

A Confidential Report on Nationalist Organisation in Queensland, 1920

by

Baiba Irving and Bernie Schedvin *

In the elections held in Queensland on 22 May 1915, the Labor Party won a decisive victory over its Liberal and Farmers' Union opponents, securing a majority of 19 seats. As soon as Parliament met, the Premier, T. J. Ryan, and his Cabinet introduced a number of new measures in line with avowed Labor policy. In the 1915 Session, the Trade Union Act, the Workers Accommodation Act, the Inspection of Machinery Act, the Inspection of Scaffolding Act and the Labour Exchanges Act were passed. An Elections Act was passed which liberalised the franchise by relaxing residence qualifications. In the following year, their measures included the Industrial Arbitration Act, the Workers Compensation Act, the Factories and Shops Acts Amendment Act and the Land Act Amendment Act. The Labor Government embarked on an extensive program of State enterprises, including control of meat supply, retail butchers shops, pastoral stations, marketing of fish, sawmills, hotels, mines, insurance and even a State-controlled iron and steel works. The actions of the Government showed its clear commitment to the cause of the working man and its intention to closely supervise the operations of the business and commercial interests in the State. The Government also clearly indicated its intention to compete with private enterprise.

Its combined actions and program created fears, both in Queensland and elsewhere, of a progression towards extreme socialism. This fear was modified in part by practical experience under the Labor Administration. However, it was still present in many minds in 1920, reinforced by Labor's decisive electoral win in 1918. Ryan left the Premiership in October 1919 and was succeeded by Theodore. The documents reproduced below have their origin in the period preceding the 1920 election, the first called by Theodore as Premier. They show one facet of the fears held by British business interests about the political events in Queensland and some of the activity of the anti-Labor forces in the State.

The documents were found in the extensive collection of business archives held by the London Guildhall Library¹. At first sight it may seem surprising that documents which relate to the political bickering of anti-Labor factions in an Australian State should be found among the business papers and records of a London merchant banking company, Antony Gibbs and Sons Ltd². It is expected that overseas investors will take an interest in their enterprises, be they mining, grazing or manufacture, but their attitudes towards political or governmental actions likely to affect the success of the venture closely are often overlooked. The London companies which severally operated and developed pastoral leases in Queensland and in other States were keenly aware of the Australian political climate. They regarded the election of a Labor government in Queensland in 1915 with dismay as the advent of socialism and even Bolshevism. British investors were disadvantaged by the Succession and Probate Duties Acts Amendment Act (1915), by heavily increased taxes, and the introduction of the Land Act Amendment Act (1916)³ which directly threatened the profitability of their investments. One result of their fear and hostility towards the Queensland Labor Government⁴ was the establishment through F. A. Keating⁵ of a channel for political information and action for the British-Australasian Society in London. In 1919 P. E. Deane⁶, W. M. Hughes' Private Secretary, agreed to supply the information they sought and advise them about the

disposition of campaign funds. In the course of this correspondence Deane forwarded to Keating these interesting documents; the Confidential Report on National Organisation in Queensland, copies of the report of the Electorates Committee of the Central Consultative Council, the agreement between the National Democratic Council and the United Graziers' Association of Queensland with A. H. Whittingham's⁷ letter, and J. P. Peterson's⁸ letter stating the intention of the Primary Producers' Union of which he was the President. The inclusion of this material was intended to substantiate the case being made by Deane and members of the National Union for channelling campaign funds in such a way as to enforce co-operation and adherence to electoral agreements among the contending anti-Labor factions.

The report on the National Organisation in Queensland was written by Archdale Parkhill (later Sir Robert Archdale Parkhill, K.C.M.G., who occupied a number of ministerial positions in the Lyons Governments between 1932 and 1937), who was in 1920 Secretary and Campaign Director for the Nationalist Party in New South Wales.

CONFIDENTIAL

NATIONAL ORGANISATION IN QUEENSLAND

The National Organisation in Queensland has been divided, with the concurrence of the National Organisation in Brisbane, into three sections.

1. *The Southern Division*¹. Headquarters in Brisbane at 272 Queen Street. President Mr. H. Cribb, Secretary Mr. J. Shaw.

2. *The Northern Division*². Headquarters at Townsville. President Mr. Garbutt, Secretary Mr. H. G. Bradley.

3. *The Central Division*³. Headquarters at Rockhampton. President Mr. J. W. Nutall, Secretary Mr. J. M. Dash. Mr. J. M. Dash is at present organising this Division, under instructions from the Brisbane National Union.

The Northern Division controls 15 electorates, the Central Division 8, and the Southern Division controls the remaining 49 electorates.

PRESENT POSITION

The position is at present complicated by the militancy of the Primary Producers' Union (P.P.U.)⁴, which is a body comprising the following Organisations:—

- The United Graziers' Association.
- The Queensland Farmers' Union.
- The United Cane Growers' Association.

1. 'Southern Division' of the National Democratic Council was formed in February 1919. See *Brisbane Courier*, 26 Feb 1919, p. 6.
2. 'Northern Division' was a separate organization, the Northern Country Party, which was not affiliated with the National Democratic Council. See J. M. Bertei, *Non-Labor Politics in Northern Queensland 1907-1929*. Unpublished B.A. thesis, University of Queensland, 1960. p. 81-165.
3. 'Central Division' was the National Democratic Council of Central Queensland, which was formed early in 1919. See *Brisbane Courier*, 2 Sep 1920, p. 7.
4. 'Primary Producers' Union' was formed in January 1919. See B. D. Graham. *The formation of the Australian Country Parties*. Canberra, A.N.U. Press, 1966. p. 119-20, 179-80.

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This Organisation represents the Country Party movement in Queensland, and in view of the success achieved in the Federal campaign, more particularly in the Southern States, it is demanding exclusive right to organise in a number of electorates.

The ill-advised utterances of its Organising Secretary, Mr. W. R. Boyce, is causing considerable difficulty. A sample of this, and an idea of the difficulty which these statements must make whilst negotiations are pending, is apparent by a perusal of the attached report from the Queensland morning papers, the "Courier" and the "Daily Mail", of Friday, 14th instant⁵.

This difficulty with the P.P.U. is manifest in Brisbane and the Southern Division, but I am informed that there is no such difficulty in either the Central or the Northern Divisions. This view has been obtained in Brisbane, but there is very little known either as to the Central or the Northern Divisions by the Brisbane Executive Officers. The difficulty in the Southern Division is being resolutely dealt with, and there would appear to be every indication of a satisfactory arrangement being arrived at in the near future.

The National Organisation in the Brisbane and Southern Division is operated by the following Organisations:—

1. The National Political Council⁶, which is by far the strongest, having, according to official information, 142 Branches and 15,000 financial members.

2. Working in harmony with this body is the Queensland Women's Electoral League⁷, which is a purely women's organisation — said to render a fair amount but not a very considerable degree of assistance, from a campaign point of view.

3. There is also a body known as the "New Party"⁸, for apparently the want of a better title, which is practically a Soldiers' National Organisation, having been resurrected on the ashes of the "People's Party of Soldiers' and Citizens'", formed in Brisbane just prior to the Federal campaign by Captain Carmichael, M.C. This Organisation fell into desuetude and finally collapsed paying off its liabilities, I am informed, some 7/- in the £.

