

Company and Labour loyalties in a Central Queensland gold mining town, 1882 to 1908

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In 1905 the famous British socialist Tom Mann conducted his extensive investigation of the state of union organisation of Australia and New Zealand. In the North Queensland goldmining towns of Charters Towers Mann found the movement at a 'low ebb', but at Mount Morgan in Central Queensland it was non-existent. One man he met reported that he was a member of the Rockhampton branch of the carpenters 'but I don't know of any other member of any union in Mount Morgan'.¹ At first glance it would seem that Mount Morgan offered little cause for celebration for the labour movement. The Mount Morgan Gold Mining Company, which owned and mined the great orebody, was a powerful force in local society as was the staff who occupied crucial senior positions in the firm. But on closer inspection, as this article shall detail below, it is possible to discern a 'labour interest' emerging from the political contests for the local electorate of 'Fitzroy' and in the move of local working class candidates into municipal politics.

The focus of this article is the distinctive history of Mount Morgan politics from 1889 through to 1902, and an understanding of how it relates to broader developments throughout Queensland and elsewhere in Australia. The period under scrutiny coincides with the slow awakening of working class politics and union mobilisation in Queensland and in other colonies, for from the 1870s industrial action and later political organisation heralded the arrival of a 'labour' interest.² Brisbane was an important centre for craft and later general unions that emerged in the 1880s but growth overall was patchy and at times short lived due to the effects of the great strikes of the early 1890s and the depression that followed shortly thereafter. Similarly, unions had some success in the coal mining centres of Ipswich and Maryborough (west and north of Brisbane respectively), and in Rockhampton (the hub of Central Queensland).³ The new Labor party, which emerged in the early 1890s, was also strong in the pastoral and mining electorates, especially those in Central and North Queensland. In these areas white male workers were increasingly well organised, with 2,000 members belonging to the Central Queensland Labourers' Union, and the Amalgamated Miners' Association being well-represented on the northern goldfields in Charters Towers, Gympie and Ravenswood.⁴ Aspects of the Mount Morgan situation parallel these colony-wide developments, but in important ways Mount Morgan was an unusual situation that deserves closer attention. At Mount Morgan effective union organisation was delayed, at least until the late 1900s, however political organisation for election campaigns did reveal evidence of working class political activity in the face of strong company dominance. Other mining towns showed evidence of strong company control, but the

dominance of the Mount Morgan Gold Mining Company was particularly pronounced, and it took some years before the miners were effectively organised.

Mining at Mount Morgan

The Mount Morgan gold mine began production in 1882. A syndicate including the three Morgan brothers (who had acquired the lease) and Rockhampton-based investors, oversaw the operation. In October 1886, The Mount Morgan Gold Mining Company Limited was formed with capital of £1,000,000. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century Mount Morgan was the richest gold mine in Queensland, a favourite and sometimes controversial topic for journalists, travel writers and pamphleteers. Hume Nisbet, a Scottish-born artist and popular novelist who travelled Australia in the 1880s and 1890s, wrote that ‘one of the most wonderful sights about this part is Mount Morgan, which is a mountain of gold’.⁵

Figure 1: *Gold Miners with shovels at work, Mount Morgan, 1890.*

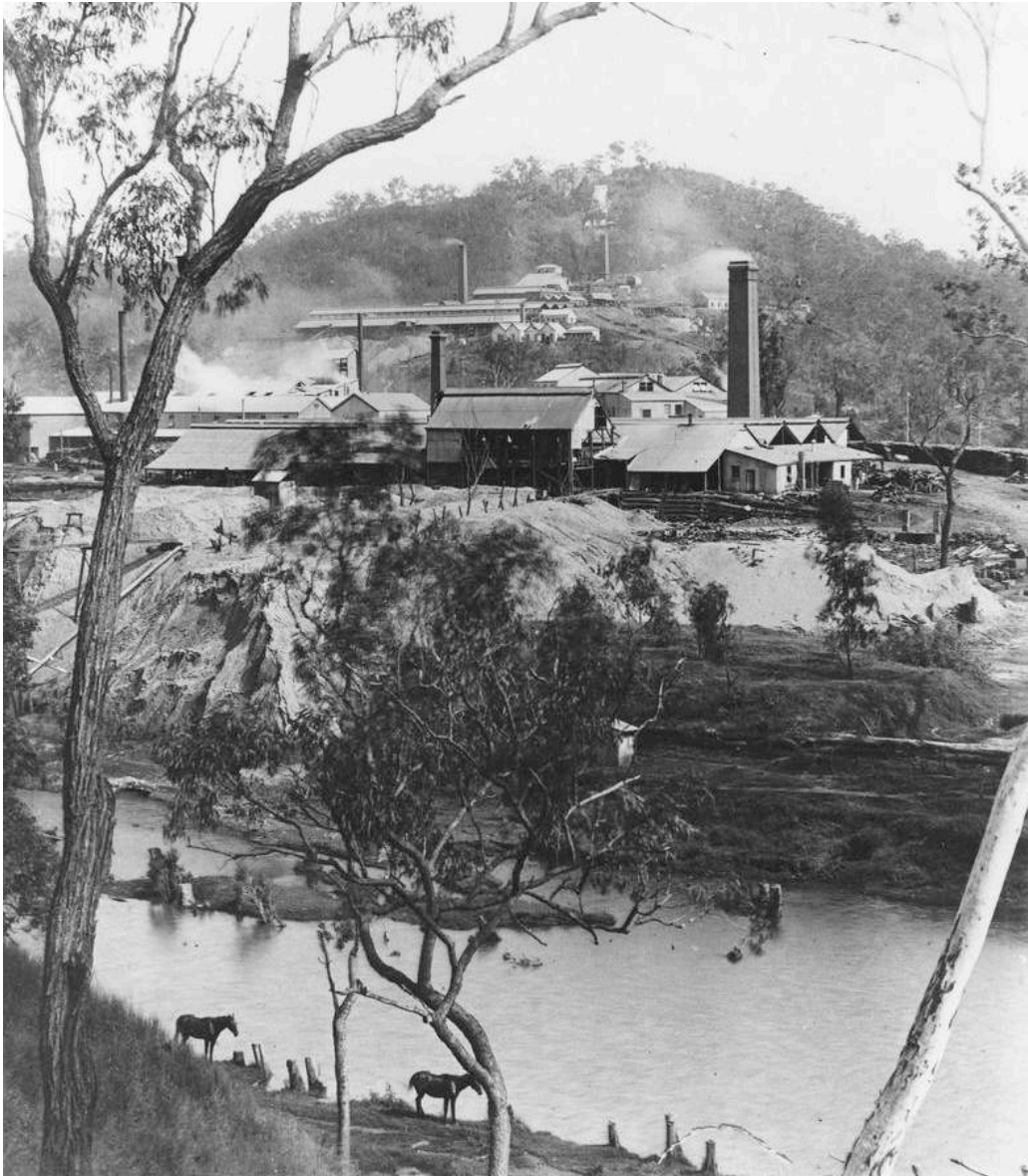


Source: Unidentified photographer. Much of the early mining was open cut with the ore being transported down the mountain by chutes (and later aerial ropeways) to the reduction works. Courtesy of the John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland Neg: 14299. <http://hdl.handle.net/10462/deriv/149921>.

