

FROM FACTIONS TO PARTIES IN NEW SOUTH WALES:  
THE TRANSITION BEGINS, 1885 - 1892.

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Volume II

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<u>ADB</u>	<u>Australian Dictionary of Biography.</u>
<u>AJPH</u>	<u>Australian Journal of Politics and History.</u>
<u>AS</u>	<u>The Australian Star, Sydney.</u>
BM	British Museum.
CO	Colonial Office Records.
DL	Dixson Library, Sydney.
<u>DT</u>	<u>Daily Telegraph, Sydney.</u>
<u>EN</u>	<u>Evening News, Sydney.</u>
<u>HS</u>	<u>Historical Studies.</u>
<u>HSANZ</u>	<u>Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand.</u>
<u>JRAHS</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society.</u>
ML	Mitchell Library, Sydney.
NLA	National Library of Australia, Canberra.
<u>NSWPD</u>	<u>New South Wales Parliamentary Debates.</u>
PC	Parkes Correspondence.
<u>SMH</u>	<u>The Sydney Morning Herald.</u>
<u>TCJ</u>	<u>Australian Town and Country Journal, Sydney.</u>
UNE	University of New England.
<u>VPNSWLA</u>	<u>Votes and Proceedings, New South Wales Legislative Assembly.</u>

APPENDICES



APPENDIX IFree-trade and Protectionist MsLA, 1887-1892:  
Political ComplexionNote:

- (1) References to NSWPD and newspapers are abbreviated thus:- (XXVII, 2573); (DT, 6.6.91,6).
- (2) Radical or conservative associations to which MsLA belonged are included in abbreviated form in brackets after member's name.
- (3) Other abbreviations:
 

LC	Legislative Council
8 hrs	eight-hour working day
payment MPs	Legislation
	payment of members of parliament

(1) FREETRADERS(a) Some Prominent Radical Liberal Free-trade MsLA

For the views of most of the following on the subject of direct taxation, see ch.3, nn.29-33.

- A.ALLEN (FTLREC, 1893): pro - payment MPs (XXVII, 2573); elective LC (SMH, 28.2.87,11); 8 hrs (XXXI, 3396-97); anti - revenue tariff (ch 2, n.100).
- J.H.CARRUTHERS (FTLREC, 1893): pro - elective LC (SMH, 4.2.87,11); property tax and national bank (ibid); anti - laissez-faire (J.A.Ryan, B.R.Wise, p.248). Also:- J.H. Carruthers to Parkes, 19 April 1891. PC, vol. 7, A877, pp.477-80, ML. But, anti-payment MPs (XXVI, 1841; XXXVIII, 1955).
- A.CAMPBELL: pro - elective LC, labour legislation, free education (DT, 12.6.91,6 ); 8 hrs (LIV, 2672-3).
- G.CLUBB: pro - payment MPs (XXXIX, 2240); elective LC, land tax (DT, 6.7.94,5).
- J.CURLEY: pro - 8 hrs (XLVIII, 4231).

- G.DONALD: pro - single tax (DT, 4.7.91,7)
- F.FARNELL: pro - payment MPs (XXVII, 2573); 8 hrs (XXXI, 3418);  
anti - revenue tariff (SMH, 6.2.89,8)
- C.L.GARLAND (STL, 1889-91): pro - payment MPs (XXVII, 2573);  
direct taxation (XXXIII, 5289;  
DT, 1.2.89,10).
- J.GARRARD: pro - payment MPs (XXVI, 1841; XXXIX, 2240); 8 hrs  
(ADB, vol. 4, 234); direct taxation.
- J.GILLIES: pro - 8 hrs, payment MPs (DT, 4.7.91,7); elective  
LC (DT, 11.6.91,3).
- J.S.HAWTHORNE: pro - 8 hrs (DT, 9.6.91,6; XLVIII, 4232); direct  
tax (DT, 9.6.91,6); anti-payment MPs (SMH,  
28.2.87,11; XXVI, 1841-42 BUT XXXIX,2240).
- J.HAYNES (FTLRL, 1894): pro - payment MPs (XXVI, 1828-30, 1841;  
XXXIX, 2240); anti - revenue tariff  
(FTLA Conference, 47); pro - direct tax-  
ation.
- E.LONSDALE (FTLREC, 1893): champion of labour, pro - 8 hrs,  
direct tax (DT, 4.7.91,7). See  
SMH, 24.5.94,6 (E.Pulsford).
- S.W.MOORE: pro - payment MPs (XXVI, 1841; XXVII, 2573); direct  
tax, but anti - 8 hrs (XXXI, 3400).
- J.C.NEILD (FTLREC, 1893): pro - 8 hrs (DT, 4.7.91,7; XXXI, 3418);  
factories legislation (DT, 4.7.91,7);  
direct tax (DT, 1.2.89,9); anti - el-  
ective LC (SMH, 3.7.94,6).
- J.NOBBES: pro - elective LC, payment MPs (DT, 5.2.89,5); 8 hrs  
(DT, 6.2.89,5; 9.6.91,6; XXXI, 3418); direct tax, re-  
moval of tariff anomalies, labour legislation (DT,  
9.6.91,6; ch 2, n.100)
- D.O'CONNOR (FTLREC, 1893): pro - abolition LC (DT, 1.2.89,9);  
payment MPs (XXXIX, 2240); direct tax.
- J.SEAVER: strongly pro - direct tax (XXXVII, 370; SMH, 28.2.87,  
12), refused to follow Parkes - said he had been 'false  
to freetrade' (DT, 12.2.89,5), and contested St  
Leonards against Parkes in 1891. anti - payment MPs  
(XXVI, 1841; XXVII, 2573). anti - revenue tariff  
(ch. 2, n.100).
- F.J.SMITH: pro - land tax, but anti - payment MPs (XXVII, 2573).
- S.SMITH: pro - payment MPs (XXVII, 2573-4; XXXIX, 2240); 8 hrs  
(XLVIII, 4228 - 30; LIV, 2514 - 15, 2517, 2524).
- R.W.THOMPSON: pro - elective LC (SMH, 28.2.87,11); doctrinaire  
freetrader: anti-revenue tariff (SMH, 30.1.89,10);  
pro - direct tax (XXXIII, 5389).
- J.E.TONKIN (FTLREC, 1893): pro - payment MPs (XXVI, 1841; XXVII  
2573; XXXIX, 2240); elective LC  
(SMH, 28.2.87,11); 8 hrs (LIV,2515,  
2525); trade unions (B.Dickey, 'Trade  
Unions', 201). "His politics have a  
decided tinge of radicalism, ...".  
(DT, 17.7.94,5).

B.R.WISE (FTLREC, 1893): See chapters 2,3.

F.WOODWARD: pro - payment MPs (XXVII, 2573); elective LC, 8 hrs, labour legislation, direct tax (SMH, 28.2.87,12; DT, 29.1.89,3).

(b) Some Prominent Moderate Free-trade MsLA

F.ABIGAIL: pro - property tax (SMH, 3.2.87,6); payment MPs (XXXIX, 2240); anti - 8 hrs (XXXI, 3394).

J.N.BRUNKER: anti - payment MPs (SMH, 28.2.87,11; XXVII, 2573; XXXVIII,1955); pro - 8 hrs (LIV, 2520, 2680).

W.McCOURT: anti - payment MPs (XXVI, 1841); pro - direct taxation (SMH, 28.2.87,11; DT, 12.6.91,6).

P.H.MORTON: pro - removal tariff anomalies (FTLA Conference, p.47); payment MPs (XXXIX, 2240); anti - 8 hrs (LIV, 3161).

G.H.REID: See ch.4, n.270.

(c) Some Prominent Conservative Liberal and Conservative Free-trade MsLA

W.C.A'BECKETT: anti - payment MPs (XXXVIII, 1955)

J.ABBOTT: anti - payment MPs (DT, 1.2.89,10; XXXVIII, 1955; XXXIX, 2240); 8 hrs (LIV, 2675-6).  
"Inclined to Conservatism on such questions as that of land taxation ..." (DT, 23.6.94,9). See A.W.Martin, Political Developments, pp.266-68.

E.J.BALL: anti - payment MPs (XXVI, 1841; XXVII, 2573; XXVIII, 1955).

R.J.BLACK (NA, 1893-4)

A.BOWMAN: anti-payment MPs (XXVI, 1841; XXVII, 2573); pro-indirect taxation (DT, 1.2.89,5).

H.H.BROWN: anti - payment MPs (XXVI, 1841; XXVII, 2573; XXXVIII, 1955).

S.BURDEKIN: on executive committee of The Land Owners' Defence League, 1894 - to combat land tax (G.C.Hunt to Parkes, 16 May 1894. PC, A923, p.652, ML).  
Retrenchment before taxation (SMH, 28.2.87,11); anti - land tax (DT, 10.7.94,6).

J.F.BURNS: pro - laissez-faire (SMH, 4.2.87,11; J.A.Ryan, B.R.Wise, 232); pro - indirect taxation (see ch.2); anti - direct taxation (see ch.3; SMH, 24.5.94,3); anti - payment MPs (XXVI, 1841; XXVII, 2573; XXXVIII, 1955).

M.CHAPMAN: anti - payment MPs (XXVI, 1841; XXVII, 2573; XXXIX, 2240).

- C. COLLINS: anti - land tax (DT, 10.7.94,6). See A.W.Martin, Political Developments, pp.266-68.
- W.R. CORTIS (NA, 1894): anti - elective LC, payment MPs (XXVII, 2573), direct tax.
- J.F. CULLEN: anti - payment MPs (XXXVIII, 1955; XXXIX, 2240); 8 hrs (LIV, 3161; XLVIII, 4231); land and direct tax (SMH, 2.4.89,4; LXXIV, 2258-9); pro - laissez-faire (LXX, 2328-9). See A.W.Martin, Political Developments, pp.75-6, 266-68.
- W.P. CULLEN: anti - land tax (DT, 12.6.91,6); 8 hrs (LIV,3161).
- T.G. DANGAR: anti-payment MPs (XXVI, 1841; XXVII, 2573; XXXIX, 2240).
- J.C. ELLIS: pro - indirect taxation (LXXVII, 6749); anti - direct taxation (XXXV,636; LXXV, 4421; LXXVIII, 7001). See A.W.Martin, Political Developments, pp.74, 266-68.
- G.W. FULLER: anti - payment MPs (XXXVIII, 1955; XXXIX, 2240); direct tax (SMH, 27.6.94,6).
- T. GARRETT: pro - indirect taxation (DT, 6.2.89,5); anti - direct tax (J.A.Ryan, B.R.Wise, 233); 8 hrs (XXXI, 3397).
- F.J. GIBBES: pro - laissez-faire (SMH, 4.2.87,6); anti - payment MPs (XXVII, 2573; SMH 28.2.87,11).
- A.J. GOULD: pro - indirect tax (DT, 11.6.91,3); anti - direct tax (DT, 22.6.94,6); payment MPs (XXXVIII, 1955; XXXIX, 2240); 8 hrs.
- N. HAWKEN: anti - payment MPs (SMH, 28.2.87,11); direct tax (DT, 4.7.94,6).
- W.H. HOLBOROW: anti - payment MPs (XXVI, 1841; XXVII, 2573; XXXVIII, 1955).
- J. INGLIS: pro - indirect tax to make working-class 'contribute a fair share' (DT, 12.6.91,6); anti - payment MPs (XXVI, 1841).
- I.E. IVES (NA, 1893-4): pro - indirect tax (SMH, 31.1.87,6); anti - payment MPs (XXVI, 1841); direct tax.
- C.E. JEANNERET: anti -8 hrs (XXXI, 3400; LIV, 2528); land tax (DT, 30.6.94,5).
- A. LAMB: pro - indirect tax (SMH, 1.2.89,3); anti - payment MPs (XXXVIII, 1955; XXXIX, 2240).
- C.A. LEE: anti - direct tax (LXXVI, 4468). See A.W.Martin, Political Developments, pp.266-68.
- J. McELHONE (NA, 1893-4): pro - indirect taxation (SMH, 28.2.87, 12); anti - 8 hrs (XXXI, 3395-6); direct tax.
- W. McMILLAN: See chapters 2,3.
- J. MARKS (NA, 1894)
- H. PARKES: See chapters 2,3.
- W.H. PAUL: anti - 8 hrs (DT, 29.1.89,3; 11.6.91,3).

A.B.SMITH (NA, 1894): See chapters 2,3.

J.R.STREET: anti - payment MPs (XXXVIII, 1955); direct tax (DT, 30.1.89,6); pro - indirect tax.

J.WHEELER (NA, 1894): anti - payment MPs (XXXVIII, 1955; XXXIX, 2240); 8 hrs (XLVIII, 4231).

R.B.WILKINSON: anti - payment MPs (XXVI, 1841); 8 hrs (LIV, 3161).

J.T.WILSHIRE: anti - payment MPs (XXXVIII, 1955; XXXIX, 2240); member 'Law and Order' party (XXXVII, 343).

J.H.YOUNG: pro - laissez-faire (LXX, 2323).

(2) PROTECTIONISTS

The following table is merely a summary of the conclusions arrived at in chapter 4, and it is based solely on the evidence used to reach those conclusions. The list does not include every protectionist MLA between 1887 and 1892, but only the more prominent members of the parliamentary party.

Conservative	Moderate	Radical
J.P.Abbott	J.F.Barnes	R.Barbour
W.E.Abbott	W.Brown	A.Chapman
W.Alison	J.M.Chanter	J.Creer
W.J.Allen	T.Colls	W.P.Crick
E.Barton	H.Copeland	J.Gormly
A.Brown	W.Edmunds	J.G.Gough
H.Clarke	T.Ewing	W.Grahame
D.Copland	A.Ryrie	J.Hayes
G.A.Cruickshank	J.M.Toohy	J.P.Howe
T.Dalton	T.Waddell	H.C.Hoyle
G.R.Dibbs	W.C.Wall	A.Hutchison
W.S.Dowel		J.A.Mackinnon

Conservative	Moderate	Radical
R.G.Fitzgerald		H.McKinnon
J.Fletcher		N.Melville
J.P.Garvan		G.T.Miller
T.H.Hassall		E.W.O'Sullivan
P.Hogan		T.Rose
J.Kidd		W.F.Schey
A.Lakeman		R.Stevenson
R.H.Levien		W.H.Traill
W.J.Lyne		R.M.Vaughn
J.McFarlane		T.Walker
M.McRae		W.N.Willis
B.B.Nicoll		
J.S.Perry		
A.Ross		
J.See		
T.Slattery		
A.Stokes		
F.B.Suttor		
J.Wilkinson		
F.A.Wright		

APPENDIX IIPlatform of the LPA, 1889

(1) 6 March 1889. PC, vol. 23, A893, pp.15-16, ML.

"Messrs McMillan, Brunner, Abigail, Lee, Carruthers & Garrett, the sub-committee selected to prepare proposed Platform of the Liberal Party met yesterday and beg to submit the following for the consideration of the Organising Committee.

1st. Fiscal Policy.

1. Freedom of Trade.
2. Direct Taxation.
3. Retrenchment of Expenditure.
4. The administration of the Public Works Act & Railways Act in their integrity & the abolition of political patronage & preference in the Civil Service in order to secure economy of administration.

2nd. Land Policy.

1. Laws to provide bona fide settlers with the most practicable, expeditious & liberal means of settlement.
2. The enactment of laws to regulate the occupation of Crown Lands for pastoral purposes upon a fair & liberal basis including special provisions to meet the conditions of the Great Western area of the Colony.

3rd. Mining Policy.

1. Laws to regulate mining on private property.
2. Encouragement to bona fide mining on Crown Lands & the enforcement of the conditions of leases.

3. Special laws to regulate Coal Mining in order to remedy existing grievances.

4th. Agricultural Policy.

1. Comprehensive system of Water Conservation and Irrigation.
2. Improvement of internal communications to facilitate the carriage of produce to market.
3. Establishment of Agricultural Schools & Model Farms in order to afford special instruction in Agriculture.

5th. National Policy.

1. Establishment of Local & Divisional Government throughout the Colony by means of a liberal & comprehensive Law.
2. Electoral Reform providing for an Elective Upper House & for the reduction of the number of members of the Legislative Assembly to a reasonable limit.
3. The Federation of Australia.

6th. The Encouragement of local industries by any legitimate means not imposing a tax upon the many for the benefit of the few as by -

1. Water Conservation etc. to assist farmers.
2. Cheap and speedy communication for producers to & from markets.
3. Technical Education to improve the skill and knowledge of those engaged in special pursuits.
4. Liberal laws to enable mining and other industries to be carried on with more security & bona fides".

(2) SMH, 28 March 1889, p.5.

As amended by the Organising Committee and distributed at a meeting of the LPA, 27 March.

"The proposed platform is as follows:-



1. Financial Policy.
  1. Freedom of Trade;
  2. direct taxation, including a tax on the unimproved value of the freehold in land, with reasonable exemption;
  3. economy in the public expenditure;
  4. efficient and economical control of the public services.
2. Land Policy.
  1. Laws to provide bona-fide settlers with the most practicable, expeditious, and liberal means of settlement upon the Crown land;
  2. laws to regulate the occupation of Crown lands for pastoral purposes upon an equitable and liberal basis, including provision adapted to meet the conditions of the Western Division.
3. Mining Policy.
  1. Laws to regulate mining on private property;
  2. encouragement to legitimate mining on Crown lands;
  3. establishment of mining colleges.
4. General Internal Policy.
  1. Local self-government;
  2. improvement of internal communication by the extension of our railway system and the opening up of harbours and rivers;
  3. comprehensive system of water conservation and irrigation;
  4. establishment of agricultural schools and model farms, and generally the extension of technical education;
  5. forestry laws to regulate the use, preservation, and growth of timber.
5. Encouragement of local industries by any legitimate means not imposing a tax upon the many to benefit the few.
6. Electoral and Parliamentary Reform.

7. Law reform.

(3) SMH, 2 April 1889, p.4; DT, 2 April 1889, p.6.

As amended by a meeting of the LPA on 1 April.

The proposed platform of 27 March was not altered with the exception of the following clauses:-

1. Financial Policy.
  2. Direct taxation. (all words after 'taxation' were eliminated).
  3. Changed to "Efficient control of public service and judicious economy in public expenditure".
  4. Incorporated into 3.
5. Encouragement of local industries was amended to follow, "by the abolition of all existing duties on raw material".
8. Sanitary Reform was added.

APPENDIX IIIPlatform of the South Sydney Liberal Association, 1891.

1. One man one vote. Single member electorates.
2. Elective Upper House.
3. Registration of voters, provision being made for the transfer of votes, so as to enable the working population to record their votes in any one electorate of the colony. Abolition of public hustings nominations.
4. Freedom of trade, and the removal of all anomalous Customs duties.
5. Local self-government and decentralisation.
6. Control by the State or local governing body of such works or undertakings as railways, tramways, water supply, public lighting, or other necessary works for the general good of a community, which, if vested in private owners, might create a monopoly prejudicial to the best interests of the people.
7. A Workshop and Factories Act, dealing specifically with the sweating system, and providing for the registration and proper supervision of all such premises.
8. The regular inspection of land boilers and machinery by competent practical men.
9. Amendment of the Trades Mark Act, providing for the stamping or marking of all manufactures to show where they are made.
10. Extension to seamen of the provisions of the Employers' Liability Act.
11. Amendment of the Trades Union Act.
12. A tax on land values irrespective of improvements.
13. Encouragement to the bona-fide miner upon both Crown and private lands. Abolition of fees charged for miners' rights and licenses, and the speedy issue of mineral leases. Adequate protection to miners, and regular inspection of mines by competent practical men. Establishment of schools

- of mines and metallurgy works by the State.
14. Establishment of agricultural schools and model farms, and generally the extension of technical education.
  15. Comprehensive national system of water conservation and irrigation.
  16. Federation of the colonies, on a broad just and national basis.

(SMH, 23 May 1891, p.7)

APPENDIX IVPlatform of the Australian National League, 1888

"Mr E.W.O'Sullivan, after having stated at length the reasons why a new political party should be formed in New South Wales, moved the following resolution:- 'That this conference hereby establishes the Australian National League, open to both native and adopted citizens, with the view of achieving the following objects - the fostering of an Australian sentiment, and to uphold the interests of Australia in preference to those of any other country; the following to be the programme in so far as the interests of New South Wales are concerned:- A judicious and discriminating protective tariff, a liberal and equitable land law, water conservation and irrigation, decentralisation, an elective Upper House, payment of members, registration of voters and abolition of property qualification for votes, abolition of the differential railway rates, restrictive laws against all coloured races likely to endanger our civilisation, protective shipping laws, a Department of Agriculture with a Ministerial head, local self-government, legislation of the eight-hour system, Workshops and Factories Act, and discontinuing sectarianism at elections'. Mr Colls seconded the motion, which was supported by Mr. J. J. Miller. The programme was unanimously adopted, with the addition of the Department of Agriculture, moved by Mr. J. J. Miller".

(SMH, 26 July 1888, p.8)

APPENDIX VPlatform of the National Democratic Association, 1890

1. Protection for all articles that can be grown or manufactured within the colony, and admission free of all other articles, save luxuries.
2. The prohibition of the sweating system.
3. Electoral reform, including single electorates, the abolition of plural voting, and registration of votes.
4. The extension of the franchise to members of the police and permanent forces, and to seamen.
5. Reform of the Upper House.
6. A Local Government Bill.
7. The amendment of the Railway Act, limiting the powers of the Commissioners for making contracts, and for other purposes.
8. The abolition of differential railway rates.
9. Liberal mining laws.
10. Legalisation of the eight-hour system.
11. A Factory and Workshops Act, with competent men to be appointed as inspectors.
12. The repeal of the Agreements Validating Act, and invalidation of labour covenants made outside the colony.
13. Water conservation and irrigation.
14. The right of the colony to coin silver and bronze.
15. The right of the colony to be consulted in the selection of its Governor.
16. Shops Early-closing Act.

## APPENDIX VI .

The Electorates of New South Wales, 1887-1891

KEY TO MAPS	ELECTORATE	MEMBERS RETURNED		
		1887	1889	1891
69	ALBURY	1	1	1
61	ARGYLE	2	2	2
47	BALMAIN	3	4	4
19	BALRANALD	2	2	2
27	BATHURST	1	1	1
4	THE BOGAN	2	3	3
59	BOOROWA	1	1	1
3	BOURKE	2	3	3
73	BRAIDWOOD	1	1	1
63	CAMDEN	2	3	3
46	CANTERBURY	4	4	4
58	CARCOAR	2	2	2
43	CENTRAL CUMBERLAND	3	4	4
14	THE CLARENCE	1	1	1
33	DURHAM	1	1	1
26	EAST MACQUARIE	2	2	2
37	EAST MAITLAND	1	1	1
52	EAST SYDNEY	4	4	4
74	EDEN	2	2	2
20	FORBES	2	2	2
48	THE GLEBE	2	2	2

KEY TO MAPS	ELECTORATE	MEMBERS RETURNED		
		1887	1889	1891
11	GLEN INNES	1	2	2
32	GLOUCESTER	1	1	1
62	GOULBURN	1	1	1
15	GRAFTON	1	1	1
21	GRENFELL	1	1	1
57	GUNDAGAI	1	1	1
9	GUNNEDAH	1	1	1
6	THE GWYDIR	1	1	1
31	HARTLEY	1	1	2
17	THE HASTINGS AND MANNING	2	2	2
30	THE HAWKESBURY	1	1	1
68	THE HUME	2	2	2
35	THE HUNTER	1	1	1
64	ILLAWARRA	1	2	2
7	INVERELL	1	1	1
65	KIAMA	1	1	1
16	THE MACLEAY	1	2	2
22	MOLONG	1	1	1
72	MONARO	2	2	2
36	MORPETH	1	1	1
25	MUDGEES	3	3	3
67	THE MURRAY	2	2	2
55	THE MURRUMBIDGEE	3	3	3
5	THE NAMOI	1	1	2
42	THE NEPEAN	1	1	1



KEY TO MAPS	ELECTORATE	MEMBERS RETURNED		
		1887	1889	1891
40	NEWCASTLE	2	3	3
10	NEW ENGLAND	2	2	3
49	NEWTOWN	3	3	4
39	NORTHUMBERLAND	3	3	3
24	ORANGE	2	2	2
53	PADDINGTON	3	4	4
45	PARRAMATTA	1	1	1
34	PATRICK'S PLAINS	1	1	1
71	QUEANBEYAN	1	1	1
54	REDFERN	4	4	4
13	THE RICHMOND	2	3	3
66	SHOALHAVEN	1	1	1
51	SOUTH SYDNEY	4	4	4
44	ST LEONARDS	2	3	3
8	TAMWORTH	2	2	2
12	TENTERFIELD	1	1	1
70	TUMUT	1	1	1
29	THE UPPER HUNTER	2	2	2
23	WELLINGTON	1	1	1
18	WENTWORTH	2	1	1
28	WEST MACQUARIE	1	1	1
38	WEST MAITLAND	1	1	1
50	WEST SYDNEY	4	4	4
41	WOLLOMBI	1	1	1
60	YASS PLAINS	1	1	1

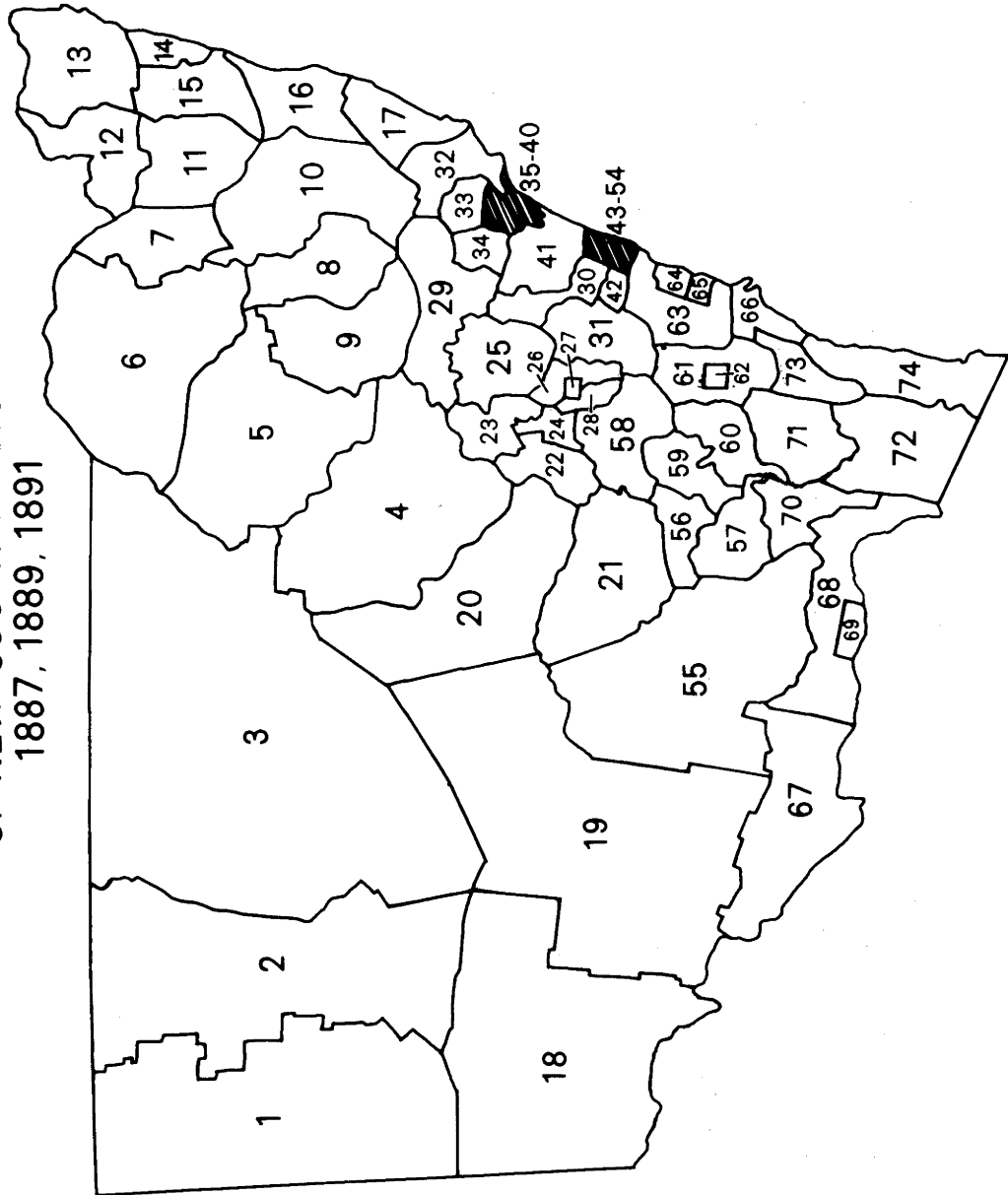
KEY TO MAPS	ELECTORATE	MEMBERS RETURNED		
		1887	1889	1891
56	YOUNG	2	2	2
1	STURT ) Part of	-	1	1
	) WENTWORTH			
2	WILCANNIA ) in 1887	-	1	1
	<u>TOTAL</u>	124	137	141

## TOTAL ELECTORATES:

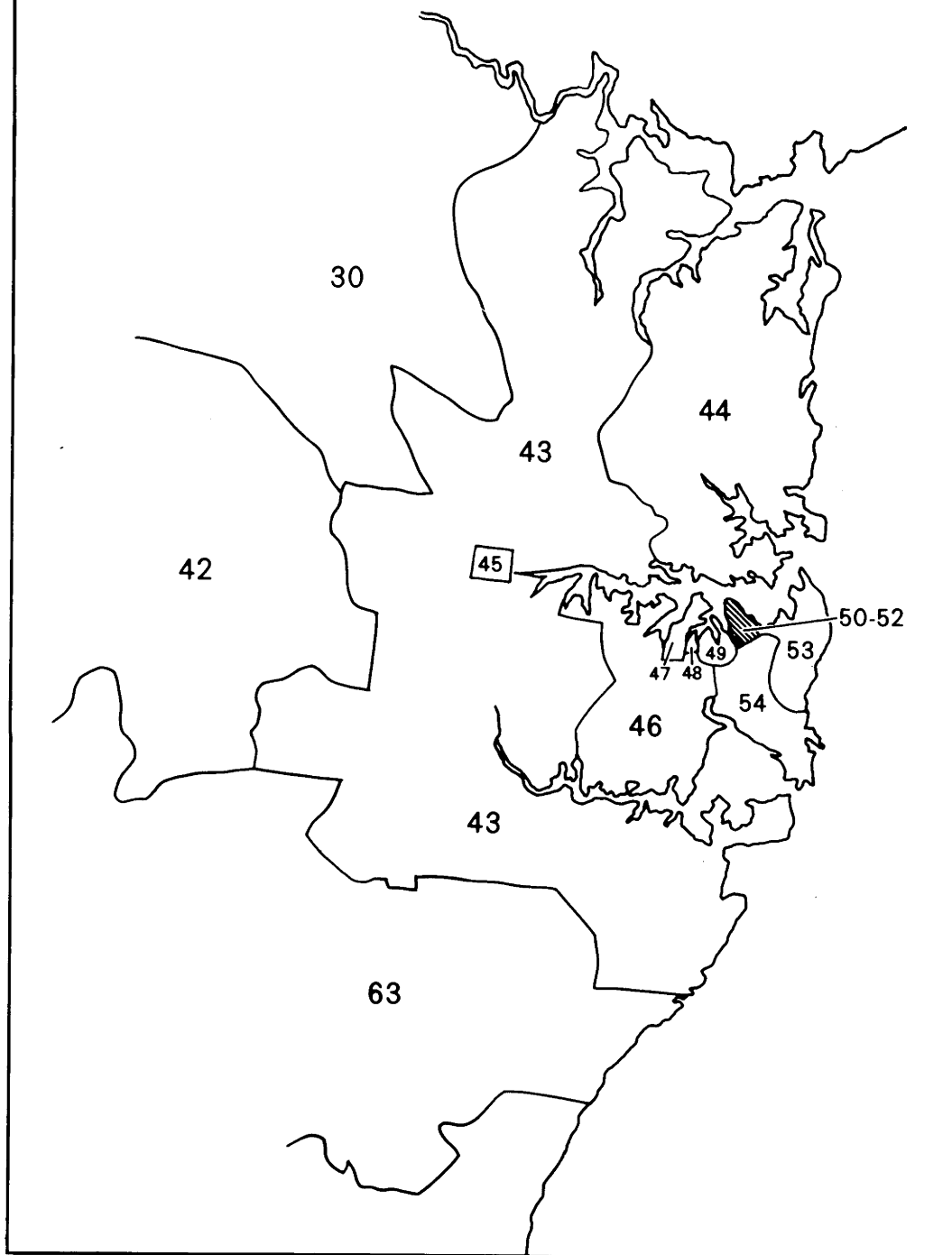
1887 72

1889,1891 74

ELECTORAL DIVISIONS OF THE COUNTRY DISTRICTS  
OF NEW SOUTH WALES  
1887, 1889, 1891



SYDNEY SUBURBAN ELECTORAL DIVISIONS  
1887, 1889, 1891



APPENDIX VIIOffice-Bearers and Council Members of the FTA,  
LPA and FTLA, 1885-1891Note:

- MLA - MLA at any time between 1887 and 1891.
- SCC - Member, Sydney Chamber of Commerce, 1885-1890.
- STL - Member, Single Tax League, 1889-1891.
- TLC - Member, Trades and Labour Council of New South Wales, 1885-1891.
- LEL - Parliamentary candidate of Labor Electoral League of New South Wales, 1891-1894.
- FTLREC - Member, Free Trade and Land Reform Electoral Committee, 1893-1894. (pro-direct taxation).
- FTLRL - Member, Free Trade, Land and Reform League, 1894 (pro-direct taxation).
- NA - Member of, or association with, National Association of New South Wales, 1893-1894 (anti-direct taxation, conservative)
- LODL - Member, Land Owners' Defence League, 1894 (anti-land taxation).

Membership of SCC : based on Lists of Members in Sydney Chamber of Commerce. Annual Reports, 1880-1896, 2 vols (in the possession of the Sydney Chamber of Commerce, Commerce House, Sydney). See Appendix VIII.

Membership of or association with NA : based on SMH, 11 April 1893, p.6; 10 May 1893, p.8; 21 March 1894, p.5; 7 July 1894, p.7; John Baptist Papers, Uncat. MSS Set 162, Item 4, ML.

Membership of TLC : based on Trades and Labour Council of New South Wales. General Meetings - Minutes, December 1881 - February 1891, A3830-A3831, ML.

Association with LEL : based on reports in SMH and DT during general elections of 1891 and 1894.

Membership of FTLRL : based on Armidale Chronicle, 8 September 1894.

Membership of LODL : See ch.3, n.37.

Membership of the STL : based on SMH, 24 January 1889, p.6; 20 April 1889, p.9; 27 April 1889, p.8; 29 April 1889, p.9; 20 January 1890, p.4; 30 January 1890, p.4; 5 March 1890, p.5; 29 January 1891, p.7; 1 April 1891, p.8; 2 April 1891, p.4.

Association with and membership of FTLREC : based on SMH, 26 April 1893, p.4; 29 April 1893, p.10; 4 May 1893, p.2; 22 July 1893, p.5; 27 July 1893, p.4; 3 August 1893, p.6; 8 August 1893, pp.5-6; 14 August 1893, p.6; 23 August 1893, p.8; 31 August 1893, p.6; 19 September 1893, p.6; 16 January 1894, p.6; 22 May 1894, p.6.

Other information concerning members, especially their occupations, is based on : A.W.Martin and P.Wardle, Notes; ADB, vols 3 and 4; Sands' Sydney Directory, 1885-1889.

(1) FTA

FTA 1885-6

SMH 18 August 1885, p.4; 29 August 1885; DT 18 August 1885, p.6; SMH 3 October 1885, p.10.

G.PILE (Vice-President, Treasurer) NA  
 G.N.GRIFFITHS Griffiths and Weaver (Stock and Station agents) SCC, NA  
 E.PULSFORD (Secretary) SCC  
 D.HOGARTH .  
 G.M.MERIVALE Gibbs, Bright and Co. (shipping) SCC, NA  
 W.McMILLAN MLA A.McArthur and Co. (warehouse) SCC  
 J.H.YOUNG MLA Commission Agent  
 A.T.EDWARDS Importer  
 J.HENDERSON  
 G.MUNRO A.McArthur and Co. (warehouse) SCC  
 J.H.GOODLET (President) Goodlet and Smith (importers) SCC

W.MAINER Building contractor NA  
 J.HAYNES MLA Journalist FTLRL  
 B.R.WISE MLA (Vice-President) Barrister FTLREC

The above fourteen men comprised the original executive council of the FTA.

---

J.BURNS Burns, Philp and Co. (shipping) SCC, NA  
 A.J.SMITH SCC  
 F.J.THOMAS (Vice-President) Manager, Hunter River  
 New Steam Navigation Co.  
 R.J.BROWNING Barrister  
 H.HUDSON (Vice-President) Hudson Brothers (Timber  
 merchants and engineering) SCC  
 G.WALLACE Solicitor  
 W.H.JENNINGS Contractor  
 R.W.CONWAY Manager, Metropolitan Mutual Permanent  
 Building and Investment Association  
 W.H.MACKENZIE W.H.Mackenzie and Co. (insurance) SCC  
 S.H.LEWIS Manager, Sydney and Suburban Mutual Perm-  
 anent Building and Land Investment Assoc-  
 iation.  
 A.KETHEL MLA Timber merchant

This was the full composition of the FTA Council by the end of August 1885, for it was reported on 29 August that the council "now numbers 25". (SMH, 29 August 1885, p.13).

H.A.PERKINS  
 W.G.MURRAY A.Murray and Co. (tea merchants) SCC  
 J.S.JAMIESON Prince, Ogg and Co. (warehouse) SCC  
 W.CLARKE MLA Banker  
 W.C.PROCTOR Solicitor  
 J.NOBBS MLA Newspaper proprietor

FTA 1886-7

SMH, 29 July 1886, p.9; 10 January 1887, p.7;  
DT, 8 November 1886, p.3; 6 December 1886, p.5.

Office-bearers

B.R.WISE President FTLREC  
 J.H.GOODLET Vice-President SCC  
 G.MUNRO Vice-President SCC  
 J.INGLIS Vice-President SCC  
 G.PILE Treasurer NA  
 E.PULSFORD Secretary SCC

Additions (Only those not previously on FTA council  
 are listed)

J.INGLIS (Vice-president) MLA James Inglis  
 and Co. (tea merchants) SCC  
 R.TEECE Manager A.M.P.Society NA  
 E.SMITHURST  
 D.CORMACK Mercantile agent NA  
 S.T.WHIDDON STL, FTLREC  
 F.BENNETT Importer  
 F.B.LARK Lark Sons and Co. (merchants) SCC, NA  
 C.H.HAYES Secretary, Sydney Exchange SCC, NA  
 N.B.DOWNING STL  
 R.G.VALLACK W.Gardiner and Co. (warehouse) SCC  
 J.T.WILSHIRE MLA (1889)  
 J.HEDGES NA  
 J.THORNE Shipbroker  
 C.McK.SMITH C.McK.Smith and Co. (insurance brokers)  
 W.H.VIVIAN MLA (1890) Estate agent  
 W.MUSTO  
 A.J.DRAYTON (probably a labour representative.  
DT, 6 December 1886, p.5) TLC(?)  
 RYAN TLC  
 W.GILLESPIE TLC  
 J.LAURENCE TLC  
 R.HALL  
 S.A.JOSEPH Montefiore, Joseph and Co. (merchants) SCC



FTA 1887-8

SMH, 2 August 1888, p.5.

Office-bearers

W.McMILLAN	President	SCC
J.H.GOODLET	Vice-president	SCC
W.GILLESPIE	Vice-president	TLC
H.HUDSON	Vice-president	SCC
G.MUNRO	Vice-president	SCC
G.PILE	Treasurer	NA
E.PULSFORD	Secretary	SCC

(no list of the Council for this year was contained in the reports of the second annual general meeting. SMH, 27 September 1887, p.4; DT, 27 September 1887, p.5).

FTA 1888-9

SMH, 2 August 1888, p.5; 2 March 1889, p.12; 8 April 1889, p.5.

