BOX 19 Book 670

# MONOPOLY & DEMOCRACY

OF VICTORIA. . . . . . .

Charles Beet

By F. ANSTEY, M.P.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS

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# VICTORIA.—The Closer Settlement Act of 1904.

FEW POINTS OF INTEREST as to what has been done under this form of legislation may prove of interest, and the digest of the present Regulations in the following paragraphs will enable anyone interested to understand the conditions which govern allotments held under the Act.

Under Part 3 of the Land Act of 1898 (the portion governing Closer Settlement) the following purchases were made:—Wando Vale Estate, 10.446 acres; Whitfield Estate, 4246 acres; and Eurack Estate, 5108 acres, at a cost of £208,288. These estates were subdivided into 192 farm allotments, all of which are now in occupation, and support a population of at least 1000.

Since the passing of the pre-ent Act, the Lands Purchase Board has purchased 14 country estates, and acquired 2462 acres of Crown lands, representing a value of £795,675, and embracing an area of 167.342 acres. Those that have been subdivided were made available in 505 farm allotments, of which only six are at present available, and the population on these allotments must exceed considerably 2000 persons.

As regards Workmen's Homes allotments, up to date the total area purchased for this purpose, viz.:—243 acres at a total cost of £12,721 has been subdivided into 200 allotments, out of which only three are at the present time available.

Three of the estates acquired by the Board, Wereibee Park, Lara and Tandarra, costing £368,670, and embracing an area of 36,301 acres, it is expected will be made available for application about the end of the year, or in the beginning of 1907.

The principal regulations governing Closer Settlement allotment are summarised in the following paragraphs, which deal only with the main points at issue:—

"To be eligible to hold a lease under the Act an applicant must be of the full age of 21 years, and the principle laid down is one man one allotment. The term of the lease may be extended over 31½ years, and the maximum value of land that can be held by any one individual is £1500 for a farm allotment, £200 for an agricultural labourer's allotment, and £100 for a workman's home site.

"The deposit necessary in all cases is 3 per cent. of the capital value of the allotment applied for to which must be added £1 for the preparation of the lease, and 5s. for registration tee. This deposit includes the first instalment of purchase money, subsequent repayments are made at the rate of 3 per cent. of the value of the allotment every six months.

"Unsuccessful applicants are returned the whole of their deposit, less the registration fee Generally speaking, preference is given to a landless applicant over one who owns land or occupies land with the right to acquire the fee simple of it.

"If existing improvements are charged separately from the land, on payment of the valuation a permit is immediately issued. Residence on the allotment is compulsory, but a lessee may be granted leave of absence not exceeding four months in any one year.

"Each Lessee must pay all rates, taxes, or assessments levied on or payable in respect of his allotments. During the first six years of the lease he cannot transfer, assign, sublet or mortgage the whole or any part of his allotment. Provided all the covenants of the lease have been fully complied with, a lessee may obtain the freehold of his allotment at the end of any half year after the first 12 years have expired on payment of the balance of purchase money due and the necessary grant fees.

"Conditions are made with regard to the destruction of vermin, conservation and planting of trees, making and clearing of drains and watercourses.

"Improvements to the value of at least two instalments of the purchase money must be effected on each farm allotment before the end of the first year from the date of lease, and 10 per cent of the purchase money before the end of the third year, and a further 10 per cent before the end of the sixth year. In the case of agricultural labourers allotments, a substantial dwelling house to the value of at least £30 must be erected within one year from the date of lease, and the least date, and in the case of Workmen's Homes allotments a substantial dwelling house, to the value of at least £50, must be erected within one year from the date of the lease, and substantial improvements, to the value of a further £25, before the end of the second year.

"Advances, on the £1 for £1 principle, may be granted to assist in building, etc., to the amount of £50 to lessee of Agricultural Labourers and Workmen's Homes Allotments. Such advances, together with 5 per cent. interest thereon, must be repaid in equal half-yearly instalments, extending over a period not exceeding sixteen years."

Applications to the Secretary of Lands Purchase Board, Public Offices, Melbourne, Victoria, will be replied to by return of post, giving the fullest information available on any matter which comes under the control of the Board.

# INTRODUCTION.

HESE ARTICLES UPON LAND SETTLMENT set out to examine this question:—

Is it true that during the last quarter of a century farm holdings have declined in this State?

The latest statistics available at the time were utilised, but others have been recently issued. It was inevitable that they should, to some extent change the figures, but they do not in any way invalidate the conclusions. The records for 1904 can, therefore, stand as the statistical basis of these articles.

But the latest returns (1906) are interesting. We have alienated to date 25,000,000 acres. The owners are few—the occupiers are 52,987. The distribution is as under:—

Holdings.		P.C.	Area occupied.	P.C.
(A) 200 acres and under	 27,171	51	1,928,178	8
(B) 201 to 503 acres	 13,530	3 <b>6</b>	4,500,040	18
1	 7,688	15	5,414,477	21
(D) Over 1000 acres	 4.498	5	12,920,250	53
•	Miles	-		
	52,987	100	24,762,945	100

4498 (D) hold more land than the other 48,489

Within Class D there are 415 persons who hold as much land as the 41,000 in Classes A and B.

And 79 persons hold more than the 27,000 in Class A.

These facts speak louder than bare denial. The mammoth holdings dominate the older districts. They push settlement into the back country. They

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are an impediment to industrial progress—caise the cost of transit upon producers and the price of commodities to consumers—retard development, limit the financial resources of municipalities, and impose in a variety of ways a heavy monetary burden upon the general community.

During the last two years the bounteous seasons and the good markets for crops and stock and dairy produce have brought about a boom in farming lands. The net increase of holdings upon alienated areas has been 3985. Yet it is remarkable that these increases are mostly in the remote areas. The subdivisional activity on our older territory, of which we hear and read so much, is doing nothing more than covering up the blanks created by silent, continuous and insiduous aggregation that uses no advertisement nor blare of trumpets to mark its progression. We have during the last two years alienated 738,000 additional acres, and this additional area of alienation largely accounts for the temporary increase of holdings.

Since the purchase of Wando Vale in March, 1900, we have established 700 holdings upon 150,000 acres at a cost of over one million pounds. During the same period we have thrown millions of acres of Crown ands upon the market, and inflated our revenue with the proceeds from the sale of public assets. Last year (1905) we derived from this source £920,386—the largest amount from land sales since 1857. The amount of settlement when compared with the immense volume of Crown lands placed upon the market has been insignificant and inadequate.

When Mr. Prendergast, at the Eight Hours demonstration in 1905, made his reference to the decline of farm holdings in this State, the "Age" ridicaled his statement as "wholly inaccurate," and, like the "Argus," asserted that there was an increase and not a decrease. Facts were nothing; to discredit the Labor Leader was everything. But eighteen months later the forgetful "Age" came out (Nov. 17, 1906) with this statement:—

"Each year there are fewer farmers left in the older settled districts of Victoria. In the Wimmera district, for instance, the area of original selections was 320 acres, and a settler occupied nearly every block. At present the average farm in the Wimmera is probably over 1000 acres and the area of each individual holding is becoming larger, because in the majority of instances the transfer of the land from seller to buyer means that the latter is increasing the area he already holds."

No comment is necessary, but the confession is opportune.

In conclusion. This is not a case where an individual sets out to write a book. For that he would gather his material, array his facts, marshal his arguments, and move in an orderly and sequent manner to a designed conclusion. But in this it was otherwise. There was first an article in defence of a friend; not that he needed defence, but as a

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proof that in the arsenal of statistical facts there was justification for all that friend had said. In the gathering up of the material for that one article there was obtained sufficient for another. A map was suggested as a valuable means of elucidation, and at once there was found the need for more than one. Each investigation opened up fresh streams of information, very often upon aspects of the question already dealt with in preceding articles. Thus the subject, once started, speedily widened out to an extent not thought of at the commencement, and the work of research occupied time far beyond anything contemplated. From time to time an article was written or a map published, and thrown into the arena of political controversy. The enemy were calling for facts, as brigands call for blood, and we gave them as we got them. There is no literary merit, nor order of advance, and no apology—simply a collection of facts and justifiable deductions. Friends have requested their publication in book form—and it is so.

F. ANSTEY.

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# Settlement as a Business.

# W. S. KEAST, MEMBER FOR DANDENONG

Recognises that band sold in Small Lots for Agricultural purposes possesses a higher value than when disposed of in large areas for merely Pastoral occupation. Upon the basis of this fact he vigorously conducts his commercial operations. Large estates pass beneath his hammer, and whenever permissible he casts aside the old "Sell in One Lot" system for a cutting up policy, thus increasing the number of competitive buyers and realising for his clients a higher price than would be otherwise be possible.

It was W. S. KEAST who in the latter end of 1902 cut up the Stanhope Estate at Rushworth, cut up the Springs and the Rockbank Estates belonging to the Clarkes, and 1904 sub-divided a large portion of Werribee for G. T. Chirnside at prices varying from £6 to £28 per acre, working out at an average of £12 17s. 6d. per acre.

Six weeks later he conducted a large sub-divisional sale of Werribee land for Mr Percy Chirnside realising an average of £17 on prices ranging from £5 to £38 per acre, no less than sixty per cent, of the area selling for over £20 per acre. Scores of other properties have passed through his hands all having realised for their owners higher prices than could have been obtained if sold as undivided pastoral properties. Many of the trust estates sub-divided for Agricultural purposes realised under the hammer more than twice the amount for which they were valued for purposes of probate.

Mr. KEAST'S work is not confined to Victoria. He operates in all States. His last and largest undertaking being the sub-division of Buckingbong, near Narrandara, in the Riverina. In this State he has now in hand some 50,000 acres recently sub-divided, and within a few weeks to be placed under the hammer.

Surveyors are out on several other properties in various parts of the State, including one within twenty-five miles of Melbourne, so that intending buyers have a wide choice of situation. Those who desire information on land matters cannot do better than call at 610 Collins Street. They will hear of the very latest and the very best.

W. S. KEAST & CO., Colliss Street (near Spencer Street), City.





# MONOPOLY AND DEMOCRACY

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# FRANK ANSTEY

# CHAPTER I

MAP 1.-COUNTIES OF HAMPDEN, RIPON, and GRENVILLE.

THE Territory shown on Map No. 1, in the Appendix, is within the Counties of Hampden, Ripon and Grenville. The Statistics in relation to those Counties are as under:—

Year.	Population.	Agricultural, Dairying & Pas- toral Occupiers.	Acres Cultivated.	Acres Held.
1871	82,100	3,617	123,609	2,180,000
1904	71,160	2,317		2,287,000

In these Counties there is more land held and less cultivated—there are fifteen hundred fewer families in occupation, and eleven thousand less people—than 33 years back. Even the smaller area cultivated is operated for the most part by tenant farmers who have no ownership in the land they work.

The above given population includes that of Ballarat and Ararat. The population of shires only is 36,215 against 45,800 in 1871. The population on the areas covered by these large estates is insignificant.

At Skipton there is a farmer (John Gardiner) with 2000 acres. He has so improved his land that for six months in the year that portion carries 18 sheep to the acre, and his wheat crops average between 24 to 30 bushels per acre. He is therefore taxed twice as much per acre as the owners of the large estates round about him.

Two months ago, in rummaging through some old statistics, the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Prendergast) came hastily to the conclusion that there had been a decline of over 5,000 farm holdings in Victoria during 25 years. We explained to him that he had compared things which differed, and had therefore fallen into a palpable blunder, from which common knowledge of the advance of agricultural settlement and production should have protected him.

Argus, June 25th, 1905.

It is a matter of "common knowledge" borne out by the statistics of every Modern State, that the extended use of machinery and the extension of large scale methods of production, enable that production to proceed with an ever diminishing ratio of producers.

It is a matter of "common knowledge" that in proportion as land monopoly advances, Agriculture either recedes or moves to new territory or changes its form from that of a freeholding yeomanry, to that of tenant farmery.

It is a matter of "common knowledge": that Manufactures may and do advance without corresponding increase in factories; and that agricultural output may and does advance without corresponding increase in the number of fields and homesteads. Factories are fewer but larger-the output greater. Farms fewer but larger-the output greater. So that increase in production of any kind does not of necessity mean advance in "settlement." In factory production the modern "Trust" is the supreme manifestation of the tendency to aggregation, and it is a fact borne out by statistics, that monopoly and machinery combine to accelerate that tendency amongst the primary producers. The American Bonanza Farm is the supreme manifestation of that tendency in agriculture.

# Facts and Fat

The Agricultural Statistics of Victoria present the following facts as to the occupation of the alienated areas and the farm holdings thereon:—

Year.	Holdings "occupied,"	Acres "occupied,"
1880	48,969	16,620,900
1881	49,637	18,141,124
1903	43,768	20,577,167

The area in occupation therefore increased by millions of acres; but upon the wider area there were 5,200 fewer "holdings" than in 1880 and 5,800 fewer than in 1881. The leader of the Labor Opposition during his speech at the 8

Hours demonstration (April 1905) made his comparison between the years 1880 and 1903. Two days later the morning newspapers were pleased to announce to the public that Mr. Prendergast had blundered, "had compared things which differed" and was all wrong. In short the public could take it from the infallible morning Press aforesaid that the "Holdings" had increased, not decreased as asserted by the alarmist G.P. They asserted that in 1883 and thereafter the agricultural statistics only took into consideration cultivated "Holdings," and that Prendergast should have made his comparison between that or subsequent years and 1903. The answer is that in 1903 agricultural statistics were not collected upon the basis of cultivated " Holdings" but that they included :-

- 1st. Land under grass for cattle grazing.
- 2nd. "Bush land over which imported grass has spread without cultivation."
- 3rd. "Scrub land on which grass has been sewn without ploughing."
- 4th. 4,000,000 more acres than in 1880.

So the statistics were not based upon cattivated "Holdings" and the comparison was correct. The statistics drawn upon by the leader of the Opposition, did show that apon 4,000,000 more acres there were 5,200 fewer holdings than in the year to which he referred.

\* \* \* \*

# Decline of the Gultivator

Comparing 1902 with 1884 (years in which agricultural statistics included only cultivated holdings), the records show that during that period the cultivated farms in fifteen counties declined by 2,352. The late Government Statist, Mr. Hayter repeatedly called attention to the subject. In 1893 he pointed out that the area in cultivation in fifteen counties was less than in 1873. Again in 1896 the Statist pointed out that in eight years the cultivated farms in Victoria had declined by over 4,000.

The same applies to 1904. The total area of

the counties of Bendigo, Borung, Gladstone, Grant, Gunbower, Kara Kara, Lowan, Moira and Talbot is 23,212 square miles. The acreage in occupation in March 1904, was 10,081,000, and the total holdings of all descriptions were 17,237 against 23,287 in 1881, when the area in occupation was only 7,585,000 acres. The holdings were actually fewer than in 1884 when only cultivated "Holdings" were counted—the numbers then being 19,086 against 17,237 at present so that, in a comparison of 1904 with 1884, the fact stands out that over one-fourth of the state there are 1849 fewer holdings upon  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions more acres in occupation.

A comparison of the years 1883-4-5 or 6 with the year 1903 demonstrates that the area under cultivation in many of the older counties actually declined, and that in other counties, while the cultivated area increased, the holdings diminished.

### The Settler Moves Out

The fact is that agriculture has stagnated or declined in the older settled districts, and developed upon newly selected territory upon which the forces of monoply have not yet fully seized. The development of these new areas has helped to cover the depopulation and recess of agriculture in the older districts. The movement of land settlement in Victoria during the last 40 years, may be epitomised thus:

TOTAL POPULATION, 1871-731,528.

This was the period during which population and settlement spread rapidly throughout the West, the Central Counties of Anglesey, Talbot, and Dalhousie, and the Gippsland County of Tangil (Lakes District).

1871 to 1881.

TOTAL POPULATION, 1881—862,346.
Decline of settlement in the Western District.
Decline in the Central Counties.

Settlement moves north into the Wimmera, and into the Northern District Counties of Gladstone, Gunbower, Rodney, and Moira.

1881 to 1891.

TOTAL POPULATION, 1891 -1,140,405.

Continued decline of population throughout Western and Central Counties.

Decline commences in Wimmera (Kara Kara), and Northern District (Gladstone and Rodney). Settlement extends into County Lowan and Southern Gippsland. 1891 to 1901.

TOTAL POPULATION, 1901-1,201,341.

Decline throughout Wimmera. Settlement moves further north—into the Mallee.

Decline in Central Counties.

Decline in the Northern Counties of Gunbower, Gladstone and Rodney.

Stagnation in Moira. Settlement moves out North East into the Bogong.

Effect of land monopoly in Tangil County showing itself in decline of population in Rosedale and Traralgon Shires.

Revival of settlement in the Western Shires of Colac and Hampden due to several large landholders renting a portion of their runs for dairying purposes.

This in brief is the history of land settlement in Victoria, steady retreat of the expropriated, into the most distant and least favored portions of the State, before the untrammelled march of monopoly and the mortgagee.

. . . . Make a comparison of the Agricultural situation as it existed in this State during the month of March in the year 1881 and 1904. In the latter year there was made an extension of the basis of collection that places the impartiality of the comparison beyond question. In the year 1881 all crown land tenants were excluded from calculation. Crown lands were not counted. "Holdings" upon alienated land that were occupied only for timber cutting. scrub cutting, clearing or fencing or other such work were not counted. Holdings were only counted as "occupied" when used "for agriculture or the carrying of live stock" and the area so occupied was eighteen million acres. The land settlement statistics for 1904 included :-

- 1st. All occupied holdings whether used for agricultural, pastoral, timber cutting or other purposes.
- 2nd. All the unoccupied holdings upon alienated territory.
- 3rd. For the first time in the history of the State all the Crown land leaseholdings embracing over seven million acres (not including temporary grazing licences or mining leases).
- th. The total area of Crown and private lands so included was over thirty one million acres or thirteen million acres more than in 1881; and the "holdings" were given as 49,002 as against 49,637 in 1881 a decline of 635 after counting in unoccupied "holdings" as occupied, and counting in Crown land holdings that in 1881 were excluded.



