AN HISTORICAL ASSESSMENT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, MANUFACTURING AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF QUEENSLAND, 1900 TO 1930

David Bruce Cameron
B.A. Hons.

This thesis is submitted in the Department of History, University of Queensland, in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, March 1999
Statement of Originality

To the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except as acknowledged in the text. It has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other university.

David Cameron  
25 February 1999
ABSTRACT

The contribution of manufacturing to the economic development of Queensland has been much more significant than has generally been acknowledged in the state’s historiography. Manufacturing has been fundamentally important to the growth of the Queensland economy by allowing the conversion of many primary industry commodities into products valued in overseas and interstate markets and providing an industrial capacity to support infrastructure development and many of the everyday goods consumed by the people of Queensland. Manufacturing has also provided avenues of employment and commercial activity in the urban centres across Queensland and, in particular, in the south-eastern region. Queensland’s secondary industries managed to expand and diversify despite many economic difficulties and the apathy of successive Queensland governments from the nineteenth century and well into the first half of the twentieth century.

This thesis examines the central features of economic development in Queensland and the relationship between industrial development, particularly the manufacturing industries, and the political economy from the earliest years of European settlement to the early decades of the twentieth century. This study provides a general assessment of economic development in the nineteenth century and a comprehensive empirically based economic history of all industry sectors in Queensland, with an emphasis on the manufacturing sector, for the period 1900 to 1930. Using the fullest body of statistical and qualitative sources possible, this thesis analyses the various economic, social, political, ideological, geographical, and sociological factors that have influenced the form and character of economic and industrial development and manufacturing in Queensland.

The manufacturing sector has been much maligned and marginalised in Queensland; the populist anti-urban, anti-industrial and anti-centralist attitudes of successive Queensland governments have been powerful deterrents to urban and industrial progress. In Queensland the agrarian dream held steadfast and governments continually implemented rural development schemes intended to populate the interior through the promotion of closer settlement. With the political process infused by a significant rural bias very little assistance was directed towards the state’s manufacturing sector which managed, nevertheless, to expand to be, in terms of its value of production, Queensland’s most valuable industry sector by the mid-1920s.

This thesis by addressing the paucity of economic history specific to Queensland; its comprehensive quantitative empirical foundation; its focus on the development of Queensland’s secondary industries; and for its use of an extensive body of archival sources to present a comprehensive analysis of the economic development of Queensland, makes a significant contribution towards broadening an understanding of Queensland’s economic and political history. From another perspective, the significance of this research lies with the implications associated with an examination of the lack of social identification in Queensland with industrialism and ideals that were generally unsympathetic towards an industrial society. A consideration of this anti-industrial hegemony is crucial to any analysis of the social, political, economic, and cultural development of Queensland.
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

*List of Abbreviations* ................................................................. v-vi

*List of Charts* ................................................................. vii-x

*List of Maps* ................................................................. xi

*List of Tables* ................................................................. xii-xiii

*Map of Queensland* ............................................................... xiv

*Acknowledgements* ............................................................... xv

*Introduction* ................................................................. Page 1

Chapter One:  
  Economic Development in Queensland during the Nineteenth Century . Page 46

Chapter Two:  
  Political Economics: The State and Economic Growth in Queensland, 1900-1913. Page 97

Chapter Three:  
  The Development of Queensland’s Secondary Industries 1900-1913 . Page 158

Chapter Four:  
  A State at War: The Queensland Economy 1914-1919 . Page 230

Chapter Five:  

Chapter Six:  
  ‘Crops and Rocks’: The Queensland Economy During the 1920s . Page 332

Chapter Seven:  
  Manufacturing in Queensland during the 1920s . Page 394

*Conclusion* ................................................................. Page 449

*Appendices* ................................................................. Page 469