5. W. R. Boyce's remarks were reported in the *Brisbane Courier* on 14 May 1920 on page six. A copy of this report was enclosed with the 'Report on National Organization in Queensland'. It was entitled 'Helping the Caucus' and read as follows:

'If the organizing secretary of the Primary Producers' Union speaks with the authority of his executive — and presumably he does — the Caucus Party has good reason to congratulate itself on its prospects at the next State election. The organizing secretary, at a meeting at Kilcoy, stated clearly and definitely that the Primary Producers' Union, since its formation 18 months ago, had never made any secret of the fact that its objective was "a distinct separate third Party, subject to no affiliation or amalgamation with the Liberal or National Party", and he added that "no talk of unity, or fighting under one banner, or presenting a solid front, or other similar platitude was of any use."

Mr. Boyce was even more frank than that. He said that the "once powerful Liberal Party, having dwindled to a small minority, would really constitute the third Party in the next Parliament, and there need be no fear but that its members would support the Country Party." The statement at least clears the political atmosphere, which is always an advantage. It has three distinct points: (1) That the Primary Producers' Union never had any intention of affiliating or amalgamating with the Nationalists; (2) that talk of "unity" or "fighting under one banner" is a mere platitude that is of no use; and (3) that the P.P.U. intends risking the return of the Caucus to office in an effort to swallow the Nationalists, who of course comprise the members of several organizations, including the Soldiers' Party.

6. This body was abolished at the beginning of 1919. Parkhill is referring to the National Democratic Council.

7. The Queensland Women's Electoral League was a non-Labor association formed in 1903. Throughout its existence, it zealously guarded its "independence" and refused to amalgamate, although it did co-operate, with the other non-Labor bodies. For its history, see P. M. L. Cotter. *The Role of the Queensland Women's Electoral League in Politics and Social Legislation in Queensland from 1903 until 1929*. Unpublished B.A. Thesis, University of Queensland, 1957. In 1920, the Q.W.E.L. claimed to have 68 branches, and 11,000 members. See *Brisbane Courier*, 28 Sep 1920, p. 11.

8. 'New Party' was formed in February 1920, by the National Union. See *Brisbane Courier*, 13 Feb 1920, p. 4.

9. 'National Labor Party' was formed in October 1919. See *Brisbane Courier*, 21 Oct 1919, p. 7. The National Labor Party contested three seats centred on Brisbane in the State election of October 1920 — Fortitude Valley, Ithaca and Paddington. All were won by the Australian Labor Party.

4. Then there is the National Labor Party⁹, which although small, is important, in that it consists of electors who have left the Labor Party, who cannot see their way to join the National Political Council. They, it is anticipated, will be of considerable use in putting forward candidates and fighting Labor strongholds.

The National Political Council has an exclusive ground floor of Offices at 272 Queen Street, and accommodation is being set apart in them for the New Party, and the National Union. The Women's Electoral League have their own Offices, whilst the National Labor Party has not yet secured its offices, but which, for politic reasons, will not be in the same building as the others just mentioned.

The foregoing Organisations, together with the P.P.U. are represented on what is termed a "Consultative Council"¹⁰, each Organisation having two delegates. The Consultative Council is a body that is at present in charge of the negotiations between the National Organisations and the P.P.U. Its President is Mr. J. E. S. Plumridge¹¹. The negotiations which the Consultative Council are conducting are to obtain a basis of co-operation, whereby the National Organisation and National Party will maintain its identity and exclusively control the organisation in a certain number of the 49 Southern Electorates. Similarly, the P.P.U. to put forward its candidates, maintain its identity, and control the organisation in a section of these electorates.

An arrangement was really arrived at on this basis, and a number of electorates apportioned to the P.P.U.

Attached herewith is a copy of the agreement referred to, and to which the signatories are Mr. Peterson¹² representing the P.P.U., Mr. Macnish¹³ representing the National Political Council, and Mr. Strickland¹⁴ representing the National Labor Party.

Mr. Peterson, it may be mentioned, is the Treasurer of the P.P.U., and is also the member of the Graziers' Association appointed by that body to conduct the negotiations on its behalf and conserve its interests.

For some reason, this agreement which set apart 13 electorates for the P.P.U., whilst in five additional electorates the position was left for settlement, either to the Local Organisation or to a friendly three-cornered fight relying upon the contingent vote, was abrogated. However, negotiations are now proceeding, the basis of which, so far as the P.P.U. is concerned, is a demand by them that 24 electorates shall be left to their control.

DISCUSSIONS AND VIEWS

I discussed the position fully with a meeting of the Executive of the National Political Council on Thursday night (13th May) and which was attended by:

Mr. Cribb, President	Mr. MacNish
Mr. Brown, Chairman of Executive	Mr. Corrie
Mr. Fisher	Mr. Shaw (Gen. Sec.)

They explained the position. They realised, in view of what had taken place in New South Wales, and apart from this for their own safety, the necessity of coming to an amicable arrangement with the P.P.U. To do this, they were willing to concede really more than they felt they were justified and entitled to do.

On the following day, I had a conversation with Mr. Whittingham¹⁵, the President of the Graziers' Union, Mr. Ransome the Secretary, and Mr. Peterson, who, as already pointed out, is acting

10. Consultative Council. See Irving and Schedvin text following.

11. J. E. S. Plumridge, Chairman National Union (Queensland) and Consultative Council (Queensland) 1920. He was associated with the firm of Plumridge Ltd. (confectioners), and was a member of the Queensland Chamber of Manufactures.

12. James Peter Peterson, grazier. In 1920 he was Treasurer of the United Graziers' Association, and Chairman of the Primary Producers' Union.

13. F. C. Macnish was a Brisbane solicitor. In 1920 he was a member of the Executive Committee of the National Democratic Council. See *Brisbane Courier*, 6 Aug 1920, p. 8.

14. W. Strickland, a manufacturers' agent, was Secretary of the National Labor Party. See *Brisbane Courier*, 20 Oct 1919, p. 7.

15. Arthur H. Whittingham, Member of the Legislative Council, was President of the United Graziers' Association in 1920 and was a member of the Primary Producers' Union. He was a leading spokesman for the anti-Labor section of the Queensland community.

on behalf of the Graziers' and is Treasurer of the P.P.U., and who is the prime mover in the negotiations on behalf of the Country Party's interests. Mr. Peterson expressed views very similar to those expressed by the leaders of the Progressive movement in N.S.W. prior to the election — generally to the effect that people were tired of the old Parties, and would seize with avidity a new Party under the aegis of the P.P.U. He held the same fallacious view that they could secure votes from the Labor Party whereas the National Organisation could not do so. I combated this view, explained as tactfully as possible the experience and difficulties in the N.S.W. Campaign, and the factors that have brought about the present result, and also emphasised that the same position would apparently result in Queensland, unless an arrangement was made. It might here be mentioned that all anti-Labor sections are convinced that with an amicable arrangement the Theodore Labor Government can be beaten, and an anti-Labor Government returned. This view, throughout all the interviews and conversations was emphasised, and special appeals made not to spoil the prospects by friction and overlapping. It was pointed out that if an arrangement could be come to, financial assistance might be obtained from the South, but if a satisfactory arrangement were not made, National supporters in the South, interested in Queensland, would refrain from putting their money into a losing fight, and simply stand off.

