear and cogent presentation invaluable for anyone interested in the subject. How glad I am to have it! My 'Red Man's America' should be out by early summer...(Box 7/3/8)

Other reviews were largely positive in nature, and published in more general journals such as *The Listener* (January 1950) who commented more on Price's skills '...Dr Grenfell Price is a noted authority and writes lucidly and vividly...a mine of well

documented information'. Similarly the ABC *National Book Review* (Farwell 1950), gave an overview of the book and then commented:

The facts [re Aboriginal deaths and other effects] which he marshals in two chapters are certainly not unknown, but there has been insufficient appreciation of them...Author of several important studies in South Australia and the Territory, Dr Price was able to undertake this penetrating work as the result of a Rockefeller travelling fellowship...All in all Dr Grenfell Price's *White Settlers and Native Peoples* is an encouraging book, for it implies that the future of these minority races is not hopeless, that their regeneration is possible, perhaps even their assimilation?

In Price's papers in the State library (Box 7/3/7) is an undated and unattributed newspaper review (this is unusual as Price is very particular about records) of *White Settlers and Native Peoples* which reads:

The impact of Anglo-Saxon impacts on native peoples has been the theme of many books, but here Dr. Grenfell Price, noted South Australian geographer and humanist has successfully attempted something quite new – a comparative study in the history of racial contacts in four countries – the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand...Dr. Price has been shocked during his travels in the interior, to observe, the appalling living conditions of the de-tribalised natives and half-castes, particularly in the Northern Territory...Dr. Grenfell Price's carefully compiled facts are indisputable. His smooth and scholarly style makes reading a very pleasurable exercise, but his very valuable and timely book is not written primarily to please, but to educate, particularly to educate official opinion and to arouse the official conscience, both at present tragically dormant.

These local reviews clearly stress Price's skills as a researcher and show how this book was generally appreciated for its thoroughness. The sometime controversial attitudes he had towards colonisation and race are highlighted by some reviewers, while others focus on the research skills and timeliness.

In 1964, following the publication of the third of the trilogy of major books discussed in this thesis, the *Geographical Review* published a review of *The Western Invasions of the Pacific and its Continents*, which began with;

One of the wisest of contemporary geographers, a veteran of more decades of the exercise of an indefatigable curiosity, a shrewd and perceptive critical faculty and a fertile and creative imagination...[he] has written a book so far-ranging in its interests as almost to defy comprehension...the reader will find no bland and antiseptic approach... [Price's] attitudes rather obviously derive from his British and Australian background....

The reviewer goes on to compliment Price on his thoroughness in the use of the wide range of research literature used, and concludes 'It will be of special interest to the large number of us who have long admired the author and profited greatly from his earlier writings'. This comment alone shows the status with which Price was held by many contemporary academics. Other reviews show much less enthusiasm.

The review of the same book in the *New Zealand Geographer* (Watters 1964) is generally complimentary and positive. Here the author commends Price for his lucid writing and ability to 'paint a broad canvas with bold strokes' (p. 97). This review however is at odds with the *Geographical Review* (Clark 1964¹⁵), for here the book is not considered well researched. In fact quite the opposite is alleged. 'Although the author's [Price] reading has been wide it is doubtful if it has been wide enough – and certainly not deep enough – to treat adequately the many complex problems involved...heavy reliance on secondary authorities, some of whom are far from the most reliable in their particular field...'. The reviewer then concludes 'Thus as an introduction to the broad field *Western Invasions* is highly readable and informative, but as a scholarly work that will inform the specialist it leaves much to be desired'.

A third reviewer, Keith Buchanan (1965 pp. 512-513) from Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand adds to this debate. Buchanan¹⁶ who admits to having read

¹⁵ Andrew Clark played a major role in the establishment of historical geography in North America. His early work centred on settlement patterns in New Zealand and he then wrote widely on the land use patterns adopted in Prince Edward Island, and the Maritime Provinces.

¹⁶ It should be noted that Buchanan himself was an interesting and controversial geographer with his own particular standpoint. Following his death in 1978 he was described in an appreciation by Ray Watters, then retired Associate Professor of Geography at Victoria University as 'a prolific writer, polemicist, reviewer and commentator...radical

the first of the trilogy 'with a lively interest' is even more negative in his comments. He states:

It was with a vivid impact of this earlier work that the reviewer took up Dr Price's latest study, only to close the volume with disappointment and a certain disillusion...the unavoidable impressions left...is that the reviewer has changed and the world too has changed – but Dr. Price has changed scarcely at all.

These acerbic phrases continue through the review, concluding that the book 'merely underlines that the attitude of (unconscious) racial superiority persists and highlights the inability of even Western intellectuals to see things in their totality'. This is a damning review, not only of the book but also of the author himself, and one which must have sat uncomfortably on the ageing Price's mind as he reached the end of his academic career. It is as if Price's background of conservative colonialism has caught up with him and he has been ensnared by it. It is not known if Price and Buchanan knew each other, but they certainly came from very different standpoints. Price makes no comment on the review and its contents in his notes in the State Library of South Australia.