# CHAPTER II.

# MAP 2.-COUNTIES OF BOURKE AND GRANT.

THE Territory shown on Map No. 2, includes the two Counties of Bourke and Grant. Their area is 2,267,200 acres, and the population Statistics are as under:—

# COUNTY OF BOURKE

Melb. and Suburbs (cities, towns and	Area in Acres	1871	1881	1891	1901
Nine Small Shires— Preston, Heidleberg, Boroondara, Nuna- wading, Doncaster.	61,408	196,033	267,515	<b>#64,96</b> 5	466,143
Mulgrave. Templestowe Moorabin and Dande- nong Other Shires in County	155,5 <sub>20</sub>	16,539	17,273	31,074	36,725
Bourke	884,512	24,206	22,791	20,970	20,070
	1,101,440	236,778	307,582	517,009	522,934

# COUNTY OF GRANT.

Geelong, Queenscliff and Acres	1871	1881	1891	1901
Ballarat East	39 107 34.721	36,669 29,484	42.344 27,255	44 979 26,055
1,165,760	73,828	66,153	69 599	71,034

The Increase of Population was in the Cities, Towns, Boroughs, and those Shires mainly or wholly within the Metropolitan area. But over nine-tenths of the area covered by these Counties, population for thirty years has steadily diminished. In 1871 there were 180,000 acres under cultivation, but from that on, for nearly a quarter of a century, cultivation declined. In recent years there has been in several shires, a revival (mainly in Wyndham Shire), and the area under cultivation has been raised (1904) to 224,323, but the cultivation is on fewer holdings. In the majority of Shires within these Counties, not only are the habitations, the farms, and the people fewer, but the area under cultivation is actually less than in 1871.

# Vacant Holdings

It is denied that the unoccupied holdings were counted but they must have been. If all the houses be counted it is useless to deny that the empty ones are not included. If all the alienated territory is counted, it is futile to assert that vacant holdings are not included-there is nothing left. The alienated land holdings not occupied in 1881, covered 11 million acres; those holdings may have been carrying sheep or cattle, but they were not occupied in the human sense. In 1903 such unoccupied holdings covered an area of 21 million acres. In 1904 every holding was counted in as if it were throbbing with human life and activity; and the man who rented a grazing paddock for his horse was reckoned as the "holder" of a pastoral property and counted as a "pastoralist." Even then the "Holdings" were fewer than a quarter of a century back.

The Statistics as to private lands are as under:

	1881.	1903.	1904.
Cities, Twns			
and Bor ghs		1	
and allot			
ments of less		l	
than l acre .	500,000	5(90,000)	500,000
Area of Hold			
ings in occu-	10 111 121		
Area of Hold-	18,141,124	20,577,167	24,025,389
nied	1.110.000	3.000 003	
med	1,110,238	2,693,352	866
Total alien			
ated or in		ł	
process of			
alienation  *	10.721.000		

The above statistics furnish the proof that the vacant "holdings" throughout the State were counted in as occupied, but we will not hammer this point of non-occupancy; we will even admit, if need be, that every vacant house has got a tenant that every silent "Holding" has got a homestead, and an occupier. Yet, taking the statistics as given, this fact remains; Upon 31,000,000 acres in Victoria in the year 1904 there were lewer agricultural and Pastoral Holdings than there were upon 18,000,000 acres in the year 1881.

# More Labourers, Less Yeomanry

Put these facts another way.

- In 1881, for every million acres of occupied territory there were 2,757 Holdings total, 49,637.
- In 1903, when the statistics were collected on a somewhat similar basis to 1881, there were for every million acres in occupation, 2,134 Holdings—total, 43,747.
- In 1904, by the inclusion of 7 million acres of Crown leases and by counting unoccupied holdings in alienated territory, the total "Holdings" were forced up to 49,002. (635 below 1831). Yet this process while it raised the totals reduced the ratio of "Holdings" to 1,600 for each million acres in occupation—1,100 occupiers less per million acres than in 1881.

Turn to the census returns of occupations amongst those engaged in the Agricultural, Pastoral and Dairying Industries (dealing with men only).

Agriculturalists, Dairy Far- mers, Market Gardeners, and other growers who ei- ther employed labor or worked for themselves Graziers Relatives assisting Wage Workers	1881 38,652 2,582 18,856 17,105	1891 41,287 4,277 19,726 21,646	1901 38,713 4,664 22,055 36 458
Total	77,195	86,936	101,890

The above indicates that the number of pastoral properties is increasing and that farmers are not increasing. But as the farmers are not increasing, and the total area under cultipation is growing, it is evident that we are getting larger farms, but not more "Holdings." Further, while farmers have stood still, wage labor on the farm has doubled, showing that farming is coming to be performed more and more by casual workers, and in a steadily diminishing degree by a resident yeomanry. It will be seen from the above that the number of men who employed labor or worked on the land for themselves, were only 61 more than in 1881.

# Farmers and Holdings

It may be remarked that there is a great disparity between the number of farmers

<sup>\*</sup>The area in "process of alienation" in 1881 was 7½ million acres, as against 3½ million acres in 1904.

<sup>†</sup>To this was added 7 million acres of rown lands and the Holders counted.

<sup>\*</sup>The verification of the above figures, is to be found on pages 268 and 272 Census Report, 1881; on pages 409, 424, 431, 439 Census Report, 1891; on pages 28, 77, 137, Part IX.. Occupation Census, 1901 and page 371, Year Book, 1903.

(38,713), and the number of "Holdings" (49,002). This is, because the "Holdings" have been inflated by the means which we have already described. On the other hand selectors, whose land is not ready for the plough or who want money for implements or stock or to pay the storekeeper, go out to augment their income as road contractors or fencers, miners, carriers, station hands or ought else that comes along. At the Census they record themselves according to the occupations they are following. Thus their bits of territory are recorded as "Holdings." but they are not counted as farmers. It, however, matters not whether we take the Census returns as to actual farmers or the Agricultural returns as to "Holdings;" both besneak the one fact of stagnation and decline. Nor can it be repeated too often that the fewer " Holdings" have a grasp upon an immensely wider area of the national territory.

Now take the Statistics of the counties and divide Victoria into two portions.

1st. Those counties in which "Holdings" have diminished.

2nd. Those counties in which "Holdings" have increased—not forgetting that the areas dealt with cover 13 million more acres than in 1881, and ought consequently to show an immense increase in "Holdings."

# \* \* \* \* Counties of Victoria in which the num ber of Land holdings diminished; Area, 44,509 square miles.

S. S. C. Lance and Second		•
	1881	1904
Anglesey	774	621
Bendigo	2,649	1,808
Bogong	1,808	1,663
Borung	2.653	2,350
Bourke	4,009	3.763
Dalhousie	1.788	1.359
Delatite	1.547	1,492
Dundas	593	635
Follett	281	227
Gladstone	2.016	1.323
Grant	3,253	2,561
Grenville	1.323	1,068
Gunbower	1,326	836
Kara Kara	3,090	1.374
Moira	3,965	3.121
Normanby	1.157	1.261
Ripon	820	599

Rodney	 1,879	1,600
Talbot	 3,217	2,521
Tangil	 1,128	1,291
Villiers		1.553
Wonnangatta		135
Total	 41.032	33 161

Area occupied in above counties :-

	.831	1904
Private Lands	. 14,502,650	16,534,699
Crown Lands	Not Counted	2,516,152
Total	14,502,650	19,050,851

Thus upon 4,548,201 more acres in the above counties there are 7,871 fewer "Holdings."

If the above comparison had been made with 1903 (Crown leases excluded as in 1881, the decline of "Holdings" over the ale territories would show as 10,503. In 1903, the return of "Holdings" from Dundas and Nor manby were 495 and 893 respectively-a fall from 1881 of 362; but by the inclusion of over 800,000 acres (Crown leases, unoccupied Holdings and Pastoral Properties) the return of "Holdings for 1904 were jumped up by 508, and made to exhibit a small increase over 1881, although the area under cultivation in those counties and the actually cultivated "Holdings" have largely diminished. In 1881 there was in the above territory an average of 2,830 "Holdings" for each million acres in occupation, and in 1904 only 1.745, demonstrating the double process of decadence and aggregation.

# 1881 and 1904

In the North Central Counties of Anglesey, Dalhousie and Talbot, there was an increase of 414,567 acres in occupation, and a decrease of 1,278 in the number of holdings.

In the Northern District Counties of Gunbower, Gladstone, Bendigo, Rodney, and Moira, there was an increase of 590,194 acres in occupation and a decrease of 3,147 in the number of holdings.

In the Western Counties of Normanby, Villiers, Dundas, Ripon, and Follett, we had 833,433 more acres in occupation, and 180 fewer holdings.

In the three Wimmera Counties—Lowan, Borung, Kara Kara—we had 1,132,761 more acres in occupation and 1,794 fewer holdings.

# Counties (mainly Mallee, Gippsland, and Beech Forest Counties), in which land holdings increased:— Area, 43.375 square miles.

	1881	17A)#
Benambra	425	504
Buln Buln	1,793	3,942
Croajingalong	68	241
Dargo	285	366
Evelyn	922	1,607
Hampden	520	650
Heytesbury	579	817
Karkarooc	12	1,218
Lowan	1,118	1,343
Millewa and Weeah	2	79
Mornington	1,568	2,326
Polwarth	477	1,088
Tambo	137	226
Tatchera	699	1,434
Total	8,605	15,841
Area occupied in above Counties		

 1881
 1904

 Private Lands
 3,638,474
 7,490,690

 Crown Lands
 Not Counted 4,535,671

Total ...... 3,638,474 12,026,361

Upon the territory covered by the above counties there was an increase of 8,388,000 acres in occupation (230 per cent.). There was an increase in the number of "Holdings" by 7,236 (84 per cent.); but the increase of "Holdings," as can be seen, was in no way proportioned to the increase in the areas held. In the territories embraced in these counties there was in 1881 for each million acres in occupation an average of 2,400 "Holdings." By 1904 the proportions had fallen to 1,320 per million acres. This again demonstrates the development of large Holdings, even upon comparitively new territory

# Official Reports

Quite recently (1905) the Statist took a census of the number and sizes of the individual holdings in Victoria (alienated land and crown leases), and the result is as under:—

3 per cent of our land occupants hold 45 per cent of the land;

32 per cent. of our land occupants hold 43 per cent. of the land;

65 per cent. of our land occupants hold only 12 per cent. of the land.

At one end of the land scale there are 18,342 persons holding an average of 30 acres the total is 575,622 acres.

At the other end there are 1467 persons holding an average of 10,000 acres totalling 14,486,901 acres.

There are also 8166 persons helding 9,310,000 acres, so that, putting these two last sections together, we have in Victoria 9633 persons holding 23.796,000 acres, or 75 per cent. of the total area of the State.

It is asserted that these records do not imply monopoly because the poor Crown lands are let in immense areas for grazing. This is only a part of the truth. The whole truth is that between 7 and 8 million acres of Crown lands are included in the lands "occupied." that these lands are let not in a few large holdings but in thousands of holdings, large and small, under a variety of leases and for all sorts of purposes-that by these means the "holdings" during the last two years have been increased by 8830-the object being to cloak the actual decadence of holdings upon the privately owned lands of the State, and to prove the Labour Party wrong when it asserts that Land Monopoly is an ever increas-

In the Year Book for 1903 (page 324) the Government Statist made use of these words:—

"Those districts which are apparently least designed by nature for the purpose of cultivation, are those which show the greatest area under tillage, while those districts which lying close to the seaboard, enjoy a fairly uniform rainfall throughout the year, and which may be said to court the acquaintance of the husbandman, are used almost entirely for grazing stock over land still under natural pastures."

In the same volume, an officer of the Forestry Department (H. Mackay) reports that the retention of the fine volcanic lands of the western district "as a vast sheep walk, has had an evil effect upon the proper settlement of Victoria," and that "not the least mischievous result has been that land selectors had to endeavour to make homes for themselves in the thick Virgin Forest of the Otway Peninsula and Western Gippsland, thus destroying by axe and fire in a few years enormous areas covered with valuable hardwood as well as woods of fine grain."

Again in one of the recent publications of the Lands Department, an officer (H. O. Allan) reports :—

"It is a fact that the maps of many of the early settled parishes, subdivided as they originally were into numerous valuable farm sections, present the appearance of so many draught-board squares, from which the men are missing—the land of whole parishes having become, in many instances, merged in one large estate, the property of one person."

Such are the statements of responsible officers of the Crown, recorded in Government documents and publications. But they are passed without comment by those who have an interest in the maintenance of existing conditions, with the hope that the gaze of the general public will never rest upon their pages. When the Labor Party turns to discover how those statements are in agreement with recorded facts, and gives the results of its investigations to the public for consideration, when silence no longer avails, the facts are denied, the records impugned, and the man who can't see human settlement on blank plains and sheep walks is said to be blind.

It may be asked "Is it not a fact that the area under cultivation has increased since 1881, from 1.997 943 acres to over 4.000,000?"

" It is."

"Is it not a fact that the number of men engaged in the agricultural, dairying and pastoral industries, have increased since 1881 from 77,000 to 102,000?"

" It is."

"Well then, if the area under cultivation is increasing and the number of men engaged thereon is increasing, must it not be (as the Argus put it) a matter of 'common knowledge' that the number of farm 'Holdings' must also increase?'

"Not in the least. These things are not of necessity either synonymous or co-existent, and under modern conditions are very seldom so."

# The Machine and the Crop

The counties of Borung, Kara Kara, Gladstone and Moira, with their 11,500 square miles of territory-their stagnant or declining populations their decreasing farm holdings-present us with the spectacle of a steadily increasing area of production side by side with a steadily diminishing number of agricultural properties. increase of casual laborers and a disappearing yeomanry. Aggregation is marching, farm is being joined to farm, and the expropriation of the small farmer may and does proceed side by side with an increase of the area utilised for the production of agricultural wealth. far has this policy of monopoly operated in toria, that whereas at the census of 1881, of the 77,000 men then engaged upon the so in every 100 were farmers "working on their own or employing labor," at the last census (1901) the proportion had fallen to 37 in every 100. The actual decrease of holdings in the older settled districts, is, as already shown, to be counted by thousands, and whatever there is of increase is to be found in the new territory opened up for settlement. To the extent that the State has opened up new territory, and created new farm holdings, the actual extent of the buying out operations in old districts has been hidden. But the State has never (not even under its present closer settlement law) done anything more than pour water into a tank from which the water is rapidly running at the other end. Every subdivision of an estate is announced with a blast of trumpets, but aggregation moves silently, and with greater rapidity than the subdivisional action.



# Eight Western Shires.

MAP No. 3 -COUNTIES DUNDAS, NORMANBY, FOLLETT and VILLIERS.

THE total area shown on Map No. 3 is 4.340,000 acres. In 1871 the area alienated amounted to 1,649,000 acres, the area under cultivation 78,000 acres, and the holders 3701. The census of that year gave the holders as 3890, of whom 3254 were occupiers of 350 acres and under. The total area of occupied Crown lands and private lands are shown on Map. Since 1871 an additional area of 1,034,000 acres has drifted into private hands, but 10,000 acres have gone out of cultivation, the holders have diminished to 3676, and a larger proportion are tenant farmers than in the first mentioned year.

Since 1881 the construction of railways and other public works has increased the value of saleable property, but the ratepayers on the rolls are yearly 700 fewer. There has been no increase in homes, farms, cultivation or population. The only increases have been in sheep and cattle. 1,057,000 acres, mainly heath lands, still remain in the possession of the Crown, but there is no publicly-defined policy for its development.



# CHAPTER III.

# The Population Slump

Between Port Phillip Bay and the South Australian Border, there are the ten Western Counties of Grant, Grenville, Polwarth, Ripon, Hampden, Heytesbury, Dundas, Normanby, Villiers, and Follet, embracing an area of 15,545 square miles, or 10,000,000 acres. In these Counties there are five mining towns-Ararat, Ballarat City, Scarsdale, Smythesdale, and Sebastapool: five seaports-Port Fairy, Portland, Warrnambool, Queenscliff and Geelong; two interior towns-Koroit and Hamilton, all of which have municipal government apart from Shires. The sites of these Municipalities take up 25,000 acres out of a total of 10,000,000.\* The Shires, therefore, occupy 994 per cent, of the total area of the Western Counties and their population was, at the taking of the decennial census, as follows :---

The recovery of 10,000 in population between 1891 and 1901 was brought about by the expansion of mining on the Pitfield Plains, Grenville Shire), by the operations of the Metropolitan Board in Wyndham Shire, by the opening up of the Otway Peninsula, by the share farming on runs at Wickliffe and Maroona, and by the letting of portions of sheep runs for dairy pur-

\*Population of 12 towns above-mentioned-

 1871
 85.316

 1881
 79,164

 1891
 89.082

 1901
 93.300

Population of these towns added to populacion of Shires gives total population of Western District, at each decennial period,

poses in the vicinity of Terang Colac and Camperdown. This last action increased the population of the Shires of Hampden and Colae by nearly 5,000. But the population of these Western Counties, towns and shires together, is green than it was 35 years ago; and the portion of the Shires is still 6,000 below the refigures of 1871. Every child born within territory during that period has had to find a living elsewhere. This does not arise from the fact that our western territory is in any way crowded. Mountainous Switzerland with a large portion of its area covered in perpetual snow, or too steep for cultivation, is no larger than our Western District, vet it finds sustenance for a population three times that of all Victoria. Denmark is smaller than our Western District, vet is carries over 2,000,000 people. Holland is one-third smaller, yet it carries a population of four and a quarter millions. During the period 1871 to 1891, while the population of other parts of Victoria was rapidly increasing, the Western District was undergoing a process of rapid depopulation. In 1871 the Western Counties carried 28 per cent, of the population; in 1881, 21 per cent.; in 1891. 16% per cent.; and in 1901, from causes mentioned, a revival to 17} per cent.

# Men v. Monopoly

In 1871 there were in the Western District, 11843 holders, who held 5,160,082 acres. In 1881 there were 10,607 holders who held 6,070, 260 acres. In 1904 the total agricultural, dairying, and pastoral holders were 10,459, and they held between them 6,838,756 acres. In 1871 the area under cultivation was 315,604 acres.