Mr. Peterson admitted that the P.P.U. was out to advance their own interests at the expense of the other Organisations, and evidently there is the view amongst them, that considering the lack of effective leadership on the National side¹⁶, there is a prospect of a purely Farmers' Government being returned. At all events, this is what a section of the P.P.U. is aiming at, and which makes the real difficulty in the negotiations — but where the capable and effective leadership on the P.P.U. side is to come from is equally obscure.

Mr. Peterson further stated that so far as he could see the P.P.U. could not realise its ambitions or get all it wanted, and that he was agreeable, if say 22 electorates were handed over to them for control and organisation, to recommend the P.P.U. to come to an amicable arrangement.

So far as these 22 electorates are concerned, it would seem that an agreement can be arrived at, as the National Democratic Council will put forward views against some of the electorates being handed over to the P.P.U., which will, they think, convince that body that they should not get them. If, however, the P.P.U. insists, then the probabilities are that the N.D.C. will agree. Mr. Peterson stated that in the event of his body declining to accept the arrangement finally agreed upon by him on their behalf, he would cease to be their negotiating agent, and would endeavour to induce the Graziers' Association to withdraw from the P.P.U., all financial support.

GRAZIERS' FUNDS

This latter factor is really a most important aspect of the matter. Just as the Graziers' Association in N.S.W. found the funds for the Progressive Party in the recent N.S.W. Campaign, so the Graziers' Association is finding, and is prepared to find, all the funds necessary for the P.P.U. campaign in Queensland.

In order to compel a satisfactory arrangement, pressure should be brought to bear from the Southern States on the Executive of the Graziers' Association in the direction of pointing out the mistakes made by the Pastoralists and Graziers' in N.S.W.¹⁷, and urging the Graziers' Association to compel the Farmers' Union

16. On 28 January 1920 W. J. Vowles was elected to succeed E. H. Macartney as Leader of the Opposition. Walter Henry Barnes replaced Vowles as Deputy Leader. It was Vowles who subsequently led thirteen former National Members of the Queensland parliament to form the Country Party on 28 July 1920, while Barnes led the National faction. Barnes had held portfolios including that of Treasurer in non-Labor ministries 1907-15. He was Member of the Legislative Assembly for Bulimba from 1901 to 1917 and from 1918 to 1923. From 1923 to 1933 he was M.L.A. for Wynnum. He was Chairman of Directors of Barnes and Company Ltd (flourmillers and produce agents) and was manager of the firm's operations in Brisbane.

17. B. D. Graham, p. 120-3, 125.

and the other constituent bodies of the P.P.U. to come to a reasonable arrangement, or lose their financial support.

It will, however, be a considerable factor towards helping the position, if prominent graziers and pastoral institutions in Sydney and Melbourne were to write to the President of the Graziers' Association in Queensland, Mr. Whittingham, pointing out the difficulties and urging unity. Mr. Whittingham, in an interview with the writer, expressed himself as quite favorable to an amicable arrangement¹⁸. In fact, he said that such an arrangement was imperative, but unfortunately, Mr. Whittingham, whilst being a man of the highest integrity and universally respected, is not regarded as a particularly strong and dominant personality in the counsels of the Graziers' Association. Mr. Peterson, who is not really a grazier, but a farmer, and also conducts a business in Brisbane as an Insurance and General Agent, is a stronger and more dominating personality. Still, the fact of letters from the south, addressed to Mr. Whittingham, would be a better means of influencing both Mr. Whittingham and Mr. Peterson, than by writing direct to the latter.

Conversations are going on at present in regard to the electorates referred to, and efforts are being made to finalise the position within the next fortnight, and there would appear to be a reasonable prospect of success.

LEADERSHIP

In the question of a capable leader and also in the matter of securing a suitable and decent type of candidate on the anti-Labor side, is bound up much of the difficulties of the coming campaign. Whilst the Organisation can be improved and built up on technical and systematic lines into an effective organising machine, still, it will clearly, at this stage — and apparently the same conditions will prevail at the elections — lack the enthusiasm and interest which lifts it out of a mere mechanical organisation into a living force and inspires it with life and vigour, which only a trusted and capable leader can effect. On the other hand, the Labor Party is led by Mr. Theodore¹⁹, who is regarded as an exceedingly capable man, and who, left to himself, would not conduct the Government of the country on wild extremist lines, and who is inclined to put the brake on the demands of his supporters, more particularly outside the House.

He is a clear, lucid, and effective speaker, and is supported by a capable body of Parliamentarians, who, man for man, apparently are much superior to the anti-Labor members of the House. Mr. Theodore is not personally disliked by a considerable body of National supporters, who respect him for his ability, although his policy and record is everywhere condemned.

They will undoubtedly put up a capable and an unscrupulous fight; still the effect of six years Labor Government and with systematic organising, continuous from now until the election, there is an excellent prospect of the Labor Government being defeated.

DATE OF ELECTION

The elections are due to take place about March of next year and whilst there is in some quarters a suggestion that it may take place earlier²⁰, still the fact that Mr. Theodore is not due to return

18. On 29 June 1920, A. H. Whittingham wrote to Sir Owen Cox in Sydney saying that co-operation had been achieved between the Primary Producers' Union and the N.D.C. and requested that Sir Owen use his influence to get them money to fight the election. *Gibbs Bright Papers*. [London Guildhall Library, TCMR 5-2, MS 11,093.]

19. Lack of effective leadership in the non-Labor ranks was a continuing source of anxiety during the 1920s. In Aug 1922, in reply to a motion expressing want of confidence in the government, Theodore revealed that approaches had been made to him by Mr. E. Garbutt of the Northern Country Party who proposed that Theodore should become the leader of a new party comprising the moderates from his own section and the 'best members' of the Country Party. F. W. Boyce, General Secretary of the P.P.U. was also alleged to have participated in these approaches, but Vowles disclaimed any association with such moves. See *Brisbane Courier*, 16, 17 and 18 Aug 1922. See also Irwin Young. *Theodore, His life and Times*. Sydney, 1971, Alpha, p. 43. Also *The Round Table*, no. 51, June 1923, p. 646-7.

20. The election in fact took place on 9 Oct 1920, almost one month after Theodore returned to Queensland from his fruitless trip to London to negotiate State loan raising.

until about October and other circumstances, has created practically a consensus of opinion that Parliament will run its full time.

The position of Parties in the House is approximately 47 Labor, and 25 National, so that 12 seats will require to be won in order to secure an anti-Labor majority.

FINANCE NATIONAL UNION

The position in this regard is that the Northern Union does not require any assistance to carry on up to the elections, but will, as it usually does, make an application to the Southern Organisation in Brisbane, for help in the actual campaign.

The Central Division is making an appeal from Rockhampton, and it too, should be able to secure sufficient funds to organise the eight electorates that it controls up to the election, but it again will require some help when the actual campaign is upon them.

