An Historical Assessment of Economic Development, Manufacturing, and the Political Economy of Queensland 1900-1930

The research task of this thesis is to assess the scope and scale of economic development and the evolution of the manufacturing sector within the context of the political economy of Queensland during the first three decades of the twentieth century. The historical approach used to investigate these processes draws upon interdisciplinary theory and methods from economic history, sociology, economics, as well as economic and human geography to enhance its interpretive strength. The study is, however, primarily a work of economic history which investigates the historical relationships between the economy, patterns of trade and demography, manufacturing, and the political economy in early twentieth century Queensland. The genesis of this project arose from an interest in Queensland’s economic development, and especially the evolution of its manufacturing industries and the role played by governments in the promotion of economic development, which stemmed from research conducted as an honours student at the University of Newcastle. My honours thesis looked at the establishment of the Walsh Island State Government Dockyard in Newcastle and investigated the industrialist ethos of the labour movement and the Labor party in relation to the development of the welfare state in New South Wales.1 During that research I became intrigued by the apparent disparity between the attitudes that the Labor governments in New South Wales and Queensland adopted towards industrial and rural development. In New South Wales, the Labor Party and the labour movement were equally, if not more, committed to the encouragement of industrialisation and manufacturing as they were to ideals of closer settlement. A similar balance in political economic strategies was apparent in the other colonies/states. This, however, was not the case in Queensland.2

The research conducted for this thesis was, at first, intended to focus upon the relationship between industrial development, particularly the manufacturing industries, the processes of social formation and the political economy during the early decades of the twentieth century.


It was soon evident, however, that Queensland has not been particularly well served by economic history: as an examination of the historiography revealed a distinct gap in research focusing on the Queensland economy. This historiographical void has proved to be somewhat problematic. The main problem that confronted this thesis was that the body of economic histories dealing with Queensland does not provide sufficient empirical detail from which one can safely construct a usefully thorough analysis of the manufacturing sector. The research task therefore had to be broadened to include a general assessment of economic development, and redirected to encompass the development of a comprehensive empirically based economic history of all industry sectors in Queensland from early in the nineteenth century to the 1930s. This project was necessary in order that a realistic and comprehensive assessment of the evolution and performance of the manufacturing sector could be made within the context of broader economic and industrial change. The PhD topic therefore has evolved to encompass the three central themes: economic development, manufacturing, and the political economy of early twentieth century Queensland.

First it was necessary to gain a comprehensive understanding of the main features of Queensland’s economic development in order to adequately assess, in its proper context, the performance of the manufacturing sector during this period. Moreover, an economic history provides an empirical foundation from which one can assess the temper, scope and interrelationship between the economic, social, and the political spheres. This thesis has utilised a diverse range of theoretical perspectives in order to analyse the various economic, social, political, ideological, geographical, and sociological factors that influenced the types and shape of economic and industrial development in Queensland. From that point, and with the main currents of Queensland’s economic development in mind, an investigation of those individuals, groups and organisations who actively promoted, or tried to obstruct, industrial development has been conducted. Similarly, the processes and patterns of urbanisation, and their relationship to industrial development, and economic activity in general have been analysed. Furthermore, the expectations of industrial development within political ideology and the political economy of Queensland has also been a key focus of the research task. Thematically, the growth in urbanisation is contrasted with the predominance of ruralist and agrarian activity, policy and ideals within the political economy of Queensland.
In practice this has meant that, thematically, some chapters of the thesis will address and assess the general features of the economy and the non-manufacturing sectors over specific periods of time. These chapters provide the necessary background and context for corresponding chapters that deal exclusively with the manufacturing sector over the same periods. At its broadest level this thesis provides an overview of the Queensland economy from 1824 to the early 1930s, a deeper examination of the various industrial sectors from 1824 to 1930, with the primary focus on the period 1900 to 1930, and finally a detailed account of the evolution, function, shape, performance, and relationship within the political economy of the manufacturing sector between 1900 and 1930.

Terms and Concepts

It would be instructive at this point to clarify some of the concepts and terms used in this thesis. Economic growth and economic development are terms that are generally used synonymously in this thesis. Economic growth is used to describe positive gains made in total production as measured by increases in the ‘quantity and quality’ of the factors of production. When considering economic growth and economic development one must understand that the evolution and development of an economy depends upon the activation of its factors of production. These factors include ‘the size of its labour force, its stock of capital equipment, its natural resources, and the efficiency with which these factors of production are combined’. The three major stimuli that increase factor supplies are population increases, capital accumulation, and technological progress. It is the combination of these factors that essentially provides the basic foundations for economic growth. The term economic development, on the other hand, not only describes increases in factor supplies and production, it also acknowledges shifts in societal attitudes and institutions that accompany and accommodate economic growth. As E.A. Boehm contends, ‘the widespread desire for development includes many other elements besides the measurable product’, so economic development encompasses the nexus of ideology and the political economy as being important factors influencing the direction and temper of economic growth.

Throughout this thesis the terms secondary industries and manufacturing are interchangeable.

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4 Ibid., p. 3.
5 Ibid., pp. 3-4.
This thesis defines *secondary industries* to be those processing and fabricating activities carried out by individual or group enterprises concerned with the transformation of capital, labour and raw material inputs into finished goods or commodities. Processing industries engage in production that ‘involves a change in the state of the substance being manufactured; it may also involve a change in its form’ (my emphases). Examples of processing would include milling ‘wheat into flour, [converting] iron ore into iron and then steel, [sawing] trees into timber.’ Processing involves both organic and inorganic substances and there is often some overlap in the activities of the manufacturing sector with the other industries. The close relationship between dairy farming and cheese production, and the extraction of copper ore and smelting, are good examples of this type of activity. Fabricating manufactures, on the other hand, ‘involves the assembly of components or shaping of a material to make a new product; it involves a change in the form of the original product without changing its state’ (my emphases). A steel plate, for example, undergoes a change in form but not its state when it is cut up and assembled into a fabricated structure. These two distinct types of manufacturing operations, processing and fabrication, can be located in close proximity to one another, or indeed, be integrated in one plant. In many cases, however, there is a difference in the geographical location of these works. For example, in the case of the processing ventures in agriculture and mining, this usually involves at least two stages, the first close to the initial point of production and later at another central location because of factors such as perishability and transportation costs. On the other hand, ‘fabricating systems tend to be market-oriented in their location’, that is, they are generally located closer to their consumer base or the most cost efficient mode of transportation, due to the bulkiness and cost of transporting the finished product to market.

Several other industrial sectors and sub-sectors also need to be defined. *Primary industries* is a broad term used to describe economic activity that is ‘concerned mainly with the use of natural resources and generally excludes any manufacturing or processing activities. The main categories are agriculture, forestry, fishing, hunting, mining, and quarrying.’ Within the *primary industries* classification there are several sub-classifications: the pastoral, agricultural, and mining sectors. The term *pastoral sector* is used to describe the grazing and

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7 Ibid., pp. 210 & 239.
8 Ibid., pp. 253-4 & 263.
husbandry of livestock, principally sheep and cattle, on larger properties where this is generally the only agricultural activity carried out. Pastoral activity seeks to meet demand for the bulk provision of wool, skins, meat and other by-products that ‘satisfy human needs for food, clothing and shelter.’\textsuperscript{10} In Queensland the pastoral industry was dominated by operations subject to pastoral leases issued by the colonial and state government and, initially, the sector was characterised by private individual ownership and investment. The volatility of trade cycles and ever increasing costs prompted a series of restructuring in the sector from the 1860s and a shift towards heavy capitalisation with a high degree of domestic and foreign company and corporate capitalist ownership.\textsuperscript{11}

The term \textit{agricultural sector} encompasses ‘the purposeful tending of plants or animals in order to produce a desired product...’\textsuperscript{12} In this thesis the term \textit{agriculture} is generally used in its traditional sense to describe ‘the practice of cultivating the soil,’ for example, grains, sugar-cane, and fruit and vegetables.\textsuperscript{13} However, it is also used to include mixed farming on smaller scale holdings where some livestock, such as beef cattle, dairy herds, sheep, pigs, and poultry, are also raised. Small-scale livestock grazing farms, forestry, fishing, and hunting are also included in this category. This type of primary production was dominated by under-capitalised small family farms of either freehold, leasehold or mixed tenure.

The \textit{mining sector} describes the economic activity associated with the excavation and extraction of fossil fuels, metalliferous ores, and non-metalliferous minerals. This can also involve processing of minerals into basic metals or other useful materials.\textsuperscript{14} A distinction can be made between alluvial (surface), underground, open cut, and quarrying as methods of excavation and extraction. This sector was heavily capitalised and dominated by domestic and foreign syndicates, but it also involved small-scale operations involving one to several people working alluvial, underground, and open cut mines with limited capitalisation.

The \textit{tertiary sector} is different from primary and secondary industries, which involve the output of a product, whereas ‘the output of a tertiary system is a service’.\textsuperscript{15} The \textit{tertiary sector}


\textsuperscript{12} Camm & Irwin, \textit{Space, People, Place}, p. 45.

\textsuperscript{13} Goodall, \textit{Dictionary of Human Geography}, pp. 19-20.

\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Ibid}, p. 304.

\textsuperscript{15} Camm & Irwin, \textit{Space, People, Place};, p. 339.
involves:

... economic activity concerned with the exchange and consumption of goods and services (hence also the service industry). It includes all those activities associated with commerce and distribution (wholesaling and retail), the provision of business, personal and professional services, as well as transport and entertainment services.\(^{16}\)

Tertiary activity also is often directly linked to the other sectors. Indeed, there is a good deal of overlap and interdependence between sectors, which will be addressed in the relevant chapters.