*Bibliography* ............................................................... Page 576
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>Australian Archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABCQS</td>
<td>A.B.C. of Queensland Statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>Australian Bureau of Statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIPL</td>
<td>Australian Industries Protection League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANA</td>
<td>Australian Natives Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APL</td>
<td>Australian Protection League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘A&amp;SR’</td>
<td>‘Agriculture and Stock Report’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BC</td>
<td>Brisbane Courier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BCC</td>
<td>Brisbane Chamber of Commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BCCAR</td>
<td>Brisbane Chamber of Commerce Annual Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BCM</td>
<td>Brisbane Chamber of Manufacturers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B&amp;DSMU</td>
<td>Bundaberg and District Sugar Manufacturers’ Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMA</td>
<td>Brisbane Merchants’ Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPP</td>
<td>Books, Paper and Printing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDC</td>
<td>Constitution Defence Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFT</td>
<td>Clothing, Footwear and Textiles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COA</td>
<td>Council of Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPB</td>
<td>Commonwealth Production Bulletins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPD</td>
<td>Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPNP</td>
<td>Country Progressive National Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPP</td>
<td>Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CWMV</td>
<td>Coaches, Wagons and Motor Vehicles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAB</td>
<td>Dairy Advisory Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DM</td>
<td>Daily Mail (Brisbane)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DS</td>
<td>Daily Standard (Brisbane)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EBM</td>
<td>Earthen Building Materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F&amp;B</td>
<td>Furniture and Bedding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F&amp;D</td>
<td>Food and Drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘F&amp;SR’</td>
<td>‘Factories and Shops Report’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP/GNP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic/National Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLP</td>
<td>Heat Light and Power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IAB</td>
<td>Industries Assistance Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMAQ</td>
<td>Iron Masters’ Association of Queensland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-SC</td>
<td>Inter-State Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JCUA</td>
<td>James Cook University Archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOL</td>
<td>John Oxley Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LPA</td>
<td>Local Producers’ Associations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MCC</td>
<td>Maryborough Chamber of Commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MCCAR</td>
<td>Maryborough Chamber of Commerce Annual Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M&amp;M</td>
<td>Metals and Machinery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Mines’</td>
<td>Mines Department Annual Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBAC</td>
<td>Noel Butlin Archives Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NLA</td>
<td>National Library of Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSWCM</td>
<td>New South Wales Chamber of Manufacturers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QCA</td>
<td>Queensland Council of Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QCM</td>
<td>Queensland Chamber of Manufacturers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
QEF .................................................. Queensland Employers’ Federation
QIG .................................................... Queensland Industrial Gazette
QPA ..................................................... Queensland Producers’ Association
QPADC .............................................. Queensland Producers’ Association District Council
QPD ..................................................... Queensland Parliamentary Debates
QPL ..................................................... Queensland Protection League
QPP ..................................................... Queensland Parliamentary Papers
QSA ..................................................... Queensland State Archives
QSS ..................................................... Statistics of the State of Queensland
QYB ..................................................... Queensland Year Book
RCC ..................................................... Rockhampton Chamber of Commerce
RCCAR ................................................ Rockhampton Chamber of Commerce Annual Report
‘R-GAPS’ .................. Registrar General’s Report on Agricultural and Pastoral Statistics
S&O ..................................................... Specialised and Other
SPA ..................................................... State Produce Agency
TCC ..................................................... Townsville Chamber of Commerce
TCCAR ............................................... Townsville Chamber of Commerce Annual Report
TRM ..................................................... Treating Raw Materials
UQFL .................................................. University of Queensland Fryer Library
WW ..................................................... Working in Wood
List of Charts

Chapter 1

Fig. 1.1 Pastoral Runs & Area of Leases 1860-1899
Fig. 1.2 Area of Crown Lands Alienated 1860-1899
Fig. 1.3 Trade, Imports & Exports, 1860-1900
Fig. 1.4 Livestock (Cattle & Sheep) 1860-1899
Fig. 1.5 Wool Production (Quantity & Value) 1860-1900
Fig. 1.6 Area of Land Under Crop 1860-1900
Fig. 1.7 Factories in Queensland (QSS) 1863-1899
Fig. 1.8 Queensland Mean Population 1860-1900
Fig. 1.9 Immigration & Population 1862-1900
Fig. 1.10 Populations by Divisions 1871-1901
Fig. 1.11 Queensland Occupations by Census 1881-1901
Fig. 1.12 Brisbane Population 1861-1901

Chapter 2

Fig. 2.1 Trade, Imports & Exports 1900-1913
Fig. 2.2 Exports by Industry Sector 1900-1913
Fig. 2.3 Pastoral Exports & Livestock 1900-1913
Fig. 2.4 Area of Land Under Crop 1900-1913
Fig. 2.5 Agricultural Holdings (farm lots) 1904-1913
Fig. 2.6 Agricultural Exports & Imports 1900-1913
Fig. 2.7 Agricultural Employment 1899-1913
Fig. 2.8 Dairy Production & Exports 1900-1913
Fig. 2.9 Mining Production & Exports 1900-1913
Fig. 2.10 Mining Industry Employment 1900-1913
Fig. 2.11 Census Occupations 1901 & 1911
Fig. 2.12 Queensland Mean Population 1900-1913
Fig. 2.13 Public Debt, Expenditure & Revenue 1900-1913
Fig. 2.14 Railway Construction (Miles) 1880-1920
Fig. 2.15 Main Items of Expenditure 1901-1913
Fig. 2.16 Main Items of Revenue 1901-1913