\* \* \* \*

1881 the area under cultivation was only 281,285 acres. From that on, cultivation steadily declined. In recent years, owing to the causes to which we have referred, there has been a revival; but in only one year (1904) did the area under cultivation surpass that of 1871, and in the majority of the Western Counties the area under cultivation is still below that of the first year mentioned. Between 1884 and 1894 the actual cultivators in the Western District dec incd by over a thousand, and the land under cultivation in the latter year was nearly—a 100,000 acres below that of the year 1871.

How insignificant is the amount of cultivation in the Western District, may be seen by a comparison with the North Eastern County of Moira. Moira has only one-fourth the area, yet has fifty per cent, more land under the plough. Cultivated only in the partial manner of Moira and there is no natural reason whymore should not be done; the Western Shires would have 2,000,000 additional acres under the plough. 5,000 more farm holdings, and 64,000 more people. What that must mean to the ports of Warrnambool and Geelong—to the railways to the revenues of the State, to the commercial class and the manufacturing industries—no man needs telling.

# Monopoly is a Tax on Production

Be it here noted that the decline of population, of cultivation and holdings, in this territory was not the outcome of any policy of the Labor Party but of the policy that preceded its advent. Secondly, the value of land in the Western District has been increased by millions, not by any increase of population, not by the improved productive uses to which the soil has been put, but by the expenditure of public money upon ports and harbors, and the construction of lines and other public works and facilities. The interest upon these millions, with the loss upon lines running through territory peopled mainly by sheep, has not only meant taxation upon producers in all parts of the State, but it means that so long as Parliament refuses to impose a tax upon landed monopoly, so long must Railway Commissioners impose upon growers of produce throughout the agricultural regions a higher freight charge than would otherwise be necessary.

### The Western Rails

The disastrous effect of monopoly upon the revenues of the State railways has been already illustrated in the columns of the "Toesin." In an article (April 28, 1904) I made use of these words:—

Excluding the four terminals—Ballarat, Ararat, Warrnambool, and Geelong—the population and the amount of production on the areas served may be gauged by the passenger and goods traffic earnings at the stations between the terminals.—The Geelong to Ballarat line is 53½ miles—the stations 10, the passenger fares taken. £4431, so that on a line costing £35,491 per mile to construct, the passenger earnings—per mile are 4s 6d per day.

From Ballarat to Ararat is 57 miles, the stations eight, the yearly passenger earnings £3606, of which Beautort, fed by the Raglan mines, contributes 60 per cent. Upon this line, costing £7247 per mile, the passenger earnings per mile are 3s 10d per day.

The line from Ararat to Koroit is 963 miles, and cost £404,000. Of this line 164 miles between Dunkeld and Penshurst. costing £60,000, had to be pulled up, passengers and goods being sent along the two sides of a triangle through Hamilton, because Ritchie and Silas Harding preterred to keep the land under sheep, and walk those slieep to market, rather than truck them On the first section of this line. 474 miles. Ararat to Dunkeld-cost, £230,000 -- the passenger earnings per mile are 2s 6d per day. On the section, Dunkeld to Penshurst, there is £60,000 lost capital, a perpetual interest charge upon such capital, and no earnings. On the third section. Penshurst to Koroit-cost of construction £114.000-the passenger earnings per mile are 9d per day. Warrnambool to Geelong, with the two northern branches, Mortlake and Beeac, is 145 miles --cost of construction £960,000, the stations 27-the fares collected in a year £21,000, of which two-thirds were collected at Terang, Camperdown and Colac. showing what even a little semi-settlement can do for a railway. On this line the passenger fares, therefore, mounted up to a daily average of 11s per mile. The average over all the lines dealt with, less the terminals, was, for each mile, 4s 9d per day

How little a squatter-ridden district contributes to the goods traffic of our lines may be gauged by a comparison with agricultural and mining areas. The stations upon the lines mentioned gathered up 117,000 tons of freight. The 60 miles of Numurkah line the 72 miles from Violet Town to Kilmore, the 14 miles of mining country between Daylesford and Creswick, each gave our lines as much freight as the 350 miles in the Western district. Even in the drought-stricken Mallee year 1902-the 64 miles between Coromby Tanks and Hopetonn gave our railways 68,000 fons of freight, or three times as much per mile as the squatter-owned West.

The most bountiful seasons that Nature may confer can never make sheep country profitable to Railways. For that purpose Men and Products are essential.

# Cost of Monopoly.

As we stand at present, produce raisers throughout the State pay freight charges, not only to cover the transport cost of their own commodities, but to cover the loss in districts that raise no product, and furnish no freight. When a 100 miles of sheep walk stands between the farmer and his market, it is inevitable that the cost of transportation over that vacant territory (unless made up out of taxation) must be paid by the grower, and every additional

agricultural appliance that he purchases pays in added freight the cost of land monopoly. More farmers mean not only more population and less taxation upon each, but they mean more produce, more freight for the lines, and lower charges. Says the Government Statist (Yearbook, 1903, page 326). "The Government of fifteen millions of people would add very little to the present cost of administration, and railway facilities would require but little extra expense to meet the wants of the larger population."

Stickney, in his "Railway Problems," says:—"When once a railroad is built trains must run, and it makes very little difference in the cost of the business whether the cars go full or empty."

And Wellington, in his "Econosic Theory of Railway Location," affirms—"The addition of 30 tons weights train of five cars will not increase the cotor coal one cent, a mile, and since all the passengers that can be squeezed into five cars will not weigh 30 tons, it tollows that the variation in the hantage cost of a five-car train, carrying 300 or 400 passengers, and an empty five-car train, is but one cent, a mile."

Under existing conditions the man who holds the most land and puts it to the least use, contributes the least in taxation, and the least to the up-keep of the railways. The more the agriculturalist or the dairy farmer labors, the more he produces, the more he contributes to the railways and the Income Tax.

High railway freight, necessitated by nonpaying lines in sheep carrying country, is a land tax, imposed **not** upon the value of the land, but upon the industry of the occupier, and the wealth produced.



# Wimmera—The Granary of Victoria.

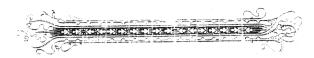
MAP No. 4.-COUNTIES of LOWAN, BORUNG and KARA KARA.

THE THIRTEEN SHIRES shown on Map No. 4 are mainly within the three Counties of Lowan, Borung, and Kara Kara. Within the county boundaries the holdings since 1881 have declined from 6,861 to 5,067. The homesteads since 1891 have decreased by 867, and in eleven of the Shires population has suffered a decline of 5,299.

The Wimmera furnishes an illustration of steadily increasing area of production side by side with a diminishing number of homesteads. Since 1881 two million acres have gone into private hands, the area under cultivation has increased by 700,000 acres, and the homesteads diminished by 1794. Farms are becoming larger but fewer. The period of greatest aggregation was between '81 and '91 when the holdings diminished by 927, while the area under cultivation increased by 477,000 acres, symbolising the rapid growth of large-scale agricultural production.

Large estates are rapidly moving northwards. One man admitted to the Railway Standing Committee that he held 10,400 acres near Jeparit (Lowan Shire), and the banks are holding 40,000 and 50,000 acre blocks, none of which appear on the Land Tax Register. Having got the land, the banks move vigorously for railway extension, and sell for  $\pounds 2$  or  $\pounds 3$  per acre land obtained from the State for 5/-, or they farm out the lands on the share system. "The Railway Committee," said Mr. Melville, M.LC. (see "Hansard." 26th July, 1905) "saw plenty of wheat fields, but they did not see any houses; the Settlers were not in evidence."

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# CHAPTER IV

# The "Share" System

There is another aspect of the land question not to be lightly overlooked. When the monopolist spreads his tentacles over a country side, and voraciously absorbs every holding within his reach, he may transform it into a sheen walk or an agricultural bonanza, in either of which cases the State statistics indicate the expulsion of the Yeomanry, and the Taxation Officer colors the district land map with the symbols of the particular monopolist. But the monopolist may not do either one or the other. The solitary glories of a sheep walk may to him have no attraction, and the anxieties pertaining to the control and administration of large agricultural properties may not be a subject worthy of ambition. Perchance he prefers the profits that come without responsibility and without worry. His monopoly in conjunction with that of others has given to land an artificial value. The advance of monopoly means fewer properties for sale and advance in price accordingly. The annual rental value begins to mount towards the price at which monopoly purchased. To let ander these conditions is not only to re-populate the devastated territory, and further enhance selling and rental values, but ensures a permanent income of princely proportions. So a number of men are permitted to bring ploughs and horses to cultivate the soil, sow and reap thereon, with a stipulation that a definite percentage of the product of labor must go to the Lord of the Soil. He will permit dairy farmers to inhabit his earth on like conditions and the tribute to be paid whether it be in cash or produce, will vary from the borders of Philanthropy to the limits of Rack Rent, according to the enerosity or greed of the particular monopolist.

### The Transition

It is upon such conditions that the superficial observer turns his gaze and sapiently remarks that there are as many farmers upon the monopolised territory as before monopoly spread its net. There are but under vastly differents ditions. The farmer is no longer a prechatilling his own soil. He is a tributor pavid tribute to men who own territories they can not of themselves utilise, and from which they derive without risk or responsibility an immensity of wealth which they know not how to consumor enjoy. It is the modernisation of the old feudal system. It is the localisation in the new world of the iniquitous land system of the old. Note then, that not only are farm holdings diminishing in number , but that there is going on a rapid transition of the agricultural producers from a freeholding Yeomanry into agricultural tributors and tenants.

# The Bonanza King

Yet the man, ambitious to be the chief of an Agricultural Bonanza, and the Land Magnate, who derives his income from his agricultural tributors, may furnish some justification for their existence. The first may say:

"It is true that I have acquired a score or more of little farms and that my ploughs and barrows pass over the places where once their homes stood. It is true that upon this territory agricultural products are now raised by casually employed labor instead of as formerly by a body of resident freeholding Yeomanry. I know that this system makes home life impossible to any-body but myself; but then it is this large scale

system of farming to which the most effective and economic methods can be applied. We work with more machinery and fewer men. I know that so great has been the advance of machinery-the economy in methods and enlargement in the scale of production, that to-day in Victoria, we cultivate 1,000 acres of land, with 43 per cent, less labor than in 1881. I know that the area under cultivation has increased 132 per cent., and that the demand for agricultural labor has increased only 33 per cent. I know that if a million acres of cultivated land furnished as many farm homes and as much labor as in 1881, we should have 13,000 more homesteads and 80,000 more men employed in our fields; but then the fundamentals of capitalist production are not homesteads, but cheapness, and if homesteads stand in the way of economic production, then homesteads must disappear. Even if agri. cultural machinery has reduced the demand for labor, relative to the area under cultivation, that labor has found an outlet in the manufacture of agricultural appliances, and in the transport of the additional products raised by the use of such machinery."

The foregoing is the argument of the man, who to carry on large scale agriculture, mops up at every opportunity the property of his neighbours. Put in brief it means—larger farms—fewer homes—more machinery—less labor—cheapened production—more profit. Incidentally we get an insight into one of the causes of the modern phenomenæ of city growths. Every advance in the use of agricultural machinery means less work in the fields, and more in the factory—less in the country and more in the manufacturing centres. This is unavoidable, but there are the other contributory causes, born of wasteful monopoly, that have no economic justification whatever.

The would-be Bonanza Kings justify their actions on economic grounds, and on the grounds of the larger responsibilities which they undertake, and the industrial functions which they perform: so also the territorial magnates who let their lands or a portion thereof on agricultural tributes, claim to be awarded the laurels of Philanthrophy, because at least they permit some human beings to inhabit their dominions, at a price and without responsibility to the owner. What, however, can be said for those who pursue the policy of monopoly for no higher pursue

in a conservation of the contract of the contr

### The Sheep Walk

The productive value of land used for sheep is insignificant, compared with land put under the plough. A sheep walk makes no call for agricultural appliances, gives no stimulus to the industrial factories or impetus to the building trades. Unlike farming, it creates no local industry outside of itself. Out of it there arises no home market for its own products, and of all industries it makes the least demand on human labor. It never decks a landscape with thriving homes-it is the negation of home and of home life for all who live or hope to live by industrious effort. Here and there the mansion of the squatter baron erects its head in grim solitude. Outside of it there is only sheep and silence. That is all-bar shearing time. Railway facilities furnished for pastoral country are a perpetual tax upon the rest of the community and where sheep take the place of men and families and habitations, the demand for labor diminishes, production falls off, populations fade away, and the revenues of the afflicted municipalities commence to rapidly decline.

Amongst the Shires that raise less revenue from rates than they did in 1881, are: Belfast, Ballan, Bungaree, Bet Bet, Mount Rouse, Ripon, Ararat, Huntly, Glenlyon, Glenelg, Newham, Newstead, Springheld, Mount Franklin, Rosedale, and Metcalfe. The average fall is ten per cent, below that of 1881.

\* \* \* \*

## Earth Hunger

Some of these Shires are partially mining, but the majority reflect the transition from agricultural activity to pastoral lethargy. There are others-many of them-where decline is of more recent origin, and if illustration is needed, one has only to turn to the Shire of East Loddon, north of Bendigo, between the towns of Raywood and Mitiamo, on the Swan Hill line. This Shire is practically owned by less than a dozen men, of whom Atkinson, Ettershank, Moffat, and Coutts are the most notable. The properties of Mr. Harry Leigh Atkinson start south at Ravenwood, in Marong Shire, and his most nortnern acquisitions are in Mologo, north of Mitiamo. Piece by piece, whenever opportunity occurs, he adds to his dominions. Mayhap he 16

dreams of an empire that shall rival the king doms of the Chirnsides and the Russells, and stretch in an unbroken chain, through Marong and Loddon, to the waters of the Murray.

These gentlemen hungry for a planet on their own, have practically closed down on East Loddon. They own the bulk and are reaching for the rest. Whenever an agricultural property on their borders is put upon the market they pounce upon it. Agriculture cannot advance. The only move it can make is to move backward-and it does. People cannot find a fiving. They must look elsewhere-and they do. Nobody wants to buy their homes. The monopolist has no need of them. The only thing to do is to pull them down and sell them for firewood or cart them away. So in East Loddon to-day, there are fewer homes and the revenues of the Shire are 50 per cent., the ratepayers on roll, 38 per cent., and the population 30 per cent. less than in the year 1891. Monopoly has ad vanced and in proportion as it has advanced the prosperity of the Shire and its population has retreated.

Adjoining East Loddon is the Shire of Echuca of which Hugh McKenzie, the member for the district, reported to Parliament (30th June, 1904) that;—"Twenty years ago in six parishes, immediately on the west side of Echuca, there were 700 selectors—on the 23rd March, 1902, the number of selectors in those parishes were only 127."

# The Bogles

Mr. McKenzie ascribed this decline to want of water, but the same process of depopulation has gone on in all parts of the State, even where water is abundant, the soil most prolific and transit facilities of the very best. In Echuca Shire as in East Loddon, population and habita. tions have diminished. In the adjoining Shires of Deakin and Waranga, a similar process has taken place, and if it be attempted to explain this by "want of water," it is only necessary to turn to the Gippsland shires of Rosedale and Transigon, where the populations have diminished by 600, and the habitations are fewer by 120. Nor can the causes be ascribed to Labor Party, because monopoly had got its grip prior to the advent of Labor Party. Long before it came into existence the stagnation of agriculture in the older settled districts and the decline of

population therein had made their statistical mark. So much so that the then Government Statist, Mr. Hayter, drew public attention to the subject (Census Report, 1891), and assigned the principle reason to "the absorption of small by large holdings, and the fact that land formerly cultivated has reverted to grazing."

In this fact is to be found the reason for the decline of population in the Echuca. Loddon. Deakin, Waranga and other Northern Shires—not want of rain or railways or Labor Party existence. That the causes are to be discovered in the iniquity of Law permitting the drift of monopoly, rather than in the vicissitudes of nature, may be proven by the fact that while during ten years (1891 to 1901) the populations of the Wimmera and of the counties of Gladstone, Gunbower and Rodney actually declined, the more arid, distant, and drought-stricken Mallee increased its population by nearly 10,000.

The abolition of the sheep walk does not mean a decline in the production or exportation of wool or mutton. New Zealand has more land under the plough to-day than ever in he career, yet she carries more live stock. He exportation of agricultural products has god up by leaps and bounds, so also has he exportation of beef and mutton. Land under the plough not only provides more labor upon the land, stimulates manufactures, augments the population and enlarges the home market, but enables more food to be produced, not only for human beings but for live stock of every description. Thus wherever extensive and up-to-date methods are applied to the augmentation of the agricultural resources of the soil, there arises therefrom not only additional agricultural wealth but the means whereby more sheep and cattle can be carried upon the surface than was ever possible under primitive conditions-conditions exhibited in our midst by the sheepwalk, nothing in advance of Abram and his flocks.

The Cheviot Estate in N.Z. under Closer Settlement carries just twice the number of sheep it supported when held as a mere run, and the same applies to Wando Vale. a Closer Settlement property in Victoria. The large sheep run as a method of sheep production is obsolete and as non-economic as a wooden plough.

# Counties of Talbot & Bendigo.

MAP No. 5. -17 SHIRES.

THE MAP, when first drawn, only included Shires in which mining was being carried on, but the Shire of Loddon and the south riding of Echuca Shire were subsequently added in order to complete County Bendigo, and show the northward extension of the Atkinson properties. It is common when dealing with mining territory to ascribe the decline of population to the decadence of the industry But the mining centres (towns shown on map in small black squares) while they have fluctuated in population with the varying fortunes of the mining industry, have not, taken as a whole, suffered any decline as compared with 1871, yet the Shires have lost in population nearly 20,000. Between 1871 and 1881 the population of the shires in County Talbot declined by 12,000, the farm holdings diminished by 1,035 and 50,000 acres went out of cultivation.