Both these divisions have their own financial organisations, which are really controlled and operated by the National Organisations themselves, through local Finance Committees.

In Brisbane, considerable dissatisfaction existed with the old National Union for a considerable time past. The moving spirits of this Union were Mr. G. S. Murphy of Messrs. Murphy Yarwood & Co., and Mr. J. K. Stewart of Messrs. A. Stewart & Sons Ltd., and Mr. P. A. Blundell²¹, Managing Director of the Queensland Trustee Coy.

These gentlemen agreed some little time back that the Union wanted strengthening, and a meeting was then called of something just over 100 of what are regarded as the principal business men of Brisbane, and a new National Union was formed. The old members agreed to go to a ballot for the election of the Executive. They did not stipulate that they should remain on the Executive and additional members should be elected as some of their supporters think they should have done. The result was the election of an Executive consisting as follows:—

Mr. J. E. S. Plumridge, Messrs. Plumridge Ltd. (Chairman).

A. D. Walsh²², Manager, Edwards, Dunlop & Co. Ltd.

F. R. Lloyd²³, Manager, Dalgety & Co. Ltd.

C. W. Campbell²⁴, James Campbell & Sons Ltd.

B. W. MacDonald, MacDonald Hamilton & Co. Ltd.

R. H. Julius²⁵, Director, Luya, Julius & Co. Ltd.

C. T. Oelrichs²⁶, Manager, John Cooke & Co. Ltd.

H. M. Russell²⁷, H. M. Russell & Co.

A. V. Dodwell²⁸, Chairman, Canada Cycle & Motor Co.

Alderman Maxwell²⁹ (Mayor of Brisbane) Maxwell & Sons

21. P. A. Blundell was Manager of Queensland Trustees Ltd. from 1910 and in 1918 was appointed Managing Director. He resigned in 1927.
22. A. D. Walsh joined Dalgety & Company Ltd. in 1894. He was also a Director of the Union Trustees Company of Australia Ltd. In 1923 he was Vice-President of the Queensland National Union. Walsh and Lloyd are wrongly accredited; Walsh was the Manager of Dalgety and Company Ltd. Lloyd was Manager of Edwards, Dunlop and Company.
23. F. R. Lloyd was a Member of the Chamber of Commerce, Brisbane. In 1923 he was Vice-President of the National Union.
24. C. W. Campbell was a Director and Manager of the firm of James Campbell and Sons Ltd. (sawmillers). He was a member of the Queensland Employers' Federation, the Brisbane Timber Association and the Queensland Timber Export Association. He was an Alderman of the Hamilton Town Council from 1912 to 1919 and was Mayor in 1916-17. He was an Alderman of the Brisbane City Council from 1926 to 1931.
25. R. H. Julius was Managing Director of Luya, Julius Ltd. (carriers and customs agents) from 1906. He was a member of the Brisbane Chamber of Commerce and the Master Carriers' Association. In 1922-23, he was Treasurer of the National Union in Queensland.
26. C. T. Oelrichs, accountant and Manager of (Johnathan) Cooke and Company Pty. Ltd. (frozen meat exporters).
27. H. M. Russell was the Managing Director of H. M. Russell and Company (import/export agents and brokers). He was an Alderman of the Hamilton Council from 1910 to 1925 and was Mayor in 1914-15. He was Vice-Mayor of Brisbane in 1925-26 and was the Member of the Legislative Assembly for Toombul from 1926 to 1932, then M.L.A. for Hamilton from 1932 to 1941.
28. A. V. Dodwell was Managing Director of the Canada Cycle and Motor Agency (Queensland) Ltd. (car and cycle importers).
29. J. F. Maxwell was an Alderman of the Brisbane City Council, 1911-12 and 1917-21 and Mayor in 1920-21. He was a Member of the Queensland Employers' Federation. He was elected to the Legislative Assembly in 1920 for the seat of Toowong, which he held until 1938.

R. J. Archibald³⁰, Chairman Brisbane Milling Co. Ltd.

J. A. Walsh³¹, Messrs. Fitzgerald & Walsh, Solicitors.

R. J. Powley, Secretary.

On the above, there are only two members of the old National Union, namely, Messrs. Lloyd & MacDonald.

The Secretary was collector for the National Democratic Council, and was instrumental in securing in the Federal campaign about £5,000. The three members of the old National Union referred to are said to be somewhat dissatisfied with the turn things have taken, and Messrs. Murphy & Stewart are reported as having intimated they do not propose to take any further or active part in the collection of funds. It is, however, held that the present Executive is sufficiently representative to secure quite as much financial support from Brisbane, as did the old National Union.

An appeal has been issued for subscriptions, a copy of which is attached, and already a fair response has been made. They propose to issue at least 12,000 and the Secretary assures me that this will be pushed on with the utmost speed, and that they will be sent, not only to supporters in Brisbane, but to pastoralists throughout the country.

A meeting of the Executive of the National Union took place on Friday morning, which I addressed. There were present:—

The Chairman Mr. J. E. S. Plumridge

Mr. A. D. Walsh Mr. R. J. Archibald

Mr. F. E. Lloyd Mr. Powley, Secretary.

Mr. R. H. Julius

I stressed the fact that supporters in the South were desirous of helping, but would only do so if a suitable arrangement were made by the political organisations, and further, provided that every effort was made locally to raise a substantial fund. The position was stated by the Chairman as already outlined respecting the arrangements to bring the political organisations together, whilst information was given respecting the operations of the National Union. It would appear that whilst the Executive will work, the interest is being confined to the body, as they do not include in their operations the consultative aspect, which is an important feature of the Consultative Council operating in this State. They have not yet considered what steps they will take to maintain the interest of the business men which they claim comprise the Union. In this respect, they supplied me with a list of 60 professions which was taken from the chart compiled in connection with the N.S.W. Consultative Council, and have, on their list, the names of two representatives from each of these industries and professions. It is not clear whether they are elective, and I am inclined to think that they have been selected, but they contain certainly the names of the most prominent business men in Queensland. I urged the consultative aspect very strongly, as a means of keeping the Council together, and informed them to the steps taken regarding luncheons meetings, and generally the steps taken in this State.

FINANCIAL POSITION OF UNION AND REQUIREMENTS

Their financial position at present is this. They anticipate that their election will cost approximately £30,000 between now and Polling Day. They anticipate that they can raise locally £10,000. The Secretary is confident that this can be done.

They have in hand, however, only a sum of £700, as their collections have not yet begun to materialise. They are paying out to the Organisations on the following basis. The National

30. R. J. Archibald was the Managing Director of the Brisbane Milling Co. Ltd. and Dominion Milling Company Ltd. He was also Director of numerous other companies engaged in such enterprises as island trading, retailing and carrying. He was Chairman of Directors of the Queensland Trustees Ltd. and was President of the National Union, 1922-5.

31. J. A. Walsh was a solicitor. He also had pastoral interests in central Queensland. In 1920, he was a member of the delegation with Philp and Cowley which went to London to forestall Theodore's attempts to raise loan funds for State enterprises.

Political Council £600 per month. The New Party £200 per month. The Queensland Women's Electoral League £100 per month, and the National Labor Party about £50 per month.

