

Chapter Two

Men Must Live

The Mittagong Citizen, 1890-1892

Taking up the cross of Labor [you]
will find it very often hard to bear.¹

Open the first volume of John Dwyer's personal papers in the Dixson reading room of the State Library of New South Wales, and you will be confronted with a contract, pasted onto the ruled page of a leather-bound volume. On 8 January 1890 Dwyer, the contract formally recorded, engaged to serve John L. Castner and Co., Ltd., providores, as a sculleryman in the Railway Refreshment Rooms at Mittagong,

or at any other of the Railway Refreshment Rooms or Hotels to which he may be directed to go, and to otherwise make himself useful...To obey all lawful and reasonable commands of the said company or their authorised agents, and to be of sober and respectful demeanour.²

John Dwyer's contract represented both demand and reward. Slim reward and many demands, twenty shillings a week - the approximate pre-1890s depression minimum wage for an unskilled worker was seven shillings a

1. J. Macdonald Mathews to John Dwyer, 24 November 1892, NSW Political Labour League, handbills, press cutting and platforms, 1891-1910 [hereafter PLL Volume], ML.

2. Memorandum of agreement between John Dwyer and John L. Castner & Co. Ltd., 8 January 1890, John Dwyer Papers, 'Personal papers, 1890-c.1913', ML MSS 2184/1, State Library of NSW.

day for a six day working week - in exchange for his duty and his regulated behaviour.³ It was probably just as well that John Dwyer was a teetotaler. Castner and Co were 'at liberty to cancel this agreement at once', if the party of the second part became intoxicated with drink, or if he neglected or absented himself from his duties, or if he was found incompetent. Under the contract John Dwyer had no liberties, only duties. Summoned to work, Dwyer was identified as marginally useful to society, at least to soberly wash the dishes of sated commuters or restock the kitchen stores. He was thirty-four years old in 1890, and the ex-foreman from the London and St Katherine Docks Company resented his fallen status. Years later, he would ruefully complain to Commonwealth External Affairs Minister Billy Hughes that his skills 'had been of no value to me in this country. The market being overstocked when I came...left me no alternative but to tackle the first thing that came along.'⁴

John arrived in Sydney on 1 November 1888, leaving his employment, also as a cook's mate or 'sculleryman', on the *Port Denison* 'with the consent of the Captain', as he noted.⁵ His discharge certificate marked his conduct and character 'very good'.⁶ Annie and the children - Elizabeth, aged nine, and Daniel, aged eight - did not leave London for almost year after John sailed. On his arrival in Sydney John immediately left on a coastal steamer to visit Annie's Uncle, Henry Bennett, at his property 'Fernmount' on the Bellinger River, on the mid-north coast of New

3. Markey analyses the available data on pay rates, hours of work and the length of the working week in New South Wales during in the 1890s. Ray Markey, *The Making of the Labor Party in New South Wales*, University of NSW Press 1988 pp.32-37, 41-43.

4. John Dwyer to Billy Hughes, 19 May 1904, Dwyer Papers, ML MSS 2184/1.

5. 'Family History of John Dwyer from about 1770-1775', p.1, Dwyer Papers ML MSS 290 box 1.

6. Seaman's Discharge Certificate for John Dwyer, 1 November 1888, ML MSS 290 Box 1.

South Wales. The few weeks he spent with the Bennetts, on a property in some of the most beautiful country on the NSW coast, must have given Dwyer the impression that Australia was a land where a family could lead a prosperous and contented life. The few surviving letters to John from the Bennetts in those first months after John's arrival reflect a warm family life, a concern for John's attempts to find work in Sydney, and a hope that Annie and the children would soon join him.⁷

Throughout most of 1889 Dwyer worked at Her Majesty's Theatre in Sydney, probably in the kitchen as a sculleryman. Typically, his services were found 'sober and steady'.⁸ He took that basic skill back to sea: Dwyer joined the Federated Stewards and Cooks Union of Australasia on 18 March 1889, and occasionally worked coastal steamers to northern Queensland.⁹ Annie and the children arrived in Sydney on 16 September 1889, after a difficult seven weeks' voyage from Plymouth. She wrote to John when they reached Adelaide. Dan was ill with bronchitis, displaying the tendency to illness that would dog him all his life. A doctor had attended him three times the previous day. 'I thought last night he was choked.' She had nursed him continually for eight days in their small cabin, with only two single berths between the three of them. The ship was 'pitching and rolling' terribly as it travelled east around the Great Australian Bight. She dozed while watching Dan, and was thrown to the other side of the cabin. 'I thought we were turned over'. She and Lizzie

7. Henry Bennett to John Dwyer, 10 December 1888; Sarah Greer to John Dwyer, 4 August 1889, Dwyer Papers ML MSS 290 Box 2.

8. Reference for John Dwyer from Her Majesty's theatre, 14 November 1889. Dwyer had been employed since March. Dwyer Papers ML MSS 290, 'general Correspondence' box 2.

9. 'Family History of John Dwyer from about 1770-1775', p.1; Federated Stewards and Cooks Union of Australasia, Rule Book, 1889, ML. This rule book, in the general Mitchell Library collection, is John Dwyer's personal copy, and notes the date on which he joined the union.

were 'well battered about', although they were not as prone to sea-sickness as some of the other passengers. 'Lizzie is laughing now she makes a very good sailor'. They had all been drenched during the trip from Naples to Colombo - the portholes had been left open, and it took three days to dry the clothes and bedding. 'The paid passengers got fresh bedding', she complained to John, 'but the assisted passengers did not.' She had not a penny left; 'I have not had a cup of tea since the 28 of July.' Isolated, with two children to care for, she found her fellow travellers hard to bear. 'A more shifting mischief making low lot I never saw in my life...I shall never go back to England if I have to go this way.'¹⁰ There was no going back to England. John's desire to emulate the Bennett's successful emigration drew him to Mittagong in December 1889, where he took the sculleryman's job. He subsequently leased a market garden property at Green Hills, about a mile out of the town. The property did not yield a sufficient return to sustain a good living, and he was continually forced to seek out other employment to supplement the family income.

Getting and Spending: The Mittagong Entrepreneur

'Men must live', Dwyer wrote in the *Mittagong Express* in 1891, 'and in the present state of society they must take work wherever it is to be got.'¹¹ They could also choose to leave; Dwyer left Castner's employ on 11 July 1890 and the company was sorry to see him go. 'We always found him a steady competent man.'¹² He was still in need of money, and a month after leaving Castner's he sought the advice of his landlord, Edward G.