The agricultural decadence during that period had a serious effect upon employment and population. The decline in County Bendigo did not commence until 1881, since when the holdings have diminished by 841, and in County Talbot, by an additional 696. In Marong and Huntly Shires there has been in recent years a revival of agriculture, but that cultivation is upon fewer farms. That in turn means, as elsewhere, fewer homesteads and a smaller population.



# CHAPTER V.

# The Sheep Tax.

There is in Victoria a so-called Land Tax. It classifies large estates as 1st. 2nd. 3rd. and 4th class; values them as worth four, three, two, or one pound per acre; taxes them at 3 d in the pound on a £4 limit, and bases the valuation upon the assumed sheep-carrying capacity of the ground. The tax was first imposed in 1877. Considering the then population, the condition of the roads, the uncleared state of many of the taxed properties, and the absence of railway facilities, the valuations (however crude the method) closely approximated to the actual values of the large estates at that time.

The object of the tax was to bring about the disentegration of the large estates, but it failed—

1st. Because the tax was not graduated, and fell per acre as heavily upon the man with 5000 acres as upon the man with half a million.

2nd. Because Government after Government permitted the owners to secure reduction after reduction in the classification and taxation of their properties, so that, upon practically the same areas, they pay £121.409 per annum less in taxation than they did twenty-eight years ago. They then paid £215.779; they now pay £94.370.

3rd. Because the construction of railways through sheep country has given to the large estates not only an additional industrial value, but provides cheap transport for sheep and wool. To the community these lines are a loss, but to the squatters the improved and cheapened transport means practically a refund of their taxation.

Thus the Land Tax, that was at the time of its inception a heavy penalty upon monopoly, has been rendered utterly worthless for the industrial and social ends that it was inaugurated to secure. In 1878 the large estates contributed one-eighth of the total taxation of the State-to-day only one-fortieth. If the owners had to contribute as large a proportion of the State taxes, as they did twenty-eight years ago, they would have to pay to the Victorian Treasury £443,750 per annum, or £349,380 more than they are paying at the present time.

### The Evaders.

At the inception of the Land Tax, the large estates were valued at close on fourteen and a half millions. No sooner, however, were the original classifications finished than the owners commenced to engineer to get their estates down from the higher valuation, or class, into the very lowest. In that good work of saving their pockets they have never ceased, while they have persistently agitated for the construction of non-paying lines through their properties, in order to secure cheap carriage for their wool, and added value to their properties. By 1890 they had got the valuations down to twelve millions, and at the present time

to below ten millions. Thus, upon the same area, they pay taxation upon 41 millions lover valuation per annum than they did in 1878. The pushing down of the class and valuation enables the monopolists to escape taxation in another direction Every owner is granted "exemption to the extent of £2500. When valued in the 1st class, an estate of 2500 acres, at £4, would be £10,000, upon £7500 of which the owner would pay tax, £93 15s, 625 acres being exempt. If the owner can get this estate assessed down to 4th class, then the whole estate is "exempt," it disappears from the register, the owner pays nothing. Every time an assessor can be persuaded to push a 40,000 acre estate from the 2nd into the 4th class, the squatter seves £1000 per annum, and the State loses it. The shed tallies at shearing time is direct evidence that the carrying capacity of the ground, in the majority of estates, is far in excess of the rates at which the estates are assessed. By the two methods described (the pushing down of the classification, and the consequent increase in the area of exemptions), the large estate owners have, since the original classification, been enabled to escape 3d, in the pound payment upon 674 millions.

# A faise declaration as to income, or the undervaluation of imports are punishable offences. The underassessment of the large estates is also a violation of the law, but nobody is responsible or punishable.

At the present time the only large estates in the 1st class are those of Wilson, of Pirron Yallock, Turnbull and Mrs Stanley, of Coleraine, and Henty, of Casterton. The estate of Percy Chirnside, at Werribee, is in the 4th class. The Metropolitan Board of Works purchased from him 9000 acres, at £17 per acre, for sewerage purposes. It has improved the grazing quality of the land, and is now taxed as 1st class, so that the ratepayers of Melhourne are called upon to pay a tax of 1s per acre, while Chirnside, on similar land, paid only 5d. All the estates around Skipton are in the 4th class.

but Farmer John Gardiner, of Skipton, improves his land, and is, therefore, taxed on a higher scale. It classified like his wealthy neighbours, he would be outside the radius of taxation, and his name would not appear on the register. The minety other owners whose estates appear in the first class are mostly small graziers, with a new men of the Gardiner type, or men like Foster, of Boisdale, who pass the tax on to the producing tenant.

\* \* \* \*

# Evasion and Effects

The reduction of classification has another result, apart altogether from the financial advantage to the monopoliser the process of aggregation is concealed. If a man owns, say, 2240 acres, classed either 1st, 2nd, or 3rd, and can get the assessor to designate it 4th class, then that estate disappears from the register. and if a hundred men carry out the operation, it appears to the public gaze that large estates have been broken up to the extent of some quarter million acres. On the other hand when a man mons up seven 320 acre sections, half a dozen homesteads and families have disappeared, There has been got together, under one ownership, 2240 acres. If the little monopoliser can show that the estates of all the great monopolisers round about are only graded 4th class, he has a legitimate claim for similar treatment, so his name and estate does not appear. If only 150 men do ditto.. 1000 homesteads and families have disappeared from the soil, but the Land Register gives no indication of the expansion of monopoly. Only when the estate gets beyond 2500 acres does it become unavoidably liable to inclusion in even the lowest class of the register, and will not even then be included unless the Land Tax officer should chance to find it out for himself. Dr. Atkinson owns seven estates, each over the taxable area. How many he owns under the taxable area nobody knows but Dr. Atkinson, Sir Rupert Clarke apart from his huge estate at Sunbury, owns many other properties over the taxable area, from Port Fairy, in the west, to as far east as the Snowy River. How many properties he

owns that are under the taxable area, and, therefore, not appearing on the register, probably even Sir Rupert himself does not know.

# Comparisons.

The existing Land Tax, regarded as a revenue raiser, is useless; as a means or bringing lands into productive use it is an absurdity; and, in its incidence, is an iniquity, pressing most heavily upon the poorest class of graziers in the State. The largest and richest estates are surrounded and intersected by State-constructed lines. Many of them are in close proximity to large centres of population, and to the ports of shipment. Yet the properties of Sir Rupert Clarke at Sunbury. of Chirnside at Werribee, and of the majority of the Western district squatters. are rated 4th class, and pay 3d per acre tax, although many of them earn their rates and taxes by letting small portions of their runs at 30s and upwards per annum rentals.

In the mountain country towards Koscinsko, there are little properties, such as those held by Thomas Waters and Messrs. Lukins and Masters. Their estates are rated 3rd and 2nd class respectively. The estates of William Paton. at Tallandoon (Bogong), is rated 2nd class. The estates of Thomas Sevinour, of Dederang, and of John M'Donald, at Gondowring, are rated 3rd class. The estate of Thomas Deane, in the mountain country east of Mansfield, is rated 3rd. All these men are far remote from railways or markets, yet they are called upon under the existing Land Tax, rendered an abortion by its administration, to pay twice and three times as much per acre as the mammoth holders in close proximity to Melbourne and Geelong.

Take one more illustration. The Ensay station, in the Omeo district, is mostly rated 3rd class. The property is far from a railway, and the roads are bad, and the cost of transit is very heavy, yet Ensay pays twice as much per acre as station properties near Melbourne, carrying as many, and, in some cases, more sheep per

acre. Yet the owner, Mr. Hamilton, tol. erates this iniquity, and looks with dread upon the advent of a party that would remove it, maintain the Tambo Valley road as a national work, and cheapen his transit on road and rail by placing the burden on lands, in proportion, as they have been enriched by the expenditure of millions of public money.

# Aggregation.

Taking the Land Tax Register as it is, it shows that 14 individuals, ramilies, or corporations own 2860,000 acres, and that 102 own 3,131,600 acres, so 116 own 5,294,000 acres. This is one-fourth the total alienated area of the State, and three-fourths of the area appearing upon the register. But the register does not necessarily show the total area held by these lew ramitles and corporations.

1st. There is no compulsion upon the owners to make a sworn declaration as to the total extent of their properties.

2nd The taxation officer must get his information from the Titles Office, and it he misses a transfer the monopolist gets the benefit.

3rd. The monopolist may own intuable properties throughout the State, eone under the taxable area.

4th. The evidence given before the Raway Committee, referred to by Melville, M.L.C. (July 26, 1995), and Edgar, M.L.C. (Aug. 8, 1995), demonstrates that large areas are held by individuals and banks, without any appearance of such estates upon the register.

5th. Recent resumptions by the Government have shown that several estates, when wanted for closer settlement, are larger than appears from the register.

This last arises from the fact that when the monopolist buys up additional properties on his various boundaries, the taxation officer must treat them as separate properties. He cannot add to the original assessment, and indess the newly-acquired properties are of themselves within a taxable class and area, the officer can take no cognisance of these additions to the manmoth holdings.

The reduction of classifications has, therefore, not only deprived the State of a cound million in revenue, but it has excluded millions of acres from the register. The number of persons whose names appear upon the register is 872, of whom 368 own only an average of 1200 acres, in blocks between 640 and 2000 acres. The Government Statist, in his last report shows that 1467 persons hold 14,457,000 acres of alienated and leasehold land. The Land Tax Register shows that 116 own at least 5.294.000 acres of actually alienated territory. Taking all the enumerated facts into consideration, it is well within the limit to affirm that 550 individuals, families, or corporations own one-half of the alienated lands of Victoria.

### Two Shires.

The two shires of Mortlake and Hampden are typical of the Western district. Together they make up the County of Hampden. Their total area is 1845 square miles, or 1.180,000 acres, of which 20 families own 800,000 acres, nearly threefourths.

The total population -men, women and children-is 10.030, of whom 4160 reside in the three towns of Terang, Camperdown and Mortlake. In these townthere are 832 dwellings. In the vicinity of these towns, where a tew of the squatters have sub-let a portion of their estates for dairying purposes, there are 789 dwellings. Over three-fourths of the area there is only one human habitation -house, tent, or humpy for every seven square miles of country. The number of persons who keep dairy cows are 469, the number of conv. 26,233. Allowing three agres to a cow, the area so used is 78,699 acres. In these two shires the area used for truit-growing or for the raising of root and grain crops is only 773 acres, so that over an area of nearly a million and a quarter acres only 64 per cent, of the land is used for dairying and agricultural purposes. Over the remainder-1.101.328 acres- the squatters run their flocks, and furnish an isolated existence for a few

hundred persons. Used only in the partial manner that it is used around Camperdown and Terang, this larger area would furnish a livelihood for over 100,000 additional citizens upon the soil. It would give an impetus to the building trade, to the manufactures of the city, and augment the revenues of the State not by additional taxation, but by the increased number of contributors.

These two shires value the territory within their borders, with all improvements thereon-Terang, Camperdown and Mortlake included as worth £5.587,100, an average value, land and improvements, of £4 14s per acre. The revenue from rates is £15,314, of which the bulk is provided by the towns mentioned, and by dairy farming tenants in proximity to those towns. These rates are not sufficient for local roads and bridges work, so the shires draw from the State the sum of £2000. The squarter families have closed in, and use for sheep grazing in these two shires 16.337 acres of Crown lands (closed roads). The rates which they pay for local govern ment purposes would not be a decent rental upon the State properties, which they have been allowed to occupy and use for years without a penny payment.8

The majority of these large estates are graded fourth-class for sheep tax purposes. and are rated at about 3s per acre annual value for local Government purposes. The owner of a 50,000 acre estate is thus called upon to pay, less exemption, £593 per annum to the State, and £375 to the municipality, or £968 in all. If he lets out 1000 acres for dairying or agricultural purposes, at 30s per acre, he is in receipt of £1500 the tenants pay the rates and taxes upon the entire estate. The municipalities may raise the valuation of the let portion, and the State may place that portion third or second-class in the Sheep Tax Register; but the fact remains that it is only necessary to tenant a small portion of the estate in order to earn enough to free the entire property from all liability, either to State or municipality.

<sup>\*</sup>Under Closed Roads Act they now pay rent.

# Farmer v. Squatter.

Wedged in amongst the large estates there is here and there a freehold farma speck on the horizon-an oasis in the midst of comparative desolation. The immensity of wealth capable of being produced from even the inferior soils of the Western District is demonstrated by the operations of Mr. John Gardiner on his farm at Skipton. A writer in the "Agricultural Gazette" (March, 1905). avers that Mr. Gardiner's land is no different from the surrounding estates. that the grazing average under the obsolete methods of sheep culture maintained by the squattocracy is only one sheep to the acre; and that, from an agricultural point of view, the land is by no means promising. Yet from this land Mr. Gardiner, pursuing up-to-date farming methods, gets a wheat average of 24 bushels per acre; of oats 10 bushels, and upon his rape fallows runs for five months out of the 12 an average of 18 sheep to the acre. A portion of the land is under green peas for pig feeding purposes; and, besides the sheep and pigs, the land carries, 50 head of cattle and 40 horses for farm work. A large proportion of this farm is still under natural grass, but the writer in the "Agricultural Gazette" declares that the railway way bills show that in proportion to area Mr. Gardiner furnishes ten times as much freight to the railways as any of the surrounding estates.

# industry Taxed.

If the 4,000 square miles of country shown on No. 1, map were operated on similar principles, it would mean an addition of 14 million tons of freight to our railways, and an addition of at least half a million to the railway revenue. The additional employment and population arising from land so utilised would mean an immense augmentation of national wealth—an assurance of an immense annual surplus, and the inevitable result of such surplus would mean facilities for further expansion, for a reduction of taxation, and remission of

railway charges. If Mr. Cardiner gives ten times as much freight to the railways as his neighbours, so also does he furnish additional work to shearers and ploughmen, to the loaders of wheat, and wool, and mutton, to waggon builders. harness makers, makers of agricultural implements, and artificial manure workers. Directly and indirectly, farms operated on principles similar to those followed by Mr. Gardiner, call into existence fifty times as much wealth as land devoted exclusively to sheep grazing on virgin pastures. Yet Mr. Gardiner is taxed, not upon his land, but upon his industry. Round about him are the estates of Bridges, Austin. Chirnside, and Russell. Their land for sheep tax purposes is placed in the lowest class. Mr. Gardiner's land in its virgin state is no better. Classed like the surrounding estates, he would escape the operations of the sheep tax. but because by the application of scientific methods he has given to his land a higher sheep-carrying capacity, he is called upon to pay a higher tax. If the adjoining estates were placed in the same class as Mr. Gardiner's, farm. Messrs. Bridges. Austin, Chirnside, and Russell would have to contribute an additional sum of £2671 to the remembes of the State. The sheep tax hy farmers like Mr. John Gardiner 🕄 fore distinctly a tax upon industrical a premium towards the maintenance of land monopoly. Secondly, every increase in the productivity of an acre means an increase of Income Tax. Thirdly, reduction of railway freights can only follow an increase of goods carried, so that the cost of railway maintenance can be distributed over the larger number of products, therefore any law that bases taxation upon the value of land instead of its product must be a law favourable to the interests of producers. Nothing could be more interesting than to be able to compare the freight charges, the income and sheep taxes paid by Mr. Gardiner and one of the neighbouring squatters in order to

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see how much each paid per acre of land held. A graduated land value tax would mean to men like Mr. Gardiner a financial gain, while to the neighbouring squatters it would mean that they would have to put their land to a higher productive use or else subdivide and give somebody else a chance to live

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# Resumption and Railways.

That Mr. Gardiner has not got hold of an isolated patch of rich land is proven, not only by the evidence of agricultural experts, but by the fact that further west Mr. Arthur Murphy. pursuing similar methods, has achieved equally good results, but neither of them can get railway facilities, because farms are so few, and the large settlers so dominant. The proposed railway from Linton, through Skipton, Streatham, to Lake Bolac, a distance of 40 miles, would pass through three estates and would, as in the case of the Dunkeld-Penshurst line, be regarded by the squatters as a convenience for the transit of their sheep. The result in one case, as in the other, would be a dead loss to the community. The resumption of large estates prior to the extension of railways into such territories is the only guarantee of sound settlement and profitable railway business. If the district around Skipton possesses such possibilities in wealth production, what are the possibilities of the other portions of that vast territory dealt with on the No. 1 map. An agricultural Labourite who has resided in the Western District for 30 years says:-

### "The once-Luxuriant Garden."

"Lethbridge is situated twenty miles from the port of Geelong. To the east of Lethbridge, about one mile distant, is the well-known Moorabool River, the valley of which, for richness of soil, has no superior in the Southern Hemisphere. Here some thirty years ago was the scene of busy life. Vinevards and orchards were plant-

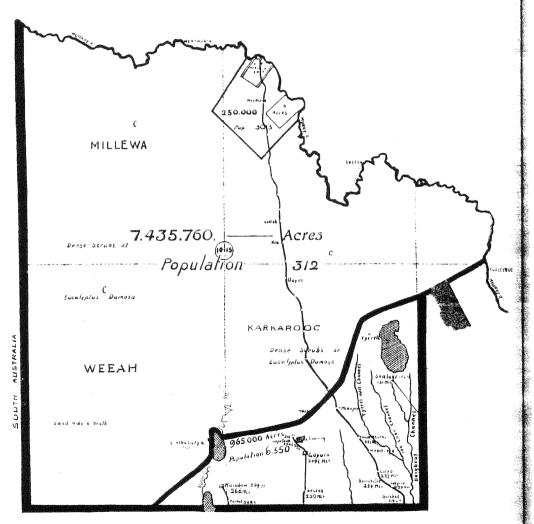
ed, giving promise of the establishment of industries which are as yet only in their infancy. Owing to the almost unlimited area of land available, the settlers discovered that there was an easier and less tiring means of livelihood that of grazing. The vineyards and orchards were allowed to grow wild, becoming even a nuisance by breeding codlin moth, which is so destructive to Victorian orchards in other parts. Thus through the curse of large areas, cattle are grazing through the ruins of the once luxuriant gardens. Two miles further up the river is the Muringhurk estate, owned by an absentee landlord. Here we find a still worse state of things prevail. The same rich soil overrun with thistles to such an extent that even the squatter's sheep cannot penetrate them It was with respect to this estate that the manager petitioned successfully against the shire valuation, with the result that the annual rental value is set down at 3s per acre, although portion of this land is let to neighbouring farmers at 30s per acre, and hundreds of acres more, if made available, would be unickly taken at the same price by men who are leaving the State to secure land in New Zesland or West Australia. Cross to the western side of the Geelong and Ballarat line. Threequarters of a mile takes you to the boundary wall of (tolf Hill estate, owned by another absentee landlord. This estate includes some of the richest soil in the State, yielding one time twelve and thirteen tons of onions to the \* \* \* \*

# Nigh unto Geelong.

Similar testimony is obtainable in abundance. Lying directly north from Geelong to Ingleston, on the Melbourne-Ballarat line, with the Geelong-Ballarat line for a western boundary, and the Balliang Creek to the east, there are hundreds of thousands of acres of good volcanic soil within an hour of a shipping port, nearly the whole devoted to sheep, and of which Chirnside, Austin, Armitage. Russell, and twelve others own 393,000 acres.