The instruments and institutions of the state and state power are critical elements in shaping economic development. The *political economy* provides the locus for investigating the dynamics, or mechanics, of politics and political expression and meaning in relation to the economy and the industrial sectors of which it is comprised. For the purposes of this thesis, the term *political economy* is defined as encompassing the material conditions of a society in relation to the activities of the state, and of those individuals and organisations seeking to affect economic change through the instruments of state power. Here it is used as a relatively value-free conceptual tool to describe processes involved with ‘the production of wealth in relation to the activities of the state’, rather than in its more common usage as a Marxist critique of capitalism. The term also embraces concepts such as ‘social class, labour value, the division of labour, and moral sentiments’ that impact on the political processes and economic policy.\(^{17}\)

Closely linked to political economy is the concept of *ideology*, which is one of the more important concepts informing the interpretive and theoretical framework of this thesis. Ideology, in a broad sense, may be defined as those ‘... beliefs, attitudes and opinions which form a set, whether tightly or loosely related’.\(^{18}\) Ideology is, however, more than merely just a system of beliefs, it is the ‘logic of dominant discourses’, a discourse that can mask social divisions and inequitable power relationships.\(^{19}\)


\(^{18}\) Ibid., p. 118.

Related to the political economy and ideology is the term agrarian and the concept of agrarian reform. Agrarian describes ‘matters of land tenure and considerations arising from land ownership’, while agrarian reform relates to the ‘large-scale, government-sponsored change in the institutional setting of rural society and agriculture involving not only land reform but also rationalisation of rural settlement patterns, schemes for improved educational and other social infrastructure, and increased capital funding for agriculture’. In Queensland this process revolved around the tensions between the pastoral elite, agrarian reformers and the strategies implemented by the state in order to encourage agricultural settlement, or closer settlement, and the dismantling of large-scale pastoral holdings. Throughout this paper the term rural intensification is generally used in preference to agrarian reform as the former encompasses the broader economic and demographic processes associated with the agrarian reform ideal. These processes include associated economic infrastructure projects, supportive government regulations and programs, and cooperative or commodity-based marketing schemes. The three central features of rural intensification are the greater use of surplus land, the closer use of this land, and a shift in the productive character of used and unused land. The term closer settlement also is commonly used and describes the central feature of rural intensification, that being the ideal of encouraging the development of more and smaller rural holdings.

A distinction also is made in this thesis between the terms urbanisation and urban growth which, while they may be identified individually, are terms that are not interchangeable. Urbanisation refers to the process where there is an increase in the proportion of people residing in urban locations within a particular spatial division, while at the same time the proportion of the population living in rural locations decreases. Urban growth, on the other hand, refers to an increase in the number of people living in urban locations where the overall proportions of the urban and rural population do not change significantly, that is, where urban growth and rural intensification occur simultaneously.

Finally, the term social formation is used in this thesis in its broadest demographic context to encompass the causal factors and consequences of economic development in terms of the

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20 Lefort, Political Forms of Modern Society, p. 18.
processes of urbanisation, rural intensification, decentralisation and migration. In essence, *social formation* is a descriptor that embraces all the facets and processes of social and economic development. That is, *social formation* describes the processes involved in changes to population demographics, patterns of urban and rural settlement, urban and rural workforce participation and ‘the particular distribution of class power characteristic of a mode of production. At any given time one mode of production tends to dominate in a society, although vestiges of past modes may still be discernible, and generally social formation works to maintain its structure and reproduce itself’.23

**Economic Development in Queensland**

With some of the main terms and concepts clarified and defined it is now possible to turn to an overview of the research task, and its most important findings, arguments, and conclusions. Queensland’s economic development is the story of the complex interaction between population demographics, immigration, capital flows and formation, patterns of trade, distant export markets, politically powerful pastoral and mercantile elites, an increasingly active and electorally successful labour movement, rural isolation and intensification, decentralisation, as well as varying degrees of urban growth and urbanisation. From an economic historical perspective the central features of the development of the colony of Queensland in the nineteenth century, from an adjunct of New South Wales to an independent colony and then to statehood, involved the process of settler-colonialism reliant upon the pastoral mode of production which evolved into a relatively unstable and dynamic form of colonial mercantile-pastoral capitalism. The fortunes of the Queensland economy fluctuated wildly from boom to bust and to boom again in a cycle closely linked to the relative vitality and strength of British and European markets and the equally erratic vagaries of climate experienced in the colony.

The pastoral sector established itself from the 1840s onwards as the key component of the Queensland economy and the principal factor that influenced the dynamics of social formation. From an economic-geographical perspective, pastoralism was the primary stimulus for conflict between two incompatible economic systems: European mercantile capitalism and the indigenous subsistence economy.24 The ensuing struggle between Queensland’s

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24 For examples of this conflict see Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to European Invasion in Australia* (Ringwood: Penguin
indigenous peoples and the European invaders was, in one fundamental respect, an economic one, with the Europeans using whatever force they deemed necessary to secure the factors of production to their advantage. Pastoralism provided the Europeans with the economic foundation essential for their successful occupation of Queensland. For this reason pastoral development was a consistent priority of all Queensland governments. Pastoralists totally dominated the Queensland parliament until the 1870s and remained the most powerful bloc through to the early 1900s. Dominant political figures, such as Thomas McIlwraith, Edward Drury, A.H. Palmer, and Robert Philp, who were representative of the pastoral and mercantile elite, understood state support for pastoral development and trade as axiomatic. The division between the political and business spheres was virtually non-existent: as business was politics and vice versa in Queensland in the late nineteenth century.  

The continuing material ascendancy, and social, economic and political power of the pastoralists, merchants, and financiers, relied heavily upon the continued growth of rural commodities exports, primarily wool and later beef, to the United Kingdom. Capital was imported from the United Kingdom and investors supported a cycle of trade and profit based upon importing Queensland’s commodities to fuel Britain’s factories, and then exporting their manufactures back to the colony. The rural development programs initiated by the Queensland government in the nineteenth century sought to tap into this trade cycle, relying upon massive British loans, and the revenues derived from the wool trade, to finance these schemes.

Pastoralism did not, however, go unchallenged, as increasing immigration and natural population growth was associated with agitation for broad-based agrarian reforms, and the popular cry to unlock the lands resonated across the European occupied areas of Queensland. The allure of agriculture and closer settlement found fertile soil in the popular mind and populist politics of the latter decades of the nineteenth century and land laws were progressively adopted to support and promote more intensive agricultural settlement. Many
sought to prevent the establishment of a new antipodean ruling class comprising squatters and sugar plantation owners, by campaigning for agrarian reforms that reflected the rise in popularity of agrarian ideologies based upon the ideal of the hegemony of the yeomanry farming class. This ideal was to sustain itself in various forms in Queensland until well after World War II.

Nevertheless, despite the large number of land reforms, assistance packages and rural development schemes, agriculture generally stagnated in nineteenth century Queensland with the exception of sugar cultivation and dairy production. The sugar industry had established itself along the plantation principle relying upon the ‘slave’ labour of indentured Pacific Island labour. A similar, though less extensive exploitation of the Aboriginal population by the pastoral sector also occurred.28 The plantation system was overturned by a combination of agrarian agitation and a racist immigration policy that secured the subsidisation of the sugar industry after federation in order to support the transition to small-scale family farming, supplemented by a white male wage-earning labour force and serviced by cooperative-controlled crushing mills.29

The profits derived from the export of pastoral and agricultural commodities were also augmented by the often spectacular returns from the mining sector. Gold, and to a lesser extent other metalliferous minerals, rescued the young colony economically on several occasions, particularly the discovery of the Gympie gold field, and the revenues subsequently derived from its mines, which helped to restore the liquidity of the Queensland treasury in the

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wake of the fiscal crisis of the early 1860s. Gold from the fields on the Palmer, Ravenswood, Charters Towers, Mount Morgan, and elsewhere were instrumental in the consolidation of the Queensland economy in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Throughout the nineteenth century the manufacturing sector struggled to develop beneath the shadow of a pastoral sector that clearly dominated both the economy and political discourse in Queensland. The secondary industries took root in the later decades, particularly processing works linked to primary production such as meat-processing works and sugar-milling and refining. The demographic patterns also encouraged the establishment and growth of essential manufacturing industries, principally in the production of food and drink, clothing, engineering, and other fabricated items (for example, wagons, drays, agricultural implements, and building materials). Out of the economic chaos of the depression of the early 1890s, and as the pastoral sector stalled, there arose a more vibrant and diversified manufacturing sector that responded to the combined consumptive demands of rural development and urban growth and urbanisation.

During the first three decades of the twentieth century the Queensland economy was, at different times, affected by floods, droughts, war, labour shortages, high unemployment, rapid fluctuations in commodity prices and metals markets, acute shortages of capital and high levels of public debt. Competing political economic ideologies found a robust expression in the parliament: protectionist versus free trader, pastoralist versus agriculturalist, capitalist versus socialist, and urban versus rural. While one historian has described the political and economic climate for the period 1860-1885 as a ‘time of flux and becoming’ and 1885-1900 as the ‘time of consolidation’,30 a similarly encompassing phrase cannot be applied strictly to the early decades of the twentieth century, although descriptions such as uncertain, prosperous, disrupted, consolidating, and unstable were all valid at various times during this period.