The first-named is applying to have their amount increased to £1,000 per month, and this is favorably viewed by the National Union, and will be done as soon as they get funds. No exception can be taken to this payment, as it would enable the N.D.C. to put organisers into the various electorates, where they have not got them at present — their organising staff being restricted at this stage, to six members. This assistance would be in the nature of building up one powerful organisation, which would bear the brunt of the fight in the election campaign, and would be of a permanent and lasting character, and further assist in restraining the demands of the P.P.U. The amount, therefore, should be increased to the £1,000 required as speedily as possible.

At the same time, the payment of £200 per month to the New Party should be reduced by half, as the amount of work the Soldiers' Party and the National Labor Party, as well as the Women's League could do, is limited, and will all or more or less be done at the expense of the N.D.C., and to build which organisation into a powerful body should be one of the objectives aimed at.

The National Union is anxious to get funds immediately in order to get effective organising work done now, instead of leaving it all until a few months before the elections. They therefore ask for from two thousand (£2,000) to five thousand (£5,000) pounds from the Southern States, and urge that some immediate help should be given to them in the interests of the campaign. The view they put forward seems to be sound, and if say two thousand pounds could be obtained for them straight away, it would enable them to put their organisation on a decent basis, and in the meantime get the result of the organisation of their finances, which is now taking place.

The amount paid to the N.D.C. includes the payment of their new "Field Superintendent" which is the title given to their Chief Organiser, Mr. Ulbrick, who has been brought there from the National Organisation in Melbourne³². He is accustomed to control a staff of Organisers and should be capable. He is out to make a success of his position, and should materially strengthen the N.D.C. They have, besides, a sound and capable Secretary in Mr. Shaw, who together with the Executive, which comprises a considerable number of business men of Brisbane, should effectively control and direct a considerable improvement in the organisation.

The Literary side will have to be developed, and the education of speakers made a feature of the work.

GENERAL

*Mr. Ellis' suggestions*³³. It would not be at all practicable for Mr. Ellis to take the steps outlined in one of his communications, as it would mean interference with what is being done by the recognised organisation in a way that would be resented. Moreover, the card system, in connection with the literary work, done by Mr. Ellis when he was Publicity Officer with the N.D.C., has not been destroyed, but is still there, and was explained to me by the Secretary. The Secretary pointed out, the fact, also claimed by Mr. Ellis, that this card index and their cuttings were of material assistance to Mr. Adrian Knox, K.C., in his conduct of the "Argus" case against Mr. Ryan. The Secretary, however, stated that some 100 cards and cuttings taken by Mr. Ellis in that connection, had not been returned.

In regard to the amount Mr. Ellis states had not been paid to him by the National Union as part of his salary, this is not because funds are not available, but because up to the present this arrangement — that the Organisation should contribute part of the salary of the Secretary to the Leader of the Opposition — has not been ratified by them.

32. J. C. F. Ulbrick was an organizer for the National Federation in Victoria in 1919. See memo re the staff of the National Federation, 29 Oct 1917, *J. Hume-Cook Papers* [N.L.A., MSS 601/2/4c]. The importation of an organizer from Victoria was regarded as a sign of weakness and greeted with derision by *The Worker*, 10 June 1920.

33. M. H. Ellis, journalist and historian.

The position regarding Members of Parliament and Organising work, is that the Members, in view of the vast distances, declined to do this at their own expense. They are prepared to give their time, but are not prepared to spend their own money.

This view has been recognised by the National Union as a sound one, and also by the N.D.C., and where they agree that effective work can be done by a Member and he will do it, they have found the funds. For instance, the N.D.C. contributed £25 for work done by Mr. Fry, the Member for Kurrilpa in his electorate, whilst Mr. Vowles, the Leader of the Opposition, received £100 as his expenses for conducting a series of meetings in the recent Herbert Bye-Election. This expense the N.D.C. considered should have been borne by the Northern Division, which controls this Electorate, and they state further that they thought Mr. Vowles' request for £100 rather out of the way, as they did not anticipate that his actual out of pocket expenses would be more than £50.

This will, however, show the willingness of the Organisation to meet this aspect, as far as their funds will permit, whilst if additional funds are available, there need be no difficulty on this score.

What would appear to be a weakness in the Organisation is the little interest and the slight bond or cohesion which exists between the Organisation and the State National Members. The Organisation is chary of having members of Parliament on the Organisation, because of the domination exercised by Mr. Denham³⁴, who, when he was Premier, was also the Chairman of the then Liberal Association.

The foregoing generally outlines the position, and the urgent matter is the contribution of some funds to the National Union on the lines suggested. In this regard a letter which was read to me, is being sent by the Secretary, Mr. Powley, to Mr. John West as Secretary of the National Union in Melbourne, and also to me, as Secretary of the N.S.W. Consultative Council.

This letter should come to hand by tomorrow's mail, as the Secretary promised it should go forward by Sunday's morning train.

This report does not pretend to state the exact position in the North and Central Divisions, as personal interviews and personal investigations may disclose a different position from that which the Brisbane Council thinks now prevails, but generally sets out the position in the Northern part of the State controlled from Brisbane.

17.5.20.

Encl.

The Report of the Electorates Committee, 12.4.1920, was made prior to W. R. Boyce's forthright statement of the aims of the Primary Producers' Union. It reflects the growing consciousness and confidence of the P.P.U. which was stimulated by its successful campaign in the Maranoa by-election of 20 December 1919.

A comparison of the agreements of the 14 April and the 21 June 1920 will indicate the extent to which the P.P.U. successfully induced the N.D.C. to concede to them the exclusive right to organise certain seats against the A.L.P. Of eleven electorates still under discussion on 14 April, eight were allocated definitely to country candidates at the subsequent meeting, with recommendations that the local Nationalist organisation be handled diplomatically in the case of Burrum. In one other seat, Murrumba, it was agreed that both parties should field candidates and organise 'in the most friendly spirit possible'. The Country Party was successful in both these seats at the election. The electoral agreement was adhered to on the whole, although a three-cornered contest occurred in Nanango between the Northern Country Party and the Country Party candidates.

Most of the seats to which the P.P.U. initially laid claim were concentrated in the South Western sector of Queensland and the Darling Downs region. Seats such as Albert, Aubigny, Cunning-

34. Digby Frank Denham was Premier of Queensland 7 Feb 1911 to 1 June 1915. He had held portfolios in four ministries from 1903. He lost his seat as did five other ministers in the election of 22 May 1915.

ham, Dalby, Drayton, Fassifern, Nanango and Pittsworth where wheat and dairy farmers were more numerous constituted the main Country Party support base. Several of the seats allocated to the P.P.U. at the later meeting included sugar areas such as Burrum, Wide Bay and Musgrave, and seats on the coast and to the North West of Brisbane. Most of the more remote western and northern seats such as Barcoo, Burke, Chillagoe, Cook, Gregory, Mitchell, Leichhardt and Warrego were held by the A.L.P.

CENTRAL CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL
REPORT OF ELECTORATES COMMITTEE

This Committee has to report having met on Monday, 18th April, at 2 p.m. where there was a full attendance. Messrs. W. Strickland, F. C. Macnish, and J. P. Peterson being present.