# North-West Victoria.

COUNTIES MILLEWA, WEEAH AND KARKAROOC.



# NORTH-WEST VICTORIA.

COUNTIES of MILLEWA, WEEAH and KARKAROOC

		Acres
Area occupied by actual owners	 	28,000
,, ,, ,, private tenants		522,000
Area alienated		550,000
Land in process of alienation	 	665,000
Remaining Crown areas		7,436,000
Total area	 	8,651,000
Total population		9,875
Farms under 200 acres	 	430
Farms between 200 and 1000 ac		734
Farms over 1000 acres		287
Total farms	 	1,451
Acres cultivated		422,783

On the question of Mallee Water Supply the Railway Committee reported as follows:--

"The Committee considers that no Mallee areas should be made available for occupation by settlers until some definite scheme for a supply of water for domestic and stock purposes has been approved. The cost of bringing water on to the area should be made a charge on the land, which should not be classified until the water has been taken on to it, as the presence of a supply for domestic and stock purposes enhances the value of the land. In recent years the practice has been first to classify the land, putting it into a low class because of the absence of water or railways, and shortly afterwards, when a contract has been made with the settlers that they are to get the treehold of their holdings at the reduced classification, steps are taken to provide a supply of water, and also facilities for getting the produce of the settlers to market. To continue that policy in the future would be unjust to the State.

But, as will be seen by the Map and the Statistics attached thereto, cultivation, even on the newest territory, is carried on in a very insignificant percentage of cases by bona fide owners, the land having already fallen into the hands of financial corporations, renting out the holdings to the actual cultivators of the soil.

# MONOPOLY AND DEMOCRACY

# The Victorian "Switzerland."

SEE MAP No. 7.

# CHAPTER VI.

# Without Roads or Rails

It is upon the immense territory of eastern and northern Gippsland, at present without rails or decent roads, and with nine-tenths of its area still in possession of the Crown, that Victoria may pursue a policy that will demonstrate what an effective industrial and social purpose is capable of accomplishing. Within this area is the mountain range known as the Australian Alps, and, these ranges, with their spurs and foothills and sheltered valleys, wherein tree vegetation attains its greatest height and girth, are the true forest region of the State. This territory is larger than Switzerland. Its forests of timber, that to-day for a iew paltry pounds of rent are burned to make room for a few cattle, far exceed in extent and value those of the Swiss Republic. Its hardly-touched stores of mineral wealth of every description, bar coal, is something that Switzerland does not possess. Its huge deposits of sculptory and decorative marbles are unsurpassed in all the world; but, owing to present inaccessibility, transport from Italy, 14,000 miles away, is cheaper than 250 miles from the Limestone Creek, Its vast stores of building stone at Mount Lookout, and elsewhere, occupy a similar position. Its remarkable series of caves and caverns, now left to the attack of every passing vandal, if cared for, and

roads made passable, would be as great an attraction to the tourist as those of Jenolan For a portion of the year the higher table lands and ranges of this region are under snow, but not more so than all Canada and the northern countries of Europe. There are not, as in the Swiss Republic, large areas under perpetual snow, nor sliding glaciers, nor devastating avalanches of ice and rock to carry destruction to property, annihilation to industry, and death to communities. Switzerland has 3940 square miles covered by rocks, mountains, and glaciers, and a large area below it. constantly menaced; while 530 miles of its lower levels are covered by lakes, so ing in the areas available for settlem "Indeed," says Winchester in his "S Republic," "the greater part of its leys consists of nothing but a film of soil, superimposed on fragments of rock." Yet Switzerland, upon this smaller area of usable land carries a population of 31 millions; while on this larger area in Victoria we have but 32,000 inhabitants, maintained principally by mining. So much is this so that texcepting the agricultural settlements on the lower reaches of the Snowy and Tambo rivers, and the population at the Lakes Entrance) if it were not for mining the territory would oe as deserted and as silent as the regions of the Arctic.

# Grazing and Agriculture

A large portion of the land of Switzerland is still held in common, or, as we would say, Crown lands. Two million acres consist of forest, 1.936,000 acres common pasturage, and other milside and valley sites are rented, principally to those engaged in forestry for garden, orchard, and vineyard purposes In addition, there are 1,720,000 acres under sown grass, and 1,533,093 under the plough. Upon this territory there are 300,000 landed proprietors, and from the product of farm, and forest, and garden, and orchard, added to cattle breeding, and dairying, and manufacture of cheese and butter, there is direct susten ance from the soil for one half of the total population of the Republic, Every inch of available land is utilised. Crop and stock culture is combined, so that, with 15 million more acres under the plough, it carries seven times more cattle, 15 times more pigs, five times as many horses, as many sheep, as does the Alpine area of Victoria. It again demonstrates that the highest stock-carry ing power is found combined with the highest agricultural development- Against the large forestry revenue of Switzerland our area produces practically nothing, and, while on our area there is only 863 bechives, those of Switzerland numher 353,000 (eight times all Victoria), giving to the little Republic a large traffic in beeswax and honey. The Republic produced over £100,000 worth of tabacco, and from an area smaller, more mountainous. and not more fertile, it raised a value in stocks, crops, and dairy produce reaching into millions. It is not so much territory that we need, as a public policy directed to its utilisation.

But if it be said that results in Switzerland are the outcome of centuries of effort, it is only necessary to direct attention to Japan, where a definite industrial and social policy has realised in a comparatively few years all that took

European countries hundreds of years to accomplish. In every direction communities apply with rapidity that which others only acquired by tedious experiment and laborous effort.

It is not sterility, but inaccessibility, that bars the settlement of our eastern estate. With the exception of the Omeo Plains, the bulk of alienation, so sar, has been upon the fringes of the territory upon the lower river flats in closest proximity to the markets. Yet the alienation to date only reaches one million acres, and with every increase of accessibility other rich lands will come to have a productive value. That these areas can be largely added to is certain, while behind agriculture are the possibilities of dairying, cattle-breeding, forestry, and mineral production.

### Fertilisation and Production

If it were true that the remaining Crown lands are so sterile as to be unfit for agricultural production, then the alienation of such land is a robbery perpetrated by the State on those induced to select. The establishment of agricultural properties is the fundamental reason upon which selection is based. Individuals are still selecting. If their object is monopoly or speculative traffic, then alienation is a crime against the public welfare. If it is taken up for an industrial purpose, for which the soil is not fitted, then the authorities trade upon the ignorance of the citizen, condemn him to hopeless drudgery, and defraud him of his means.

But soil sterility, while it spells ruin to men without means, and to men of means tied to obsolete methods, dwindles before appropriate fertilisation, the rotary system of production, and united stock and crop culture, instead of exhausting specialisation. The old jargon anent the "inherent and indestructible properties of the soil"—that richness or poorness is unchangeable—is something that nobody really believes to-day. Let inherited ideas are such a curious thing, so difficult to grapple and to cast aside.

that, in face of the world's evidence, and often in opposition to their own experience, men talk unconsciously, as if rich soil must be ever rich, and poor soil eternally poor.

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In the 'Agricultural Journal (March. 1906) it is pointed out how land in the vicinity of Koroit twenty years ago became exhausted and "hungry." producing little; how present fertility is the product of human effort, and how the ruling price (£50 to £70 per agre) is not a price paid for the original inherent producing qualities of the soil, but is a price paid for a productive capacity given by man. That soil wratel again become as "bungry" as the poorest virgin soil if the tiller became careless of its maintenance. All the old countries of the world furnish thousands of similar lessons, and England is producing an average of thirty bushels per acre from the soil that in the early part of last century was only producing an average of nine bushels, while in scores of cases in Victoria farmers have doubled and trebled the producing quality of the ground.

# Redeeming the Desert

Of virgin lands once regarded as "barren." and uninhabitable, but now the centres of industrial activity, almost every country furnishes an illustration. The "Great Central Desert" of the U.S., the dread of the early overlanders, is a case in point. The cultivation of the one time dreary "sand dunes" of Holland is another. The mallee in Victoria was at one time regarded as an unconquerable Sahara, and 7500 square miles in Millewa and Weeah is yet without a settlement, but no one doubts that they in their turn will be brought within the arena of active production. The "nittle Desert' in County Lowan, for many

years regarded as sterility itself, is now a wheat-producing area. The effect of phosphate fertilisers upon the Willaura and Maroona lands has transformed those areas into hives of agricultural activity. The operations of the Gardiner Bros, at Baangal have established an oasis in a comparative desert, demonstating what is capable of accomplishment upon millions of acres now regarded as only fit to carry something less than a sheep to the acre. Operations by a private individual at Bendigo upon auriferous country that previously couldn't grow a blade of grass, has resulted in the production of crops sufficient for the maintenance of a dairy cow per acre, while the experiments of the Agricultural Department on the "hungry" areas of Heytesbury, furnish proof of their producing power, and of their utility for settlement. In short, there is no indestructible richness or poorness. The richest lands become "hungry" and sterile, and stand in the same category as the poorest of virgin soil-they are both non-productive. To make them productive, similar methods and efforts are necessary, and henceforth their producing power is as much the result of human labour as a steamboat or prough.

To speak then of the millions Tambo. Croajingolong. eastern counties and other valueless non-productive, and settlement is absurd and reactions and a shutting of the eyes to a triumphs of Science, and Skill ov deficiencies. The fertilisation of the the increase of the area of productive ness, the extension of settlement, march side by side with the advance of agricultural science, and the determination of communities to apply it.



# MONOPOLY AND DEMOCRACY

# A Piece of Old Gippsland

MAP No b.

THE Gippsland Shires of Rosedale, Maffra. Travalgon and Avon are better served with rivers than any other part of the State. They are splendidly served wifh railways, and have the advantage of cheap water carriage, good land and a fine rainfall. In Maffra Shire some of the estates have been partially ler for dairying and agriculture. This has served to maintain the population, but the tenants have not a pennyworth of proprietary interest in the soil they cultivate. In Traralgon and Rosedale Shires the population has fallen off by 600, and the inhabited dwellings by 120. In Avon Shire there are 1000 fewer people, and 143 fewer homesteads than there were in 1871.

Foster's Estate at Boisdale is let out on tribute on the one-half share sytem Each block is about 100 acres, and Mr. Foster erects all necessary buildings and silos, and provides cattle, ploughs, milk-cans and other requisites. He takes onehalf the gross returns. He runs a cheese and butter factory, and after deducting the cost of working deducts one-half the balance. All weaned calves are claimed by the landlord, and if the tenant makes money from pigs or other sources, onehalf must go to Mr. Foster. The tenant has no chance of ever securing the freehold although the anti-Labour argument is that personal ownership is the sole incentive of industry. Mr. Foster has about £1000 of capital on each block. and gets from £250 to £475 per annum in return, or £2 10s, to £4 15s, per acre. What Mr. Foster is doing the organised people of Victoria can also do under terms far more advantageous to the actual producer.



# CHAPTER VII.

# Grazing v. Forestry

It has been pointed out that in the non-railway territory of Eastern Victoria there is yet a large area of rich, unalienated land, at present barred to settlement by inaccessibility, and as for millions of other acres classed "inferior," a special correspondent of the "Argus" (31.3.06) covered the position when he said—

"Popular fallacies in respect to the poor quality of certain lands have time after time been upset by the riper knowledge of how to deal with them."

The same writer, speaking of the country between Bendoe and the Snowy refers to

"Splendid timber, but rather poor land. Here and there in the guilles and flats settlers have made their homes. Excellent samples of maize, potatoes, rye-grass, clovers, and fruits were shown. The country is ragged and broker, and how to turn the ridge land to profitable account is the pressing problem. An present the settlers hold a large tract in its natural state for grazing, but the natural herbage is too scanty and too innutrificus to permit either of breeding or fattening being carried on profitably."

The Crown lands in Victoria occupied for pastoral purposes number 13,000,000 acres. The minimum rental is 14d, per acre, but the net return to the Lands department is only the of a penny per acre. It is thus evident that either the return is not correct, or more than one half the rentals are not paid. The "pastoral leases" tas distinct from grazing and mallee leases) are charged, on grazing capacity, Is, per head for sheep, and 5s, per head for cattle. The cash rental to the State works out at Jd. per acre, so, on this calculation, it takes 124 acres for every head of cattle carried. Rugged South Gippsland carries 100 head per 1000 acres-Croajingolong, only 11. If these lands have no value for agricultural purposes, they certainly, in their natus ral state, have very little for grazing The "Argus" writer, previously que pointed out how scattered selectors large tracts on lease for grazing, that the natural herbage is too scanty to permit of breeding or fattening being carried on profitably, and Mr. Pinnager. an officer of the Lands department, recently reported in the following words-

"It is the invariable practice among these run holders to burn their country every year, or second year. If they do not, the herbage becomes too rank, and the run becomes useless as a pasturage. These lands cannot be used with profit, without sacrificing the forest. Both interests cannot be conserved in the one place, for the prosperity of the 'one involves the ruin of the other."

Further on, Mr. Pinnager gives a telling illustration by quoting the case of the Coloquhoun forest reserve. No young trees had been permitted to grow. Cattle have devoured seedlings and tender growths, so that there has been no replacement of the cut timber. For many years forest reproduction has been sacrificed for grazing rentals. Yet, says Mr. Pinnager. "the total rents for grazing rights in this forest did not exceed £10 per annum, nor the total stock depastured upon it number more than 100."

# Forests should be Revenue-Producing

Thus it is, that we derive from the Crown lands of Victoria a grazing rental valueless to the State, because it is either absorbed by administration, or counterbalanced by the destruction of present forest revenue, and future forest wealth. In most European countries, forests are a source of large profit to the controlling State. Their net earnings vary from 5s, to £1 per acre. Prussian forests last year gave a net profit close on II millions; Saxony, from 116,000 acres of forest, derives a profit of over £300,000 per annum. Switzerland raises timber of every description, "and," says "Winchester."

"It is under the supervision of trained foresters and wood rangers, that on a mountain side, apparently nothing but a forbidden rock, are found oak, beech, birch, and pine trees, in large quantities and good dimensions. Care and attention enables a tree to grow its normal size on what is apparently little more than towering and weird piles of sheer rocks."

Switzerland has had to make a large outlay in reafforestation as a penalty for previous denudation, but, so far as Eas-

tern Victoria is concerned, there is no call for any such large initial outlay. All that is needful is preservation. An area of trees is not made a forest by simply marking it off against trespass. It can only be made a forest in reality by eliminating the weak and uscless, so giving room for the growth and expansion of the best species. Again, many trees, such as blackwood, grow in small clumps, and should be protected, just as much as if they grew in extensive areas There is protection for specified forms of hird and animal life, and similar protection should be given to specified timber growths upon Crown lands, irrespective of whether they grew in isolation, in small groups, or immense forests. True settlement does not consist in alienating areas containing trees worth £30 to £100 per acre; nor true forestry in marking off as "forest reserve" an area containing no trees. Yet the old factions, who pride themselves upon their business capacity and their commercial instincts, have done both.

### The Possibilities

Baron Von Mueller, in his little hooklet on "Forestry Culture in its Relation to Industrial Pursuits," says:—

"For forest operations we enjoy here advantages of twofold kind, for which in Middle Europe we are justly envied. We can disseminate quickly - growing cucalvptus trees in the most arid districts; we can add to them, as a first shelter, many of the native easuarinas and acacias, and thus gain cover for less hardy trees of other countries. On the other hand, we find in the moist and rich valleys of our ranges a vast extent of space, where, under the mild influence of the clime, sub-tropic trees could be reared million-fold; where, for instance, whole forests of the red cedar might be originated. Besides, we do not stand at any disadvantage if we want to raise a belt of sea-coast pines all along the shores, or if we wish to rear the Norway spruce, or silver fir, or larch, or Weymouth fir, or the Donglas pine or any of the pitch pines of North America; because we can call forth, if we like, whole forests of them on sub-alpine heights never yet utilised.

"The quick-growing eucalyptus, among which the blue-gum tree of this colony and Tasmania stands pre-eminent, are comparatively few in number, nor are these few all of gigantic size. They are, moreover, restricted in their natural occurrence to limited tracts of country, from which they must be established by the hand of man in other soil for the necessities of other communities-for the gratitude of other populations. The pines of foreign lands must be brought to our shores- to our Alps-with an intention of utilising every square mile of ground, however unpromising in its sterility; for, after all, that square mile represents a por tion, albeit so small, of the land surface of the globe. The Norway spruce (which gives us so much of our dealand tar, insinuates its massive roots through the fissures of disintegrating rocks, or, failing to penetrate the stony structure, sends its trailing roots over the surface and down the sides of the barest rocks, until they have found a genial soil, however scanty, on the edge of a precipice. Nature sever active and laborious, ever wise and beneficent allows the tree thus to live, thus to convert the solid boulders finally into soil, and all the time adds unceasingly to the treasures of the dominions of man."