Title disputes were common on gold mining fields and Mount Morgan was no exception. The 1880s and 1890s were characterised by legal disputes over title and occasional tension among the original syndicate members. There were nine court cases that threatened the syndicate’s title, all high profile events widely reported in colonial and British newspapers.⁶ The Morgan brothers sold their shares and after 1886 were no longer a part of the operation. Those who retained their shares – Thomas Skarrat Hall, a

bank manager from Rockhampton; William Knox D'arcy, a Rockhampton-based solicitor; and James Pattison, a local grazier – became some of the richest men in the colonies, as the mine returned fabulous profits and regular dividends. Early share trading saw prices of £1 to £2 per share, but by the end of 1888 shares peaked at over £16, and the company returned a dividend of over £317,000. Many of the original shareholders, while retaining substantial holdings, sold parcels of shares for huge profits that financed grand homes in Rockhampton, Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne and eventually London. Those who bought at the peak of the market, however, watched as the share price dropped dramatically during the financial chaos of 1891 to 1893.⁷

Figure 2: *Dam and mine buildings on the mountain, Mount Morgan, ca. 1895.*



Source: J.H. Lundager. This photograph was taken by town photographer and local political identity, J.H. Lundager, who did an extensive amount of commissioned work for the Mount Morgan company. Courtesy of the John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland Neg: 37570. <http://hdl.handle.net/10462/deriv/149552>

In 1883 a stamping battery was erected, while a treatment works to refine the crushed ore was established in 1886. The wood-fired boilers required a constant supply of fuel, so woodcutters were common in the area. Easily accessible trees along the Dee Ranges were soon felled. The flow of the Dee River slowly reduced as its water was used for the batteries, and building dams became a company priority. The gold content was high but the ore was difficult to treat and varied in composition. After a number of plants were trialled, the Lower Works was constructed in 1886 at the foot of the mountain.⁸ Once milled and roasted, the ore was mixed with chloride of lime and sulphuric acid to separate the gold. This process gave off chlorine gas. Ore shoots that ran from near the top of the mountain were replaced in 1888 by an aerial ropeway that carried the ore to the Lower Works. An Upper Works (another chlorination plant) was built in 1888, further up the mountain and thus closer to the ore supply.⁹ In the early 1900s the mine added copper to its production schedule after rich copper-bearing ore was found in 1902.

Township development and company control

Mount Morgan developed in a sporadic and unplanned fashion on the edges of the mountain orebody. Houses, shacks and temporary camps were built along the creeks and ridges on the mountain foothills surrounding the mine site. Some houses clustered along the Dee River for access to water, while others were close to the mine works to allow easy access for workers.¹⁰ The first hotel, Monckton's Hotel, had opened by 1884, and like many of the early hotels, it was an important venue for local civic organisations, including religious bodies. In 1884, the first Catholic mass at Mount Morgan was held at the hotel, some three years before they constructed their own church in 1887. The Primitive Methodists built their church in 1885; services for the Presbyterians dated from 1887, with their church being built in 1890; while the Anglicans built their church in 1889 with support from the mining company and its senior staff. By 1889 the Salvation Army and the Baptists were also active.¹¹ The township name was formally changed to 'Mount Morgan' in 1889.

The Queensland census of May 1886 estimated a population of only 632, but by the following year well-placed observers such as the *Morning Bulletin's* Mount Morgan correspondent suggested a population 'approaching 2,000 souls'.¹² That year general manager James Wesley Hall reported that 500 men and 300 contractors were working for the company. Numerous new buildings were constructed: hotels, halls, churches, a hospital, and commercial premises. In 1889 the company built three substantial residences for staff, including a new residence for the general manager. Progress was swift, the *Morning Bulletin* reporting: 'The rapid forward strides the township has been making of late are really worthy of note'.¹³ In that year the name 'Mount Morgan', then in common usage was formalised. By the 1891 census Mount Morgan recorded a population of 3,514, rising to 6,280 by 1901. One factor that encouraged such localised urban growth was the distance from Rockhampton, an important regional town on the Fitzroy River with a population of 14,392 in 1891. Mount Morgan was 39 kilometres southwest of Rockhampton with a difficult final stage of the road journey climbing the

Dee range (known locally as Razorback). It took until 1889 for the two towns to be connected by rail.¹⁴

Senior staff at the Mount Morgan company, such as manager James Wesley Hall were a dominant force in the town's political and social life. These men were managers, accountants, engineers, assayers and shift bosses. The first mayor of the new Mount Morgan municipality in 1890 was none other than Wesley Hall himself, while the second was Francis Bunny, an assayer with the company, and as it happens brother to the famous Australian painter Rupert Bunny. The senior staff supported new church development, particularly for their church of choice, the Anglican Church. Wesley Hall and other senior staff, management and directors, were generous benefactors to the new St Mary's Anglican church at Mount Morgan, which opened in 1889.

The original syndicate members shared close business and family relationships. The Rockhampton bank manager, Thomas Skarratt Hall, invited his brother Walter Russell Hall to join the syndicate, and in turn another brother, James Wesley Hall, became manager of the company. Company influence on the newly established Mount Morgan Council ensured that the names of the original syndicate holders were enshrined as street names in the central portions of the township, and as the staff families had a tight social network, marriage within the staff ranks was common. Bunny, for example, was married to the daughter of Roger Lisle, the mine manager, who became acting general manager after Wesley Hall's departure in 1892.¹⁵

Focusing on one particular marriage elucidates the nature of class relations and company control at Mount Morgan in the late 1880s. In July 1889 James Wesley Hall married Doris Dempster. This wedding was not held in Mount Morgan, but in Williamstown, Victoria, home of his bride.¹⁶ After a honeymoon in Adelaide, Mr and Mrs Wesley Hall took up residence in Mount Morgan, in a new general manager's residence constructed by the Mount Morgan Gold Mining company. 'It is unnecessary to say' commented *The Capricornian*, 'that it is the most commodious and handsome building in the township'.¹⁷ This house was known locally as the 'Big House';¹⁸ a common name in mining communities for the manager's residence, passed down, it seems, from landed estates where similar titles were used for the country manor.

The arrival in Mount Morgan after the honeymoon was a ritualised occasion with some drama and emotion: 'as the coachman brought his four-in-hand in front of the gate in dashing style, a hearty cheer went up'.¹⁹ Senior officials from the company were on hand to greet the couple and welcome them to their new abode. The town band struck up a tune, 'Home, sweet home', and a crowd of one thousand who had gathered, cheered and applauded. Standing on his new balcony Wesley Hall thanked the assembled crowd for the welcome, and the band for their music.²⁰

Wesley Hall was clearly touched by the reception and decided to sponsor a day of sports, the following Saturday being declared by the company as a day off, so the usual Saturday shift was not worked. The sports started at 12.30pm and included races for 'the men', 'the old buffers', 'the ladies' and 'the children', with prizes being presented by company officers. This event involved not just Wesley Hall as an important individual but was central to his role as the manager of the Mount Morgan company. The resources of the company were used to facilitate the event, and in turn

the company benefitted from the general feelings of goodwill among the workforce that this form of benevolence elicited.²¹ As the *Rockhampton Morning Bulletin* commented, 'it must be a peculiar satisfaction to Mr Hall to know that he retains the confidence not alone of his masters but of his servants'.²²

Confidence indeed, for the workers and other townsfolk appeared genuine in their public expressions. 'Loyalty' is probably the best word to describe the social relationship between the company officers and the employees, for in this period the company was the focus of allegiance and identity, and the interests of the masters and those of the workingmen were seen to be in harmony. The reception of the married couple at Mount Morgan was rich in meaning and significance showcasing the standing of the senior staff and the role that they played in this company-dominated town.