Chapter 3

Fig. 3.1 QSS & ‘F&SR’ Factories 1899-1913
Fig. 3.2 Manufacturing Employment 1892-1913
Fig. 3.3 Value of Manufacturing Output 1895-1913
Fig. 3.4 Manufacturing Trends (Queensland) 1892-1913
Fig. 3.5 Selected Factories by Type 1900-1913
Fig. 3.6 Male & Female Factory Employment 1907-1914
Fig. 3.7a Factory Distribution by Division 1901
Fig. 3.7b Factory Distribution by Division 1913
Fig. 3.8    QSS Factories by District 1900-1913
Fig. 3.9    QSS Metropolitan Factories 1900-1913
Fig. 3.10   Factory Employment by Major Industries 1901
Fig. 3.11   Factory Employment by Major Industries 1913
Fig. 3.12   TRM Factories by Type 1900-1913
Fig. 3.13   TRM Factories & Employment 1900-1913
Fig. 3.14   EBM Factories by Type 1900-1913
Fig. 3.15   EBM Factories & Employment 1900-1913
Fig. 3.16   WW Factories by Type 1900-1913
Fig. 3.17   WW Factories & Employment 1900-1913
Fig. 3.18   M&M Factories by Type 1900-1913
Fig. 3.19   M&M Factories & Employment 1900-1913
Fig. 3.20   F&D Factories by Type 1900-1913
Fig. 3.21   F&D Factories & Employment 1900-1913
Fig. 3.22   CFT Factories by Type 1900-1913
Fig. 3.23   CFT Factories & Employment 1900-1913
Fig. 3.24   BPP Factories & Employment 1900-1913
Fig. 3.25   CWMV Factories & Employment 1900-1913
Fig. 3.26   F&B Factories & Employment 1900-1913
Fig. 3.27   HLP Factories & Employment 1900-1913
Fig. 3.28   S&O Factories & Employment 1900-1913

Chapter 4

Fig. 4.1    Trade, Imports & Exports (£’s) 1913-1920
Fig. 4.2    Exports by Industry Sector 1913-1920
Fig. 4.3    Value of Production by Industry 1911-1920
Fig. 4.4    Pastoral Exports & Livestock 1913-1920
Fig. 4.5    Value of Agricultural Production 1911-1920
Fig. 4.6    Agricultural Exports & Imports 1913-1920
Fig. 4.7    Dairy Production & Exports 1913-1920
Fig. 4.8    Agricultural Holdings (farm lots) 1913-1920
Fig. 4.9    Agricultural Employment 1913-1920
Fig. 4.10   Area of Land Under Crop 1913-1920
Fig. 4.11   Mining Production & Exports 1913-1920
Fig. 4.12   Mining Employment 1913-1920
Fig. 4.13   Census Occupations 1911 & 1921
Fig. 4.14   Queensland Mean Population 1913-1920
Fig. 4.15   Queensland Public Debt 1913-1920
Fig. 4.16   Expenditure & Revenue 1913-1920
Fig. 4.17   Main Items of Expenditure 1913-1920
Fig. 4.18   Main Items of Revenue 1913-1920
Fig. 4.19   Industry Production (Australia) 1906-1918
Fig. 4.20   Primary Industry Production (Australia) 1906-1918

Chapter 5
Fig. 5.1  QSS & ‘F&SR’ Factories 1913-1920
Fig. 5.2  Manufacturing Trends (Queensland) 1913-1920
Fig. 5.3  Manufacturing Employment 1913-1920
Fig. 5.4  Male & Female Factory Employment 1913-1920
Fig. 5.5a Factory Employment by Major Industries 1914
Fig. 5.5b Factory Employment by Major Industries 1919
Fig. 5.6  Value of Manufacturing Activity 1913-1920
Fig. 5.7  Selected Factories by Type 1913-1920
Fig. 5.8  QSS Factories by District 1913-1920
Fig. 5.9  QSS Metropolitan Factories 1913-1920
Fig. 5.10 Factory Distribution by Division 1914
Fig. 5.11 Factory Distribution by Division 1919
Fig. 5.12 TRM Factories by Type 1913-1920
Fig. 5.13 TRM Factories & Employment 1913-1920
Fig. 5.14 EBM Factories by Type 1913-1920
Fig. 5.15 EBM Factories & Employment 1913-1920
Fig. 5.16 WW Factories by Type 1913-1920
Fig. 5.17 WW Factories & Employment 1913-1920
Fig. 5.18 M&M Factories by Type 1913-1920
Fig. 5.19 M&M Factories & Employment 1913-1920
Fig. 5.20 F&D Factories by Type 1913-1920
Fig. 5.21 F&D Factories & Employment 1913-1920
Fig. 5.22 CFT Factories by Type 1913-1920
Fig. 5.23 CFT Factories & Employment 1913-1920
Fig. 5.24 BPP Factories & Employment 1913-1920
Fig. 5.25 CWMV Factories & Employment 1913-1920
Fig. 5.26 F&B Factories & Employment 1913-1920
Fig. 5.27 HLP Factories & Employment 1913-1920
Fig. 5.28 S&O Factories & Employment 1913-1920