The by-products and subsidiary industries of forestry are numerous and varied. There is the collection of seeds and flowers for export, the production of potash, volatile oils, charcoal, and tar, acetic acid, and wood spirits for lighting, heating, and driving purposes. All the work can go side by side with forest thinning operations. Potash is largely in demand for nitre, for glass production, and for the manufacture of various soaps and dyes, For potash

production, chips, bark, branches, leaves -the waste of forestry are thrown into a pit and burnt- the ashes placed in tubs -- cold water poured thereon, and liquid potash results. After evaporation the dry einder potash remains. Every 25lb of wood ash, according to Von Mueller, produces 21ths, of potash, Wood spirits, for which there would be a ready market in Victoria for motor purposes, is produced by a process of dry distillation. The methods necessary for the conduct of these subsidiary industries are very simple and easily taught. In the "Argus," of January 12, 1906, a corres pondent, writing upon this subject, said : "A properly worked forest can give a lot of employment. In European forests, taking an average all round, it is calenlated the forests give FIVE DAYS' WORK PER ANNUM PER ACRE, and there are thousands of acres never touched by a man, and this does not include the working up of the forest produce. Germany, a country of 208,127 sonare miles, spends £9,000,000 on forest labour per annum. and makes a profit on its operations. Victoria has \$7,881 square miles, and a far greater amount of forest than Germany, and does not, so far, spend £50,000, or earn what it spends, but the possibilities are there." If the forests of Victoria were so organised that an acreof forest should furnish only one day's work a year, the 12,000,000 of wood land in this State would furnish work all the year round for 10,000 men, and our Aloine territory, instead of being a deal lation, would be providing a living thousands of families. Organised on basis declared by Mr. Tratham to the European AVERAGE, the form of Victoria would furnish employment for 200,000 Forestry men. is practically an untouched industry in Victoria, the bulk of the forestry revenue derived by the State being obtained from an area of not more than 100,000 acres. The destruction of forestry as a precedent to settlement is the old policy, and wherever carried out has meant

the complete extermination of a valuable industry. The development of forestry as an industry, coexistent with agriculture, means the maintenance of a larger variety of occupations, additional resources, and a valuable fall back in periods of agricultural depression.

We have a Lands department operating on the assumption that soil sterility is a fixture, potential wealth a dream, and agricultural science a chimera. Present-day revenue is everything, and the public estate, regarded as worthless, is disposed of as "inferior cattle" country; prices next to nothing-repayments over 40 years, and an army of officers for the collection. There is little actual settlement, but there is alienation, and the inevitable aftermath—aggregation.

But if there were no aggregation, the cutting up of Eastern Victoria in the large sections permitted under 4th class valuation would mean, in its culmination, a sparse population, eking out a precarious existence on "inferior cattle" country. It would mean a destroyed forestry; a railway system entailing an immense loss upon the State, and a costly system of road structure, imposing a rainous burden apon, the municipalities, because the low valuation of such country would not be equal to the maintenance cost of essential roads. This is what we get, and all we can hope or expect from the present method of dealing with the millions of acres of Crown property in the Eastern division of this State.

### No "Desert" Country

Pessimists say that this undisposed of land cannot be utilised. The same thing was said fifty years ago, but districts then marked "desert" are now sustaining hundreds of thriving farms. We have abundant evidence within and without the State that soil sterility recedes as agricultural chemistry advances. Not only that, but we have a Department of Agriculture that, in every pub

lication issued, and in its every experi ment, declares that the assumption upon which the Lands Department disposes of the public estate, is false and erroneous The more the soil is cultivated, the greater is the quantity of feed raised and the larger the stock carried. The stock return fertilisers to the soil, and the soil yields in yet greater abundance. Agriculture and stock raising are not antagonistic-their combination is essential for the triumph of economical primary production. Upon the insis of these facts, the most successful farming in Victoria and elsewhere is operated. Even in Eastern Gippsland. some of the richest crops are grown on lands originally disposed of as "inferior carde" country.

# Socialised Settlement

Therein is the keynote of the situation, and the justification for new methods. The State will utilise its scientific and financial resources so that its territory be settled, not in the old promiscuous way, but in a manner conducive to the industrial expansion of the districts, the well-being of the settlers, and the stability of the State. The land settlement policy of Victoria boils down to a question as to whether a man shall be left to struggle by himself or whether he shall work, well prepared with the utmost assistance that the organised community, with accumulated knowledge ar financial power, can render him. There is not, and never has been, any doubt upon which side of the question stood the Labour Party of this State.

# Special Legislation Needed

Eastern Victoria should be dealt with by special legislation and new methods, and the first act should be the nationalisation of many of its main roads. This should be so for two reasons. The first is that these roads, for the most part, run through, or abut on Crown lands. The second is, that as the State gives other districts a railway; these districts are at

\* \* \* \*

least entitled to a road. The mallesis comparatively level; it is most effectually and economically served by raiways-and oets them. Eastern Victoria is mountainous. It would be best served by roads, and ought to get thens. The local municipalities cannot do the making, the territory is so large, the settlements so scattered, the revenues insignificant. The roads in Eastern Victoria are as much a State function as railways in other parts. Good roads are a factor in closer settlement. The only inducements offered by had roads is to sell out and get nearer civilisation. Good roads shorten distances. They mean larger loads, lighter waggons, less haulage, less waste, better returns. It is not how far to market, but how long to get there. In Eastern Victoria, the first special act, is the nationalisation of specified roads.

# **Gloser Settlement Policy**

But the State maintenance of these roads is not everything. Considered by itself, it would present but the spectacle of a costly enterprise, giving insignificant results. It must rest upon something stronger than mere assumption of settlement, or upon the system that permits aggregation in proximity to lines and roads. Side by side with a road policy must be a clearly defined and well comprehended system of closer settlement, applied to the lands in proximity to the new-made arteries of traffic. For the purchase of the Werribee Estate alone, the State paid £350,000. On the State-owned grass tree country in Heytesbury, the Agricultural department proposes to utilise steam ploughs, and make the land available for direct cultivation. A similar policy of experiment upon selectiareas in Eastern Victoria should be vigorously pursued, and upon lands costing the State nothing, a policy of improvement inaugurated. Such lands should then be dealt with under the provisions of the Closer Settlement Act.

as if they were acquired private estates. Upon each of such estates the Agricultural Department should hold and conduct an experimental farm, exhibiting the most up-to-date methods, and thus distributing the advantages of agricultural technical education over the widest possible area in the most economical manner. The speculators, going for the rise in values given by the construction of lines and roads, should be rigorously barred, and the alienation of surrounding lands in the large sections permitted under the 3rd and 1th class classifications of the Land Act should give place to the operations of the Closer Settlement Act-and its extension. Thus, upon the roads we should have definite settlements, and the settlers a guarantee of an outlet for their produce. Mr. Pinnaver, in his report, suggests that 200,000 acres in Croajingolong might be thrown open for settlement. Such areas should be reported on by the experts of the Agricultural Department; roads constructed, farms made available for operations. Public money in other parts of the State spent on purchase of private estates can in these parts be expended on improvements of the public estate. If the lands proposed by Mr. Pinnager are not worth this expenditure, they are not worth settlement. Nay, without roads settlement is not possible-the only possibility is alienation.

# Four Great Divisions

To sum up. Victoria consists of four great divisions. Ist, the old settled districts splendidly served by rowalls, and proximity to water carris. These areas have drifted into complively few hands, and upon them lewer farms and farmers than 30 years. Monopoly has absorbed the largest and best portions, transformed them into sheep walks, made the railways in their vicinity a tax on the whole community, pushed population into the back country, necessitated new roads, rails, schools, etc., to meet the requirements of the pushed-back population, and gene-

to a page 1000 per grass transport to see a construction of the construction of the construction of

cally increased the cost of State and municipal government. Therefore is required taxation based upon land values, because such mode of busing contributions to the general "exchequer" is not a tax upon industry, but upon monopoly. It brings to an end the monopolist power of exclusion, and opens the door of opportunity to other men. It replaces the sheepwalk with homesteads. It calls for the work of the artisan to develop a home market. It stimulates not the exodus, but the advent of people. With more people the tax per head is less, while the general revenue is more, It penalises idleness, and stimulates production. Multiplied production increases railway freight, piles up the iron road revenues, and, as the railways are for the public service, and not private proth, railway charges may be diminished as the volume of traffic rises. Facilities may thus be extended without extended loans. Such are some of the inevitable consequences of a contributory system, that calls upon a man to pay for the upkeep of his country in proportion as he own- it.

### Mountain and Mailee

Further, without such method of taxation, the system of land repurchase and closer settlement must come to an abrupt ending, because every purchase and settlement, increasing the value of adjoining estates, makes it more expensive for the flovernment to extend its operations. This unavoidable process must speedily make purchase so costly that purchase must cease or become unprofitable. The tax on land vahies would give the State the vaines it had created by its closer settlement policy, and give it the means of indefinitely extending that policy without borrowing.

Again, estates for closer settlement are being purchased haphazard all over the country, and the operations of the Board are being made as extensive as the State itself. The varied character of the land and situation adds to the complexity of the work, and piles up the cost. There is no definite policy of resumption for the development of any given territory, nor consideration of the bearing of such resumption upon railway extension and port development. There is to be large expenditure upon the extension of the port of Geelong, the products are to come over hundreds of miles of sheepridden territory from the Wimmera and Mallee, but there is no proposition for the resumption of the monopolised territory at the very door of Geelong. There are agitators for the extension of rails from Lintons to Lake Bolac, and from a point on the Lintons line south to Becae. Either extension would traverse but three or four large estates. Under existing conditions the lines would be as serious a loss to the State as the line constructed from Dunkeld to Penshurst. But if a wide area of land on each side of the proposed lines were reserved prior to construction, it would be the cheapest resumption that had taken place, because enhanced value would be given by the new rails extension; and that value would go to the State as a repayment, whereas in any estate so far purchased the State has had to pay the private owner the value given to the land, by lines already constructed. This policy would enable the State to guarantee settlement in proximity to the new lines, and give assurance to the general community that such lines would be profitable. It would also enable the Railway Commissioners to fix lower through freights upon timber from the Otway Forest, and thus materially help the mining industry of Ballarat. Following this should come the resumption and extension westward of the lines from Leigh Road or Winchelsea towards Lismore. Thus this vast territory, the natural feeding ground of the port of Geelong, would be brought, by a definite but gradually adopted policy, within the sphere of industrial activity. Whatever argument applies in justification of borrowing for railway extension, applies with tenfold force to borrowed money expended on resumption for loser settlement on lands in proximity to lines about to be constructed.

The second division is that portion of Eastern Victoria without either rails or decent roads, yet abundant in mineral and forest wealth, containing about the same area as the maller counties, but a much larger population. Upon this large division there has been to date, relative to other districts, no expenditure of public money, nor is there any defined policy for its development. With the exception of a few patches, it is, practically speaking, one vast public estate, and should be dealt with by—

# The Programme

1st.—State main road structure and maintenance.

2nd.—Inspection and selection by the Agricultural Department of lands along, or in proximity to, such roads suitable for settlement, the lands not suitable for settlement to be held for tree production.

3rd.—Such settlements to be secured against the alienating clauses of the existing Land Acts, and settlement to proceed by applying the principles of the Closer Settlement Act. Money made available for the purchase of private estates to be also available for improvement of public estates.

4th.—Improvements made by the State or advances by the State on buildings, or other objects, or for improvements, or other security, to be added to capital cost. The safeguards imposed by the Closer Settlement Act against aggregation to be rigidly enforced.

5th.—Establishment by the Agricultural Department on each such settlement of a Departmental farm, so that the experts may demonstrate that they can not only teach, and do what they teach, but that they can do what they teach on commercially profitable lines. This would extend practical agricultural education to the most remote areas.

6th, Regulation of workable torest areas, so as to secure permanent productiveness.

7.—Preservation for future use of forest areas at present outside workable area on such lines as will give room for expansion of the best species, and elimination of the useless.

Sth.—Surveys, reports, and propositions by the Geological Department on the Eastern mining fields. Direct action by the State to prove the value of the most promising ore hodies, lodes, and alluvial leads.

# **Unified Control**

Finally, if the Crown lands of Eastern Victoria are to be dealt with by special legislation, and distinct methods, they must be operated under a common control-on the spot-untrammelled by metropolitan offices, or the red-tapeism and counter movements of half a dozen distinct departments. The areas of the State should be treated as if they were the property of a private corporation. Expenditure on roads, settlement, and other forms of development should be its debit. Revenues from land, mines, and forests its credit. The annual work, the loss or profit on this territory, would then be clear to all. Omeo, for instance, is the natural centre of a large area. All roads should lead to it. The Lands, Mines, and Forestry officers within the area, while attaches of their various departments, should be subject to local control and a common poliey. That control and common policy would give unity instead of conflict of action and economy in administration. It is not enough to have an excellent policy. A sound method for the application of at policy is as essential as the policy celf. If not this way, the problem is solved by leaving it manswered. A hite opinion is better than none at all. And for those who disagree, the question is still in front of them. How, and by what means shall we develop the mineral.

forestry, and land settlement resources of the Australian Alps and their contiguous areas, in such manner as to bar monopoly, ensure settlement, prosper the municipal governments, and augment the wealth and revenues of the State?

# Three Western Counties of Normanby

A similar question arises concerning the large areas of Crown lands in the three western counties of Normanby, Follett, and Dundas. The acreage in each is 635,000, 524,000, and 424,000, a total of1.613,000 acres. These lands, for the most part, are remote from railways, and, as fast as alienated, are absorbed into the large adjoining private estates If not fitted for farming purposes, the land of the State should not be alienated. If it is, these areas should be dealt with on closer settlement lines, farms and farm houses made, or advances made upon improvements, roads or rails constructed to such settlements, so that produce can not be only grown. but can find a get away to a market.

For many years a vast stretch of country in the centres of Normanhy and Follett, reaching from Narrawong to the South Australian border, and from Casterton to the sea, was considered absolutely worthless. Much of it is still Crown lands, intersected, with pri-Since the vate-owned territory. Best Reclassification Bill, the Crown has been disposing of its property at 5s. per acre on a 40 years' purchase, and private-owned lands in proximity to rails and ports, have been sold at 40s, per acre. But we now know that the land is capable of bearing crops, rivalling the production of the most expensive land in the State, and it is a curious commentary upon the value of the army of agricultural experts maintained by the people, that the utility of the so-called "hungry lands' of Victoria has been demonstrated, not by the experts of the department, but by poor men pushed out by monopoly to struggle for existence

apon new and allegedly valueless territory. It was so in the Little Desert-in the Mallee-in the North-East, and the poorer lands of Eastern Gippsland, and dozens of other instances will readily occur to the minds of men conversant with the land history of the State. Upon the "Heath country," close to Portland, considered of so little value that the freehold, with improvements, was purchased at los, per acre, 9 to 10 tons of potatoes per acre are now being raised. Equally good results have been obtained from heath lands at widely different points. The soil is sandy, like the sands of the sea shore. At five to six feet from the surface, the sand begins to harden, so that, as in the sandstone of a tilter, the moisture is retained, and, coming to the surface in dry seasons, keeps it always moist, so that, unlike the mallee, it is never affected with drought. On the other hand, the wettest seasons on the lowest lying lands, furnish no impediment to agriculture, because the simplest form of drainage provides ample protection against flooding. Such is the testimony of men who have successfully operated these lands.

# **A Forestry Policy**

On the territory from Heywood to Drik Drik, then along the banks of the Glenely to Nelson, there are stretches of State forest, but from there northward it is a plain, as treeless almost as the Sahara: yet, as can he seen by isolated instances, it is a land capable of producing an immensity of agricultural and horticultural wealth. Any organised system for the development of the territory would have to include tree planting along its main roads as an essential. Thus the forestry policy would have to be entirely different to what it is in the mountain districts of Eastern Victoria. There being no wealth of mine rals, neither the Geological nor Mines Department would be called in requisi tion. The Crown lands being intersected and separated by large blocks of ation

ated land, now applied to little or no use, and at present of low selling value, such blocks would need to be resumed as a preliminary to any settlement policy, else if the State wished to resume such properties at a later date, it would have to pay to the private owner the enhanced value that the State, by its adjoining settlement, road structure, and other improvements, had created. When the sphere of operations between the Portland line and the South Australian border have been defineated, they should be dealt with under proposals 3, 4, and 5, providing for the application of the Closer Settlement Act to Crown lands, and the commercial operation of the Lands Department. There should be decentralisation of administration and unification of functions. Each great division-the alienated central lands, the mallee, the heath lands of the west, and the territory of the east-should be dealt with as distinct estates. They are so naturally, and should be so administratively, and be operated under methods suitable to their varied conditions. This does not mean increase of officialdom. It means its readjustment, its more expeditious working, and the concentration of picked n.en from each department upon a particular set of conditions under tocally unified control.