In matters of politics the company staff also dominated, with senior staff advising the workers how to vote throughout the 1890s. After the 1893 election one letter writer to the *Morning Bulletin* claimed that the election in the seat of Fitzroy was characterised by 'undue influence and corrupt conduct', with a considerable amount of money being spent at the local hotels, as well as the accusation that alcohol was 'even carried in bucketfuls to the miners at their work'.²³ The popular cry was that A.J. Callan, the member for Fitzroy from 1889 to 1902 and a Mount Morgan company director, was not so much elected as 'swilled into parliament'.²⁴ Further claims of intimidation and bribery were made at the 1899 election.²⁵ As Graeme Griffin summarised, 'The Company's relations with its workforce varied from a rather indifferent paternalism to active repression...'²⁶ Controlling the vote at Mount Morgan was crucial too, since the town was the largest single component of the Fitzroy electorate, with the remainder of the seat consisting of small rural or gold mining centres in the surrounding areas such as Bouldercombe, Ulam, Crocodile and Bajool.

The political influence of the Mount Morgan company extended beyond the boundaries of the Fitzroy Electorate, its wealth being so significant that it became a key player in Queensland politics. After 1886, most of the well-connected men from nearby Rockhampton were also shareholders in the Mount Morgan company. A.J. Callan, mentioned above, was a crucial figure in Queensland politics and for the company but there were others too, such as John Ferguson, former Rockhampton Alderman and Mayor, and the member for Rockhampton from 1881 to 1888. He later moved to the Legislative Council and then to the new federal Senate. He was another shareholder who made fabulous profits from the mine,²⁷ rumours suggesting that he sold his one-tenth share in the mine to Callan for £26,000.²⁸

In their public positions it is difficult to untangle their professional from their personal interests. Callan, for example, was a strong advocate for the railway to Mount Morgan in his parliamentary work, but clearly stood to benefit as a Director of the company. James Pattison, another prominent syndicate member and later MLA for Rockhampton (1888 to 1893) and Treasurer (1888-1889), was involved in major controversies over the general influence of the Mount Morgan company in parliament, and specifically over the sale of Mount Morgan shares to Queensland cabinet members.²⁹ Pattison was appointed to Cabinet by Premier Thomas Mellwraith as Minister without Portfolio and then persuaded to become Treasurer. Pattison and

McIlwraith then had a spectacular falling out after McIlwraith's resignation first as Premier in November 1888 and then from the Ministry in September 1889. McIlwraith popularised the term 'Mount Morganism' to describe the alleged undue influence of the company in parliament.³⁰ Pattison and his supporters strongly denied the claims of 'Mount Morganism' made by McIlwraith and others, but reputations of all those involved were tarnished by the later revelation that Pattison had loaned McIlwraith money on very easy terms to purchase 3,000 Mount Morgan shares.³¹ McIlwraith's list of financial obligations extended across the chambers and across party lines and included a debt to the Queensland National Bank of over £250,000 as calculated in 1896.³²

Figure 3: *View of the mine and town at Mount Morgan, ca. 1897.*



Source: Unidentified photographer. By 1897 the Mount Morgan company was an increasingly complex industrial workplace employing miners as well as surface men who worked crushing and smelting ore, as well as in transport and repair. Courtesy of the John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland Neg: 202058. <http://hdl.handle.net/10462/deriv/146471>.

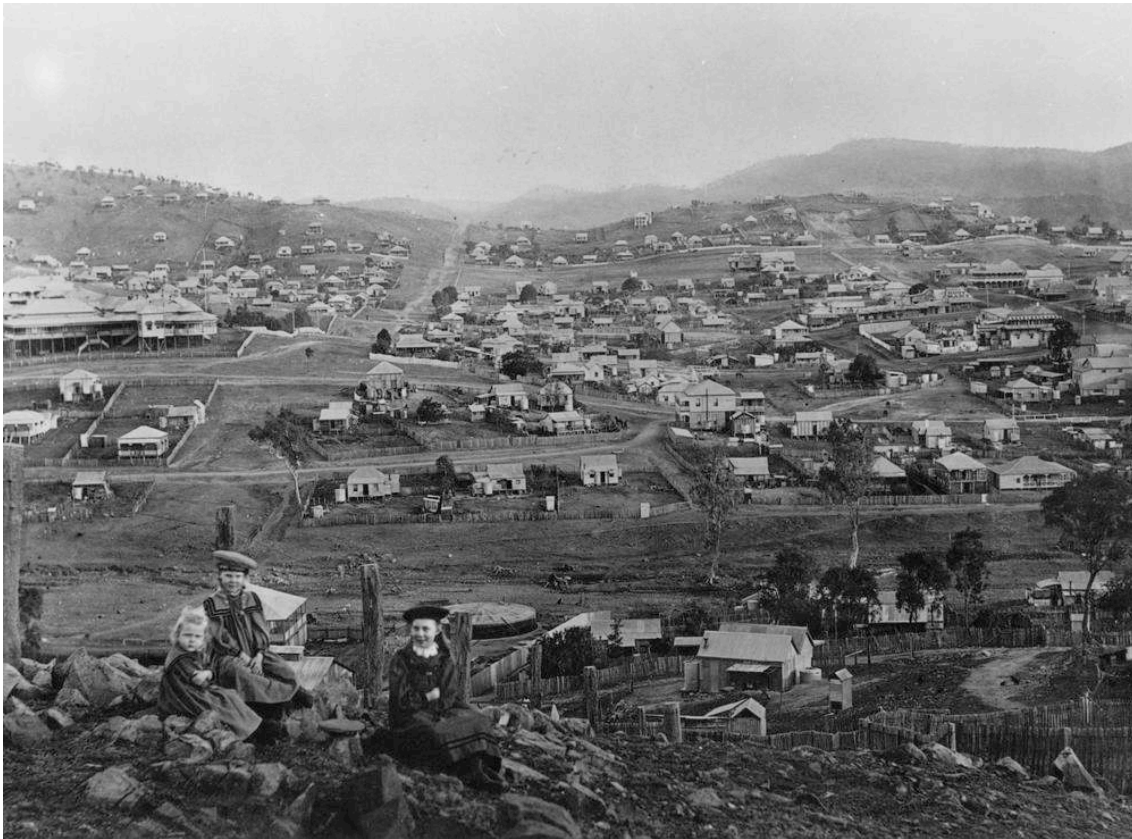
Claims of the company's undue influence highlight the controversial role that the Mount Morgan mine played, its rich investors possessing networks that extended into the highest political offices in Queensland. Labor and radical elements in Brisbane championed such claims from the late 1880s. These criticisms focused on big mining companies such as Mount Morgan but also on the big banks, which were the *bete noire* of the colonial labour movement.³³ This reached a notorious climax in 1893 when the Brisbane-based Australian Labour Federation newspaper, *The Worker*, published a cartoon of McIlwraith as a loathsome vampire attacking a naked and defenceless woman labelled 'Queensland'.³⁴ The Mount Morgan company played an important role as a focus of criticism for the Labor press in Queensland over issues surrounding large

profits, generous Director's fees, and the alleged indifference of the mine owners towards injured men. These, as well as the company's efforts to influence election outcomes were favourite topics.³⁵ Eventually such criticisms would manifest in Mount Morgan itself though without the lurid overtones of *The Worker's* cartoon.