A catalogue of *Oxford Books on the Pacific 1970-1979* included two books written by Price. *Settlement and Encounter* is listed as a tribute to Price's academic research, while the entry for *Western Invasions of the Pacific and its Continents* is annotated with:

This book contradicts the too general opinion that the Western expansion of recent continents was mainly conducted by white devils to the detriment of coloured angels, and that 'colonialism' was an 'unmitigated evil'.

The *Geographical Journal* has some fascinating debates where Price, among others, responded to reviews. A negative review of another author's book led Price to write a response, 'joining in this issue because the same caustic critic, even if occasionally kind, gave my *Western Invasions of the Pacific and its Continents*, the "dangerously false and unreasonably restrictive" treatment'. Further Price is extremely critical of this

geographer, socialist, a champion of the dispossessed, and unrelenting critic of orthodoxy, capitalist regimes and power elites' (Watters 1998 p. 3). Buchanan published widely particularly on events in Asia and was one of the founders of *Pacific Viewpoint* which preceded *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*.

particular reviewer stating, 'Dr. Taylor's last infirmity, however was his descent into complete inaccuracy...'. Of most importance in this rebuttal, and the comments which show most about Price's character and sense of fairness is his comment on the role of the reviewer: 'reviewers are of the utmost importance in bringing material to the notice of readers provided that this is done fairly and without misrepresentation'.

Obituaries

Peer acknowledgement of achievement or lack thereof in academic circles is also recognised through the obituaries which commemorate each person's life's attainments. Who thinks you are worthy of remembering, and why you should be remembered, gives a strong indication of status and legacy, and where that death is recorded is also indicative of the role that the individual played during their lifetime.

At the time of his death Price is clearly remembered locally within Adelaide and South Australia as well as the country as a whole. The diversity of his interests led to his demise being reported in a range of publications which referred to his geographic work, his work for libraries, and his political work.

The local newspaper, *The Advertiser*, reported his death and lauded his achievements. Journal obituaries naturally were published by the local Royal Geographical Society, and importantly the *Proceedings of the Australian Academy of the Humanities* also acknowledged his contribution to geography and the Academy (Spate 1978 p. 39). Spate's comments about Price's importance to the Academy go much further than this:

The loss of a man so various in his activities and friendships will be deeply felt far beyond academic circles. It is in fact impossible, within our narrow limits, to do much more than simply to list some of his versatilityes...a most genial companion, a most warm-hearted friend. Such a man defies the normal structure of an obituary notice; he left his mark in so many fields that selection seems an injustice...A man eminent in many fields but above all a personality radiating a warmth and gaiety not only precious in themselves but inspiring to others.

To read such words shows the true legacy of Price to the Academy in particular but also as a real person and an individual who contributed to many aspects of life. Such

an appreciative and generous obituary must have been welcomed by the Price family, and it seems unjust that it was not read by Price himself before his death to let him know how his work and character were so respected.

The Geographical Journal (the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society) also recorded his death and summarised his achievements. Their obituary was relatively short (pp. 180-181), as were others within the journal and there is no indication of who wrote it. The unidentified author notes:

Throughout a long and diversely active career, he combined a strong loyalty to Australia and to his native State with the widest and most genial sympathies: friendship with him was quickly gained and long-lasting...Grenfell Price developed strong geographical interests which run through nearly all of his writings. In the early 1950s, Australian academic geography was in its infancy; its striking growth, in numbers and maturity, in that decade owed much to his wise and enthusiastic leadership.

It is clear from this comment that at least by the author of this obituary Grenfell Price was considered a leader in the development of geography in Australia, and in Adelaide in particular. The publication in an international journal is similarly of significance in illustrating his status.

Recording of Griffith Taylor's death is more widely acknowledged. Partly this is clearly due to his greater notoriety and the fact that he was seen as a much more international figure, but it is also reflective of the greater impact he had on a much wider range of people. At least eight professional journals published obituaries, from the *Canadian Geographer*, to a number of Australian geographic journals and also the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. On this measure alone Grenfell Price is clearly over shadowed by Griffith Taylor and his legacy far less appreciated by his peers.

Similarly Sir Clifford Darby is remembered in a number of international journals. Major United Kingdom newspapers of course registered his death, for example *The Daily Telegraph*, and *The Independent*. His life's work is acknowledged by the *Journal of Historical Geography*, which had previously devoted an entire issue to commemorate

his 80th birthday. Importantly both geography and other national and international journals carried obituaries, with tributes in the *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (vol. 17, pp. 495-501), *The Proceedings of the British Academy* and subsequently in the Japanese Journal of Historical Geography (*Rekishi Chiri Gaku*) (vol. 161, pp. 43-45) in 1992.

Sir Dudley Stamp's death is as widely reported as Clifford Darby's with obituaries appearing in the expected journals, *The Geographical Journal* (Wise 1966 pp. 591-594), *The Journal of Glaciology* for which he was a founding member (Manley 1967 pp. 582-583), *Geography* and the *Geographical Review* (Kimble 1967 pp 246-249).