¹⁰. Annie Dwyer to John Dwyer, Dwyer Papers ML MSS 290, family correspondence' box 2.

¹¹. *Mittagong Express* 27 March 1891, clipping in Dwyer papers ML MSS 2184/4, from where all *Mittagong Express* items are sourced.

¹². Reference for John Dwyer from John L. Castner & Co., 26 August 1890, Dwyer Papers ML MSS 290, general correspondence box 2.

Larkin, who reluctantly explained that it was a difficult matter to give advice in 'these very bad times'. 'After giving digging a fair trial and not succeeding in making any money I should certainly endeavour to obtain employment.' Wages might be meagre, but gold digging 'has always been a lottery with few prizes and many blanks.' Dwyer was apparently fearful of being turned out of the home he shared with his wife and children. Larkin offered a vague comfort: 'It is a home for Mrs Dwyer who gets good health - I do not think you need fear of her being turned out, trusting you may succeed in getting payable gold.'¹³

Dwyer's gold prospecting reflected more wishful thinking than skill, although he continued pursuing the dream of gold into the new century. He showed some judgment in seeking Larkin's advice. Edward Larkin was the manager of Mittagong's Fitzroy Iron Works, a mechanical engineer, a mason, and in 1889-90 an alderman on the new Mittagong Municipal Council, who 'had always taken an active part...in advancement of the village.' When he stood for office he reminded voters that 'I am personally known to the majority of you.' Larkin had earned the respect of the small community in which John Dwyer also hoped to make a name. Larkin knew the cost of building dreams and monuments. As an alderman he 'would be opposed to borrowing sums of money and spending them recklessly'.¹⁴

By 1890 Larkin was a man whose dreams had been tempered by experience, a manager of a collapsing enterprise. The Fitzroy Iron Works, first established in 1848 following the discovery of a significant deposit of

¹³. E.G. Larkin to Dwyer, 28 August 1890, Dwyer papers ML MSS 2184/2.

¹⁴. *Southern Mail*, 19 February & 10 September 1889; *Bowral Free Press*, 25 September 1889, 8 February 1890.

iron ore, was the reason Mittagong existed at all, built on the hope that the town would grow with the company as 'the centre of a large manufacturing district.' Despite early success, the Fitzroy Works could not efficiently compete in the international iron trade. The Works were indefinitely closed in 1866, and Mittagong floundered.¹⁵ By the late 1870s it was 'no longer a live place'.¹⁶ In 1878 Larkin took over the Works lease. His aims were modest, rolling rails from surplus pig iron which were used to construct a tramway for the near-by Joadja shale mine. Larkin closed the Works following the completion of the contract. By the late 1880s the Mittagong Land Company had acquired the Works with Larkin maintaining some form of interest. The Works seem to have continued to fitfully produce, although it was never again a profitable enterprise.¹⁷ It was probably no coincidence that in 1889 a branch of the National Protection Association was established in the town, and elections that year saw the first protectionist member of the NSW Parliament from a previous stronghold of free trade interests.¹⁸ Larkin, an ardent protectionist, attended the Association's inaugural meeting.¹⁹ The national regime of tariff protection for the manufacturing industry embraced with Federation in 1901 arrived too late to save the Fitzroy Iron Works, and too late to help John Dwyer, arriving in the late 1880s to a town struggling with a failing economy.

15. Rae Else Mitchell, 'Mittagong and District. Its Industrial Development', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol.XXVI Parts V&VI, 1940 pp.419-438.

16. James Jervis, *A History of the Berrima District*, Library of Australian History, 1973, p.80.

17. Else Mitchell's article is silent about Larkin's role at the Works after 1878. Larkin's 1890 and 1894 correspondence to Dwyer are addressed from the Works, suggesting some continued role for himself and operations at the Works in this period. Else Mitchell, 'Mittagong and District', pp.446-451.

18. *ibid.*, pp.439-38, 450-51.

19. *Southern Mail*, 19 February & 8 March 1889.

A fate not immediately apparent; by 1890 the town of Mittagong shone with superficial prosperity, spurred by the property speculation rampant across the colony. 'Some really splendid buildings' were under construction, including a new building for the Commercial Bank, the first Bank to establish in the town in 1883, and a new Post Office. The streets were lit at night from kerosene extracted from the shale of the Joadja mine. The *Mittagong Express* was first published in 1887. A year earlier a School of Arts had been established, to provide a library and a venue for cultural activities. During 1890-91 John Dwyer was its secretary, librarian and caretaker, making a name for himself as an active citizen in the community, and probably earning a modest stipend for his duties.²⁰ Larkin was a candidate for the inaugural elections of the Mittagong Municipal Council in 1889, serving a growing if somewhat fractious district population of 1,468, living in 324 dwellings. Not all of them welcomed local government. Over 130 residents argued in a petition that the sanitary condition of the town was already adequate, and that 'the buildings in it were not extensive and were very scattered'. Their doubts were overwhelmed by a wave of town pride and ambition.²¹

Despite Larkin's warnings, Dwyer continued to plan and dream, craving a share of prosperity. Given the mineral wealth to be found in the district, the mining industry seemed to offer the best options for a quick return. In December 1890 Dwyer drew up a scheme for the New South Wales Patent Block Fuel Co., Mittagong. He would be the Managing Secretary, 'with full power to act in all matters and concerns'. Dwyer would have superintendence and control of all office work, clubs, servants, officers,

²⁰. Copy of a minute from the committee records of the Mittagong School of Arts concerning John Dwyer's period as secretary, librarian and caretaker, July 1891, Dwyer Papers ML MSS 290, general correspondence Box 2.