Office-bearers

R.TEECE	President	NA
J.H.GOODLET	Vice-president	SCC
W.GILLESPIE	Vice-president	TLC
H.HUDSON	Vice-president	SCC
G.MUNRO	Vice-president	SCC
G.PILE	Treasurer	NA
E.PULSFORD	Secretary	SCC

Additions

H.ATKINSON	Manager, Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States
P.A.BRENNAN	
J.BEVERIDGE	George Griffiths and Co. (merchants) SCC
W.CHURCH	Manager, Australian Mutual Fire Insurance Society
W.DAVIES	Manager, N.S.W. Provident and Medical Assurance Association
R.J.DUNFORD	

E.W.FOXALL      STL  
 S.W.FOXALL  
 W.FOUNTAIN  
 A.LEE  
 T.MIDDLETON  
 W.T.MONTGOMERY  
 A.J.RILEY      MLA    A.J.Riley and Co. (warehouse)    SCC  
 R.RICHARDSON  
 A.RICKARD  
 S.SMITH      TLC  
 C.E.WIGZELL      Importer  
 R.WILLIAMS      FTLREC  
 J.WHEELER      MLA (1889)    Manager Newcastle-Wallsend  
    Coal Co.      NA  
 T.W.WARREN      Warren and Rown (merchants)    SCC  
    FTLREC

Added during March-April 1889

MOORE  
 W.NEIL      W.H.Neil and Co. (importers and merchants)  
 F.WALSH      STL,    FTLREC  
 E.WEST  
 H.HARRIS      Harris and Ackman (auctioneers)    SCC  
 S.J.LAW      LEL,    FTLREC  
 A.B.WOOD      STL  
 C.F.MICHELMORE    STL  
 PARR  
 J.F.BURNS      MLA  
 J.A.DOBIE      STL, LEL, FTLREC

In May 1889 it was reported that the size of the FTA council was "about 60 members" (SMH, 1 May 1889, p.7).

(2) LPALPA Organising Committee

Original Organising Committee, appointed c.25 February 1889.

W. McMILLAN  
 F. J. SMITH  
 J. N. BRUNKER  
 S. SMITH  
 S. BURDEKIN  
 J. H. CARRUTHERS  
 F. ABIGAIL

The first report of the Organising Committee envisaged that "a Council of twenty members with a President and two Vice Presidents [would] be elected to act as a Provisional Souncil .... Such Committee to be composed equally of members of the Legislature and private electors". (PC, Vol. 14, A884, p.357, ML). This latter condition, however, does not seem to have been either fulfilled or retained in the LPA rules. The Association's official rules simply stated that the LPA's "officers shall be a president, two vice-presidents, and a council of 20 members, who shall elect from among themselves a secretary and a treasurer". (SMH, 28 March 1889, p.5). It would seem that the full LPA council or Organising Committee was composed almost exclusively of MsLA.

During March the LPA Organising Committee was expanded to "about 26" members (SMH, 1 May 1889, p.7), and, although the additional members were not named, further analysis seems to reveal their identity. The council of the FTLA, between May 1889 and the Association's general meeting in July, comprised the 60 members of the FTA council and the 26 members of the LPA Organising Committee (*ibid*). Those MsLA, therefore, who were active on the FTLA council between May and July 1889, and who were members of neither the FTA Council or the original LPA Organising Committee, were probably among those added to the original seven-member LPA executive to bring its number to twenty-six. They were:-

H. H. COOKE (also member LPA delegation to negotiate with FTA re amalgamation)  
 C. A. LEE (also member of LPA Platform sub-committee and LPA delegation)

SIR HENRY PARKES

J.GARRARD

(For their participation on the FTLA Council prior to July, see:- SMH, 8 May 1889, p.5; 3 June 1889, p.4; 22 June 1889, p.8).

Other parliamentary freetraders on the expanded LPA Organising Committee were probably:-

A.J.GOULD (member Rules sub-committee)  
 T.GARRETT (member Platform sub-committee)  
 R.W.THOMPSON (member Rules sub-committee and LPA delegation)  
 E.W.TURNER (member LPA delegation)  
 W.McCOURT (member LPA delegation)  
 P.H.MORTON (member LPA delegation)

(PC, vol. 23, <sup>A893</sup>pp.15-19, ML; SMH, 11 April 1889, p.4)

A further four MsLA on the LPA Organising Committee were probably:-

J.S.HAWTHORNE  
 C.L.GARLAND  
 G.CLUBB  
 B.SMITH

(all four were elected to the FTLA Council at its general meeting in July, and none had been on the old FTA Council).

On the basis of lists in the press, it would appear that only four non-parliamentary freetraders could have been members of the LPA Organising Committee:- the single-taxers, W.E.Johnson and P.Meggy; TLC member, T.E.Colebrook; and the secretary of the Manly FTA, H.E.Farmer (SMH, 29 March 1889, p.4). All four appear as members of the FTLA Council between May and July 1889 (SMH, 8 May 1889, p.5; 3 June 1889, p.4; 22 June 1889, p.8), but none appear to have had any association with the FTA.

### (3) FTLA

#### FTLA, May-July 1889

Office-bearers - office bearers of the FTA, elected in August 1888, retained their positions (SMH, 1 May 1889, p.7)

Council - fusion of 60-member FTA Council and 26-member LPA Organising Committee (ibid)

FTLA, 1889-1890

SMH, 23 July 1889, p.5; 17 August 1889, p.9; 25 March 1890, p.6; 23 September 1889, p.8.  
 DT, 23 July 1889, p.6.

Office-bearers

A.GARRAN      President  
 S.BURDEKIN    Vice-president  
 J.H.GOODLET    Vice-president  
 H.HUDSON      Vice-president  
 W.GILLESPIE    Vice-president  
 G.PILE        Treasurer  
 E.PULSFORD    Secretary

Council (elected 22 July 1889)

(The full list of FTLA Council members, including office-bearers is given. Prior membership of the FTA Council or LPA Organising Committee is indicated in brackets; all connections with other relevant associations or bodies are indicated for all members; occupational details are only given where they have not already appeared in this Appendix).

(1) Parliamentary Freetraders

(a) MsLA at time of election to FTLA Council

S.BURDEKIN    (LPA)      LODL  
 J.T.WILSHIRE (FTA)  
 J.INGLIS      (FTA)      SCC  
 W.McMILLAN    (FTA-LPA)    SCC  
 J.H.CARRUTHERS (LPA)      FTLREC  
 C.A.LEE      (LPA)  
 S.SMITH      (LPA)  
 F.J.SMITH    (LPA)  
 J.GARRARD    (LPA)  
 J.N.BRUNKER   (LPA)  
 F.ABIGAIL    (LPA)  
 J.S.HAWTHORNE (LPA)  
 C.L.GARLAND   (LPA)      STL  
 J.F.BURNS    (FTA)

J. WHEELER (FTA) NA  
 SIR HENRY PARKES (LPA)  
 G. CLUBB (LPA)  
 B. SMITH (LPA) NA

(b) MsLA at any time, 1887-1891

B. R. WISE (FTA) FTLREC  
 W. H. VIVIAN (FTA)  
 A. J. RILEY (FTA) SCC  
 J. C. NEILD FTLREC

(of these 22 MsLA, 9 were radicals,  
 11 conservatives and 2 moderates.  
 See Appendix I).

(2) Non-parliamentary Freetraders

A. GARRAN  
 W. GILLESPIE (FTA) TLC  
 J. H. GOODLET (FTA) SCC  
 H. HUDSON (FTA) SCC  
 G. PILE (FTA) NA  
 R. HALL (FTA)  
 R. TEECE (FTA) NA  
 D. HOGARTH (FTA)  
 W. MUSTO (FTA)  
 E. W. FOXALL (FTA) STL  
 J. BEVERIDGE (FTA) SCC  
 J. HENDERSON (FTA)  
 T. W. WARREN (FTA) SCC FTLREC  
 G. N. GRIFFITHS (FTA) SCC NA  
 W. E. JOHNSON (LPA) (?) STL LEL  
 A. J. DRAYTON (FTA) TLC (?)  
 R. J. DUNFORD (FTA)  
 R. WILLIAMS (FTA) FTLREC  
 F. COTTON TLC STL LEL  
 P. MEGGY (LPA) (?) STL  
 T. E. COLEBROOK (LPA) (?) TLC  
 J. FARRELL STL  
 LAURENCE (FTA) TLC  
 J. T. LINGEN

HEBBLEWHITE        STL  
 A. B. WOOD        (FTA)        STL  
                   BINNIE        SCC        NA  
                   McCLOSKIE        STL  
 H. ATKINSON        (FTA)  
 R. T. REMINGTON        SCC        NA        Tea importer  
 R. RICHARDSON        (FTA)  
                   ALLDRITT        STL  
 J. A. DOBBIE        (FTA)        STL        LEL        FTLREC  
 S. H. LEWIS        (FTA)  
 F. WALSH        (FTA)        STL        FTLREC  
 C. F. MICHELMORE        (FTA)        STL  
 W. DAVIES        (FTA)  
 N. B. DOWNING        (FTA)        STL  
 A. DEAN  
 T. H. MARTYN        STL  
 G. R. PARKES  
 C. H. HAYES        (FTA)        SCC        NA  
 W. FOUNTAIN        (FTA)  
 A. RICKARD        (FTA)  
 C. E. WIGZELL        (FTA)  
 R. B. CROPLEY        FTLREC  
 S. W. FOXALL        (FTA)  
 G. BROWN  
 J. SLADE        FTLREC  
 E. PULSFORD        (FTA)        SCC  
 S. T. WHIDDON        (FTA)        STL        FTLREC  
 S. SMITH        (FTA)        TLC

Additions        (after July 1889)

N. HARPER  
 H. E. FARMER        (LPA)?  
 G. C. TAYLOR  
 R. H. REYNOLDS  
 H. RAMSEY  
 J. C. RANES  
 R. H. CLIFFORD  
 T. B. WALKER  
 P. WAKEFIELD        STL

W.C.GODDARD	SCC	NA	W.C.Goddard and Co. (insurance)
W.HARDING	FTLREC		
J.P.T.CAULFIELD		STL	
T.F.WALLER	SCC		
A.RIDDELL	STL		
H.DAHMS	STL	FTLREC	
A.CARD	STL		

Of the 69 non-parliamentary members of the FTLA Council, enough is known of 47 to make a basic division of the Council:

Radicals 30  
Conservatives 17

FTLA, 1890-1891

SMH, 23 July 1890, p.4

DT, 23 July 1890, p.6

Office-bearers

J.H.GOODLET	President
S.BURDEKIN	Vice-president
W.GILLISPIE	Vice-president
H.HUDSON	Vice-president
J.GARRARD	Vice-president
G.PILE	Treasurer
E.PULSFORD	Secretary

Council (elected 21 July 1890)

(1) Parliamentary Freetraders (Full List)

(a) MsLA at time of their election

On previous FTLA Council:

S.BURDEKIN	LODL
J.GARRARD	
F.ABIGAIL	
J.F.BURNS	
J.N.BRUNKER	
J.H.CARRUTHERS	FTLREC
G.CLUBB	
C.L.GARLAND	STL
J.S.HAWTHORNE	
J.INGLIS	SCC



C. A. LEE  
 W. McMILLAN            SCC  
 SIR HENRY PARKES  
 B. SMITH                NA  
 F. J. SMITH  
 S. SMITH  
 W. H. VIVIAN  
 J. WHEELER            NA  
 J. T. WILSHIRE

New members:

J. F. CULLEN  
 J. CURLEY

(b) MsLA at any time, 1887-1891  
 On previous FTLA Council:

J. C. NEILD            FTLREC  
 B. R. WISE            FTLREC  
 A. J. RILEY            SCC

New members:

J. EVE  
 C. E. JEANNERET

(Of these 26 MsLA, 10 were radicals,  
 14 conservatives, and 2 moderates).

(2) Non-parliamentary Freetraders  
 (Additions to first FTLA Council only)

R. BENNETTS  
 D. CORMACK        (FTA)    NA  
 J. M. DAVIS  
 J. McG. DUNN        SCC        James Dunn and Co. (importer)  
 F. S. DYER            STL  
 H. J. FLETCHER        STL  
 J. HEDGES        (FTA)    NA  
 C. HELMRICH  
 J. KING            STL  
 V. KELLY

F. MACLEAN	SCC	P. and O. S.N.Co.
J. S. MARSHALL	FTLREC	
J. RAINFORD		
J. WATSON	SCC	Harrison and Attwood (importers)

APPENDIX VIIIMembers and Presidents of the Sydney Chamber of Commerce, 1885-1891

(Only those of relevance to the thesis have been included).

Note:

Source: Sydney Chamber of Commerce. Annual Reports, 1880 - 1890, one vol. (in the possession of the Sydney Chamber of Commerce, Commerce House, Sydney).

Information concerning members' occupations is based on ibid; Sands' Sydney Directory, 1885-1889; A.W.Martin and P.Wardle, Notes; ADB, vols 3 and 4.

MEMBERS

J.ABBOTT, MLA      Director of Goldsbrough, Mort and Co. (Woolbrokers)

J.BEVERIDGE      George Griffiths and Co. (Merchants)

R.BINNIE

J.BURNS            Burns, Philp and Co. (Shipping Agents and Merchants)

J.McG.DUNN        James Dunn and Co. (Importers)

J.C.ELLIS, MLA     Shipping agent and merchant

W.C.GODDARD        W.C.Goddard and Co. (Insurance agents)

J.H.GOODLET        Goodlet and Smith (Importers of building materials)

G.N.GRIFFITHS     Griffiths and Weaver (Stock and station agents)

H.HARRIS          Harris and Ackman (Auctioneers)

C.H.HAYES          Sydney Exchange

H.HUDSON           Hudson Bros., Ltd (Timber merchants; Engineering and Construction)

J.INGLIS, MLA      James Inglis and Co. (Tea merchants)

I.E.IVES, MLA      Argyle Bond (Bonded stores)

J.S.JAMIESON        Prince, Ogg and Co. (Warehousemen; softgoods merchants)

S.A.JOSEPH         Montefiore, Joseph and Co. (Merchants)

R.J.KING, MLA George King and Co. (Merchants)  
A.LAMB, MLA Alfred Lamb and Co. (Shipping Agents  
and Merchants)  
F.B.LARK Lark Sons and Co. (Merchants)  
G.A.LLOYD G.A.Lloyd and Co. (Merchants)  
F.MACLEAN P. and O. Steam Navigation Co.  
W.H.MACKENZIE W.H.Mackenzie and Co. (Insurance  
agents)  
W.McMILLAN, MLA A.McArthur and Co. (Warehousemen;  
softgoods importers)  
W.F.MARTIN, MLA Commission agent  
G.M.MERIVALE Gibbs, Bright and Co. (Shipping  
agents and merchants)  
J.MITCHELL, MLA Mitchell and Woolcott-Waley  
(Shipowners)  
E.W.MOLESWORTH, MLA Wall and Molesworth (Shipping  
and customs-house agency)  
G.MUNRO A.McArthur and Co. (Softgoods importers and  
merchants)  
W.G.MURRAY A.Murray and Co. (Tea and general merch-  
ants)  
B.B.NICOLL, MLA G.W.Nicoll (Shipowners)  
J.S.PERRY, MLA W.Perry and Co. (Warehousemen)  
R.M.PITT Pitt, Son and Badgery Ltd (Produce merchants)  
E.PULSFORD  
R.T.REMINGTON Tea importer  
A.J.RILEY, MLA A.J.Riley and Co. (Warehousemen)  
A.J.SMITH  
J.R.STREET, MLA Managing director, Perpetual Trustee  
Co.  
J.SUTHERLAND, MLA Insurance company director  
J.M.TOOHEY, MLA  
F.H.TROUTON  
R.G.VALLACK W.Gardiner and Co. (Warehousemen)  
T.F.WALLER Wool broker  
T.W.WARREN Warren and Rown (Merchants)  
J.WATSON Harrison and Attwood (Importers)

PRESIDENTS

1883 S.A.JOSEPH

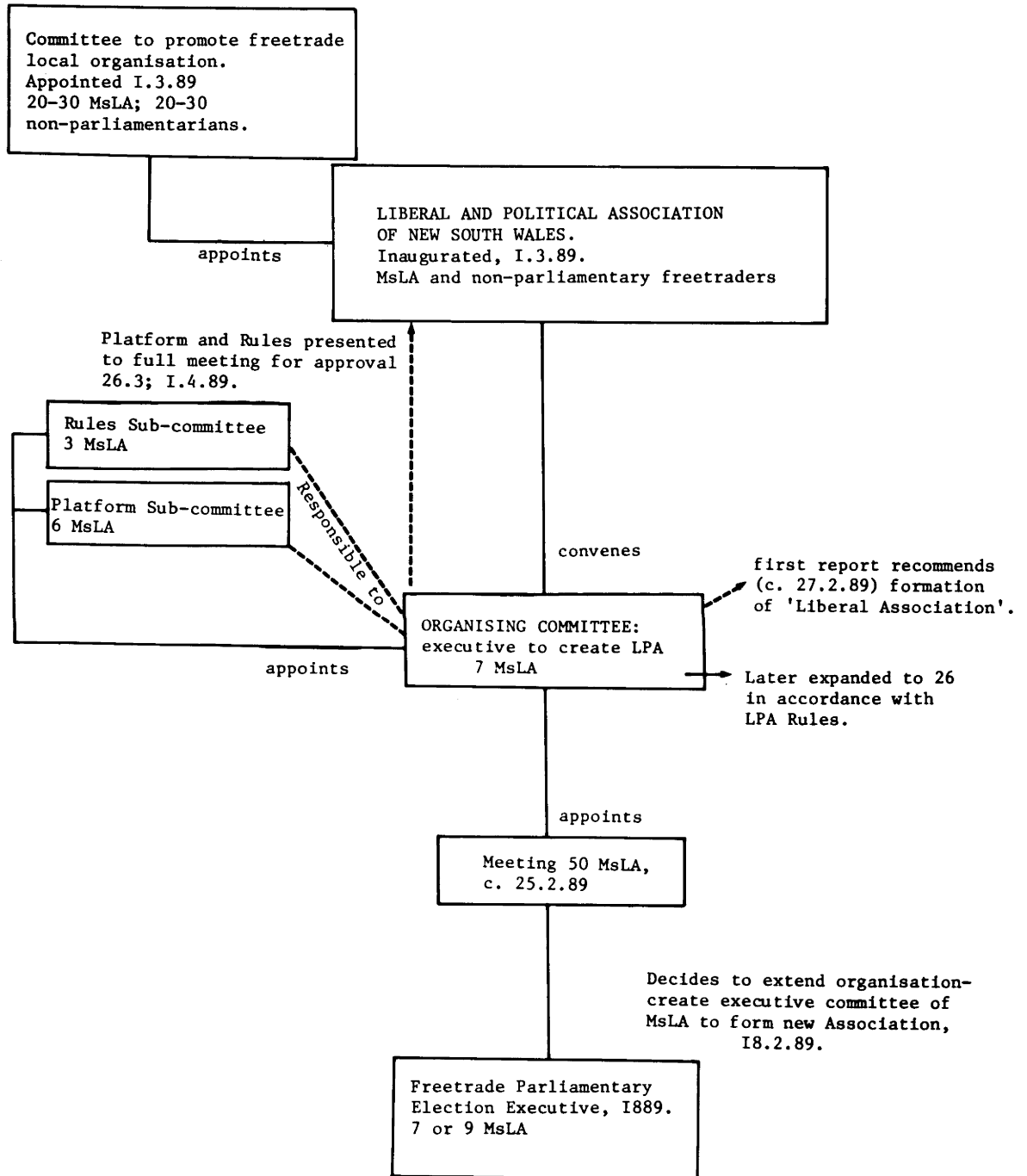
1885 W.G.MURRAY

1886 W.McMILLAN  
1887-88-89 S.A.JOSEPH  
1892-93-94 J.INGLIS

(Source: Sydney Chamber of Commerce,  
We're in Business, Sydney, 1968, p.96).

## APPENDIX IX

### Genesis and Structure of the LPA, 1889



APPENDIX XEffect of Protectionist Endorsement: 1889 General Election.

The effect of endorsement in enhancing candidates' chances of electoral success is measured by analysing the election results in all electorates in which endorsed candidates were opposed by unendorsed candidates.

(A) Results

(\* Sitting Member)

<u>Electorates</u>	<u>Seats</u>	<u>NPA<sup>3</sup>Endorsees</u> <u>Name</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>Elected</u>	<u>Unendorsed</u> <u>Protectionists</u> <u>Name</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>Elected</u>
Bogan	3	W. Alison	1402	X	J. C. Ryrie	1281	
		G. E. Cass	1437	X			
		J. E. Kelly*	1066				
Bourke	3	T. Waddell*	1510	X	A. O'Grady	349	
		W. Davis	1102	X	W. Daniell	501	
		W. N. Willis	1198	X			
Glen Innes	2	F. A. Wright	636	X	A. Hutchison	565	X
		W. J. Fergusson	479				
Gundagai	1	J. F. Barnes	686	X	J. McLaughlin	582	
Hartley	1	J. Caulfield	537		R. J. Inch	203	
Illawarra	2	F. Jones	420		W. Wiley	309	
		A. Lysaght	814				
Macleay	2	P. Hill	204		F. Panton	132	
		P. Hogan	1201	X	O. Dangar	1145	X
					A. Salmon	190	
Morpeth	1				E. Rudder	139	
		J. W. Bowes*	357		M. McRae	374	X

Electorates	Seats	<u>NPA3 Endorsees</u> Name	Votes	Elect	<u>Unendorsed</u> <u>Protectionists</u> Name	Votes	Percent
Mudgee	3	W.C.Wall*	1301	X	G.Townsend	1176	
		T.deCourcy Browne *	1097				
Murrumbidgee	3	G.R.Dibbs*	2078	X	D.Copland	2070	X
		J.Gormly*	2711	X			
New England	2	H.Copeland*	1396	X	J.Givney	459	
		W.C.Proctor	1052				
Newtown	3	R.T.Bellemey	1693		J.Angus	1604	
		J.F.Smith	1722				
Orange	2	T.Dalton*	1072	X	J.Torpy	1057	X
Redfern	4	J.P.Howe*	2896	X	W.F.Schey*	1024	
		T.Williamson	2429				
		C.Goodchap	2528	X			
		D.Davis	2480				
Richmond	3	T.Ewing*	2862	X	J.Perry	1973	X
		B.Nicoll	2525	X	W.Bourke	1241	
Sturt	1	W.Brown	644	X	C.O'Neill	246	
Upper Hunter	2	R.Fitzgerald*	925	X	T.Hungerford	620	
		W.E.Abbott	831	X			
Young	2	J.A.Mackinnon*	919	X	J.Miller	487	
		J.Gough	931	X			
Albury	1	G.Day*	445		J.Wilkinson	472	X



(B) Analysis

	NPA3 Endorsees	Unendorsed Protection- ists
Total number of candidates	36	24
Number of seats won	22	7
Percentage	61.1%	29.2%
Total number of votes obtained	47,586	18,199
Average number of votes per candidate	1,322	758
<u>Excluding sitting MsLA</u>		
Number of candidates	22	23
Number of seats won	12	7
Percentage	54.5%	30.4%
Number of votes obtained	22,951	17,175
Average number of votes per candidate	1,043	747

APPENDIX XIPlatform of the Newcastle Labour and Protectionist  
Parliamentary League, 1891

"The platform comprises the following 'planks':-

Electoral reform, one man one vote, extension of the franchise to all classes by means of the registration of votes, free education of all kinds, protection of native industry, all Government contracts to be executed in the colony, eight hours to be a day's work, new Workshops and Factories Act, amended Mining Act, and other Acts in connection with labour, formation of a labour department, a national bank, election of justices of the peace by the people, an elective Legislative Council, local government and decentralisation, Australian Federation and not Imperial federation, an income tax on incomes over £500 per annum, a progressive land tax to abolish big estates, law reform, and reform of the Railway Act, a liberal Merchant Shipping Act, and the advocacy of any measure calculated to elevate and improve the working classes".

(SMH, 8 May 1891, p.5)

APPENDIX XIIEffect of Protectionist and Freetrade Endorsement:  
1891 General Election.

The effect of endorsement in enhancing candidates' chances of electoral success is measured by analysing the election results in all electorates in which endorsed candidates were opposed by unendorsed candidates.

(i) PROTECTIONISTS(A) Results

(\* Sitting Member)

Electorates	Seats	NPPEC Endorsees		Voted	Elected	Unendorsed Protectionists		Elected
		Name	Votes			Name	Votes	
Balranald	2	A.Lakeman*	670			A.Cameron	545	
Bogan	3	W.Wilkinson	942			T.Richardson	843	
		G.E.Cass*	1781	X				
Boorowa	1	T.Slattery*	509	X		W.Burns	17	
Bourke	3	W.N.Willis*	1886	X		W.W.Davis*	870	
		H.Langwell	2091	X		T.Waddell*	1125	
		J.P.Howe*	1727	X		A.J.O'Grady	102	
Braidwood	1	A.Ryrie*	160			A.Chapman	586	X
Camden	3	J.Kidd*	1938	X		J.Hanrahan	288	
		J.Walters	1164					
		W.M.Richardson	705					
East Sydney	4	W.Bradley*	1328			E.Barton	3535	X
Eden	2	H.Clarke*	1076	X		R.Crabb	362	
		J.P.Garvan*	1023	X				

Electoralates	Seats	NPPEC Endorsees		Elected	Unendorsed Protectionists		Percentage
		Name	Votes		Name	Votes	
Glen Innes	2	F.A.Wright*	877	X	C.Legh	474	
		A.Hutchison*	747	X			
Goulburn	1	A.Lansdowne	396		A.Doyle	69	
Hunter	1	J.Pritchard	455		J.Connolly	232	
Macleay	2	P.Hogan *	761	X	O.O.Dangar*	1044	X
					L.Boshell	581	
					J.McLaughlin	721	
					E.Rudder	703	
Monaro	2	H.Dawson*	1117	X	C.Welch	595	
		G.Miller*	1103	X			
Morpeth	1	J.W.Bowes	509	X	J.Courteney	45	
Murrumbidgee	3	J.Gormly*	2718	X	P.Heffernan	1117	
		D.Copland*	690				
		G.Dibbs*	1790	X			
Newcastle	3	A.Brown*	2533		T.Hungerford	1273	
		W.Grahame*	2707	X			
Newtown	4	W.Blacket	1353		J.F.Smith	1098	
		R.T.Bellemy	1400		T.Middleton	1327	
Redfern	4	H.C.Hoyle	2982	X	G.Garton	1240	
		W.F.Schey*	2768	X			
		J.P.Howe*	2632				
Upper Hunter	2	R.G.Fitzgerald*	1071	X	W.E.Abbott*	496	
Wellington	1	T.H.York*	448	X	Quirk	383	
					O'Halloran	332	
Yass Plains	1	T.H.Colls*	711	X	B.Grogan	204	

(B) Analysis

	NPPEC Endorsees	Unendorsed Protection- ists
Total number of candidates	35	28
Number of seats won	22	3
Percentage	63%	10.7%
Total number of votes obtained	46,758	20,207
Average number of votes per candidate	1,336	722
<u>Excluding sitting MsLA</u>		
Number of candidates	10	24
Number of seats won	3	2
Percentage	30%	8.3%
Number of votes obtained	11,997	16,672
Average number of votes per candidate	1,200	695

(ii) FREETRADERS(A) Results

(\* Sitting Member)

Electorates	Seats	<u>FFFC Endorsees</u> Name	Votes	Elect	<u>Unendorsed</u> <u>Freetraders</u> Name	Votes	Elect
Balmain	4	J.Garrard*	1806		R.B.Cropley	660	
		J.Hawthorne*	1820				
		F.J.Smith*	1269				
		G.Clubb*	1734				
Bogan	3	R.Booth	1517	X	F.Conder	392	
		W.C.A'Beckett*	1158				
Camden	3	W.McCourt*	2316	X	J.L.Campbell	925	
		J.G.Morris	1289				
		W.Cullen	1321	X			
Canterbury	4	J.H.Carruthers*	7231	X	J.Eve	4344	
		J.Wheeler*	4349	X			
		G.Russell- Jones	3690				
		W.Henson	2787				
Central Cumberland	4	J.Nobbs*	2435	X	J.Ferguson	740	
		R.Ritchie*	2491	X			
		F.Farnell*	2850	X			
		D.Dale*	1978	X			
East Sydney	4	W.McMillan*	3713	X	G.H.Reid*	2946	X
		V.Parkes	3343	X			
Glebe	2	M.Chapman*	1112		J.Meeks	581	
		B.Smith*	1479	X			F.Walsh

Electorates	Members	FTFC Endorsees		V otes	E lected	Unendorsed Freetraders		V otes	E lected
		Name				Name			
Grenfell	1	G.H.Greene*		379		T.Bembrick		226	
Hawkesbury	1	A.Bowman*		802	X	W.Morgan		749	
Morpeth	1	W.Arnold		357		W.Martin		33	
Newtown	4	E.W.Molesworth*		2136	X	J.Salmon		1576	
		N.Hawken*		1488		H.Clarke		759	
		J.Abbott*		2173	X				
Parramatta	1	H.Taylor*		664	X	T.Moxham		459	
Redfern	4	W.Stephen*		2535		W.C.Coombes		724	
		G.Anderson		2629					
		J.Beveridge		2184					
		W.Manvell		2279					
St Leonards	3	H.Parkes*		2510	X	J.Seaver*		494	
		J.F.Cullen*		2359	X				
		J.F.Burns*		1808					
West Mait- land	1	R.W.Thompson*		459		J.Gillies		670	X
West Sydney	4	D.O'Connor*		2493		F.Waley		1745	
		F.Abigail*		2326					
		T.Playfair*		2535					
Young		J.Gordon		883		W.Lucas		654	

(B) Analysis

	FTFC Endorsees	Unendorsed Freetraders
Total number of candidates	40	21
Number of seats won	18	2
Percentage	45%	9.5%
Total number of votes obtained	84,687	20,859
Average number of votes per candidate	2,117	993
<u>Excluding sitting MsLA</u>		
Number of candidates	11	19
Number of seats won	3	1
Percentage	27.3%	5.3%
Number of votes obtained	22,279	17,419
Average number of votes per candidate	2,025	917



NOTES

Note

All page references to the sixty volumes of the Parkes Correspondence (A871-A930) in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, conform to the original system of pagination. The Library's recent project to replace the volumes of the original correspondence with bound volumes of photo-copied reproductions for general reference has resulted in the eradication of the imperfections of the 'old' system of page numbering, and the creation of a 'new' system of pagination. The original page numbers are hand-written and are usually located in the top right-hand corner of each photo-copied page of the original correspondence; the 'new' page numbers are in large print and are located in the bottom right-hand corner of each photo-copy.

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1. See 'Papers Relating to Unemployed Mechanics and Laborers', VPNSWLA, 1858, vol. II, pp. 949-64.
2. For example, at least thirteen men were directly associated with two of the five organisations, at least three were involved in three of them, and a further three men were members of four out of the five bodies. In 1886, B.R. Wise commented that "I have now had some experience of protectionist meetings, and have found that they all have a remarkably [sic] family likeness. The same faces turn up over and over again ..." (DT, 8 November 1886, p.5).  
The membership lists of the five organisations were compiled from the following sources:  
WMDA: SMH, 14 June 1877, p.5; 17 October 1877, p.5; EN, 26 June 1877, p.3; Echo, 15 January 1878, p.6; 21 January 1878, p.5.  
PRA: The Sydney Magazine, 1878, pp. 76-80.  
PRL: Echo, 24 January 1878, pp. 3,6; 15 March 1878, p.2.  
PRU: Echo, 31 August 1878, p.10; 19 November 1878, p.3; EN, 26 November 1879; SMH, 13 January 1880, p.1.  
LECI: SMH, 25 March 1880, p.1; 29 March 1880, p.3.
3. Echo, 17 January 1878, p.6.
4. DT, 28 May 1894, p.6 ('The First Free Trade Association', including the first declaration issued by the FTA in 1864); Free Trade Association, printed circular, 17 November 1864. Parkes Papers - Miscellaneous, vol. IV, A 983, [no page numbers], ML.; SMH, 4 February 1887, p.7 (speech by W. Pritchard).
5. The FTA was formed in February 1864 (DT, 28 May 1894, p.6). Its two founders appear to have been W. Pritchard (ibid.; SMH, 4 February 1887, p.7) and Samuel Bennett (ibid.). Other involved in the organisation were F.A. Bell, J.L. Montefiore, Dr. J.D. Lang, G. Hill, J.M. Leigh, W. Perry, G. King, M. Holroyd, W. Hezlett, E. Lowther and S.A. Joseph (ibid.; Sands' Sydney Directory, 1865, p.382; Free Trade Association, printed circulars, 17, 19 November 1864. Parkes Papers - Miscellaneous, vol. IV, A983, [no page numbers], ML; SMH, 2 February 1887, p.5 ('Chamber of Commerce', speech by S.A. Joseph).
6. Sir John Robertson later hinted that the FTA had been disbanded after the general election of 1864-65. "After that battle was won", he claimed, "there was no appeal for more money to continue associations". (SMH, 15 March 1887, p.4).

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7. Empire, 3, 25 February, 21 March 1864, as quoted in P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, Parliament, Factions and Parties. The First Thirty Years of Responsible Government in New South Wales, 1856-1889, Melbourne, 1966, p.180, n.33. (Hereafter:- PPF).
8. SMH, 15 March 1887, p.4.
9. ibid.; Free Trade Association, printed circular, 17 November 1864. Parkes Papers - Miscellaneous, vol. IV, A 983, [ no page numbers ], ML.
10. B. Atkins, 'Antecedents of the N.S.W. Protection Party, 1881-1891: The Protection and Political Reform League', JRAHS, vol. 44, pt 4 (November 1958), pp. 240-41. (Hereafter:- 'The PPRL').
11. A.W. Martin, Political Groupings in New South Wales, 1872-1889. A Study in the Working of Responsible Government, Ph.D., Australian National University, 1955, p. 260, fn. 2. (Hereafter:- Political Groupings).
12. DI, 8 November 1886, p.5. The Herald made the same point when, in 1877, the last year of a 'boom' period in the colony, it commented that "The protectionist party has been considerably discouraged in New South Wales of late; everything has been against it - the prosperity of the colony, the superabundance of revenue, the general well-being, the continuous advance in industry ..., and the higher rate of wages ..., were all so many discouragements to asking for protection". (SMH, 25 August 1877, p. 4).
13. See A.W. Martin, Political Groupings, pp. 260-61.
14. SMH, 14 December 1881, p.5; 5 May 1883, p.9.
15. Between 1883 and 1886, the PPRL made overtures to the TLC in an attempt to commit organised labour to the cause of protection. See, Trades and Labour Council of New South Wales. General Meetings - Minutes, 1881-1888, A3830, pp. 205-06, 448-49, 587, ML. (Hereafter:- TLC Minutes); below, ch. 4, p. 124 ; ch. 5, p. 144.
16. SMH, 7 February 1883, p.9.
17. See below, ch. 5, pp. 145-46.
18. SMH, 18 December 1886, p.13. B.R. Wise revealed the numerical weakness of the LIA when he likened its Sydney meetings to "a stage army, whose regiments crowd the stage for many minutes by the simple expedient of going out at one side and coming in again upon the other". (DI, 8 November 1886, p.5).

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19. SMH, 24 November 1884, p.7; 22 July 1885, p. 9; 27 August 1885, p. 5. Also see below, ch. 5, p.144; ch. 5, nn. 17, 18.
  
20. DT, 8 November 1886, p. 5. Wise's assessment was borne out by the attempts of the PPRL to open a local branch in Ballina during 1882. In June, PPRL secretary, R.C. Luscombe, wrote to a prominent Ballina protectionist, William Clement, enquiring "what efforts if any are being made to form a branch of the League in your district". (R.C. Luscombe to W. Clement, 22 June [1882]. Clement Papers, UNE Archives.). Soon after, it was reported that a branch of the PPRL had been established in Ballina (ICJ, 29 July 1882, p. 207). The branch, however, soon became extinct, and Luscombe again wrote to Clement, condemning his "neglect of ... protectionist principles ...". (R.C. Luscombe to W. Clement, 15 February 1883. Clement Papers, UNE Archives.). This sharp criticism spurred Clement to make "another attempt ... to rouse the people here from their apathetic state", but he reported that "nothing less than a Salvation Army or some such violent commotion will effect this ...". He went on to say that "the few whose minds are thoroughly imbued [sic] with the soundness of Protection" were so scattered throughout the district that "it is difficult or impossible to centralise any movement". (W. Clement to R.C. Luscombe, 19 February 1883. ibid.).
  
21. Report of the Proceedings at the Conference, held in Sydney under the Auspices of the Land and Industrial Alliance, Commencing July 30th, 1885, Sydney, 1885, p. 5, ML. (Hereafter:- LIA Conference).
  
22. ibid., pp. 21, 26.
  
23. ibid., p. 24. The delegate from Narrabri stated that he was unable to convey the views of his branch, "a discussion on Protection of any kind not having been made in their meetings". (ibid., p. 25). John Flanagan, of Gunbar, made the same point. (ibid.).
  
24. ibid., p. 27. See also, ibid., p. 25 (Sampson).
  
25. ibid., pp. 25, 28.
  
26. SMH, 3 November 1885, p. 9.
  
27. SMH, 10 May 1882, p. 5.
  
28. SMH, 22 September 1883, p. 9.
  
29. SMH, 9 December 1882, p. 11.

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30. In 1883, R.C. Luscombe stated that there had been only "three or four protectionists in Parliament" prior to the 1882 general election. (SMH, 22 September 1883, p. 9). He had previously named them as N. Melville, L.F. Heydon and J. Roseby. (R.C. Luscombe to W. Clement, 22 June [1882]. Clement Papers, UNE Archives).
31. Luscombe again named them: E. Combes, L.F. Heydon, W.S. Targett, D. Buchanan, R. Barbour, A. Ross, R.M. Vaughn, N. Melville, W.T. Coonan and J. Sutherland. (R.C. Luscombe to W. Clement, 15 February 1883. ibid.). Ninian Melville later claimed that only eight protectionists had been elected in 1882. (SMH, 28 February 1884, p. 5). By September 1883, Luscombe's estimate had risen to "twelve to fourteen" protectionist MsLA. (SMH, 22 September 1883, p. 9). This figure undoubtedly included himself, since he had entered the Assembly in May as the result of a by-election.
32. LIA Conference, p. 25.
33. SMH, 3 November 1885, p. 9.
34. Discussing Forsyth's campaign, the Telegraph remarked that he "did not so much as touch on the topic of protection in his nomination speech". (DT, 8 November 1886, p. 4).
35. SMH, 3 November 1885, p. 9. The Telegraph later pointed out that "The few protectionists who were successful were frank enough to admit that the popular majority was against them, and to ask for votes on the ground of their other Parliamentary qualifications". (DT, 8 November 1886, p. 4).
36. SMH, 3 November 1885, p. 9.
37. Of the unsuccessful protectionist candidates, it would seem safe to assume that those who relied most directly on the fiscal issue for their election were those most closely connected with the existing protectionist associations. Three of these may be chosen to illustrate the validity of the Herald's contention:
- (1) R.C. Luscombe, secretary of the PPRL and sitting protectionist MLA for Northumberland. He was chosen and supported by the PPRL in his candidature for Northumberland. (SMH, 7 October 1885, p. 7). Luscombe failed to secure election, finishing last out of 5 candidates with only 176 votes and losing his deposit money. (SMH, 23 October 1885, p. 7).

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(2) William Richardson, president of the PPRL and protectionist candidate for South Sydney, chosen and supported by the PPRL. (SMH, 7 October 1885, p. 7; 23 October 1885, p. 7). Richardson failed to secure election, finishing at the bottom of the poll with 252 votes and losing his deposit. (ibid.).

(3) George Brown, protectionist candidate for East Sydney, chosen and supported by the PPRL (SMH, 7 October 1885, p. 7; 23 October 1885, p. 7). In a contest in which almost 17,000 votes were cast, Brown managed to poll only 435, finishing last and losing his deposit. (ibid.).