Obituaries are only one way of evaluating a person's influence, but they are important. It is of course rather unfortunate that they are rarely appreciated by the person whose life is being memorialised, though no doubt some people have either written their own or approved of the contents prior to their own demise. The role of the obituary has also changed over time, and as with all printed material is subject to the limitations of space in a publication, the willingness of someone to write about a recently deceased colleague, and the belief that the person should be remembered. In some ways obituaries have much in common with reviews of work, but whereas reviewers may be more forthright and critical, the writers of most obituaries look for the good points rather than the weaknesses. It is unlikely that any obituary writer would be unduly critical of their subject, and if they were it is also unlikely their comments would be published. Of course in recent times this has changed as a result of the access to non-moderated electronic media but this was not an issue for the leaders discussed here. The obituaries located and discussed were reflective and meaningful, often with humour and real appreciation of the subject's work. They make a useful contribution to understanding the impact of not only Grenfell Price but also Griffith Taylor, Sir Dudley Stamp and Sir Clifford Darby.

Conclusion

All evaluation of a body of work is challenging. This chapter has looked at contemporary opinions of Price's work to see how his peers evaluated that work. Only a limited number of his publications have been used to illustrate this assessment and to show how varied others' opinions were of his work. In order to evaluate those

appraisals the reviews of three of Price's books have been analysed. In addition a comparison has been made of the number and variety of journals in which Price published, with three of his contemporaries, Griffith Taylor, Sir Clifford Darby and Sir Dudley Stamp. Further the number and publication detail of obituaries is discussed.

It is clear that Griffith Taylor's notoriety ensured that his life's work and subsequent death were more widely recorded than that of Grenfell Price. However all four of the men discussed here are seen as worthy recipients of entry into international dictionaries and such publications as *Geographers Biobibliographical Studies*, hence their renown is ensured, at least while these publications continue to identify leaders in the field and publish their achievements.

For Price particularly, it is evident that his legacy was determined, limited and shaped by his reliance on local publication outlets, resulting in less international exposure. Reviews of his research contributions were generally favourable, although mostly not written by contemporaries of his own discipline. Accordingly, recognition of Price's contribution to the development of geography was limited to universities in Australia and recognition of the merits of his scholarship mainly came from non-geographers.

Chapter Nine

Forgotten, outdated or never included?

Archie Grenfell Price is a geographer...his scholarship is of an enviable kind, for it is the adornment of a most civilized mind and a most genial character. (Sir Robert Menzies, Foreword, *Settlement and Encounter*)

The relationship between Price's academic achievements and his invisibility within the geography discipline remains a puzzle. Clues as to the how a man, famous in his home town and in his own lifetime, but now almost forgotten, have been identified, but the question remains: why is Sir Archibald Grenfell Price not acknowledged in the history of geography?

This chapter has two main roles. First it evaluates the research methodology which was evolved and used to appraise Price's contribution to geography. The evaluation method was established after reading a wide range of literature which sought to understand the ways an author's contribution can be valued, and then assessing if these methods are applicable to the investigation of others. The second section of the chapter reviews the case for including Price in accounts of the development of geography, and identifies the probable reasons for his exclusion.

The investigation methods

A broad consideration of relevant written material led to the evolution of three main criteria which could be used to evaluate the contributions of Archibald Grenfell Price to the discipline of geography and attempt to resolve his evident disappearance from the geographic record. The investigation into his ephemeral fame within geography, and the fact that he has been ignored by those who have written the history of the discipline, is the core of this research.

Despite there being numerous biographies and autobiographies of geographers and explorers (several of whom were quasi-geographers), outside specific discipline histories very little was found in the literature that measured the actual impact of past contributors to the discipline. In addition many of the authors of discipline histories

give few clues or outline any actual criteria for who they decided to include and who they ignored. As a consequence criteria to measure and understand Price's influence were developed from the ideas within the reading. These criteria can be applied to authors other than Price, and this constitutes a significant methodological contribution of the thesis to the study of the influence of individual writers on the development of a discipline.

The first criterion developed was designed to assess if Price contributed to discipline ideas. Was he a leader or a follower of others; did his writing show original thoughts and did he deal with his material in an original and unique way? This could only be established by wide reading of Price's own work and considering how he went about choosing his topics and undertaking his research. His output was too extensive to read all published material in depth, consequently careful decisions needed to be made towards approaching this task. Given that there is such a wide-ranging body of Price's work, selecting a topic he considered relevant, and being able to understand why that remained relevant, was fundamental to the success of the measure.

As Price continued to write on a single theme for a long period of time – white settlement in tropical regions – this theme emerged as the most prominent to investigate. When applying this method to scrutinise an author's work it is fundamental to consider if they focussed on a single theme for an extended period, as the criterion would be less appropriate for application to a body of work where the writer published on a variety of topics and had no single strong and continuing theme. However it must be remembered that Price was not only writing about white settlement but was expanding his academic horizons throughout his writing career. As such there was some serendipity in that he continued to write about white settlement even when involved in political, economic, education and particularly library analyses.