Returning to local society, for that is the principal focus here, most members of the company staff were Anglicans, and many were also Freemasons. These men had local status as well as formal management positions, and brought the waged employees and their families into a kind of paternalist framework, where workers felt obliged – or compelled – to profess their respect. In this sense Mount Morgan resembled mining towns established in the 1860s, 1870s and early 1880s. At Moonta in South Australia's Eyre Peninsula a combination of industry paternalism, religious observance and a common Cornish heritage transcended the senior staff/workforce divide, though industrial action was not unknown in the same period.³⁶ In the Monaro and Southern Tableland districts, copper mining communities such as Currawang and Frogmore, as outlined by Barry McGowan in this journal in 2007, developed with very strong paternalistic features. There were no unions in these communities and very few points of resistance to company control.³⁷ In the coalmining communities around Ispwich in the 1880s there was local union activity but also a strong local ruling elite based on family dynasties who controlled the mines and major commercial interests.³⁸ This is in contrast to the silver rush on the Barrier ranges in far-western New South Wales where there was still an economic and social fluidity that blurred the distinction between men and masters. The earliest association of silver miners, Barrier Ranges Miners' Association formed in 1884 at Silverton, actually enrolled both owners and workers.³⁹

Such fluidity between 'masters and men' (as contemporaries often expressed it) was evident while there was still a chance that workers could make the transition to become owners through a lucky investment. In places such as Charters Towers in North Queensland, Silverton in far western New South Wales, and at Mount Morgan, miners still invested in shares, though often in the surrounding mining leases ('outside shows') that were rarely profitable and at times were deliberate frauds.⁴⁰ By 1895, as a journalist from *The Queenslander* noted, 'Nearly all the mines that were floated on the strength of Mount Morgan, and calculated to be on the same belt of country, were defunct...'⁴¹ Mount Morgan in the 1880s thus marks a transition between the older fields where individuals or informal combinations of miners predominated, and the larger more heavily capitalised fields with professional managers and a large, waged workforce, which was more clearly apparent by the 1890s. The remarkable scenes outside Wesley Hall's new residence in 1889 were indicative of these older forms of paternalism and social fluidity when the workers appeared to have genuine affection for their manager. The next decade, as Mount Morgan grew into a major industrial workplace, the labour market became much more clearly demarcated between waged workers and managers, and a new political consciousness emerged among the colonial working class, showing that such affection could not be taken for granted. Indeed by the end of the 1890s, the company showed an increasingly heavy-handed approach in its attempts to secure worker consent. The remarkable aspect of the Mount Morgan story was that it was not so much trade unions that led these changes but town-based political organisation.

Figure 4: *Panoramic view of the Mount Morgan Township c.1902.*



Source: J.H. Lundager. Three unidentified children pose in the foreground of this Lundager photograph. New housing and town growth are also apparent, with the town's population increasing to over 6,200 by 1902. Courtesy of the John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland Neg: 69919. <http://hdl.handle.net/10462/deriv/85432>

Class emerges

From 1889 company control was gradually eroded, so that company-sponsored local parliamentary candidates were challenged in the 1890s, and ultimately defeated by a Labor candidate in 1902. This newfound confidence amongst the labouring classes, and those who sought to represent them, did not spring up suddenly. It had developed progressively, though unevenly, throughout the colonies and at Mount Morgan from the 1880s and 1890s. In the strikes and lockouts throughout this period, but in particular after the maritime strike of 1890 as mentioned above, workers came to identify their common interests across industry and geographical boundaries. The widespread emergence of the 'sympathy strike' one of the primary factors which escalated the maritime strike of 1890 to include the shearers, coal miners and other industries - indicated that working people were willing to combine together and see an injury to one as an injury to all.

Even in 1889, the year of Wesley Hall's marriage and his warm welcome home from his honeymoon, one newspaper commented that the candidates for election that year 'appear to be very evenly balanced, but most of the gentlemen of wealth, position

and influence in the township are arrayed on the one side'. As the correspondent went on to suggest: 'The other candidate however has a strong following especially at Tipperary Point which as most readers know who have visited the Mount are aware is the most thickly populated portion of the town'.⁴² Tipperary Point was an area of roughly constructed huts and shacks along the Dee River, a site for miners' and their families that was strongly Catholic. Given its name and its street names such as Dublin, Killarney, Cork, O'Dea and Ryan, the Irish component should come as no great surprise. Religious and class difference fused here to suggest that the working class and predominantly Irish portion of the township had sided with one candidate, while the 'gentlemen of wealth' had sided with the other.

This suggests that there were already latent social and economic differences finding their way into local politics. This accords with evidence from areas such as the port of Melbourne and the Newcastle coalmining region in New South Wales, where industrial action, as well as antagonism between masters and men, became more common in the 1880s.⁴³ This became clearer in the 1890s, as revealed by the visit of Josiah Thomas, a prominent union official and later Member of Parliament, from Broken Hill. Thomas toured Central Queensland in 1892 looking to raise money for workers affected by the 1892 dispute on the Barrier. At a meeting in Rockhampton he noted that:

on account of there being no organised unions at Mount Morgan, much terrorism is displayed by employers and their agents under the freedom of contract that obtains. The men at Mount Morgan have as yet done nothing, but Mr. Thomas and the local men have no doubt that, when things are started on Wednesday, the Barrier men can safely anticipate great financial assistance from there.⁴⁴

Mount Morgan men were reportedly afraid to attend Thomas' public meeting, and even the conservative *Morning Bulletin* commented that:

'Freedom of contract' was so utterly abused there that such of the men as desired to hear Mr. Thomas met in fear and trembling in the open, under cover of darkness, just as men sneak away to witness a prize fight. That gives, we believe, a fair indication of the conditions under which the Mount Morgan men have been living...⁴⁵

This comment is very significant since the emerging class awareness at Mount Morgan was not so much expressed through trade union organisation but through various attempts to co-ordinate Labor's campaigning efforts to win the local seat of Fitzroy.

Mount Morgan stands in stark contrast to Charters Towers, a gold mining town in North Queensland, where historian Geoffrey Bolton found a miners' association in existence as early as 1886.⁴⁶ As noted at the beginning of this article, even in 1905 when Tom Mann visited Mount Morgan, he was told by local Labor identities that there were no active unions there.⁴⁷ It was not until the late 1900s that the Amalgamated Workers' Association (AWA), fired up by a series of tragic workplace deaths in 1908, began organising amongst the mining workforce at Mount Morgan. In two separate incidents in September and November 1908, a total of twelve men were killed at the

mine.⁴⁸ The AWA represented miners in numerous metalliferous mines such as the Mount Lyell mine in Tasmania and in Queensland and ultimately amalgamated with the Australian Workers' Union in 1913.⁴⁹

While trade union organisation was rudimentary in the 1890s, possibly even non-existent, there was nonetheless a local body representing Labor opinion. Workers' Political Associations (WPAs) had formed in Queensland mining towns, pastoral centres, and in Brisbane after the 1890 maritime strike and the 1891 shearers' strike. The goldmining towns of Croydon, Gympie and Charters Towers all had associations by the end of 1891, with Mount Morgan's forming in 1892.⁵⁰ William Kidston, a Labor activist and later parliamentarian who helped form the WPAs, represented Rockhampton, Mount Morgan and Clermont at the Labor in Politics convention in Brisbane in 1892.⁵¹ The Labor candidate for Fitzroy in 1893 was F.H. McCarthy, a former miner from Mount Morgan who presented himself as 'a candidate on behalf of the working community of Mount Morgan'.⁵² McCarthy lost in a close race polling 332 votes at Mount Morgan to Callan's 363. A gracious McCarthy congratulated Callan at the declaration of the poll but nevertheless stated that he was defeated by 'wealth and influence'.⁵³ Another factor in his defeat was that the Labor vote was split. Despite McCarthy presenting himself as the working man's candidate, he was not endorsed by the Mount Morgan WPA, and in fact had publicly clashed with a key Labor figure at Mount Morgan, J.H. Lundager.⁵⁴