Federation of the colonies in 1901 brought with it new opportunities and challenges for all industry sectors of Queensland’s economy. The depression associated with the long drought of 1898-1903, had a severe impact on all Queensland industries. The pastoral and agricultural sectors were close to collapse, the mining and tertiary sectors stalled, and the manufacturers, who suffered considerably, had also to contend with the added burden of more intense

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interstate competition after colonial tariff barriers were removed. During this period the essential framework was set in place for the shape and direction of the Queensland economy that would last until the post-World War II era. The pastoral sector fluctuated between boom and bust, caught between the pincers of extremes in seasons and volatile markets. Nevertheless, the pastoral industries prevailed and maintained their economic hegemony during the first three decades of the twentieth century. The agricultural sector made some progress, particularly in sugar cultivation, and butter and cheese production, with the dairy industry being the outstanding success of the sector. Closer settlement was slow and intermittent, and the rate of alienation of lands for cultivation barely crept along.\textsuperscript{31} Notwithstanding this, the eventual reorganisation of the agricultural sector under the Labor government in the 1920s laid the ground-work for its success later in the century. Mining, which had showed so much promise in the early 1900s, began a long and sustained decline to become largely economically insignificant by the end of the 1920s. The fortunes of the manufacturing fluctuated with those of the primary industries, such were the close linkages between these sectors. Nevertheless, the manufacturing sector advanced on many, if not all, fronts. While factory numbers appear to have stagnated there was, however, a general and sustained expansion in both the manufacturing workforce and the quantity and value of production.

From an examination of Queensland historiography, several economic-historical assumptions can be discerned and a general consensus of economic-historical opinion identified. First, all Queensland histories that deal with the economy stress the overwhelming dominance of the primary industries sector, and in particular the pastoral industry, within the Queensland economy since the 1840s. Second, the general focus for activity within the political economy in Queensland has centred on political policies and government schemes that were directed towards rural development. This was true of all governments, Conservative, Liberal, Nationalist, Country Party, and Labor. Third, patterns of trade, commerce, and manufacturing did not gravitate towards the urban metropolis in Queensland, as was the case in most of the other colonies. Queensland, unlike New South Wales and Victoria, experienced a considerable degree of natural decentralisation. Finally, the development and status of Queensland's secondary industries are typically described as being somewhat backwards, underdeveloped, and less sophisticated when compared to the manufacturing industries of the other colonies/states.

\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 130-2.
Manufacturing in Queensland

Almost all secondary sources dealing with Queensland’s history of this period demonstrate, to varying degrees, the primacy of rural development while generally failing to adequately explain why secondary industries were politically marginalised and simultaneously understate manufacturing’s significant contribution to Queensland’s economic development. The contribution of the secondary industries to Queensland’s economy is also generally, and incorrectly, dismissed as being marginal to the overall economic progress of the state.

It is certainly true that, because of the nature and pattern of Queensland’s trade and investment cycle, the pastoral sector dominated the Queensland economy from the early 1840s until the 1960s.

It is also an economic fact that because of several interrelated factors, particularly Queensland’s geography and patterns of international trade and finance (closely linked to pastoral development), Queensland experienced a higher than average degree of ‘natural’ economic and demographic decentralisation. The urban metropolis did not dominate Queensland’s economy as did Sydney and Melbourne in their respective states, in large part due to Brisbane’s eccentric location in the extreme south-east. The centripetal forces of the metropolis were counter-balanced by the centrifugal forces of foreign and domestic markets, rural production, and patterns of settlement, leading to distinct economic and demographic regions. These areas have been defined for official statistical and administrative purposes as the Southern, Central and Northern Divisions. Indeed, it is important to stress that Queensland’s economy has never been an homogenous entity: it comprises several distinct regional economies subject to wide variations in climate, resources, geomorphology (shape and form of the landscape), markets and population densities. The colony was so large that the growth of the metropolis did not hinder the development of large and small urban clusters in the Central and Northern Divisions. Queensland’s economic geography therefore ensured that the trade flows of commodities, from its expanding and contracting economic frontiers, were not funneled predominantly through the metropolis. The spatial diversity of Queensland’s natural resources also guaranteed the development of ports and urban clusters to
the north of Brisbane.\textsuperscript{32}

While the seat of government was located in the metropolis the temper of successive administrations was hardly urban oriented; indeed, most eyes were cast to the north and west towards the vast open spaces as the locus for future economic development. In general Queensland governments barely acknowledged the economic contribution of secondary industries and rarely demonstrated any sustained interest in assisting their development. It is easy enough for one to glance at the general statistical record, as many historians have done, and confidently pronounce that the manufacturing sector was a rather laggardly cousin when compared to its interstate competitors. It is argued here that this view, the laggard thesis, retains its historical orthodoxy because of a generally less than adequate appreciation of the fuller statistical record. Indeed, when a more rigorous examination of the broader statistical record is conducted, and the prevailing economic and political circumstances are factored in, one realises that the overall performance and contribution of the secondary industries in Queensland was much more positive than has been acknowledged in the historiography. This thesis contends that the contribution of the secondary industries has been instrumental to the success of the primary industries from the outset and manufacturing’s marginal reputation is, in many respects, largely undeserved, and that the significance of secondary industries to the development of Queensland has been understated.

There are several mitigating factors which contributed to the delay in the development of manufacturing in Queensland. These factors include colonial and state government apathy, a consistent lack of access to sufficient investment capital, the relatively high costs of materials, labour and transport, the geographic vastness of the state with its small and dispersed population which militated against economies of scale sufficient to counter the competitive advantage held by the large southern and overseas manufacturers, and a cultural preference for imported items which only began to recede during World War I.\textsuperscript{33}

Some of these problems were endemic across Australia, but in Queensland many of these

\textsuperscript{32} For an analysis of the impact of trade patterns on port development see Lewis, History of the Ports, chapters 4, 7, & 10.

difficulties were more pronounced. For example, the shortage of skilled labour which was endemic across Australia was more problematic in Queensland as it lacked the depth of industrial activity necessary to support training the number of skilled workers it actually required to expand. Queensland’s conundrum was its industrial base was too small to generate an increasing skills base, and without sufficient growth in its skilled labour force the opportunity for its more buoyant manufacturing industries to expand were restricted. Australian manufacturers generally found it difficult also to secure sufficient sources of capital to invest in their businesses as the financial services sector had little experience, or interest, in the provision of capital to manufacturing enterprises. This situation was exacerbated in Queensland by financial institutions focusing almost exclusively upon servicing only pastoral, mercantile and mining ventures. Indeed, the stock exchanges in Queensland were in the business of trading pastoral, mercantile, mining, and government stocks and securities. They were not particularly attracted to the allure of manufacturing. The capital markets in the City of London were heavily involved in Queensland’s pastoral industry and directed the majority of capital into that sector which they felt would deliver the most consistent and lucrative returns.

While all these factors had an interrelated impact on the ability of the manufacturing sector to expand, the overall performance of the secondary industries was, nevertheless, more impressive than is generally believed. Indeed, the market for manufactures in Queensland was generally quite strong: population growth was rapid, based mostly within and linked to existing urban concentrations, especially in the south-east, which provided a lucrative market for southern and local manufactures alike. Growth eventually occurred across the domestic manufacturing sector as the economy expanded and local products were adopted or adapted to suit local conditions and markets. Eventually, with the growth in population densities, these markets would reach a point of critical mass when it became viable to establish non-essential goods manufacturing.

As will be demonstrated in the following chapters’ the manufacturing sector had become an increasingly significant component of the Queensland economy from the latter decades of the nineteenth century. The main statistical indicators show that the sector continued to expand in the long term despite the myriad of difficulties. The actual growth in the number of factories

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34 See Lougheed, The Brisbane Stock Exchange and A Century of Service.
in Queensland from 1863 to 1930 is unclear as there are considerable discrepancies between the various official statistical series. For example, one series demonstrates significant stagnation after 1899, while another indicates considerable expansion. Nonetheless, what is clear is the number of smaller factories (10 or fewer employees) and larger factories (100 or more employees) factories increased strongly, manufacturing employment grew considerably over the period, as did the quantity and value of output and production. In the final analysis it is argued that from the turn of the century there was significant consolidation in the manufacturing sector since the employee per factory average increased along with output, and that the increases in total manufacturing employment and quantity and value of output suggests that the apparent stagnation in factory numbers is somewhat artificial and these figures need revising. Despite the statistical anomalies, which will be discussed below, it clear that the manufacturing sector played a much more significant role in Queensland’s economic development that has generally been identified.

**Methodology**

To facilitate this wide-ranging analysis a methodological framework that takes into account the complex interaction of economic, social, ideological, and political factors has been utilised. The methodology used to inform the interpretation of these factors is interdisciplinary in design, drawing upon historical, sociological, geographical, economic, and statistical practices which utilise a broad range of source materials and methods, in order to develop an historical interpretation that is at once empirically based, qualitatively broad, and theoretically informed. The sources consulted include the usual orthodox body of qualitative and quantitative textual and literary sources, government and organisational archival records, the less scrutinised extensive statistical data, audiovisual, cartographic, and photographic material. These sources were first used to develop a sophisticated profile of the Queensland economy over the period to analyse the relative significance of industrial development, particularly the secondary industries sector, to the patterns of urbanisation and decentralisation and the ideology and actions of labour and non-labour political formations in Queensland. In essence, the quantitative information underpins the interpretation of the qualitative sources, the combination of which will be further analysed using various theoretical methods.
The first methodological priority of this thesis was to construct an extensive socio-economic profile of Queensland for the period 1900-1930, with a complimentary, though less extensive, profile for the period 1859-1899. This involved compiling a quantitative data base of general economic, industrial, political and social statistics drawn primarily from official colonial, state and Commonwealth government sources. The empirical foundation of the thesis is derived from a computer database developed from the statistical records. One reason why historians might not have been attracted to deeper statistical analyses is the many anomalies and discontinuities inherent in Queensland’s statistical records. The statistical data base allows one to readily view, compare and contrast various series and to create new series specific to the parameters of this thesis. In essence the digitalisation of the sources has provided a high degree of flexibility, efficiency, and accuracy of source retrieval and analysis that can only enhance the overall effectiveness of the research effort, and therefore the interpretive scope of this thesis. Moreover, the assistance provided by various software programs has made it possible to assess, sensibly manipulate, interpret, and present statistical data to a degree that was not a viable option to most scholars until very recent times.