In order to comprehend the full effectiveness of the use of this first criterion, a great deal of work needed to be undertaken to identify if Price's ideas were followed by others, i.e. was he a leader? Certainly access to electronic search engines facilitated this exploration. In the future as such search engines become more sophisticated and more material becomes traceable on electronic data bases, the method can be advanced further. Nevertheless there are inherent problems in using this technique.

Leadership can only be judged by using the comments of others on Price's work, or any other chosen author. Even with electronic searching available, to find if others were writing on the same topics at the same time, and if Price is following rather than leading, would involve investigation of all authors who were his contemporaries, and similarly analysing their material. This is neither practical nor appropriate given the limitation of the PhD process, nor realistic in the life expectancy of the researcher! Comparison with one or two contemporaries is useful, but each person is writing from their own individual background and singular circumstances, hence no fully comprehensive comparison can be made. The idiosyncratic nature of particular authors at specific times needs to be acknowledged, and it is important to understand any biases that emerge as a result. Despite these reservations the results usefully measure the leadership relevance of a particular author and their work, and this criterion could certainly be applied to the work of others.

The second criterion used to measure Price's influence was to judge the period over which any new ideas, or theories he put forward, were significant in the writing of others who followed him. It is clear that this measure assumed that at least some of the initiatives he propounded, and that were detected using the first criterion, were then picked up in others' work. This would be seen by extrapolating from information regarding who cited Price's work and the period of time over which these citations occurred. Both the first and second criteria required the application of electronic searches to identify later authors' citations of Price. Each citation was then located and the way it was used examined in order to provide evidence of Price's influence. In this regard both temporal and spatial aspects of the use of Price's ideas by others are important.

Judging both the period and sphere of influence are critical in understanding Price's importance and whether it was permanent or transitory by nature. Certainly this measure can be applied to academics and others today. This approach is broadly similar to the impact measure currently used as a performance indicator for many present-day academics through the Excellence in research (ERA) system. The major difference in its application within this thesis is that it was important to understand not just how many people cited Price, but which particular ideas they cited, whether their comments were positive or negative, and also whether they then used these ideas in

their own writing. Unlike with citation indexes it is the quality of the citations, not just their number, that is critical.

The research shows that it was not enough to simply find how many citations of any one of Price's books appeared in later work. It was also necessary to locate those citations, and ensure they were linked to the three selected themes discussed within the thesis and were not simply generic references to his books. If the measure only used the number of references to Price it would fail to identify the specific nuances and awareness those authors had of Price and his work. It was also important to identify the status of those citing his works and when they did this. Later citations, and citations in non-geographic writing, showed that the period of his influence and the sphere of that influence was longer lasting and broader in impact than if the citations were limited to local geographers or historians. This measure is widely applicable, but takes considerable time to apply.

The continuing expansion and power of electronic search tools is progressive, but also has problems. Search engines become more and more refined and specific, but rely on the digitisation of published material. In their very power they identify more examples, from a wider range of published and non-published material, including grey literature, oral interviews, film and new forms of written words. When applied to Price, this was less of an issue, however future researchers using such resources may need to wade through the myriad of words which are now stored digitally, including blogs, emails and other such messages. For example if Price was publishing today would he have a Facebook or LinkedIn page in which to discuss his research and findings, and would these then be fundamental to other people's knowledge of his work?.

The third way to assess Price and have a greater understanding of his status and therefore identify the possible reasons for his absence from most academic commentaries was to determine how he was awarded and rewarded for his contributions to geography, education and society. It was important to approach this in a way which, unlike a biography or even an autobiography, could not be seen to be a hagiography. There is no doubt that Price was important to those around him, many of whom may have had a natural tendency to laud his accomplishments, but who else recognised his contribution? The key indicators used to establish this could be applied

to almost any other person. For example even the briefest of obituaries list lifetime achievements of the subject. More comprehensively inclusion in national and international biographical listings, various honours, regal and otherwise, and professional acknowledgement are all indicators of an individual's contribution to his or her field of endeavour. Receiving a knighthood or CMG and other regal awards was important in Price's time, but may have less status in the 21st Century. Formerly recipients tended to be high level achievers in military, business, academic or other professional arenas. In recent times recipients have come from a much wider range of occupations or activities including many community workers, sports people and popular actors, artistes or musicians.

A number of awards which were formerly 'bestowed' on recipients have now become either defunct or are the result of an individual applying for them on his or her own behalf. They are attained rather than granted or bestowed. For example Fellowships of professional bodies which formerly may have been granted as the result of achievements noted by peers can now be obtained following application and proof of suitability, plus on occasion an appropriate fee. They do however still have to be approved and passed by a committee of suitably qualified contemporaries.