38. In determining the number of avowed protectionists elected in October 1885, only the utterances of candidates during the election campaign and their prior connections are taken into account. The sixteen protectionists elected in October 1885 were A. Forsyth, J. Garrard, S.H. Hyam, M. Burke, P. Hogan, J. Shepherd, A. Stokes, A. Ross, E.W. O'Sullivan, L.F. Heydon, N. Melville, R.M. Vaughn, W.S. Targett, H. Clarke, R. Barbour and W. Coonan. Of these sixteen men, there is no doubt about the protectionist proclivities of the first twelve listed: all, except Melville, made direct statements in support of protection during the election (SMH, 31 October 1885, pp. 9-10); of the six who had sat in the eleventh parliament, four (Melville, Vaughn, Heydon and Ross) were claimed as protectionists in 1883 (See ch. 1, n. 31); four (Heydon, Melville, Vaughn and O'Sullivan) were mentioned as being protectionists in October 1885 in E.W. O'Sullivan, *From Colony to Commonwealth*. *Half a Century's Reminiscences*, handwritten MS, B595, pp. 172-73, ML. (Hereafter:- *From Colony to Commonwealth*). There is some doubt about the commitment to protection of the remaining four men: H. Clarke and W.S. Targett made rather equivocal fiscal statements during the election campaign (SMH, 31 October 1885, pp. 9-10), but Targett was claimed as a protectionist by Luscombe in 1883, and Clarke was claimed by O'Sullivan as being a protectionist in October 1885 (E.W. O'Sullivan, *From Colony to Commonwealth*, p. 172), although he had sat in the eleventh parliament without being classified as such; Barbour and Coonan made no comments on the fiscal question during the election campaign, but both had been claimed as protectionists in 1883 (See ch. 1, n. 31), and both had been connected with the early protectionist organisations, the PRL and PRA. (Echo, 15 March 1878, p. 2; The Sydney Magazine, 1878, p.76).
39. During the early life of the twelfth parliament, this lack of group identity and cohesion was amply demonstrated. See below, ch. 1, p. 12.
40. Forsyth, Hyam, Burke, Hogan and O'Sullivan.

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41. SMH, 3 November 1885, p. 9.
42. N.B. Nairn points out that it was this vast land revenue that was "the chief prop of the traditional colonial free trade policy". N.B. Nairn, 'The Political Mastery of Sir Henry Parkes: New South Wales Politics, 1871-1891', JRAHS, vol. 53, pt 1 (March 1967), p.11. (Hereafter:- 'The Mastery').
43. P.N. Lamb, The Financing of Government Expenditure in New South Wales, 1856-1900, Ph.D., Australian National University, 1963, p. 127. (Hereafter:- The Financing).
44. ibid., p. 281.
45. ibid., p. 129.
46. NSWPD, vol. XVIII, p. 473, 11 December 1885.
47. P.N. Lamb, The Financing, p. 129.
48. ibid., p. 132.
49. ibid., p. 133.
50. NSWPD, vol. XIX, pp. 1152-64, especially pp. 1158-60.
51. VPNSWLA, 1885-86, vol. I, pp. 269-72.
52. A.W. Martin, Political Groupings, p. 260.
53. See above, ch. 1, p. 2.
54. Free Trade Association, printed circular, 17 November 1864. Parkes Papers - Miscellaneous, vol. IV, A983, [ no page numbers], ML.
55. The two, named by Robertson years later, were James Martin and Geoffrey Eagar. (SMH, 15 March 1887, p. 4).
56. ibid.
57. [ Colony of New South Wales ] 29 Vict., No. 3. (20 June 1865).  
29 Vict., No. 7. (20 June 1865).
58. [ Colony of New South Wales ] 34 Vict., No. 21. (22 May 1871).
59. NSWPD, vol. XIX, p. 1161, 6 April 1886 (Quoted by Sir Patrick Jennings).
60. DT, 8 November 1886, p. 5. Also see SMH, 5 August 1886, p. 8.



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61. Copeland's proposal of 21 February 1884 to impose ad valorem duties was moved as an amendment upon a motion by George Dibbs that the Assembly resolve itself into a Committee of Ways and Means to debate his financial statement. NSWPD, vol. XI, pp. 1948-58.
62. Ellis, Gould and Abigail spoke in favour of Copeland's amendment (ibid., pp. 1964-70, 21 February 1884; pp. 2045-47, 27 February 1884). Ellis and Smith voted for the amendment in the ensuing division, and Abigail and Gould were paired in support of it (ibid., vol. XII, p. 2196, 5 March 1884).
63. SMH, 8 March 1884, p. 9.
64. SMH, 28 February 1884, p. 5.
65. SMH, 15 March 1887, p. 4.
66. S. Smith, F. Abigail and A.J. Gould.
67. Robertson's ministry was in office from 22 December 1885 until 25 February 1886.
68. SMH, 7 January 1886, p. 9.
69. SMH, 8 January 1886, p. 6.
70. SMH, 21 October 1905, p. 5 ('Behind the Scenes in Parliament', V, by 'A Spectator', [E.W. O'Sullivan] ).
71. VPNSWLA, 1885-86, vol. I, p. 201, 21 April 1886.
72. ibid., p. 205, 28 April 1886.
73. SMH, 3 February 1887, p. 7. In May 1886, the PPRL severely chastised a number of "protectionist members", who voted against Clarke's motion (SMH, 6 May 1886, p. 9).
74. SMH, 3 October 1885, p. 10; see Appendix VII.
75. "When he found that such a tax [i.e. his proposed duties on agricultural produce] would involve the country in a general system of protection his course became perfectly clear, ...". SMH, 3 February 1887, p. 7 (Speech by W. Clarke).
76. R.C. Luscombe to W. Clement, 15 February 1883. Clement Papers, UNE Archives.
77. SMH, 31 October 1885, pp. 9-10.
78. SMH, 6 May 1886, p. 9.

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79. SMH, 30 June 1886, p. 9.
80. SMH, 27 October 1885, p. 5.
81. The fifteen MsLA, of whom the first seven became the freetraders, were A. Kethel, F. Abigail, J.C. Neild, H. Taylor, C.J. Roberts, W. Clarke, A.H. McCulloch, H. Copeland, E.A. Baker, T. Jones, J.M. Chanter, T. Dalton, T.F. de Courcy Browne, T. Ewing and A. Lysaght. SMH, 31 October 1885, pp. 9-10.
82. ibid.
83. SMH, 15 October 1885, p. 8.
84. SMH, 7 April 1883, p. 11.
85. L.F. Heydon, R.M. Vaughn, J. Garrard.
86. SMH, 7 January 1886, pp. 5-6.
87. See below, ch. 5, p. 164.
88. SMH, 18 July 1885, p. 10.
89. SMH, 11 August 1885, p. 7.
90. SMH, 15 March 1887, p. 4 (B.R. Wise).
91. The LIA "resolved to welcome the formation of a Free-trade League, as the friction with that body would give considerable prominence to the ideas of the Alliance". (SMH, 20 August 1885, p. 9). The protectionist propagandist, H.S. Bond, saw the formation of the FTA as "healthy" for the development of the fiscal conflict into a major political issue, and he looked forward to the day when "we shall be arranged on opposite sides - protectionists ... versus so-called freetraders"...". (SMH, 11 August 1885, p. 7).
92. SMH, 27 September 1884, p. 11 ('Fiscal Protection', by H.S. Bond).
93. SMH, 18 April 1882, p. 4.
94. SMH, 27 September 1884, p. 11.
95. DT, 5 February 1898, p. 4. (W.H. Traill, 'Protection and Democracy', I).
96. SMH, 8 January 1886, pp. 6-7.
97. SMH, 2 February 1886, p. 7.

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98. SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 8 (speech by B.R. Wise).
99. A.W. Martin, Political Groupings, p. 277.
100. NSWPD, vol. XIX, p. 1158.
101. ibid., p. 1161.
102. ibid.
103. The four men were G.A. Lloyd, James Inglis, W. Clarke and J.F. Burns. Lloyd was a merchant and a prominent member of the SCC (see Appendix VII), and he also lent his support to the FTA (SMH, 29 July 1886, p. 9); Inglis, a prominent tea merchant, became a vice-president of the FTA and president of the SCC (see Appendices VII and VIII); Clarke, prominent banker and businessman, was a member of the council of the FTA (see Appendix VII); and, J.F. Burns claimed to have been "about the third member" of the FTA (SMH, 15 March 1887, p. 4), and was elected to the council in 1889 (see Appendix VII). Although impecuniary when he died, Burns, in 1886, was an active member of Sydney's mercantile class as a director of the Australasian Steam Navigation Company. He himself claimed to be "a capitalist" (J.F. Burns to Parkes, 2 July 1891. PC, A919, p. 450, ML), and was reputed to have "large commercial interests" (SMH, 20 March 1911, p. 5). Certainly his commercial activities, even if unprofitable, were varied; after 1886, he became managing director of a life assurance company, trustee of a building society, and the chairman of directors of a coal mining company. (Sands' Sydney Directory, 1885, 1887; ADB, vol. 3, pp. 304-05, 419-20; vol. 4, pp. 457-8; A.W. Martin and P. Wardle, Members of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, 1856-1901: Biographical Notes, Canberra, 1959. (Hereafter:- Notes); M. Rutledge, 'John Fitzgerald Burns - Colonial Treasurer', JRAHS, vol. 55, pt 3 (September 1969), pp. 264-70. (Hereafter:- 'J.F. Burns'). All four men criticised Jennings' proposals as protectionist in nature:- NSWPD, vol. XIX, pp. 1589 (J.F. Burns), 1594 (G.A. Lloyd), 29 April 1886; pp. 1705 (W. Clarke), 1713-16 (J. Inglis), 5 May 1886. For the connections between the FTA and SCC, see below, ch. 5, pp. 164-65.
104. SMH, 18 May 1886, p. 4.
105. ibid.
106. NSWPD, vol. XIX, p. 1781, 6 May 1886.
107. SMH, 21 October 1905, p. 5 ('Behind the Scenes in Parliament', V, by 'A Spectator' [E.W. O'Sullivan]).
108. SMH, 5 February 1887, p. 9 (speech by Parkes).

109. SMH, 4 February 1887, p. 5 (speech by Nelson). See also:- SMH, 4 February 1887, p. 12 (T. Walker); 7 February 1887, p. 5 (W.J. Lyne); NSWPD, vol. LV, p. 3390, 8 December 1891 (G.H. Reid).
110. ibid., vol. XIX, p. 1840.
111. ibid., p. 1850.
112. ibid., p. 1843.
113. C.E. Lyne, Life of Sir Henry Parkes, G.C.M.G. Australian Statesman, London, 1897, p. 567. (Hereafter:- Parkes).
114. NSWPD, vol. XIX, p. 1916, 12 May 1886.
115. ibid., p. 1897, 12 May 1886.
116. ibid., vol. XX, p. 2067.
117. ibid., p. 2746, 17 June 1886.
118. ibid., vol. XXI, p. 3177, 8 July 1886.
119. 'The Present State of Public Affairs', speech delivered by Sir Henry Parkes at Granville, 16 August 1886. Quoted in H. Parkes, Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History, London, 1892, pp. 442-43. (Hereafter:- Fifty Years). Underlining my own.
120. NSWPD, vol. XX, p. 2065.
121. ibid., vol. XXI, p. 3174.
122. ibid., The number of admitted protectionists in the Assembly during the life of the twelfth parliament is difficult to gauge accurately, since the number underwent considerable change as a result of Parkes's polarisation campaign. In November 1886, the list of admitted protectionists contained men, who had previously made no such avowal. My own analysis of the 1885 general election puts the figure at 4 doubtful and 12 definite protectionist MsLA (see ch. 1, n. 38), though E.W. O'Sullivan later wrote that, at the time he entered parliament in 1885, he was "one of [only] five Protectionists ... in the Legislative Assembly ...". (E.W. O'Sullivan, From Colony to Commonwealth, p. 172). Contemporary assessments of protectionist parliamentary strength during 1886 consistently put the figure at between eight and twelve: Ninian Melville claimed that "there were only eight or ten protectionists" (NSWPD, vol. XXV, p. 133, 11 March 1887), and again that "there were not more than twelve protectionists in the House ...". (ibid., p. 131); George Dibbs stated that "the late Assembly had eleven protectionists, ...". (ibid., p. 202, 15 March 1887). Loveday and Martin's estimate of "a hard core of about twenty protectionists" (A.W. Martin and P. Loveday, PFP, p. 132) would appear to be something of an exaggeration.

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123. SMH, 2 March 1886, p. 5 (R.C. Luscombe).
124. NSWPD, vol. XXI, p. 3174, 8 July 1886.
125. ibid., p. 3175.
126. The Telegraph made direct reference to the government's "protectionist masters". (DT, 13 July 1886, p. 4). See also: SMH, 9 July 1886, p. 6.
127. SMH, 8 February 1887, p. 4.
128. NSWPD, vol. XIX, p. 1852, 11 May 1886.
129. P.N. Lamb, The Financing, p. 82. The substance of the resolutions, moved by Parkes on 11 May 1886, the occasion on which he first raised the fiscal issue, embodied this alternative approach, and almost exactly foreshadowed the policy on which he fought the general election of 1887. The resolutions stated that "fresh taxation" would be "inexpedient at the present time", that there was need for "a rigid scheme of retrenchment", and that, should further taxation be necessary, it should be in the form of a direct property tax, stamp duties and specific or excise duties, but not ad valorem duties. (NSWPD, vol. XIX, p. 1840). Parkes summed up this approach when he stated that "The struggling people of the country ought not to be called upon to bear new taxation at the present time until after the most vigorous effort was made to reduce the extravagant expenditure". (ibid., p. 1848).
130. A.W. Martin, Political Groupings, p. 277.
131. SMH, 8 February 1887, p. 4.
132. A prominent member of the SCC told a meeting of that body that "Sir Henry Parkes [had] made one of the most statesmanlike speeches that had yet been made in reference to the fiscal policy of the Government. It was very much to be regretted that Sir Henry Parkes was at present in a minority, for the principles he had enunciated ought to be carried". (SMH, 18 May 1886, p. 4.).
133. NSWPD, vol. XXI, p. 3175, 8 July 1886.
134. In Sydney, at Granville, Redfern, Ashfield, Prospect, Parramatta, Liverpool, St Leonards, Botany, Central Sydney, South Sydney, Ryde, Pyrmont, Waverley, Leichhardt, Glebe, Randwick, Paddington, Marrickville, Newtown, Waterloo, Petersham, and Balmain; in the country, at Bulli, Bowral, Campbelltown, Singleton, Windsor, St Mary's, Wingham, Morpeth, West Maitland, Crookwell, Young, Lithgow, Goulburn, Molong, Walgett, Murrumburrah, Kempsey, Penrith, Kiama, Mittagong, and Bowraville. (SMH, 22, November 1886, p. 4). See also:- N.B. Nairn, 'The Mastery', p. 13.

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135. For example, SMH, 2 November 1886, p. 5, at Goulburn; 13 November 1886, p. 8, at Botany.
136. The report of a meeting at Petersham stated that "the name of Sir Henry Parkes incidentally mentioned by the speaker, was received with prolonged applause, and at the call of Alderman Cubitt three cheers were given for the veteran statesman". (SMH, 5 November 1886, p. 5). See also:- SMH, 2 November 1886, p. 5, at Waverley, Redfern and Goulburn; 5 November 1886, p. 6, at Pyrmont; 13 November 1886, p. 8, at Botany.
137. SMH, 22 November 1886, p. 4.
138. The chief context in which the fiscal issue was raised was in accusing the government of treachery: the government "had pledged themselves to a free trade policy, but they had reversed this policy, and had adopted measures entirely protective". (SMH, 5 November 1886, p. 5, at Pyrmont); or, the government had "openly violated" their "hustings' pledges", resulting in "the interference in the policy of the Empire ...". (SMH, 22 November 1886, p. 4).
139. SMH, 5 November 1886, p. 5, at Petersham.
140. SMH, 13 November 1886, p. 8, at Botany.
141. SMH, 28 January 1889, p. 8, quoted in N.B. Nairn, 'The Mastery', p. 15.
142. P. Loveday, *The Development of Parliamentary Government in New South Wales, 1856-1870*, Ph.D., University of Sydney, 1962, p. 7. (Hereafter:- *Parliamentary Government*).
143. "As the controversy developed, the term 'responsible government' lost completely its original meaning, and ... it came, in fact, to mean government by the advice of ministers chosen from and responsible to the Legislature". (A.C.V. Melbourne, 'The Establishment of Responsible Government', in The Cambridge History of the British Empire, vol. VII, pt I, Cambridge 1933, p. 276). See also:- P. Loveday, *Parliamentary Government*, ch. 1; R.M. Hartwell, 'The Pastoral Ascendancy, 1820-1850', in G. Greenwood (ed.), Australia. A Social and Political History, Sydney, 1967, p. 63.
144. T.H. Irving, 'The Idea of Responsible Government in New South Wales Before 1856', HSANZ, vol. 11, no. 42 (April 1964), p. 205. (Hereafter:- 'Responsible Government'). The preceding discussion is largely based on Irving's article, especially pp. 192-93.

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145. A.C.V. Melbourne, Early Constitutional Development in Australia, New South Wales, 1788-1856, London, 1934, p. 385, cited in T.H. Irving, 'Responsible Government', p. 193, fn. 8.
146. ibid., p. 194.
147. ibid., p. 193.
148. "Ours is a system of government by majorities, but not a system of government by parties, in the sense of party being based on definite political principles". (SMH., 7 December 1874, quoted in A.W. Martin, 'The Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, 1856-1900', AJPH, vol. 2, no. 1 (November 1956), p. 60. (Hereafter:- 'The Legislative Assembly').
149. NSWPD, vol. VI, p. 1597, 14 October 1881.
150. A.W. Martin, 'The Legislative Assembly', p. 59.
151. SMH, 14 March 1872, quoted in A.W. Martin, Political Groupings, pp. 11-12.
152. SMH, 27 December 1878, p. 4. The same point was stressed frequently throughout the 1870s and 1880s. In 1874, the Herald stated that political divisions "do not represent, as they have done in England, distinctly marked differences of political principle and tendency, ...". (SMH, 7 December 1874, quoted in A.W. Martin, 'The Legislative Assembly', p. 60); in 1881, William Forster sneered that "Honourable members constantly talk of supporting the present Government; but what do they mean? They do not mean adhering to any particular party, because I have yet to learn what distinction there is in point of principle between one side and the other". (NSWPD, vol. VI, p. 1597, 14 October 1881); and, in 1887, the Herald commented that "The personal element has long been too prominent in the politics of the country. The struggle has too long been between the followers of this man and the followers of that man; and it is well known that political principles have been cast aside for the purpose of forming combinations to keep one man out". (SMH, 18 January 1887, p. 6).
153. SMH, 27 December 1878, p. 4.
154. See N.B. Nairn, 'The Mastery', pp. 5-6.
155. In 1887, William McMillan described the system and its effects on parliament: "... , there had been too much of the vulgar principle of 'Scratch my back and I will scratch yours'. The result of the contention of members to-day with one another, for certain things for their separate constituencies ... had been the

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degradation of members of Parliament". (SMH, 31 January 1887, p. 5). Sir Charles Dilke also stated that members were "too apt to make the 'New-Bridge' the price of their vote upon the measures before the House". (C. Dilke, Problems of Greater Britain, vol. 4th ed., London, 1890, p. 288. (Hereafter:- Problems)).

156. SMH, 7 December 1874, quoted in A.W. Martin, 'The Legislative Assembly', p. 60.

157. N.B. Nairn, 'The Mastery', p. 6.

158. ibid.

The whole question of the stability of allegiance during the operation of the faction system has recently been under close review, and has given rise to a difference of opinion. Whilst N.B. Nairn emphasises the independence of MsLA that "approached irresponsibility", and "automatically involved weak government and disorderly parliament" (ibid.), Loveday and Martin lay emphasis on those "members who had regular voting patterns in Parliament" (P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, 'The Politics of New South Wales, 1856-1889: A Reply', HS, vol. 13, no. 50 (April 1968), p. 228. (Hereafter:- 'A Reply')), concluding that "the faction system, ..., provided a relatively stable politics". (N.B. Nairn, Review Article on P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PFP, Politics, vol. 1, no. 2 (November 1966), p. 156. (Hereafter:- 'Review, PFP')). The presence of independence and "independent members" is undisputed (P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, 'A Reply', p. 228); the point at issue simply seems to be to what degree the belief in independence was an integral part of the faction system: whether it was a political theory inherent in and "Inextricably entangled with the faction system" (N.B. Nairn, 'The Mastery', p. 6), or whether it was an external factor, which "made political life difficult for the faction leaders", and otherwise upset the stability of an intrinsically stable political system (P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, 'A Reply', p.228).

Both points of view have merit. The dogma of individualism and independence was basic to mid-nineteenth-century British liberalism (A.W. Martin, 'The Legislative Assembly', p. 59), and, while it was not popular with the faction leaders, trying as they were to mould stable groups around them, it was commonly enough accepted to affect radically the operation of the faction system. Dickey correctly points out that there remained "a persistent proportion of the members of the Assembly who ostentatiously adhered to the dogmas of independence", often in sufficient numbers "to threaten the stability of governments". (B. Dickey (ed.), Politics in New South Wales, 1856-1900, Melbourne, 1969, pp. 79-80. (Hereafter:- Politics in NSW)). The enormous effect of independence on the stability of government between 1856 and 1891 has been analysed by N.B. Nairn ('Review, PFP', p. 156).



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Even during the period of far more stable fiscal politics after 1886, the traditional liberal emphasis on independence was still conspicuous; it was particularly forceful when challenged. After a stable lull in 1887-88, it staged something of a revival during 1889 and 1890. It was this revival that negated the efforts of elements in both fiscal parties to create an effective system of party discipline (see below, ch. 6).

159. A.H. Birch, Representative and Responsible Government. An Essay on the British Constitution, London, 1965, p. 18.
160. L.S. Amery, Thoughts on the Constitution, London, 1948, pp. 31-2.
161. SMH, 24 December 1878, p. 4.
162. B.R. Wise, The Making of The Australian Commonwealth, 1889-1900. A Stage in the Growth of the Empire, London, 1913, p. 31. (Hereafter:- The Making of the Commonwealth).
163. A.W. Martin, Political Groupings, p. 70. J.S. Farnell provided an example of this procedure in 1880: "Mr. Fitzpatrick: My honourable friend, the member from St Leonards [Farnell], has differed from me, and I need hardly say ... his defection from our side of the House is a matter for regret. Mr. O'Connor: He has gone over to the majority". NSWPD, vol. II, p. 2078, 28 April 1880.
164. SMH, 2 August 1880, p. 3. 'The Premier at Ashfield', (speech delivered by Parkes at a banquet given in his honour by the electors of Canterbury).
165. See G.C. Morey, The Parkes-Robertson Coalition Government, 1878-1883: A Study, B.A., Australian National University, 1968, ch. 1. (Hereafter:- Parkes-Robertson Coalition).
166. 'The Present State of Public Affairs', 16 August 1886, quoted in H. Parkes, Fifty Years, p. 438.
167. The success of the Parkes-Robertson coalition in this regard was considerable: 61% of all public bills, initiated in the Assembly, were under ministerial supervision. During the Robertson ministry of 1875-77, the comparative figure was only 33%. (See G.C. Morey, Parkes-Robertson Coalition, Appendix IV).
168. SMH, 30 December 1878, p. 7.
169. SMH, 2 August 1880, p. 3. 'The Premier at Ashfield'.

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170. SMH, 4 August 1880, p. 4.
171. Loveday and Martin's analysis of factional allegiance, based mainly on censure motions and ministerial measures (PFP, p. 39), shows the percentage of 'independents' and 'changers' in the two parliaments prior to the advent of the coalition as 33% and 30½% respectively (ibid., p. 41). My own analysis of all divisions on all ministerial measures, during the entire life of the coalition, shows the percentage of independence (41%-64% allegiance) at 24.3% (G.C. Morey, Parkes-Robertson Coalition, Appendices I and II). Cf. PFP, p. 41.
172. N.B. Nairn, 'A New Look At An Old Master', A.N.U. Historical Journal, no. 4 (October 1967), p. 14. (Hereafter:- 'A New Look').
173. SMH, 4 November 1884, p. 2.
174. Loveday and Martin's analysis of the two parliaments between the fall of the coalition and the formation of Parkes's first freetrade ministry shows the percentage of 'independents' and 'changers' at 40% in both (PFP, p. 41).
175. SMH, 25 January 1887, p. 4.  
It would seem that the Governor, Lord Carrington, was also concerned about the chaotic state of politics. Parkes recollected that, during an interview with him, "Lord Carrington said that he had suffered much pain from the confused and unsatisfactory condition of Government business and the proceedings of Parliament during his year of office. He mentioned the fact of four Governments in about fifteen months as disgraceful ...". (Letters to The Hon. Saul Samuel, C.M.G., A 55, p. 33, ML. (Hereafter:- Letters to Saul Samuel)).
176. N.B. Nairn, 'The Mastery', p. 10.
177. ibid., p. 12.
178. A. Todd, Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies, 2nd ed., London, 1894, p. 101.
179. P. Loveday, '"Democracy" in New South Wales: The Constitution Committee of 1853', JRAHS, vol. 42, pt 4 (October 1956), pp. 197-98.
180. H. Parkes, Fifty Years, pp. 265-66.
181. ibid., p. 638.  
Also: "Parliamentary government, as such, is the government of the country by definite parties". (NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, p. 1540, 11 January 1889 (Sir Henry Parkes)).

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182. SMH, 16 June 1894, p. 9.
183. H. Parkes, Fifty Years, p. 638.
184. SMH, 16 June 1894, p. 9.
185. SMH, 4 August 1880, p. 4.
186. Parkes stated in 1887 that "... he would as steadily as he could copy the example of England in all that related to the working out of our Parliamentary institutions". (SMH, 2 February 1887, p. 5).
187. E. Burke, 'Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents', in The Works of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, vol. I, London, 1887, p. 530. (Hereafter: 'Thoughts').
188. P. Magnus, Gladstone. A Biography, London, 1963, p. 20. (Hereafter: Gladstone).
189. H. Parkes, Fifty Years, p. 265. In 1887, Parkes declared that what should be known was whether a political aspirant "had thought out any code of principles on which to act. If he had, he could have declared he would act with others who agreed with him in principles". (SMH, 10 January 1887, p. 3).
190. SMH, 19 December 1889, p. 8.
191. SMH, 4 November 1884, p. 2.
192. Parkes was elected as member for Argyle at a by-election on 31 March 1885, but parliament did not meet thereafter until 8 September, when it reconvened for the sixth session of the eleventh parliament.
193. When parliament met, on 8 September 1885, Alexander Stuart successfully moved a motion, condemning Parkes's resignation letter to his constituents as "a gross libel on this House". In a short reply, Parkes concluded by impudently proclaiming, "I snap my fingers at the motion, and I appeal from you to your masters, the electors of the country". (H. Parkes, Fifty Years, pp. 423-24).
194. On receiving his commission to form a ministry in December 1885, Sir John Robertson invited Parkes to join this ministry, leaving Parkes to choose his own office. (ibid., p. 429). Parkes, however, refused to join the ministry, ostensibly because of his objection to Robertson's choice of J.F. Burns as Colonial Treasurer. (NSWPD, vol. XVIII, p. 726, 10 February 1886; ADB, vol. 3, p. 305).

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195. NSWPD, vol. XVIII, p. 733, 10 February 1886 (T. Garrett). Parkes's objections to Burns, it would appear, were trumped up in order to offer a public excuse for not joining Robertson, for a little over a year later Parkes chose Burns as Treasurer in his own ministry. In his autobiography, Parkes makes no mention of any objection to Burns, claiming that his refusal to join Robertson was attributed to his objection to Thomas Garrett, who was not even included in the ministry. (Fifty Years, pp. 429-30). As to his stated reasons for not joining Robertson, Parkes later wrote that "I had some time before determined ... not to take office, and I had come to this determination for reasons which appeared to me then, and appear to me now, perfectly sound and justifiable". (ibid., p. 429). It is, therefore, quite possible that, at the time, Parkes really did see himself as the one man who could 'do good', and that he had determined to bide his time and await an opportunity to emerge as an unfettered reforming influence on the Assembly. Certainly, N.B. Nairn has pointed to Parkes's "devouring belief in his leadership role" in the process of achieving "his vision of orderly reform". (N.B. Nairn, 'A New Look', p. 13).
196. In 1887, Parkes invited an audience at St Leonards to "turn from personal prejudice, turn from personal preference, and look steadily at principle". (SMH, 29 January 1887, p. 10).
197. P. Magnus, Gladstone, p. 20.
198. H. Parkes, Fifty Years, p. 265.
199. SMH, 29 January 1887, p. 10.
200. SMH, 3 February 1887, p. 5.
201. SMH, 11 February 1887, p. 4.
202. SMH, 1 February 1887, p. 6. Discussing, in 1889, the nature of parties, Parkes stated that "the more definite they are the better; the more indefinite they are, the worse for the country; ...". (NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, p. 1540, 11 January 1889).
203. SMH, 10 January 1887, p. 3.
204. SMH, 1 February 1887, p. 6. Parkes claimed that where parties existed, "the party who consent to those whom I suppose may be called their leaders taking office ought to do so because they are satisfied with their policy, or in other words, with their general principles, ...". (NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, p. 1541, 11 January 1889).

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205. Parkes to W. McMillan, 23 May 1888. W. McMillan Papers, MSS 1885/2, p. 2, ML.
206. SMH, 2 February 1889, p. 12.
207. SMH, 10 January 1887, p. 3; 19 February 1887, p. 7; DT, 2 February 1889, p. 6.
208. SMH, 5 February 1887, p. 9.
209. SMH, 25 January 1887, p. 3. Also:- SMH, 26 January 1887, p. 10 (Parkes's manifesto to the electors of St Leonards).
210. ibid.
211. ibid.
212. Parkes to Lord Carrington, 7 April 1887. PC, vol. 6, A 876, p. 127, ML.
213. Parkes to B.R. Wise, 8 November 1886. B.R. Wise Papers, MSS1327, vol. 2, p. 108, ML.
214. Parkes to Lord Carrington, 7 April 1887. PC, vol. 6, A876, p. 128, ML.
215. Parkes to W. Clarke, 2 May 1887. Letters from Sir H. Parkes, vol. 1, A931, [no page numbers], ML.
216. Parkes to Lord Carrington, 7 April 1887. PC, vol. 6, A876, p. 128, ML.
217. Parkes to W. Clarke, 2 May 1887. Letters from Sir Henry Parkes, vol. 2, A931, [no page numbers], ML. The existing letter appears to be a draft copy, and is directly addressed only to William Clarke. Beneath Parkes's signature, however, there appears the following:  
     "My dear Mr Abigail  
                     Sutherland      Inglis  
                     Salomons        Roberts  
                     Garrett         Burns  
                                      Foster  
                                      Clarke".
218. Parkes to Lord Carrington, 7 April 1887. PC, vol. 6, A876, pp. 128-29, ML.
219. NSWPD, vol. XXV, p. 201, 15 March 1887.
220. SMH, 23 August 1882, p. 5.
221. As evidenced by the defeat of Dibbs's short-lived ministry in December 1885.

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222. For example: A. Ryrie, T. Slattery, J.P. Garvan, R.H. Levien, J.P. Abbott, F.B. Suttor and R.G. Fitzgerald.
223. F. Abigail, Sydney Smith, W. Clarke, Hugh Taylor, A.H. McCulloch, J.C. Neild, J. Sutherland and A. Kethel.
224. In October 1885, O'Sullivan, Forsyth and Heydon had declared their opposition to the Dibbs ministry (SMH, 31 October 1885, pp. 9-10), and during the life of Robertson's 1885-86 ministry all three sat with the government, along with Henry Clarke, J. Garrard and A. Stokes. (SMH, 28 January 1886, p. 9).
225. The long-standing avowed protectionists, who now came out in support of Jennings were Forsyth, Heydon, O'Sullivan, Hyam, Burke, H. Clarke, Garrard, and Stokes. (See ch. 1, n. 38). Men like W.C. Wall, J.P. Abbott, N.G. Bull, T. Dalton, T. Ewing and J.M. Toohey, all of whom supported the Protection Union in November 1886, were not long-standing protectionists, but some of the first protectionist 'converts' achieved by Parkes's successful fiscal polarisation campaign.
226. R.M. Vaughn, A. Ross and J. Shepherd.
227. Trickett had been Postmaster-General and Minister of Public Instruction in Stuart's 1883-85 ministry, and Minister of Public Instruction in Dibbs's 1885 ministry. Reid had been Minister of Public Instruction in the Stuart ministry.
228. G.H. Reid, My Reminiscences, London, 1917, p. 61. Both Reid and Trickett voted against the second reading of the bill.
229. NSWPD, vol. XIX, p. 1883, 12 May 1886.
230. ibid., p. 1924, 12 May 1886.
231. See ibid., vol. XVIII, pp. 727-28, 10 February 1886 (Sir John Robertson).
232. Inglis indicated his factional allegiance to Robertson when he stated: "I have followed with the utmost fidelity and goodwill the lead of the hon. member for Mudgee, ...". (ibid., vol. XIX, p. 1907, 12 May 1886).
233. ibid.
234. J. Inglis, J.H. Young, R.M. Vaughn, S. Burdekin, C. Garland, F.J. Gibbs, F. Tait, W. Henson and W.H. Holborow were some of them (ibid., p. 1924).

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235. ibid., p. 1907.
236. SMH, 19 June 1886, p. 11.  
C.E. Lyne (Parkes, p. 463) substantially agrees with this interpretation of Robertson's resignation. P. Loveday and A.W. Martin (PFP, p. 132) claim that "age and ill health" forced Robertson's retirement, but this would appear to be a cover for the real reason.
237. SMH, 19 June 1886, p. 11.
238. Among them were J.F. Burns, J.H. Young, D. O'Connor, J. Inglis, W. Teece, S. Burdekin, F.J. Gibbes, F. Tait, W. Henson, W.H. Holborow, C.A. Lee, J.N. Bruncker, A.J. Gould, H.H. Brown, and C. Garland.
239. R.B. Smith, H. Stephen, J.S. Hawthorne, E.A. Baker, J. Kidd, A. Bowman, J. Davies, T. de Courcy Browne were some of them.
240. The preceding faction and fiscal analysis is based on the following sources:-  
SMH, 9 October 1885, p. 5; 31 October 1885, pp. 9-10;  
23 December 1885, p. 9; 28 January 1886, p. 9;  
VPNSWLA, 1885-6, vol. I, pp. 355, 529;  
NSWPD, vol. XIX, pp. 1924, 2149-50;  
A.W. Martin and P. Wardle, Notes, pp. 237-49 (Ministries, 1856-1901); G.C. Morey, Parkes-Robertson Coalition, Appendix I.
241. J. Garrard, J.S. Hawthorne, A. Bowman and R.B. Wilkinson supported ad valorem duties in 1886, although all later became staunch freetraders; R.M. Vaughn and A. Ross, declared protectionists, supported Parkes in 1886, but later altered their allegiance.
242. DT, 5 February 1898, p. 4 (W.H. Traill, 'Protection and Democracy', I).
243. SMH, 8 February 1887, p. 4 (Speech by Dibbs).
244. DT, 5 February 1898, p. 4 (W.H. Traill).
245. SMH, 8 February 1887, p. 4 (Speech by Dibbs).  
C.E. Lyne agrees with Dibbs and Traill: The Jennings ministry resigned from office "ostensibly through a disagreement between Sir Patrick Jennings and Mr. Dibbs, but largely owing to fiscal differences between the head of the Government and some of his colleagues" (Parkes, pp. 465-66). For further corroboration, see SMH, 15 January 1887, p. 11; 21 January 1887, p. 6. Although he claimed that "differences between myself and one of my colleagues led to my resignation" (NSWPD, vol. XXIV, p. 45, 20 January 1887), Jennings hinted at the underlying reason when he stated that some of his colleagues favoured "a policy of protection, and

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- that as events developed themselves this tendency on their part became more decided". (ibid., p. 44). He went on to state that "although some members of the Government were in favour of a protective policy and some were in favour of free-trade, their views on these subjects were subordinated whilst we had together for the common object we had in view - the placing of finances of the country on a sound footing". (ibid., p. 47. Underlining my own). The implication is that, once the Customs Duties Bill has been passed, the ministry was no longer united because of the developing fiscal conflict.
246. Confidential dispatch, Lord Carrington to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 20 January 1887. CO 201/606, f. 11, NLA.
247. SMH, 7 February 1887, p. 4 (speech by W. Lyne).
248. C.E. Lyne, Parkes, p. 466. William Lyne estimated Jennings' majority at "something like 30" (SMH, 7 February 1887, p. 4), and E.W. O'Sullivan put it at thirty-three (From Colony to Commonwealth, p. 198).
249. SMH, 7 February 1887, p. 4. See also:- H. Parkes Fifty Years, p. 449.
250. In his life of Edmund Barton, Reynolds writes: "The Governor, Lord Carrington, was believed to have urged Parkes to take over in order to restore the sagging confidence of the financial interests in England, who had invested heavily in the colony during recent years". (J. Reynolds, Edmund Barton, Sydney, 1948, p. 24-25). Parkes recollected that, during the interview at which he received his commission, the first words uttered by Lord Carrington were: "Well, I suppose you have no doubt that you can pull the country through". (Letters to Saul Samuel, A55, p. 29, ML).
251. At the same time as commissioning Parkes to form a ministry, Carrington granted him a dissolution at his request "in case he ... [was] unable to carry on the business of the country with the present Parliament". (C.E. Lyne, Parkes, pp. 466-67; Letters to Saul Samuel, A55, p. 30, ML). When this proved to be the case and an election became inevitable, Carrington wrote: "I have every reason to believe that a stable Government is about to administer the affairs of the Colony". (Confidential dispatch, Lord Carrington the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 20 January 1887, CO 201/606, ff. 11-12). Parkes recalled that Carrington had expressed the hope that "I should be able to construct a strong ministry with a good majority at its back", and his "concurrence in my appealing to the country whenever I judged it most expedient". (Letters to Saul Samuel, A55, p. 33, ML).



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252. See SMH, 19 January 1887, p. 6; C.E. Lyne, Parkes, p. 469; P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PFP, pp. 133, 187, n. 53; A.W. Martin, 'William McMillan - A Merchant in Politics', JRAHS, vol. 40, pt 4 (1954), p. 206 (Hereafter:- 'McMillan').
253. SMH, 17 January 1887, p. 6.
254. Australasian (Melbourne), 29 January 1887, p. 234 ('Socialities', Sydney, 24 January).
255. SMH, 29 January 1887, p. 9.
256. Discussing, in 1889, the formation of his ministry, Parkes stated that "The gentlemen who joined me two years ago were necessarily inevitably to some extent comparative strangers to me. There had been such a breaking up of parties that it was impossible for me at that time to have formed any government without taking in some gentlemen who were comparative strangers to me". (NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, p. 1539, 11 January 1889).
257. Regarding these five men, see P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PFP, p. 133; Letters to Saul Samuel, A55, pp. 47, 52, ML.
258. Regarding Wisdom, Lloyd and Neild as ministerial possibilities, see ibid., pp. 46, 55-57.
259. See ibid., pp. 46-47, 51-53, 55-58. Thomas Garrett spoke of "his junction with the head of the Government" in consequence of the ex-Robertsonians' decision "to sink all small or party or occasional differences that might have arisen" in the past. (SMH, 3 February 1887, p. 7).
260. Letters to Saul Samuel, A55, p. 55, ML.
261. ibid., p. 35 (Parkes to G.H. Reid, 15 January 1887).
262. ibid., p. 47.
263. J.F. Burns, W.J. Foster, T. Garrett, J. Sutherland, C.J. Roberts, W. Clarke, J. Inglis and F. Abigail in the Assembly, and J. Salomons in the Legislative Council.
264. NSWPD, vol. XXIV, p. 44, 20 January 1887 (E.W. O'Sullivan). C.E. Lyne (Parkes, p. 469) reduced the number to "three reputed protectionists", but four names have commonly been mentioned in regard to the accusation. Jennings specified J. Sutherland, W. Clarke and C.J. Roberts (NSWPD, vol. XXIV, p. 44); Loveday and Martin name the same three men (PFP, p. 187, n. 53), but elsewhere A.W. Martin specifies Clarke, C.J. Roberts and F. Abigail. ('McMillan', p. 206, fn. 18).