Lundager's important role in Labor politics at Mount Morgan requires further elaboration. A Danish-born migrant who came to the Australian colonies in the late 1870s, Lundager maintained an energetic and committed approach to radical politics in the town from the early 1890s. He was the town's newsagent, bookseller, photographer and newspaper proprietor. He did have a role as a commissioned photographer for the Mount Morgan company but he had separate commercial and business interests as well. This allowed him to develop a vigorous and very public profile in favour of Labor, mostly free of the direct control of the Mount Morgan company. It may well have been through individuals such as Lundager that Labor politics flourished in the town. Speaking at a public meeting at Mount Morgan in 1893, Lundager claimed that the formation of the WPA was a result of the shearers' strike of 1891, when it raised over £120 in strike relief funds. This accords with the general histories, which note that the unsuccessful maritime and shearers' strikes of the early 1890s both had a catalysing effect on working class political action.⁵⁵ Lundager also noted that the WPA was responsible for enrolling over 500 men on the electoral rolls.⁵⁶ If the miners could not organise to break the company's political control (either because of pressure from the company, or because they still believed in the mutual interests of miners and mine owners), then well-placed men from the commercial centre of the town could pick up this vital role. Lundager is Mount Morgan's representative of the kind of radical Labor men who were not necessarily working class - journalists, printers or literary men - but who were important spokesmen for the labour movement.⁵⁷ In Queensland the most well known figure was William Lane, author, journalist and key labour movement

intellectual.⁵⁸ Other colonies had their equivalents such as George Black and Edward O'Sullivan in New South Wales.⁵⁹

The Mount Morgan company retained significant control over the workplace with little evidence of union organisation much less strike action but in the late 1890s company control was seriously questioned by Labor candidates for municipal and colonial elections. As the number of workers grew, and organisation amongst them increased, a class identity emerged to challenge company dominance. Since 1889, much had happened in the Australian colonies that encouraged workers to see their interests as separate from those of their employers. This change led to the growth of new unions on the waterfront, in mining and in other rural industries, as well as eventually precipitating the growth of the Labor party after the decisive setback of the unsuccessful strikes of the early 1890s.⁶⁰ In the 1899 Queensland elections, T. Wightman, a local Labor candidate who was nominated by the Democratic League, a latter day heir of the WPA, challenged Callan. Callan won the poll, with votes at Mount Morgan being 653 to 428. Wightman had done well, despite support for Callan from the company, and senior staff advising the wages employees how to vote.⁶¹ Each worker was issued with a card indicating how they could vote for Callan, and groups of workers were shepherded down to the polling booths under the watchful eye of their shift bosses.⁶² If this was not enough pressure to secure a vote for Callan, there were also concerns over the anonymity of the vote, with some suggestion that those voting against Callan could well be identified. With Callan so clearly tied to the company, many men must have thought it would risk their job if they voted for the Labor candidate. *The Worker* aired such claims after the 1893 election, suggesting that there had been a number of dismissals after the declaration of the poll, including the candidate himself, McCarthy.⁶³ There were no miners among the subsequent Labor candidates, which suggests that their future employment may well have been jeopardised. The colony-wide 1899 election itself was significant, with the Labor party securing 21 seats in the lower house, up from 16 in 1893. This represented approximately 34 per cent of the vote making it the official Opposition. By the end of that year, after complicated parliamentary manoeuvres, there was even a short-lived Labor Government under Premier Anderson Dawson.⁶⁴

As well as fielding candidates for Fitzroy, a number of Labor men stood for municipal election, which indicates that the Labor side of politics at Mount Morgan was organising across a broad front. Lundager pioneered attempts to stand for Council elections at Mount Morgan, becoming an Alderman in 1892 and serving for a term. Company-sponsored candidates had dominated the first two administrations with Wesley Hall and then Bunny as the first two Mayors. Lundager had a number of terms as Alderman throughout the 1890s, culminating in a period as Mayor from 1906 to 1908.⁶⁵ He was also joined by other Labor-aligned candidates: F.H. McCarthy, who stood in the 1893 election for Fitzroy was already an Alderman on the Council; likewise, Henry Cowap served an apprenticeship on the Council in the late 1890s before standing in the 1902 election for Fitzroy.⁶⁶ Blocked by company control of the workplace, and hampered by the lack of a miners' union, Mount Morgan Laborites used Council elections in an attempt to gain an electoral foothold. By 1905 Labor celebrated holding

all nine positions on the Council, and the following year, the indefatigable J.H. Lundager became its first Labor Mayor.⁶⁷

Lundager's achievements were quite remarkable. Broken Hill, in far western New South Wales, was commonly understood to be the strongest union town in Australia, and its first Labor Alderman, Jabez Wright, was elected in 1896. Sydney and Brisbane both had Labor or Labor-aligned Aldermen from the early 1890s but in the regional centres Labor's move into municipal politics was more tenuous. Jabez Wright became the world's first Labor Mayor in 1900, beating Lundager by six years, but certainly Lundager was the first Labor Mayor in Queensland.⁶⁸

Callan chose not to contest the seat of Fitzroy at the March 1902 election but he was not out of parliament long, for he was appointed to the Legislative Council in July 1902, a position he held until his death in 1912.⁶⁹ Company political control may well have been challenged locally but it was still well represented in the Legislative Council. Instead Callan threw his support behind John McPherson, also a company-supported candidate. McPherson's election committee (which was chaired by T.G. Cornes, a senior staff member from the company) released a leaflet that included a copy of a telegram from the Board of the Directors to the company staff. The Board 'earnestly request the officers and employees generally of the said company to use their best efforts to secure the return of Mr. John McPherson as member for Fitzroy at the forthcoming election'. The *Morning Bulletin*, putting aside its usual conservatism, was strongly critical of the company: 'Verbally it is only a request, but actually it implies a great deal more than that. It is one of those blunders which have been described as worse than a crime'.⁷⁰ *The Worker* argued that the company was 'trying to hold the whip of coercion over the miners of Mount Morgan'.⁷¹

At the election McPherson lost to his Labor rival Henri Cowap, an English-born plumber who came to Mount Morgan in 1888.⁷² He won the crucial Mount Morgan booth but also most of the smaller outlying ones, overall polling 940 votes to McPherson's 800.⁷³ Labor, better organised with a more effective electoral committee, also introduced a new language of class to Mount Morgan, echoing the sentiments expressed by *The Worker*. For example, speaking at a public meeting during the 1902 election campaign at the Mount Morgan School of Arts, Cowap advocated taxation reform:

The millionaires could draw their money from Mount Morgan, live at home in peace and comfort, and enjoy all the luxuries that the world could bring them; but all they paid to the Government was five per cent. Should not an absentee tax be brought about to lighten the burden of taxation on the people?⁷⁴

This concern over the disappearance of Mount Morgan wealth persisted throughout the twentieth century. The grand homes built with Mount Morgan money in Rockhampton, Brisbane and London left a bitter taste for those in the ramshackle huts in Tipperary Point.⁷⁵ Few directors and shareholders were active locally, with Walter Hall proving an exception by offering support for local charities, but his great wealth did not find its way back to Mount Morgan. The nationally famous Walter and Eliza Hall Trust, funded by the sale of 350,000 Mount Morgan shares from Hall's estate, spent the majority of its

funds in New South Wales and Victoria, with Rockhampton and Mount Morgan received what one local historian calls a 'mere pittance'.⁷⁶ In these conditions, with the Labor press and many of its candidates articulating a critique of the fabulous wealth and unfair profits coming from the 'great mine', the salubrious mine manager's house no longer seemed so admirable.