Nevertheless, many statistical series are incomplete: collection and classification methodologies change and are often incompatible, series groupings are reorganised, new series are added, and others discontinued, census areas are enlarged, reduced, or merged, and series of particular categories are collated by different bodies and can be inconsistent with one another. These problems create a potential minefield for researchers in terms of maintaining analytical consistency, a minefield that has been negotiated with extreme caution in the development of this thesis.

Ultimately the strength of this thesis, based on a thorough investigation of the economic record, relies heavily upon the accuracy, depth and scope of the statistical analysis. All else flows from, through, and is anchored to it. Essentially, the economic analysis is at the very core of this thesis, much of the social and political interpretations have been drawn from these findings, although this in itself does not comprise the entirety of the thesis. The depth of statistical detail presented in the following chapters is unusual for a history thesis. One major problem associated with this approach is that it can make it difficult for the reader to follow the narrative. Much attention therefore has been directed to the writing of this thesis so that the text does not get lost in a statistical maze. This method of providing statistical detail is necessary in the context of this thesis. To this end a comprehensive series of tables and charts, and a statistical appendix accompany the text to assist the reader to better interpret the data.
and should help provide the degree of clarity of argument and analysis required of a thesis of this type.

Of course, it is acknowledged that the empirical method in historical research is limited by the adequacy of the sources, and by a recognition that absolutely precise measurement in a historical sense is an impossibility. Nevertheless, what can be achieved is a best estimate or reasonable assumption based upon the rigorous investigation and utilisation of the widest body of quantitative — and qualitative — source materials available. The statistical sources have been cross-referenced wherever applicable, and, of course, the data collection methodologies checked and compared to ensure accuracy and consistency, as far as is practicable. Statistical analysis, however, can only suggest so much to the historian, and the empirical limitations and bias must be balanced by the other aspects of the historical record.

Sources and Historiographical Review

A diverse body of contemporary, secondary and primary sources have been consulted in researching this thesis. These sources include texts, journal articles, contemporary newspapers, periodicals, almanacs, visual media and other artefactual sources. A close review was undertaken of the relevant Queensland historiography and a computer data base containing the qualitative sources has been developed to complement the statistical data base. The digitalisation of the qualitative sources has allowed for a most productive utilisation of this evidence through the application of a software program which provides multiple search, grouping, cross-referencing, and reference-attributed source retrieval fields. This level of access and control over statistical data and qualitative sources provides a significant body of evidence to interpret the economic and demographic experience of Queensland during this period with a high degree of confidence.

Contemporary Sources

A wide range of contemporary sources has been examined to provide valuable observations and interpretations of the state of the economy, economic development, ideologies, and the political and social conditions of the time. From a national perspective, T.A. Coghlan (1918)
is essential reading in Australian economic history: it provides a detailed account of Australia’s economic development in the nineteenth century which also highlights the role of labour in the process. It is also the work of a practising government statistician, and although Coghlan’s sources are rarely cited, one must conclude that he had an intimate knowledge of, and access to, whatever official statistical sources were available at that time. It is also a critical source of information and clarification of contemporary practices in statistical methodology. E. Shann (1930) is another standard in economic history from this period, as is G.H. Knibbs’ (1918) study of contemporary political processes, the political economy, and economic relations and capital formation. J.B. Brigden’s (1929) study of the Australian tariff system gives a perspective on its impact on Queensland’s trade and industries since federation. S.H. Roberts’ (1924) study of land settlement patterns in Australia up to the 1920s provides a national context for the Queensland experience and national attitudes to rural development. H. H. Hayter’s (1892) book complements Roberts’ study in outlining the broad processes of urbanisation in Australia in the nineteenth century.36

Of the contemporary works specific to Queensland, C.A. Bernays’ (1918, 1919 and 1931) first-hand observations and analysis of Queensland’s political history in the early decades of the twentieth century are an excellent combination of historical research and personal recollection. J.E. Broadbent (1918) is useful, despite this work being an organ for Labor government propaganda on the ‘success’ of state enterprise in countering capitalist monopolies in the Queensland economy. Similarly, M.H. Ellis (1918) and J. Larcombe (1926) fulfill a similar propagandist role, and highlight the success of Labor’s socially progressive programs. E.G. Theodore and W.N. Gillies (1922) provide a detailed account of Labor’s scheme to reorganise the agricultural sector in Queensland during the early 1920s. Moreover, Theodore and Gillies shed some light on the ideological foundations of Labor’s neo-socialist agrarian program. E.J.T. Barton (1909) and Matthew Fox (1919-1923) provide overviews of Queensland’s political, industrial, and social development, and also give many insights into the evolution and contemporary state of Queensland’s industries, and the manufacturing sector in particular. The institutionalisation of labour relations in Queensland is comprehensively discussed by T.W. McCawley (1924), an Industrial Court judge, and A.B.

Piddington (1925), an economist who conducted research on behalf of the Queensland Trades and Labour Council in support of their claims in the 1925 basic wage case.37

Contemporary sources also help to identify the various individuals and organisations that played some part in promoting the economic development, political direction, and settlement patterns in Queensland. These non-government organisations include various groupings within the labour movement, including individual unions, combined bodies and special committees, employer organisations (Queensland Employers’ Federation, Chambers of Commerce and Manufactures, various community groups set up to promote or limit industrial growth, immigration and cooperatives. Many of these latter bodies, such as the Queensland Preference League, comprised a collective of employer, union, and citizen representatives, whose motives require analysis. This material from all over Queensland helps to construct a broader picture of contemporary attitudes to industrialism in Queensland than exists in the available secondary sources.

**Primary Sources**

The vast body of primary sources that have been consulted during the research phase of this thesis can be divided into four classifications with corresponding sub-divisions. They are first, the *Official Governmental* sources, subdivided into Parliamentary, Executive, and Departmental records. Second, *Institutional and Organisational* sources, subdivided into Civic Organisations, Trade Unions, Employer Bodies, Chambers of Commerce/Manufacturers, Industry Groups, Company Records etc. Third, *Personal Papers*, such as private papers, manuscripts and correspondence. Finally, *Artefactual*, the physical remnants, photographic/cinema-graphic, drawings, maps, and other artefacts. The first two

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classifications yielded the bulk of the primary sources used in this research.

Of the Official Governmental sources the Queensland Parliamentary Debates (QPD) (1860-1930) have been thoroughly consulted, particularly from the late 1890s onwards, to ascertain the parliamentary and political responses to economic, labour, industrial, rural, welfare and social issues, and towards manufacturing in particular. A comprehensive search of the Queensland Parliamentary Papers (QPP) has also been made to examine various Departmental Reports, Commissions of Inquiry, Royal Commission Reports and Minutes of Evidence, Statistical Returns, and other relevant papers. The Statistics of the Colony/State of Queensland (QSS) and The A.B.C of Queensland Statistics (ABCQS) have been thoroughly explored for all statistical series relevant to a study of this kind. Use has also been made of the Queensland Year Books, particularly the 1992 edition, and on-line statistics published by the Queensland Government Statistician’s Office for historical and present day comparative data. Indeed, this thesis has, perhaps, made the most comprehensive use and detailed compilation of these statistical sources by any Queensland history thesis.

The Queensland Industrial Gazette (QIG) [1916-1932], published by the Department of Labour (and Industry), has provided a comprehensive range of materials dealing with industrial matters and a record of the workings of the various industrial Acts and awards administered under the provenance of the Department of Labour. The QIG, used in consultation with the ‘Factories and Shops Reports’ (F&SR), offers a number of important and, indeed, crucial sources of quantitative and qualitative evidence, including industrial statistics, analyses of labour market trends and conditions, industrial awards, industrial arbitration and conciliation, and regular reports and articles on all manner of issues and topics related to the industrial and economic spheres in Queensland, nationally, and internationally. Above all else the QIG which reflects the industrial relations strategy of Labor governments is an excellent resource from which to assess the development, and institutionalisation, of industrial relations and its effect on industrial developmental strategies during the World War I and through to the depression. The QIG also offers another statistical dimension to complement, and also to compare, the other sources of Commonwealth and Queensland statistics.

A vast body of Queensland Government departmental records has been examined at the Queensland State Archives (QSA). The range of material found at the QSA is diverse and includes departmental and private correspondence generally relating in some way to the
development of secondary industries, departmental reports, press cuttings, statistical summaries, state enterprise returns, maps and other documents. Generally, these sources have allowed an assessment of individual ministerial attitudes and actions in matters pertaining to economic development, public and organisational responses and petitioning, details of the operations of various government and non-government enterprises and organisations, which helps to supplement the broad-based statistical data.

Various Commonwealth sources, and to a lesser degree other State Government sources and documents, have been consulted including various volumes of the *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates (CPD)* and *Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers (CPP)*, *Census Reports*, *Commonwealth Year Books*, Australian Bureau of Statistics Reports, and Departmental Papers and Reports. The Census material, New South Wales, Victorian, South Australian, Western Australian, and Tasmanian *Year Books*, and various materials generated by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), including on-line statistical compendiums of the ABS and state statisticians offices available on the Internet, have been comprehensively consulted.