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265. P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PFP, p. 187, n. 53.
266. SMH, 15 March 1887, p. 4.  
Abigail's remarks also apply to Sutherland. Both Abigail and Sutherland voted against the Resolution of Ways and Means, containing Jennings' tariff proposals. (NSWPD, vol. XX, pp. 2149-50, 20 May 1886); Abigail cast his vote against the second reading of the Customs Duties Bill (VPNSWLA, 1885-86, vol. I, p. 355, 1 July 1886).
267. NSWPD, vol. XIX, p. 1705, 5 May 1886.
268. SMH, 15 March 1887, p. 4.
269. Clarke voted against the Resolution of Ways and Means, and the second reading of the Customs Duties Bill.
270. Letters to Saul Samuel, A55, p. 48, ML.
271. See Appendices VII and VIII.
272. SMH, 29 January 1887, p. 9.
273. SMH, 9 February 1887, p. 6.  
Roberts did not vote in either the Resolution of Ways and Means, or the second reading of the Customs Duties Bill divisions.
274. George Dibbs claimed that Parkes, having obtained office by raising up "a bogie", was compelled to "make it a hustings cry, and quell it". (SMH, 8 February 1887, p. 4). On the contrary, I believe that Parkes made the fiscal issue 'a hustings cry' in order to perpetuate it as the dominant source of political division.
275. NSWPD, vol. XXIV, p. 44, 20 January 1887.
276. SMH, 25 January 1887, p. 3.
277. ibid.
278. At the conclusion of Parkes's speech, Archibald Forsyth rose "to ask the meaning of Sir Henry Parkes's action in calling this House together in order to disclose his policy". (ibid.) The Herald, in announcing Parkes's intention to disclose to the Assembly his government's policy, mused: "Why Sir Henry Parkes has pursued this unusual course can only be conjectured". (SMH, 22 January 1887, p. 11).
279. SMH, 25 January 1887, p. 3.
280. Extract from Central Australian (Bourke), 22 January 1887, in SMH, 27 January 1887, p. 4.

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281. SMH, 25 January 1887, p. 3.
282. The six trips were as follows:-
- (1) Sydney-Maitland-Newcastle-Sydney (two days).  
SMH, 31 January 1887, p. 5; 2 February 1887, p. 5. Electorates of East and West Maitland, and Newcastle.
  - (2) Sydney-Springwood-Bathurst-Blayney-Orange-Carcoar-Bathurst-Sydney (two days).  
SMH, 7 February 1887, p. 4; 8 February 1887, p. 4; 9 February 1887, p. 6. Electorates of Nepean, Carcoar, Orange, Bathurst.
  - (3) Sydney-Goulburn-Sydney (one day).  
SMH, 11 February 1887, p. 4. Electorate of Argyle.
  - (4) Sydney-Wallsend/Newcastle-Sydney (one day).  
SMH, 14 February 1887, p. 3. Electorate of Northumberland.
  - (5) Sydney-Goulburn-Queanbeyan-Goulburn-Yass-Harden-Cootamundra-Gundagai-Tumut-Adelong-Gundagai-Sydney (four days).  
SMH, 17 February 1887, p. 3; 18 February 1887, p. 3; 19 February 1887, p. 7. Electorates of Goulburn, Queanbeyan, Yass Plains, Young, Gundagai and Tumut.
  - (6) Melbourne-Moama-Deniliquin-Melbourne (one day).  
SMH, 24 February 1887, p. 5. Electorate of The Murray. See Appendix VI.
283. SMH, 28 February 1887, p. 6.

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1. SMH, 21 January 1887, p. 7.
2. SMH, 25 January 1887, p. 8.
3. ibid.
4. ibid.
5. A. Forsyth, L.F. Heydon, E.W. O'Sullivan, S.H. Hyam, M. Burke, N. Melville, H. Clarke, P. Hogan, R. Barbour, W.T. Coonan and W.S. Targett. (See above, ch. 1, p. 35; ch. 1, nn. 38, 225). R.M. Vaughn, a long-standing protectionist, had opposed the imposition of ad valorem duties in 1886, but had since changed sides, sacrificing his factional allegiance in favour of his fiscal beliefs; Jacob Garrard and A. Stokes had done the opposite, deserting their 1886 'protectionist' colleagues to support Parkes. (See above, ch. 1, p.36; ch. 1, nn. 225, 226).
6. W.C. Wall, J.P. Abbott, T. Dalton, T. Ewing, J.M. Toohey, N.G. Bull, J.P. Garvan, W. Lyne and H. Copeland. (See ch. 1, pp. 35,38 ; ch. 1, nn. 222, 225).
7. For example:- J.M. Chanter (SMH, 27 January 1887, p.4; 28 February 1887, p. 12); H. Stephen (SMH, 3 February 1887, p. 11); T. Jones (SMH, 10 February 1887, p. 3; 28 February 1887, p. 12); D.A. Ferguson (SMH, 28 February 1887, p. 12); T.H. Hassall, G. Day and J. McFarlane (SMH, 28 February 1887, p. 11); J. Fletcher. Fletcher demonstrated that the basis for fiscal conversion involved no fundamental alteration of fiscal opinion, but simply a willingness to accept an artificial label, when he stated that, if his support of ad valorem duties "constituted a protectionist, he was willing to be placed in that category". (SMH, 1 February 1887, p. 7).
8. J.H. Want declared that "He was not even a modified protectionist, and had always been a thorough free-trader and always would be". (SMH, 4 February 1887, p. 11); G.R. Dibbs declared himself "an uncompromising freetrader" (SMH, 17 February 1887, p. 3), and he "strongly condemned protection as inimical to the best interests of the colony". (SMH, 28 February 1887, p.12); R.G. Fitzgerald "declared himself in favour of free-trade" (SMH, 5 February 1887, p. 10; 28 February 1887, p. 12; 29 January 1887, p. 9). Also:- T. Slattery (SMH, 8 February 1887, p. 3; 28 February 1887, p. 11); J.A. Mackinnon (SMH, 11 February 1887, p. 3; 15 February 1887, p. 4; 28 February 1887, p. 12); J. Hayes (SMH, 28 February 1887, p. 11).
9. J. Gormly "also stated that he was not a protectionist, ...". (SMH, 9 February 1887, p. 6; 28 February 1887, p.12); R.B. Smith (SMH, 15 February 1887, p. 4).

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10. John See specifically referred to his disagreement with protection when he stated that he called "the views he held 'fairtrade'. Other people might call him a protectionist, but he did not believe in prohibition, and there were many things in the platform of the protectionists which he confessed he could not bring himself to support". (SMH, 7 February 1887, p. 4). R.H. Levien also adopted the term 'fairtrader' (SMH, 28 February 1887, p. 12), thus making him what J.H. Young described as "a sort of political hermaphrodite". (SMH, 18 February 1887, p. 3). Also:- J.W. Bowes (SMH, 21 February 1887, p. 4; 28 February 1887, p. 12); T.C. O'Mara (SMH, 15 February 1887, p. 3).
11. A. Ryrle and W.S. Dowel accepted no fiscal label at all (SMH, 28 February 1887, pp. 11-12), Dowel declaring that the fiscal issue was nothing more than "a red herring drawn across the trail". (SMH, 16 February 1887, p. 5).
12. SMH, 3 February 1887, p. 11.
13. SMH, 10 March 1887, p. 9.
14. DT, 2 February 1889, p. 6.  
Loveday and Martin state that "... with the exception of three men (Dibbs, Want and Wilkinson), all those elected as anti-ministerialists had declared themselves to be protectionists" (PFM, p. 140), but this is open to doubt. It would appear that at least fifteen oppositionists had yet to declare themselves protectionists.
15. NSWPD, vol. XXV, p. 130, 11 March 1887.
16. ibid., p. 133.
17. "Mr. Garrard had been one of the very few public men, who, when Graham Berry, at the invitation of the then inconsiderable handful of active protectionists in New South Wales, had accepted an invitation [in 1882] to deliver an address in Sydney to expound the advantages of that system of encouragement to local industries, supported him on the platform". (DT, 5 February 1898, p. 4 (W.H. Traill, 'Protection and Democracy', I)). Garrard was classified as a protectionist in 1885 (see ch. 1, n. 38), and had supported the imposition of ad valorem duties in 1886 (see ch. 1, n. 225).
18. SMH, 1 February 1887, p. 7; 29 January 1887, p. 10.
19. SMH, 1 February 1887, p. 7.

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20. NSWPD, vol. XXV, p. 133.
21. SMH, 29 January 1887, p. 9. Also:- SMH, 4 February 1887, p. 7. Similar statements were made by another avowed protectionist, A. Ross (SMH, 11 February 1887, p. 3).
22. J. Garrard, W.F. Schey, A. Ross, A. Stokes and T.F. de Courcy Browne (SMH, 10 March 1887, p. 9). Loveday and Martin, however, state "The only ministerial protectionist was Dr Ross of Molong, ...". (PFP, p. 188, n. 70). For the protectionist tendencies of Stokes and Ross, see ch. 1, n. 38; for those of de Courcy Browne, see SMH, 28 February 1887, p. 12. Stokes (ch. 1, n. 225) and de Courcy Browne (VPNSWLA, 1885-86, vol. I, p. 529, 9 September 1886) had both supported the imposition of ad valorem duties.
23. A. Bowman and J.S. Hawthorne.
24. SMH, 9 February 1887, p. 5 (A. Bowman).
25. SMH, 8 February 1887, p. 4.
26. J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise. An Oxford Liberal in the Free-trade Party of New South Wales, M.A., University of Sydney, 1965, p. 234. (Hereafter:- B.R. Wise).
27. SMH, 10 March 1887, p. 9.
28. During the 1889 general election campaign, George Dibbs declared his staunch adherence to protection (DI, 26 January 1889, p. 10); R.G. Fitzgerald told the electors of Upper Hunter that "Since last returned he had changed his opinions with regard to the fiscal policy after deep thought and honest conviction. He now sought their support in the protection interest, ...". (SMH, 28 January 1889, p. 9); J.W. Bowes now declared himself "an uncompromising protectionist" (SMH, 31 January 1889, p. 8); T.C. O'Mara contested East Sydney in outright opposition to Parkes and free-trade (SMH, 31 January 1889, p. 7); and, J. Gormly, T. Slattery, J.A. Mackinnon, J. Hayes, J. See, R.H. Levien, W.S. Dowel and A. Ryrrie had all by 1889 accepted the protectionist label (SMH, 19 February 1889, pp. 7-8). R.B. Smith did not seek re-election. The fewer inconsistencies among the Parkesians had also been largely resolved. Thomas Waddell now declared himself a protectionist (SMH, 19 February 1889, p. 8), and claimed "his right to join those who most closely adhered to what he believed to be right principles of policy ...". (DI, 6 February 1889, p. 5). W.F. Schey had also come to discover his rightful place in opposition to Parkes, declaring his "condemnation" of the Parkes government and his support for the newly-formed and short-lived Dibbs 'protectionist' ministry, and

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stating his intention "to support the introduction of protection". (DT, 24 January 1889, p. 6). A. Stokes re-affirmed his adherence to protection (SMH, 19 February 1889, p. 8), and seems to have been associated with the protectionist party (SMH, 9 February 1889, p. 9). T.F. de Courcy Browne unsuccessfully sought re-election with official protectionist endorsement (DT, 23 January 1889, p. 5). Rather than changing sides, Jacob Garrard had dropped his adherence to protection, had retained his association with Parkes, and now declared himself a freetrader (SMH, 24 January 1889, p. 5; 19 February 1889, p. 7). J.S. Hawthorne and A. Bowman had also become 'pure' freetraders, having cast aside their ad valorem heresies. The exceptions to this general eradication of fiscal confusion and inconsistency were few. J.H. Want remained antagonistic to Parkes, but still declared his allegiance to free-trade; R.B. Wilkinson, though officially endorsed by the protectionists, remained an announced firm free-trader (DT, 2 February 1889, p. 6; SMH, 19 February 1889, p. 8), and between 1889 and 1891 he became reconciled with Parkes and the free-trade party; A. Ross continued to adhere to protection (DT, 26 January 1889, p. 11), but, as the Telegraph remarked, as "an admirer and follower of Sir Henry Parkes ... his old allegiance would probably be continued". (DT, 29 January 1889, p. 5).

29. DT, 5 February 1898, p. 4 (W.H. Traill, 'Protection and Democracy', 1).
30. ibid.
31. [Colony of New South Wales] 51 Vict., No. 8 (8 July 1887).
32. Revenue from Customs Duties:     1886     £ 2,068,571  
    1887     £ 2,011,947  
    1888     £ 1,883,058  
    1889     £ 1,905,883  
    1890     £ 1,879,086  
New South Wales Statistical Register, 1889, p. 179; 1892 p. 237.
33. ibid., 1887, p. 184.
34. 51 Vict., No. 6 (8 July 1887). Duty raised from 12/- to 14/- per proof gallon.
35. 51 Vict., No. 7 (8 July 1887). Duty increased from 1/- to 1/3 per pound.
36. 50 Vict., No. 38 (3 June 1887). Duty fixed at 3d. per gallon.

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37. Revenue from Excise Duties: 1886 £ 109,833  
 1887 £ 204,420  
 1888 £ 259,576  
 1889 £ 261,371  
 1890 £ 265,972  
 1891 £ 289,484.  
New South Wales Statistical Register, 1889, p. 179;  
 1892, p. 237.
38. Net Customs Revenue: 1886 £ 2,174,404  
 1887 £ 2,216,367  
 1888 £ 2,171,889  
 1889 £ 2,205,226  
 1890 £ 2,182,621.  
ibid.
39. SMH, 23 July 1887, p. 9.
40. SMH, 24 January 1889, p. 5.
41. NSWPD, vol. XXV, p. 834, 14 April 1887.
42. SMH, 6 February 1889, p. 8.
43. SMH, 29 January 1889, p. 4.
44. SMH, 1 February 1889, p. 3.
45. ibid.
46. SMH, 12 April 1889, p. 5. See also:- C. Dilke,  
Problems, vol. I, p. 277.
47. ibid., p. 278.
48. NSWPD, vol. XXXVII, p. 340.
49. ibid.
50. ibid., p. 541, 10 April 1889; SMH, 12 April 1889, p. 5.
51. ibid.
52. NSWPD, vol. XXV, p. 667, 6 April 1887.
53. SMH, 21 September 1887, p. 9.
54. See below, ch. 4, p. 109.
55. DT, 5 February 1898, p. 4 (W.H. Traill, 'Protection  
 and Democracy', I).
56. NSWPD, vol. LXI, p. 2710, 14 December 1892.
57. ibid., vol. XLVIII, p. 4609, 16 October 1890.



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58. [Colony of New South Wales] 55 Vict. No. 16 (2 March 1892).
59. New South Wales Statistical Register, 1892, p. 237.
60. ibid., 1897, p. 351.
61. As A.W. Martin observes: "it is clear that both policies were considered to be consistent with the collection of considerable sums of customs revenue". A.W. Martin, Political Developments in New South Wales, 1894-1896, M.A., University of Sydney, 1953, p. 14. (Hereafter:- Political Developments).
62. DT, 9 February 1898, p. 6 (W.H. Traill, 'Protection and Democracy', II).
63. Extract from Maitland Mercury, 22 January 1887, in SMH, 27 January 1887, p. 4.
64. P.N. Lamb, The Financing, p. 141.
65. EN, 20 July 1887, p.4.
66. H. Parkes, Fifty Years, p. 458; N.B. Nairn, 'The Mastery', p. 34.
67. SMH, 1 September 1893, p. 6.
68. SMH, 25 January 1889, p. 8. Wise's story was substantiated some years later in a speech delivered by Parkes (SMH, 6 June 1894, p. 8).
69. SMH, 27 September 1887, p. 4.
70. EN, 20 July 1887, p. 4.
71. SMH, 18 February 1889, p. 5.  
"The Government indeed have been advised to waive the protectionist issue and confine themselves to such proposals as both sides of the House will accept, ..." (ibid., p. 4). See also:- B.E. Mansfield, Australian Democrat. The Career of Edward William O'Sullivan, 1846-1910, Sydney, 1965, p. 97. (Hereafter:- Democrat).
72. DI, 29 January 1889, p. 5.
73. C. Dilke, Problems, vol. I, p. 300.  
By 1891, a correspondent to the Herald could still refer to "the parties who have hitherto been occupied principally in pushing one another off the stools of office" (SMH, 25 June 1891, p. 6).
74. It is in this sense that N.B. Nairn describes the fiscal parties as "slightly improved models of the factions, replete with old order leaders and methods". ('The Mastery', p. 39).

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75. DT, 5 February 1898, p. 4 (W.H. Traill, 'Protection and Democracy', I).
76. Those who entered political life for the first time in 1887 were W. McMillan, J.R. Street, A.J. Riley, C.E. Jeanneret, A. Hutchison and N. Hawken; J.C. Ellis and W.F. Martin returned to the Assembly in 1887, after an absence from politics of several years. These commercial men were later joined by other merchant colleagues: Joseph Abbott and Joseph Mitchell in 1888, and A.B. Smith, R.J. King, E.W. Molesworth and A. Lamb in 1889. For the commercial activities and associations of these men, see ch. 2, n. 85.
77. NSWPD, vol. XXV, p. 839, 14 April 1887.
78. In 1876, McMillan became managing partner of A. McArthur and Co., a merchant firm dealing in soft-goods. Under his guidance, the company was expanded to serve "as the centre for a shipping, insurance and general agency". (A.W. Martin, 'McMillan', pp. 197-98).
79. See Appendices VII and VIII.
80. NSWPD, vol. XXV, p. 843.
81. "I say, when the working man has to pay through the Customs for certain bread and butter things, which I think he should pay for, because I would advocate a tax upon one or two things which might be called necessaries, or which entered into general consumption, I think the poor man ... ought to pay as well as the rich man; ..." (ibid., vol. XXXII, p. 4453, 3 May 1888 (W. McMillan)).
82. ibid., vol. XXXVII, p. 352, 2 April 1889.
83. SMH, 31 January 1887, p. 5.
84. SMH, 3 February 1887, p. 7. See also, for example:- SMH, 31 January 1887, p. 6 (I.E. Ives); 1 February 1889, p. 3 (A. Lamb).
85. Thirteen were members of the SCC: W. McMillan, J. Inglis, J.R. Street, R.J. King, Joseph Mitchell, A.J. Riley, E.W. Molesworth, J.C. Ellis, I.E. Ives, W.F. Martin, J. Sutherland, A. Lamb and Joseph Abbott. (For their SCC association and specific commercial activities, see Appendix VIII). Other freetrade MsLA with distinct commercial connections were: A. Bruce Smith (managing director, Howard Smith and Sons, shipowners), C.E. Jeanneret (manager, Parramatta and Gosford Steamship Co.), A. Kethel (timber merchant), W. Clarke (investment and banking), J.S. Hart (timber merchant), J.F. Burns (shipping and insurance),

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A. Hutchison (book importer and publisher), J.H. Young and N. Hawken (commission agents), J. Wheeler (company manager). (A.W. Martin and P. Wardle, Notes; Sands' Sydney Directory, 1887; ADB, vols 3 and 4; chapter 1, n. 103).

Of these men, eight were members of the merchant-dominated FTA council between 1885 and 1889 (see Appendix VII).

86. In April 1887, McMillan warned the government of the risk it would run of offending "the commercial and monied classes", if it attempted to impose direct taxation. (NSWPD, vol. XXV, pp. 724-25, 13 April 1887).
87. SMH, 19 July 1894, p. 5 ('Feeling Among The Merchants').
88. Abolished by Dibbs's revised tariff in March 1892.
89. SMH, 27 June 1895, p. 5 ('The Merchants' View of the Situation').
90. "We shall raise our Customs revenue under a tariff more limited than in former years, ..." (SMH, 26 January 1887, p. 10).
91. SMH, 25 January 1887, p. 3; 26 January 1887, p. 10; DT, 5 February 1898, p. 4 (W.H. Traill, 'Protection and Democracy', I); B.R. Wise to Parkes, 8 August 1888. PC, vol. 42, A912, p. 312, ML.
92. J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, p. 225.
93. See below, ch. 5, p. 164.
94. SMH, 11 May 1887, p. 6 ('The Tariff Proposals').
95. B.R. Wise to Parkes, 8 August 1888. PC, vol. 42, A912, p. 312, ML.
96. ibid., p. 311.
97. SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 8.  
Wise had expressed the same opinion to Parkes: "Surely then the true policy is to abolish all taxes upon raw materials and upon those half-manufactured articles, ..., which are used as raw materials in native industries". (B.R. Wise to Parkes, 8 August 1888. PC, vol. 42, A912, p. 311, ML).
98. For an expression of their views, see, for example:- SMH, 30 January 1889, p. 10 (R.W. Thompson); 6 February 1889, p. 8 (F. Farnell); J.H. Carruthers to Parkes, 19 April 1891. PC, vol. 7, A877, p. 479, ML; Report of the Proceedings and Public Meetings of the First Annual Conference of the Free Trade and Liberal Association of New South Wales, 1889, Sydney, [1889], p. 47 (P.H. Morton and J. Haynes). (Hereafter:- FTLA Conference).

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99. Wise expressed this determination in September 1888 when he stated that "when occasion arises, I shall do my best to simplify the tariff, by proposing the abolition of all duties upon raw materials, ...". B.R. Wise, The Position of the Liberal Party. Speech by Mr B.R. Wise at the Protestant Hall, on 5th Sept., 1888, Sydney, 1888, p. 20. (Hereafter:- Liberal Party).
100. J. Seaver, A. Allen, J. Nobbs and H.H. Cooke. VPNSWLA, 1889, vol. I, p. 56.
101. FTLA Conference, pp. 46-47.
102. SMH, 16 January 1894, p. 6.
103. P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PFP, pp. 3-4. For Burke's definition, see above, ch. 1, p. 30.
104. A.W. Martin, The Emergence of Political Parties in New South Wales during the 1880s, unpublished typescript, Australian National University, 1954, p. 28. (Hereafter:- The Emergence).
105. FTLA Conference, p. 47.
106. A. Deakin, Federated Australia. Selections from Letters to 'The Morning Post', 1900-1910, ed. J.A. La Nauze, Melbourne, 1968, p. 12. (square brackets in the text). (Hereafter:- Federated Australia). The British tradition dated from the 1846 political upheaval caused by Sir Robert Peel's dramatic repeal of the Corn Laws. As a result, the Peelite Conservatives coalesced with the Whigs and "this coalition became the Liberal party, the free trade party". (I. Jennings, Party Politics, vol. III, Cambridge, 1962, p. 366). The rump of the Conservatives called itself the Protectionist party (ibid., vol. II, Cambridge, 1961, p. 59, fn. 1), although the label Conservative was resumed after a short interval (ibid., vol. III, p. 366). Throughout the remainder of the century the two great parties retained their old fiscal associations, and freedom of trade remained one of the chief tenets of Gladstonian liberalism (P. Magnus, Gladstone, p. 443; I. Jennings, Party Politics, vol. II, pp. 120-21). Although Disraeli spent nearly twenty years trying to wean the Conservatives from protection (ibid., vol. III, p. 366), the revived protectionist movement of the 1880s and 1890s found greatest support in the Conservative clubs and associations, although only officially espoused by the Conservative party after the Boer War (ibid., pp. 368-70).

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107. Parkes first mentioned the link in 1886 during the parliamentary debate on Jennings' financial proposals. He declared that "It is the veriest nonsense in the world to attempt to identify the protectionist doctrine with liberal thought in political life. Why, protection in England has always been identified with the Tories of England, never with the Liberals". (NSWPD, vol. XX, p. 2068, 19 May 1886). Again, this time referring to the Dominion of Canada, Parkes claimed that "There it has been a fair contention between Toryism and Liberalism. The Tories had hoisted the flag of protection, and the Liberals have stood by free trade, ...". (SMH, 29 January 1887, p. 10). This identity of the rival fiscal creeds with two overall political philosophies was more clearly defined by Parkes during the course of his campaign. By defining a Liberal as "a man who seeks to leave the subject free ..." (NSWPD, vol. XX, p. 2068), Parkes was able to argue the true liberalism of free trade, a doctrine, which "did not alone mean the absence of an active policy of Protection, but ... [also] the absence of all unnecessary and vexatious impediments and interferences". (H. Parkes, Fifty Years, p. 443). Since Liberalism stressed personal freedom, it must also stress freetrade, for freetrade in itself meant "human liberty. The liberty for a man to go where he liked with his money and buy what he pleased, with no one to stand between him and his chosen market, and dictate any course to him". (NSWPD, vol. XX, p. 2068).
108. DT, 21 January 1889, p. 5; B.R. Wise, Reverie and Reminiscence, typescript copy of handwritten MS of Wise's memoirs, p. 87. (In the possession of Mr J.A. Ryan, Macquarie University). (Hereafter:- Reverie). I am indebted to Mr Ryan for access to this material.
109. ibid.
110. DT, 21 January 1889, p. 5.
111. B.R. Wise to Parkes, 8 August 1888. PC, vol. 42, A912, p. 311, ML.
112. B.R. Wise, Liberal Party, p. 21
113. ibid., p. 15.
114. A.B. Smith, Free Trade and Liberal Associations: Their True Province. A Lecture, delivered at The Glebe, 19 August 1889, Sydney, 1889, p. 4. (Hereafter:- Liberal Associations).
115. B.R. Wise, Liberal Party, p. 15.
116. A.B. Smith, Liberal Associations, p. 4.
117. ibid., p. 3.

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118. Quoted in A.B. Smith, Liberty and Liberalism. A Protest Against the Growing Tendency Toward Undue Interference by the State, With Individual Liberty, Private Enterprise, and the Rights of Property, Melbourne, 1887, p. 52. (Hereafter:- Liberty).
119. Speech by Joseph Chamberlain, 28 April 1885, quoted in ibid., p. 62.
120. ibid., pp. 56, 60-61.
121. ibid., pp. 60-61.
122. ibid., p. 60.  
For John Bright's hostility to state intervention, see John Bright to F. Blood, 26 June 1879, in H.J. Hanham (ed.), The Nineteenth-Century Constitution, 1815-1914. Documents and Commentary, Cambridge, 1969, pp. 313-14. (Hereafter:- Constitution).
123. A.B. Smith, Liberty, p. 63.  
Sir Charles Dilke also stressed the distinction between "the old Radicalism", whose "main principle [was] the freedom of the individual and the restriction of State action", and the new radicalism, "which has strong Socialistic leanings". (Problems, vol. II, p. 268).
124. Quoted in A.B. Smith, Liberty, p. 62.
125. ibid., p. 63.
126. ibid., p. 61.
127. ibid., pp. 63-64.
128. ibid., p. 196.
129. ibid.
130. ibid., pp. 196-97.
131. ibid., p. 197.
132. ibid., p. 196.
133. A.B. Smith, Liberal Associations, p. 41.
134. A.B. Smith, Liberty, p. 547.
135. A. Deakin, Federated Australia, p. 12.
136. J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, pp. 146-47.
137. ibid., p. 155. For a thorough treatment of Wise's liberalism, see ibid., pp. 144-66.

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138. B.R. Wise, Industrial Freedom. A Study in Politics, London, 1892, p. 147. (Hereafter:- Industrial Freedom).
139. ibid., p. 152.
140. ibid., p. 156.
141. ibid., p. 157.
142. J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, pp. 158, 167.
143. Wise spoke constantly in these terms, referring to the "lines of Liberal reform" (B.R. Wise to J.H. Carruthers, 26 October [1891]. J.H. Carruthers Papers, MSS 1638, Box 14A, ML), the "progress of liberal reform" (Liberal Party, p. 21), and "a potent instrument of social reform" (Reverie, p. 87).
144. J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, p. 165.
145. A.B. Smith, Liberty, p. 65.
146. SMH, 4 February 1887, p. 11.
147. NSWPD, vol. LXXII, p. 157, 4 September 1894. Deakin described McMillan as belonging to the class of "educated business men, narrow and cold after the manner of the Manchester school of which Cobden was the type and ideal". (A. Deakin, The Federal Story. The Inner History of the Federal Cause, 1880-1900, ed. J.A. La Nauze, 2nd ed., Melbourne, 1963, p. 39. (Hereafter:- Federal Story)).
148. NSWPD, vol. LXXII, p. 157. "I do not hesitate to say that the principle of free-trade is the principle of non-restriction by government". (W. McMillan).
149. ibid., vol. LIV, p. 2642, 15 October 1891.
150. See below, ch. 3, pp. 106-07.
151. NSWPD, vol. LXXXVI, p. 4510, 29 October 1896.
152. A.B. Smith, Liberal Associations, p. 41.
153. ibid.  
McMillan expressed the same sentiments when he referred to "... innovations, which people are used to call reforms, as if every innovation was a reform - which some people in a very disconnected way call progress, as if you could not progress down a hill as well as up a hill, ...". (NSWPD, vol. LXXXVI, p. 4510).
154. DT, 5 February 1898, p. 4 ('Protection and Democracy', I). Sir Charles Dilke confirmed Traill's observation when he stated that individualist liberalism "has all along been represented by the colonial Conservative party". (Problems, vol. II, p. 268).

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155. For more comprehensive lists, and summaries of their opinions on selected issues, see Appendix I.
156. N.B. Nairn, 'The Role of the Trades and Labour Council in New South Wales, 1871-1891', in Historical Studies: Selected Articles, comp. by M. Beever and F.B. Smith, second series, Melbourne, 1967, p. 151. (Hereafter:-'The TLC').
157. ibid., pp. 159-62.
158. ibid., p. 163.
159. ibid., p. 165.
160. ibid., pp. 169-70.
161. ibid., p. 170.
162. J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, pp. 160-61.
163. SMH, 3 August 1885, p. 11.
164. TLC Minutes, A3830, p. 469, 13 August 1885 , ML.
165. ibid.
166. ibid., pp. 471-72, 27 August 1885 .
167. ibid., p. 474, 10 September 1885 .
168. ibid.
169. At the time of Wise's September 1885 overture Messrs Laurence and Ryan were delegates to the TLC, representing the Sydney United Painters' Union and the Sydney Wharf Labourers' Union respectively (ibid., 473). In November and December 1886, both were on a sub-committee of the FTA, "appointed to select and invite further labor representatives to become members of the council of this association ...". (DT, 6 December 1886, p. 5). This sub-committee invited three men, W. Gillespie, E. Darnley and N. McArthur, but, although it was reported that all three had accepted (ibid.), only the name of Gillespie is found among later lists of FTA council members (Appendix VII; SMH, 10 January 1887, p. 7). Despite this apparent failure, it was reported at the second annual meeting of the FTA in September 1887 that "In November last it was decided to strengthen the council by the election of a number of representative working men. This step was carried out with the happiest results, ...". (DT, 27 September 1887, p. 5).



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170. At a TLC meeting shortly after the FTA's campaign to increase its labour representation, a motion was carried stating that "every member would be disgusted should the Council become identified with the Free Trade Association". (TLC Minutes, A3830, pp. 646-47, 27 January 1887 ).
171. Those in the Assembly between October 1885 and January 1887: C. Garland, J.S. Hawthorne, J.C. Neild, D. O'Connor, S. Smith, R.W. Thompson, S.W. Moore, J. Garrard (8).  
Elected in February 1887: All previous eight, plus A. Allen, J.H. Carruthers, F. Farnell, B.R. Wise, J. Haynes, J. Seaver, J.E. Tonkin, F. Woodward and Frank J. Smith (17).  
Additions:- March 1888: J. Nobbs.  
February 1889: G. Clubb, J. Curley.  
June-July 1891: G. Donald, J. Gillies,  
A. Campbell, E. Lonsdale.  
For their progressive views, see Appendix I.
172. Review of H. Parkes, Fifty Years in The Spectator (London), 20 May 1893, reprinted in SMH, 10 July 1893, p. 7.
173. G.H. Reid, My Reminiscences, p. 73.
174. NSWPD, vol. XXVI, p. 1831, 2 June 1887; SMH, 24 September 1890, p. 5; 25 September 1890, p. 5.
175. NSWPD, vol. XX, p. 2068, 19 May 1886.  
See also:- ibid., vol. LIV, p. 2656, 15 October 1891; H. Parkes, Fifty Years, p. 443.
176. NSWPD, vol. XXVI, pp. 1819-23, 2 June 1887; XXVII, p. 2573, 5 July 1887.
177. " ... government was not created to give employment to the people ....in a free country the people must find their own employment". (SMH, 1 February 1889, p. 4).
178. "I deny that any human institution such as Parliament has the moral power to limit the time he thinks well to labour. ... It is because I feel that is an act of tyranny - which I deny that any parliament in the world has the moral right to carry - that I am opposed to legislation to fix the hours of labour". (NSWPD, vol. LIV, p. 2655, 15 October 1891).
179. ibid., p. 2643.
180. See above, ch. 1, pp. 39-40.
181. See Appendix I.

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182. They were J. Inglis, W. Clarke, J.F. Burns and J. Sutherland. See below, ch. 5, p.167; Appendices VII and VIII.
183. For Parkes's demands of ministerial subservience, see:- Parkes to W. Clarke, 2 May 1887. Letters from Sir Henry Parkes, vol. I, A931, [no page numbers], ML; Parkes to Lord Carrington, 7 April 1887. PC, vol. 6, A876, pp. 128-29, ML.
184. An example of this personal loyalty was provided by James Inglis when he told Parkes that "Since my own beloved father died, there is no man living whose wonderful powers more command my admiration than your own, or whose esteem and good opinion I more earnestly desire to have. I hope under your wise leadership to become myself a wiser, more thoughtful and more useful man, ...". (J. Inglis to Parkes, 6 May 1887. PC, vol. 19, A889, pp. 333-34, ML).
- J.A. Ryan appears to doubt that Parkes exercised full control over the members of his 1887-89 ministry when he maintains that, by 1889, "Parkes was becoming more frustrated with the lack of support he was receiving, especially from his ministry", and he refers specifically to "a disloyal ministry". (B.R. Wise, p. 261). A.W. Martin also refers to the Parkes Administration in January 1889 as "weakened by Cabinet dissension, ..." ('McMillan', p. 207. See also:- P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PFP, p. 144). In support of his view, Ryan cites (p. 261, fn. 2) a letter of Parkes in which he explained to McMillan his reasons for his decision to retire from the party leadership (Parkes to W. McMillan, 21 February 1889. W. McMillan Papers, MSS 1885/2, pp. 21-24, ML. Copy also at PC, vol. 46, A916, p. 154, ML). This was one of two letters written by Parkes to McMillan on the subject of his retirement (Also:- Parkes to W. McMillan, 19 February 1889. W. McMillan Papers, MSS 1885/2, pp. 17-18, ML), but in neither does there seem to be any complaint about the disloyalty or disobedience of his ministerial colleagues. Parkes's complaints were not about the members of his ministry, but rather about the lack of support given to the ministry by the party in general. His criticism was levelled at "the Ministerial majority in the late Parliament" (by which he meant the freetrade majority in the Assembly rather than the majority of his ministerial colleagues), "the friends of the Ministry", and "those to whom the Ministry were entitled to look for support". (to W. McMillan, 21 February 1889, pp. 21-22). He complained of the lack of "coherence ... [and] compact union" among the party (to W. McMillan, 21 February 1889, p. 22) and "the erratic defection of friends to the enemy's standard" (to W. McMillan, 19 February 1889, p. 17. Also:- H. Parkes, Fifty Years, pp. 518-19), but not about the ministry.

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Loveday and Martin have presented some evidence of Cabinet dissension (PFP, p. 189, n. 92), but these were not serious and seem not to have been prominent after December 1887 (See below, ch. 6, p. 190 ). Parkes himself testified to the harmony of the ministry when he stated in January 1889 that "I have received from them [his ministers] such a loyal, such a conciliatory, such a faithful co-operation in the work of government, that it afford me pleasure, ..., to acknowledge my sense of gratification to each and all of them. I have had no serious misunderstanding with any one of them, and I have had no serious cause of complaint ...". (NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, p. 1539, 11 January 1889).

185. See ADB, vol. 4, p. 207.
186. SMH, 19 May 1887, quoted in J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, p. 251.
187. At the time Wise was president of the FTA. See Appendix VII.
188. Parkes had been a friend of Wise's father and had come to develop a deep affection for, and great interest in, his son (J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, pp. 108-11). Despite Parkes's conservative outlook, Ryan maintains that he understood and sympathised with the plight of the working-class (ibid., pp. 117, 179, 249-50). As to Wise's attachment to, and acceptance of, Parkes, Ryan concludes that "Wise obviously felt Parkes could lead a liberal party, and, accepting his leadership, his efforts were then directed to converting Parkes to his ideas, ...". (ibid., p. 250.)
189. Wise resigned in February 1888. His financial position, dependent as it was on his legal practice, was deteriorating and he felt the need to return to private practice. (ibid., pp. 255-56; P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PFP, p. 189, n. 92).
190. See Appendix I.
191. ADB, vol. 3, p. 278.
192. H. Parkes, Fifty Years, p. 525.
193. P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PFP, pp. 144-46; A.W. Martin, The Emergence, p. 23; A.W. Martin, 'Henry Parkes and Electoral Manipulation, 1872-1882', in Historical Studies: Selected Articles, second series, p. 108. (Hereafter:- 'Electoral Manipulation').
194. NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, p. 1608, 16 January 1889.
195. ibid., p. 1122, 12 December 1888.

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196. ibid., p. 1240, 13 December 1888. The vote was 56/28.
197. ibid., p. 1587, 16 January 1889 (W. McMillan).
198. ibid.
199. See ch. 2, n. 171.
200. A. Allen, F. Farnell, J.S. Hawthorne, S.W. Moore, J.C. Neild, J. Nobbs, J. Seaver, Sydney Smith, F. Woodward. Those who voted with the ministry were B.R. Wise, D. O'Connor and J. Haynes.
201. NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, p. 1511, 9 January 1889.
202. ibid., p. 1526. The vote was 37/23.
203. William McMillan supported Wise's reference to internal party strife when he claimed that "Efforts had been made to sow dissension in their midst, and make what was called a third party". (SMH, 24 January 1889, p. 5).
204. A. Allen, F. Farnell, S.W. Moore, J.C. Neild, J.E. Tonkin, and F.J. Smith. J.H. Carruthers and J. Nobbs voted with the ministry.
205. In addition to the six listed in n. 204, they were W.F. Martin, A.J. Riley, R. Stevenson, J.H. Want and J.E. Kelly. Parkes put the number of rebels at nine, and named eight (all except S.W. Moore, J.C. Neild and J.H. Want) (NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, pp. 1578-79, 15 January 1889); McMillan put the number at eight (ibid., p. 1587, 16 January 1889).
206. Want, Stevenson and Kelly were the three factional opponents, and the last two became the 'converts'. Stevenson announced his conversion to protection at the end of January (DT, 29 January 1889, p. 3; 31 January 1889, p. 5), and Kelly did the same soon after (SMH, 1 February 1889, p. 5; 9 February 1889, p. 9). Parkes later wrote of Kelly: "... to my amazement, he publicly announced himself as a convert to Protection, and denounced me ... as a two-faced schemer. ... He deliberately deserted from my standard and changed his coat in the sight of all men". (Parkes to J. Hurley, 9 April 1892. Parkes Papers, A1007, p. 79, ML).
207. NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, p. 1527, 10 January 1889 (Sir Henry Parkes).
208. ibid., p. 1587, 16 January 1889.
209. ibid., p. 1570, 15 January 1889.

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210. ibid., p. 1632, 16 January 1889.
211. DT, 29 January 1889, p. 5 ('Why A Good Freetrader Would Not Stand').
212. NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, p. 1564, 15 January 1889.
213. The rebels were Haynes, Tonkin, Seaver, Allen, Farnell, Moore, Neild, Hawthorne, F.J. Smith, Sydney Smith and Woodward; those who supported Parkes were Wise, Carruthers, O'Connor and Nobbs. R.W. Thompson, Garland and Garrard did not vote in either division. Their absence, however, would suggest sympathy with the rebellion, but reticence about deserting Parkes and the ministry. R.W. Thompson, in fact, expressed these sentiments when he "explained his reasons for not voting on the proposals of the Government for leasing the tramways. The terms he considered ridiculous, and he was pleased the matter was rejected by the House; but he would not vote against the Government, because he was one of their pledged supporters". (SMH, 30 January 1889, p. 10). In addition, Garrard would have been forced to violate his promised allegiance to Parkes (see above, ch. 2, p.45; below, ch. 6, p.184).
214. McMillan supported Parkes in both divisions.
215. NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, p. 1586, 16 January 1889.
216. ibid.
217. ibid., pp. 1643-44.
218. P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PFP, p. 145.
219. ibid.
220. See, for example, his interjection during McMillan's speech (NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, p. 1587, 16 January 1889).
221. ibid., pp. 1587-88.
222. ibid., p. 1605.  
Parkes certainly saw the issue in this light, stating that "I did what appeared to me my constitutional duty". (ibid., p. 1581, 15 January 1889). See also:- N.B. Nairn, 'Review, PFP', p. 159.
223. NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, p. 1588, 16 January 1889.
224. ibid.
225. P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PFP, p. 145.
226. NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, p. 1588, 16 January 1889 (W. McMillan).