What came with the language of class solidarity was another common ideology, binding for the white working class, around the issue of race. Gold miners had a long history dating back to the 1850s of combining against non-white workers, especially the Chinese. Bolton also found a strong racial element to the labour movement in Charters Towers. In Queensland this was especially strong as a mobilising labour movement and Labor party sought to exclude non-white workers from their emerging notion of the worker citizen. The new commonwealth itself expressed this strongly through the pending deportation of Pacific Island labourers through the *Pacific Island Labourers Act* of 1901.⁷⁷ So while Cowap criticised the millionaires and their tax rates he also found space in his election speeches for denigrating the local Chinese: 'There were a few Chinese in Mount Morgan, but not quite so many as in other places. (A voice: "Good job, too.")' - and later in the same speech: 'Every man in Mount Morgan could help to put away the Chinese. If the working men would not deal with them he did not think very many of the swells would'.⁷⁸ Such views were common in Queensland mining towns and the positive audience responses suggest they also found support locally.⁷⁹ On election day at Mount Morgan, a young lad was stationed near the polling booth at the School of Arts calling out 'Vote for Cowap and no more Kanakas', and 'Vote for Cowap and a White Queensland'.⁸⁰

Cowap had an unremarkable parliamentary career. In 1907 he left the Labor party, siding with William Kidston, a Rockhampton-based Labor identity and Premier for two separate terms (1906-1907 & 1908-1911). Kidston split from Labor, taking a number of Labor moderates with him. The 'Kidstonites' won 23 seats to Labor's 18 at the 1907 elections, effectively making Queensland politics a three-sided affair.⁸¹ Cowap was returned as local member in 1907 and in 1908. Labor in Queensland and Labor supporters at Mount Morgan were wary but not yet disillusioned with Kidston and Cowap.

By 1907 white women in Queensland were enfranchised by *The Act to Amend the Elections Acts, 1885 to 1898*, but the available evidence from Mount Morgan makes it difficult to discern whether there was an appreciable change to local politics and electioneering. Crawford had his nomination to stand as Labor candidate in 1908 supported by a woman voter, Mrs B. Mahoney, while one of Cowap's meetings was chaired by Mrs Foster who had 'the honour of being the first lady who has presided over a political meeting in Mount Morgan'.⁸² Ladies Election Committees were formed in Rockhampton and there is evidence that Cowap had formed a similar committee in 1907 but there is no evidence of its operation.⁸³ Crawford's wife, Mrs Agnes Crawford, attended one of Cowap's public meetings in 1909. The Mount Morgan correspondent for the *Morning Bulletin* reported that 'Mrs. J. Crawford (the wife of the Labour candidate), together with Mrs Reid and two girls about sixteen years of age, who sat in

the front seats, interrupted freely.’ After rising to her feet to vigorously defend her husband’s reputation, ‘she afterwards kept on interjecting rather freely’. These are, however, the only tantalising glimpses of the effects of the enfranchisement of white women at Mount Morgan.

In 1909 Cowap again presented himself to the electors of Fitzroy and received a much more divided response. Some of his election meetings were rowdy, characterised by interjections and interruptions from Labor supporters. The Labor candidate, Scottish-born miner James Crawford, won a narrow victory by 1,910 votes to Cowap’s 1,679.⁸⁴ Overall, Cowap’s move from Labor to the Kidston group showed the complex interaction of state and local politics, and it took two years before Labor allegiances were rebuilt and Cowap voted out. It was clear that local allegiances to Labor were strong but not absolute; there were still personal and sectional rivalries that might challenge Labor’s developing identity in times of crisis and division. It was significant however that in the 1909 election the company did not support a candidate in what was a two-sided contest between a Labor-endorsed candidate and a former Labor party member.

Conclusion

In the 1880s Mount Morgan revealed a prevailing ethos of class co-operation and loyalty to the company. The marriage of manager James Wesley Hall, and the community reception the newly married couple received, were clear indications of the kind of loyalty to the company the local miners displayed. Such views were common in mining towns during a period where the distinction between owners and workers was in transition. By the 1890s and early 1900s there is evidence that company control was less a matter of voluntary consent and increasingly a matter of undue influence and coercion, with heavy-handed attempts to influence election outcomes being the clearest expression of this approach. At Mount Morgan the working-class challenge was initially not manifest in the mines and the smelters through union organisation, which appears to have arrived well after union formation in other mining towns. Such union organisation was present among the coal miners at Ipswich and Maryborough and among the gold miners on the northern goldfields from the mid-1880s. Even where a local ruling elite was quite powerful, as in Ipswich in the 1880s and 1890s, the coal miners were at least able to form an organisation and continue their work through the difficult years of the 1890s depression.⁸⁵

Instead, without the benefit of union organisation amongst the miners at Mount Morgan, the working class at Mount Morgan asserted themselves politically in organising for local electoral contests. Town-based political organisations sprang up immediately before elections to oppose company-backed candidates. The Labor party in the various colonies received support from middle class and commercial men as well as labour intellectuals and journalists. At Mount Morgan it was the town’s photographer, newsagent, newspaper proprietor and journalist, J.H. Lundager, who performed this crucial role.

Labor candidates slowly chipped away at company political dominance in both the parliamentary contests and in local Council elections. By 1902 the company's preferred candidate, John McPherson was ousted by local plumber, Henri Cowap. By 1906 Mount Morgan elected a Labor Mayor, a development that gave *The Worker* much cause for celebration.

The unity of the 'Labour interest' was certainly emerging, though not without setbacks. Labor was divided in 1893 between a Labor-aligned candidate and a WPA-endorsed candidate, with the only person who stood to gain from this situation being Alfred Callan, the company-backed candidate. Challenges of disunity emerged again from 1907 when Henri Cowap left the Labor party even though a Labor-endorsed candidate narrowly defeated him in the 1909 election. This time, however, the company did not have its own local candidate to benefit from Labor's divisions.

As for James Wesley Hall, he left in 1892 after seven years as manager of the company, though he stayed on as a board member managing from a distance. He and his wife moved to London in 1893 but he returned to Australia in 1896 after the tragic death of his wife the year before. Hall died in 1901 in his Melbourne home in Toorak aged 62 years. His life and career had taken him well away from the mines of Mount Morgan, to London and then to Melbourne like so many of the early investors. The geographical distance suggests a widening political gap as workers sought their own representation and organised as a class. Hall's 1889 reception in Mount Morgan after his wedding was unlikely to be repeated – the managerial class was increasingly professionalised, geographically separated, while their former 'servants' were now organised politically in their own right. By 1902 these workers strove for the dignity of white labour and were less enamoured with expressions of company loyalty.

Endnotes

¹ Tom Mann, *Tom Mann's Memoirs*, The Labour Publishing Company Limited, London, 1923, p. 190.

² To help differentiate between the two, I have adopted the convention of referring to the 'labour movement' as the broad coalition of unions and working class organisations, and the 'labor party' as the particular political expression of the trade union movement that emerged in the Australian colonies in the early 1890s. In practice, contemporaries used 'labour' and 'labor' interchangeably.

³ Bradley Bowden, 'The Emergence of Labour Identity in a Queensland Town: Ipswich, 1861-1912', in David Palmer, Ross Shanahan & Martin Shanahan (eds), *Australian Labour History Reconsidered*, Australian Humanities Press, Unley (Adelaide), pp. 92-101. See also his "'Some Mysterious Terror": The Relationship between Capital and Labour in Ipswich, 1861-1896', *Labour History*, no. 72, May 1997, pp. 77-100.

⁴ See Bradley Bowden, 'No Improvement without Standardisation: The Origins of Queensland's Industrial Relations System, 1857-1916', in Bradley Bowden, Simon Blackwood, Cath Rafferty & Cameron Allan (eds), *Work & Strife in Paradise: The History of Labour Relations in Queensland, 1859-2009*, Federation Press, Annandale (Sydney), 2009, pp. 3-12.