²¹. Jervis, *A History of the Berrima District*, Ch.XIII.

and labourers, skilled or otherwise. He would issue all 'orders for buildings and construction of any shops, houses, manufactories or erections of any kind.' Profit and loss would be equally shared with his partner, one 'Charles Smith, otherwise Bessir.' Mister Smith or Bessir is conceded scant responsibility, and there is no reference to a partner's obligation to invest start-up capital. Presumably he was expected to bring something to the enterprise, other than an ambiguous willingness to deal with Dwyer.²²

Dwyer's scheme involved the gathering of scrap coal, or slack, from local coalmines. By 'certain processes', he wrote in an article for the *Southern Mail* on 9 December, the scrap would be fashioned into small bricks suitable for domestic heating. The low cost of the bricks would appeal to the poor and their discreet and tidy shape attract the wealthy, 'who object to a dirty coal cellar.' Dwyer enthusiastically reported this 'industry' had proved 'a complete success in the old country', where it was organised on a vast scale, 'the central depot having a regular line of steamers carrying the fuel to it by water and rail carrying hundreds of tons of it overland.' Despite sketching plans for a partnership, Dwyer told the *Southern Mail* that he envisaged a public company worked on co-operative principles, providing a fresh source of employment for the district.²³ Perhaps with dreams of a rising enterprise, in July 1891 Dwyer paid £20 to lease a property on the Bowral Road from the Mittagong Land Company. It was a twelve months lease with an option to purchase at £220.²⁴ However it

22. Draft articles of partnership re the NSW Patent Block Fuel Co., Mittagong, 5 December 1890, Dwyer papers ML MSS 2184/1.

23. 'The New Industry for Mittagong', draft of proposed article submitted to the *Southern Mail*, 9 December 1890. Dwyer papers ML MSS 2184/1.

24. Dwyer to Mittagong Land Co., December 1890; Lease agreement between John Dwyer and Mittagong Land Co., 1 July 1891. Dwyer papers ML MSS 2184/1.

seems his block fuel venture went no further, possibly killed off by the discouragement of one James Beaumont, who told Dwyer in March 1892 that he too wanted more manufactories in the district, 'but I am afraid it would not pay. The imported article is too cheap.' Beaumont does not specify what 'it' is, although Dwyer had obviously approached him for his business expertise. Beaumont assured Dwyer that other 'similar' companies 'went bung' or were struggling.²⁵ Many of Dwyer's projects are stillborn fragments in his papers. After the initial rush of enthusiasm, all reference to the block fuel project disappears.

Dwyer persisted with market gardening, enquiring about selling strawberries to the Sydney market, and purchasing a share in the Bowral Co-Operative in March 1892.²⁶ Market gardening did not provide a sufficient family income. That same month he worked as a labourer at the NSW Railways quarry at Bowral, sustaining an eye injury from a shard of flying rock. He sought a transfer to another job in the Railways Department, but was told there were no vacancies.²⁷ In September he struck on the idea of establishing a commercial laundry. He listed the equipment and supplies he needed to set up the Green Hill Laundry, a list that ran to at least £3, a hefty sum for a struggling and underemployed market gardener. The only record of an income was 7s 2d from laundering some sheets, quilts, curtains and cloths for Mrs. Morris of the

²⁵. James Beaumont to John Dwyer, 5 March 1892, Dwyer papers ML MSS 2184/1.

²⁶. J.H. Trevarthan to John Dwyer, 16 November 1891; Receipt from the Bowral Co-Operative for one share purchased by John Dwyer, 16 March 1892, Dwyer papers ML MSS 2184/1.

²⁷. There is no indication in his papers if his eye was permanently injured. Secretary, Government Railways of NSW to John Dwyer, 5 April 1892; Doctor's certificate, 19 April 1892, Dwyer Papers ML MSS 290, general correspondence' box 2.

Exchange Hotel.²⁸ By November he was pleading with the Mittagong Land Company for more time to pay outstanding rent. He had not had regular work in months, and recently injured his legs in a fall from the roof of the house, a result of the 'constant improvements' he had been making since taking up the lease - making repairs, planting trees. He argued that the Company had previously had no trouble from him, 'and would not now if the times were not so dreadfully bad'. He expected to have funds in about a month.²⁹ The economic depression that would blight John Dwyer's mature years was gathering around him, as the colonial economies buckled under the pressure of collapsing commodity prices and a sudden contraction of a once generous flow of London credit. Communities like Mittagong were left with few prospects of town growth and little employment for its citizens.³⁰

Dwyer continued to seek the patronage of the powerful. In January 1891 he wrote to the Grand Chief Templar of the Independent Order of Good Templars in Sydney. Dwyer and his fellow templars in the Hope of Mittagong Lodge (which he seems to have joined soon after arriving in the town³¹) sought the Grand Templar's support for a rail excursion to Sydney. 'Temperance day for the Southern Line' would include 'a concert in the exhibition buildings or Centennial Hall, a public meeting...and pay

28. 'Itinerary of a Labour League Honorary Organiser in the year 1892. Part of Illawarra and Southern Lines NSW', p.5. Dwyer papers ML MSS 2184/4; September-October 1892, list of laundry income, Dwyer Papers ML MSS 290, box 1.

29. John Dwyer to the Mittagong Land Company, 27 November 1892, Dwyer Papers ML MSS 290, box 1.

30. Timothy Coghlan, *Labour and Industry in Australia*, Vol.3 Macmillan 1969, p.1635.

31. In April 1890 Dwyer was listed as an alternate delegate for a Grand Lodge meeting in Sydney, representing the Hope of Mittagong Lodge. The Lodge seems to have conducted regular meetings, although few details of its activities survive. IOGT Delegate's ticket, 7 April 1890, Dwyer Papers ML MSS 290, box 1; *Southern Mail*, 10 September 1889.

a visit to the museum and botanical gardens.³² Dwyer qualified his plans as 'only a rough sketch'. Anticipating the Grand Templar's scepticism, Dwyer added 'it will be an excursion for us country men and do the Temperance cause generally good and the Templar order in particular I forgot to mention a procession is also suggested.' In a postscript Dwyer offered a financial inducement. Excursion profits should go to a temperance body, 'and I think the IOGT should stand first.' There is no indication from his papers that his 'rough sketch' excited the interest - or the response - of the Grand Templar.

The ambitious businessman, man of property, temperance worker: each step out of struggle is checked, compounding his difficulties. Dwyer's draft correspondence is marked with corrections and deletions. The drafts reveal his clerical training in the London and St Katherine Docks Company, and a man often unsure of how to seek the grace and favour of the individuals from whom he sought assistance. Pleas are reconsidered and reworked: where Dwyer assures the Grand Chief Templar that the 'temperance day' will benefit the cause, he later added, 'and the Templar order in particular'. His personalised letterhead described himself as an 'Elocutionist', 'past editor of the London Templar Guide', and 'Secretary, Mittagong School of Arts'. He was trying to impress, suggesting that he was capable of greater things; a claim that could only rest upon the slim range of his achievements. Dwyer overplayed his hand, trying to impress with a list of minor posts and skills that read more like a resumé than a simple letterhead. His prose rushed through a welter of activities - too many to cram into a single day - finishing with an almost pathetic temptation of profits, from a venture more likely to generate debts. This

³². John Dwyer to the Grand Chief Templar, Independent Order of Good Templars, 20 January 1891. Dwyer papers ML MSS 2184/1.

sense of insecurity, a determination to succeed with this letter where others had failed, and conjure the right combination of words upon the page, reveals the impact of financial difficulties and spurned ambition on Dwyer's self-esteem.

