GEOGRAPHICAL CHANGE IN TASMANIAN AGRICULTURE
DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION

by

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for the Degree of
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DECLARATION

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other higher degree or graduate diploma in any University and to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text.

Roger Kellaway

4/7/89

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March 28, 1989
ABSTRACT

One indicator of a stagnant economy has been a slow rate of population growth. If Tasmania had been able to retain its natural increase between the first postwar census in 1921 and the second in 1933, the final population would have been 256,170. The recorded population was only 227,599. The difference was a result of out-migration during the 1920s. The flow across Bass Strait was sufficient in one period, 1923/24 to 1926/27 inclusive, to cancel the natural increase and reduce the population of the state. The poor performance of agriculture was seen as the central factor in the process of economic decline. Report after report condemned farming as backward, inefficient and disorganised and called for a restructuring of the rural economy as the first step in overcoming the state's chronic problems of low incomes and population loss.

The initial strategy of agricultural reform was defined by Dr. S.S. Cameron, Director of the Victorian Department of Agriculture. Cameron had been brought to Tasmania in 1925 by the Labour government of J.A. Lyons to examine the deteriorating agricultural situation. He concluded that the principal aim of agricultural development should be to increase the output of commodities that had a proven export record from Australia (e.g. wool, wheat, lamb, fruit and butter) or that could be worked up into a profitable export trade such as peas or eggs. Efficiency in production and marketing was to be stressed. Crops that were produced primarily for the domestic market (potatoes, barley, hops) were to be reduced.

The Department of Agriculture was reorganised and given a mandate to bring Tasmanian agriculture up to the Australian norm. It followed the Cameron plan with the exception that livestock enterprises were favoured over cropping in order to restore fertility to the depleted farmlands of the Northwest Coast and North Midlands. Considerable progress was made along these lines before the rural economy was overcome by the collapse of commodity prices in October 1929.

This study has been structured as a developmental narrative. Statistical and archival sources have been brought together to investigate the evolution of farming systems between 1926/27 and 1936/37. The thesis begins with an overview of the agricultural situation in the
mid-1920s. Agricultural regions are defined for 1926/27 using both the Weaver method and cluster analysis on derived estimates of net farm income at the municipality level. The body of the thesis examines the impact of the Great Depression on four main branches of the Tasmania rural economy. Potatoes, dairying, sheep and fruit are examined separately with the discussion considering problems of locational change, factors behind increasing productivity, and changes in the processing and marketing of rural commodities. The interplay between policy and practice is constantly evaluated as farmers and the government tried to adapt to unprecedented stress in the traditional relationships between the producers and consumers of agricultural products.

The thesis concludes with an examination of the regional component within structural change. The agricultural regions of 1936/37 are defined and compared with those of the pre-depression period. The principal change involved the expansion of sheep farming. This was at the expense of cropping in northern Tasmania and of orcharding along the southern margin of the Midlands. A secondary change involved the expansion of dairying along the Northwest Coast. In addition, the annual rate of agricultural change was examined to determine the relationship between the economic cycle and rural restructuring. Local political and policy factors were found to be of major importance in determining the nature of the Tasmanian response to global depression.
**CONTENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thesis Declaration</th>
<th>ii</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contents</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figures</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tables</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conventions</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PREFACE**

P.1 Introduction 1
P.2 Methodology and Sources of Data 7
P.3 Tasmania and the Great Depression - Context and Literature 15

**CHAPTER ONE - AGRICULTURAL REGIONS OF TASMANIA 1926/27**

1.1 Methodological Problems in the Definition of Agricultural Regions 22
1.2 Procedures in Delimiting Agricultural Regions 29
1.3 Agriculture in Tasmania 1926/27: Regions and Structure 42

**CHAPTER TWO - AGRICULTURAL SYSTEMS AND PROBLEMS IN THE 1920S**

2.1 Potato Farming 62
2.2 Dairy Farming 73
2.3 Pastoral Production 86
2.4 Orchard Fruit 96

**CHAPTER THREE - THE DEPRESSION IN RURAL TASMANIA**

3.1 The Rural Economic Cycle 109
3.2 Tasmanian Farmers and the Great Depression: 1930 to 1934 122
3.3 Regional Intensity of Depression 132
CHAPTER FOUR - POTATO FARMING IN DEPRESSION TASMANIA

4.1 Economic Stress and Regional Change in the Potato Industry 149
4.2 Depression and Productivity Change in Potato Farming 162
4.3 Marketing the Potato Crop 172

CHAPTER FIVE - DAIRY FARMING IN DEPRESSION TASMANIA

5.1 Tasmania and the Export Dairy Trade 182
5.2 Geographical Expansion of Dairy Farming: Patterns and Processes 192
5.3 Productivity and the Dairy Farm 206
5.4 Change in the Dairy Manufacturing Industry 217

CHAPTER SIX - PASTORALISM IN DEPRESSION TASMANIA

6.1 Geographical Trends in the Pastoral Industry 228
6.2 Economic Depression and Productive Efficiency in the Wool Industry 240
6.3 Government and the Promotion of the Fat Lamb Industry 250