Nevertheless knowledge of how peers recognised the achievements of an individual remains a useful indicator of that person's contribution to a field of research. As a key indicator which can be applied to others this is a very useful tool. As with the other measures it requires persistence and diligence to identify the relevant awards and why they were given. It also requires some basic knowledge of the systems under which such accolades were made available. Access to personal papers or if applicable, family members and friends who were willing to talk, would certainly facilitate the use of these measures, but even without this capacity it is possible to find out a great deal about what contribution any person has given to their discipline.

The measures employed in this research have proven functional and robust. Rigorous application was achievable with the use of electronic searching mechanisms, but even without these tools it would be possible to apply similar searches, however the time taken would be exhausting. The limitations in this particular case, as discussed in Chapter 3, were mainly concerned with the way the search tools function, and the

name or multiple names, by which the author was known. While the research methods identify the esteem in which Price was held, and his role as a leader or follower, the causes for Price’s ‘disappearance’ or lack of acknowledgement in discipline histories have to be interpreted from the evidence obtained.

Forgotten footpath Fellow – what does the investigation show?

The research established a number of reasons why it seems Price should be remembered more broadly and be understood to have contributed in a significant way both nationally and internationally to the corpus of geographic knowledge. In the 1930s only two Australian geographers were known internationally for their work. One was Griffith Taylor and the other Price; one is remembered and the other not. Table 9.1 summarises the indicators which could lead to a researcher being considered to have made an important contribution to a discipline, and these are discussed and evaluated in the following section.

Table 9.1 Possible criteria for ongoing acknowledgement

Indicator	Did Price fit these criteria?
Publication track record	extensive but limited number of journals
Peer acknowledgement	far-reaching
Public acknowledgement	broad
Peer relationships	strong especially locally
Public approbation	broad but specialised
Tenure at University	no

The case for recognition

The evidence presented in Chapters 7 and 8 demonstrates that Price was exceedingly well regarded in his time for his contributions to public affairs. He knew the right people, made the right connections in society and his hard work was appreciated and acknowledged by those in power. Appreciation came in the form of regal and academic honours. When he was asked to take on difficult and challenging roles he tackled tasks others declined, such as leading the 1930’s Emergency Committee and challenging the hierarchy of the University of Adelaide to continue teaching geography as a subject in its own right. His entry into politics was a direct result of the then Prime

Minister's intervention. No other identified geographer appears to have become a Member of the Australian Federal Government. Price's initiative and considerable interest in the establishment of free public libraries and later the National Library of Australia in Canberra is certainly among his most important achievements, yet he worked in this area concurrently with publishing books and journal articles on geographical topics. While undertaking all these roles he also found time to broadcast and take part in the activities of St Peter's Anglican Cathedral and was a close friend with the then Bishop.

Here is a busy man who continued to personally reply to letters from many people and find amusement in interaction with friends and family and record many of these incidents in his personal papers and letters. There is no doubt that Price was well regarded by his social peers. He attended 'high' society events, including a ball given for the newly crowned Queen Elizabeth and was unambiguously among Adelaide's elite for many years. However, this public recognition is not sufficient to ensure his status in the discipline of geography.

One aspect of Price's work that should ensure his place in the history of the discipline is his impressive record of publications. Quantity, quality and range of texts are all indicative of a man who was never still and who appears to have been constantly researching, investigating, writing and publishing. From the publication of his first book in 1918 (*Causal Geography of the World*) to 1972 when he published *Island Continent: Aspects of the Historical Geography of Australia and its Territories*, hardly a year passed when he did not appear in print in one form or another. Table 3.1 lists his major publication record divided by area of specialisation, it is therefore not repeated here, however few others would be able to claim such a wide and diverse record of achievement over a 54 year period. More than 20 books are included and many of these ran to more than one reprint or issue. In addition Price's journal articles (excluding printed versions of Presidential addresses and the like) number around 30, many of these at a time when there were only limited outlets available within Australia and communication across the globe was challenging thus limiting access to European and North American journals.

The impact of these publications is also an important part of an assessment of his contribution to the development of geography. One of the criteria identified to understand the impact of Price was the period of time over which his work was acknowledged as being important and his concepts regarded as leading ideas in the field. The research presented here was limited to consideration of only the three major themes taken from three particular books. If all Price's publications, or all citations of his work were included, the scope would be much broader. The actual number of people who cited his work would consequently be seen to have extended well beyond those used here as illustrative of his impact and the period of acknowledgement of his work.

Citations of three selected themes are indicative of the fact that Price's work was appreciated in a positive way by many well qualified academics. His input to geography was vast and many of the ideas he researched remain relevant today. Price's work on scientific settlement and the role of science in successful settlement can be reinterpreted today through the lens of ongoing climate change and the increasing need for energy efficiency in the 21st Century. While he admired the ability of the Americans to complete the Panama Canal by adopting a scientific approach and protecting United States workers from the difficult environment, these ideas could now be transferred into the practicalities of living a comparable life in tropical areas of Australia and the push to develop these regions. Although Price was not mentioned in the histories, or his work appreciated by the narrators of those histories, there is much to learn from his work. It needs to be reread in the context in which he wrote, and understood from his perspective, but today's researchers might appreciate his ideas.