Marking time: the Mittagong Radical

Dwyer directed his discontent into politics. By 1891 he believed that social justice for the working class beckoned almost within their grasp, through the precocious organisation of the Australian Labor Party. Dwyer sought a role, helping to organise a Labor Electoral League for Mittagong, and as a Labor propagandist for the local *Mittagong Express*.³³

Despite the colony's mounting economic difficulties, it was a time of hope for the workers' cause: The June 1891 elections delivered thirty-five Labor representatives into the New South Wales Parliament. Dwyer told the readers of the *Mittagong Express* that 'the men of the Labor Party' had won 'a famous victory', speaking out 'clearly and straight; no rot', standing 'solid, young and full of vigour' before the 'fossilized old parties', stunned by Labor's success. 'Out of the ashes of defeat Labor has, phoenix-like, risen, invigorated by adversity - with a knowledge of what it must expect at the hands of the old order.'³⁴ John was certain that the capitalists and their agents in the free trade and protectionist parties would reunite to fight organised labour. 'Should the people dare to parade in numbers for their rights, armed men are massed from all

³³. This thesis follows the convention of 'Labor' when referring to the Australian Labor Party or its antecedents in the text - the Labor Electoral League and the Political Labor League - and 'labour' when referring to groups of workers or the labour movement - the generic description of the Labor Party and the unions.

³⁴. *Mittagong Express* 17 July 1891.

quarters to overawe and, if necessary, to do more to them, as witness the streets of Sydney during the late strike.³⁵

The imminent power of capital and the state, threatening with massed sabre and guns - as in Sydney's streets during the 1890 maritime strike - is a recurring theme of Dwyer's *Mittagong Express* articles. Since the beginning of 1891 Dwyer had been regularly contributing to the paper under the pseudonym, 'Mark Time'. He declared himself a herald of the 'new forces', that 'are hourly being generated in our humdrum every day civilized life.'³⁶ On one level, these forces seemed mysterious, undefined, changes that everyone struggled to comprehend. 'One cannot help viewing with considerable anxiety the wonderful changes that have been wrought during the last few years in the industrial, political and intellectual world; for, to use the words of a celebrated living writer, "we are outgrowing old ideas like youngsters outgrow their clothes. Creeds are modified, beliefs are changing, and the spirit of inquiry and unrest is everywhere."' Yet these wonderful changes were clouded with an ominous threat. Workers face dangers from the powerful, who 'will hold onto their positions like grim death.'³⁷

Some of the changes had a direct manifestation, as revealed in Labor's success. Workers would win their rights, 'whatever name their rights are labelled, be it Socialism, Republic, Commonwealth...they will have them.' The people, Dwyer declared, are 'marking time...and woe to injustice, monopoly and oppression.'³⁸ The forces of oppression were strong, with a multitude of weapons, of which state force was only one - other, more

³⁵. *ibid.*, 20 March 1891.

³⁶. *ibid.*

³⁷. *ibid.*, 27 March 1891.

³⁸. *ibid.*, 17 April 1891.

subtle and debilitating weapons could also be employed: workers could be 'patronised and patted on the back; but behind the scenes there is a different tale to tell'.³⁹ Ridicule was used against the people's struggle, with its advocates dubbed 'agitators, atheists, socialists, communists, republicans, blatherskites and demagogues'. How often had John Dwyer felt the deceitful encouragement of a boss, the scorn of public ridicule?⁴⁰

To overcome an impression of Labor's illegitimacy, Dwyer cultivated an image of propriety for the new Mittagong LEL. Dwyer was the League's inaugural secretary. At the League's first meeting in the School of Arts on 24 July 1891, a month after Labor's outstanding parliamentary success, Mr. Jonathan May, 'the affable mining manager', was elected Chairman. May told the meeting that 'for many years he had been intimately associated with workmen, and always took pleasure in promoting their best interests and securing to them a good wage for their work.' May affably recommended Dwyer to the meeting, who 'was working hard for the cause and was the man they wanted.'⁴¹ Dwyer seemed to believe that democratic political success was built upon a coalition of interests, crossing class lines. As the principal organiser of the branch Dwyer undoubtedly had a hand in asking May to accept the Chair. Middle class fears needed soothing: Dwyer told another LEL meeting that although socialists had been 'denounced by society' they were not recommending that workers should share their wages 'with the idler and the drunkard'. Dwyer wanted work for 'the willing man. If an able man would not work, let him starve.' Dwyer claimed that socialists were only trying to fulfil the message of Jesus, that 'great social reformer', who preached and practised

³⁹. *ibid.*, 20 March 1891.

⁴⁰. *ibid.*, 27 March 1891.

⁴¹. *ibid.*, 24 July 1891.

'the great doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man'.⁴²

Here was the voice, not of Jesus, but his agent, the temperate John Dwyer. Only the dutiful elect would enter the kingdom of heaven: 'idlers', an apparently undeserving breed of the poor, were outcast. Dwyer returned to this theme of moderation a year later, when he helped organise the Berrima District Socialist League, a branch of the Australian Socialist League. Dwyer was elected as the Berrima League's secretary. The ASL's dramatic manifesto of class warfare and the abolition of private property were ostensibly more radical than the practical and legalistic reform program of the LEL, whose 1892 platform was silent on socialism.⁴³

In August 1892 the *Mittagong Express* reported that 'advanced social reformers' decided to establish the local ASL branch to propagate socialism throughout the district. The Red Flag, they announced, would be hoisted for the first time in Mittagong at 3pm on Sunday 7 August in the Alexandra Square.⁴⁴ On that day Dwyer spoke beneath a banner that he claimed caused the mighty of the earth to tremble when it was unfurled. In the old world torrents of blood had been spilt to destroy its influence. Despite this melodramatic introduction, Dwyer repeated that socialism could be found in the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth. The ASL sought the abolition of the pauper and the millionaire and the recognition of women as the equal of men, 'and sometimes the better of the two.' Yet private property would not be abolished, but 'directed into

⁴². *ibid.*, 7 August 1891.