### The Malles

The last oreat division is the North-West Mallee areas, and, as there is in this territory neither forest nor mineral wealth, the officials of those two departments, are not called into action, but another department (that of Water Supply) not needed in other divisions, is here of greatest importance. For the development of the territory it is essential that the disposal of land shall not outstrip the capacity of the Water Supply Department to furnish the means of permanent settlement and profitable railway extension, In Eastern Victoria, good roads are more economical than railways. In the Mallee the reverse operates-rail-

. . . . .

way construction is cheap, and road construction not such a burden upon local rates as in mountainous districts. Hence the whole scheme of development- of departmental combination and activity must be entirely different to other parts of the State. In the Mallee Province the Water Supply Department should control the disposal of land, because water supply is the all important prehumary to continuous profitable settlement. The financial success of the water supply and irrigation propositions of the Department are dependent upon settlement, hence monopoly is as fatal to profitable operations in water supply as in railway extension. The interests of the Department are wrapped up in the effective application of safeguards against depopulation, whereas the Lands Department has no such incentive. Its business is land selling, not land settlement, and its value to a Government is estimated by the rapidity with which it can raise revenue by disposing of the public estate. With decentralised administration, to meet the requirements of the maliee, the application of closer settlement principles, and the operation of probtable scientific farming under the Department, as an object lesson, permanent settlement is assured, droughts nullified, and railway extension guaranteed success. If the Agricultural Department cannot conduct farming at a profit, it cannot teach others. If it can conduct at a profit, it inspires all the surrounding farmers to adopt its methods, and to acquire the knowledge necessary for the proper application of these methods. Thus there is adopted the most economic policy for the extension of agricultural knowledge. \* \*

# A Democratic Policy

In the foregoing maps and articles are presented the land settlement movement and statistics of the State. The records are the strongest condemnation of that anti-Labour policy that for so many years has been the shield of monopoly

and the taxer of industry. Against the old system that has produced such iniquitous and miserable results, the Labour Party makes perpetual war. It presents a clearly understood remedial policy. That policy is rapidly receiving wider and wider endorsement. Its adherents in every constituency are an everincreasing army. The old order is touched with decay, and is doomed to extinction. Ever more coherently and cohesively the democracy demands that modern Governments shall be more of industrial directorates, and less mere policemanised States, symbolising the supremacy of Money Bags and Soil Monopolists. It demands a democratised industry-a consideration of the means by which men live, upon the proper conduct of which depends social well-being and general happiness. So much is this the case, that the anti-Lahour sections can only retain their hold upon administration, can only retain even the semblance

of power, by making concessions, which vesterday they declared unripe, and to which the day before they were butterly and openly hostile. Compare the long period of legislative inaction following the fall of Berryism, with the social and industrial legislation of the past ten years. Note how, with the growth of Labour Party influence throughout the electorates, the policy of anti-Labor factions has been one of steady appretiation and application of ideas which Labourites by long years of agitation have disseminated throughout the land. Thus, the power of the Labour Party is to be judged, not by its numbers, upon the floor of Parliament, but by the acceptance of its opinions amongst the electorates, irrespective of the political party that gives to those opinions legislative force. And because we know these things we look back upon the past with satisfaction, and to the future with hope, undiramed with doubt.



# Eastern Gippsland.

The country east of the Snowy embraces 2,173,000 acres. The fand alienared is 58,000 acres, the area in process of alienation 32,000 acres. Of the land alienated, or in process, 25,000 acres are in the vicinity of Orbost; 15,000 acres on the Genoa, and 12,000 acres in the vicinity of Pendoc: 4,000 acres on the Cann river, and a similar amount in the M'Culloch county, near Murrungowar, Over 2,000,000 acres are still the absolute property of the Crown, the bulk of it earning nothing, and the balance very little. The total population cast of the Snowy, including the town of Orbost, is 2147. The males over eighteen years of age number 771-450 being unmarried. 312 married. The total dwellings, including tents, are 449. Of these, 187, or 40 per cent, of the whole, contain only 363 rooms, an average of under two rooms to a dwelling-an indication of the intense life struggle of their inhabitants. In these 187 dwellings reside nearly onefourth of the population

Upon this county the Government proposes to expend £14,000 for the improvement of roads twenty miles between this Terrace and the Thurra river—20 miles up the Cann Valley towards Coopracumba, 31 miles up the Bemm, along the two forks of the Combienbar and Errinundra\* in Gobon parish, and five miles from Murrungowar northwards.

Three lines of railway have been surveyed through this territory, from Orbost-

1st-Northward, via Sardine Creek and Bonang.

2nd-Eastward Murrungowar way, thence north to Bendoc.

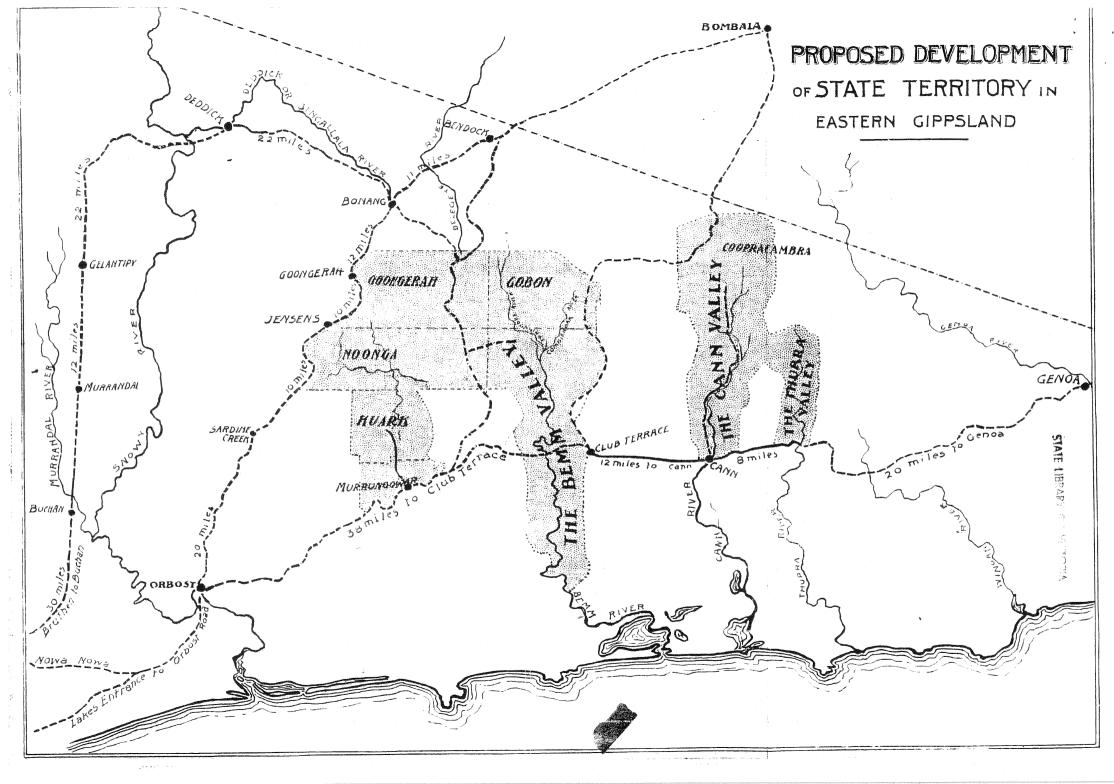
3rd-Further east, past Club Terrace to the Cann, and thence northward, up the valley.

Fither one of these projects would cost in round figures about a million or money. Between Bairnsdale and the Snowy the railway would pass through the Bruthen and Bumberrah Ridings of Tambo Shire, and the South and West Ridings of Orbost Shire, the families on this territory west of the Snowy being 496; the total habitations including tents, 617; the males over eighteen years of age, 900; and the total population 3117. Adding these to the recorded inhabitants and houses east of the Snowy, the cost of the railway would be equal to a subsidy of £1200 to every family, or £900 for every tent and other habitation on this territory.

If the Lakes Entrance is to be the port of our Eastern district, as Geelong is to the West, then all roads and rails should lead to it-not away from it. It would take less to divert the Snowy into the Lakes than it would to provide a permanent entrance to the Snowy. It would take less to provide good roads for every portion of this territory than it would to provide a railway for a small portion of it. Roads there must be, whether railways exist or not . . . . . . . . If the State left to the Orbost Shire its central, south, and western ridings, and to the Tambo Shire its Bruthen and Bumberrah ridings, taking over the bulk of their burdensome territory, and from the Omeo Shire all its country east of the Tambo, the State would have, unaffected by municipal considerations, 4700 square miles of territory, with less than 500 habitations, scattered over its surface. Such a territory might be turned into a source of immense profit for the owning and controlling State. In the hands of a private syndicate, its vast mineral and forestry resources would mean a for-

PROPOSED DEVELOPMENT OF STATE TERRITORY IN EASTERN GIPPSLAND GELANTIPY MURRANDAL BUCHAN

<sup>\*</sup>Proposed road along Bemm River, omitted by the artist.



# EASTERN GIPPSLAND.—Continued.

In his lecture in the Melnourne Town Hall (detabler 26, 1906), on the resources of Eastern Gippsland, Premier Bent, after referring to the country east of the Tambo as containing nearly 5,000 square miles of Crown lands, said —

# Soil Characteristics

"To to a few years ago agricultural settlement in out of the way places was unsuccessful unless the land was rich, but with the advancement of agricultural science that era has passed, as now with improved modern methods and with the assistance of artificial fertilisers vast areas of land may be succossfully cultivated, which it would have been impossible to take in hand a ion years ago. The soils of the hills are generally a friable clay similar to that to be found at Lilydale, Kinglake, and Whittlesea. By means of culrivation and the application of superphosphates, their fertility would be very rapidly increased. Around Kyneton. Castlemaine and Kilmore there are large areas of similar granite land as is to be found here, valued at from £5 to E10 per acre. The chocolate soils of the higher parts of the ranges are similar to those of Monbulk and Gembrook. In addition to those soils which I have mentioned, there are many areas of fertile volcanie soils along the course of the Snowy, Buchan and other rivers, extending from hill-crest to valley, now only producing fattening grass, and there are those wonderfully Frich allovial soils along the flats of the network of the great rivers and their innumerable tributaries which are absolutely the best in the world."

Yet the State under anti-Lahour administration has left this country for 50 years without a road, and its only idea to-day is to open up more territory under the old system of sale and aggregation.

### Wineral Resources

"Mining is going to do much towards the development of this longneglected district, and will cause many a smiling town-hip to rise when the belts of country rich in ores of gold, silver, copper, lead, tin, iron and mangamese commences to be developed.

The 1900 an English syndicate applied to the Government for permission to build a railway from Bairnsdale to Mount Deddick, for the purpose of working mineral deposits, and were prepared to spend £300,000 in return for all the land which the fine served, and a mining lease of £000 acres at the end of the line. They considered that mineral wealth existed there sufficient to justify the construction of the line and make the enterprise pay."

Yet the State under anti-Labour administration has not had sufficient enterprise to make even a decent road. What a private syndicate is prepared to do, a really commercial Government would do for itself.

# Timber Wealth

"To give you an idea of the value of the timber wealth here lying idle, let me tell you that cutters and sawyers have been for over 30 years working, and have only got 30 miles away from Bairnsdale, or a mile a year, leaving over 100 MHES OF VIRGIN FOREST still to be worked between Bairnsdale and the border. Within ten miles of Bairnsdale, box trees are being sold for C3 a tree, and in the Cann River district there are places where there are 30 to

10 trees to the acre, for which the Crown has got 12s, \( e^t\)d, per acre. In the Cann River district previous to selection, there was an area H miles long and 2½ miles broad that supported a magnificent forest of grey box; but the selectors ringbarked this forest. Without a railway this timber would in ten years' time be absolutely destroyed; but if it could be got out within that time it will still be of considerable value."

What a commentary upon the commercial administration of the anti-Labour factions. If the trees only average 20 to the acre, and the value be only £2 per tree, this means a timber value of over £700,000, upon land sold by the State for under £11,000. In ten years this timber will be so rotten as to be valueless, even with a railway, If the State construct adequate transport facilities now it will create two additional valuesthe value to the land, apart from the timber, and the value to the timber, apart from the land. The State should. therefore, claim exclusive rights over all timber as a compensation for State expenditure upon territorial and transport development. That secured, immediate action should be taken to cut and stack the enormous values of ringharked timher along the Cann and elsewhere. The bona-fide selector would find his compensation in his cleared lands-its added value, his improved transit, the local employment for his sons, the increase of local population, and the development of a local market for his products. The alienated lands held by absentees should be resumed at their present values and settlement guaranteed. The Premier said in his speech :- There were Crown lands in abundance on which timber, as valuable as that in the Cann Valley, was growing, but which must be cleared before it was fit for occupation." And he asked: "Why should not the State do this work?" This is exactly what we of the Labour Party have been urging these fifteen years. Give a man a farm to live on, not a forest to fight.

# Methods of Transport

In his speech the Premier said :

According to the evidence collected in connection with the Federal Capital Site, there is MORE POWER RUN-MING TO WASTE IN ONE OF THE BRANCH STREAMS OF THE SNOWY THAN IS USED AT MAGARA. The sante remark applies to the Tambo and Bemm Rivers, the latter falling nearly 3,000 feet in 50 miles, and the Brodribb, which is the same size as the Bemm. Now, when we are on the threshold of the electrical age, we can look forward to the time when this power, harnessed and transported by electrical means, will be applied to the multifarious requirements of a civilised community."

"Looking forward" is good, especially when accompanied with a promise to extend obsolete steam locomotion into a territory where electrical power of such magnitude is running to waste. Niagara is capable of producing three million horse-power, but at present is only being utilised for 200,000 horse-power. This nower is sufficient to not only provide motive power for large factories in the vicinity of the falls, but it drives the street cars and lights the City of Buffalo. It propels the cars on the Vanderbilt trolley roads connecting small towns in New York State, and is transmitted to Syracuse, a distance of 165 miles, where it is used to light streets, propel cars, and move the machinery of the factories.

If this power is in the Snowy, it ought to be an essential part of any scheme for territorial development. The extreme distance to the border would be little more than one half that between Syracuse and Niagara. Good roads, and an electrical trolly system for the transportation of timber, minerals, and other products would open up all parts of Eastern Gippsland to industrial enterprise, while electric motors would

transmit passengers much more rapidly than anything to which they have hither-to been accustomed. From the State lands made accessible for timber, mining and agricultural purposes, royalty and rental would be obtained, where the revenue to-day is nothing. Timber at present inaccessible, and therefore valueless, would be made valuable because accessions.

sible. This value is estimated in millions. It would pay the cost of roads and electric traction many times over. The Lakes entrance is a State port made with State money. The steamers should be State vessels, running as an integral part of an electrical transit system, concentrating on the port of shipment.



# Northern Gippsland.

(Note re map.-Track from Briagolong to Harrietville should show as passing through Dargo. Track along the Barry Range from the Womangatta River to Harrietville track omitted by artist).

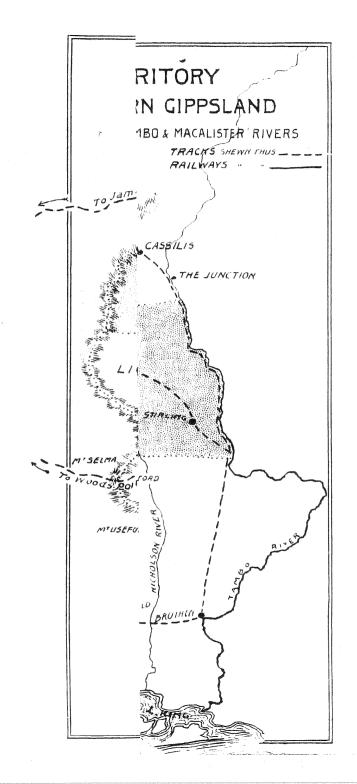
Grown Acres Shown		1.386,000
Pastoral Areas		1,190,000
Endowment Reserve		180,000
Gold Reserve	·	16,000
		Acres.

The absence of anything but rough tracks has barred this territory to all but adventurous miners. At the New Imperial at Buninyong 3dwt, stone pays dividends. On this country 10dwt, reeis are unprofitable because of the cost of transporting stores and machinery

In the centre of this country are the Dargo Highlands, 4,000 feet above sea level, consisting of open, undulating plains, rich soil, but as in Canada. covered for several months in the year with snow. In the summer its verdure, its springs, its clear-running streams give it an aspect in marked contrast to the parched appearance of the low country. On each side of the plateau are smaller plains, 3,000 feet above sea level, and below these other plains, 2,000 feet above sea level, and from these latter there is a sudden fall into the valleys of the Dargo on the east and the Wonnangatta on the west. The Omeo Plains, upon which extensive agricultural and dairying operations are conducted, are 2,500 feet above sea level, showing that much work of a similar nature could be done upon a large portion of the Dargo plateaus. Gold is found over all this area, and many of the common metals that are found in abundance would have an economic value, if it were not for inaccessibility. A good main road from Briagolong to Harrietville and Bright would make this passage a favorite one for tourists, and the serving of their requirements—fruit culture, dairying, and mining would carry a population along the wholo course of the road. Without that road, the only inhabitants will be a few prospectors, or the temporary population created by a mining spurt.

# Dargo-Tambo Gountry

To the east of the Dargo, the country is at a much lower average elevation than the Dargo Plains. It is a land of acountain and valley, and small table-lands. It is highly mineralised, but the immense forest growth makes exploration difficult, and as the working miner has so far made no valuable discovery, the capitalist has not appeared upon the scene. The nationalisation of the Tambo Valley Road, the making of a road up the Livingstone, over the Divide, down the Wentworth, to junction with the Briagodong-Bright road at Dargo, and a branch road from the Divide through



Deptiord to Sarsfield, would open up this territory to forestry as an industry, settlement as a base, clearance for the prospector, and mineral development as a consequence. But settlement would have to be with State aid, homestead protection, and embargo on aggregation.

### Tamborita

The general elevation of the country between the Wonnangatta and the Great Divide is also much lower than that of the Dargo Plains. But it is a non-auriferous belt. Therefore the incentive to settle upon it is less than upon rougher and more inaccessible country that provides a livelihood for the prospector. The only tracks across the Tamborita are miners' tracks from Jamieson and Woodspoint to Dargo. Riggalls and other separaters have secured Licola, on the head waters of the Macallister, with unlimited free feeding ground on the State

territory around them. Not that free feeding counts for much, because the country is in many parts an impenetrable jungle. It is, therefore, suggested "as a means of settlement" that the right should be given to ringbark the trees and destroy a future industry, so that a few more cattle can find grass. The trees, it is said, have no economic value because of present inaccessibility. This is the most recent and most advanced proposal for the "settlement" of Tamborita. The resumption of the Licola alienations-a good road up the Macallister-the development of forestry as a State industry-the selection of suitable areas for occupation-their organised clearance-and the expansion of grazing and dairying on farms apart from forest lands-that is what is wanted. At least it is time to recognise that grazing cannot compete with forestry as an industry, and that to kill a forest to feed a cow is industrial suicide.



# RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION SETTLEMENT

# Land Resumption & Railways

Land map No. I was designed to give a rough idea of the grouping of large estates on a portion of our western territory-exhibiting their depopulating effects -the need of resumption for settlement and productive purposes- the need of such resumption as a preliminary to railway construction, and the need of such resumption, production and transit policy as agencies for the development of the Port of Geelong. It was, therefore, suggested as a public policy that there should be a line survey from Leigh Road or Winchelsen to Wickliffe Road (now Willaura), and land resumption for several miles on each side of such proposed line, as a preliminary to railway extension.