The Committee decided to take as a basis the recommendations agreed upon by Messrs. H. C. Cribb and J. P. Peterson at their informal conference of 17th September, 1919, when it was decided that the N.D.C. would not organise in the following electorates :—

Albert	Cunningham	Maranoa
Aubigny	Dalby	Nanango
Balonne	Drayton	Pittsworth
Burnett	Fassifern	Rosewood
		Warrego

These 13 electorates are therefore recommended for allocation to the control of the P.P.U. The other Southern Country electorates were then considered individually and the following recommendations arrived at concerning them :—

COORORA.

If this electorate can be adequately organised by the P.P.U. there is no objection to its having sole control. If the local N.D.C. wishes to continue operations it is a matter for local conference.

WIDE BAY.

The N.D.C. to consult its Maryborough Branch with a view to arrangements similar to Cooroora already set down.

STANLEY.

The N.D.C. to consult its Ipswich Branch as in Cooroora and Wide Bay.

MURILLA.

The N.D.C. to consult its Warwick Branch as in the three preceding cases.

LOCKYER.

No decision to be made at present pending local developments.

MURRUMBA.

To be open to all organisations.

LOGAN.

To be open to all organisations.

BURRUM.

To be open to all organisations, with a proviso that the N.D.C. will not unnecessarily disturb existing arrangements.

MUSGRAVE.

To be open to all organisations.

PORT CURTIS.

To be open to all organisations.

CARNARVON.

Existing conditions not to be disturbed.

With regard to the National Labour Party, it is recommended that its operations be allowed to extend to every electorate in which it considers good work may be done, with the proviso that the Central Consultative Council be advised from time to time of the electorates in which it is operating.

The foregoing are submitted to the Council as the recommendations of this Committee.

(Sgd.) J. P. PETERSON
F. C. MACNISH
W. STRICKLAND

BRISBANE, 12th April, 1920.

Agreement between Mr. George Brown, representing the National Democratic Council, and Mr. W. A. MacVean, representing the United Graziers' Association of Queensland on behalf of the Primary Producers Union of Queensland.

That the following 21 seats be left to the P.P.U. to entirely organise in the forthcoming State Election :—

Albert	Fassifern	Stanley
Aubigny	Maranoa	Murilla
Balonne	Nanango	Cooroora
Burnett	Pittsworth	Musgrave
Cunningham	Rosewood	Wide Bay
Dalby	Warrego	Carnarvon
Drayton	Lockyer	

As regards Burrum, Colonel Rankin to stand as the candidate of all organisations, the P.P.U. to manage the election with as little disturbance as possible to the other organisations.

All other seats in Southern Queensland including Port Curtis to be left to the National Democratic Council to organise.

That the Murrumba be left to both Organisations to work in a friendly spirit realising that the object is the same, viz. to win the seat from the Labour Party.

IT IS FURTHER AGREED that nothing shall be done to cause friction or misunderstanding and that both organisations will work for the same object, viz. to return to sane Government in Queensland.

For the National Democratic Council
GEORGE BROWN

For the United Graziers' Assn. of Queensland
W. A. MacVEAN

BRISBANE, 14th June, 1920.

United Graziers' Assn. of Queensland,
Union Bank Chambers,
BRISBANE, 18th June, 1920.

The Chairman of the Executive P.P. Union,
BRISBANE.

Dear Sir,

As you are aware the Executive of this Association has given very serious consideration to the position of political affairs in Queensland which arose by the published statement of the policy of the P.P.U. to disassociate itself from all other Political Organisations whose interests are to return sane Government in Queensland.

Although we do not agree with the attitude of the Metropolitan Press in unnecessarily magnifying the position, still we are of opinion that to successfully attain the defeat of the present Government at the coming elections, it is necessary that all political organisations on our side should work in harmony. This policy we feel sure is the correct one as it will create confidence among our supporters and will thus benefit all organisations both financially and otherwise.

It was with a view to endeavouring to bring about this policy of harmonious working that the Executive of this Association has recently been directing its efforts, and as a result of our negotiations we have arrived at an arrangement with the Executive of the N.D.C. as per copy enclosed.

We submit this arrangement for your serious consideration and are of opinion that its adoption by your Executive will be in the best interests of all members of the P.P.U. and will tend to strengthen and enlarge the influence of your organisation amongst those electors of the State who have no definite attachment to any particular party, as it will show them that your organisation is not allowing any sectional feeling to influence your actions when the best interests of the State are at stake.

Yours faithfully,
(Sgd.) ARTHUR H. WHITTINGHAM
President.

THE PRIMARY PRODUCERS' UNION OF QUEENSLAND

62-64 Queen Street,
BRISBANE,
21st June, 1920.

The Hon. Arthur H. Whittingham, M.L.C.,
President, United Graziers' Association,
Union Bank Chambers, Queen Street,
BRISBANE.

Dear Sir,

Referring to your letter of 18th inst. covering the terms of the agreement arrived at between your Association and the National Democratic Council I beg to advise you that the latter was laid by me before this Executive at its meeting on Friday last 18th inst. for confirmation.

The matter was thoroughly discussed in a most friendly spirit with full appreciation of the successful effort thus made by your Association's Executive to bring about a harmonious working between the political organisations on our side. The only question raised was that after the recent public withdrawal of this Union from the Central Consultative Council and the undoubted impetus given to the Country Party movement by that withdrawal a very considerable amount of unflattering comment would be forthcoming upon the quickly following announcement of a definite agreement between the N.D.C. and the P.P.U. Members of this Executive were of the opinion that such an announcement at this juncture would be disastrous to our chance of winning those very country seats that were intended to be left to this Union to control. It was stated in short that another Country Party would evolve which would fight both ourselves and the N.D.C.

The meeting finally decided that it would be unwise to come to a decision upon your Executive's recommendation at this juncture but that it be left in the Chairman's hands to take such action as will practically give effect to the wishes of your Association as therein expressed. A further resolution was unanimously come to that your Executive be asked to meet representatives of the P.P.U. at the earliest convenient date to go further into these matters.

You will see therefore that by the course adopted everything is avoided that could be possibly animadverted against as a secret agreement or definite understanding (which it is thought would militate against the Country Party's chance of winning its full complement of seats) while at the same time you will see that from the power placed in my own hands I am enabled to definitely assure your Executive that its recommendations will be carried out effectively and to the full, viz. :—

The P.P.U. will thoroughly organise and control the campaign in the following twenty seats named by you —

Albert	Fassifern	Stanley
Aubigny	Maranoa	Murilla
Balonne	Nanango	Cooroora
Burnett	Pittsworth	Musgrave
Cunningham	Rosewood	Wide Bay
Dalby	Warrego	Carnarvon
Drayton	Lockyer	

Burrum. The P.P.U. Executive will take no further steps in the organisation of this electorate. It must, however, be pointed out that the local P.P.U. organisation is very strong, covering every centre, and will probably take matters into its own hands. Colonel Rankin's friends would be well advised to secure the support of the local body in which event his return would be assured.

Port Curtis. The P.P.U. Executive has so far sent no organiser to this electorate and will refrain from doing so.