⁴³. 1892 LEL platform in PLL volume; 1894 ASL Manifesto in Brian McKinlay, *Australian Labour History in Documents*, Vol.3, Drummond Publishing, 1979 pp.31-34; Burgmann, *In Our Time*, pp.57-62.

⁴⁴. *Mittagong Express* 5 August 1892.

proper channels'. Dwyer concluded with a heartfelt sentiment. In a socialist state, every man would get all he earned, 'with a certainty of work and the necessaries of life, of which to-day no working man is sure.' The *Mittagong Express* concluded that the meeting 'was exceedingly well attended, orderly and attentive, and quite a number of ladies were present.'⁴⁵

Even the most subversive ideas were tolerable if expressed with good order. Despite editorial reassurance, some Mittagong citizens felt the shadow of socialist bomb-throwers. Following the meeting, one nervous local wrote to the *Express*, criticising 'two residents of Mittagong talking socialism in Alexandra Square.' 'One of the two', very likely Dwyer, pitied his alarm and replied: 'Poor man! I wonder does he wear a tin can under his shirt or ask for special police protection, or does he dream of dynamite, and in terror look under his bed at night? He need not, I can assure him.'⁴⁶ The combination of red flag street theatre and a stern disavowal of violence reflected the restrained militancy practiced in England by the Social Democratic Federation.⁴⁷ Standing beneath the red flag, that potent symbol of the East End radical, John Dwyer was trying to hold on to his identity, and the cause to which he pinned his hopes.

⁴⁵. *ibid.*, 12 August 1892.

⁴⁶. *ibid.*, 14 October 1892.

⁴⁷. A *Justice* editorial in 1884 condemned acts of violence by Socialists 'in any country possessing freedom of the press and of public meeting.' The red flag was also a regular feature at SDF public meetings. *Justice* [London SDF], 8 March 1884, 1 September 1888.

A Capable Man: The Labor League Organiser

Dwyer's role in the emerging LEL and ASL offered a prominent role in the district and on behalf of his strongly held beliefs. In October 1891 Dwyer initiated a drive to sign up the miners employed at the Joadja mine.⁴⁸ The mine lay in a steep valley of the Great Dividing Range about twelve miles west of Mittagong. Dwyer was one of an LEL delegation of officials and parliamentarians that travelled to the mining town to establish a League branch. A *Mittagong Express* correspondent, probably Dwyer, described Joadja 'as a great chasm between sheer mountains', with workers cottages nestled within 'vast piles of green clad rocks', that could be turned into a 'veritable paradise' if the mine was worked on 'co-operative principles'. The delegation found twenty cramped cottages in 'Stringybark Row', with men, women and children 'and not a closet for any of the houses. We wondered if this was the case with the bosses' houses.' The Australian Kerosene Oil and Mineral Company also monopolised the town's trade and transport links. After the mine knock-off the LEL delegates addressed the men, who agreed to establish a branch.⁴⁹

The company quickly responded to the LEL's mobilisation of the miners. Thomas Forster Knox, a major shareholder and probably a director of the company, ordered local management to sack stillman Stewart Ferguson, who had organised the meeting.⁵⁰ The local managers were also

⁴⁸. T.J. Houghton to John Dwyer, 10 September 1891, PLL volume.

⁴⁹. *Mittagong Express* 2 October 1891; for details of the Joadja mine see Else Mitchell, 'Mittagong and District', pp.451-468.

⁵⁰. Leonie Knapman, *Joadja Creek, the shale oil town and its people, 1870-1911*, Hale & Iremonger 1988 p.32. Knapman cites a Thomas B. Knox as a shareholder, but as the *Sydney Democrat* article indicates, this is almost certainly Thomas Forster Knox, part of the Knox business dynasty established by Sir Edward Knox, founder of the Colonial Sugar Refinery. Thomas Forster was also the Managing Director of the pastoral empire Dalgety & Co. See

instructed to 'send up the hill' anyone else who took a leading part in Labor League matters. The *Mittagong Express* reprinted an article from the *Sydney Democrat* decrying this 'tyranny'. Knox was a prominent member of the National Association, 'which is supposed to "secure every man his personal freedom"...It is also opposed to class legislation, and we suppose what the promoters mean by this, is that any class except their class must be discouraged.' The company was apparently not content with the 'full proprietorship' of all the country around Joadja, 'including the bodies and vital powers of all its employees'. It also wanted to dominate the minds of the men. 'They make an open bid of premiums to the most servile of their employees, and visit with vengeance any and all who exercise the rights of free men.' The *Democrat* believed that Labor should use the incident as a rallying cry, 'remember Joadja!', and the Joadja miners should 'protest emphatically'.⁵¹

The miners found a way to protest at Ferguson's treatment. The company spitefully refused to allow him to use the tram to take out his furniture and household goods. In response, the miners, 'to a man', downed tools and carried the belongings three miles to the top of the steep hill, where a carriage took them on to Mittagong. Meanwhile, 'Mark Time' noted that the Joadja Labor League had been literally left out in the cold. Denied access by the company to the only meeting hall in the town, the meetings had to be held in the open air on the government road. The League's supporters were 'marked men'; meetings had to be abandoned, 'the men were terrorised, such is the power of this kerosene ring', but the League

Martha Rutledge, 'Edward William Knox', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol.9 1891-1939, Melbourne University Press 1983 p.627.

⁵¹. *Mittagong Express*, 23 October 1891.

would not disappear: 'they [the company] are not driving niggers now, but white men, and better men than themselves.'⁵²

Men still in need of a job: the difficulties of organising Joadja workers did not merely involve the problems of establishing an LEL branch or taking industrial action over wages and conditions. The LEL organisers were in effect trying to transform the miners' culture. Men - and their families - in a closed community, predominantly Scottish emigrants, tied to the mine by contract, tied to shale mining by a tradition that carried them around the globe, to labour and live in a valley isolated from the society of New South Wales. They might dissent from the controls exerted upon them, in illegal stills and drunken sprees, in unrest over poor work and living conditions, but they remained marked men, their bodies and minds subject to discipline, and a suspicion that perhaps they were being driven like 'niggers'. An indignity expressed in a language of contempt and loathing, a resentment transferred to a feared and distant Other. In little more than a year John Dwyer, the ambitious organiser of working class lives, would again experience the alienation of the industrial working class. When Ferguson left the men gathered and ceremonially bore him from the community. What emotional wrench must Stewart and Mary Ferguson have felt as they strode out of the valley, leaving behind the grave of their five year old son?⁵³

Dwyer's involvement in the labour movement led to a meagre source of income in November 1892, when he was appointed as a travelling agent for the *Australian Workman*, a labour movement newspaper published

⁵². *ibid.*, 30 October 1891.