⁵ Hume Nisbet, *A Colonial Tramp: Travels and adventures in Australia and New Guinea*, Ward & Downey, London, 1891, p. 79.

⁶ See, for example, *The Observer* (London), 5 February 1888, p. 2; *The Argus* (Melbourne), 19 August 1898, p. 7.

⁷ John Kerr, *Mount Morgan: Gold, copper and oil*, J.D. & R.S. Kerr, Brisbane, 1982, pp. 58-65 and Mount Morgan Gold Mining Company Limited, Report to Shareholders, 1888, Mitchell Library, Sydney.

⁸ *Queensland Mining and Milling Practice*, Brisbane, 1901, p. 30.

- ⁹ Rees Rutland Jones, *Gold Mining in Central Queensland and the Mount Morgan Mine*, Morning Argus, Rockhampton, 1913, pp. 16–17. The successful development of the chlorination process at Mount Morgan and elsewhere was recently reviewed in this journal by Ken McQueen, ‘Early Developments in Treating Pyritic and Refractory Gold Ores in Australia’, *Journal of the Australasian Mining History Association*, vol. 10, October 2012, pp. 88–102.
- ¹⁰ *Morning Bulletin* (hereafter *MB*), 28 March 1887, p. 5 and George Westacott, cited in N. Chardon and F.L. Golding (eds), *Centenary of the Town of Mount Morgan, 1882–1982*, Mount Morgan and District Historical Society, Mount Morgan (Queensland), 1982, p. 9.
- ¹¹ Chardon and Golding (eds), *Centenary of the Town of Mount Morgan*, pp. 35–37.
- ¹² *MB*, 14 July 1887, p. 5 & *ibid.*, 18 March 1889, p. 5.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, 21 May 1889, p. 5.
- ¹⁴ Erik Eklund, *Mining Towns: making a living, making a life*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 2012, pp. 74–76.
- ¹⁵ *The Queenslander*, 31 December 1892, p. 1277; Judith A. Samuel, ‘Bunny, Brice Frederick (1820–1885)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bunny-brice-frederick-3112/text4625>, accessed 12 July 2013. First published in 1969; *MB*, 3 August 1905, p. 5. On the role of marriage for the local elite at Ipswich see Bowden, ‘The Emergence of Labour Identity in a Queensland Town’, p. 95.
- ¹⁶ *Williamstown Chronicle*, 13 July 1889, p. 2 & *MB*, 26 July 1889, p. 6. See also the marriage notice in *Williamstown Chronicle*, 27 July 1889, p. 2. I am indebted to the work of family historians, Linley and Jim Hooper, who have extensive biographies of the Dempster and Hall families at <http://www.linleyfh.com/> [accessed 1 November, 2012].
- ¹⁷ *The Capricornian*, 3 August 1889, p. 29. Local historian, Betty Cosgrove, described the home: ‘The new house was a large timber house with an iron roof and ‘verandahs everywhere’... six rooms, a bathroom and a wide hall, with a substantial garden and a croquet lawn’. See Betty Cosgrove, ‘Mount Morgan: images and realities – the dynamics and decline of a mining town’, Ph.D. thesis, Central Queensland University, 2001, p. 65.
- ¹⁸ Cosgrove, ‘Mount Morgan: images and realities’, p. 66.
- ¹⁹ *MB*, 31 August 1889, p. 4.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*
- ²¹ *Ibid.*
- ²² *Ibid.*
- ²³ Letter from ‘Sigma’, *MB*, 4 May 1893, p. 6.
- ²⁴ June Stoodley, ‘The Queensland Gold Miner in the late Nineteenth Century: his influence and interests’, M.A. thesis, University of Queensland, 1964, p. 390.
- ²⁵ *MB*, 23 March 1899, p. 3. Such claims are explored in detail by Stoodley, ‘The Queensland Gold Miner in the late Nineteenth Century’, pp. 82–132.
- ²⁶ Graeme Griffin, ‘J.H. Lundager, Mount Morgan politician and photographer: Company hack or subtle subversive?’, *Journal of Australian Studies*, vol. 16, no. 34, 1992, pp. 15–31.
- ²⁷ David Carment, ‘Ferguson, John (1830–1906)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/ferguson-john-6158/text10577>, accessed 12 July 2013. First published in 1981.
- ²⁸ Cosgrove, ‘Mount Morgan: images and realities’, p. 244.
- ²⁹ June Stoodley, ‘Pattison, William (1830–1896)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/pattison-william-4377/text7123>, accessed 12 July 2013. First published 1974.
- ³⁰ Cosgrove, ‘Mount Morgan: images and realities’, pp. 243–45.
- ³¹ Stoodley, ‘The Queensland Gold Miner in the late Nineteenth Century’, pp. 82–132. For a more sympathetic treatment of McIlwraith see Denver Beanland, *The Queensland Caesar: Sir Thomas McIlwraith*, Boolarong Press, Moorooka (Queensland), 2013.
- ³² Duncan Waterson, *Personality, Profit and Politics: Thomas McIlwraith in Queensland, 1866–1894*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia (Brisbane), 1984, p. 12.
- ³³ See Peter Love, *Labour and the Money Power: Australian Labour Populism, 1890–1950*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton (Victoria), 1984.
- ³⁴ Waterson, *Personality, Profit and Politics*, pp. 22–24.
- ³⁵ See, for example, *The Worker*, 21 February 1891, p. 6; 1 July 1897, p. 6 & 28 August 1897, p. 3.
- ³⁶ Philip Payton, *Making Moonta: the invention of Australia's little Cornwall*, University of Exeter Press, Exeter, 2007, especially pp. 63–96.

³⁷ Barry McGowan, 'Hegemony, Localism and Ethnicity: The 'Welsh' Mining Communities of Currawang and Frogmore in Southern New South Wales', *Journal of Australasian Mining History*, vol. 5, September 2007, pp. 39-66.

³⁸ See Bowden, 'The Emergence of Labour Identity in a Queensland Town', pp. 94-95.

³⁹ See Brian Kennedy, *Silver, Sin and Six Penny Ale: a social history of Broken Hill*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1978, pp. 8-20; *The South Australian Advertiser*, 31 July 1885, p. 7; Eklund, *Mining Towns: making a living, making a life*, p. 42.

⁴⁰ G.C. Bolton, 'Labour Comes to Charters Towers', *Bulletin of the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History*, no. 1, January 1962, pp. 25-26; Kennedy, *Silver, Sin and Six Penny Ale*, pp. 8-20.

⁴¹ *The Queenslander*, 20 July 1895, p. 119.

⁴² *MB*, 31 July 1889, p. 5.

⁴³ On the Melbourne waterfront see Nick Dyrenfurth, "'A Terrible Monster": From 'Employers to Capitalists' in the 1885-86 Melbourne Wharf Labourers' Strike', *Labour History*, vol. 94, 2008, pp. 89-111. On Newcastle see Mary Sparke, 'Newcastle waterside workers: their home port, working environment and unionism, 1885 to 1917', M.A. thesis, University of Newcastle 1997, p. 39.

⁴⁴ *MB*, 30 August 1892, p. 4.

⁴⁵ Editorial, *MB*, 28 September 1893, p. 2. See also *The Worker*, 8 October 1892, p. 3. On the conservatism of the *MB* see Cosgrove, 'Mount Morgan: Images and Realities', p. 235.

⁴⁶ Bolton, 'Labour Comes to Charters Towers', p. 27.

⁴⁷ Mann, *Tom Mann's Memoirs*, p. 190.

⁴⁸ *The Worker*, 6 March 1909, p. 9 & Cosgrove, 'Mount Morgan: images and realities', pp. 188-193.