Murrumba. The recommendation here being that each party will do its best to return its candidate and secure the retention of the seat from Labour, this Union can be relied upon to organise its own supporters to the fullest extent and in the most friendly spirit possible.

All other Southern Seats. This Executive will refrain from propagating its organisation in these in accordance with the recommendation. As an immediate evidence of the acceptance of your Executive's wishes in this direction, I would mention that a request to organise and recognise a P.P.U. Branch in Toowoomba was refused and the policy of the Executive definitely laid down as being "the country seats to the Country Party and no interference elsewhere".

In conclusion I feel it fair to state that in my opinion this disposition of the matter will be probably more effective and beneficial all round than if there had been a mere acquiescence in the arrangement already come to.

Trusting that the foregoing will be found satisfactory and that you Executive will find it convenient to arrange for the conference and further discussion of matters as above suggested.

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) J. P. PETERSON
President.

In 1920 Queensland had one of the few Labor governments in the British Empire. To the Nationalists, as to other conservatives, this 'bolshhevik corner of the British Empire' ⁹ was an affront. Their rhetoric stressed loyalty to the Crown and the Empire, preservation of the 'British way of life' and protection of private enterprise. T. J. Ryan and E. G. Theodore were the arch-villains in Nationalist propaganda; statistics about Queensland were regularly cited to illustrate the rigours and burdens of 'life under socialism'.

Through the 1920s the Nationalist organisations in N.S.W. and Victoria assisted the other State organisations at election times, with finance, speakers and literature. Queensland in the early 1920s, however, received special attention. First, there was an important symbolic victory to be gained in toppling the longest-established and most innovatory of the Australian Labor governments. Second, some influential business supporters of the Nationalist Party, both in southern Australia and in England, felt that the profitability of their Queensland enterprises was threatened by the actions of the Theodore Government ¹⁰. The Pastoral industry was particularly affected; its representatives were influential within such bodies as the National Union of Victoria ¹¹.

The continual failure of Queensland non-Labor organisations to agree on such issues as the control of finance, the selection of candidates, and the role of the various bodies, facilitated 'outside' interference. Such disagreements were of long standing, but they had been temporarily resolved during the war years ¹². After the war, however, they returned with particular vehemence. Supporters in other States, while perceiving good reasons for assisting the organisations opposed to Labor, decried their inability to cooperate. The paucity of local finance made the Queensland organisations particularly susceptible to the wishes of those who could remedy their lack of funds.

In 1919, the National Political Council, the organisation which had co-ordinated the Queensland non-Labor associations since 1916, was destroyed by two important breakaways. First, the Queensland Farmers' Union and the United Graziers' Association withdrew and subsequently joined with the United Canegrowers' Association to form the Primary Producers' Union ¹³. Second, another section of the N.P.C. joined forces with the National Union ¹⁴ to form a new extra-parliamentary association known as the Australian Democratic Union. With the disappearance of its financial support, the N.P.C. had little alternative but to amalgamate with the A.D.U. The resulting organisation, formed in February 1919, was known as the National Democratic Council ¹⁵.

This new extra-parliamentary association soon encountered difficulties. From mid-1919 onwards, the P.P.U. and the N.D.C. began to disagree about which electorates each should contest for

the next State elections¹⁶. Simultaneously, the N.D.C. and the National Union began to dispute about the collection of finance. Initially, the National Union had agreed that the N.D.C. could raise funds itself, but from July 1919 onwards the National Union sought to restore itself as the sole collecting agency¹⁷. In October 1919 a Federal Election Campaign Council was formed which included representatives from the P.P.U. and the N.D.C. and the National Union¹⁸. The other organisations recognised the National Union as the sole fund-raising body, but the N.D.C. also engaged in its own campaign to collect funds¹⁹. These difficulties did not go unnoticed and supporters in other States began to query the amount and the value of aid to Queensland. The general manager of Goldsbrough Mort, for example, commented in November 1919 :

Financial assistance to a considerable extent has, I understand, been sent from Melbourne, but if there is not harmony in the anti-Labor ranks the money will probably be wasted. It is to be hoped that the business men of Queensland will put down their own cash on this occasion to a larger extent than formerly, and not depend mostly on help from outside²⁰.

In January 1920 the N.D.C. called a meeting of Brisbane businessmen²¹. To assist in the 'organising of finance' for the next State elections, it was decided to establish a 'consultative committee', consisting of three members of the N.D.C. Executive and one representative from 'each trade, profession, or business desirous of being represented thereon'²². A provisional council was elected at the gathering. One week later, at a meeting officially convened by the Queensland Women's Electoral League, a State Election Campaign Council, with the National Union as the sole collector of funds, was created²³. The N.D.C. refused to participate in this, or to relinquish control over its own finances. The National Union attempted to retaliate by forming a new extra-parliamentary association, but the 'New Party' which emerged was largely a paper organisation²⁴. In February or March 1920, however, a meeting was arranged between the National Union and the 'consultative committee' and from this, the 'new' National Union, whose formation is described in the Parkhill Report, emerged. This new finance committee was more representative of local business and industry; it also had closer links with the N.D.C.²⁵

The disappearance of the 'old' National Union removed some of the intra-organisational difficulties. The N.D.C. and the National Union now formed a new campaign council to supersede the one established in January. This was called the Central Consultative Council. It consisted of two representatives from 'all National political organisations, plus two from the National Union and the Nationalist Parliamentary Party'²⁶. The National Union was recognised as the only authorised fund-collecting body²⁷. The Council decided the allocation of finance²⁸. Organisations such as the Q.W.E.L., which were heavily dependent on National Union money, found they had no alternative but to affiliate²⁹.

The primary producers' organisations, however, chose to follow a separate path. Disputes with the N.D.C. over the allocation of electorates, allied to dislike of the re-constituted National Union, led the P.P.U. to withdraw from the Consultative Council in April 1920³⁰. An agreement about electorates was decided on between the N.D.C. and the Graziers' Association in July 1920 and the Consultative Council directed its member organisations not to engage in 'three-cornered contests'³¹. The P.P.U., however, refused to recognise the agreement or to re-affiliate with the Council, and it supported the separate parliamentary Country Party formed in July.

The N.D.C. continued to have grievances about the P.P.U. activities in certain electorates, but decided to suppress them³². Its decision was undoubtedly influenced by the National Union. Unable to raise sufficient finance locally, the National Union sent two representatives to Sydney and Melbourne in August 1920, 'to discuss matters with those interested in Queensland, relative to the question of securing funds for the next Election'³³. The mission was successful³⁴, but funds were channelled through the National

Union and were conditional on the avoidance of three-cornered contests³⁵.

The results of the election proved disappointing. The Labor government was returned and a divided Opposition consisted of more Country Party than Nationalist members³⁶. Despite pressure from the Melbourne National Union, the Sydney Consultative Council³⁷ and the local National Union³⁸, 'unity' among the various non-Labor organisations was not achieved in Queensland until 1925, when the Country and Progressive Nationalist Party was formed. Furthermore, it was not until 1929 that the C.P.N. managed to displace the A.L.P. from government. Even then, its term in office lasted only until 1932.