⁵³. Material about the Joadja workers and their community is sourced from Knapman, *Joadja Creek*, pp.32, 40-43 and Ch.4, 'The Joadja Creek Community'. A photograph of the broken and fallen headstone of Charles Stewart Ferguson is reproduced on p.64.

in Sydney. The *Australian Workman* struggled with the onset of colonial depression. In October publisher George Horkins had approached unions for increased funding. He also wanted financial union members to become shareholders in the paper, allowing it to grow and rival the mainstream press.⁵⁴ No doubt as part of this expansion - or survival - drive, Horkins provided Dwyer with a reference, recommending him to potential subscribers and shareholders as 'an energetic honest worker and one who is advocating the rights of labour as a labour of love.'⁵⁵ Dwyer would have welcomed these warm sentiments, and the commission he could take for each subscription purchased. He was also paid six pence for each dozen copies sold, an income that might help him meet the costs of a new project - an LEL organising campaign around the southern highlands.

The trip evolved from a membership recruitment and branch-building drive suggested by Dwyer and approved by the Central Committee of the NSW LEL. Dwyer's persistence in corresponding with the powerful, floating plans or seeking work, finally seemed to pay off. On 27 October 1892 J. Macdonald Mathews, the Secretary of the NSW LEL, told Dwyer that 'I'm pleased to find men of your stamp at Mittagong. I only wish we had a few more in the country districts.' The previous night Macdonald Mathews had read Dwyer's letter to the Central Committee; it was 'met with applause'. Macdonald Mathews was apparently sincere in his wish to find good League activists in the bush. He recommended that the Central Committee appoint Dwyer as the sole LEL organiser for country New

⁵⁴. *Australian Workman*, 15 October 1892.

⁵⁵. Reference from George Horkins for John Dwyer, 14 October 1892 Dwyer papers ML MSS 2184/2.

South Wales. The executive unanimously agreed, although the LEL could not provide any financial support.⁵⁶

Dwyer decided to start with a tour of his local Camden electorate, following the towns along the Southern rail line to Sydney, then down the south coast along the Illawarra line, and back over the Great Dividing Range to Mittagong. He had hopes that his efforts on behalf of the Labor League in the southern highlands might finally lead to reward - a seat as a LEL member of the NSW Parliament. A small undated newspaper clipping in Dwyer's journal of the canvassing trip records a meeting of the King Division LEL that considered a request for potential candidates for country seats: Dwyer's name was amongst those put forward. The King electorate covered parts of central and east Sydney, where Dwyer lived from 1893. Dwyer may have hoped that his organising efforts in late 1892 would strengthen his claim as a Labor candidate. A token of his ambition, the clipping was pasted to the same sheet of paper on which he had scribbled the costs of establishing the commercial laundry.⁵⁷ He was desperate to close the gap between ambition and reality.

Dwyer left Mittagong on 1 November 1892, taking his son Dan with him. Dwyer drove a waggon towards Picton, eighteen miles to the north, and then over the Razorback range to Camden. He set out enthusiastically, 'studying and preparing proposed route till 1.30 am' the night before.⁵⁸ The Mittagong Branch had approved a leave of absence, the members basking in the reflected glory of their secretary being selected for this great

⁵⁶. J. Macdonald Mathews to John Dwyer, 27 October 1892, PLL Volume.

⁵⁷. 'Itinerary of a Labour League Organiser', p.5.

⁵⁸. *ibid.*, p.1.

task; the LEL had chosen 'a capable man'.⁵⁹ The NSW Government had also fired the LEL cause in September by arresting unionists leading a long and bitter dispute by Broken Hill miners.⁶⁰ At Picton and Camden, Dwyer held street meetings to protest the Government's action and promote the LEL. He even had fliers prepared in Mittagong, which he distributed around the towns. Reaching Liverpool on November 4, he held another meeting and passed around the hat for funds: 'got nothing'. He travelled on to Granville, west of Sydney, and offered the LEL supporters his assistance. The branch met, recruited four new members, including a local alderman, and passed a resolution demanding the release of the Broken Hill strike leaders. Woodward, the local LEL chairman, put Dwyer up and let Dwyer's horse graze in his paddock. The horse seems to have enjoyed more regular meals than either John or Dan. On the 10th Dwyer noted, 'the last penny of my funds gone.' Woodward provided him with an evening meal, but Dwyer saved it until the next day. Another collection failed to yield donations: 'people hard up'. Before he left the next day for Parramatta, someone gave him a shilling and a box of matches; another gave him sixpence. He had been reduced to begging. Parramatta was 'a bad camp...coolly received. Wet through, no fire, no paddock, bed and blankets wet.' A meeting had not been organised, although he had written ahead. He noted that he had some bread, meat, matches and ten pence, and that he 'wrote to Mrs D.'⁶¹

The next day Dwyer travelled into Sydney. At the LEL office he found that his credentials as a travelling organiser had suddenly been withdrawn,

⁵⁹. *Bowral Free Press* 5 October 1892; May to Dwyer, 6 February 1892, Dwyer papers ML MSS 2184/1.

⁶⁰. J. Macdonald Mathews to John Dwyer, 27 October 1891, PLL Volume; McKinlay, *Australian Labour History in Documents*, Vol. 1. p.77.