Chapter 6

Fig. 6.1  Trade, Imports & Exports (£‘s) 1920-1931
Fig. 6.2  Exports by Industry Sector 1920-1930
Fig. 6.3  Value of Production by Industry 1920-1930
Fig. 6.4  Queensland Public Debt 1920-1931
Fig. 6.5  Main Items of Expenditure 1920-1930
Fig. 6.6  Main Items of Revenue 1920-1930
Fig. 6.7  Pastoral Exports and Livestock 1920-1930
Fig. 6.8  Value of Agricultural Production 1920-1930
Fig. 6.9  Agricultural Exports and Imports 1920-1930
Fig. 6.10 Dairy Production and Exports 1920-1930
Fig. 6.11 Butter Production & Exports 1920-1930
Fig. 6.12 Agricultural Holdings (farm lots) 1920-1930
Fig. 6.13 Area of Land Under Crop 1920-1930
Fig. 6.14 Agricultural Employment 1920-1930
Fig. 6.15 Mining Production and Exports 1920-1930
Fig. 6.16 Mining Employment Queensland 1920-1930
Fig. 6.17 Census Occupations 1921 and 1933
Chapter 7

Fig. 7.1  QSS & ‘F&SR’ Factories 1920-1930
Fig. 7.2  Manufacturing Trends (Queensland) 1920-1930
Fig. 7.3  Manufacturing Employment 1920-1930
Fig. 7.4  Male & Female Factory Employment 1920-1930
Fig. 7.5a Factory Employment by Major Industries 1920
Fig. 7.5b Factory Employment by Major Industries 1930
Fig. 7.6  Value of Manufacturing Activity 1920-1930
Fig. 7.7  Selected Factories by Type 1920-1931
Fig. 7.8  QSS Factories by District 1920-1930
Fig. 7.9  QSS Metropolitan Factories 1920-1930
Fig. 7.10 Factory Distribution by Division 1920
Fig. 7.11 Factory Distribution by Division 1930
Fig. 7.12 TRM Factories by Type 1920-1931
Fig. 7.13 TRM Factories & Employment 1920-1929
Fig. 7.14 EBM Factories by Type 1920-1931
Fig. 7.15 EBM Factories & Employment 1920-1929
Fig. 7.16 WW Factories by Type 1920-1931
Fig. 7.17 WW Factories & Employment 1920-1929
Fig. 7.18 M&M Factories by Type 1920-1931
Fig. 7.19 M&M Factories & Employment 1920-1929
Fig. 7.20 F&D Factories by Type 1920-1931
Fig. 7.21 F&D Factories & Employment 1920-1929
Fig. 7.22 CFT Factories by Type 1920-1931
Fig. 7.23 CFT Factories & Employment 1920-1929
Fig. 7.24 BPP Factories & Employment 1920-1929
Fig. 7.25 CWMV Factories & Employment 1920-1929
Fig. 7.26 F&B Factories & Employment 1920-1929
Fig. 7.27 HLP Factories & Employment 1920-1929
Fig. 7.28 S&O Factories & Employment 1920-1929
List of Maps

Map 1  Map of Queensland . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Page xiv

Map 2  Queensland Statistical Divisions, Award Districts and Railway Lines 1922
          . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Page 152

Map 3  Queensland Award Districts and Industrial Awards in Operation 1916
          . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Page 237
List of Tables

Chapter 2

Table 2.1  Value of Queensland Trade, Imports & Exports, 1890-1913 . . . . . . Page 103
Table 2.2  Pastoral Sector Activity and Production 1900-1913 . . . . . . . . Page 106
Table 2.3  Agricultural Sector Activity & Production 1900-1913 . . . . . . . Page 110
Table 2.4  Mining Sector: Employment by Division, Production & Exports 1900-1913 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Page 116
Table 2.5  Queensland: Miscellaneous Fiscal Statistics 1900-1913 . . . . . . Page 127