The three remaining classifications, *Institutional and Organisational*, *Personal Papers*, and *Artefactual*, comprise an eclectic body of evidential material too broad to outline in detail here. Essentially these sources provide alternative perspectives to the official government sources at various levels; the written material consists mainly of minute books, conference/convention reports, annual reports, correspondence and manuscripts. A more productive example of this type of source has been the records of the Queensland Employers’ Federation (QEF), from which a solid understanding of the actions and motivations of the QEF and the various employers associations have been gleaned. There is a wealth of material in these records that can contribute significantly to our understanding of Queensland society which up to now has not been explored by historians. The records and reports of numerous employer organisations have been consulted: such as the Brisbane, Ipswich, Maryborough, Rockhampton, and Townsville Chamber of Commerce, the Brisbane and Queensland Chambers of Manufactures, the Queensland Preference League, the Australian Natives Association and the Australian Industries Preservation League. Similarly, the records of various Trade Unions and Combined Union bodies also have been used. This material has been sourced from various repositories including the Fryer Library at the University of Queensland (UQFL), the Archives of James Cook University in Townsville (JCUA), John Oxley Library (JOL), Queensland State Archives (QSA), Australian Archives in Brisbane,
Secondary Sources and Historiography

This section will demonstrate the considerable gap in the historiographical record in relation to the subject matter of this thesis, and will illustrate the vast and diverse array of secondary sources that have informed its findings. As noted previously, this thesis is primarily an economic history that uses various cross-disciplinary approaches, particularly from economics, geography and sociology, to focus upon the interactive dynamics between the economy, urbanisation and politics in Queensland in the early twentieth century. A wide range of secondary sources pertaining to Queensland history has been consulted to gauge the main currents, or themes, that permeate mainstream Queensland historiography. There is, however, no detailed economic history of Queensland to consult, no single satisfactory compilation of statistics, and generally, the secondary sources dealing with Queensland’s economic development are less than comprehensive and/or are based upon a too narrow empirical foundation. Indeed, a full utilisation of archival sources is uncommon (even allowing for the various difficulties with Queensland’s archival systems such as government departments holding on to old files, damage to documents in the 1974 Brisbane floods and haphazard filing) and which demonstrates a lack of depth and scope of research that undermines the strength of the historical interpretations offered.

To become better acquainted with the main themes (and historians) of Queensland’s history, several general histories were consulted. The most useful of these were Ross Fitzgerald’s *A History of Queensland* (1984 and 1986), W. Ross Johnston’s *The Call of the Land* (1982), and William Thorpe’s *Colonial Queensland* (1996). The three works stress the exceptionalness of Queensland’s rurally dominated society. However, the range of generalist Queensland histories is limited. Political and labour histories are the most prolific in Queensland

historiography, with a large body of material by D.J. Murphy et al., providing a solid background to the political machinations of the period. The extent of work available on the political history of Queensland is quite broad, but close analyses of the political economy are rare and the often sparse use of archival sources is somewhat problematic.

An excellent discussion in Tom Cochrane’s Blockade: The Queensland Loans Affair 1920 to 1924 (1989) addresses some of the historiographical problems, thematic and sources, associated with many of the studies that deal with issues relating to the political economy of Queensland and Empire. The general focus of these histories has been organisational or institutional, rather than closely analysing the ideological and pragmatic motivations in the political economy. In terms of economic history Labor in Power (1980), edited by Murphy et al., is described by Cochrane as ‘the major book published’ on the 1915-30 period, and it addresses various economic issues and sectors. In Prelude to Power, also edited by Murphy et al., John Laverty contributes a chapter on the Queensland economy from 1860-1915 which provides a useful overview. In Labor in Power, there are chapters on the state enterprises, public finance, agriculture, land and settlement, mining and manufacturing. While all these chapters provide important insights into the workings of the Queensland economy they are more useful in terms of understanding machinations of the political economy from the perspective of Labor governments.
While economic histories dealing with Queensland are all too scarce, the broader Australian experience during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has, to a degree, been reasonably well served.\textsuperscript{44} Those that do focus on Queensland, like their nationally focused counterparts, were, for the most part, written during the period of heightened interest in economic history in the 1960s and early 1970s, and all shared a general tendency towards shyness when dealing with archival sources, and are now somewhat dated.\textsuperscript{45} Of the published works, Glen Lewis’ \textit{A History of the Ports of Queensland} (1973) is by far the most thoroughly researched and analytical in its interpretation. Lewis contends that Australian nationalism (in this case being manifest in the economic development of Queensland) had both economic and moral foundations and functions. Lewis identifies a social/moral purpose inherent within the political economy and argues that ‘... Australians equated moral and economic affairs. Mateship and materialism are equally important to Australians’.\textsuperscript{46} This theory has obvious application when considering the ideological assumptions underpinning industrial developmental policy within the political economy. His study is particularly useful for an understanding the linkages between trade patterns, economic development, and processes of urbanisation. Lewis along with Marion Gough \textit{et al.}, (1964), Margaret Stubbs-Brown’s BA honours thesis (1962) and chapters by John Laverty (1970) and Kenneth Wiltshire (1980),\textsuperscript{47} are the only substantive attempts to address the role of secondary industries in the Queensland economy.


\textsuperscript{45} See Cochrane’s notes on the archival shyness of Australian, and in particular Queensland historians in \textit{Blockade}, p. 20.

\textsuperscript{46} Lewis, \textit{History of the Ports}, p. 3.

Indeed, a work by Gough et al., despite the promise of its title, *Queensland: Industrial Enigma, Manufacturing in the Economic Development of Queensland*, is more a work of contemporary economics rather than history. Unfortunately, only the first chapter in Gough’s book deals with the historical development of Queensland’s economy, and was written to provide an historical context from which to address the structural unemployment problems that had become glaringly apparent by the mid-1960s. Nevertheless, it provides many useful insights into the overall and inter-sectoral composition of manufacturing, and stresses the underdevelopment of these industries.

Margaret Stubbs-Brown’s thesis, ‘The Secondary Industries of Queensland 1875-1900’, represents the most comprehensive treatment of the development of secondary industries in Queensland thus far attempted. Indeed, in many respects this thesis complements Stubbs-Brown’s study and follows on and expands from where she left off almost forty years ago. Stubbs-Brown’s study has proved to be a convenient source of contemporary opinion concerned with the general currents of industrial development from Separation (1859) until Federation. The research task and the compilation of a vast body of statistical data undertaken by Stubbs-Brown is also most impressive. Unfortunately Stubbs-Brown does not provide a clear analytical or theoretical framework because her thesis was primarily intended to be a chronicle of industrial development, which in itself makes a significant contribution to our historical knowledge of nineteenth century manufacturing in Queensland. Stubbs-Brown’s thesis informs the reader of where, how many, and what secondary industries existed but does not enter into a comprehensive discussion as to why and how they evolved, and the broader political, economic and geopolitical contexts. Some of the statistical series for the years 1875-1900 as used by Stubbs-Brown correspond with some of the series compiled and assessed for the years 1900-1930 for this thesis. Stubbs-Brown’s statistical labours have proved to be a most valuable source for developing an economic profile for the years 1859-1899 which forms the basis for Chapter One of this thesis.

Laverty, on the other hand, used a limited range of sources and stressed the backwardness and lack of sophistication of Queensland’s manufacturing industries, due largely to the strong link with primary industries. Laverty noted that the typical Queensland factory was small, labour-intensive, decentralised, and operated ‘under primitive and inefficient conditions’. Moreover, Laverty claims that manufacturing declined in importance in the Queensland
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The best range of sources on economic development were, however, to be found among the more numerous theses dealing with Queensland history. For example, M.A. Jones’ ‘The Government and Economic Growth in Queensland 1930-1940’ (B.Econ. hons thesis, 1966), assesses the machinations of the political economy of Queensland during the inter-war years.

49 Ibid., p. 41.


Economy after 1911, an assumption that is contested by this thesis. Wiltshire also emphasises the ‘very minor role’ played by manufacturing when compared to the primary industries, the official and public apathy demonstrated towards the sector, and the political economic reality that Queenslanders were quite content to support the status quo. Wiltshire’s chapter is equally sparing in its use of statistical sources. Both of these works are good examples of the ‘laggard’ thesis that permeates the historiography of the manufacturing sector’s contribution to Queensland’s economic development.
D.J. Murphy’s ‘The Establishment of State Enterprises in Queensland 1915-18’ (PG. Dip. Arts, 1965), outlines the growth and structure of the state enterprises created by the Ryan Labor government after 1915. One of the few studies that closely addresses the human element and gender segregation in secondary industries is Helen Hamley’s thesis (MA Qual thesis, 1992). Hamley undertakes a gender analysis of the manufacturing and retail sectors, and identifies the hypocrisy and dualism that predominated within the male-dominated labour movement, and in the institutions that regulated the lives of working females. Hamley has utilised close empirical research to provide valuable insights into the workplace relations experienced by many female workers. Hamley, along with Joanne Scott (PhD thesis, 1995), and to a lesser extent Katie Spearritt (1990), provide all too rare insights into the experiences of female labour and gender segregation, particularly specific to the workplace and focusing on women and industrial relations in Queensland.53

Generally, the consensus of the broad spectrum of studies addressing Queensland’s economic history suggests a common belief in the exceptionality of Queensland’s economic dependency on primary production and the relative underdevelopment and unsophisticated nature of Queensland's manufacturing industries. For the most part, geographic, ideological and demographic factors, and the complex contemporary international geopolitical and economic conditions are not sufficiently investigated. Indeed, an understanding of Queensland’s place in the emerging global economy is crucial to any serious assessment of its patterns of development.