⁶¹. 'Itinerary of a Labour League Organiser', pp.1-8.

over unspecified charges brought against him by the LEL's Bowral Branch. Dwyer complained to Macdonald Mathews that he had not received any correspondence, and so could not respond to the charges. Dwyer spent several days in Sydney, trying unsuccessfully to find out more about the charges, before finally returning his credentials to the LEL office on 15 November. There he encountered William Holman, prominent LEL activist, union organiser and future NSW Premier. Dwyer asked him 'what he had to charge me with. Said he never charged one with anything only said that he was twice at Mittagong and spoke to empty benches.'⁶² Holman held Dwyer to account for this humiliation, and his revenge was aided by a local LEL official envious of Dwyer's sudden rise in status. Holman was the LEL Central Committee representative for the Camden electorate, which covered both Mittagong and Bowral.⁶³ He had a good friend in the Bowral Labor League Secretary, Oswald Law, with whom Holman had stayed when visiting the electorate - as Law reminded Dwyer.⁶⁴ At Law's initiative, in December 1892 the Bowral LEL decided to 'immediately' reorganise defunct branches and establish new ones in various towns of the Camden electorate - despite the fact that this was precisely the task Dwyer had been asked to perform.⁶⁵

Macdonald Mathews tried to placate Dwyer in a letter he sent to Mittagong (Dwyer could not have read it until after his return from the organising trip in early December). Macdonald Mathews explained that the LEL Central Committee lacked the authority to appoint Dwyer organiser in October 'without first consulting the branches'. Lacking

⁶². *ibid.*, pp.8-10.

⁶³. *Australian Workman*, 3 December 1892.

⁶⁴. Oswald Law to John Dwyer, 26 May 1892, PLL Volume; Law to Dwyer, 6 April, 7 June & 6 July 1892, Dwyer papers ML MSS 2184/1.

⁶⁵. *Australian Workman*, 3 December 1892.

experience in juggling the rivalries of a political machine, Macdonald Mathews had rashly taken up Dwyer's organising offer without considering the consequences. The Central Committee felt obliged to respond to a protest at his appointment from the Bowral LEL, although 'we never listen to personal grievances'. He assured Dwyer that the LEL considered him 'an earnest worker in the cause of labour', and urged him not to let 'petty sayings' prompt him to do anything rash or bring public 'ridicule' down on the LEL. 'I hope you will put that notion out of your head.'⁶⁶

Dwyer was conscious of slights: in August 1891 he wrote in the *Mittagong Express* that Bowral and Mittagong had rallied to hear Labor speakers address meetings on behalf of the new LEL. 'Certain persons who consider themselves the lights and leaders of the aforesaid towns let the meetings severely alone, and the meetings were thankful' - thankful, but perhaps not well attended.⁶⁷ In March 1892 Dwyer said that the LEL was trying to get 'reform' candidates elected to the Mittagong Council, although the League was stymied by 'a want of proper understanding and united action.'⁶⁸ The Secretary of the Mittagong LEL, the Secretary of the Mittagong School of Arts and the *Mittagong Express* correspondent, reminding readers of these snubs and rivalries, would not have casually shrugged off the contempt of the 'lights and the leaders' of a community in which he hoped to make a name for himself; left alone, he felt the sting of their scorn. A humiliated Dwyer must have raged at Macdonald Mathews in Sydney, threatening to hit back at his tormentors. On the cusp of achieving some measure of success, of accessing the LEL network and

⁶⁶. Macdonald Mathews to Dwyer, 24 November 1892, PLL Volume.

⁶⁷. *Mittagong Express* 28 August 1891.

⁶⁸. *ibid.*, 18 March 1892.

the rewards and challenges of political life, he was pushed back into anonymity.

Dwyer's mind raced with new plans and projects. On a page of the trip journal he had scribbled, 'conference of all the institutions in the district to discuss the cause of the present depression and point out any means of improvement, Religious, Municipal, Labor, Capitalistic, Political'.⁶⁹ Five categories of authority he placed before himself, and which he felt that he had to negotiate in his search for 'any' desperately vague notion of 'improvement'. He had learnt the language of authority well, but it kept turning back upon him: faced with failure, his definitions reared in the path of his quest, the 'religious' as emphatically as the four carefully defined pillars of temporal power. Macdonald Mathews unwittingly acknowledged Dwyer's dilemma. Sensitive to Dwyer's wounded pride at the loss of his credentials, Macdonald Mathews offered him the consolation that it was hard to bear the cross of Labor.⁷⁰ A metaphor of suffering that tied the hope Dwyer placed in Labor to the driven Jesus, bearing his own crucifex. The Jesus story Dwyer strove to escape, but which he also summoned to justify his politics. Dwyer had conceived of himself as a herald of the 'new forces'. Macdonald Mathews consolation, like Dwyer's fraught notion of Jesus, was a warning that new forces like Labor were capable of being appropriated by the discourses of traditional authority.

Men must live. On 16 November Dwyer prepared to leave Sydney and resume his trip. Reluctant to acknowledge rejection, he seems to have ignored his lack of credentials as he continued to try and organise local

⁶⁹. 'Itinerary of a Labour League Honorary Organiser', p.3.

⁷⁰. Macdonald Mathews to Dwyer, 24 November 1892, PLL Volume.

Leagues. Before he left Sydney he had to call by the Bathurst Street offices of the *Australian Workman* to pick up the painted 'Read the Workman' signs, two and a half yards long, that were fixed to his waggon. He also took a quantity of back copies to sell. At Hurstville, he 'hunted about for subscribers', and found the local LEL officers 'no good humbugs'. The local League Chairman was conspicuous only as the 'richest man here'. The Secretary seemed more interested in showing off his racehorses, 'Streak O'Light' and 'Creeping Jenny'. He obtained a *Workman* subscription from a Mr. Leeder, 'a Council Clerk and a big swell in his way.' He attended the League meeting but 'received very coolly indeed. Scarcely recognised at all.' At the foot of the day's entry he noted, 'bread 2 1/2, tea 3d, meal, 2 1/2. Waggon in want of repairs? No money?'⁷¹

Craving the indulgence of wealthy swells and humbug officials was taking its toll. For the remainder of the trip down the south coast to Woronora, then across the Great Dividing Range to Appin and Campbelltown, entries are laced with references to an undefined illness that settled over him and dogged his tracks (he makes no mention of Dan, suffering beside him). He tried to organise amongst the South Coast miners. He resorted to the train for some short trips, but found that he had to face a tiring walk back from Helensburgh to Heathcote, lacking funds for the fare. The miners were poor, living in 'houses like rabbit hutches, cabins and tents.' The men were sullenly unconvinced about the 'necessity for taking Workman.' 'They were a queer lot of fellows', he wrote, a mixture of Scotch, Irish, Welsh, Geordies. 'Not much good done', although he had organised a local branch of the LEL at Helensburgh. He found time to attend a lodge meeting of the IOGT at Woonona, a brief moment of familiarity, and a reassurance that his temperate self-