In addition Grenfell Price worked tirelessly to ensure that geography was established successfully as a department at The University of Adelaide. His role in this development is fully discussed by Kerr, and others have reflected on it in their discussion of the history of the current Geography Department at the University (Harvey 2004). Acting as a conduit Price was responsible for safeguarding the continuance of geography and employment of full-time tenured staff when the ongoing teaching of the subject as a mainstream discipline was threatened. Certainly he is remembered for this action at the university.

Finally, the high regard in which he was held by academic geographers at the time is shown in the comments made in his Festschrift, *Settlement and Encounter*. Few Australian geographers have been honoured by a Festschrift. In addition, the foreword to the book is written by Sir Robert Menzies and is effusive in its praise 'It is a joy to me to know that his students and colleagues are publishing a book of geographical studies in his honour'. This comment shows that even his political friends were aware of his geographical achievements.

So why is Price invisible in the history of the discipline? The following section counter-balances the pluses and identifies the probable explanations.

The reasons for invisibility

Price's absence from the histories of the English-language discipline is perhaps not surprising. Such histories are almost exclusively written by British or American based academics. It is clear when reading these histories that their focus is on academics from these regions. Any contributions from antipodean geographers are either ignored or given very short shrift, unless the geographer in question, usually Griffith Taylor, made their voice known or moved from Australia. The Anglo American bias is strong and creates an impenetrable obstacle for a geographer like Price from a small city in a far off nation.

In addition, while Price was an inveterate author who published frequently and on many topics, he rarely published outside Australia, other than in the journal of the American Geographical Society – *Geographical Review*. The first of his publications discussed in this thesis, *White Settlers in the Tropics*, was researched and partly funded by the American Geographical Society, and there would therefore have been some expectation that along with publishing the book, Price would also publish some of his findings in this journal.

There is nothing in Price's papers to suggest he submitted work to other overseas journals and received rejections for this work. He certainly kept comments made by his mentors and colleagues on drafts of chapters of books, and also copies of letters when he was in conflict with publishers on book titles and other matters, but there are no rejection letters in his records. Instead it appears Price chose to publish frequently in the journal of Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, South Australian Branch, but

this was a very safe local publication as he was also President of the society for many years. This lack of articles in international journals limits his visibility and longevity, especially overseas.

When put in the perspective of the publications of other contemporary geographers (in particular Sir Laurence Dudley Stamp, Sir Henry Clifford Darby and Professor Thomas Griffith Taylor) it is clear that Price's name was unlikely to be in the forefront of academia internationally and his local importance therefore failed to translate into an international legacy.

The choice of subjects selected by Price also limited his exposure to others who were writing about the history of the discipline and identifying who were the leaders in geography. Whilst his books covered the history of settlement, local pioneers, education and libraries, exploration in Australia and Antarctica, he made only limited contribution to the discipline's theoretical or methodological development.

In relation to his influence on geographical theory, Grenfell Price's contribution was small, and overshadowed by others. Kerr (1983 p. 49) comments that *Causal Geography of the World* (Price 1918) 'put him in the mainstream of enlightened geographical thought at that time' yet he offers no real evidence for this assertion. In fact despite the book's continued use in schools and the number of editions which were published Kerr also notes 'A puzzling thing is that it does not appear in the syllabus for the public examinations'. So while the book was clearly seen by some people as important in the local teaching of geography it was not considered to be so essential that the academic authorities of the time took its use as a requirement. This may be because the book had a very specific focus – Australia – but 'is written in terms of a stable and lasting British empire' (Kerr 1983 p. 50) and there were many other empire geographers contributing to geography, thus an author from Adelaide was little significance. The role of the empire is implicit throughout Price's writing, and again this could have acted against his acceptance in the international arena, especially during the latter part of his career when the empire was changing and many countries within the newly named Commonwealth were gaining independence. Their geographic perspective was not focussed on individual colonies, but more on their own post-colonial future.

Theoretically, Price writes in many ways from an environmental determinism standpoint, although it could be argued that he is more an environmental possibilist, given that he saw the ability of people to change their environments and adapt their lives to the local environment. This is of course as long as they use scientific approaches to that settlement. His association with Ellsworth Huntington and other environmental determinists of the early 20th Century influenced his work on settlement, but he mainly wrote about what he considered to be facts rather than theories. In histories of the discipline authors as Ellsworth Huntington and Ellen Semple, who were more widely known and their works more accessible in pre-electronic times than those of Price, are used as exemplars of environmental determinism, not Price. Furthermore, by the time he wrote *The Western Invasions of the Pacific and its Continents* (1963) environmental determinism had become discredited, and his theories on race and settlement were starting to appear somewhat racist.

Another facet of his writing was his concern for the future of Australian Aborigines and his fear that the European invasion of Australia was a tragedy for the original inhabitants, which is at odds with his comments about other non-European groups in the USA and Canada. Price is a pioneer in thinking about the Aboriginal peoples of Australia in this way, but it appears this lacked relevance to British and American researchers or the historians of the discipline. They were not investigating these relationships at this time.