CHAPTER SEVEN - FRUIT FARMING IN DEPRESSION TASMANIA

7.1 Regional Concentration and Structural Change in the Apple Industry 262
7.2 Shipping the Export Apple Crop 277
7.3 Marketing the Tasmanian Apple Crop 290
7.4 Restructuring the Hop Industry in Depression Tasmania 303
7.5 Small Fruit Farming in Depression Tasmania 317

CHAPTER EIGHT - DEPRESSION AND THE SEARCH FOR NEW CROPS

8.1 Tobacco - Two Booms, Two Busts 332
8.2 Flax - Company Speculation and Agricultural Development 341
8.3 Poultry Farming - The Folly of Unrealistic Expectations 349
8.4 New Farmland - Traditional Palliative to Depression

CHAPTER NINE - CONCLUSIONS

9.1 Patterns of Agricultural Change 1926/27 to 1936/37
9.2 The Cycle of Rural Restructuring

BIBLIOGRAPHY
FIGURES

Figure 1 - Municipalities and Regions of Tasmania 23
Figure 2 - Agricultural Classification of Tasmania 1926/27 (Weaver's Method) 37
Figure 3 - Comparison of Alternative Regionalisations for the Northwest Coast 1926/27 40
Figure 4 - Percentage of Net Farm Income Derived from Selected Major Activities 1926/27 45
Figure 5 - Agricultural Regions of Tasmania 1926/27 46
Figure 6 - Distribution of Agricultural Bureau Branches 1927-1930 57
Figure 7 - Notional Farm Incomes 1926/27 58a
Figure 8 - Potato Farming in 1926/27 63
Figure 9 - Dairy Farming in 1926/27 74
Figure 10 - Regional Structure of the Dairy Industry 1926/27: A Principal Components Interpretation 77
Figure 11 - Sheep Farming in 1926/27 87
Figure 12 - Fat Lamb Orientation in 1926/27 91
Figure 13 - Distribution of Orchards in Southeastern Tasmania 1927 98
Figure 14 - Value of Rural Production 1919/20 to 1939/40 111
Figure 15 - Value of Rural Production: Deflation Adjusted 113
Figure 16 - Low Incomes in Tasmania 1933 135
Figure 17 - Change in Number of Commercial Farms: Pre-depression to Depression 139
Figure 18 - Change in Notional Net Farm Income: Pre-depression to Depression 145
Figure 19 - Campaign Against High Prices for Potatoes 150
Figure 20 - Relationship Between Potato Production and Price in Tasmania 150
Figure 21 - Regional Change in Potato Acreage 1926/27 to 1936/37 154
Figure 22 - Linear Trend in Potato Acreage 156
Figure 23 - Productivity Trends in the Potato Industry 163
Figure 24 - Certified Seed Production in Northwest Tasmania 1933/35 170
Figure 25 - Production of Butter and Cheese 1919/20 to 1939/40 184
Figure 26 - Change in Dairy Farm Numbers 1926/27 to 1928/29 195
Figure 27 - Change in Dairy Farm Numbers 1928/29 to 1931/32 198
Figure 28 - Patterns of Dairy Intensity in Tasmania 1926/27, 1931/32, 1936/37 202
Figure 29 - Patterns of Growth in Dairying: Three Selected Regions 204
Figure 30 - Productivity per Dairy Cow 1919/20 to 1939/40 207
Figure 31 - Dairy Factories in Tasmania 1934/35
Figure 32 - Livestock Trends: Sheep and Beef Cattle
Figure 33 - Change in Sheep Numbers 1926/27 to 1936/37
Figure 34 - Regional Orientation to Wool or Fat Lamb 1926/27 and 1936/37
Figure 35 - Production and Value of Wool 1919/20 to 1939/40
Figure 36 - Production of Mutton and Lamb 1919/20 to 1939/40
Figure 37 - Regional Change in Number of Apple Trees in Southeastern Tasmania 1926/27 to 1936/37
Figure 38 - Changes in the Ratio of Bearing to Non-bearing Apple Trees in Southeastern Tasmania 1926/27 to 1936/37
Figure 39 - Orchard Change in Northern Tasmania 1926/27 to 1936/37
Figure 40 - Apple Production and Shipping 1929/30
Figure 41 - Apple Disposals 1919/20 to 1939/40
Figure 42 - Hops: Area and Production 1919/20 to 1939/40
Figure 43 - Hopfield Relocation 1930 to 1935
Figure 44 - Location of Small Fruit Production in Southeastern Tasmania 1926/27
Figure 45 - Trends in Small Fruit Production 1919/20 to 1939/40
Figure 46 - Blackcurrant Production Cycles in Southeastern Tasmania
Figure 47 - Tobacco Production in Tasmania
Figure 48 - Flax Production in Tasmania
Figure 49 - Swamp Settlement in Circular Head
Figure 50 - Agricultural Regions of Tasmania 1936/37
Figure 51 - Agricultural Classification of Tasmania 1936/37 (Weaver's Method)
Figure 52 - Percentage Shift in Net Farm Income 1926/27 to 1936/37
Figure 53 - Regions of Agricultural Change 1926/27 to 1936/37
Figure 54 - The Cycle of Agricultural Change 1919/20 to 1939/40
TABLES