⁴⁹ Mark Hearn & Harry Knowles, *One Big Union: A History of the Australian Workers' Union, 1886-1994*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1996, p. 127.

⁵⁰ Stoodley, 'The Queensland Gold Miner in the late Nineteenth Century', p. 383. The WPAs (sometimes also known as Workers' Political Organisations) were electorate-based committees formed to support Labor candidates for election to the colonial parliament. For a summary of their formation see Ross Fitzgerald & Harold Thornton, *Labor in Queensland: 1880-1988*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia (Queensland), 1989, pp. 28-30. These local organisations took on different names in different colonies. In New South Wales, for example, they were called Labor Electoral Leagues. See Ray Markey, 'New Unionism on Australia, 1880-1900', *Labour History*, no. 48, May 1985, pp. 15-28.

⁵¹ D.J. Murphy, 'Kidston, William (1849-1919)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/kidston-william-6949/text12067> accessed 12 July 2013. First published in 1983. Kidston was later Premier of Queensland from 1906 to 1907 but split from the Labor party in 1907. For more details on Kidston's shift and the general political climate see Lyndon Megarrity, 'The 1900s: a forgotten turning point in Queensland history', *Queensland Review*, vol. 11, no. 1, April 2004, pp. 65-81.

⁵² *Capricornian*, 29 January 1893, p. 36.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 6 May 1893, p. 31.

⁵⁴ *MB*, 25 March 1893, p. 6. Voting figures for Mount Morgan need to be presented with an awareness of the restricted property and residential qualifications that operated under Queensland's *Elections Act* of 1885. White men over 21 years of age were entitled to vote as long as they met the residential or property qualification. The Act specifically excluded Indigenous people from Australia, India, China and the 'South Seas' unless they met the freehold qualification. Both voter registration and voting itself was voluntary. The six-month residential qualification also excluded large numbers of itinerant white male workers. White women did not secure the franchise until 1905. See Manfred Cross, 'Queensland's First Federal Election', *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum Cultural Heritage Series*, vol. 2, part 2, 2002, pp. 217-218; Patricia Grimshaw, 'Comparative perspectives on white and Indigenous women's political citizenship in Queensland: the 1905 Act to Amend the Elections Acts, 1885 to 1899', *Queensland Review*, vol. 12, no. 2, November 2005, pp. 9-22.

⁵⁵ For the clearest summary which also references the key historiographical contributions see Ray Markey, 'Australia' in Marcel van der Linden & Jürgen Rojahn (eds), *The Formation of Labour Movements, 1870-1914: An International Perspective*, 2 vols, Leiden and New York, Brill, 1990, pp. 587-601.

⁵⁶ *MB*, 28 January 1893, p. 5.

⁵⁷ Graeme Griffin, 'J.H. Lundager, Mount Morgan politician and photographer: Company hack or subtle subversive?', *Journal of Australian Studies*, vol. 16, no. 34, 1992, pp. 15-31.

⁵⁸ Gavin Souter, 'Lane, William (1861-1917)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lane-william-7024/text12217> accessed 17 July 2013. First published 1983.

⁵⁹ Bede Nairn, 'Black, George Mure (1854–1936)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/black-george-mure-5250/text8845> accessed 17 July 2013. First published 1979. Bruce E. Mansfield, 'O'Sullivan, Edward William (1846–1910)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/osullivan-edward-william-7931/text13803> accessed 18 July 2013. First published 1988.

⁶⁰ There is a vast literature covering this area but some important contributions include: Stuart Svensen, *Industrial War: The great strikes, 1890–1894*, Ram Press, Wollongong, 1995; John Rickard, *Class and Politics: New South Wales, Victoria and the Early Commonwealth, 1890–1910*, ANU Press, Canberra, 1976; and R.W. Connell and T.H. Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History: poverty and progress*, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1992. On Queensland's first (albeit short-lived) Labor government in 1899, under Anderson Dawson, see D.J. Murphy, 'The Dawson Government in Queensland, The First Labour Government in the World', *Labour History*, no. 21, 1971, pp. 1–8.

⁶¹ *MB*, 21 February 1899, p. 9; *ibid.*, 27 March 1899, p. 6; Kerr, *Mount Morgan: Gold, copper and oil*, p. 116.

⁶² Stoodley, 'The Queensland Gold Miner in the late Nineteenth Century', pp. 390–93.

⁶³ *The Worker*, 10 June 1893, p. 4. Similar claims were repeated by *The Worker* in 1901. See 'Mt Morgan Methods', 13 April 1901, p. 3.

⁶⁴ Manfred Cross, 'Queensland's First Federal Election', p. 222.

⁶⁵ Griffin, 'J.H. Lundager, Mount Morgan politician and photographer', pp. 21–22.

⁶⁶ *The Capricornian*, 31 July 1897, p. 34.

⁶⁷ *The Worker*, 18 August 1906, p. 4.

⁶⁸ On Labor and municipal politics see Ray Markey, 'The Emergence of the Labour Party at the Municipal Level in NSW, 1891–1900', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 31, no. 3, 1985, pp. 408–417; Shelton Stromquist, 'Rethinking Working-Class Politics in Comparative-Transnational Contexts' in Donna T. Haverty-Stacke & Daniel J. Walkowitz (eds), *Rethinking U.S. Labor History – Essays on the Working-Class Experience, 1756–2009*, New York, Continuum Publishing, 2010, pp. 82–110. On the first Labor Mayor in Broken Hill see *Barrier Miner*, 16 February 1902, p. 2.

⁶⁹ See 'Alphabetical Register of Members of the Legislative Assembly 1860–2012, and of the Legislative Council 1860–1922', <http://www.parliament.qld.gov.au/documents/explore/parliamentaryrecord/sections/Part%202.19.pdf> [accessed 14 July 2013] Note that Legislative Council appointments were made by the Governor on recommendation of the Government (not by election) and that appointments were lifetime ones. My book, Eklund, *Mining Towns: making a living, making a life*, p. 81, incorrectly stated that Callan contested the 1902 election against Cowan, whereas it was in fact John McPherson.

⁷⁰ *MB*, 4 March 1902, p. 5.

⁷¹ *The Worker*, 8 March 1902, p. 8.

⁷² See his obituary in *The Queenslander*, 30 October 1930, p. 54; Cosgrove, 'Mount Morgan: images and realities', p. 251.

⁷³ *MB*, 13 March 1902, p. 5.

⁷⁴ Henri Cowap cited in the *MB*, 13 February 1902, pp. 2–3

⁷⁵ Cosgrove, 'Mount Morgan: images and realities', p. 251; L. McDonald, *Rockhampton: A history of city and district*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1980, pp. 314, 330–32.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Bolton, 'Labour Comes to Charters Towers', pp. 25–28.

⁷⁸ Henri Cowap cited in the *MB*, 13 February 1902, pp. 2–3. Cowap held the seat of Fitzroy until 1909.

⁷⁹ On the local response to the Chinese, see Cosgrove, 'Mount Morgan: images and realities', pp. 78–79.

⁸⁰ *MB*, 12 March 1902, p. 5.

⁸¹ D. J. Murphy, 'Kidston, William (1849–1919)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/kidston-william-6949/text12067> accessed 12 July 2013. First published in 1983

⁸² *MB*, 15 January 1908, p. 5.

⁸³ *MB*, 8 April 1907, p. 5 & 22 September 1909, p. 5.

⁸⁴ For rowdy Mount Morgan election meetings see *The Capricornian*, 11 Sept 1909 p. 20 & 2 October, 1909, p. 23. For the poll results see *The Capricornian*, 9 October 1909, p. 12.

⁸⁵ Bowden, 'The Emergence of Labour Identity in a Queensland Town', pp. 92–101.