Chapter 3

Table 3.1  ‘F&SR’ & QSS Factories Classified by Number of Employees 1900-1913 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Page 149
Table 3.2  QSS Factories Classified by District 1900-1913 . . . . . . . . . . Page 154
Table 3.3  QSS Factories by Group Classification 1900-1913 . . . . . . . . . . . . Page 161

Chapter 4

Table 4.1  Trade, Exports & Imports 1913-1920 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Page 199
Table 4.2  Pastoral Sector Activity and Production 1913-1920 . . . . . . . . Page 201
Table 4.3  Agricultural Sector: Holdings, Employment and Area of Cultivation 1913-1920 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Page 205
Table 4.4  Mining Sector: Employment by Division, Value of Production & Exports 1913-1920 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Page 210
Table 4.5  Queensland: Miscellaneous Fiscal Statistics 1913-1920 . . . . . . Page 214

Chapter 5

Table 5.1  QSS Factories Classified by Number of Employees 1913-1920 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Page 231
Table 5.2  QSS Factories Classified by District, 1913-1920 . . . . . . . . . . . . Page 236
Table 5.3  QSS Factories by Group Classification, 1913-1920 . . . . . . . . . Page 238

Chapter 6

Table 6.1  Trade, Exports & Imports, 1920-1930 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Page 277
Table 6.2  Queensland: Miscellaneous Fiscal Statistics 1920-1930 . . . . . Page 280
Table 6.3  Pastoral Activity & Production 1920-1930 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Page 283
Table 6.4  Agricultural Sector: Holdings, Employment and Area of Cultivation 1920-1930 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Page 291
Table 6.5  Mining Sector: Employment by Division, Value of Production & Exports 1920-1930 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Page 296
Chapter 7

Table 7.1  Factories by States in Australia, 1900-1930 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Page 324
Table 7.2  QSS Factories Classified by Number of Employees
           1920-1930 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Page 328
Table 7.3  QSS Factories Classified by District, 1920-1930 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Page 334
Table 7.4  QSS Factories by Group Classification, 1920-1931 . . . . . . . . . . . . Page 337
Map 1. Map of Queensland

Acknowledgements

First, I want to thank my supervisors, Associate Professor Kay Saunders and Associate Professor Ray Evans. Kay provided generous advice on Queensland sources and guidance in structuring this thesis and her prompt and incisive comments on early chapter drafts greatly enhanced my understanding of the topic. Ray assisted me in his capacity as associate supervisor with many issues pertaining to political theory.

I must acknowledge the valuable assistance of the staff at the Queensland State Archives, Fryer Library and other University of Queensland Libraries, the John Oxley Library, the National Library of Australia, the Noel Butlin Archives Centre, the James Cook University Library Archives, and the Australian Archives (Brisbane, Canberra and Sydney). A special mention should be made of the excellent service and assistance provided by the dedicated staff at the Noel Butlin Archives Centre and the Australian Archives in Canberra and Sydney who did in all in their power to provide me with the material I required in the tight time-frame of my visits to these centres. Thanks also to Clive Bubb, General Manager of the Queensland Chamber of Commerce and Industry (QCCI), for details on the history and organisational structure of the QCCI, its predecessors and the numerous employer organisations that existed in Queensland.

Many of my friends and postgraduate colleagues at the History Department have provided support, assistance and encouragement. My task would have been much more difficult if not for the open welcome I received from the History Department postgraduates coming to the University of Queensland after completing my undergraduate and honours degrees in Newcastle. I wish to thank in particular Jeff Hopkins, Brian Jamison, Helen Hamley, Keith Prokop, David Tite, Julie Hilton and John McGuire.

The staff at the History Department have also provided me with timely assistance and advice including Judith Morgan, Mavis Little and Serena Bagley. It would be remiss of me not to mention the late Dr John Turner formerly of the History Department of the University of Newcastle. John’s death in July 1998 was a grievous loss to his family, the people of Newcastle, to Australian history, and to myself. John inspired my historical imagination, encouraged my interest in Australian industrial and economic history and gave me the confidence to take on postgraduate research.

My thanks also to my families, the Cameron’s in Newcastle and the Logan’s in Clifton. The families of Neil and June Cameron and Jim and Marie Logan have always encouraged me and shown interest in my work. Special thanks to my great friends Monica Logan and Paul Edwards for their support and in providing the retreat at Golden Beach. Finally, I could not have undertaken this research nor my previous degrees without the continuing love, support and patience of my wife and principal bread-winner Bernadette Logan R.N. Thanks Bernie.