☆ ☆ ☆

REFERENCES

1. 'Confidential Report on Nationalist Organisation in Queensland'. London Guildhall Library. [TCMR 5-2, MS 11,093].
2. Antony Gibbs and Sons Ltd. of London, merchants and bankers. The Australian houses of this company were known as Gibbs, Bright and Company. The Australian Pastoral Company Ltd., which is still in business, was formed as an offshoot of Gibbs, Bright and Company.
3. The amendment to the Land Act of 1910 meant that the Land Court could assess the rental on the holding or selection on the basis of its economic value, instead of being limited to a rental not exceeding 50 per cent on the previous 10-yearly assessment. It was further proposed to make the rental increase retrospective.
4. The change of Labor leadership from Ryan to Theodore in 1919 made no difference to these feelings.
5. Francis Amboor Keating was a partner in the Australian Company of Gibbs, Bright and Company, and Chairman of Directors of the Australian Pastoral Company. In this period he was resident in London.
6. Percival Edgar Deane, C.M.G. (1890-1946). Private Secretary to W. M. Hughes 1916-21 and then Secretary, Prime Minister's Department, 1921-23.
7. A. H. Whittingham, President of the United Graziers' Association in Queensland in 1920, also a Member of the Legislative Council from 1912 to 1922. He was a prominent spokesman for the conservative faction in Queensland and was a member of the Constitutional Defence Committee set up at a Brisbane citizens' meeting in April 1917 to combat a Labor move to abolish the Legislative Council.
8. J. P. Peterson in 1920 was Treasurer of the United Graziers' Association and President of the Primary Producers' Union.
9. See J. Edmond, *National Review* (82) 1923, pp. 134-43. An American visitor, however, commented that the Queensland Government's 'socialism' was 'pink' rather than 'red': see F. Hunt, 'White Australia and Pink Queensland'. *The Century Magazine*, 103, Dec. 1921. p. 307-14.
10. See B. Schedvin, 'E. G. Theodore and the London Pastoral Lobby'. *Politics*, VI, 1 May 1971. p. 26-41.
11. The National Union in Victoria included the Chairman of Directors, two Directors, and the General Manager of Goldsbrough Mort & Company Ltd., as well as Directors of other pastoral companies with Queensland interests, such as Dalgety & Company Ltd. See the list of National Union members, n.d. (on internal evidence no later than 1919), *H. Brookes Papers*, [National Library of Australia, MSS 1924/6].
12. See Z. Abidin. *The Origins and Development of the Queensland Country Party, 1909-1932*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Queensland, 1958, p. 58-70.

13. Abidin. p. 79-81. B. D. Graham emphasises the important differences in outlook between the graziers and members of the Queensland Farmers' Union and the United Cane Growers' Association. The United Graziers' Association supported the Country Party movement until 1922 when it suddenly withdrew its support and substantial financial backing from the Primary Producers' Union. See B. D. Graham. 'Graziers in Politics : 1917 to 1929'. *Historical Studies*, 8 (32), May 1959. p. 383-91.
14. The local Queensland Nationalist 'finance committee', formed in 1917 : National Union (Vic.) Circular, 19 Mar. 1917. *Brookes Papers*, [National Library of Australia, MSS 1924/6].
15. *Brisbane Courier*, 26 Feb. 1919, p. 6.
16. For a summary of the negotiations, see *Brisbane Courier*, 16 Dec. 1921, p. 7.
17. The relations between the N.D.C. and the National Union in 1919 are summarised in *Brisbane Courier*, 12 Mar. 1925, p. 7; 14 Mar. 1925, p. 16, and 16 Mar. 1925, p. 11.
18. *Brisbane Courier*, 21 Oct. 1919, p. 7. The other organisations represented were the People's Party of Returned Soldiers and Citizens, the Queensland Women's Electoral League, the Northern National Union and the Central National Union.
19. Parkhill in his Report gives the amount collected by the N.D.C. as £5,000.
20. W. A. Gibson to L. A. Childe, 15 Nov. 1919. *Goldsbrough Mort & Company Ltd. Papers*, [Australian National University Archives 2A/20].
21. The following account differs from that of B. D. Graham, 'The Place of Finance Committees in Non-Labor Politics, 1910-1930' in C. A. Hughes, ed., *Readings in Australian Government*. Brisbane, University of Queensland Press, 1968. p. 374-5.
22. *Brisbane Courier*, 23 Jan. 1920, p. 4.
23. *Brisbane Courier*, 31 Jan. 1920, p. 4.
24. *Brisbane Courier*, 13 Feb. 1920, p. 4.
25. It included members of the provisional 'consultative committee'; its secretary was the N.D.C.'s former financial organiser.
26. *Brisbane Courier*, 17 Mar. 1920, p. 6.
27. *Brisbane Courier*, 3 June 1920, p. 6.
28. Close ties (such as the same Secretary) between the National Union and the Consultative Council probably rendered this distinction insignificant.
29. See Executive Committee Minutes, 25 Mar. 1920 and 12 Apr. 1920 *Queensland Women's Electoral League Papers*, [Oxley Memorial Library].
30. *Brisbane Courier*, 16 Dec. 1921, p. 7.
31. *Brisbane Courier*, 8 Jul. 1920, p. 6.
32. See policy speech of W. H. Barnes, the Nationalist Parliamentary Party leader. *Brisbane Courier*, 15 Sep. 1920, p. 7.
33. Dalgety and Company to General Manager, Goldsbrough Mort, 20 Aug. 1920 *Goldsbrough Mort Papers*, [A.N.U. Archives 2A/32].
34. B. Schedvin, 'E. G. Theodore and the London Pastoral Lobby', *Politics* 6 May 1971. p. 34-5 indicates that both the National Union in Victoria and the Consultative Council in Sydney contributed money to the campaign.
35. Only two electorates, Logan and Murrumba, were contested by both the Nationalists and the Country Party. See *Brisbane Courier*, 20 Sep. 1920, p. 7. In other electorates the various Nationalist associations consolidated their forces : e.g. in South Brisbane, the New Party candidate withdrew in favour of the N.D.C. nominee; in Ithaca, an Independent Nationalist withdrew in favour of the National Labor nominee : see *Brisbane Courier*, 18 Sep. 1920, p. 5 and 22 Sep. 1920, p. 7.
36. In the elections of 1920, Labor's support declined from 53.68 per cent of the valid vote to 47.77 per cent with a loss of ten seats. The Country Party emerged from the election as the larger Opposition Party by two seats. See Colin A. Hughes and B. D. Graham. *A handbook of Australian government and politics 1890-1964*. Canberra, A.N.U. Press, 1968. p. 518.
37. The reports of L. V. Biggs, the organising secretary of the Victorian National Union, indicate constant interference by that organisation in the affairs of the Queensland Nationalist Associations between 1921 and 1925. They are contained in *Brookes Papers*, [N.L.A. MSS 1924/6]. See also *Brisbane Courier*, 3 Aug. 1921, p. 4 and 3 Mar. 1925, p. 4.
38. In December 1923 the local National Union ceased supporting the main Nationalist extra-parliamentary association : see *Brisbane Courier*, 5 Mar. 1925, p. 7.