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227. Parkes could not prevent the exertion of continued radical pressure for change and reform, but he did manage to hold in check any further open radical rebellion until October 1891. After his abandonment of freetrade party leadership the following month, however, the pretence of cohesion fell away and the divisions, which had torn at the party's unity since 1888, burst forth under the new leader, G.H. Reid. What resulted was bitter power struggle within the party that was only finally resolved in 1895 (See below, ch. 4, pp.139-40). Until October 1891, however, Parkes was able to paper over the cracks, although he was constantly aware that internal strife could erupt at any time. His task in preserving basic unity was not easy: the radicals continued to be troublesome, and the lack of factional subservience among his 1889-91 ministerial colleagues caused clashes between the old autocrat and the younger, doctrinaire ministers, and, indeed, between the ministers themselves (See below, ch. 6, pp. 191-97).
228. NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, p. 1605, 16 January 1889.
229. J. Inglis to Parkes, 21 January 1889. PC, vol. 19, A889, p. 293, ML.
230. Parkes to McMillan, 19 February 1889. W. McMillan Papers, MSS 1885/2, p. 17, ML.
231. W. McMillan to Parkes, 19 February 1889. PC, vol. 24, A894, pp. 184-86, ML.
232. Parkes to W. McMillan, 21 February 1889. W. McMillan Papers, MSS 1885/2, p. 21, ML.
233. Parkes to McMillan, 19 February 1889, p. 17.
234. McMillan to Parkes, 19 February 1889, p. 186.
235. Parkes to McMillan, 21 February 1889, p. 21.
236. H. Parkes, Meeting of Ministerial Supporters held on June 3rd 1891, in the Council Chamber of the Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney, 1891, p. 3. (329.991/P ML). "That letter was not made known at the time, but it was my wish that it should have been made known at the time; ...". (Sir Henry Parkes). (Hereafter:- Meeting, 1891).
237. SMH, 23 February 1889, p. 10.

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238. H. Parkes, Fifty Years, p. 519.
239. McMillan to Parkes, 19 February 1889, pp. 185-86; Parkes's Diary, 1889, A1017, 22 February, ML.
240. SMH, 23 February 1889, p. 10.
241. Parkes's Diary, 1889, A1017, 22 February, ML.
242. H. Parkes, Meeting, 1891, p. 3; Fifty Years, p. 519; SMH, 23 February 1889, p. 10.
243. P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PFP, p. 146.
244. Parkes's Diary, 1889, A1017, 6,7 March, ML.
245. As previously pointed out, McMillan had staunchly defended Parkes and the ministry during the radical rebellion of December 1888 - January 1889, and Parkes acknowledged that he had "intelligently, loyally and consistently supported me". (NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, p. 1591, 16 January 1889).
246. On 16 January, before the division, McMillan convened a meeting of thirty-six freetraders that decided upon rejection of the supply motion (SMH, 17 January 1889, p. 7; N.B. Nairn, 'The Mastery', p. 23). Forty-one freetraders supported McMillan during the supply divisions in the Assembly (NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, pp. 1643-44).
247. P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PFP, p. 145.
248. SMH, 24 January 1889, p. 5.
249. N.B. Nairn, 'The Mastery', p. 23.
250. Loveday and Martin reach the same conclusion: see, 'A Reply', p. 231, fn. 39; PFP, p. 145.
251. AS, 17 January 1889, p. 5, quoted in N.B. Nairn, 'The Mastery', p. 48, n. 107.
252. ibid.
253. See below, ch. 3, p. 94, and especially ch. 3, n. 125.
254. SMH, 24 January 1889, p. 5.
255. Several incidents during the life of the 1889-91 ministry show that McMillan remained Parkes's first lieutenant: in April 1889, Parkes mentioned him as his possibly successor (Parkes to Lord Carrington, 23 July 1889. PC, vol. 46, A916, p. 162, ML); Parkes used McMillan to pass on instructions and messages to other members of the ministry (e.g. Parkes to W. McMillan, 17 August 1889. W. McMillan Papers, MSS

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1885/2, pp. 77-79, ML); and, in 1890, McMillan acted as government spokesman during Parkes's recovery from a broken leg (N.B. Nairn, 'A Note On A Colonial Treasurer's Resignation', HS, vol. 13, no. 49 (October 1967), p. 94. (Hereafter:- 'A Note'))).

256. J.F. Burns, F. Abigail, J. Inglis, C.J. Roberts and J. Sutherland were all implicated in public scandals by January 1889.
257. The three radicals were Sydney Smith, J.H. Carruthers and D. O'Connor, the last two of whom had voted with Parkes during the radical rebellion of December 1888-January 1889.



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1. A.W. Martin, 'The Legislative Assembly', p. 59. Bruce Smith assented to this concept when he told his constituents in 1889 that he would support any measures, "which he considered good and wholesome and for the welfare of the community". (DT, 26 January 1889, p. 10). The high-priest of traditional liberalism, John Bright, was strongly opposed to the representation of class interests in any form (H.J. Hanham (ed.), Constitution, p. 230). For Parkes's agreement with Bright's brand of liberalism, see: Parkes to J. Bright, 15 August 1878. Bright Papers, Add. MSS 43389, f. 285, BM.
2. NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, p. 1127, 12 December 1888.
3. See, for example:- C.E. Lyne, Parkes, pp. 363, 529 (opinion of Sir Charles Dilke); B.R. Wise, The Making of the Commonwealth, p. 31; B.R. Wise, The Commonwealth of Australia, London, 1909, p. 220. (Hereafter:- The Commonwealth); SMH, 21 October 1905, p. 5 [E.W. O'Sullivan].
4. C.E. Lyne, Parkes, p. 513. For Parkes's admiration of Gladstone, see: Parkes to W.E. Gladstone, 5 June 1874. Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS 44443, f. 276, BM. For later correspondence between the two, see ibid., Add. MSS 44449, f. 256; 44461, f. 70; 44483, ff. 222, 277; 44490, f. 168; 44508, f. 77, BM.
5. See above. ch. 1, pp.30-31; P. Magnus, Gladstone, p. 20.
6. I. Jennings, Party Politics, vol. II, p. 160.
7. W.E. Gladstone to Earl Granville, 5 October 1885, in H.J. Hanham (ed.), Constitution, p. 217.
8. ibid.
9. J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, p. 221.
10. ibid., pp. 221-22.
11. SMH, 28 February 1887, p. 6.
12. ibid.
13. SMH, 26 January 1887, p. 10.
14. SMH, 25 January 1887, p. 3.
15. SMH, 26 January 1887, p. 10.
16. SMH, 31 January 1887, p. 6.
17. SMH, 1 February 1887, p. 7 (T. Rose). See also:- SMH, 4 February 1887, p. 11 (J. Young).

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18. SMH, 4 February 1887, p. 11 (J.H. Carruthers).
19. SMH, 24 January 1889, p. 5.
20. I. Jennings, Party Politics, vol. II, p. 162.
21. ibid.
22. B.R. Wise, Liberal Party, p. 21.
23. B.R. Wise to J.H. Carruthers, 26 October [1891].  
 J.H. Carruthers Papers, MSS 1638, Box 14A, ML.  
 Within the British Liberal party, the dominance of the conservatives was much less secure. By means of their powerful extra - parliamentary machine, the National Liberal Federation, the radicals were able to conduct an unceasing agitation in support of their views and ideals. Whenever conflict erupted within the governing Liberal party, radical pressure was effectively brought to bear on hesitant or wavering members. (I. Jennings, Party Politics, vol. II, p. 162). By such pressure, Gladstone's government was prevailed upon to pass the 1884 Reform Bill (ibid., p. 168). It was the pressure exerted by an established, influential and radical-dominated extra-parliamentary machine, so conspicuously lacking in New South Wales until after 1891, that prevented total conservative dominance of the parliamentary party, forced the consideration of major issues of principle and reform, and succeeded in at least securing compromises. See also, ch. 3, n. 140.
24. J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, pp. 163-64, 224.  
 Wise later wrote that the land tax was advocated "more as a potent instrument of social reform than as a measure of finance". (Reverie, p. 87).
25. B.R. Wise, A Year's Stewardship. A Letter to the Electors of Flinders Division, Sydney, 1895, pp. 17-18. (Hereafter:- Stewardship). See also:- J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, p. 163.
26. B.R. Wise, Stewardship, p. 18.
27. B.R. Wise, Reverie, p. 87.
28. ibid., p. 88.
29. C.A. Barker, Henry George, New York, 1955, pp. 521-22. Also:- "Henry George's own words in Progress and Poverty offer perhaps the most workable definition of the single tax - the proposal 'to abolish all taxation save that upon land values'". (A.N. Young, The Single Tax Movement in the United States, Princeton, 1916, pp. 257-58).

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At least three freetrade radicals seem to have adhered to George's theory. Alfred Allen declared himself to be "a firm believer in the one-tax principle enunciated by Henry George, ..." (NSWPD, vol. XXXVII, p. 367, 2 April 1889); Charles Garland was the president of the Single Tax League between 1889 and 1892 (SMH, 24 January 1889, p. 6; 30 January 1890, p. 4; 29 January 1891, p. 7); and G. Donald also declared himself a single-taxer (DT, 4 July 1891, p. 7).

30. NSWPD, vol. XXXIII, p. 5389, 7 June 1888. Also:-  
ibid., vol. XXXII, p. 4468, 3 May 1888.
31. ibid., vol. XXXIII, p. 5289, 6 June 1888.
32. J. Seaver (ibid., vol. XXXV, p. 744; vol. XXXVII, p. 370; SMH, 19 February 1889, p. 8); J. Haynes (NSWPD, vol. XXXII, pp. 4456-57); F.J. Smith (SMH, 19 February 1889, p. 8; 24 January 1890, p. 3); Sydney Smith (SMH, 19 February 1889, p. 8); J. Nobbs (DT, 5 February 1889, p. 5; 6 February 1889, p. 5; 9 June 1891, p. 6; SMH, 19 February 1889, p. 8); G. Clubb (SMH, 24 January 1890, p. 3); J.S. Hawthorne (SMH, 19 February 1889, p. 7; DT, 9 June 1891, p. 6); F. Woodward (SMH, 28 February 1887, p. 12; 19 February 1889, p. 8; DT, 29 January 1889, p. 3). In 1890, J. Garrard "placed a notice of motion on the business paper of the Assembly in favour of raising revenue from land values, ..." (Single Tax League of New South Wales, Sydney Branch, Second Annual Report, 1890. Parkes Papers, A1023, ML). J.H. Carruthers unhesitatingly told Parkes that "we should put a tax upon the unimproved value of land" of sufficient potency to enable the removal of "anomalous Customs duties". (J.H. Carruthers to Parkes, 19 April 1891. PC, vol. 7, A877, p. 479, ML).
33. In April 1893, there was formed the Free Trade and Land Reform Electoral Committee, an organisation devoted to the cause of land taxation, and described by Wise as "the rallying point for the democratic Free-traders". (Reverie, p. 88). Associated with this body were such pre-1892 MsLA as J.H. Carruthers, J.C. Neild, J.E. Tonkin, D. O'Connor (SMH, 8 August 1893, p. 5, E. Lonsdale (SMH, 31 August 1893, p. 6) and A. Allen (SMH, 5 September 1893, p. 6). Wise was president of the FTLREC (SMH, 27 July 1893, p. 4). John Haynes was associated with the formation of its successor, the FTLRL (Armidale Chronicle, 8 September 1894).
34. See above, ch. 2, pp. 57-58 and nn. 98-100.
35. See above, ch. 2, pp. 54-56.

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36. NSWPD, vol. LXX, p. 2323, 17 April 1894 (J.H. Young). The radical, J. Seaver, did nothing to allay these fears when he stated that a system of direct tax would "counteract the hardship ... on the lower classes, and ... [would] affect the pockets of the richer classes, ...". (ibid., vol. XXXVII, p. 370, 2 April 1889).
37. ibid., vol. XXV, p. 498, 30 March 1887; SMH, 4 February 1887, p. 11; J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, p. 232. A number of freetrade MsLA displayed their antagonism towards direct taxation by joining, or associating with, organisations devoted to prevention of direct taxation. One such body was the National Association, formed in 1893 and with which a number of pre-1892 MsLA became associated: Bruce Smith (SMH, 7 July 1894, p. 7), I.E. Ives (SMH, 21 March 1894, p. 5), R.J. Black (SMH, 11 April 1893, p. 6; 7 July 1894, p. 7), J. Wheeler (SMH, 11 April 1893, p. 6; 10 May 1893, p. 8), J. Marks (SMH, 28 June 1894, p. 3), W.S. Cortis (SMH, 28 June 1894, p. 3) and J. McElhone (SMH, 10 May 1893, p. 8). Another anti-direct taxation organisation was the Land Owners' Defence League, of whose executive committee S. Burdekin was a member (G.C. Hunt to Parkes, 16 May 1894. PC, A923, p. 652, ML). For the objects of the league, see:- SMH, 21 April 1894, p. 9; 25 April 1894, p. 8; DT, 23 April 1894, p. 6; 3 May 1894, p. 3.
38. A.W. Martin, 'McMillan', p. 206.
39. J.F. Burns rejected direct taxation as Treasury policy, telling his audience that "the idea that the Government were about to introduce new taxation to a large amount was without foundation". (SMH, 4 February 1887, p. 11); Thomas Garrett rejected the idea that property taxation had anything to do with a freetrade policy (J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, p. 233); and William Clarke saw salvation in a revenue tariff (SMH, 3 February 1887, p. 7).
40. Thomas Walker claimed that the reference to a property tax "was thrown out at the time as mere bait to catch the votes of the working-class ... . I say that this is one of the birds which the Premier put in the Government nest to whistle and warble in order to decoy the people". (NSWPD, vol. XXV, p. 749, 13 April 1887). George Dibbs declared: "Would they have dared to say to the working men, whose votes they had by the thousand, 'When we get into the House with a working majority of two-thirds, ..., we will betray you; we will make the incidence of taxation fall on your backs, you fools!'" (ibid., p. 662, 6 April 1887).
41. ibid., vol. XXXVII, p. 370, 2 April 1889.

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42. J.F. Burns stated: "... I shall do all I possibly can to prevent the necessity for a property-tax arising. I believe that by a re-adjustment of our [indirect] taxation as we propose, and by a sound system of retrenchment we shall be able to reduce the expenditure ... . It seems to me that the prospect of imposing a property-tax is vanishing day by day, and I shall do my best to prevent a property-tax; ...". (ibid., vol. XXV, p. 893, 20 April 1887).
43. Burns quite clearly stated that the "new tariff, though not framed on a strictly scientific basis, will include no article selected for other than purposes of revenue". (ibid., p. 502, 30 March 1887). Parkes gave an equally clear description: "our tariff ... [is] raised for revenue purposes only. We call our tariff a revenue tariff". (ibid., p. 833, 14 April 1887).
44. ibid., vol. XXXVII, p. 370, 2 April 1889.
45. See above, ch. 2, p. 56. The new and increased excise duties on colonial beer, spirits and tobacco (see above, ch. 2, p.48 ) were further encouragement to the importers at the expense of colonial manufacturers, and the tobacco manufacturers sent deputations to Treasurer Burns in protest (SMH, 17 June 1887, p. 4). Even the merchant-dominated FTA concluded that "a severe blow would be struck at those engaged in ... colonial manufacture". (SMH, 11 May 1887, p. 6).
46. NSWPD, vol. XXV, p. 748, 13 April 1887.
47. ibid., p. 663, 6 April 1887. The ministry did, in fact, contain four men with definite commercial or merchant associations: Inglis, W. Clarke, J.F. Burns, J. Sutherland.
48. ibid., p. 678. Also:- ibid., p. 805, 14 April 1887 (N. Melville).
49. See, for example, the speeches of T. Walker (ibid., pp. 749-50, 13 April 1887) and E.W. O'Sullivan (ibid., pp. 788-89, 14 April 1887). On 20 April, Henry Copeland unsuccessfully moved a censure motion against the ministry for failing to honour its pledge to impose a property tax. (ibid., pp. 872-73, 20 April 1887; pp. 952-53, 21 April 1887).
50. ibid., p. 833, 14 April 1887. Also:- ibid., p. 673, 6 April 1887.
51. ibid., p. 833, 14 April 1887.
52. ibid., p. 673, 6 April 1887.
53. ibid., p. 952, 21 April 1887.

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54. M. Rutledge, 'J.F. Burns', p. 266.
55. NSWPD, vol. XXIX, p. 1800, 1 December 1887.
56. During the second reading debate on the Property-Tax Bill, Wise referred to himself as "one who knows something of the facts connected with the preparation of this bill - who knows the care with which this bill was prepared, ...". (ibid., vol. XXXIV, p. 6149, 5 July 1888).
57. In April 1889, Jonathan Seaver claimed that "when the hon. member, Mr Burns, brought into the House a bill for the purpose of taxing land, he had no intention that it should ever become law ...". (ibid., vol. XXXVII, p. 543, 10 April 1889). George Dibbs made a similar observation when he stated, during the introduction of the Land-tax Bill, that Parkes "has kept ... [his] pledge by introducing this bill, while praying to God that it may not become law". (ibid., vol. XXXIII, p. 5279, 6 June 1888).
58. ibid., p. 5278.
59. ibid., vol. XXXII, p. 4442.
60. ibid., p. 4494.
61. ibid., vol. XXXIII, p. 5274, 6 June 1888 (second reading moved); p. 5412, 7 June 1888 (division).
62. ibid., vol. XXXIV, pp. 6329-38.
63. ibid., vol. XXXIII, p. 5412.
64. ibid., vol. XXXIV, p. 6039.
65. ibid., p. 6168.
66. ibid., p. 6343.
67. For example, ibid., pp. 6144-45, 5 July 1888 (W. McMillan).
68. ibid., p. 6168. Among those who abstained were Parkes and McMillan.
69. ibid., p. 6343, 12 July 1888.
70. B.R. Wise, Stewardship, p. 15.
71. NSWPD, vol. XXXIII, p. 5278, 6 June 1888.
72. Received and read a first time by the Council on 17 July (ibid., vol. XXXIV, p. 6433), a motion on 18 July for its second reading was successfully amended to secure a postponement until the final day of the session (ibid., pp. 6503-12), on which it failed to re-appear. Again the prorogation did its work.

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73. ibid., vol. XXXV, p. 744, 28 November 1888.
74. ibid., p. 435, 14 November 1888.
75. See above, ch. 2, p. 63f.; ch. 2, nn. 147, 148.
76. SMH, 28 February 1887, p. 11.
77. See above, ch. 2, p. 64.
78. SMH, 31 January 1887, p. 5.
79. See below, pp. 92-93.
80. See below, pp. 104-05.
81. See below, pp. 103-04.
82. See above, ch. 2, p. 55; ch. 2, n. 81.
83. NSWPD, vol. LXXIV, p. 2771, 27 November 1894.
84. ibid.
85. ibid., vol. XXV, pp. 722-25, 13 April 1887.
86. ibid., vol. XXXIII, pp. 5370-71, 7 June 1888.
87. ibid., vol. XXXV, pp. 435-36, 14 November 1888.
88. ibid., vol. XXXVII, p. 541, 10 April 1889.
89. P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, 'A Reply', p. 231, fn. 39.
90. A.W. Martin, 'Electoral Manipulation', p. 108.
91. J.H. Carruthers to Parkes, 19 April 1891. PC, vol. 7, A 877, p. 479, ML.
92. NSWPD, vol. XXXV, p. 435, 14 November 1888.
93. SMH, 28 October 1893, p. 7.
94. NSWPD, vol. XXXVII, p. 370, 2 April 1889.
95. SMH, 28 October 1893, p. 7 (Speech by W. McMillan).  
See also:- NSWPD, vol. LXIII, p. 4417, 21 February 1893 (G.R. Dibbs); A.W. Martin, Political Developments, p. 16.
96. NSWPD, vol. XXXIV, pp. 6144-45, 5 July 1888.
97. ibid., vol. LXXIV, pp. 2769-72, 27 November 1894.  
"... a mistake has been made in pressing this particular bill at the present moment". (p. 2769).
98. ibid., p. 2771.

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99. ibid., vol. XXV, p. 720, 13 April 1887.
100. ibid., vol. XXXIII, p. 5370, 7 June 1888.
101. ibid., vol. XXXV, p. 435, 14 November 1888.
102. ibid., p. 436.
103. B.R. Wise, Stewardship, p. 14.
104. NSWPD, vol. XXXIV, p. 6576, 18 July 1888.
105. ibid., vol. XXXV, p. 744, 28 November 1888.
106. ibid., p. 495, 15 November 1888.
107. ibid., p. 496.
108. ibid., vol. XXXVI, p. 1122, 12 December 1888.
109. ibid., vol. XXXV, p. 431, 14 November 1888.
110. ibid., p. 432.
111. See:- ibid., vol. XXXVI, pp. 1175-76 (S. Smith); 1219-22 (J. Haynes), 13 December 1888.
112. See above, ch. 2, pp. 69-70.
113. J.C. Neild referred to Wise's defence of the ministry, and claimed that "as far as I know, he is the only member of the House who has been found to possess temerity enough to undertake that task". (NSWPD, vol. XXXIV, p. 6576, 18 July 1888).
114. ibid., p. 6564.
115. B.R. Wise to Parkes, 8 August 1888. PC, vol. 42, A912, pp. 310-13, ML.
116. NSWPD, vol. XXXVII, p. 370, 2 April 1889.  
Also:- "I also believe that whatever the free-trade [party] ... may say, a great number of them, including the most influential men amongst them, have not only no intention of ever introducing direct taxation, but will do all in their power to prevent its introduction". (ibid., pp. 543-44, 10 April 1889 (J. Seaver)).
117. B.R. Wise to Parkes, 8 August 1888, p. 310.
118. The same development had taken place within the British Liberal party some five years previously when, as H.J. Hanham points out, "Wide-ranging [party] programmes were first developed by the Radical wing of the Liberal party, ...". (Constitution, pp. 201-02).
119. DT, 19 January 1889, p. 5.



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120. ibid. SMH, 19 January 1889, p. 11 put the number at seven.
121. DT, 19 January 1889, p. 5.
122. SMH, 22 January 1889, p. 4.
123. DT, 19 January 1889, p. 5; 24 January 1889, p. 5; SMH, 19 January 1889, p. 11. See also:- S. Burdekin to Parkes, n.d. [February 1889]. PC, vol. 49, A919, pp. 598-600, ML.
124. SMH, 28 January 1889, p. 7.
125. At the meeting on 18 January, a letter was read from Parkes apologising for his absence (DT, 19 January 1889, p. 5), and the Herald stated that he was "not likely to take an active part in the contest, at any rate, for some days", due to "the effects of fatigue and overwork". (SMH, 19 January 1889, p. 11) On 24 January, however, the Telegraph reported that Parkes "was engaged yesterday with prominent members of the party ..., and afforded valuable assistance in the efforts to place the organisation upon a sound basis". (DT, 24 January 1889, p. 5). Parkes's presence at the headquarters of the executive with several of its other members was reported some days afterwards. (SMH, 28 January 1889, p. 7). Some time after the election, Parkes himself provided evidence of his membership of the executive when he wrote: "At the late general election I was an active member of the Parliamentary free-trade committee, which worked generally to secure the return of Liberal free-trade candidates". (SMH, 18 June 1889, p. 8).  
See also:- S. Burdekin to Parkes, n.d. [February 1889]. PC, vol. 49, A919, pp. 598-600, ML; B.R. Wise to Parkes, n.d. [February 1889]. PC, vol. 42, A912, pp. 330-31, ML.
126. Reid later claimed to have been a member of the committee. (SMH, 15 June 1889, p. 12).
127. J.N. Bruncker to W. McMillan, 29 January 1889. W. McMillan Papers, MSS 1885/2, pp. 13-16, ML.
128. W. Clarke to Parkes, 19 February 1889. PC, vol. 8, A878, p. 94, ML.
129. See ch. 3, n. 142.
130. SMH, 19 January 1889, p. 11.
131. DT, 19 January 1889, p. 5.
132. Quoted in SMH, 20 February 1889, p. 8.

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133. SMH, 19 February 1889, p. 7.
134. ibid.
135. On the day after the executive had decided to extend its organisation, Parkes told McMillan, "Now, that the Elections are over (in which I have done my utmost for our Party) it seems right that I should lose no time in acquainting our political friends that I have decided not to seek nor accept the position of Leadership in the new Parliament". (Parkes to W. McMillan, 19 February 1889. W. McMillan Papers, MSS 1885/2, p. 17, ML).
136. See Appendix I.
137. DT, 23 July 1889, p. 6.
138. SMH, 2 March 1889, p. 11.
139. SMH, 2 April 1889, p. 4.
140. SMH, 19 February 1889, p. 7; see above, p. 94. It was here that the activities of the freetrade radicals in attempting to formulate a specific party programme diverge from the methods previously adopted by their British counterparts. In 1885, the British Liberal radicals, using their own already-established extra-parliamentary machine, formulated a "definite and practical programme for the Radical party", The Radical Programme. (Joseph Chamberlain's description, quoted in I. Jennings, Party Politics, vol. II, p. 163). In so doing, they acted independently of the conservatives in the parliamentary party, thus widening the gulf between the two groups, rather than attempting to bridge it. As a result, the party leader, Gladstone, was under constant pressure, and was forced to seek compromises, and finally to choose between the two hostile wings of the party. In 1891, the radicals issued a further programme, the Newcastle Programme, to which Gladstone finally gave a qualified approval, thereby sacrificing his conservative support. (ibid., p. 198; H.J. Hanham (ed.), Constitution, p. 202).  
In New South Wales, the radical freetraders did not have an established extra-parliamentary organisation (the FTA was dominated by conservative merchants. See below, ch. 5, pp.164-66), and, in attempting to create one (the LPA), they envisaged an organisation that would be representative of the whole freetrade party. As a result, the conservatives were free to participate, and their influence had the effect of sabotaging and undermining radical action on such matters as party policy. Only when the radicals

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learned by experience that they must act independently, using what organisations they had to hand and creating others to formulate a distinct radical programme and apply pressure to the parliamentary leadership, did they make any headway. This new independent action was only begun in mid-1891 (See below, ch. 3, p.103 ; ch. 3, n. 212), and was continued with vigour during 1893 with the creation of the FTLREC. The successful pressure thus applied to the party leader, G.H. Reid, was demonstrated by his acceptance of a number of radical proposals.

141. 'First Report of Organising Committee of The Free Trade Party', [c. 27 February 1889]. PC, vol. 14, A884, p. 357, ML; See Appendix IX.
142. ibid.  
McMillan, S. Smith, J.N. Bruncker and S. Burdekin were definitely on both the LPA organising committee and the 1889 parliamentary freetrade election executive; F.J. Smith, F. Abigail, and J.H. Carruthers were on the LPA organising committee. It is the apparent close connection between the election executive and the LPA committee that would indicate that F.J. Smith, F. Abigail and Carruthers had been on the election executive.
143. A telegram from Parkes to Wise at Bowral, dated 4 February 1889, two days after Wise's defeat for South Sydney, would indicate that Wise's instinctive reaction to defeat had been to retire into political seclusion. Parkes wrote: "Have written to you fear letter will not reach. remember Gladstone Bright Cobden Burke all have stood defeat. believe you ought to come to Sydney at once. seat can be easily obtained ...". (B.R. Wise Papers, MSS 1327, vol. 2, p. 165, ML. (stops inserted)). It was probably in reply to this communication that Wise specifically declared his desire "to keep out of Parliament for a while", despite his own report of an invitation to contest a further seat at West Macquarie. (B.R. Wise to Parkes, n.d. [5 February 1889]. PC, vol. 42, A912, pp. 330-31, ML). Finally, however, Wise consented to contest West Macquarie, but his desire to go into political seclusion must surely have been reinforced by his further defeat there at the hands of W.P. Crick on 16 February.
144. Draft LPA Platform, 6 March 1889. PC, vol. 23, A893, p.15, ML.
145. F. Abigail, T. Garrett and J.N. Bruncker.
146. See Appendix I.
147. See Appendix I.

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148. These were later described as "practical matters, which concern administration rather than principle, ...". (DT, 7 October 1889, p. 4).
149. Draft LPA Platform, 6 March 1889. PC, vol. 23, A893, pp. 15-16; ML; see Appendix II, (1).
150. Draft LPA Platform, 6 March 1889, p. 15.
151. See Appendix II, (2).
152. SMH, 28 March 1889, p. 5.
153. ibid.
154. DT, 2 April 1889, p. 6.
155. SMH, 28 March 1889, p. 5.
156. SMH, 28 March 1889, p. 5; 2 April 1889, p. 4; DT, 2 April 1889, p. 6.
157. SMH, 2 April 1889, p. 4; DT, 2 April 1889, p. 6.
158. SMH, 28 March 1889, p. 5; DT, 2 April 1889, p. 6.
159. SMH, 2 April 1889, p. 4.  
G.N. Griffiths was a prominent member of the FTA and SCC, and was later associated with the conservative NA (Appendices VII and VIII; SMH, 7 July 1894, p. 7); R. Teece was president of the FTA, manager of the Australian Mutual Providence Society, and was later associated with the NA (Appendix VII; New South Wales, Report of the Royal Commission on Strikes, Appointed November 25, 1890, Sydney, 1891, General-Report, p. 81. (Hereafter:- Royal Commission); SMH, 7 July 1894, p. 7); F.H. Trouton had been manager of the Australasian Steam Navigation Co. and was a prominent member of the SCC (G.R. Henning, 'Steamships and The 1890 Maritime Strike', HS, vol. 15, no. 60 (April 1973), p. 574. (Hereafter:- 'Steamships'); Appendix VIII).
160. SMH, 28 March 1889, p. 5.
161. SMH, 28 March 1889, p. 5; 2 April 1889, p. 4.
162. DT, 2 April 1889, p. 6.
163. DT, 2 April 1889, p. 6.  
Those that were members of the STL were: E.W. Foxall, F. Walsh, W.E. Johnson (SMH, 24 January 1889, p. 6), F. Cotton (SMH, 29 April 1889, p. 9) and T. Halloran (SMH, 7 March 1890, p. 4).  
Three later belonged to the FTLREC: A.H. Sampson (SMH, 4 May 1893, p. 2; 3 August 1893, p. 6), F. Walsh (SMH, 31 August, 1893, p. 6) and W.E. Johnson (SMH, 23 August 1893, p. 8).

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Frank Cotton was a successful LEL candidate for Newtown in 1891, and W.E. Johnson unsuccessfully contested Marrickville as a 'Solidarity' Labor candidate in 1894.

164. The following account of the debate is an amalgamation of the reports in SMH, 2 April 1889, p. 4 and DI, 2 April 1889, p. 6. The proposed platform that was considered and amended is reproduced in full in Appendix II, (2), and the amendments made by the meeting are listed in Appendix II, (3).
165. The Herald also pointed to presence of conflict within the party when it referred to the obvious "differences of opinion" within the LPA. (SMH, 2 April 1889, p. 6).
166. SMH, 9 April 1889, p. 5 ('The Platform of the Liberal Association', by Freetrader).
167. SMH, 6 April 1889, p. 13. ('The Proposed Liberal Association', by A. Forsyth).
168. See Appendix II, (3), plank 5.
169. See above, ch. 2, p. 49.
170. NSWPD, vol. XXXVII, p. 541, 10 April 1889. McMillan claimed that "We are determined during the next session of Parliament, ..., to simplify the tariff of the country, and to make it as near an ideal free-trade tariff as any tariff in the world".
171. DI, 23 July 1889, p. 6.
172. See Appendices VII and VIII.
173. See Appendix VIII.
174. DI, 23 July 1889, p. 6.
175. ibid.
176. FTLA Conference, p. 47.
177. ibid., p. 48 (C.E. Jeanneret).
178. ibid.
179. ibid., p. 49.
180. ibid.
181. ibid., p. 50.
182. SMH, 16 January 1894, p. 6.
183. DI, 5 February 1898, p. 4 ('Protection and Democracy', I).

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184. The platform of the LPA was added to the constitution of the FTA on the amalgamation of the two bodies in May 1889 to form the FTLA (DT, 23 July 1889, p. 6). The exact LPA platform, as adopted on 2 April 1889, is reproduced in the following:- Constitution and Rules of the Free Trade and Liberal Association of New South Wales, Sydney, 1889, pp. 7-8, ML; Rules of the ... Branch of the Free Trade and Liberal Association of New South Wales, Sydney, [1889], ML.
185. FTLA Conference, p. 65 (A. Garran).
186. ibid., p. 64 (G.H. Reid).
187. ibid., p. 65.
188. ibid., p. 65 (F. Cotton).
189. ibid., p. 67.
190. ibid., pp. 87-88.
191. ibid., pp. 67-68.
192. SMH, 2 April 1889, p. 6.
193. Loveday and Martin seem to view the freetrade party and its platform in this light, implying that it constituted a political party of conservative principle. They ask: "Must a body have a comprehensive programme to merit the label 'party'? Why is it that a body without any 'real vision' of reform and development - a conservative party, for example - does not deserve the name of party?" ('A Reply', p. 225).
194. DT, 4 June 1891, p. 5.
195. SMH, 8 June 1891, p. 2 (Parke's manifesto to the electors of St Leonards).
196. ibid.
197. Even the LPA-FTLA platform was forgotten. Never taken seriously by the parliamentary party, it had gone into extinction with the association whose opinions it expressed (See below, ch. 8, pp.257-58).
198. Gulson was a member of the STL (SMH, 5 March 1890, p. 5).
199. DT, 8 June 1891, p. 5 (Gulson); SMH, 12 June 1891, p. 8 (Matheson).
200. SMH, 2 March 1887, p. 9.

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201. The Association's name changed in accordance with the change of name of its parent body. Between 1887 and 1889, it was the South Sydney Free Trade Association (SMH, 2 March 1887, p. 9; DT, 23 February 1889, p. 6); in 1890, it was the South Sydney branch of the FTLA (SMH, 27 February 1890, p. 8); in May 1891, now without an active parent organisation, its name was altered to the South Sydney Liberal Association (SMH, 23 May 1891, p. 7).
202. DT, 23 February 1889, p. 6; SMH, 21 February 1890, p. 3; 27 February 1890, p. 8; 23 May 1891, p. 7.
203. SMH, 2 March 1887, p. 9; DT, 23 February 1889, p. 6; SMH, 21 February 1890, p. 3; 23 May 1891, p. 7.
204. DT, 23 February 1889, p. 6; SMH, 27 February 1890, p. 8.
205. DT, 23 February 1889, p. 6.
206. SMH, 2 March 1887, p. 9. Whiddon was a member of the STL (SMH, 5 March 1890, p. 5; 1 April 1891, p. 8) and later became a vice-president of the FTLREC (SMH, 3 August 1893, p. 6).
207. Danahey was a successful LEL candidate for Canterbury in the general election of 1891.
208. The reason for formulating the platform seems clear. For years Wise had been urging that the freetrade party formulate a clear policy on a wide range of issues of pressing social and political concern. The widespread social discontent of 1890 and the formation of the LEL in April 1891 made him realise that his desire had now become a necessity if the freetrade party were to remain in power. Wise had long believed that "the questions of paramount importance at the present time are those which affect the industrial structure of society, and the true remedy for social discontent is far beyond the reach of any tariff legislation". (SMH, 27 March 1891, p. 6). Thus, if the freetraders were to retain their electoral support in opposition to the LEL and to gain the support of the Labor Party in parliament, they must propose a positive solution to the social and industrial problems facing the colony. (J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, pp. 290-91).
209. SMH, 23 May 1891, p. 7.
210. See Appendix III.
211. SMH, 23 May 1891, p. 7.

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212. The formulation of this programme was analogous to the 1885 'Radical Programme' of Joseph Chamberlain and the radical British liberals. It, too, was formulated in isolation from the conservative elements of the Liberal party. (See ch. 3, n. 140).
213. See N.B. Nairn, 'The 1890 Maritime Strike in New South Wales', HSANZ, vol. 10, no. 37 (November 1961), pp. 1-18. (Hereafter:- 'Maritime Strike').
214. McMillan was acting as government spokesman during Parkes's three-month absence, the result of an accident in which he sustained a broken-leg. See N.B. Nairn, 'A Note', p. 94.
215. ibid.
216. N.B. Nairn, Some Aspects of the Development of the Labor Movement in New South Wales, 1870-1900: and the Effects of that Development on the Formation and Early History of the Labor Party in New South Wales, 1889-1900, M.A., University of Sydney, 1955, p. 211. (Hereafter:- Some Aspects).
217. N.B. Nairn, 'A Note', p. 95.
218. DI, 20 September 1890, quoted in N.B. Nairn, Some Aspects, p. 211.
219. SMH, 20 September 1890, p. 10.
220. ibid. See also:- N.B. Nairn, 'A Note', p. 95; N.B. Nairn, Civilising Capitalism. The Labor Movement in New South Wales, 1870-1900, Canberra, 1973, pp. 37-38. (Hereafter:- Civilising); J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, p. 286; B. Dickey, 'Parliament and the Trade Unions, 1880-1900', JRAHS, vol. 47, pt 4 (1961), pp. 201-02. (Hereafter:- 'Trade Unions').
221. SMH, 20 September 1890, p. 10.
222. See, for example, T.A. Coghlan, Labour and Industry in Australia From The First Settlement in 1788 to The Establishment of The Commonwealth in 1901, vol. III, repr. Melbourne, 1969, vol. 8, p. 1595. (Hereafter:- Labour and Industry).  
Although Nairn maintains that 'freedom of contract' was not a serious issue during the strike ('Maritime Strike', p. 2), Ryan points out that "it was claimed by many so-called 'liberals' to be the vital principle, ...". (B.R. Wise, p. 287).
223. SMH, 2 April 1891, p. 6, quoted in J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, p. 287.
224. ibid., pp. 286-88.
225. SMH, 9 April 1891, p. 9.



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226. SMH, 27 March 1891, p. 6; B.R. Wise, Reverie, p. 79.
227. ibid., p. 78.
228. ibid., p. 79.
229. N.B. Nairn, 'J.C. Watson in New South Wales Politics, 1890-1894', JRAHS, vol. 48, pt 2 (1962), p. 86. (Hereafter:- 'J.C. Watson').
230. See above, ch. 2, p.76 ; ch. 2, n. 257.
231. Parkes disclaimed any responsibility for, and any real knowledge of, the bill: "Though I am at the head of the present Ministry, I am not responsible for this Bill, and I wish to make that distinctly clear. ... In my absence, ..., my colleague, the Secretary for Mines and Agriculture, assented to the introduction of the eight-hours principle in the Bill". (NSWPD, vol. LIV, p. 2655, 15 October 1891).
232. Assent was granted in Committee on 5 August to introduce the bill (ibid., vol. LII, p. 624), and it was presented and read for a first time on 15 September (ibid., vol. LIII, p. 1701). See N.B. Nairn, Civilising, p. 73.
233. NSWPD, vol. LIV, p. 2443, 8 October 1891.
234. ibid., pp. 2517-21, 13 October 1891; N.B. Nairn, Civilising, p. 73.
235. ibid.
236. NSWPD, vol. LIV, p. 2638, 15 October 1891.
237. ibid.
238. H. Parkes, Fifty Years, p. 560.
239. NSWPD, vol. LIV, pp. 2655-59 (Parkes), 2664-69 (Smith), 15 October 1891.
240. ibid., pp. 2677-78.
241. H. Parkes, Fifty Years, p. 560; N.B. Nairn, Civilising, p. 74.
242. NSWPD, vol. LIV, p. 2684, 15 October 1891. Four Labor MsLA (Cook, Cotton, Fitzgerald and Kirkpatrick) accepted Smith's promise and supported the adjournment motion; twenty-three other Labor MsLA opposed it. (N.B. Nairn, Civilising, p. 74).