⁷¹. 'Itinerary of a Labour League Organiser', pp.10-12.

discipline was worthwhile. He finished his trip with a fruitless *Workman* canvassing tour of Campbelltown on 12 December. 'Left town at 10 O'Clock by rail I am not well.' He recorded that the Station Master allowed him and Dan, who by this time was also ill, to travel free by a late train to Mittagong - he lacked the price of the fares. He left the horse and waggon in a Campbelltown paddock. He arrived home at 1 am, returning to his family and Labor League colleagues aware of his humiliating treatment by the LEL Central Committee.⁷²

Coolly received, scarcely recognised, I am not well: for forty-two days Dwyer had driven an exhausted horse, a dilapidated waggon and his young son. There were few eyes willing to read the workman, not even when he had his craving for recognition symbolically advertised from the sides of his poor dray. Although his trip collapsed into failure and exhaustion, he never lost the compulsion to record his experience. He was his only witness - or, as he may have anticipated, we would be his witness, reading the signs of his scarcely recognised distress.

The trip can only have heightened his sense of alienation from those who ruled the Labor Electoral Leagues. Almost everywhere he went, the LEL seemed to be dominated not by the working class, but men like the mining manager Jonathan May, chairman of the Mittagong LEL, bestowing his prestige on a League craving a little local credibility. In Camden, an alderman, those pillars of small town respectability, presided at the league meeting. At Liverpool he called on Mr. Scrivener, a 'big storekeeper', to try and enlist his support and approval. In Hurstville, the League was dominated by the wealthy chairman and his horse racing mate. In Sydney, he had to face Macdonald Mathews lame excuses about

⁷². *ibid.*, pp.13-15.

the withdrawal of the credentials and Holman's bland condescension. In many of the small social systems into which Dwyer briefly intervened, he found the LEL dominated by those who had 'made good', one way or another, a fledgling political movement already dominated by alderman and businessmen, publicans and real estate agents, members of parliament and union officials. Even in John Dwyer's story workers are anonymous, the men who kept their hands in their threadbare pockets when Dwyer passed around the hat; they had nothing to give him. Only down along the south coast did he really encounter the industrial working class, amongst isolated mining communities, and they seemed withdrawn, insular and sceptical, unimpressed with John Dwyer, and the windy ambitions of the League and the *Australian Workman*.⁷³

Dwyer's problems rapidly intensified after the organising trip - a process that began immediately upon his return to the town. Although he claimed the Campbelltown night officer had allowed him to travel free, he was challenged as he attempted to leave Mittagong Station from the southern end of the platform - the wrong way out - with 'a little boy', as the Mittagong night officer told the local Police Court in January 1893. Dwyer was faced with the consequences of living in a small community: the night officer told Dwyer 'I would report the matter, as I knew his name and address.' Dwyer protested that he had not intended to evade paying the fares. He said he was 'taking home his sick lad to his mother after being away for two months.' Dwyer was found guilty and fined £1, plus more than another £1 in court costs. He had seven days to pay.⁷⁴

⁷³. *ibid.*

⁷⁴. Newspaper cutting [probably *Mittagong Express*] 3 January 1893, Dwyer Papers ML MSS 290, box 2; Dwyer to Superintendent, Southern Line, 10 December 1892, Dwyer Papers ML MSS 290, box 1.

The Mittagong Land Company was already pursuing him over unpaid rent. As he left for the organising trip, the Bowral Co-Operative also threatened legal action for a debt of 12s 6d (for one 10s share, and a 2s 6d allotment fee), a modest sum that must have loomed large for Dwyer, barely able to feed himself or Dan during the organising trip.⁷⁵ The Co-Op's threat seemed to contradict its stated leniency to 'shareholders in distress', who were assured in March 1892 that they would receive 'credit to the value of their shares.'⁷⁶ Dwyer's real problem may have been the challenge he represented to Oswald Law, the Chairman of the Bowral Co-Op.⁷⁷ Notwithstanding his problems with the Co-Op, Dwyer applied for the secretary's position in October, backed by references from the Mayor of Mittagong and the Manager of the local City Bank branch. Despite an assurance from Mayor Mandelson that in applying he was 'at last...doing the right thing' Dwyer was unsuccessful.⁷⁸

By January 1893 it was painfully obvious that he had exhausted his employment, political and business options in the town. Dwyer had to get out of Mittagong, and escape his lease - that binding legal obligation of place and duty that once embodied his hopes as a Mittagong citizen and now symbolised his humiliation. He left for the colonial capital in search of work in early 1893, just before the local branch of the Commercial Bank, caught in the financial panic gripping the colonies, closed its doors

⁷⁵. Bowral Co-Operative to John Dwyer, 8 October 1892, Dwyer papers ML MSS 2184/1.

⁷⁶. *Bowral Free Press*, 17 February & 2 March 1892.

⁷⁷. *ibid.*, 19 October 1892.

⁷⁸. References from the Mayor of Mittagong and the Manager of the City Bank Mittagong branch, 10 & 12 October 1892 respectively; Mandelson to Dwyer, 10 October 1892, Dwyer Papers ML MSS 290, 'general correspondence' box 2.

and suspended payments on 5 April 1893.⁷⁹ The bank crashes symbolised the depth of the economic crisis Dwyer would have to negotiate.

Dwyer had already been drawn to the cruel god of Sydney, 'the centre of good and bad - the home of the almighty dollar, the despotic ruler of the life of New South Wales.' Sydney lured the unemployed with a mirage of work. In April 1892 Dwyer had spent two days in Sydney, a city that he found 'sitting among its manifold bays and harbours, and stretching its arms, octopus-like, up and down the country'. Dwyer had walked its streets 'searching for the lodgings of the unemployed'. Perhaps the amateur social investigator, assessing the treatment of the unemployed for the readers of the *Mittagong Express*, was also trying to find out what was happening as his dream of a successful life in Mittagong collapsed into poverty and debt, and he plunged into the social marginality the unemployed knew so well. In Sydney Dwyer found the unemployed, and opportunities to give expression to his hungry creativity, in agitation against the ruling class and in the spiritual speculations of theosophy. 'Everywhere are people anxious to know what is happening in Sydney'.⁸⁰ Dwyer decided to find out for himself: he had nowhere else to go.

⁷⁹. Timothy Coghlan, *Labour and Industry in Australia*, p.1674.

⁸⁰. *Mittagong Express* 15 April 1892.