Several questions arise from these studies which this thesis has attempted to answer. Historical orthodoxy does not adequately assess or explain the incredible rate of expansion which occurred in the manufacturing sector in Queensland during the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century. Why, if so many obstacles stood in the way of industrialisation, did the manufacturing sector grow so strongly over this period? The evidence accumulated for this thesis suggests that a considerably more sophisticated, numerically and economically significant manufacturing sector developed despite, and in part as a direct result of, the various ideological, political, social, and economic obstacles with which manufacturing had to contend in Queensland. Patterns of urban intensification may supply some important clues to this developmental paradox.

Another paradox relates to the simultaneous growth and decline of various manufacturing industries during World War I, and then the apparent general stagnation and decline in the number of secondary industries operating in Queensland during the 1920s. At face value this apparent regression, which is identified by most writers, cannot be disputed. Queensland appears to have failed to share proportionally in the broad structural change that transformed the Australian economy as it rapidly began to industrialise after the war ended. Nevertheless, the historiography has largely failed to adequately explain this structural failure to diversify and also to recognise the successes made in various industries and the overall growth in employment and value of production and output. The exact scale of the decline and the actual economic significance and level of secondary industrial activity during the 1920s merits much closer examination.

Similarly, another somewhat underdeveloped perspective relates to a consideration of geographical factors in economic development. Several studies by geographers have argued, as one would expect, that geographic factors have fundamentally affected patterns of economic development and urbanisation in Australia. Australian geographer I.H. Burnley in *The Australian Urban System: Growth, change & differentiation* (1980), outlines the various theoretical models that assess transitional socio-economic processes associated with urbanisation, and the economic, social, demographic and spatial aspects of urbanisation itself.

These factors are linked directly with geo-morphological conditions, as well as to other internal and external factors. Contributors to *Australian Space, Australian Time* (J.M. Powell and M. Williams eds., 1975), all stress the fundamental importance of geographic realities to the settlement and development of Australia. Williams’ chapter on rural settlement patterns in Australia from 1788 until the World War I, of particular importance to any consideration of Queensland, notes that rural settlement has been a central theme of Australian history, and the processes of land distribution and use, the most important political issue until relatively recent times. The land itself becomes the central character shaping historical action.

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From this emphasis comes the urban paradox: a broad political desire to win and settle the empty continent (the nation for a continent ideal, at times a paranoia, deeply affected the Australian developmental psyche), with a corresponding process of urban intensification. The timing of Australia’s development during the industrial revolution is crucial, as is its place within the political economy of Empire, and the nation’s rapid growth into something similar, yet not a carbon copy transplantation of European civilisation, interact at a fundamental level with the spatial aspects of Australia’s geomorphology. In *Urbanisation: The Australian Experience* (M.I. Logan et al., 1981) the contributors provide a deep analysis of the trends of urbanisation and the interrelated political, demographic, social, and economic factors. Links with European urban and economic processes and the unique conditions of our antipodean geography are shown to have greatly influenced the ‘form and function of the Australian settlement pattern’.\(^5\) Logan et al., locate the Australian experience firmly within the context of the globalisation of economic relations and that urbanisation, in part, reflects the bypassing of the peasant agricultural stage.

Concepts arising from the study of industrial geography and location theory specific to secondary industries have proved to be valuable interpretive tools. Research such as that conducted by G.J.R. Linge in *Industrial Awakening: A Geography of Australian Manufacturing 1788-1890* (1979) and his chapter ‘The Australian Environment & Industrial Location Analysis’, in *Industrial Change* (F.E.I. Hamilton ed., 1978), is the most comprehensive in relation to Queensland. Linge addresses the locational patterns of manufacturing in economic and geographic terms, and provides useful data in relation to these trends. The central dynamic in the economic development of Queensland is identified in the political regulation and control of land use and distribution. D.C. Rich in *The Industrial Geography of Australia* (1986), assesses Australia’s development squarely in the context of its integration within the world economy; the interlocking of international and domestic economic processes, the relative openness of its economy, and attempts at closure in the promotion of manufacturing, and argues that spatial considerations and limitations are an ‘inherent part of capital restructuring’.\(^6\) Rich states that the developmental ethic in

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\(^5\) Logan, *Urbanisation*, p. 23.

Queensland has been driven by the closer settlement ideal, whereas in the other states public and political support for industrialisation was at least, if not more, important.57

The balance of the secondary sources used in the compilation of this thesis, and not included in this discussion so far, relate to broader themes such as global economic conditions of the period, the industrial revolution, industrial history and archaeology, economic, geographic, political and sociological theory, methods of statistical analysis and data management, labour migration, systems and market analysis, industrial relations, human and financial capital formations and migrations, various bibliographic and other reference works. All these works, and more, have proved to be important to developing an interpretation of Queensland’s experience as part of the broader global historical dynamic, a perspective often mentioned off hand but rarely pursued to more fully incorporate Queensland’s history into the more organic and encompassing world history from which it cannot be divorced.

**Theoretical Perspectives**

The research task associated with this thesis has been undertaken with a number of theoretical perspectives in mind, and the incorporation of others discovered as part of this process. No single theory dominates this interpretive process. The temper of the historical analysis demonstrated within this thesis is strongly influenced by a belief in the importance of humankind’s struggle over material conditions as a motivating agency in the historical dynamic. That is, the historical imagination is tempered by a recognition of the key role played by economic relations in historical action. This is not to place a too heavy emphasis upon material relations alone. Rather, material relations have become a more potent causal agency within social relations, particularly when associated with the development of the industrial revolutions over the last three centuries and the raised expectations in terms of human desires for ever-improving standards of living. Other historical agencies of a more esoteric, metaphysical and spiritual nature have been increasingly usurped by the evolution of the economic to the forefront of historical action. Indeed, our sense of self, social expectations and social identity, are fundamentally linked to our economic relationships with one another.

57 Ibid., pp. 269-70.
The economistic perspective of this interpretation draws upon the more valid interpretive components to be found in the schools of thought centred on the concept of the political economy.\(^58\) Karl Marx, the originator of this tradition, is correct in arguing that material conditions, as demonstrated by one’s relationship to the ownership of the means of production, are of fundamental importance to the processes, and understanding, of historical action. To press on further, however, and claim that material conditions, and one’s relationship to the ownership of the means of production, are the only motivation, and an equalitarian utopia is an inevitability, is problematic. Likewise the neo-classical capitalist utopia as guided by Adam Smith’s concept of the metaphorical ‘invisible hand’ where the generation of wealth will ultimately expand to include all of humanity,\(^59\) also fails to incorporate the limitations of our finite environment and resources, inequitable access and competition over these resources, and the conflicting and contradictory priorities (economic, political, spiritual, moral and social) that motivate social actors, individually and collectively, all of which ultimately help shape society.

The interpretation that permeates this thesis is prefaced by an understanding that, while one can accord material relations a prominence of place, it is recognised that it alone is not the sole arbiter of historical action. This thesis is economistic in orientation, but not economic determinist; it also recognises that the structure of material relations relies entirely upon a myriad of interrelated factors to give it form, function, meaning, and purpose. Human motivations are as varied as they are complex. While human material needs and wants may provide the impetus for much social change or historical action, these factors cannot, and do not, of themselves drive history. A great many factors shape historical action. Among the factors are gender, ethnicity, spirituality, chance, environment and geography, individual agency, psychology, collective experience, education and emotion.\(^60\) It is in the confluence of all these factors that the historical dynamic can be interpreted. The crux of the issue here is that the economic interpretation of this period in Queensland’s history, as expressed in this


thesis, is tempered by the simultaneous recognition of the interaction and interdependence of a wide variety of non-economic factors, and particularly the impact of teleological ideology or orthodoxy in the political processes of the State.

**Ideology and the Political Economy**

The most important theme to dominate the political economy of Queensland through to the World War II was the political priority given to rural development; most significantly, the primacy of pastoral development and latter attempts to promote agriculture through closer settlement schemes. In terms of pastoralism and the corresponding lack of enthusiasm for development of manufacturing industries in Queensland one must consider this within the context of the broader political economy of the British Empire. The rise of pastoralism in Queensland and the close linkage between it and the source of much of the investment capital and the markets for pastoral commodities is no coincidence. In many respects, both officially, and from unofficial financial and commercial relations, pastoralism suited the political economic hegemony of Britain, providing a useful, indeed significant source of raw materials for British factories while stimulating the economic and demographic expansion and consolidation of the Empire. This political hegemony found its most stunning expression in the backlash by domestic and British pastoral interests against the Theodore Labor government’s attempt to expand its revenue base through the increase of pastoral rents. This political backlash resulted in a successful conspiracy between pastoralists, pastoral companies and London financiers, as well as the British government which imposed a loans embargo upon the Queensland government over a four-year period (1920-1924) which effectively halted large-scale agricultural expansion and the establishment of an integrated iron and steel industry in Queensland. While the desire to establish a heavy industry base in Queensland proved transitory and the belief in the future of small-scale family farming was more enduring. The agrarian dream was backed to the hilt with a consistency of political will seldom displayed in Australian politics. While rural planners eyed off the empty interior, Queensland’s secondary industries grew in response to the consumptive demands of urban intensification, and from the growth in sophistication of value adding processes applied to the pastoral and agricultural products that were in high demand in Queensland’s export markets.