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1. SMH, 6 February 1889, p. 8.
2. SMH, 28 January 1889, p. 7 (W.J. Lyne).
3. DI, 17 October 1889, p. 5.
4. DI, 1 February 1889, p. 6 (W. Brown). Some protectionists even regarded 15% ad valorem duties as too high, Thomas Waddell supporting them "up to 10 per cent" (DI, 6 February 1889, p. 8) and Henry Clarke advocating their imposition "provided they did not exceed 10 per cent, ...". (SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 9).
5. DI, 5 February 1898, p. 4 (W.H. Traill, 'Protection and Democracy', I).
6. E.W. O'Sullivan saw correct protectionist policy as "a system of taxation [of] not less than 20 per cent on all articles that can be manufactured in the colony". (SMH, 24 August 1888, p. 4), whilst Ninian Melville put the figure at 25% (SMH, 2 June 1886, p. 6).
7. DI, 5 February 1898, p. 4 (W.H. Traill, 'Protection and Democracy', I).
8. SMH, 23 October 1891, p. 4 described Melville, O'Sullivan and Toohey as doctrinaire protectionists; DI, 3 July 1894, p. 5 stated that Thomas Rose "insists upon prohibitive protection"; and, for Traill's view of protection, see DI, 5 February 1898, p. 4.
9. ibid.
10. SMH, 16 May 1889, p. 4.
11. DI, 6 February 1889, p. 5.  
One instance of the conflict occurred at a protectionist conference in 1888 at which the doctrinaire MsLA, O'Sullivan and Toohey, unsuccessfully tried to amend a resolution in favour of "a policy of moderate discriminating protection" by removing the words "moderate discriminating". (SMH, 23 August 1888, p.3).
12. SMH, 25 January 1887, p. 8.
13. J.P. Abbott was elected party leader on 9 March 1887 (SMH, 10 March 1887, p. 9) and resigned on 19 May 1887 (ADB, vol. 3, p. 6).
14. W.J. Lyne "for a very short period after Mr Abbott's resignation, led the Opposition". (EN, 30 May 1888, p. 5).

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15. G.R. Dibbs was first elected leader on 20 September 1887 (SMH, 21 September 1887, p. 9), resigned in May 1888 (EN, 30 May 1888, p. 5), was re-elected on 25 October 1888 (SMH, 26 October 1888, p. 7; EN, 26 October 1888, p. 3), and remained party leader until 1895.
16. NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, p. 1567, 15 January 1889 (W.R. Cortis).
17. J.P. Garvan, W.J. Lyne, J. Fletcher, T.M. Slattery and J.M. Chanter. He also offered portfolios to two other protectionists of the same moderate stamp, J.P. Abbott and H. Copeland (SMH, 15 January 1889, p.7). Henry Clarke was the only long-standing protectionist included, but he demonstrated his moderation by opposing ad valorem duties in excess of 10% (SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 9).
18. SMH, 15 January 1889, p. 6.
19. SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 9.
20. SMH, 21 January 1889, p. 3; ADB, vol. 3, p. 67.
21. SMH, 24 October 1891; p. 8; Freeman's Journal, 31 October 1891, p. 31; B.E. Mansfield, Democrat, p. 111; ADB, vol. 4, p. 67.  
George Reid's observation that all those occupying the Assembly's ministerial benches had previously been freetraders (NSWPD, vol. LV, pp. 3390-92, 8 December 1891) was no fabrication; Dibbs, See, Barton, Copeland, Lyne, Suttor and Kidd were all recent converts. John Kidd, unsuccessful during the 1887 general election, announced his conversion to "a protectionist" during his successful campaign in 1889 (DT, 23 January 1889, p. 5).
22. Estimated by the Treasurer, John See, at £589,802 for 1891 (NSWPD, vol. LIV, pp. 3193-210, 1 December 1891).
23. ibid., p. 3203; see above, ch. 2, pp. 50-51.
24. SMH, 31 July 1893, p. 3.
25. SMH, 5 September 1893, p. 6.
26. LIA Conference, p. 31.
27. C.G. Karr, Political Protest and General Development in Rural New South Wales, 1865-1895, Ph.D., University of New South Wales, 1969, pp. 239-40. (Hereafter:- Political Protest).

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28. At the LIA conference, a free selectors' representative expressed the view that "since the Victorians do not allow our produce in free of duty to their colony, we should not allow theirs in free to this colony". (John Flanagan, Gunbar Free Selectors' Association). LIA Conference, p. 25.
29. ibid., p. 21.
30. ibid., pp. 22-3 (E.W. O'Sullivan), 24 (L.F. Heydon).
31. ibid., pp. 24-5.
32. ibid., p, 25.
33. SMH, 25 January 1887, p. 8.
34. C.G. Karr, Political Protest, pp. 257-58.
35. W. Affleck to Parkes, 25 January 1887. PC, vol. 1, A871, p. 387, ML.
36. For example:- T. Slattery, Boorowa (SMH, 8 February 1887, p. 3); J. Gormly, Murrumbidgee (SMH, 9 February 1887, p. 6); G. Spring and J.A. Mackinnon, Young (SMH, 11 February 1887, p. 3; 15 February 1887, p. 4). Mackinnon expressed the common feeling: "He believed in the principles of free trade - ... but would advocate retaliatory duties on grain.... The system he advocated was one of retaliation, not of protection ...". (SMH, 11 February 1887, p. 3).
37. In 1889 all the 'freetrade retaliationists' sought re-election as 'protectionists'.
38. SMH, 12 February 1887, p. 8.
39. This was again particularly prevalent in the south-western rural regions of the colony. For example:- R. Barbour and J.M. Chanter, Murray (G.L. Buxton, The Riverina, 1861-1891. An Australian Regional Study, Melbourne, 1967, pp. 274-75. (Hereafter:- Riverina)); W.J. Lyne and J. Hayes, Hume (ibid., p. 279); J. Gormly, Murrumbidgee (ibid., pp. 279-80); T. Colls, Yass Plains (DT, 25 January 1889, p. 3); E.W. O'Sullivan, Queanbeyan. During 1893, Chanter, Hayes and Gormly, dissatisfied with the Dibbs ministry's land bill, formed a 'Country Party', and adopted a manifesto embodying the demands of free selectors. (SMH, 23 February 1893, p. 6; 7 April 1893, p. 5; 17 April 1893, p. 5; 6 May 1893, p. 13; 24 November 1893, p. 5; B.D. Graham, The Formation of the Australian Country Parties, Canberra, 1966, p. 57. (Hereafter:- The Formation); U. Ellis, The Country Party. A Political and Social History of the Party in

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New South Wales, Melbourne, 1958, p. 13. (Hereafter:- Country Party); C.G. Karr, Political Protest, pp. 320-22). The 'Country Party' was basically "a large faction within the Protectionist ranks" (A.W. Martin, Political Developments, p. 40), or "a party within a party" (U. Ellis, Country Party, p. 15), and all its members, affirmed its chairman (Chanter), adhered to protection (DT, 11 June 1894, quoted in A.W. Martin, Political Developments, p. 41), by which they meant "a device necessary to safeguard their industries from the challenging competition of primary produce from other colonies" - in other words, retaliation. (U. Ellis, Country Party, p. 13). Other 1889-91 protectionist MsLA who became associated with the 'Country Party' were J.F. Barnes, G.T. Miller, R.M. Vaughn, J.G. Gough, A. Chapman, T. Colls, R. Barbour and D.C. Donnelly from southern and south-western farming electorates; H. McKinnon, B.B. Nicoll, J.S. Perry and J. McFarlane from north coast dairy and sugar farming constituencies; and H. Clarke from the south coast dairying electorate of Eden. (SMH, 2 November 1893, p. 4; 16 November 1893, p. 4; 24 November 1893, p.3).

40. LIA Conference, p. 31.
41. ibid., p. 6.
42. ibid., p. 23.
43. A day prior to the LIA conference, a preliminary meeting was held to discuss the resolutions to be proposed. At this meeting it was proposed that a single motion in favour of "protection for agriculture and industry" be submitted, to which numerous farmers' delegates objected, and insisted that the resolution be submitted to the conference "in two portions". (ibid., pp. 5, 25).
44. NSWPD, vol. XXXIII, p. 5284, 6 June 1888. See also:- Report of the Proceedings of the First National Protection Conference Held in New South Wales, October, 1889, Sydney, 1889, pp. 54-55. (Hereafter:- NPA Conference).
45. NSWPD, vol. XXXIII, p. 5286, 6 June 1888 (E.W. O'Sullivan).
46. ibid., p. 5284 (J. Gormly). See also:- ibid., pp. 5369-70, 7 June 1888 (J.M. Chanter); NPA Conference, pp. 52-60; LIA Conference, p. 5.
47. NPA Conference, p. 53.

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48. For example, at a PU conference in August 1888, T.H. Hassall, MLA for Gwydir, moved "That protective duties .... be imposed on agricultural, dairy and garden produce, on manufactured goods, and other produce suitable for production in the colony, ...". (SMH, 24 August 1888, p. 4.).
49. NSWPD, vol. XLVIII, p. 4609, 16 October 1890. See also:- Speeches of T. Waddell (DT, 6 February 1889, p. 5); G. Day (SMH, 30 January 1889, p. 6); W. Brown (DT, 1 February 1889, p. 6).
50. NSWPD, vol. XLVIII, p. 4610, 16 October 1890.
51. NPA Conference, p. 87.
52. SMH, 11 November 1886, p. 5; 24 November 1886, p. 9.
53. Toohey, O'Sullivan, J. McFarlane, W.J. Allen, D. Buchanan, T.H. Hassall, T. Dalton, J. Gale, J.W. Bowes, W.J. Lyne. (SMH, 23 August 1888, p. 3).
54. SMH, 24 August 1888, p. 4.
55. ibid.
56. See below, ch. 5, pp. 159-60.
57. SMH, 2 March 1886, p. 5.
58. Between 1887 and 1892 only two protectionist manufacturers were elected to the Assembly:- J.M. Toohey, brewer (South Sydney, 1887, 1889 and 1891); W.J. Allen, soap and candle manufacturer (Paddington, by-election January 1888). Toohey was a member of the Chamber of Manufactures (CM). Most candidates in the manufacturing interest were defeated. For example:- A. Forsyth, rope manufacturer (South Sydney, 1887); J.P. Wright, boot manufacturer (South Sydney, 1889); W.J. Allen, soap and candle manufacturer (Paddington, 1887, 1889, 1891); C.J. Byrnes, woollens manufacturer (Parramatta, 1889); J. Wearne, flour miller (West Sydney, 1889); W.A. Hutchinson, soap and candle manufacturer (Balmain, 1889); J.D. Young, contractor (West Sydney, 1887, 1889, 1891); D. Davis (Redfern, 1889); John Young (Hartley, 1887); A. Gee (Central Cumberland, 1889); A.D. Nelson, engineer (West Sydney, 1887, 1889); M.J. Conlon, pottery manufacturer (Glebe, 1889, 1891). A. Forsyth, J.P. Wright, J. Wearne, W.A. Hutchinson, John Young, D. Davis, and A.D. Nelson were all members of the CM. (ADB, vols 3,4; A.W. Martin and P. Wardle, Notes; D.S. Macmillan, One Hundred Years of Ropemaking, 1865-1965, Sydney, 1965, pp. 19-23. (Hereafter:- Ropemaking Sands' Sydney Directory, 1887; C.R. Hall, The Manufacturers. Australian Manufacturing Achievements to 1960, Sydney, 1971, pp. 6,21,23,27,35,47,51,61. (Hereafter:- Manufacturers); 'National Club, List of Members' in NPA Conference, pp. 232-38; SMH, 31 July 1885, p. 3; DT, 28 August 1885 : 15 November 1886)

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59. During the 1889 general election, as Sir Charles Dilke pointed out, the protectionists swept the agricultural electorates, "bitten with the desire to retaliate upon Victoria", and the pastoral districts, for reasons shortly to be discussed. (C. Dilke, Problems, vol. I, pp. 279-80).  
This 'country' nature of the protection party was also an important factor in wooing 'converts' from free-trade. For instance, J.E. Kelly entered the Assembly in 1887 to represent Bogan as "a staunch freetrader and a firm follower of Sir Henry Parkes". (SMH, 5 February 1887, p. 10). By 1889, Kelly had been 'converted' to protection. He justified his change on the grounds that the protection party was composed "of nearly all country men, and he expected them to do something for the country, whereas the last Government would not spend 6d. in the country". (SMH, 1 February 1889, p. 5).
60. C. Dilke, Problems, vol. I, p. 280.
61. See below, ch. 5, pp. 154-55.
62. See below, ch. 5, p.156; ch. 7, p. 212.
63. See below, ch. 5, pp. 160-61.
64. EN, 23 April 1888, p. 3. See also:- B. Atkins, 'The PPRL', p. 249; N.B. Nairn, 'The Mastery', p. 35.
65. EN, 1 November 1888, p. 5.
66. A.W. Martin, Political Developments, p. 43.
67. ibid., p. 45.
68. As A.W. Martin points out, the continued heavy import of the goods on which the new or increased duties had been levied was indicated by the large amounts of customs revenue collected on them. For example, in 1893, £14,770 was paid on the import of candles, and £4,414 on soap. Further in 1893, out of a total of £461,989 produced by specific duties, agricultural produce contributed almost £92,000 (ibid.).
69. H.V. Evatt, Australian Labour Leader. The Story of W.A. Holman and the Labour Movement, 3rd ed., Sydney, 1945, p. 15. (Hereafter:- Labour Leader).
70. The membership list of the protectionist National Club (1889) described G.R. Dibbs, Thomas Dalton, Myles McRae and F.A. Wright as 'merchants', and John See and B.B. Nicoll as 'ship owners'. Dibbs operated a merchant, importing and ship owning business; Dalton was a partner in Dalton Brothers (merchants); F.A. Wright was managing director of Wright, Heaton and Co. (general

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carriers and forwarding agents); and, See (John See and Co.) and Nicoll (G.W. Nicoll) were engaged in the coastal shipping business. Nicoll was a member of the SCC, as was J.S. Perry, of W. Perry and Co. (warehouse-men). Other protectionist MsLA with commercial and business interests, such as insurance entrepreneurs; timber and produce merchants; company directors; land, mining, stock and commission agents; and mine owners and managers, were J.P. Garvan, H. Copeland, Alexander Brown, J. Fletcher, P. Hogan, J. McFarlane, T. Jones, J.W. Bowes and D. Copland.

(A.W. Martin and P. Wardle, Notes; ADB, vols. 3,4; Appendix VIII; Sands' Sydney Directory, 1887; 'National Club, List of Members', in NPA Conference, pp. 232-38; K. Swan, A History of Wagga Wagga, Wagga, 1970, p. 105. (Hereafter:- Wagga); DI, 19, 25 July 1894, pp. 5).

71. When, in 1894, Reid and the freetrade ministry introduced direct taxation, merchant reaction was hostile, and many became 'converted' to protection because they resented the abolition of advantageous customs duties. Many merchants expressed their 'disapproval' of land taxation, and gave "but very little support" to the idea of an income tax; they stated their distinct preference for the retention of indirect taxation. (SMH, 19 July 1894, p. 5; 27 June 1895, p. 5). As W.H. Traill wrote: "It is no secret that ... direct taxation has created a revolt among those who in the past were the financial support at election times of the freetrade party. I have repeatedly been told of prominent men of that description, who now profess themselves not indisposed to accept a moderate measure of protective duties. Up to 15 per cent. ad valorem is the limit mentioned. The consideration is, of course, to be that they shall be relieved from those direct contributions to the revenue of the country which vex their souls. They are willing to join with professing protectionists, of like kidney to themselves". (DI, 9 February 1898, p. 6). This merchant revolt against Reid and freetrade was demonstrated during the general election of 1895. S.E. Lees had been freetrade MLA for Nepean since 1887, but was defeated in 1895. Explaining his defeat to J.H. Carruthers, he stated: "My defeat was brought about mainly by the Land Tax. There were those who had previously supported me, men - such as R.M. Pitt [member SCC, Appendix VIII], ... and others who would not hold up a hand for me. ... R.M. Pitt told me distinctly he 'would vote against me to get at Reid' ... His and others hatred of the Premier was very strong ...". (S.E. Lees to J.H. Carruthers, 29 July 1895. J.H. Carruthers Papers, MSS 1638, Box 14A, ML).



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72. For example:- J.P. Abbott, T. Slattery, R.G. Fitzgerald, J. Wilkinson, R.H. Levien (Solicitors); T.C. O'Mara and E. Barton (Barristers); W.S. Dowel (Architect); and A. Ross (Medical practitioner). (A.W. Martin and P. Wardle, Notes; ADB, vols. 3,4; DI, 25 July 1894, p.5).
73. In the 1889 general election, protection was victorious in sixty-one out of the ninety-six country seats.
74. For example:- T. Slattery, MLA for Boorowa since 1880; J.P. Garvan, for Eden since 1880; J. See, for Grafton since 1880.
75. Some of those whose interests were largely country-based or who had strong country connections were B.B. Nicoll, J.S. Perry, J. McFarlane, J.W. Bowes, T. Jones, D. Copland, R.G. Fitzgerald, R.H. Levien, T. Dalton, J. See and J. Wilkinson. (A.W. Martin and P. Wardle, Notes; ADB, vols. 3,4; G.L. Buxton, Riverina; K. Swan, Wagga; G.G. O'Brien, John See: Colonial Treasurer and Some Developments Affecting The Treasury of New South Wales, 1891-1894, M.A., University of Sydney, 1973, ch. 1. (Hereafter:- John See); L.T. Daley, Men and a River. A History of the Richmond River District, 1828-1895, Melbourne, 1966).
76. SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 9; 18 February 1889, p. 4.
77. SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 9.
78. NSWPD, vol. XXXII, p. 4454, 3 May 1888.
79. ibid., pp. 4474-75. The same argument was used by J.P. Garvan (ibid., pp. 4470-71); G.R. Dibbs (ibid., vol. XXXIII, pp. 5278-79, 6 June 1888); D. Buchanan (ibid., pp. 5280-81); T.C. O'Mara (ibid., pp. 5385-89, 7 June 1888); J. McFarlane (ibid., p. 5409); J. See (ibid., pp. 5389-95). Other protectionists who expressed their opposition to direct taxation were T. Ewing (ibid., vol. XXXII, pp. 4476-78, 3 May 1888; vol. XXXIII, p. 5397, 7 June 1888); J.P. Abbott (ibid., pp. 5301-02, 6 June 1888; vol. XXXIV, p. 6333, 12 July 1888). Similar views in opposition to direct taxation, particularly land taxation, were later expressed by:- J.W. Bowes (DI, 28 June 1894, p. 6); E. Barton (SMH, 28 June 1894, p. 6); G.R. Dibbs (DI, 3 July 1894, p. 6); H. Copeland (SMH, 4 July 1894, p. 8); W.S. Dowel (SMH, 30 June 1894, p. 7); P. Hogan (SMH, 30 June 1894, p. 7); H. Clarke (SMH, 13 July 1894, p. 6); J. See (DI, 5 July 1894, p. 6; NSWPD, vol. LXXIV, pp. 2878-79, 29 November 1894; DI, 9 February 1898, p. 6); A. Ross (SMH, 5 July 1894, p. 6; NSWPD, vol. LXXVII, p. 6318, 22 May 1895); J. McFarlane (ibid., vol. LXXIV, p. 2924, 29 November 1894); T. Jones (ibid., p. 2917); T. Slattery (ibid., p. 2901); J. Kidd (ibid., p. 2895); J.S. Perry (ibid., p. 2940). Thomas Dalton became associated with the anti-direct taxation NA (SMH 7 July 1894, p. 2).

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80. The pastoralists depended on wool exports, and trade restriction could only have an adverse effect on the export trade.
81. Largely due to the influence of Sir John Robertson, the Parkes-Robertson coalition ministry refused in 1881 to grant 'fixity of tenure' to the colony's pastoralists. This led to a transfer of squatter support from Parkes to Alexander Stuart and George Dibbs, who promised, and finally gave, the squatters 'fixity of tenure'. (See G.C. Morey, Parkes-Robertson Coalition, pp. 61-84).
82. For example:- D.A. Ferguson, T.H. Hassall, G. Day and A. Ryrie.
83. DT, 2 February 1889, p. 6 (R.B. Wilkinson).
84. The pastoralist, J.E. Kelly, for instance, entered the Assembly in 1887 as a freetrader (SMH, 5 February 1887, p. 10), but declared his strong opposition to the ministry's land tax proposals (NSWPD, vol. XXXIII, pp. 5279-80, 6 June 1888), and sought re-election in 1889 as a protectionist (DT, 23 February 1889, p. 6).
85. NSWPD, vol. XXXIII, p. 5285, 6 June 1888.
86. C. Dilke, Problems, vol. I, p. 280.
87. SMH, 18 February 1889, p. 4.
88. Some of the pastoralists or men with pastoral interests returned in 1889 were W.E. Abbott (Upper Hunter), W. Alison (Bogan), G.A. Cruickshank (Inverell), W.W. Davis (Bourke) and D. Copland (Murrumbidgee). They joined other protectionist pastoralists like D.A. Ferguson (Wellington), T.H. Hassall (Gwydir), A. Lakeman (Balranald), A. Ryrie (Braidwood), A. Stokes (Forbes), T. Waddell (Bourke), and J.P. Abbott (Wentworth). (A.W. Martin and P. Wardle, Notes; ADB, vols. 3,4; K. Swan, Wagga, p. 105).
89. NSWPD, vol. XXXIII, p. 5285, 6 June 1888.
90. SMH, 18 February 1889, p. 4.
91. NSWPD, vol. XXXII, p. 4452, 3 May 1888. See also:- ibid., p. 4478 (A. Stokes); ibid., vol. XXXIII, pp. 5279-80, 6 June 1888 (J.E. Kelly); ibid., vol. LXXIV, p. 2910, 29 November 1894 (G.A. Cruickshank); ibid., p. 2926 (T.H. Hassall). William Alison became associated with anti-direct taxation NA (SMH, 7 July 1894, p. 7).
92. DT, 5 February 1898, p. 4 (W.H. Traill, 'Protection and Democracy', I).

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93. C. Dilke, Problems, vol. I, p. 280.
94. Toohy objected to the limitation of protectionist policy to "moderate discriminating protection" (SMH, 23 August 1888, p. 3), and he was generally regarded as a doctrinaire protectionist (SMH, 23 October 1891, p. 4).
95. Toohy favoured a land and property tax (NSWPD, vol. XXXIII, p. 5319, 6 June 1888; J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, p. 234; SMH, 29 June 1894, p. 6).
96. AS, 11 June 1891, p. 7 (A. Forsyth).
97. NSWPD, vol. XXXIV, pp. 6166-67, 5 July 1888.
98. DI, 5 February 1898, p. 4 (W.H. Traill, 'Protection and Democracy', I).
99. NSWPD, vol. XXXIII, p. 5284, 6 June 1888 (E.W. O'Sullivan).
100. T. Waddell (ibid., vol. XXXII, pp. 4455-56, 3 May 1888; vol. LXXIV, p. 2761, 27 November 1894; SMH, 19 February 1889, p. 8); A. Ryrie (NSWPD, vol. XXXIII, p. 5399, 7 June 1888).
101. ibid.,
102. See ch. 4., n. 39.
103. Although Lyne is classified as a pastoralist by A.W. Martin and P. Wardle (Notes, p. 133), G.L. Buxton points out that he was never a pastoral lessee and that his speeches were all "pro-selector and anti-squatter". (Riverina, p. 279).
104. SMH, 29 January 1889, p. 3.
105. NSWPD, vol. XXXII, p. 4442.
106. ibid., vol. XXXIII, p. 5283, 6 June 1888. Gormly, however, did favour the principle of a land tax (SMH, 19 February 1889, p. 7).
107. NSWPD, vol. XXXIII, p. 5286, 6 June 1888.
108. ibid., vol. LX, p. 1182, 18 October 1892; vol. LXXVIII, p. 6890, 4 June 1895; DI, 3 July 1894, p. 5; 9 February 1898, p. 6.
109. NSWPD, vol. XXXIII, p. 5369, 7 June 1888 (J.M. Chanter); p. 5286, 6 June 1888 (E.W. O'Sullivan). See also:- B.E. Mansfield, Democrat, pp. 93, 125.
110. NSWPD, vol. XXXIII, p. 5369, 7 June 1888.

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111. DT, 29 June 1894, p. 6.
112. NSWPD, vol. XXXIII, p. 5284, 6 June 1888 (E.W. O'Sullivan).
113. ibid., vol. XXXIV, p. 6149, 5 July 1888 (E.W. O'Sullivan).  
See also:- ibid., vol. XXV, p. 67, 9 March 1887;  
pp. 928-29, 21 April 1887. Others with similar views  
were G.T. Miller (ibid., vol. LXXIV, p. 2940, 29  
November 1894), J. Hayes (ibid., p. 2767, 27 November  
1894) and J.A. Mackinnon (SMH, 19 February 1887, p. 8).
114. DT, 5 February 1898, p. 4 (W.H. Traill, 'Protection  
and Democracy', I).
115. N. Melville (SMH, 2 June 1886, p. 6); W.H. Traill  
(SMH, 23 June 1894, p. 7; DT, 5 February 1898, p. 4);  
T. Walker (DT, 6 July 1894, p. 6).
116. W.C. Wall (NSWPD, vol. XXXIII, pp. 5408, 5412, 7  
June 1888); R. Stevenson (ibid., vol. LXXIV,  
p. 2948, 29 November 1894).
117. ibid., vol. LXXVII, p. 6247, 22 May 1895, quoted in  
B.E. Mansfield, Democrat, p. 125.
118. DT, 5 February 1898, p. 4 (W.H. Traill).
119. NSWPD, vol. XXXIII, p. 5284, 6 June 1888.
120. For example:- E.W. O'Sullivan (ibid., vol. LXXVII,  
p. 6247, 22 May 1895); T. Rose (ibid., vol. LXXIV,  
p. 2829, 28 November 1894); W.P. Crick (ibid., vol.  
LXXVIII, p. 6995, 6 June 1895).
121. ibid., vol. LXXVII, p. 6247, 22 May 1895, quoted in  
B.E. Mansfield, Democrat, p. 125.
122. J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, p. 311.
123. DT, 5 February 1898, p. 4 (W.H. Traill).
124. SMH, 31 July 1893, p. 3 (W.H. Traill).  
See also:- DT, 16 June 1894, p. 6 (J.M. Toohey);  
DT, 2 July 1894, p. 5 (T. Rose);  
SMH, 20 June 1894, p. 8 (W. Grahame);  
SMH, 23 June 1894, p. 7 (W.H. Traill).  
A. Chapman and T. Rose expressed their disapproval in  
the Assembly. Chapman moved a resolution in favour  
of a progressive land tax (J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, p. 311),  
and in 1894 Rose "took the step of introducing what  
amounted to a motion of censure upon the ministry  
for its unsatisfactory attitude" towards protection.  
(A.W. Martin, Political Developments, p. 47).

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125. NSWPD, vol. CII, p. 3640, 20 December 1899 (E.W. O'Sullivan), quoted in B.E. Mansfield, Democrat, p. 111. See also:- A.W. Martin, Political Developments, pp. 46-47.
126. DT, 5 February 1898, p. 4 (W.H. Traill).
127. SMH, 17 December 1891, p. 5.
128. SMH, 23 June 1894, p. 7.
129. ibid.
130. DT, 5 July 1894, p. 5. In 1889, he was president of the Railway and Tramway Employees' Association (NPA Conference, p. 89).
131. SMH, 17 October 1877, p. 5.
132. B.E. Mansfield, Democrat, p. 40.
133. ibid., p. 46.
134. The year 1884, comments Mansfield, "marked the opening of a vigorous campaign by the protectionists, under O'Sullivan's leadership, to persuade the [Trades and Labour] Council to commit itself to their cause". (ibid., p. 48).
135. TLC Minutes, A 3830, p. 448, 21 May 1885, ML; SMH, 22 May 1885, p. 9.
136. SMH, 25 May 1885, p. 7; TLC Minutes, A3830, p. 449, 21 May 1885, ML. See also:- N.B. Nairn, Civilising, p. 22; N.B. Nairn, 'The TLC', p. 172; B.E. Mansfield, Democrat, pp. 58-59; B. Atkins, 'The PPRL', p. 251.
137. SMH, 18 June 1885, p. 4.
138. SMH, 18 September 1886, p. 9; B.E. Mansfield, Democrat, p. 80.
139. SMH, 11 November 1886, p. 5; see below, ch. 5, pp. 150-5
140. Rose was president of the NPA1 (SMH, 18 September 1886, p. 9) and paid secretary of the PU (SMH, 17 November 1886, p. 9).
141. SMH, 28 October 1886, p. 7.
142. SMH, 15 November 1886, p. 4.
143. TLC Minutes, A3830, p. 626, 18 November 1886, ML.
144. ibid., p. 640, 13 January 1887.

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145. ibid., p. 625, 18 November 1886.
146. ibid., p. 641, 13 January 1887.
147. ibid., p. 646, 27 January 1887. See also:- N.B. Nairn, Civilising, p. 24; N.B. Nairn, 'The TLC', p. 173.
148. For example, Wiley, Talbot and West were actively involved in the 1889 NPA4 conference. (NPA Conference, pp. 12, 89).
149. SMH, 10 September 1888, p. 5.
150. B.E. Mansfield, Democrat, pp. 82-83.
151. Howe was elected in September 1888 at a by-election in which he showed his pro-labour sentiments by claiming to run for election under the auspices of the TLC (SMH, 10 September 1888, p. 5). For Howe's democratic tendencies, also see SMH, 28 October 1890, p. 6.
152. William Grahame in 1894 stated his support for "every plank of the labour platform" and "a liberal and progressive protectionist policy" (SMH, 20 June 1894, p. 8), and he entered the Assembly in 1889 holding very similar views (SMH, 19 February 1889, p. 7).
153. DI, 11 June 1891, p. 6. However, since neither Howe nor Schey would sign the pledge binding them to retire from the contest if not selected by the League (ibid.), neither was recognised as an official Labor candidate by the central LEL.
154. Burrangong Argus, 1 July 1891.
155. Burrangong Argus, 17 June 1891; DI, 16 June 1891, p. 6.
156. SMH, 8 June 1891, p. 5.
157. SMH, 16 June 1891, p. 8.
158. SMH, 27 June 1891, p. 10; AS, 30 June 1891, p. 6; 1 July 1891, p. 6; Western Herald, 1 July 1891.
159. SMH, 18 June 1891, p. 3; 20 June 1891, p. 10.
160. SMH, 20 June 1891, p. 10.
161. See N.B. Nairn, Civilising, p. 62.
162. SMH, 17 December 1891, p. 5.
163. SMH, 21 January 1892, p. 6.

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164. SMH, 11 August 1893, p. 4; 12 August 1893, p. 9.
165. SMH, 16 August 1893, p. 6.
166. SMH, 3 February 1892, pp. 6-7; B.E. Mansfield, Democrat, pp. 112-13.
167. SMH, 17 February 1892, p. 7.
168. B.E. Mansfield, Democrat, pp. 113, 116.
169. ibid., p. 116.
170. NSWPD, vol. LVI, p. 5360, 17 February 1892, quoted in J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, p. 311.
171. SMH, 3 February 1892, p. 6.
172. NSWPD, vol. LIX, pp. 869-70, 29 September 1892.
173. N.B. Nairn, Civilising, p. 84; B. Dickey, 'Trade Unions', p. 212.
174. SMH, 24 October 1888, p. 9.
175. SMH, 3 November 1888, p. 8.
176. EN, 30 May 1888, p. 5.
177. B. Dickey, 'Trade Unions', p. 201.
178. NSWPD, vol. XLVIII, pp. 3924-25, 23 September 1890.
179. Royal Commission, Appendix, p. 35.
180. ibid., Literary Appendix, p. 154.
181. See N.B. Nairn, 'Maritime Strike', pp. 9-11.
182. Royal Commission, Literary Appendix, p. 154.
183. N.B. Nairn, 'Maritime Strike', p. 13.
184. F.S. Piggin, 'New South Wales Pastoralists and The Strikes of 1890 and 1891', HS, vol. 14, no. 56 (April 1971), p. 558. (Hereafter:- 'Pastoralists').
185. ibid., pp. 546, 558.
186. EN, 12 April 1888, p. 3.
187. EN, 21 February 1889, p. 5.
188. See N.B. Nairn, Civilising, p. 37.

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189. Copeland's political views were somewhat ambiguous. Although he "always strongly supported the working class ... [and] fought for the eight-hour movement" (ADB, vol. 3, p. 458), his traditional liberalism and opposition to payment of members and an elected Legislative Council provided reasons for suspicion that "this self-confessed 'liberal of liberals' was really a conservative thinker". (C.G. Karr, *Political Protest*, p. 321).
190. NSWPD, vol. XLVIII, p. 3988, 24 September 1890.
191. SMH, 31 July 1893, p. 3.
192. ibid.
193. AS, 11 June 1891, p. 7.
194. SMH, 25 January 1887, p. 8. See also:- N.B. Nairn, 'The Mastery', p. 33.
195. SMH, 25 January 1887, p. 8.
196. See below, ch. 5, pp.159-60; ch. 8, pp. 259-61.
197. SMH, 26 July 1888, p. 8; See Appendix IV.
198. In addition to ten protectionist MsLA, including O'Sullivan, protectionist representatives from the country districts of Armidale, Cootamundra, Goulburn, Oberon, Lithgow, Nyngan and Kempsey also attended (SMH, 23 August 1888, p. 3).
199. SMH, 24 August 1888, p. 4.
200. B.R. Wise, Liberal Party, p. 21; See above, ch. 3, p. 92.
201. EN, 21 February 1889, p. 5.
202. AS, 8 August 1888, p. 3.
203. SMH, 21 January 1889, p. 3.
204. NPA Conference, p. 12.
205. ibid., p. 13.
206. ibid., p. 15.
207. ibid., pp. 14-15.
208. ibid., p. 14.
209. DT, 7 October 1889, p. 4.



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210. AS, 11 June 1891, p. 7.
211. NPA Conference, p. 25.
212. ibid., p. 27.
213. ibid., pp. 26 (Kirby), 29 (P.V. Ryan, Milne, S. Lindeman).
214. ibid., pp. 28-31. Among those who supported the proposal were the future radical MsLA, H. McKinnon and R.A. Price; the future Labor MLA, G.F. Hutchinson; the members of the radical PPRL, R.C. Luscombe and S.A. Byrne; and J.J. Miller, a prominent spokesman of the free selectors (SMH, 28 June 1893, p. 5). For R.A. Price's democratic views, also see SMH, 28 October 1890, p. 6. S.A. Byrne contested the 1894 election as an official 'Solidarity' Labor candidate (DT, 23 June 1894, p. 9).
215. NPA Conference, p. 31.
216. ibid., p. 35.
217. ibid., p. 38.
218. ibid., p. 35 (Ryan)
219. ibid., pp. 36 (Barton), 38 (Forsyth).
220. ibid., p. 36. Also:- ibid., pp. 37 (A. Hutchison), 38 (H. McKinnon and J.F. Barnes).
221. ibid., p. 26.
222. FTLA Conference, p. 65. Archibald Forsyth also considered that the question of local government could not be considered a political party question, and "could not usefully form part of a platform". (AS, 11 June 1891, p. 7).
223. NPA Conference, p. 14.
224. ibid., p. 18.
225. ibid., p. 20.
226. ibid., p. 21.
227. ibid., p. 22.
228. ibid., pp. 24 (Wall, Young), 23 (Lindeman).
229. ibid., pp. 23 (Lindeman, Airey), 24 (Wall).

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230. ibid., p. 25.
231. ibid., p. 195.
232. ibid., p. 196.
233. SMH, 28 October 1890, p. 6.
234. ibid.; See Appendix V.
235. SMH, 4 June 1891, p. 5.
236. SMH, 8 June 1891, p. 5.
237. AS, 11 June 1891, p. 7.
238. SMH, 25 January 1887, p. 8.
239. See above, ch. 3, p. 103.
240. SMH, 8 May 1891, p. 5; 16 May 1891, p. 10.
241. SMH, 8 May 1891, p. 5; see Appendix XI.
242. SMH, 25 May 1891, p. 5.
243. SMH, 14 May 1891, p. 6; 13 June 1891, p. 7.
244. A further example was the fact that the sitting freetrade member for Gloucester, the radical J. Seaver, declined to re-contest his old electorate, and instead sought election for St Leonards in direct opposition to Parkes and the freetrade ministry. (SMH, 16 June 1891, p. 3).
245. For example, the protectionists, Rose, Hoyle and H. McKinnon, and the freetraders, G. Donald, J. Gillies and E. Lonsdale. After his double-defeat in 1889, B.R. Wise was re-elected in 1891.
246. 1887 in Argyle, and 1889 in Argyle and Hawkesbury.
247. N.B. Nairn, Civilising, pp. 44-45.
248. ibid., p. 60.
249. ibid., pp. 61-62.
250. ibid., p. 65.
251. For example, the action of S. Smith, Parkes's Secretary for Mines, in October 1891. See above, ch. 3, pp. 106-07.
252. For example, W.H. Sharp, J.D. Fitzgerald, T.J. Houghton and J. Newton became closely associated with the

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- radical protectionist 'cave', the Democratic Party (SMH, 17 December 1891, p. 5; 16 August 1893, p. 6). The Labor MsLA who joined the protectionist Country Party were J. Sheldon, G.F. Hutchinson, J. Morgan and the ex-protectionist MsLA, R.M. Vaughn and J.G. Gough. (SMH, 7 April 1893, p. 5; 2 November 1893, p. 4).
253. DI, 3 October 1889, p. 4.
254. See above, ch. 2, pp. 47-51.
255. See above, ch. 2, p. 52.
256. NSWPD, vol. LV, p. 3390, 8 December 1891 (G.H. Reid).
257. N.B. Nairn seems also to view Parkes's fiscal campaign in the same light: "...; still a master of the old political system, he had neither the desire nor the vision to inaugurate a new one. The old system had been shaken. Parkes set out to restore it and used the new [fiscal] slogans magnificently". (Civilising, p. 24).
258. Nairn seems to doubt the stability produced by fiscal politics when he states: "Fiscalism had shown that it could not sustain parliament". (ibid., p. 53). In contrast to the modern highly-disciplined party system, this is a valid judgment; but in contrast to the political instability prior to 1887, it seems rather too harsh. Of the twenty-three ministries between 1856 and the end of 1886, Parke's 1887-89 freetrade ministry outlived all but seven, and his 1889-91 outlived all but five.
259. See below, ch. 6.
260. See below, chs 7, 8, 9.
261. B.R. Wise to Parkes, 8 August 1888. PC, vol. 42, A912, p. 311, ML.
262. N.B. Nairn, 'J.C. Watson', p. 83.
263. See J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, pp. 235-36.
264. DI, 5 February 1898, p. 4 (W.H. Traill, 'Protection and Democracy', I).
265. See below, ch. 6.
266. See Catholic Press, 25 December 1897, p. 16; DI, 5 January 1898, p. 5; 10 January 1898, p. 4.