Since that date a large expenditure bas been authorised upon the Geelong Harhour Works, but no policy has been inaugurated for the development of the territory in its immediate proximity. A Closer Settlement Board has also been formed, compelled by the limitations of its Constitution to purchase properties in all parts of the State, driving up the values of surrounding properties and largely adding to the work and expenses of the board by reason of the scattered possessions under its control. The varied conditions of soil and climate prevailing on the different estates also multiply and complicate the duties of the board, so that a policy of concentrated effort is as essential for the effective operations of the Closer Settlement Board as for the successful development of agriculture, railways and harbour works upon the basis of economical finance.

The Secretary of the Closer Settlement Board (Mr. J. E. Jenkins) has, therefore, proposed that the Closer Settlement policy of the Government should concentrate upon the areas depicted in No. I map, with compulsory resumption of the interior, twelve miles from existing lines, indicated by dotted space on the small map. This would embrace about 1,600,000 acres, and the cost of such resumption at grass values and the construction of a through line is estimated to cost about £1,000,000. The line cost would be 6s, on each acre, but would practically double the selling value of such resumed lands. The Closer Settlement Act authorises an expenditure of £500,000 a year for five years. Mr. Jenkins suggests that the unexpended balance -about £1,500,000-should be made available in one sum, and the balance, £2,5000,000, in interest-bearing debentures, issuable to the present owners or to the public for cash, to be used for the resumption and construction purposes proposed.

Whichever method he adopted, and whatever the means, the resumption of this territory, with its proximity to an excellent port of shipment, must be an essential part of the land policy of this State. Land resumed at a non-railway valuation, and resold at the value created by line construction, is a sound financial venture, far in advance of the present policy of resuming estates on values given by existing lines. Moreover, so far as the land under consideration is concerned, not only would a depleted territory be re-populated—there would be

10,000, instead of 20,000, as at presentbut the success of the line would be quaranteed by such settlement, and an immense volume of products would be secured for the development of Geelong.

Writing to the "Argus" under date October 21, 1906, Mr. J. H. Gardiner, of Skipton, said :- "I am convinced by practical experience gained from tilling the soil in the very centre

of this province, that the productiveness of the Western district plains can be increased a hundredfold by the combined power of plough, bone, and muscle. If it is acquired for closer settlement purposes it will maintain its flocks in THEIR PRESENT NUMBER, besides producing millions of bushels of grain, and thousands of tons of fodder, thus augmenting wealth, and creating homes by the hundreds for a thriving and contented population.'



MONOPOLY AND DEMOCRACY.

# Additional Notes.

### The Land Values Tax

UNDER THE FEDERAL PARTY, an estate of the UNIMPROVED value of £15,000 would pay :

- On the first \$5,000, nil.
- On the second \$5,000, 03d, in the \$.
- On the third £5,000, fd. in the £.

At £30,000 the rate would be 23d, in the £ from £30,001 to £40,000, 3d.; from £40 001 to £20,000, 31d.; for £60,000 and over, 1d. The 1d. rate would operate, however, only on that portion of the value exceeding C60,001.

TNDER THE STATE an estate of the UNIMPROVED value of \$500 would be exempt, ther that and up to \$5,000, 1d. in the C (less C500 exempt.). Over \$5,000, a rise of 1-15ths, of a penny on every additional £2,000, until 4d, in the I is reached upon the large estates.

THE STATE TAX WILL NOT BE CUMULATIVE UPON THE FEDERAL TAX, the landowner being entitled to defact the amount of the Federal tax from that due to the State when making up his returns, in the same manner as an income-tax-payer now deducts the premiums paid on his life assurance no-

THE OWNER OF THE LAND, whose estate APART FROM IMPROVEMENTS AND EXEMPTIONS was valued at \$1,000 would pay £2 1s, 8d.: £2,000, £7 5s. £5,000, £15 15s.

## AND SAVE INCOME-TAX.

because the Labour Party intend to repeal the income-tax in its application to incomes DERIVED FROM THE LAND. on the ground that it is an injunitous form of land-tax, falling most heavily

upon those who put the land to the most productive use. The owner of an agricultural property, valued clear of all improvements, say, at \$7,000, would under the Federal Labour land-tax pay his state land-tay, less \$1 3s. Id., due to the Federation, and save whatever income tay he may now be paying.

### New Zealand Under a Land Tax

The attached statistics furnish a comparison, and an answer to those who as sert that a land-tax kills the farmer.

> Farm Holdings Under 200 Acres. 1891 1900 N.Z., 32.179 49,045 Victoria 301,626 27,171

Excess in N.Z. 1.853 21,874

So New Zealand, that in 1831 had guly eighteen hundred more small farm, hold ings than Victoria, after fifteen years of familitas had increased its excess of two hundred acre homesteads by twenty-two thousand.

In New Zealand the total area alienat ed, leased from the State or from the Majoris, is 21,213,769 acres, the lands alienated or in process of alienation in Victoria rotal 21.762,945. Yet upon the smaller area. New Zealand carries 17,000 more homesteads than this State. In 1891 the homesteads (all sizes) in New Zealand were fewer than Victoria by thousands, but under a land-tax New Zealand has increased its total holdings from 14,000 in 1891 to 70,000 in 190c an increase of 26,000.

(From N.Z. Year Book, 1906, page 302, and Victorian Year Book, 1906, part production).

# Monopoly in Old Counties

In eight western counties (Grant, Grenville, Hampden, Ripon, Dundas, Follett, Normanby and Villiers), the holdings under 350 acres were 10,876 in 1871, and 7,393 in 1906. In the country northward from Melbourne to Mitiamo (Counties Bourke, Dalhousie, Talbot and Bendigo), the holdings under 350 acres were \$1,307 in 1871, and 8,111 in 1906. The twelve counties mentioned embrace more than one half of the ALIENATED area of the State, and their total holdings (all sizes) have declined since 1871 from 27,328 to 20,014.

# **Sweated Tenant Farmers**

(Extract from the "Weekly Times," August 28th, 1906).

The writer, describing the dairving industry in a portion of Victoria of which he had an intimate knowledge, said :--"The farmers are tenants of the large landowners. Some of them work their farms on the share system, while others pay an annual cent. Rents are high. Were it not for the great amount of free labour furnished by their children it is quite certain that the present conditions of occupation would not enable the tenants to obtain a living. The hours the children have to work are very long, and the work, for them, is very heavy and monotonous. A lot of milk is produced in the Western district with the assistance of child labour. Some of these children have to take their places in the milking sheds when very vonne. Very little recreation for them. Up in the morning at daylight to get the cows in, and assist to milk. Then to school, After school hours the cows have to be brought home and milked again, it frequently being dark before the milking is completed. Supper follows: then a rush through with the home lessons, and to hed. Such is the routine, year in and year out, of the children of the tenant farmers who provide free labour partly for the support of their struggling parents, but mainly to add to the wealth of the already wealthy landlords,"

# An Example of Land Monopoly.

(See Map No. 3.)

tizer aup	Acres.
Private lands in Co	
manby	593,000
Crown lands in Cos	inty Nor-
manby	(595,000)
Total area	1,253,000

Of the Crown lands, 452,000 acres are held under lease.

Since 1881, 100,000 acres have been alienated; 1,000 acres have gone out of cultivation; holdings have diminished by 1,000, and population has stood still.

The Shire of Portland is a portion of County Normanby,

Since 1881 ratepayers on the roll have decreased from 1,290 to 1,940; holdings from 736 to 515; and land in cultivation from 10,920 to 7,943

The Borough of Portland has declined in population since 1881 from 2,265 to 2,150; its ratepayers from 356 to 325; annual value of property from C19,240 to C12,655, and the rates have had to be increased from 4s, to 2s. Such is the effect of hand monopoly upon population, ratepayers, and values.

# Comparison

In Normanby monopoly has dominated for 30 years. In Moira land aggregation is of recent origin. An interesting comparison may, therefore, be made.

In Moira, since 1881, population has increased by 12,000. Normanby has stood still.

Moira has iew pastoral holdings. Normanby has 396,

Moira, for every 1,000 acres, has 260 acres under the plough. Normanby has only 41 acres (total, Moira, 520,000 acres; Normanby, 15,000).

Moira, for every 10,000 acres, has 16 facms. Normanby only 7.

Moira produces 5 million pounds weight of butter. Normanby, half-million—one-tenth.

Moira farms give employment to 6,044 males. Normanby farms and runs combined only give work to 1,694 males.

Moira's capacity to carry live stock has increased with the area put under the plough and the consequent food crop raised.

Morra live stock, measured in terms of sheep, equal 800 per 1,000 acres. Normanby only 850 upon land devoted almost exclusively to sheep.

# A Selector's Struggles

(Extract from a letter to Charles
WGrath, M.P.).

"My brother's selection was on the Latrobe River, where it is bridged by the Fumina-road. Three of us cut the first track to the Magpie River, and carried our first provisions on our back before we could get a horse in; and ever since then the trouble has been a wad. We were genuine settlers, but the big majority of land-grabbers were town people who took the land up for a spec. They had as much notion of residing in the moon as on the land-they were publicans, cordial manufacturers, commission agents, and so on-one genuine man' to every five square miles, and these are the class of people the genuine settler has for neighbours. To make things worse, roads (?) were surveyed where the compass pointed, up a gum tree or Jown a shaft, and the poor beggar who made

his own road got no encouragement. No wonder settlement failed, and it always will until the 1,000-acres drones are cleared out and the 100-acre workers are given the land to improve, Compel residence and compel improvements. What does the Curator of Intestate Estates (Mr. M'Bride), John Dunn (Wood, Dunn and Co., and Butter Commission). Walsh. of Albert Park Hotel, and others of like ilk, want with, and what will they do, to clear forest land? This is the clique that Tommy Bent's £10,000 is to be spent for. It is so much money thrown away. Survey well-graded roads first, and then make them give us genuine selectors and small blocks, and there is room for any amount of people in Fumina. Those who try under existing circumstances are Heroes, and you spell it with a capital H."

### Yours

# ISAAC FOWLER.

The land monopolists of Willaura pay 5½d, per acre in municipal rates and sheep tax combined, but charge their tenants 12s, per acre and 25s, per acre share wheat. He asked if that was equitable taxation. These are facts that tell amongst farmers, Mr. J. K. M'Dougall ica well-to-do farmer, and claims to represent his class.—C'Age' report, Nov. 23, 1906).



### 53

# Decline of Drink & Crime in Victoria

Of the persons who passed through our gools last year 975 per cent, were persons of deficient education — the dregs of ignorance.

Improve the material condition and the intellectual outlook of a nation. Its morality, its sobriety, its honesty will develop spontaneously.

# DRINK STATISTICS.

sumed p	er hea	d of	Populati	on	14 520 608 20 galions	13 014 797 15 galions	18.763 813 16 galious	15 544 155 125 gailons
wed (gal			Exports	• •	13 593 524 927 684	12 314 244 700 553	68 17 505 463 1 258 350	15 176 439 367 716
ulation weries					731-528 116	862 346	1 140 405	1 218 571
					1871	1881	1891	1905

The consumption of drink in Great Britain is 33 gallons per head of population, nearly three times the amount of that consumed per head in Victoria.

# DRUNKENNESS AND CRIME.

Very few of the "crimes" are of a serious nature.

		1			
		1871	1881	1891	1905
ests for Drunkenness other Offences	 	9 968 12 832	11 065 14 281	18 057 17 372	14 373 9406
Totals	 	22 800	25 346	35 429	23.779

# ARRESTS per 10,000 of Population.

				1871	1881	1891	11415
Drunkenness Other Offences		• •	• •	136 176	129 166	158 152	117
	Totals	per	10 (ки	312	295	310	194

During the boom period there was a large influx of population. Drunkenness reased but other offences diminished, the total per 10,000 of population in 1891 ng 310, against 295 in 1881; but during that period, drunkenness and other

offences amongst the adult Victorian-born population declined by 30 per cent. (Year Book 1893, page 336). It is therefore evident that the increase during that period was wholly produced by the boom period influx of outside people. According to the Jubilee report presented to Parliament (Nov. 21.06) the population since 1861 has increased by 680.000, but the persons convicted in the higher courts for serious crimes have decreased from 744 (14 per 10.000) to 382 (2 per 10.000), and the persons in gaol have declined from 1862 (34 per 10.000) to 1043 (9 per 10,000). No country in the world outside Australia can show similar progress in the moral condition of its people.

MONOPOLY AND DEMOCRACY.

# Nationality, Drunkenness, and Grime. Year 1905.

Place of Birth.	Population.	Arrested for Drunkenness	Drunks per				
Australia Other Countries	958,327 260,244	7129 7244	74 278				
Total Population (   Viet	1,218 571	14 373	(Av es.) 117				

The total arrests for all offences, drunkenness included, were 23,779, or 194 for for every 10,000 of population. The proportion amongst Australians was 126 per 10,000, and amongst natives of other countries residing in Victoria, 376 per 10,000.

Against these facts it is argued that a far larger proportion of the Australians are boys and girls, than amongst those from other countries, thus reducing the per centage of arrests amongst Australians. But, if we assume that all males and females under 20 years of age in Victoria are Australians, the result would work out thus:

Place of Birth.  Australia Other Countries	All Arrests including Drunkenness 12,216 9698 Adult Arrest per 10,000	)
Arrests over 20 yrs, of age	21 914	
Under 20 years of age	1865 35	
Total	23 779 (Avge) 194	

Further testimony is found in the statement of the Statist already quoted that while during the boom period the number of arrests increased, they actually declined amongst the native born poputation. Juvenile offences have also largely diminished.

# Arrests for Offences apart from Drunkenness.

				*******	
Population	1881. 862,346	1905. 1.218 571	P.	1881.	1905.
Blood Crimes Common Assualt	114 1,155	68 5 <b>7</b> 6	Forgery & Uttering Obscene or Abusive Language Assualting or Obstruct	58 3,997	35 2,148
Attempted Suicide Horse, Sheep and Cattle Steeling Larceny Wilful Destruction	179 2,166	56 103 1, <b>7</b> 94	ing Police Vagrancy Neglected Children Other Minor Offences	708 1,859 625 2,796	70 1,000 585 2,783
of Property	54 /	, 188	Totals	14 281	9,406

# Ages and Arrests.

	Number.	Proportion per 10,000.
Age.	1881 1905	1881 1905
Over 50 years Between 50 and 30	5093 4456 10,473 11 679	59 36 122 95
Under 30	9780 7644	
	25 346 23 779	295 194

The old class of criminals are rapidly dying out. In proportion to population they have declined 40 per cent. Between 30 and 50 the decline is 22 per cent., but the greatest decline is amongst those under 30, viz., 45 per cent. The average decline is one third. With 360,000 more people we have for all causes 2 100 fewer arrests, and 500 fewer persons to maintain in our gaols than in the year 1881. For offences apart from drunkenness there were 5000 fewer arrests than in 1881, and 3000 fewer than in 1871, although the population is half-a-million more than in the last mentioned year. In proportion to population offences are 38 per cent. below 1871, and 34 per cent. below 1881.

# Population and Police.

	Population.	Police.	Police for 100,000 of Population.
1871 1881	731,528 862,346	1,054 1,112	144 137
1906 30th Sept	1.231,733	1.495	113

# Voluntary and Compulsory Insolvencies.

Five Years	Insolvents per annum.	Average Amount Liabilities.	Average Amount per Insolvent.	Liabilities per head of Population
1871 to 1875	731	£531 200	£730	14/-
1881 to 1885	537	538 800	0001	12/-
1891 to 1895	862	2,166.978	2500	£1/16/-
1901 to 1905	152	277 000	610	1/-

In no previous period were the insolvents so few, the amount of liabilities so small, or the insolvencies regarded as a tax upon the general community so light.

# Hotels and Population:

Since 1881 the Population of Victoria has increased by 369-387, while the hotels have declined from 4,203 to 3473—a fall of 73. The number of hotels were then 49 per 10,000 of population—now only 28, a decline relative to population of 43 per cent. Of the 730 closed hotels 513 closed voluntary for want of business, and 217 were closed by Local Option at a cost of close on a quarter of a million.

# Explanatory and Errata.

The table column 1, page 2, shows extent af private lands over which "occupation" statistics were collected. The table, column 1, page 5, gives the total area of land alienated, or in process of alienation.

Note distinction between the statistics of land holdings given in the "Introduction," and those under the heading of "Official Reports," on page 7—the latter cover Crown lands, as well as alienated land. The "Introduction" deals with private lands only.

Page 5, column 2.—The notes at hottom of column refer to the table of occupation.

On page 7, column 2, the last line of paragraph 3 should read, total occupied area."

Page 16, column 2.—On line 17 from hottom, "extensive" should read intensive."

Page 21.—Doubt has been cast on the accuracy of the assumption that 550 individuals, families, or corporations own one-half (12,000,000 acres) of the alienated lands of Victoria. There is no need to push the point. It is bad enough to know, beyond the shadow of a doubt, from the "Land Tax Register" that—

110 individuals, families, banks, Ioan, mortgage, and finance companies OWN AT LEAST 5.294,000 acres, and we know for the reasons set forth on page

20, that these 116 own much more than the large estates shown on the register. This is quite enough for the opponent of land monopoly. It is well-known that the various banks and other financial corporations, over and beyond the large estates appearing on the Register in their names, also own a large number of small agricultural properties throughout the State, that are let out on the time-payment system in good seasons, and pulled back with a mortgage sucker in periods of depression.

Page 24. The map shows the Birchip West water channel, between the Hopetoun and Mildura lines, but name has been accidentally omitted.

Page 32, column 2, line 5, the word "cinder" should read "crude," and on line 11 from the bottom, "Trantham" is a mis-print for "Tatham."

On map No. 1, the figures 2117 should be 2317. The accuracy of the map has been questioned. It is sufficient to say it is based upon maps and records in the Land Tax Office. Accuracy of outline of each estate and the exact relation of one estate to another could not be shown on such a small map without rendering it unintelligible. It was, therefore, not attempted. How mammoth properties "dominate" and depopulate a valuable territory that is shown—that is indisputable.