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The labourist political tradition of this period in New South Wales (and Victoria) espoused the development of a heavy and light manufacturing base, both state and privately owned, as an adjunct to, and as important as, the ideal of closer settlement. The direction of labourist policy during the same period in Queensland was, for the most part, quite the reverse. The key social and economic policy of successive Labor governments, (particularly the Ryan and Theodore administrations between 1915 and 1924) centred on the consistent promotion of closer settlement and the development and reorganisation of the agricultural sector. A tripartite strategy of developmental railways, immigration, and land reforms, as identified by Glen Lewis, dominated the economic policies of earlier conservative administrations. Closer settlement, a ruthless adherence to the White Australia Policy, and restricted immigration, however, were the hallmarks of the early Labor administrations.

All Queensland governments, regardless of their political persuasion, adopted overtly ruralist policies, only differing in their emphasis towards pastoral or agricultural development and their socialist or anti-socialist ideals. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the conservatives tended to focus on the continued ascendency of the pastoral development, and the prosperity of pastoral companies and their mercantile allies, rather than the promotion of a land-holding family farming class. The Liberals increasingly supported broad-based land reforms and closer settlement, and were increasingly wary of the socialist ideals associated with the emergence of the organised labour movement. Labor, once in power, was enamoured by the potential of closer settlement, and the lure of the ‘plains of promise’ remained at the forefront of its political agenda. The Queensland parliament was dominated by rural-based members drawn from Queensland’s uniquely decentralised population, who either generally ignored or despised the rapidly expanding urban metropolis. For many politicians the city was little more than a sordid trap that ensnared potential labour away from the ‘real’ task of developing the state’s economy through the expansion of the pastoral and agricultural sectors.

Ideology is, of course, difficult to quantify. It is clear from contemporary sources of the early

63 This Lewis called the ‘Trinity of Hope’, land, immigration, and developmental railways. Lewis, A History of the Ports, p. 76.
64 For details on the developmental ethos of Queensland governments from Federation onwards see David Cameron, ‘Queensland, the state of development: The State and economic development in early twentieth century Queensland’, Queensland Review, 4, 1, April 1997, pp. 39-48.
65 For an examination of the ideological and political economic aspects of urbanisation, manufacturing and rural development in Queensland see David Cameron, 'Well Nigh Beneath Contempt!' Urbanisation and the Development of Manufacturing in Queensland 1860-1930', in Lynette Finch & Chris McConville, eds., Images of the Urban:
decades of the twentieth century, however, that the political appetite for rural development and the yeomanry ideal was all-consuming and enjoyed broad political support across class divisions. The broad inter-class popularity of agricultural and rural development in Queensland is noteworthy for its lack of compliance with theories of ruling class-based dominant ideologies. Studies in ideology in relation to the political economy, first developed by Marx in *The German Ideology: Part 1*,66 have been centred on the role of ideological control in thwarting the development of a revolutionary socialist class consciousness. In this respect Antonio Gramsci’s theory of hegemony holds the most currency here in proposing that a ruling class ideology permeates the ideology of all other classes, utilising the active consent of the subordinated classes in generating a false consciousness which maintains the inequitable capitalist relations by a process of ideological subordination. For Gramsci, the survival of capitalism (and the failure of socialism to take off in the West) is not simply dependent upon economic determinism, it is more reliant upon the political and ideological struggle for consent.67 The linkage between ideology and economics is of fundamental importance to the interpretation presented in this thesis, although Gramsci’s concept of hegemony is not accepted uncritically in this thesis.

Indeed, this study rejects the ideological reductionism of the dominant ideology theorists, such as Gramsci, Althusser, Poulantzas, Habermas, Milliband, and Jessop,68 while recognising the potential for ruling class ideology to influence the consciousness of the working class. Nevertheless, it is clear that ruling ideologies are not uncritically received by the working class, who are themselves involved in a the process of cultural production.69
theoretical implications of this theory to the current study are centred on the dichotomy between the dominant ideology of the pastoral and mercantile elite, and that demonstrated among the ranks of organised labour and the general population in the form of the agrarian ideal. Notwithstanding that urbanisation provided most Australians with the means of material existence there also existed a strong sense of identification with rural life. In Queensland, social identity and ideology was more consistently and emphatically rural despite the fact that Queensland was demographically as intensely urbanised and decentralised as it was agrarian. The ruralist identity reigned supreme in Queensland; to profess a desire to embrace the city and the urban life was tantamount to political and social heresy.

There is, however, a compelling contradiction here. Nowhere was the popular support and consistency of political will and drive to promote rural development so strong, yet was accompanied by such a demonstrable reluctance on the part of urban residents and immigrants to actually participate in agricultural settlement schemes. Queenslanders held the romanticism of the rural life close to their collective hearts, but, cooler, more pragmatic heads prevailed when it came to making a commitment to the privations of life in the ‘wilderness’. Regardless of the political will expended in the promotion of agricultural development, it was, nevertheless, contradictory to the dominant position enjoyed by pastoral interests within the political economy of Queensland. This in itself does not explain the paradox of ideology and action in terms of the lack of commitment of the general population to engage in closer settlement schemes that clearly enjoyed their political support. Another intriguing point from a theoretical and historical standpoint is the contradiction between the widely held ruralist ideology and the urban reality, and what implications this has had on the form and function of the agrarian ‘socialist’ program advocated by organised labour. On one level the logic of modernity requires a transition from agrarian to industrial society, and as such, industrialisation and manufacturing were understood, outside Queensland, as the appropriate modes with which to pursue greater social and economic progress.

The materialist dynamic must be interpreted and seen to be itself influenced by other temporal and spatial forces. For example, theory has been employed to examine the economic geography of development, the demography of rural settlement and patterns of urbanisation, and the industrial geography (scope, scale and location) of secondary industries in Queensland. As briefly discussed above in the historiographical section, the most a broad cross section of viewpoints. Also such messages are not uncritically received, they undergo a process of reinterpretation, being tempered by the social experiences of the individual.
encompassing, and convincing, analysis of this question comes from the discipline of the economic/industrial geography in the form of urban and industrial location theory. Australian geographers such as Burnley, Powell, Linge, Logan, and the economist Frank Stilwell, have outlined a number of theories that stress geographic (and economic) factors as fundamentally influencing patterns of urbanisation and industrialisation. That is, the two factors coexist in a direct causal relationship. At a basic level there are the dominant geographic features of Queensland’s geological morphology. Apart from Geoffrey Bolton in *Spoils and Spoilers* (1981) and, to a lesser degree, Ross Johnston in *The Call of the Land* (1982), few historians have attempted to closely examine the significant influence geography has had in Queensland’s historical dynamic. It is pleasing to note that the more recent growth in environmental history, with its emphasis on bio-geographic factors, is beginning to redress this inadequacy.\(^{70}\)

An assessment of how geographic factors have affected Queensland’s economic and social development are incorporated into the body of this thesis. Australian geographer I.H. Burnley argues, for example, that a series of demographic, urban, and industrial transitions that work upon each other might be understood to result in a social morphological revolution enhanced by the advances made in transport, communications, and mobility that accompanied modernity.\(^{71}\) All these phases are potentially explained by variations of locational theory. These location theories include Central Place Theory, which maintains that the urban nucleus provides the impetus for surrounding rural development. Urban Base Theory, on the other hand, stresses the importance of export oriented, as well as domestic generation, activities as the key factor in promoting urban growth and economic development.\(^{72}\) From yet another perspective, the Centre-Periphery Model ‘integrates demand and supply oriented approaches within a historical and institutional framework’, emphasising in-flows of labour and capital over base export demand.\(^{73}\)

Agricultural Location Theory is also important to this thesis: it helps to identify the most significant variables which fundamentally influence ‘the spatial equilibrium pattern of


\(^{71}\) *Burnley, The Australian Urban System*, p. 3.


agricultural production”. Essentially, this theory allows one to identify those indigenous and exogenous factors that stimulate or suppress agricultural production linking geomorphological aspects with considerations of market demand, distance between location of the production and consumption, access, type and cost of transportation, and land values. These factors can provide a great deal of information about the ultimate viability of agriculture in a region, and in this case, can be used to explain the broad-based failure of closer settlement in Queensland in the early twentieth century.

A theoretical understanding of the economic dynamic in Queensland can be drawn from combining aspects of all four of these location theories (Central Place, Urban Base, Centre-Periphery Model, and Agricultural Location Theory), and especially the Urban Base and Centre-Periphery Models, with the latter being the more significant. The Centre-Periphery Model is also useful in explaining the essential correlation between the importation of labour and financial capital from the primary source of demand for Queensland’s primary export commodities. In Queensland’s case the contribution of human and financial capital was matched by base export demand, all being part of a cycle that was fundamental to the political economy of Empire. Essentially, export demand for Queensland’s commodities involved a cycle of capital and manufactured goods imports that assisted in the location of manufacturing activity in urban centres. However, this process was not overtly centralised because of the state’s unique geography. This thesis argues that the dominance of the primary industries and the close linkages with manufacturing activity, and the decentralisation of urban growth and urbanisation, can be understood to comply with certain aspects of location theory. The production of Queensland’s exportable commodities were widespread and the associated processing industries highly decentralised, so that in Queensland’s case a model incorporating some of the features of all these location theories, and particularly the Urban Base and Centre-Periphery Models, is most applicable.