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267. SMH, 26 April 1893, p. 4; 29 April 1893, p. 10; 4 May 1893, p. 2; 13 May 1893, p. 7. See also:- J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, pp. 315-16.
268. SMH, 27 July 1893, p. 4; 3 August 1893, p. 6. Also:- J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, pp. 315, 324.
269. 'Freetrade and Land Reform Electoral Committee', (printed manifesto) in G.R. Dibbs Papers, Uncat. MSS Set 132, Item 1, ML. The manifesto was issued in May 1893 (SMH, 19 May 1893, p. 5). See also:- SMH, 8 August 1893, p. 5 (speech of B.R. Wise); J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, pp. 316-18.
270. Reid had been well aware of the unprincipled and sterile nature of politics as determined by the conservatives of both parties prior to 1891. In 1890, he had declared that "This eternal warfare of freetrade and protection should be put on one side for a little time, and some of those great reforms should be gone on with for which the people of the country had been calling; and they should be resolutely proceeded with until they had been accomplished". (SMH, 26 August 1890, p. 3). He had expressed the same sentiments as early as February 1889 (DT, 4 February 1889, p. 5). He, like Wise, realised that the fiscal issue was simply being used as a means to delay and prevent reform, and he fulminated against the Parkes ministry's lack of positive legislative action. In August 1889, he stated that if the ministry "did not make a local government bill the business of the next session, ... they deserved to be driven from office at once". (FTLA Conference, p. 64). In February 1891, Reid told his constituents, with reference to Parkes, that "as a legislator, and a man who ought to attend to the crying wants of the people, I have to pronounce him an utter failure". (SMH, 26 February 1891, p. 5; N.B. Nairn, Civilising, pp. 45-6). Whilst Reid certainly perceived both the absence of, and the urgent need for, reform prior to 1891, and was not "wedded to any hallowed view of laissez-faire liberalism" (J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, p. 301), he had not yet formulated any cohesive programme of liberal reform, and his liberalism was far from being radical. Although he had in 1886 declared himself "heartily in favour of the land and income taxes" (My Reminiscences, p. 59), his support for land taxation in 1889 appeared lukewarm (FTLA Conference, pp. 48-49). In addition, he opposed the payment of members (SMH, 5 August 1893, p. 7; My Reminiscences, p. 66) and eight-hours legislation (SMH, 26 February 1891, p. 5). Nevertheless, on the day of his election as freetrade leader, Reid announced to E.W. O'Sullivan: "'Now, I am going to give you real Democratic politics'". (E.W. O'Sullivan, 'Reminiscences - Mainly Political', The Lone Hand, vol. VII (1 August 1910), p. 300).

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271. SMH, 5 August 1893, p. 7; 8 August 1894, pp. 5-6;  
J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, pp. 318-19.
272. B.E. Mansfield, Democrat, p. 112.
273. J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, pp. 401-03.
274. Quoted in DT, 9 February 1898, p. 6 (W.H. Traill,  
'Protection and Democracy', II).
275. ibid.
276. ibid.

## Chapter 5

1. M. Duverger, Political Parties. Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State, London, 1954, p. xxix. (Hereafter:- Parties); A.W. Martin, The Emergence, pp. 19, 28; A.W. Martin, Political Groupings, p. 273, esp. fn. 4; P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PFP, pp. 148, 153.
2. SMH, 16 July 1881, p. 8; B. Atkins, 'The PPRL', pp. 240-41; see above, ch. 1, pp. 2-3.
3. SMH, 14 December 1881, p. 5.
4. SMH, 7 February 1883, p. 9.
5. Foundation president of the PPRL (SMH, 16 July 1881, p.8; EN, 30 July 1881), Melville held the position for two years (SMH, 4 September 1882, p. 7), and was a vice-president in 1883-84 (SMH, 22 September 1883, p. 9).
6. Richardson succeeded Melville as president in 1883 (SMH, 22 September 1883, p. 9), and retained the position until 1888 (SMH, 25 September 1884, p. 4; 20 January 1886, p. 11; 20 January 1887, p. 7).
7. R.C. Luscombe was the foundation secretary of the League, and remained in that position, but for 3 months in 1887, until January 1890, when he was elected president (SMH, 16 July 1881, p. 8; 4 September 1882, p. 7; 22 September 1883, p. 9; 25 September 1884, p. 4; 20 January 1886, p. 11; 20 January 1887, p. 7; DT, 22 January 1889, p. 5; SMH, 25 January 1890, p. 8; 15 January 1891, p. 7).
8. B. Atkins, 'The PPRL', p. 241.
9. SMH, 14 December 1881, p. 5.
10. TLC Minutes, A3830, p. 205, 1 March 1883, ML.
11. See above, ch. 4, p. 124.
12. SMH, 5 May 1883, p. 9.
13. B. Atkins, 'The PPRL', p. 245.
14. SMH, 21 July 1884, p. 4.
15. SMH, 20 January 1887, p. 7.
16. SMH, 19 March 1884, p. 7.
17. SMH, 20 January 1887, p. 7..
18. SMH, 27 July 1883, p. 3.

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19. Branches at Wagga (EN, 8 September 1881), Bathurst, Balmain (SMH, 13 May 1882, p. 5), Parramatta (SMH, 27 May 1882, p. 5), Ballina (SMH, 15 July 1882, p. 5), Singleton (SMH, 12 August 1882, p. 5), Murray Hut (SMH, 14 October 1882, p. 11), and Petersham (SMH, 21 October 1882, p. 11). See also:- SMH, 2 March 1886, p. 5.
20. Mittagong (SMH, 10 September 1883, p. 7), Orange (SMH, 9 July 1884, p. 9), Lithgow (SMH, 15 July 1885, p. 9), Glen Innes (SMH, 27 August 1885, p. 5), and Canterbury (SMH, 27 October 1885, p. 5). See also:- SMH, 2 March 1886, p. 5.
21. SMH, 2 March 1886, p. 5.
22. SMH, 27 October 1885, p. 5.
23. SMH, 15 May 1889, p. 5.
24. B.E. Mansfield first referred to the alliance of various groups and interests in common advocacy of protection and democratic reform as "a populist party in the making". (Democrat, p. 55). See also:- P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PFP, p. 125.
25. SMH, 30 January 1884, p. 7.
26. SMH, 6 February 1884, p. 7. See also:- B.E. Mansfield, Democrat, pp. 50-52.
27. SMH, 6 February 1884, p. 7.
28. ibid.; SMH, 19 July 1884, p. 11; 29 July 1885, p. 9; 6 November 1886, p. 11; E.W. O'Sullivan, From Colony to Commonwealth, p. 164. A.J. Kelly became the Labor member for West Sydney in 1891, and F. Flowers and S.A. Byrne were official LEL candidates in 1891 and 1894 respectively.
29. SMH, 19 July 1884, p. 11; 26 July 1884, p. 11; DT, 19 July 1884.
30. SMH, 19 July 1884, p. 11.
31. E.W. O'Sullivan, From Colony to Commonwealth, p. 164.
32. C.G. Karr, Political Protest, p. 245.
33. ibid.
34. E.W. O'Sullivan, From Colony to Commonwealth, pp. 164-65.
35. SMH, 24 November 1884, p. 7; 22 July 1885, p. 9; LIA Conference, p. 5; SMH, 20 August 1885, p. 9.

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36. E.W. O'Sullivan, *From Colony to Commonwealth*, p. 165.
37. SMH, 22 July 1885, p. 9; LIA Conference, p.7; SMH, 20 August, 1885, p. 9.
38. Crick was described as a "member of the central committee". (LIA Conference, p. 21).
39. He was a member of the LIA (LIA Conference, p. 29), but not in any official capacity until December 1886, when he became secretary (SMH, 18 December 1886, p. 13).
40. B.E. Mansfield, Democrat, p. 55.
41. C.G. Karr, *Political Protest*, p. 245.
42. SMH, 24 November 1884, p. 7.
43. SMH, 20 February 1884, p. 5.
44. SMH, 12 July 1884, p. 8. See also:- SMH, 19 July 1884, p. 7. O'Sullivan had been an early member of the PPRL, but had left because of the domineering attitudes of Richardson and Luscombe (SMH, 12 July 1884, p. 8).
45. LIA Conference, p. iii.
46. SMH, 22 July 1885, p. 9.  
Of those summoned, the central committee and fourteen branches of the LIA were present at the conference, along with six branches of the Free Selectors' Association, five branches of the Farmers' Union, the Queanbeyan Roads and Lands Association and the Moama Land Law Reform Alliance. (LIA Conference, p. 5).
47. SMH, 22 July 1885, p. 9.  
The artisan organisations that sent delegates were the Bootmakers', Coachmakers', Ironworkers' and Stonemasons' Trade Unions, the Western Miners' Association and the Esbank Ironworkers. (LIA Conference, p. 5).
48. SMH, 22 July 1885, p. 9.  
The PPRL delegates at the conference were R.C. Luscombe and W. Richardson (LIA Conference, pp. 5, 19, 21), and those from the DA were A. Miller, A.J. Kelly and Flowers (SMH, 29 July 1885, p. 9; LIA Conference, p. 23).
49. ibid., p. 6.
50. ibid., p. 31.



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51. P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PFPP, p. 126.
52. See above, ch. 1, p. 4.
53. See ch. 4, n. 43.
54. LIA Conference, p. 5.
55. SMH, 31 July 1885, p. 3.
56. DT, 30 July 1885, quoted in C.R. Hall, Manufacturers, p. 25.
57. SMH, 31 July 1885, p. 3.  
 The Chamber of Manufactures of New South Wales (CM) was formally inaugurated on 27 August 1885. A. Forsyth (rope manufacturer) was elected president, George Brown (iron manufacturer) secretary, and W. Crispin (engineering) treasurer (SMH, 28 August 1885, p. 5). In view of their later involvement in protectionist organisations, a number of other foundation members of the Chamber are of significance. They are:- T. Alderson (tanner), J. and T. Ross (glass manufacturers), J. Wearne (flour miller), C.H. Hoskins (engineer, cast-iron pipe manufacturer, and iron founder), J. and W. Armstrong (mat manufacturers), J. Ward (iron manufacturer), J. Bergan (woollen mills), J. Vicars (tweed manufacturer), J.M. Toohey (brewer) and A. Milne (engineer and coppersmith). In addition, although not foundation members, A.D. Nelson (engineer) became a prominent member of the CM, and J.P. Wright (boot manufacturer) became its vice-president in 1886.  
 (SMH, 31 July 1885, p. 3; 28 August 1885, p. 5; 30 September 1886, p. 9; DT, 28 August 1885; 15 November 1886; 'National Club, List of Members', in NPA Conference, pp. 232-38; Sands' Sydney Directory, 1887; A.W. Martin and P. Wardle, Notes; Australian Encyclopaedia, vol. 4, p. 555; C.R. Hall, Manufacturers, pp. 27-28, 35, 39, 47, 51-52, 61; ADB, vols. 3 and 4).
58. LIA Conference, p. 7.
59. ibid.
60. In December 1886, the LIA seriously considered eliminating the plank advocating protection from its platform. (SMH, 18 December 1886, p. 13).
61. TLC Minutes, A3830, pp. 587-88, 29 July 1886, ML; SMH, 4 August 1886, p. 5.
62. Both organisations were still maintaining a separate existence in 1890. See:- SMH, 29 October 1890, p. 3; 5 November 1890, p. 5 (DA); SMH, 15 May 1890, p. 9 (PPRL).

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63. G.F. Garton remained a member of the DA's central committee (SMH, 6 November 1886, p. 11), and was still prominent in the activities of the Alliance in 1890 (SMH, 29 October 1890, p. 3). He was also elected a vice-president of the PPRL in January 1887 (SMH, 20 January 1887, p. 7).
64. SMH, 18 September 1886, p. 9.
65. R. Scott Ross represented the PPRL at the conference. Ross joined the League in March 1886 (SMH, 18 March 1886, p. 6), became a vice-president and treasurer in 1887 (SMH, 20 January 1887, p. 7), and succeeded Richardson as president in 1888 and 1889 (DT, 22 January 1889, p. 5).  
The other PPRL representative was the rapidly-emerging radical, Thomas Rose, from the League's Canterbury branch.
66. The TLC was represented by its president, J.V. Wiley; O'Sullivan represented the LIA; and, president, Archibald Forsyth, was there on behalf of the CM. This list of representatives is far from complete; only the six delegates who spoke can be identified.
67. SMH, 18 September 1886, p. 9.
68. ibid.
69. SMH, 28 October 1886, p. 7.
70. ibid. There were eight members of the committee. The CM was represented by its president, Forsyth, J.P. Wright, C.H. Hoskins, and its ally, L.F. Heydon. (See ch. 5, n. 57). Forsyth was appointed chairman of the committee (SMH, 11 November 1886, p. 5). The radicals on the committee were T. Rose (PPRL, NPA1), R.C. Luscombe (PPRL), W. Westman (TLC) and G.F. Garton (DA, PPRL).
71. SMH, 11 November 1886, p.5.
72. SMH, 28 October 1886, p. 7.
73. The committee was dominated by radicals: W. Westman, T. Symons, J.V. Wiley and J.R. Talbot of the TLC; W. Richardson and R.S. Ross of the PPRL; Garton of the DA; and T. Rose and E.W. O'Sullivan. CM representatives on the committee were C.H. Hoskins, T. Alderson and J. Ward (see ch. 5, n. 57).
74. SMH, 11 November 1886, p. 5.
75. ibid.
76. SMH, 6 December 1886, p. 7.

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77. The following analysis of the composition of the preliminary committee of twenty-one is based on the reports of those in attendance at its second meeting on 4 December. (SMH, 6 December 1886, p. 7; DT, 6 December 1886, p. 5). The committee's first meeting was held on 22 November, but there were only seven members present (SMH, 24 November 1886, p. 9). Those present at the meeting of 4 December, but who were only formally elected to the committee at that meeting, are obviously not included as members of the original committee. The nine radicals on the original committee were T. Rose, R.C. Luscombe and E. Rudder from the PPRL; W. Westman, J.R. Talbot and J.V. Wiley from the TLC; O'Sullivan and S.A. Byrne of the LIA; and G.F. Garton from the DA and PPRL. Of the remaining twelve members, eight were prominent members of the CM: A. Forsyth, J. Vicars, G. Brown, W. Crispin, T. Alderson, J. Wearne, A.D. Nelson and J. Ward. (See ch. 5, n. 57). A further two were also manufacturers: J. Aylward (joinery works) and J. Shinnick (ironmoulder). (DT, 15 November 1886; Sands' Sydney Directory, 1887, p. 857). The remaining two members were E. Bennett, barrister and chairman of the 10 November conference (SMH, 11 November 1886, p. 5) and H. Butterfield. Bennett seems to have been in league with the CM protectionists (see SMH, 23 December 1886, p. 5), and he was later referred to by a radical protectionist as a "paid hireling of the manufacturers". (SMH, 4 February 1887, p. 6).
78. SMH, 17 November 1886, p. 9.
79. SMH, 24 November 1886, p. 9; 23 December 1886, p. 5; C.R. Hall, Manufacturers, p. 33.
80. This decision was put into effect. At a meeting of the PPRL on 30 November, the secretary reported that all correspondence had been sent on to the PU secretary. (SMH, 1 December 1886, p. 9).
81. SMH, 17 November 1886, p. 9.
82. SMH, 23 December 1886, p. 5.
83. SMH, 11 November 1886, p. 5; 24 November 1886, p. 9.
84. SMH, 12 November 1886, p. 7.
85. SMH, 15 November 1886, pp. 3-4.
86. SMH, 6 December 1886, p. 7; DT, 6 December 1886, p. 5.
87. SMH, 23 December 1886, p. 5; 29 December 1886, pp. 6-7.

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88. SMH, 10 January 1887, p. 7.
89. SMH, 25 January 1887, p. 7.
90. SMH, 18 December 1886, p. 13.
91. SMH, 20 January 1887, p. 7.
92. P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PFP, p. 136. See also:- A.W. Martin, The Emergence, p. 19; A.W. Martin, Political Groupings, p. 273.
93. M. Duverger, Parties, p. xxix.
94. See ch. 4, n. 58.
95. SMH, 6 December 1886, p. 7; DT, 6 December 1886, p. 5. The five new members were J. Pemell (miller and produce merchant), J.P. Wright, J.M. Toohey, C.H. Hoskins and T. Ross. All but the first mentioned were members of the executive of the CM (See ch. 5, n. 57). (Sands' Sydney Directory, 1887).
96. SMH, 23 December 1886, p. 5. The two members of the CM were W. Armstrong and J. Bergan (see ch. 5, n. 57). Hyam was a wealthy wholesale produce merchant, and Heydon's alliance with the manufacturers had been amply demonstrated at the LIA conference. (ADB, vol. 4, p. 454). The fifth newcomer was the radical, William Richardson, president of the PPRL. Richardson was not elected by the council to the council, but was present as the accredited representative of the PPRL, "elected to attend all union meetings and report to the league". (SMH, 17 November 1886, p. 9). The final addition was the unknown W. McCartney.
97. SMH, 23 December 1886, p. 5. PU treasurer, J. Ward, and executive committee members, C.H. Hoskins, W. Crispin, A.D. Nelson and J.P. Wright were all prominent in the CM (see ch. 5, n. 57). The final committee member, E. Bennett, seems to have been a definite ally of the manufacturers.
98. The additions during this period included the manufacturers and CM members, A. Milne, J. Armstrong and J. Ross; the manufacturers' agent, J. Farrell; the wealthy professional men, T.B. Belgrave (surgeon) and H.S.S. Bond (accountant); and E. Heaton (of Wright, Heaton and Co., carriers), J. and W. Pearce (furniture manufacturers) and R. Forbes. (SMH, 10 January 1887, p. 7; 22 January 1887, p. 11; 14 March 1887, p. 7; 4 October 1888, p. 4; DT, 10 January 1887, p. 4; Sands' Sydney Directory, 1887; ch. 5, n. 57). No recognisable or prominent radicals were elected to the council.
99. EN, 1 November 1887, p. 3. See also:- DT, 31 October 1887, p. 6.

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100. A. Forsyth, E.W. O'Sullivan and L.F. Heydon.
101. SMH, 11 November 1886, p. 5.
102. They were N.G. Bull, T. Dalton, N. Melville, S.H. Hyam, M. Burke, W.C. Wall, J.M. Toohey and T. Ewing. (SMH, 15 November 1886, pp. 3-4; 29 December 1886, pp. 6-7).
103. A. Forsyth and E.W. O'Sullivan.
104. The three MsLA added to the council were L.F. Heydon, J.M. Toohey (brewer and member of the CM) and S.H. Hyam. (SMH, 6 December 1886, p. 7; 23 December 1886, p. 5).
105. SMH, 27 January 1887, p. 6.
106. ibid.
107. ibid.
108. See above, p. 149.
109. See below, ch. 7, p. 212.
110. The Australasian, 26 March 1887, p. 591 ('Socialities', Sydney, 21 March).
111. The Australasian, 5 February 1887, p. 248 ('Socialities', Sydney, 31 January).
112. The Australasian, 26 March 1887, p. 591. See also:- SMH, 8 February 1887, p. 7.
113. EN, 12 April 1888, p. 3.
114. The Australasian, 5 February 1887, p. 248; SMH, 20 January 1887, p. 7.
115. The Australasian, 5 February 1887, p. 248; SMH, 27 January 1887, p. 6.
116. A number of reports and speeches strongly imply that the PU subsidised a number of protectionist candidates. For example:- SMH, 4 February 1887, p. 6 (speeches of A. Miller and J.P. Howe); 8 February 1887, p. 7; 12 February 1887, p. 8 (speech of H. Dawson).
117. SMH, 29 January 1887, p. 9.
118. SMH, 3 February 1887, p. 5. For the name and location of, and the number of members returned by, each electorate during the 1887 general election, see Appendix VI.

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119. The candidate selected by the PU to contest Hartley was recalled by the Union (SMH, 8 February 1837, p. 5), and was then sent to represent the cause in Tenterfield. His place at Hartley was filled by one of the PU candidates for Canterbury, J. Young, thus leaving only one PU candidate to contest that electorate. No original selection was made for Wentworth, but one of the PU candidates for Mudgee, sitting MLA, T.F. de Courcy Browne, consented to fill the gap. The electorates for which no selection was made were Bogan, Glen Innes, Gloucester, Goulburn, Hawkesbury, Hunter, Illawarra, Macleay, East Maitland, West Maitland, Namoi, Newcastle, Parramatta, Patrick's Plains, and St Leonards.
120. The electorate was Glen Innes, where the local Protection League chose A. Hutchison as its candidate (SMH, 1 February 1887, p. 7).
121. A member of the PU council, E. Bennett, made specific reference to "the men it had sent out in this contest". (SMH, 4 February 1887, p. 5).
122. SMH, 3 February 1887, p. 11.
123. SMH, 2 February 1887, p. 5 (speech of J.H. Young).
124. East Maitland, Goulburn, Hawkesbury, Hunter, Kiama, Namoi, Nepean, Parramatta, Patrick's Plains, St Leonards, West Maitland, Wollombi.
125. SMH, 27 January 1887, p. 4 (Orange); 28 January 1887, p. 4 (Inverell).
126. SMH, 29 January 1887, p. 9. The selected candidates were J.P. Wright (Inverell) and J. McLachlan (Orange).
127. SMH, 1 February 1887, p. 7 (McLachlan); SMH, 5 February 1887, p. 9 (Wright).
128. ibid.
129. SMH, 1 February 1887, p. 6 (R.T. Bellemeay, Newtown); 2 February 1887, p. 7 (G. Coleman, Murrumbidgee); 4 February 1887, p. 5 (W.T. Poole, South Sydney).
130. William Richardson (Hartley to Tenterfield); J. Young (Canterbury to Hartley); A.R. Fremlin (Upper Hunter to Redfern); T.F. de Courcy Browne (Mudgee to Wentworth); S.A. Byrne (Carcoar to Glebe); J. Gale (Gundagai to Murrumbidgee); E. Bennett (East Sydney to South Sydney); J. Hughes (East Macquarie to West Macquarie).

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131. Twenty-one PU selections failed to materialise as candidates in twenty electorates:- P. Hogan (Richmond); Fagan (Wollombi); Jennings (Hastings and Manning); M.J. Conlon and W. Crispin (Glebe); F. Punch (East Sydney); T. Symons (Balmain); M. Burke (Tamworth); J.V. Wiley (Central Cumberland); R. Scott Ross (Molong); E. Rudder (Clarence); R.C. Luscombe (Kiama); E.W. Doyle (Durham); Dalveen (Morpeth); Ferris (Nepean); J. McLachlan (Orange); J.P. Wright (Inverell); R.T. Bellemey (Newtown); G. Coleman (Murrumbidgee); W.T. Poole (South Sydney); F. Ward (Shoalhaven).
132. Upper Hunter, Wollombi, Gundagai, East Sydney, Clarence, Kiama, Durham, Morpeth, Nepean, Inverell, Shoalhaven, Molong.
133. Canterbury, Richmond, Mudgee, Hastings and Manning, Glebe, Carcoar, Balmain, Central Cumberland, Orange, Newtown, East Macquarie.
134. See, for example, SMH, 16 February 1887, p. 5 (Speech of J. Gale, Murrumbidgee); 12 February 1887, p. 8 (Speech of H. Dawson, Monaro); 4 February 1887, p. 6 (Speech of J.F. Smith, Newtown).
135. They were W. McCourt (Camden), J. Davies (South Sydney), W.G. Judd (Canterbury), J. Gormly (Murrumbidgee), R.G. Fitzgerald (Upper Hunter), T. Waddell (Bourke), T. Slattery (Boorowa), J. Hayes (Hume), and J.A. Mackinnon (Young).  
For their freetrade declarations, See:- ch. 2, nn. 8, 9 (Fitzgerald, Gormly, Slattery, Mackinnon, Hayes); SMH, 4 February 1887, p. 6 (Davies); 8 February 1887, p. 4 (Waddell); 31 January 1887, p. 7 (Mccourt); 3 February 1887, p. 6 (W.G. Judd).
136. SMH, 31 January 1887, p. 5 (W.G. Judd); 1 February 1887, p. 5 (Mccourt); 8 February 1887, p. 4 (Waddell).
137. SMH, 1 February 1887, p. 5.
138. SMH, 27 January 1887, p. 6.
139. SMH, 29 January 1887, p. 9.
140. SMH, 3 February 1887, p. 5.
141. The final figures for the electorate were:-  

F. Jago Smith (freetrade)	340
W.P. Crick (PU)	252
J. Hughes (PU)	109.
142. SMH, 29 January 1887, p. 9.
143. SMH, 1 February 1887, p. 7.

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144. SMH, 28 August 1885, p. 5.
145. SMH, 8 February 1887, p. 5.
146. The final figures for the electorate were:-  

<u>J. Hurley (freetrade)</u>	<u>619</u>
<u>R.J. Inch (protectionist)</u>	<u>333</u>
J. Young (PU)	245
B. Doyle (protectionist)	184.

 Splits in the protectionist vote also occurred in Northumberland and South Sydney.
147. SMH, 14 March 1887, p. 7; 1 March 1887, p. 7.
148. C.R. Hall, Manufacturers, p. 47.  
 See also:- SMH, 3 May 1887, p. 7 (Redfern branch);  
 26 May 1887, p. 7 (Shoalhaven branch); 29 July 1887,  
 p. 5; 27 August 1887, p. 11 (mentions branches at  
 West Sydney, Lithgow, Parramatta, Granville, Windsor  
 and Richmond).
149. EN, 12 April 1888, p. 3.
150. A. Forsyth and S.H. Hyam were defeated in South  
 Sydney and Balmain respectively, and L.F. Heydon did  
 not seek re-election. This left only the MsLA,  
 E.W. O'Sullivan and J.M. Toohey, on the council.
151. TLC Minutes, A3830, p. 645, 27 January 1887, ML.
152. ibid., p. 646.
153. SMH, 3 February 1887, p. 11; C.R. Hall, Manufacturers,  
 p. 48.
154. After Rose had resigned, J.S. Skeet was appointed  
 acting secretary of the PU (SMH, 2 February 1887,  
 p. 7), and he was elected permanent secretary in  
 May (C.R. Hall, Manufacturers, p. 48).
155. EN, 23 April 1888, p. 3.
156. SMH, 4 February 1887, p. 5.
157. SMH, 1 June 1887, p. 6.
158. EN, 1 November 1887, p. 3.
159. ibid.
160. ibid.; EN, 12 April 1888, p. 3.
161. EN, 1 November 1887, p. 3.
162. J.P. Wright, T. Alderson and J. Vicars.



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163. SMH, 22 December 1886, p. 7; TLC Minutes, A3830, p. 645, 27 January 1887, ML; EN, 1 November 1887, p. 3.
164. DT, 31 October 1887, p.6; EN, 1 November 1887, p. 3.
165. SMH, 8 October 1887, p. 11.
166. For Norton's connection with the TLC, see N.B. Nairn, Civilising, p. 26.
167. EN, 23 April 1888, p. 3.
168. SMH, 8 October 1887, p. 11.
169. Although initially called "the National Protection League" (ibid.), the new organisation was thereafter referred to by its correct name (SMH, 1 November 1887, p. 7; EN, 1 November 1887, p. 5).
170. SMH, 8 October 1887, p. 11.
171. ibid.
172. DT, 31 October 1887, p.6.
173. EN, 1 November 1887, p. 5; SMH, 1 November 1887, p. 7.
174. EN, 23 April 1888, p. 3.
175. EN, 1 November 1887, p. 5.
176. SMH, 1 November 1887, p. 7; 2 November 1887, p. 9.
177. EN, 12 April 1888, p. 3.
178. Although the NPA2 made "a struggle for existence" (SMH, 1 November 1887, p. 7) and adopted a formal constitution (SMH, 30 November 1887, p. 9), it soon passed out of existence.
179. SMH, 26 July 1888, p. 8; see also, ch. 4, p. 130; and Appendix IV.
180. AS, 8 August 1888, p. 3.
181. SMH, 23 August 1888, p. 3.
182. SMH, 24 August 1888, p. 4.
183. ibid. O'Sullivan's proposed committee included Heydon, Forsyth, Crispin, Milne and Nelson of the CM; radical MsLA, J.P. Howe and O'Sullivan; conservative MsLA, J.M. Toohey (also a member of the CM) and T.H. Hassall; W. Richardson, R.C. Luscombe, G.F. Garton, J. Colbron and J. Caulfield of the PPR; J.R. Talbot and T. Symons of the TLC; and Watkin, Thorpe, Holdsworth, Kirby, O'Connell and Burns.

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184. SMH, 16 November 1887, p. 9.
185. During the by-election for Paddington in January 1888, the influence of the parliamentary party on the organisation was strong, acting at first in conjunction with the PU (SMH, 2 January 1888, p. 7; 4 January 1888, p. 4), and soon coming to dominate and determine what was to be done (SMH, 5 January 1888, p. 5). Under the leadership of Ninian Melville and James Fletcher, the parliamentary party was fully in control of protectionist organisation during the Central Cumberland by-election of March 1888 (SMH, 6 March 1888, pp. 4, 7; 7 March 1888, p. 9).
186. AS, 11 April 1888, p. 5.
187. The one MLA on the executive would have been counter-balanced by four office-bearers and six other members of the executive who were members of the CM (ibid.).
188. The eight MsLA involved were G.R. Dibbs, John See, J.P. Garvan, J.P. Abbott, W.J. Lyne, T.M. Slattery, H. Copeland and James Fletcher (ibid.).
189. EN, 23 April 1888, p. 3.
190. See below, ch. 7, pp. 212-13.
191. SMH, 18 July 1885, p. 10.
192. SMH, 22 July 1885, p. 4. Reviewing the formation of the FTA some time later, B.R. Wise emphasised the freetrade reaction to protectionist activity as a basic reason for the formation of the Association (SMH, 25 January 1886, p. 9). See also:- J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, p. 215; P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PPF, p. 126.
193. SMH, 11 August 1885, p. 7.
194. SMH, 18 August 1885, p. 4.
195. See B.R. Wise, Reverie, p. 65; J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, p. 215.
196. SMH, 18 August 1885, p. 4. For the full composition of the original executive council, and all later additions to the FTA council, see Appendix VII.
197. See ch. 2, p. 66; ch. 2, n. 169.
198. B.R. Wise, Reverie, p. 69.
199. See Appendices VII and VIII.
200. SMH, 29 August 1885, p. 13.

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201. See Appendix VII.
202. SMH, 2 February 1887, p. 5.
203. Sydney Chamber of Commerce. Minutes of Quarterly General Meetings and Special Committee Meetings, 1879-1892, special committee meeting, 16 April 1886. (handwritten MS in the possession of the Sydney Chamber of Commerce, Commerce House, Sydney).
204. ibid., committee meetings, 8 July, 4 August 1887.
205. SMH, 2 February 1887, p. 5.
206. NSWPD, vol. XXV, p. 718, 13 April 1887 (W. McMillan).
207. B.R. Wise, *Reverie*, pp. 68-69. The two men were George Munro, of A. McArthur and Co., and J. Jamieson, of Prince, Ogg and Co. See Appendices VII and VIII.
208. DT, 26 August 1885, p. 4.
209. SMH, 23 January 1886, pp. 10, 13; B.R. Wise, *Reverie*, p. 65; J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, p. 245.
210. See Appendix VII.
211. See Appendix VII.  
For the radicalism of Wise, Haynes and Nobbs, see Appendix I. Both Whiddon and Downing were later associated with the radical Single Tax League (SMH, 5 March 1890, p. 5; 1 April 1891, p. 8), and Whiddon was a vice-president of the FTLREC during 1893 (SMH, 3 August 1893, p. 6; 8 August 1893, pp. 5-6; 31 August 1893, p. 6). For the addition of the TLC representatives to the council, see ch. 2, n. 169.
212. SMH, 11 August 1885, p. 7.
213. DT, 18 June 1894, p. 5.  
Smith was added to the FTA council in November 1886 (DT, 8 November 1886, p. 3).
214. SMH, 18 August 1885, p. 4; 29 August 1885, p. 13; 3 October 1885, p. 10; 29 July 1886, p. 9. See Appendix VII.
215. SMH, 15 March 1887, p. 4.
216. SMH, 18 August 1885, p. 4; 29 July 1886, p. 9;  
DT, 8 November 1886, p. 3.
217. SMH, 3 October 1885, p. 10.
218. SMH, 23 January 1886, p. 13.

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219. SMH, 29 July 1886, p. 9.
220. NSWPD, vol. XXI, p. 3713, 29 July 1886 (E.W. O'Sullivan).
221. SMH, 17 February 1887, p. 3.
222. SMH, 29 July 1886, p. 9.
223. A.W. Martin presents an alternative view. He claims that Parkes, "Ignoring the Association men, ... constructed his Cabinet with an eye on the old factional groupings, ...". ('McMillan', p. 206). Parkes did acknowledge factional allegiances (See above, ch. 1, p. 39), but this did not exclude those MsLA in the FTA from ministerial consideration.
224. Parkes to J.H. Young, 19 January 1887. Letters to Saul Samuel, A55, pp. 57-58, ML.
225. SMH, 3 October 1885, p. 10.
226. SMH, 23 July 1889, p. 5.  
Also:- "From the first the Association has never professed to be anything more than a modest body of men anxious that the general public should rightly understand the principles upon which the country can be successfully and prosperously governed". (SMH, 15 March 1887, p. 7).
227. DT, 8 November 1886, p. 4.
228. SMH, 29 July 1886, p. 9. In September 1885, the FTA printed and circulated 25,000 copies of its manifesto, 100,000 leaflets and 20,000 pamphlets. These, and all subsequent FTA publications, were directed towards the freetrade education of the colony. Secretary, Edward Pulsford, was the Association's chief publicist, and his pamphlets included Freedom in New South Wales versus Oppression in Victoria (1887) and Freetrade and Protection - An Answer to Forsyth's Pamphlet (1885). (SMH, 29 July 1886, p. 9; DT, 27 September 1887, p. 5). Many of the FTA leaflets and pamphlets have been bound and deposited in the Mitchell Library, Sydney (337.2/ F,ML). In 1886, the FTA also undertook the publication as a pamphlet of the speeches of Parkes and G.H. Reid delivered during the second reading debate on Jennings' Customs Duties Bill, and a copy may be found in the NLA.
229. SMH, 17 November 1885, p. 6.
230. SMH, 3 October 1885, p. 10.
231. DT, 8 November 1886, p. 5.

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232. Balmain (DT, 8 November 1886, p. 3); Wollombi (DT, 6 November 1886, p. 5); Bathurst (SMH, 31 January 1887, p. 7); and Armidale (SMH, 31 January 1887, p. 5).
233. DT, 8 November 1886, p. 5.
234. SMH, 10 January 1887, p. 7.
235. SMH, 24 January 1887, p. 7.
236. SMH, 29 January 1887, p. 9.
237. SMH, 27 September 1887, p. 4.
238. SMH, 23 July 1889, p. 5; DT, 23 July 1889, p. 6.
239. The correspondence between Parkes and Wise during 1886 demonstrates that Wise was closely associated with Parkes and "the party". See:- B.R. Wise to Parkes, 5 March 1886. PC, A930, pp. 133-36, ML; Parkes to B.R. Wise, 5 March 1886. B.R. Wise Papers, MSS 1327, vol. 2, pp. 95-97, ML; Parkes to B.R. Wise, 8 November 1886. ibid., pp. 107-109.
240. A.W. Martin presents an alternative view. He claims that a "feeling of distrust" and a "division of purpose" existed between Parkes and the parliamentarians, and the FTA. (The Emergence, p. 22; Political Groupings, p. 278). The result, he and his co-author, P. Loveday, claim, was that "Parkes and his more prominent followers took no part in the deliberations of the [FTA] Council, ...". (PFP, pp. 136-37). This, he further maintains, was deliberate aloofness, for Parkes had been invited to attend the council meeting at which it was decided to undertake the organisation of the election. (The Emergence, p. 22 and fn. 37; Political Groupings, p. 278 and fn. 1; PFP, pp. 136 and 188, n. 60). The evidence used by Martin to conclude that Parkes had been invited to the meeting "to discuss election arrangements" is a letter from council member, G.N. Griffiths, to Parkes, dated 27 January 1887 (PC, vol. 16, A886; pp. 113-14, ML). An alternative interpretation of that letter would suggest that no invitation to the meeting was extended, and that the subject of electoral organisation was not even broached. On 21 January, Griffiths had been appointed to a sub-committee to organise the holding of a free-trade banquet; the sub-committee was to report back to the council at the next meeting, viz. 28 January. (SMH, 24 January 1887, p. 7). It would appear that it was simply in connection with the banquet that Griffiths wrote to Parkes, and the invitation mentioned in the letter seems to refer to the intended invitation to Parkes to attend the banquet. Griffiths's desire to see or hear from Parkes by the following day

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would appear to relate little more than to his obligation to report to the council that evening on the banquet arrangements. The full text of the letter is:-

"The Council of the Free Trade Association contemplate arranging for a Banquet and a meeting is to be held tomorrow night to finally decide. As the desire is to invite you and the other Ministers and to make it [i.e. the banquet] a success by grouping together all those candidates who are coming forward on Free Trade principles I have been asked to confer with you on the matter and to learn your views and wishes as to the time - place etc. and if you are disposed to accept the invitation. I shall be glad to call on you if you can give me an appointment today or tomorrow morning - or if too busy to see me you might advise the Free Trade Council of your sentiments on this matter".

It was, then, scarcely surprising that Parkes did not attend the FTA council meeting on 28 January, and that FTA president, B.R. Wise, occupied the chair. Rather than remaining aloof, it is more likely that Parkes was already aware of what the meeting would decide, and that he was not opposed to the decision, for he and the FTA seem to have worked in harmony together throughout the election. Further, Griffiths's letter would seem to indicate a definite working relationship between Parkes and the FTA, and Parkes's participation, interest and influence in FTA activities was confirmed by further correspondence on the subject of the banquet. (E. Pulsford to Parkes, 21 February 1887. PC, A926, p. 579, ML; see below, p.176 ).

241. For example:- E. Hunt to Parkes, 25 January 1887. PC, vol. 17, A887, p. 174, ML. (Tamworth); J. Walker to Parkes, 2 February 1887. ibid., vol. 41, A911, pp. 255-56. (Monaro); A.W. Thomson and J.M. Howard to Parkes, 24 January 1887. ibid., vol. 17, A887, pp. 175-76. (Yass Plains); R. Davidson to Parkes, 1 February 1887. ibid., vol. 12, A882, pp. 307-08. (Bogan); H.J. Foreman to Parkes, 4 February 1887. ibid., vol. 14, A884, pp. 442-43. (Gloucester); R.C. Close to Parkes, 28 January 1887. ibid., vol. 9, A879, pp. 45-46. (Yass Plains).  
For Parkes's previous use of electoral agents, see A.W. Martin, 'Electoral Manipulation', pp. 108-25.
242. For example:- A.J. Gould to Parkes, 28 January 1887. PC, vol. 15, A885, pp. 116-17, ML; W.R. Cortis to Parkes, 9 February [1887]. ibid., vol. 9, A879, pp. 85-86; A. Cameron to Parkes, 5 January 1887. ibid., pp. 42-44; W. Clarke to Parkes, 3 February 1887. ibid., vol. 8, A878, pp. 116-17.

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243. For example:- R.J. Jervaulx to Parkes, 13 February 1887. ibid., vol. 20, A890, pp. 132-137; J. Henochsbery and J.H. Reynolds to Parkes, 19 February 1887. ibid., vol. 17, A887, pp. 177-78; J.J. Gannon to Parkes, 8 February 1887. ibid., vol. 16, A886, pp. 111-12; W. Affleck to Parkes, 25 January, 6 February 1887. ibid., vol. 1, A871, pp. 385-87 (a), 391-94; F.J. Smith to Parkes, 28 January 1887. ibid., vol. 39, A909, p. 274; F.H. Kennard and A.E. Rose to Parkes, 12 February 1887. ibid., vol. 42, A912, pp. 200-01; J.E. Tonkin to Parkes, 2 February 1887. ibid., vol. 40, A910, p. 362.
244. For example:- G. Tompsitt to Parkes, 6 February 1887. ibid., pp. 81-82; W. Clarke to Parkes, 1, 3 February 1887. ibid., vol. 8, A878, pp. 114-17.
245. For example:- J.T. Lingen to Parkes, 26 January 1887. ibid., vol. 23, A893, p. 124; W. Affleck to Parkes, 22, 25 January 1887. ibid., vol. 1, A871, pp. 376-77, 385-87 (a); E. Pratt to Parkes, 21 January 1887. ibid., vol. 31, A901, pp. 108-11; T.H. West to Parkes, 31 January 1887. ibid., vol. 41, A911, pp. 253-54; D. Fealy to Parkes, 29 January 1887. ibid., vol. 14, A884, pp. 444-45.
246. For example:- A. Campbell to Parkes, 6 February 1887. ibid., vol. 8, A878, pp. 197-98. (Yass Plains); J. Walker to Parkes, 2 February 1887. ibid., vol. 41, A911, pp. 255-56. (Monaro); T.B. Roberts to Parkes, 29 January 1887. ibid., vol. 34, A904, pp. 248-49. (Gunnedah); R. Davidson to Parkes, 1 February 1887. ibid., vol. 12, A882, pp. 307-08. (Bogan).
247. SMH, 1 February 1887, p. 5.
248. J.T. Lingen to Parkes, 26 January 1887. PC, vol. 23, A893, p. 124, ML.
249. J.T. Lingen to Parkes, 31 January 1887. ibid., p. 131.
250. See ch. 5, n. 246.
251. SMH, 8 February 1887, p. 5.
252. G. Munro to Parkes, 31 January 1887. PC, vol. 26, A896, pp. 82-83, ML.
253. SMH, 2 February 1887, p. 5.
254. SMH, 1 February 1887, p. 5.