In relation to methodology, Price's own son, demographer Charles Price, claimed that 'Archie made several important methodological contributions' (Price in Gale 2004 p. 36). First Grenfell Price believed that 'scholars should always visit places about which they were writing' and second, 'was Archie's custom, which he impressed on his students, of taking photographs' (p. 37). However, while Charles Price asserts that these are important methodological contributions it appears that other contemporary geographers were adopting similar approaches, and Price did not stand out as a leader.

Price did however make the first use of some of the more obscure resources available through the British records in South Australia House in London and in this respect was a contributor to evolving research methods. He used this research to give depth to his

book *The Foundation and Settlement of South Australia 1829-1845* but again his meticulous approach was overlooked as the people whom he chose to investigate were not the famous founders of the State but the more obscure contributors. This focus led to him being less important in the geographic world and easy to overlook outside his native State. There are no acknowledgments in the reviews of the discipline of geography of any of his work, and he is even omitted from the very brief overviews of geography and historical geography in Australia.

In relation to the development of the subject in Australia, geography as a discipline was only just becoming established in Australian Universities as Price was moving from school teaching to university teaching. There were therefore few locally trained professional geographers, although there were a myriad of explorers and surveyors who were certainly quasi-geographers. Price and his work were overshadowed by these people, despite the fact that he led an exploration into the bush in search of the lost explorer Leichhardt. In the early part of the 20th Century Australia was commemorating and celebrating its success in Antarctic exploration led by Douglas Mawson, the return of many wartime heroes, and the emergence of more 'notorious' geographers such as Thomas Griffith Taylor, all of whom left Price in their wake.

Griffith Taylor ensured that geography and the possible carrying capacity of the Australia was in the forefront of political thought on the future of settlement in Australia. His forthright warnings to the Australian government, and his public persona were considerably stronger than Price's. He had his criticisms and warnings on attempts to develop Australia's north published in the newspapers of the day and debated his opinions loudly and vociferously with any and everyone who disagreed. Price was not of the same ilk. While in many respects his conclusions were broadly similar to those of Griffith Taylor, his measured way of presenting his findings did not lead to the same degree of publicity, certainly not nationally. While Griffith Taylor made his opinions known loudly and in a confronting fashion, Price presented his in a more stolid and thoughtfully produced manner.

This overshadowing by other geographers did not prevent Price from being noticed outside geography, he counted Prime Ministers among his friends. Nevertheless much of his work failed to give him status outside his own locale, or in the general

geographic environment. It seems that the geographic position of Australia, and Adelaide, in the world and the world itself acted against Price.

Another factor which may have worked against the acknowledgment of Price by overseas academics is that despite the regal and academic acclaim he received from others he was not a tenured academic. He successfully fought the University establishment to ensure geography became an academic subject at The University of Adelaide; however his employment status with regard to teaching at the University is somewhat ambivalent. Price's own records show that he charged the University for individual lectures and was paid accordingly; but the lectures were not confined to geography. He taught history and economics classes as well where necessary. His permanent position was as Master of St Mark's College, the residential college of the University of Adelaide, and his work here allowed him to undertake his research, write his books, and become involved in the range of other activities.

The lack of a tenured position in a University geography department must have affected how Price was regarded by other geographers, especially those in older established universities such as in Britain and the United States. Certainly he could not be accused of being a dilatant but neither would he have been seen as a serious academic in more traditional and established circles. Furthermore, the way Price's research straddled geography and history might also have reduced his recognition as a geographer in Britain and the United States.

When assessing Price's ongoing geographic legacy it is impossible to ignore the widespread nature of his publications and how this would impact on any specific group of professionals. Price was a man who seems to never say no to any task that presented itself or any opportunity that arose. The subsequent eclectic nature of his career and interests is another key to understanding his apparent transparency within geography. He had so many concurrent interests that applying himself to a single issue or discipline, and therefore having a chance to become the most eminent in that area, was not part of his psyche. From my own experience in undertaking this research I have found that many people actually seem to know he existed, but very few can tell you why he is important or was eminent enough to be selected as one of South Australia's most important people after 150 years of settlement.

The 'tyranny of distance' impacted on Price's renown and international recognition of his work. There is no doubt that Australia in the early to mid-20th Century was not seen as the best location in which to become noted or notable. Price's plaque on North Terrace, where he is the Forgotten Footpath Fellow, is surrounded by plaques of others who went overseas, especially to Britain, and became far more famous for their work. These people remain known to many, but they moved in order to develop their skills and subsequently became more well-known. The fame of many of the scientists, chemists, musicians and dancers emanated from their overseas achievements, not what they accomplished at home. This 'cultural cringe' extended well into the late 20th Century and even now in the 21st Century many young Adelaidians perceive a need to move from their home and homeland to make their name overseas. Whilst Australia has been an independent nation for over 100 years there are still strong Commonwealth ties and the links with the United Kingdom and Europe remain robust. Thus many academics move across the world and their names become known worldwide, but Price was not in this group.