Table 1 - Changes in Output and Productivity in Tasmanian Agriculture

Table 2 - Economic Weights for Tasmanian Agriculture

Table 3 - Calculation of Regional Economic Profile, Penguin

Table 4 - Alternative Regional Structures for Tasmanian Agriculture

Table 5 - Agricultural Structure of Tasmania 1926/27

Table 6 - Principal Components Analysis of Dairy Industry 1926/27

Table 7 - Principal Components Analysis of Pastoral Industry 1926/27

Table 8 - Rural Holdings in Tasmania 1926/27 to 1931/32

Table 9 - Production Costs in the Potato Industry

Table 10 - Correlation Coefficient Matrices: Dairying

Table 11 - Productivity Gains in the Pastoral Industry

Table 12 - Distribution of Bearing Apple Trees in Tasmania

Table 13 - Changing Scale of Orchard Operations

Table 14 - Apple Varieties in Tasmania

Table 15 - Landings of Tasmanian Apples by Port

Table 16 - Distribution of Notional Net Income 1926/27 to 1936/37

Table 17 - Principal Component Results: Agricultural Change from 1926/27 to 1936/37

Table 18 - Average Value of Agchange within Clusters
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There is a time during the preparation of every thesis when the student pauses to consider those people who have given aid and advice over the years. Usually, it is a bad time. A time when clapped-out Letraset and jammed photocopiers are doing their best to turn the candidate into a raving maniac. Nevertheless, there is a certain pride in the accumulating piles of finished manuscript. This stage has been reached with the assistance of many people. Firstly, there was Professor Peter Scott who started off the topic many years ago and whose influence is apparent throughout the product that emerged many years later. Secondly, there were the staff of the various archives and libraries who provided free access to their resources. In the case of the Archives Office of Tasmania, the staff had to bring in trolleyloads of archive boxes from scattered storage areas around Hobart. Thirdly, there was Graham Giles who cheerfully gave advice on the running of statistical packages on the University's mainframe computer. Fourthly, there was Dr Les Wood whose cynical observations on the probabilities of my finishing before examining every potential source of data and whose careful reading of the manuscript that his comments produced, have been greatly appreciated. Finally, there are various persons who helped in various stages of the production process. Kate Charlesworth drafted twelve of the maps, Sally Banks and Kelly Thorne placed the bulk of the manuscript into the word processor, while Kerry Green and Rosie Bickel helped drag the final copy out of the infernal machine. From there, it has been my loyal proofreaders, my father-in-law Mr Neil Smith and my wife Rosemary, who have borne the burden not only of this tiresome task but also of my sadly deteriorated temper.
The reader will rapidly become aware that a number of conventions have been followed throughout this thesis. Firstly, this study has used the units of measurements that were current in Australia during the 1930s. Acres, hundredweights and gallons have been used in place of hectares, tonnes and litres. It was believed that it would have been impossible to convert many of the statements that appeared in the historical record as they were obviously approximations rather than precise measurements. Other measurements, for instance a farm size of 160 acres or a subsidy of 3d per pound, have a logic in one system but not the other. It was therefore decided to retain the Imperial system of weights and measures for all units rather than opting for a hybrid that used one system for the easily convertible and the other for those that were difficult or meaningless to convert. A slightly different justification supports the use of the old currency of pounds, shillings and pence. The value of money has been so altered through time that it serves the useful function of distancing the reader from the modern era. As a datum for value, the average male industrial wage in Tasmania in 1926/27 was 206 per annum.

The second convention concerns the system for referencing source material. The arguments in an historical study are only as valid as the data that supports them. Therefore, the text must be as fully sourced as is practical. I have cited all material used with the exception of standard statistical sources such as the Statistics of Tasmania and the Census of Australia. However, in the process of synthesis, material derived from one citation may still be interwoven into the discussion a paragraph or two further along in the text. An intervening footnote may occur. Therefore, any attempt to follow up a topic through investigating the references must examine a range of citations from the appropriate subsection of the chapter. It is also important to note that the references are given in detail sufficient to find the archival file without difficulty, but that the specific document is defined only by date. In most cases, this will be the only document of that date. More formal referencing in the traditional "XX to YY" format was impractical given the nature of much of the documentation. There was a wide variety of formats - letters, memos, circulars, reports, minutes, etc. -but most were bland statements of "fact". In cases where opinion or occasion were of importance, then the author and his affiliation and the background were worked into the text.
The final point concerns terminology. The regional names that have been used in the text are those in common usage on some occasions and those defined for the purposes of agricultural regionalisation on others. The former can be confusing to anyone except a Tasmanian. The state suffered from a collective lack of imagination when it came time to name the major regions of the island. The Bible which had served so effectively for the naming of local features was ignored, and the county names borrowed from Britain were allowed to fall into disuse during the nineteenth century. This left such gems as the Northeast, the Northwest Coast and the South as regional labels. The boundaries of these areas also shift with context. One interpretation of the "popular" regions of the state appears in Figure 1 while formal agricultural regions are defined in Figure 5.