To this end a model specific to Queensland’s historical experience has been formulated and is referred to here as the Decentralised Commodity Export Model. This model stresses that in Queensland the link between economic forces and demographic patterns is fundamental. Queensland’s economic geography was shaped by the interplay between external demand for

74 Goodall, Dictionary of Human Geography, pp. 18-9.
rural commodities (principally wool, meat, minerals, and later dairy products), based upon urban expansion in Europe, as distinct from domestic urban demand, and the spacial diversity of its resources, access to and dominant types of transportation and available commodity transfer technologies, and the systemic linkages of the importation of human and financial capital with the principal export markets. The Decentralised Commodity Export Model takes into account the spacial and aspatial aspects of Queensland’s trade cycle, stressing spatial features as the dominant factor that simultaneously induced decentralised production and urban growth and restricted centralisation, urbanisation and more intensive agriculture. Here domestic urban concentrations were not of sufficient density to stimulate a propensity towards sophistication and diversity in manufacturing production.

The central theoretical themes which infuse the interpretations of this thesis, and the various concepts involved, are quite complex, and their particular application in this study are at times necessarily tentative. One thing is certain, however, the theoretical analysis of historical action must be multidimensional, as mono-causal assumptions are not sufficiently encompassing to qualify for serious historical interpretation. The multi-layered theoretical approach is absolutely essential when one considers that the historical dynamic comprises the totality of macro, micro, and meta physical action. Indeed, this study has used the broadest possible range of interpretive tools and frameworks as is practical.
Originality and Significance

The inclusion of various theoretical perspectives, and other interdisciplinary concepts, insights and methods, suggests something of the uniqueness, originality and significance of this thesis. The extension of the research task to engage in an analysis of overall economic development in Queensland indicates that, at one level, the originality of this thesis is derived from its contribution in broadening our understanding of Queensland’s economic history. This thesis is also significant, in some small measure, for addressing the dearth of economic history specific to Queensland, for its comprehensive quantitative empirical foundation, and its focus on the development of Queensland’s secondary industries. Furthermore, this thesis has also scrutinised, as a set of interactive and interdependent factors, the impact of the internal and external political, financial and ideological forces that drove the Queensland economy from which a fuller understanding of these inherently complex relationships have been drawn.

Moreover, owing to the subject matter and its methodological foundation, this thesis makes a significant contribution to historical scholarship in Queensland. It has drawn upon an extensive body of archival sources not previously referred to in most of the studies dealing with Queensland’s economic history. This thesis is also significant for its utilisation of a vast body of statistical evidence and its subsequent empirical foundation. Detailed empirical analysis of Queensland’s economic history is all too rare and the present study goes some way to redressing this oversight for the period under review. Throughout the following chapters the often complex analysis of the economy and its industrial sectors are complemented by tables and charts which it is hoped will assist the reader to better interpret the economic arguments put forward. A comprehensive statistical appendix is also included for the reader’s perusal and reference, not only to provide a ready reference to the full breadth of the sources utilised, but also to make available, in one convenient location, a vast body of statistics that might be of use to future scholars and other interested individuals.

On another level, the significance of this research lies in the implications associated with the examination of social identification with industrialism, indeed, the lack of identification with ideals sympathetic towards industrialisation and industrial society that was exhibited in Queensland. This, it will be argued, is crucial in attempting to understand what effect this anti-industrial hegemony had on the social, political, economic, and cultural development of
Queensland throughout the twentieth century. Of equal importance is the paradox, indeed contradiction, between the hegemony of rural development in both the political and public spheres and the reality of a supportive public demonstrating a general reluctance to participate in rural schemes. There is a clear delineation between political ideals and concrete electoral support for rural intensification and a corresponding lack of individual and collective commitment to such schemes. In general terms, when one can identify a continuity of political economic ideology between the state and the middle and working classes one would expect that schemes developed to service this common desire would have attracted a high level of participation. This paradox is intriguing and an attempt had been made to offer an explanation for it in the main body of the thesis.

Furthermore, Queensland historiography has, until quite recently, generally avoided the theoretical analysis of historical action, so the utilisation of various theoretical perspectives throughout this thesis has allowed for a more encompassing analysis of the economic geography, demographic and developmental patterns, the ideological, political and social forces that influence the processes of the political economy, and the complex interaction of indigenous and exogenous factors that helped shape Queensland’s social, political, and economic development.

**Outline of Chapters**

The chapters in this thesis have been organised both thematically and chronologically. Thematically, the chapters are divided into three broad categories. Chapter One broadly outlines and examines all the sectors of the Queensland economy prior to 1900. Chapters Two, Four, and Six provide an outline of the main features of the Queensland economy in its state, national and international contexts, with sections providing detail on the pastoral, agricultural, mining, and tertiary sectors. Chapters Three, Five, and Seven follow on from the relevant broader chapters to examine in detail the structure and performance of the manufacturing sector in Queensland. Chronologically, the chapters are divided into four periods. Chapter One, 1824-1899; Chapters Two and Three, 1900-1913; Chapters Four and Five, 1914-1919; and Chapters Six and Seven, from 1920 to 1930. These periods correspond with significant junctures in the economic and political development of Queensland, specifically the establishment of the penal settlement at Morton Bay (1824-25), Federation (1901), World War I (1914-1918) and the year immediately after (1919), and the economic
Chapter One presents a broad outline of the economic development of Queensland from the time of the first penal settlement at Moreton Bay in 1824, through the separation of the colony of Queensland from New South Wales in 1859, to the end of the nineteenth century. This chapter provides the context necessary for the reader to assess the changes that occurred in the economic and political structures in Queensland in the subsequent decades. Chapter One analyses Queensland’s economic history from the context of several basic elements: the land, its geography and environment, its people and their ideologies, its economy, industries, public and private finance, and markets. The central features and patterns of Queensland’s economic evolution in the nineteenth century are examined to uncover something of the dynamic forces that shaped this complex social and economic process. These processes will be assessed chronologically by examining the various sectors of the economy as they evolved, with particular emphasis upon the development of secondary industries. This dynamic process is interpreted by utilising the available economic indicators and taking into account the interplay between the external and internal geographic, economic, social and political forces.

Chapter Two assesses the dynamics of the Queensland economy from the turn of the century until just prior to World War I (1900-1913). The economic analysis is accompanied by an examination of the patterns of social formation that occurred during this period in terms of the interaction between the economy and some aspects of the ideology and application of Queensland’s political economy. During these years, which were beset with droughts, floods, depression, and the spectre of war, Queensland’s expanding economy began to reorganise, with improved sectoral diversity associated with growth in the agricultural, secondary, and tertiary industry sectors. This chapter presents an account of the evolution of the Queensland economy with a specific focus upon the pastoral, agricultural, mining, and tertiary sectors, and their close association with the direction of economic development and the political economy. Government economic and social policy was increasingly directed towards rural settlement, rural intensification and decentralisation in an attempt to open up the land to a new yeomanry class which can be understood as a bold experiment to socially engineer a predominantly agrarian society. A good deal of this analysis is based upon a close examination of industrial, economic, and social statistics.

Chapter Three covers the same period as Chapter Two (1900-1913), however, it focuses upon the development and performance of Queensland’s secondary (manufacturing) industries, and
their relationship to the dominant rural economy. This chapter investigates Queensland manufacturing in terms of its context within the Australian and global economies and assesses in detail the performance of the manufacturing sector as a whole, and closely examines its constituent industries. Eleven manufacturing classifications are addressed separately to demonstrate the individual experiences of various manufacturing industries and the complexities and heterogenous nature of this sector. To accomplish this, a diverse and extensive range of statistics is utilised, and supported by qualitative sources, to provide the empirical foundation for the outlines and arguments presented in this chapter.

In Chapter Four the structure and themes as outlined in Chapter Two are applied to the period of the World War I (1914-1918) and the year following its end (1919). Here the economy as a whole, and its non-manufacturing sectors are again examined within the context of the impact of world war on Queensland’s trade relations and commodity markets. Economic conditions are linked to changes in social and political expectations, particularly with respect to the role of the state in economic, industrial, and social welfare affairs. The war brought significant changes to the economic structure and patterns of trade in Queensland and the state assumed a much more invasive and proactive role in economic development and the reorganisation of trade in Queensland.

Chapter Five follows the format developed in Chapter Three and examines closely the structure, form, function, and evolution of the manufacturing sector during the World War I and its aftermath (1914-1919). In this chapter the impact of the economic and social changes associated with the war on the manufacturing industries are assessed. The war raised public consciousness of the importance of secondary industries to the self-sufficiency and security of the nation and the state of Queensland. New forces of supply and demand forced a re-evaluation of the true contribution of secondary industries to the material progress of the general populace, and for the first time Queensland governments became interested in the potential of developing a more sophisticated and comprehensive manufacturing sector and the possible outcomes that would arise from the establishment of heavy industry in Queensland.

In Chapter Six the themes and format developed in Chapters Two and Four are continued for the period 1920-1930, with a particular focus upon the role of the state in the reorganisation of the agricultural sector and the proposal of various grand rural development schemes. The twenties proved to be a challenging time for the Queensland economy, and developments in the political economy solidified the bias towards the promotion of rural industries and rural
settlement at a time when the other states, and the Commonwealth were enthused by the possibilities of fostering secondary industries.

In Chapter Seven, the themes developed in Chapters Three and Five are brought forward to cover the period 1920-1930. In this chapter the same detailed attention is paid to the manufacturing sector and its constituent parts, and the relationship between the secondary industries and the state is contrasted to that experienced by the other sectors of the economy. Moreover, the transitory nature of Labor’s support for expanded manufacturing and heavy industry is contrasted to the agrarian revolution that took place under the direction of Queensland Premier E.G. Theodore in line with Labor’s electorally inspired vision for reorganising the agricultural sector. The progress made by the manufacturing industries in the early and middle years of this decade are examined, and the factors that led to the early recession experienced in Queensland in the years immediately before the onset of the Great Depression, and its effect on the manufacturing sector, are discussed.