Australia's geographic position and perceived physical isolation for many years also affected the ability of Australian residents to be acknowledged widely overseas. Prior to air travel the journey from Europe would take four to six weeks by ship. When air travel became more available and a viable financial option the city was still isolated by the very structure of the local airline market. Travelling to Adelaide required entry to the country via one of the other State capitals as Adelaide did not have an international airport until 1982.

There is a dichotomy within Price's writing that also leads to his apparent invisibility in modern geography. It is noted above that he spread his interests very broadly throughout his career, but he simultaneously also held on to a single theme for thirty years. During the time he was discussing white settlement the political world around him was changing in attitude and structure. It may well have been acceptable to many people to discuss the limitations of European settlement and the social Darwinism of racial attitudes in the 1930s. By the time the world had begun to come to terms with the effects of the Second World War and even the influence of 'eugenics' movements, to continue to discuss these issues in the 1960s was not sensible and opened him up to criticism from many, and the disregard of others who may have included him in their

overviews of geography had he chosen less dated topics. It is almost as if Price himself was so absorbed with 'conservative' and upper class attitudes that he forgot his humanistic side. In an evolving world where colonialism was giving way to colonial independence Price does not seem to have moved at all in his attitude; he remained a colonial with a high regard for everything British. The didactic nature of his writing on these topics might lead an outsider to consider his work to be that of an unthinking imperialist at a time when Australians were refocusing their attitudes towards settlement of people from a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds.

To further understand why Price and his work seems to have disappeared or to have never been fully appreciated in academic geography circles some of his personal characteristics may be relevant. Reading his work and listening to his voice gives a unique impression of the man and some of the characteristics which emerge from this also may have impacted on his acceptance. He certainly achieved a great deal, but his conservatism and seeming inability to accept a modern world and the changes in that world act to his detriment. Price does not appear to have 'shouted' about his own achievements, although he did send copies of his books to many of Australia's elite and others. For example he sent a copy of *White Settlers in the Tropics* to the then Duke of Kent, and received an acknowledgement, though no comments on its contents. He did however keep the letter from the Duke in his files but as it is dated 23 June 1939 it is likely the Duke was concerned with the imminent war rather than reading about future settlement. It is clear that Price expressed a somewhat naïve astonishment and humour when awarded the CMG and was indeed surprised when others acknowledged his non-academic work. This dichotomy, the ability to distribute specific publications to society's elite, yet be clearly incredulous at receiving a regal award, is both part of Price's charm and simultaneously the paradox.

One characteristic of Price that he maintained throughout his life was his upper class British accent. This is very clear in recorded interviews with him (copies of which are held in the South Australian State Library and the National Library of Australia). Even when Australia was changing quickly and a British accent was no longer a 'requirement' for Prime Ministers, public speakers or news broadcasters Price maintained his inherently British speech patterns and emphasis.

All these aspects of Price and his publications help to explain his lack of recognition in the history of the discipline. In summary, Grenfell Price was a strong public intellectual and academic, but he was marginal to the core academy and lacked engagement with academic organisations outside Australia. He lived in a peripheral region at a time when the centre of learning for the English-speaking world was far away in the United States and Britain. He also misread the post-colonial world and lacked any real understanding of the changes which were occurring towards the end of his career, and this may have led later writers to ignore his earlier and significant contributions. Of course the fact that Price was out-of-date later in his career shouldn't disbar him from inclusion in histories of the discipline. All geographers become out-of-date, but it seems this happens sooner for some than others.

The future of the past

People who make noteworthy contributions to a body of thought should be remembered but who is responsible for judging what is significant, and how to judge each individual remains subjective. Some individuals are remembered for the 'wrong' reasons: perceived notoriety, personal animosities, generally difficult demeanour and so on. These reasons might apply to Griffith Taylor. Grenfell Price, on the other hand, was not controversial, and did not promote himself outside Australia. He has been ignored by historians of the discipline because he was distant from the intellectual centres of the subject at the time, published little outside Australia, was not a tenured academic in a university department. and perhaps because what he did publish overseas was on a topic that was not central to the interests of the discipline in Europe or the United States. Additionally virtually all historians of the discipline are outside Australia and did not look to the antipodes for exemplars. In addition it is likely that he himself contributed to his own ephemeral fame. In fact he was a prisoner of his mind and upbringing and his own reflection on his historic legacy is written in his State Library notes: 'this file of folders etc. is all Notes at Oxford etc. and for Teaching. No value unless a grandson or daughter is a historian and wants notes on Renaissance etc.'. He offers no similar comment on his geographic legacy.

It remains vital to understand the past in order to plan the future. Grenfell Price's overall body of work, his ability to use wide ranging sources and his own observations combined with his analytic ability and keen insight make his work valuable. He should

not be overlooked and reduced to a Forgotten Footpath Fellow but be understood, appreciated and valued.

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