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255. SMH, 31 January 1887, p. 5.
256. N.B. Downing to Parkes, 9 March 1887. PC, A921, p. 651, ML; SMH, 1 February 1887, p. 5.
257. ibid.
258. See ch. 1, n. 282.
259. SMH , 14 February 1887, p. 4.
260. ibid., see ch. 1, n. 282.
261. SMH, 8 February 1887, p. 5.
262. SMH, 8 February 1887, p. 5; 9 February 1887, p. 7; 11 February 1887, p. 4. J.H. Young, in supporting the candidature of F. Woodward, told the electors of Illawarra that he "appeared before them at the request of the Freetrade Association, ...". (SMH, 18 February 1887, p. 3).
263. SMH, 9 February 1887, p. 7; 11 February 1887, p. 4.
264. On 31 January, the Association reported that it had already had printed "nearly 400,000 leaflets, pamphlets, etc.", and that it anticipated "distributing nearly a million before the elections are all over". (SMH, 31 January 1887, p. 5). By 2 February, the number of pamphlets and leaflets printed had risen to 700,000 (SMH, 3 February 1887, p. 5), and, by 4 February, the number ordered for printing had risen to "close upon 1,000,000". (SMH, 5 February 1887, p. 9).
265. In January 1889, the Herald confirmed that "At the last general election, ... the selection of candidates in the free-trade interest was left entirely in the hands of the Free Trade Association". (SMH, 21 January 1889, p. 8). Wise also stated that "The Free-trade Association is the only body which acts as a central committee in the interests of free trade, ...". (SMH, 5 February 1887, p. 11).
266. SMH, 3 February 1887, p. 5; 5 February 1887, p. 9; 7 February 1887, p. 4; 9 February 1887, p. 7.
267. SMH, 1 February 1887, p. 5.
268. SMH, 3 February 1887, p. 5.
269. N.B. Downing to Parkes, 9 March 1887. PC, A921, p. 651, ML.
270. SMH, 1 February 1887, p. 5.



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271. SMH, 2 February 1887, p. 5.
272. SMH, 3 February 1887, p. 5.
273. SMH, 5 February 1887, p. 9; 8 February 1887, p. 5.
274. SMH, 1 February 1887, p. 5.
275. SMH, 3 February 1887, p. 5.
276. SMH, 5 February 1887, p. 9.
277. SMH, 8 February 1887, p. 5.
278. SMH, 9 February 1887, p. 7.
279. The eleven electorates were Forbes, Molong, South Sydney, Monaro, Albury, Braidwood, Yass Plains, Murrumbidgee, Eden, Young and Murray. (SMH, 31 January 1887, p. 5; 1 February 1887, p. 5; 3 February 1887, p. 5; 8 February 1887, p. 5; 9 February 1887, p. 7; 11 February 1887, p. 4; 15 February 1887, pp. 3, 4).
280. SMH, 14 February 1887, p. 4.
281. SMH, 11 February 1887, p. 4. On 13 February, a telegram was sent by the Association to J.M. Purves, asking him to oppose Smith, but the message did not reach him (SMH, 14 February 1887, p. 4), and the electorate was uncontested by a freetrader.
282. SMH, 29 January 1887, p. 9.
283. SMH, 31 January 1887, p. 5.
284. SMH, 4 February 1887, p. 5.
285. SMH, 5 February 1887, p. 9.
286. SMH, 9 February 1887, p. 8.
287. SMH, 8 February 1887, p. 5.
288. SMH, 9 February 1887, p. 8.
289. SMH, 3 February 1887, p. 5; 5 February 1887, p. 9.
290. SMH, 5 February 1887, p. 9; H. Taylor to Parkes, 7 February 1887. PC, vol. 40, A910, p. 316, ML.
291. Canterbury, Paddington, West Sydney, Central Cumberland, Glebe, Gloucester, Upper Hunter. In a further four electorates, there were more freetrade candidates than available seats, but there were no protectionist candidates to take advantage of the situation (Hawkesbury, Namoi, Nepean, Wollombi).

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292. SMH, 29 January 1887, p. 9; 31 January 1887, p. 7; 1 February 1887, p. 7; J.E. Tonkin to Parkes, 2 February 1887. PC, vol. 40, A910, p. 362, ML.
293. DT, 27 September 1887, p. 5.
294. SMH, 5 February 1887, p. 9.
295. SMH, 8 February 1887, p. 5; 9 February 1887, p. 7.
296. SMH, 10 February 1887, p. 3.
297. SMH, 11 February 1887, p. 3.
298. SMH, 15 February 1887, p. 3.
299. SMH, 5 February 1887, p. 9.
300. SMH, 9 February 1887, p. 7.
301. SMH, 15 March 1887, p. 4.
302. SMH, 5 February 1887, p. 11.
303. ibid.
304. SMH, 15 March 1887, p. 4.
305. B.R. Wise, Reverie, pp. 69-70.
306. SMH, 15 March 1887, p. 4; NSWPD, vol. XXV, p. 718, 13 April 1887 (W. McMillan); SMH, 27 September 1887, p. 4.
307. See, for example:- SMH, 14 February 1887, p. 3 (W. Smith, Albury); 15 February 1887, p. 4 (R.H. Reynolds, Murrumbidgee).
308. Boorowa, Eden, Grafton, Gwydir, Hume, Macleay and Molong.
309. Forbes, Northumberland, Monaro, Molong, Eden, Murray, and Young.
310. Molong and Eden.
311. SMH, 15 March 1887, p. 4.
312. P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PPF, p. 139.
313. In Grafton, the sitting member was so personally popular that it was stated that "The question of free trade or protection will not affect his election in any way". (SMH, 29 January 1887, p. 9). A public meeting in the electorate of Wentworth

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- rejected a proposal that the fiscal views of J.P. Abbott be ascertained before granting him support; Abbott's fiscal views were unimportant in comparison to his power to "show Parliament what the necessities of this district were". (SMH, 7 February 1887, p. 5). In Grenfell, it was reported that "Besides the protectionists, many freetraders are supporting Mr. Vaughn, the local man". (SMH, 10 February 1887, p. 3). See also:- SMH, 24 January 1887, p. 6 (editorial).
314. For example, see:- SMH, 12 February 1887, p. 8 (J.P. Garvan); 14 February 1887, p. 3 (W. Smith); 26 January 1889, p. 7 ('As You Like It').
315. Branches of the FTA were formed at Marrickville, St Peters, Kogarah, Hurstville and Tempe, all in the Canterbury electorate (SMH, 29 January 1887, p. 10; 5 February 1887, p. 9); and in the electorates of Shoalhaven (SMH, 31 January 1887, p. 5), Wollombi (SMH, 5 February 1887, p. 9), Young (SMH, 10 February 1887, p. 3), and South Sydney (SMH, 2 March 1887, p. 9). Local branches whose existence was mentioned during the course of the election campaign were those at Bathurst, Bingara (Gwydir electorate) (see above, pp.173-74), Armidale (SMH, 31 January 1887, p. 5), Forbes and Newcastle (SMH, 28 January 1887, p. 4), and Port Macquarie (SMH, 1 February 1887, p. 7).
316. SMH, 15 March 1887, p. 4.
317. SMH, 13 August 1887, p. 11.
318. SMH, 2 August 1888, p. 5.
319. See below, ch. 7, p. 226; ch. 9, p. 279.
320. SMH, 10 January 1887, p. 7.
321. SMH, 24 January 1887, p. 7.
322. See ch. 5, n. 240; SMH, 2 March 1887, p. 9.
323. SMH, 15 March 1887, p. 4.
324. The six were Wise, McMillan, J.F. Burns, J. Inglis, W. Clarke and A. Kethel. All, bar Wise, were active in the world of commerce, and all, except Wise and Burns, were members of the SCC. (See ch. 2, n. 85; ch. 1, n. 103; Appendices VII and VIII).
325. The five were A.J. Riley, I.E. Ives, J. Sutherland, J.R. Street and C.E. Jeanneret. All, bar Jeanneret, were members of the SCC. A.J. Riley was elected to the FTA council in August 1888. (See ch. 2, n. 85; Appendices VII and VIII).

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326. The nine were F. Abigail, G.H. Reid, H.H. Cooke, S.W. Moore, G. Withers, G. Merriman, A. Wilson, D. O'Connor and V. Parkes. Reid and Abigail had worked with the FTA during the election and, together with Cooke, were also in attendance at the Association's second annual general meeting.
327. G.N. Griffiths to Parkes, 27 January 1887. PC, vol. 16, A886, p. 113, ML.
328. E. Pulsford to Parkes, 21 February 1887. ibid., A926, p. 579, ML.
329. SMH, 15 March 1887, p. 4.
330. E. Pulsford to Parkes, 19 July 1887. PC, vol. 30, A900, p. 384a, ML.
331. DT, 27 September 1887, p. 5; SMH, 27 September 1887, p. 4. The twelve in attendance were J. Inglis, A.J. Riley, J.F. Burns, C.E. Jeanneret, N. Hawken, A. Hutchison, G.H. Reid, F. Abigail, H.H. Cooke, W. Henson, J. Haynes, and R.B. Wilkinson. The first six were the men of commerce; Inglis and Haynes were on the council; Riley and Burns were later elected to the council; and Reid, Cooke, Jeanneret and Abigail had attended the March banquet. (See ch. 2, n. 85; Appendix VII).
332. See above, p. 153.
333. McMillan, Wise, Haynes, Young, Clarke, Inglis, Kethel, J.F. Burns, Riley, Nobbs. (See Appendix VII).
334. DT, 27 September 1887, p. 5.
335. Parkes to B.R. Wise, 30 August 1894. B.R. Wise Papers, MSS 1327, vol. 2, p. 422, ML.
336. B.R. Wise to Parkes, 12 September 1888. PC, vol. 42, A912, pp. 306-07, ML.
337. See above, ch. 3, p. 94 ; below, ch. 7, pp. 224-25.
338. See below, ch. 7, pp. 232-34.
339. See above, ch. 3, p. 95.
340. See below, ch. 8, pp. 242-43.
341. Wise, Haynes and Nobbs. See Appendix I.
342. See Appendix VII.

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1. SMH, 28 February 1887, p. 6.
2. SMH, 1 February 1889, p. 7. See also:- SMH, 24 January 1889, p. 5 (W.J. Watkin); 1 February 1889, p. 4 (W.J. Allen); DT, 25 January 1889, p.3 (Joseph Abbott); 29 January 1889, p. 5 (M. Chapman); 30 January 1889, p. 3 (J. Caro); 1 February 1889, p. 6 (G. Pile); 1 February 1889, p. 9 (G. Anderson); 12 February 1889, p. 5 (J. Kidd).
3. DT, 26 January 1889, p. 11.
4. DT, 29 January 1889, p. 5.
5. SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 9.
6. SMH, 22 February 1889, p. 4.
7. SMH, 19 February 1889, p. 7.
8. SMH, 22 February 1889, p. 4.
9. NSWPD, vol. XLVIII, pp. 4617-18, 16 October 1890.
10. C. Dilke, Problems, vol. I, pp. 283-84.
11. F. Jago Smith to Parkes, 15 December 1888. PC, vol. 39, A909, p. 65, ML.
12. E.W. Turner to Parkes, 4 September 1889. PC, vol. 47, A917, pp. 67-69, ML.
13. See above, ch. 1, p.33.
14. DT, 14 January 1889, p. 4.
15. See above, ch. 1, p.32.
16. Parkes to F. Jago Smith, 17 December 1888. PC, vol. 39, A909, pp. 68-69, ML.
17. See J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, p. 235.
18. NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, p. 1541, 11 January 1889.
19. ibid.
20. Parkes claimed that "no cause can live if it is to be treated as this cause [i.e. freetrade] has been treated in my person". (ibid., p. 1591, 16 January 1889).
21. Parkes to W. McMillan, 23 May 1888. W. McMillan Papers, MSS 1885/2, p. 3, ML.

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22. F. Jago Smith to Parkes, 15 December 1888. PC, vol. 39, A909, p. 64, ML.
23. Henry Parkes, printed circular, 7 March 1889. Parkes Papers - Miscellaneous, vol. IV, A983, [no page numbers], ML.
24. NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, p. 1542, 11 January 1889.
25. H. Parkes, Meeting, 1891, p. 3. Although he expressed this complaint in June 1891, it was specifically related to the years 1887 to 1889. See also:- NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, pp. 1540-41, 11 January 1889.
26. Parkes to W. McMillan, 21 November 1888. W. McMillan Papers, MSS 1885/2, pp. 5-7, ML.
27. Parkes to W. McMillan, 21 February 1889. ibid., pp. 21-22.
28. Parkes to W. McMillan, 21 November 1888. ibid., pp. 6-7.
29. Parkes to W. McMillan, 21 February 1889. ibid., p. 23.
30. SMH, 19 January 1889, p. 12. (Underlining my own).
31. See, for example:- DT, 30 January 1889, p. 6 (G. Day); 5 February 1889, p. 5 (J. Wilkinson); 6 February 1889, p. 6 (T. Jones); 12 February 1889, p. 5 (W.N. Willis); SMH, 31 January 1889, p. 8 (J.W. Bowes); 1 February 1889, p. 5 (W. Alison).
32. SMH, 8 February 1889, p. 5. See also:- DT, 6 February 1889, p. 5; 8 February 1889, p. 5. For Taylor's similar pledges in 1887, see SMH, 4 February 1887, p. 7.
33. SMH, 24 January 1889, p. 5. For Garrard's personal eulogy of Parkes in 1887, see above, ch. 2, p. 45.
34. SMH, 6 February 1889, p. 8. For similar sentiments, see also:- SMH, 23 January 1889, p. 10 (W. McCourt); DT, 29 January 1889, p. 3 (W.H. Paul).
35. SMH, 30 January 1889, p. 10 (R.W. Thompson). For Thompson's 1887 pledge, see SMH, 8 February 1887, p. 5.
36. SMH, 25 January 1889, p. 8 (A.J. Riley).
37. DT, 21 June 1894, p. 6.
38. DT, 30 January 1889, p. 6. For Hawken's similar expressions of opinion in 1887, see SMH, 31 January 1887, p. 6.

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39. DT, 1 February 1889, p. 10.
40. ibid. (J.F. Smith).
41. SMH, 6 February 1889, p. 8 (J.P.T. Caulfield). See also:- DT, 30 January 1889, p. 3.
42. DT, 6 February 1889, p. 5 (J.P.T. Caulfield). A.J. Riley was described in the same terms by his protectionist opponent, W.H. Traill (SMH, 1 February 1889, p. 3).
43. SMH, 2 February 1889, p. 12.
44. The protectionist, Henry Copeland, wrote that, "we, as a party, would be the first to condemn mere 'voting machines', especially if found among our opponents". (AS, 31 December 1889, p. 3).
45. AS, 7 January 1890, p. 7.
46. AS, 3 January 1890, p. 2.
47. AS, 7 January 1890, p. 7.
48. AS, 31 December 1889, p. 3.
49. A.B. Smith, Liberty, p. 402.
50. DT, 14 January 1889, p. 4. The Herald maintained that "There are men who ... would suppress their individuality, and follow wherever they were led. But all are not of that kind; and it is well for the country that it is so". (SMH, 19 December 1889, p. 8).
51. E.W. Turner to Parkes, 4 September 1889. PC, vol. 47, A917, p. 69, ML.
52. See H.V. Evatt, Liberalism in Australia. An Historical Sketch of Australian Politics Down to the Year 1915, Sydney, 1918, p. 49; N.B. Nairn, 'The Mastery', p. 20.
53. NSWPD, vol. XLVIII, p. 4609, 16 October 1890.
54. SMH, 19 December 1889, p. 8.
55. ibid.
56. DT, 14 January 1889, p. 4.

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57. See, for example:- DI, 26 January 1889, p. 10 (Bruce Smith); SMH, 24 January 1889, p. 5 (W. McMillan). In his book, Bruce Smith upheld the standard of party allegiance as laid down by the British liberal, Joseph Cowen: "'I claimed and exercised the liberty of thinking for myself, and voting as my convictions prompted me, on all matters of principle'". (Liberty, pp. 396-97). H.J. Hanham has described the British classical liberals, like John Bright, as having "found it morally repugnant to surrender their freedom of action". (Constitution, p. 226).
58. B.R. Wise, The Commonwealth, p. 67. The freetrade radical, Alfred Allen, supported this view when he stated that it was "unfortunate" that party government "at times demanded men to vote in direct opposition to their best judgment. This should not be, as the principle deprived men of that independence which constituted their manhood". (DI, 28 January 1889, p. 6).
59. ibid.
60. DI, 25 January 1889, p. 6.
61. Quoted in DI, 21 January 1889, p. 5.
62. DI, 14 January 1889, p. 4. The Telegraph went on to single out Tom Slattery who was "supposed to hold the safest seat in the New South Wales Parliament"; it claimed, however, that were Slattery to pledge his unqualified support to George Dibbs, "the seat would soon slip out of his possession". Almost a year later, Henry Copeland made the same claim, declaring that had candidates "announced themselves as blind implicit followers of any man their constituents would have scouted them as 'dummies' - men without the spirit or independent judgment of men, and certainly unworthy of representing the important interests of any cause or constituency". (AS, 31 December 1889, p. 3).
63. SMH, 7 February 1889, p. 8 (J.C. Ryrie).
64. SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 9 (G.E. Cass).
65. SMH, 14 February 1889, p. 8 (T. Rose).
66. For example, in addition to those above, for other protectionists who made similar statements, see:- SMH, 22 January 1889, p. 5 (J.P.T. Caulfield); 24 January 1889, p. 5 (S.H. Hyam and W.J. Watkin); 29 January 1889, p. 4 (W.E. Abbott); 1 February 1889, pp. 3 (D. Davis), 4 (W.J. Allen); 6 February 1889, p. 8 (R. Stevenson and J. McLaughlin); 7 February 1889, p. 8 (W. Brown); DI, 26 January 1889,



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p. 11 (J. Kidd); 1 February 1889, p. 6 (A. Brown); 4 February 1889, p. 5 (W.H. Traill); 6 February 1889, p. 5 (T. Waddell and R.J. Inch).

Numerous freetraders expressed the same sentiments.

For example, see:- SMH, 24 January 1889, p. 5 (W. McMillan); 25 January 1889, p. 8 (Joseph Abbott); 30 January 1889, p. 10 (J. Caro); 31 January 1889, p. 8 (A. Lamb); 1 February 1889, pp. 4 (F.J. Smith), 7 (A. Bowman); 5 February 1889, p. 8 (W.C. a'Beckett); DT, 25 January 1889, pp. 5 (G.H. Reid), 6 (J.C. Ellis and A. Allen); 26 January 1889, p. 10 (Bruce Smith); 28 January 1889, p. 5 (J. Martin); 1 February 1889, pp. 6 (G. Pile), 9 (G. Anderson).

67. SMH, 28 January 1887, p. 4 (F.J. Gibbes); 3 February 1887, p. 6 (M. Chapman).
68. SMH, 4 February 1887, p. 11 (R. McCoy).
69. SMH, 4 February 1887, p. 5 (W. Pritchard).
70. SMH, 3 February 1887, p. 7 (A. Hutchison).
71. In addition to the above, see also:- SMH, 29 January 1887, pp. 9 (W. Stephen and J. Hurley), 10 (F.J. Smith); 31 January 1887, pp. 5-6 (W.C. Wilkinson), 6 (N. Hawken), 7 (R. Stevenson); 1 February 1887, pp. 5 (B.R. Wise), 7 (J. Nobbs); 2 February 1887, pp. 6 (D. O'Connor), 7 (F. Woodward); 3 February 1887, pp. 5 (J.R. Street and A. Kethel), 6 (A. Allen); 4 February 1887, pp. 7 (J.C. Ellis and H. Taylor), 11 (J.H. Carruthers); 5 February 1887, p. 9 (E.J. Ball and W.H. Holborow); 8 February 1887, pp. 3 (W. McCourt), 5 (R.W. Thompson); 9 February 1887, p. 5 (J. Wilshire); 4 February 1887, p. 11 (W.R. Cortis).
72. SMH, 24 January 1889, p. 5.
73. See SMH, 2 February 1887, p. 7 (W.J. Trickett); 4 February 1887, p. 5 (G.H. Reid); 9 February 1887, p. 5 (A. Bowman, F. Farnell and W.L. Davis).
74. Of the freetraders who pledged constant allegiance in 1887 (see n. 71), those who specified Parkes's programme as the basis of their support were W. Stephen, R. Stevenson, A. Kethel, B.R. Wise, A. Allen, J.R. Street, J. Wilshire, J.H. Carruthers, W.R. Cortis, E.J. Ball, W.H. Holborow, W. McCourt and J.C. Ellis.
75. A.B. Smith, Liberal Associations, p. 3.
76. See above, ch. 3, pp. 80-81.

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77. For Parkes's public statement, see NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, pp. 1540-42, 11 January 1889; for his private statements, see his correspondence with W. McMillan and F. Jago Smith between November 1888 and February 1889, as cited in ch. 6, nn. 16, 26, 27.
78. P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PFP, p. 145. Also see above, ch. 2, pp.71-72.
79. Bruce Smith quoted the British radical liberal, Joseph Chamberlain's support of the solidarity concept in Liberty, p. 403. See also, ibid., p. 397.
80. See above, p.186; ch. 6, n. 58.
81. J. Haynes to Parkes, 31 December 1889. PC, vol. 17, A887, p. 355, ML.
82. NSWPD, vol. LI, p. 327, 28 May 1891.
83. ibid., p. 325.
84. J. Haynes to Parkes, 6 June 1891. PC, vol. 18, A888, p. 126, ML.
85. DI, 15 June 1891, p. 3.
86. See above, ch. 2, p. 76.
87. See above, ch. 1, p. 34.
88. See ch. 2, n. 184.
89. See above, ch. 2, p.68; ADB, vol. 4, p. 207.
90. ibid., p. 235.
91. Parkes to T. Garrett, 31 May 1888. PC, vol. 15, A885, p. 150, ML.
92. T. Garrett to Parkes, 31 May 1888. ibid., p. 146.
93. Parkes to T. Garrett, 22 June 1888. ibid., vol. 46, A916, pp. 119-20.
94. Quoted in DI, 21 January 1889, p. 5.
95. In particular, he insisted that "no matter involving new principles and no new departure in practice be decided upon without knowledge of Cabinet or of Premier". Parkes's Diary, 1889, A1017, 8 March 1889, ML.
96. Parkes to J. Martin, 19 February 1894. Letters to Saul Samuel, A55, pp. 239-40, ML.

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97. See also:- Parkes to W. Clarke, 1 January 1892. Parkes Papers, A1007, p. 35a, ML.
98. He told his colleagues of his insistence that "punctual attendance at Executive and Cabinet Councils be observed ...". Parkes's Diary, 1889, A1017, 8 March 1889, ML.
99. Parkes to W. McMillan, 12 August 1890. W. McMillan Papers, MSS 1885/2, pp. 171-72, ML.
100. Parkes to W. McMillan, 17 August 1889. ibid., pp. 77-79.
101. Parkes to W. McMillan, 12 August 1890. ibid., pp. 165-72.
102. See N.B. Nairn, 'The Mastery', pp. 18 and 46, n. 82.
103. See above, ch. 3, pp. 106-07.
104. Parkes's Diary, 1891, A1018, 17 November 1891, ML.
105. See ch. 2, n. 184; above, ch. 2, p.73.
106. None of the surviving evidence even hints at any friction between Parkes and Brunner. In fact, in July 1889, Parkes regarded Brunner as one of his two most trusted colleagues, for he mentions him as his possible successor if he were to retire from the ministry. See:- Parkes to Lord Carrington, 23 July 1889. PC, vol. 46, A916, p. 162, ML.
107. Parkes to W. McMillan, 12 August 1890. W. McMillan Papers, MSS 1885/2, p. 167, ML.
108. Parkes to J.H. Carruthers, 1 April 1891. J.H. Carruthers Papers, MSS 1638, Box 14A, ML.
109. J.H. Carruthers to Parkes, 19 April 1891. PC, vol. 7, A877, p. 477, ML.
110. ibid., pp. 478-79.
111. J.H. Carruthers to Parkes, 30 November 1892. ibid., p. 502. Carruthers indicated his growing moderation by stating that "the rant and cant of the so-called democrats inside and outside of the House is also forcing me to see that the pursuit of even good and valuable reforms may be undertaken so inopportunistically as to injure both the would-be reformer and the institution that he desires to reform". (ibid., pp. 502-03).
112. J.H. Carruthers to Parkes, 26 April 1890. ibid., p. 496.

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113. D. O'Connor to Parkes, 17 June 1889. ibid., vol. 29, A899, p. 68, ML. (underlining my own).
114. A.B. Smith, Liberty, p. 397.
115. In October 1891, Bruce Smith remarked to Parkes that "Probably the relationship between yourself and myself was less flowing, so to speak, than that of any other two Ministers; ...". Bruce Smith to Parkes, 26 October 1891. PC, vol. 37, A907, p. 208, ML.
116. DI, 26 January 1889, p. 10.
117. Bruce Smith to Parkes, 26 October 1891. PC, vol. 37, A907, p. 208, ML.
118. Parkes to Lord Carrington, 31 October 1889. ibid., vol. 46, A916, p. 173, ML. For Smith's 'divergent' views, see:- Bruce Smith to Parkes, 8 April 1891. Autograph Letters of Notable Australians, A69, pp. 389-92, ML.
119. Parkes to Lord Carrington, 31 October 1889. PC, vol. 46, A916, p. 173, ML.
120. Parkes to Lord Carrington, 23 July 1889. ibid., pp. 160-62.
121. Bruce Smith to Parkes, 26 October 1891. ibid., vol. 37, A907, p. 209.
122. Parkes to Lord Carrington, 31 October 1889. ibid., vol. 46, A916, p. 174. The other doctrinaire conservative liberal in the ministry, William McMillan, acknowledged his basic principled agreement with Parkes when he described himself and Parkes as two men "who believe in a safe progress upon old lines". He went on to tell Parkes: "I feel the immense advantage which I enjoyed, in learning from you, by a process of absorption, the essence of many deep political principles which otherwise would have required years of reading and study to imbibe". W. McMillan to Parkes, 7 September 1894. ibid., A925, pp. 842a-842b.
123. Bruce Smith to Parkes, 26 October 1891. ibid., vol. 37, A907, p. 209.
124. Parkes to Lord Carrington, 31 October 1889. ibid., vol. 46, A916, p. 174.
125. P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, 'A Reply', p. 231, fn. 41.
126. SMH, 2 February 1889, p. 12 (J. Creer).
127. A. Deakin, Federal Story, p. 28.

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128. Parkes to Lord Carrington, 31 October 1889. PC, vol. 46, A916, p. 174, ML.
129. In 1888, Parkes's first wife, Clarinda, died; the following year he married Eleanor Dixon, a married woman and his mistress, it would appear, since 1884. It seems that at the time of their marriage she had already borne him three children, and the marriage yielded another two. A.W. Martin points out that their formal union was bitterly opposed by the children of Parkes's first marriage, and that the second Lady Parkes was rejected by polite Sydney society. See:- A.W. Martin, 'Henry Parkes', Six Great Australians, third series, Melbourne, 1965, p. 21. I am particularly grateful to N.B. Nairn, who supplied much of this information on Parkes's private life.
130. N.B. Nairn, 'A Note', p. 94.
131. Parkes to J. Martin, 19 February 1894. Letters to Saul Samuel, A55, p. 240, ML.
132. Parkes to W. Clarke, 1 January 1892. Parkes Papers, A1007, p. 35a, ML.
133. See above, ch. 3, p. 104.
134. See N.B. Nairn, 'A Note', p. 95.
135. A. Deakin, Federal Story, p. 27.
136. Parkes to Bruce Smith, 19 February 1891. Autograph Letters to Sir Henry Parkes, A63, pp. 228-29, ML.
137. ibid., p. 230.
138. ibid., pp. 229-30; Parkes to W. McMillan, 19 February 1891. W. McMillan Papers, MSS 1885/2, pp. 237-38, ML.
139. ibid., p. 239.
140. Bruce Smith to Parkes, 19 February 1891. PC, vol. 37, A907, pp. 242-43, ML.
141. Parkes to Bruce Smith, 19 August 1891. Autograph Letters to Sir Henry Parkes, A63, pp. 224-27, ML.
142. A. Deakin, Federal Story, p. 28.
143. ibid., p. 40.
144. W. McMillan to Parkes, 13 May 1891. PC, A925, pp. 826-27, ML. Despite his independence of mind, Carruthers also instinctively turned to his "revered chief" in times of stress. See:- J.H. Carruthers to Parkes, 6 October 1889. Parkes Papers, A1023, [no page numbers], ML.

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145. Bruce Smith to Parkes, 26 October 1891. PC, vol. 37, A907, pp. 209-10, ML.
146. See above, ch. 3, pp. 106-07.
147. The doctrinaire refusal to blindly obey the dictates of a party leader was expressed by the high-priest of traditional liberalism, John Bright, in 1888. He wrote: "You evidently think parties are everything, and that to keep the Liberal party together it is necessary to follow your leader . . . . Are you willing to go on blind-fold-happy to follow and in total ignorance as to where you are going? . . . I must follow my own judgment and conscience, and not the voice of any party leader". (J. Bright to an unnamed correspondent, 13 February 1888, in H.J. Hanham (ed.), Constitution, p. 236).
148. DT, 2 February 1889, p. 6 (J. Creer).
149. SMH, 22 February 1889, p. 4. The Maitland Mercury expressed the same view when it commented that "it is desirable . . . that politicians should learn the discipline of party obligation". (Quoted in SMH, 20 February 1889, p. 8).
150. F. Jago Smith to Parkes, 15 December 1888. PC, vol. 39, A909, p. 64, ML.
151. Parkes to F. Jago Smith, 17 December 1888. ibid., pp. 66-67.
152. NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, pp. 1590-91, 16 January 1889.
153. EN, 30 May 1888, p. 5.
154. ibid.
155. AS, 31 December 1889, p. 3.
156. AS, 14 December 1889, p. 3.
157. ibid.
158. D. O'Connor to Parkes, 3 December 1889. PC, A926, pp. 125-27, ML.
159. AS, 14 December 1889, p. 3.
160. ibid.
161. AS, 23 December 1889, p. 3; 3 January 1890, p. 8.
162. AS, 13 December 1889, p. 5. The nine were:- J.P. Abbott, W.E. Abbott, E.B.L. Dickens, J.A. Mackinnon, T. Ewing, J.S. Perry, C.A. Goodchap, W.W. Davis, and A. Ross.

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163. ibid. Named as members of the 'Cocktail Party' were J.P. Abbott, W.E. Abbott, T. Ewing, J.S. Perry and E.B.L. Dickens. Future events showed that W.W. Davis should have been included as a member of the rebel party, that Mackinnon and Goodchap were not deliberate absentees, and that Ross generally supported Dibbs after much hesitancy.
164. AS, 23 December 1889, p. 3.
165. AS, 7 January 1890, p. 7.
166. AS, 31 December 1889, p. 4; 23 December 1889, p. 4; 3 January 1890, pp. 2, 8.
167. AS, 31 December 1889, p. 3.
168. AS, 3 January 1890, p. 2.
169. AS, 31 December 1889, p. 3.
170. ibid.
171. Loveday and Martin argue that the FTLA, created in May 1889 by the amalgamation of the LPA and FTA, possessed "party rules which required all members [ both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary ] to pledge themselves to the platform". (PFP, p. 148). It would appear, however, that the same doctrinaire conflict over the virtue of a 'pledge' that divided the protectionists, was also present among the free-traders; it would further appear that those who opposed a 'pledge' were victorious. Shortly after the formation of the LPA, a committee of three, including the freetrade radicals, R.W. Thompson and F.J. Smith, was appointed to prepare a set of draft rules for the management of the LPA. Contained in the committee's submission was the rule that "any Elector of the Colony signing the declaration of membership and pledging himself to the platform of the Association ... shall be eligible for admission, ...". ('Draft Rules for the management of the Liberal Party of New South Wales', PC, vol. 23, A893, p. 17, ML; SMH, 28 March 1889, p. 5). The constitution of the integrated FTLA, however, contained no specific reference to a 'pledge'. In it the radical notion of a binding pledge was replaced by the less stringent rule that "Every person becoming a Member of the Association thereby undertakes ..., generally, to support its policy". (Constitution and Rules of the Free Trade and Liberal Association of New South Wales, Sydney, 1889, p. 4, ML).

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172. J.D.B. Miller, 'Party Discipline in Australia (1)', Political Science (Wellington), vol. 5, no. 1 (March 1953), p. 7. (Hereafter:- 'Party Discipline'). N.B. Nairn correctly points out that "the [fiscal] 'parties' had no serious system of pledging ... selected candidates and no formula at all for parliamentarians". (Civilising, p. 67).
173. AS, 3 January 1890, p. 2.
174. AS, 13 December 1889, p. 4.
175. M. Duverger, Parties, p. 18.
176. ibid., pp. 18-19. The American use of the term was, according to Duverger, the same as the British (ibid., pp. 18-19, 187-88, 210). The nineteenth-century American writer, L.L. Jennings, however, described the operation of the 'caucus' in the United States in the same terms as it came to be employed in Australia. (L.L. Jennings, Republican Government, London, 1868, p. 263, quoted in A.B. Smith, Liberty, p. 400).
177. H.J. Hanham (ed.), Constitution, p. 227; I. Jennings Party Politics, vol. II, pp. 135-36.
178. H.J. Hanham (ed.), Constitution, p. 227; R.T. McKenzie, British Political Parties. The Distribution of Power Within the Conservative and Labour Parties, second ed., London, 1963, p. 8. (Hereafter:- British Parties).
179. I. Jennings, Party Politics, vol. II, p. 134.
180. R.T. McKenzie, British Parties, p. 8; M. Duverger, Parties, p. 188; M. Ostrogorski, Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties, vol. I, London, 1902, p. 580. (Hereafter:- Democracy).
181. M. Duverger, Parties, p. 188.
182. R.T. McKenzie, British Parties, p. 8.
183. M. Duverger, Parties, p. 169.
184. H.J. Hanham (ed.), Constitution, p. 228.
185. M. Duverger, Parties, p. 189.
186. M. Ostrogorski, Democracy, vol. I, p. 603.
187. K.R. Mackenzie, The English Parliament, rev. ed., Harmondsworth, 1965, p. 115. (Hereafter:- Parliament).
188. M. Duverger, Parties, p. 189.



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189. K.R. Mackenzie, Parliament, p. 115.
190. M. Ostrogorski, Democracy, vol. I, p. 580; H.J. Hanham (ed.), Constitution, p. 228.
191. R.T. McKenzie, British Parties, p. 9. After 1890, the 'caucus' declined in influence as the parliamentary leaders re-asserted their control over the Liberal organisations outside parliament. (M. Duverger, Parties, p. 189).
192. P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PFP, p. 53.
193. Loveday and Martin record only forty such meetings between 1856 and 1887. (ibid.). W.E. Abbott entered the Assembly in February 1889; almost a year later, he wrote: "I have only received one notice to attend any caucus meeting of the Opposition, either by circular or word of mouth, ...". (AS, 14 December 1889, p. 3).
194. P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PFP, p. 53.
195. ibid., p. 54.
196. In 1881, Alfred Deakin "was being attacked for voting against the decision of the party caucus and caucus decisions were openly discussed in the Assembly". (J.D.B. Miller, 'Party Discipline', p. 6).
197. See below, ch. 9, pp. 302-03.
198. AS, 31 December 1889, p. 3.
199. A.B. Smith, Liberty, pp. 408-09.
200. ibid., p. 402.
201. In a letter to the Ballina Protection Society, Dibbs stated that T. Ewing and J.S. Perry "had done wrong, but that they were worth another trial". (AS, 27 January 1890, p. 6).
202. NSWPD, vol. XLVIII, p. 4553, 15 October 1890.
203. ibid., p. 4609, 16 October 1890 (O.O. Dangar).
204. SMH, 18 October 1890, p. 9.  
 Parkes, too, appears to have made some use of the parliamentary caucus as a means of establishing party solidarity, although not in the formality of inflicting party expulsion. Following the bare survival of the ministry on a motion of censure in May 1891 (NSWPD, vol. LI, p. 327, 28 May 1891), Parkes was granted a dissolution of parliament to allow for an election (DT, 3 June 1891, p. 5).

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On 3 June, a "caucus of Ministerial supporters" was held and attended by fifty-one freetrade MsLA. (DT, 4 June 1891, p. 5). One of those in attendance was the radical freetrader, John Haynes, who had voted against the ministry on the censure motion. Haynes was thereupon expelled from the meeting. Parkes himself supplied the details: "Mr Haynes was sitting in the room when I entered. I asked him whether he had received an invitation to attend the meeting. He replied in the negative. 'Then', I said, 'I must request you to leave. This meeting was not intended to include any of the gentlemen who voted against us on Thursday night'". (ibid.)

205. SMH, 18 October 1890, p. 9.
206. Dangar referred to the numerous occasions on which members of the 'Cocktail Party' (particularly J.P. Abbott, T. Ewing and W.E. Abbott), and another prominent protectionist, T. Waddell, had "incurred the odium of the Opposition". (NSWPD, vol. XLVIII, p. 4616, 16 October 1890).
207. ibid.
208. Referring to the caucus disciplinarians, Dangar asked "why had they not the courage to 'run out'" or expel such prominent protectionist rebels as J.P. Abbott, T. Ewing or Waddell. He answered his own question by stating that those "who have said that they are prepared to do to others what they have done to myself, dare not do it". He explained his expulsion by stating that "They thought that I was such a weak, unobtrusive individual" that they could proceed without any risk of causing party dissension. (ibid., pp. 4616-17).
209. SMH, 18 October 1890, p. 9.
210. They were J.P. Abbott, J. Fletcher, J.P. Garvan, J. See, J. McFarlane, W.J. Lyne, T. Ewing, J.S. Perry, T. Waddell, R. Stevenson, J. Gormly, R. Barbour, W.C. Wall, A. Stokes, W. Edmunds, J. Creer, T. Dalton, T.H. Hassall, G. Cruickshank, J. Kidd, G.E. Cass, A Lakeman, A. Brown, C.A. Goodchap, W.H. Traill, M. McRae, J. Torpy, A. Ryrie. (NSWPD, vol. XLVIII, pp. 4612-13, 16 October 1890).  
The only surprises in this list are the radicals Creer, Traill, Barbour, Stevenson and Gormly.

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211. The ten were G.R. Dibbs, H. Copeland, H. Clarke, J. Hayes, J.M. Toohey, W.N. Willis, W.P. Crick, W.F. Schey, T. Walker and E.W. O'Sullivan. (ibid., pp. 4612-13, 4617, 4621). The six radicals were Hayes, Willis, Crick, Schey, Walker and O'Sullivan. The most surprising name in the list is that of Henry Copeland whose staunch defence of independence in December 1889 provoked angry radical retorts. In listing those who did not attend the caucus, Dangar confidently named Copeland, only to be pointedly corrected:  
 "Mr. O.O. Dangar: Was Mr Copeland present?  
 Mr Copeland: I moved the resolution myself!"  
 (ibid., p. 4612)  
 Dangar then aptly commented that Copeland's "conscience must have been given over to another, when he did that contemptible little thing". (ibid.). As previously indicated (see ch. 4, n. 189), however, Copeland seemed to range back and forth between the democrats and the traditional conservatives, and this feature of his career may explain his inconsistency in this instance. J.M. Toohey, the Sydney brewer, held progressive views on direct taxation, but was too closely tied to the CM to be unreservedly classified as a radical.
212. SMH, 18 October 1890, p. 9; NSWPD, vol. XLVIII, p. 4617, 16 October 1890 (O.O. Dangar).
213. SMH, 18 October 1890, p. 9.
214. By then, the well-known rebels were J.P. Abbott, W.E. Abbott, W.W. Davis, Ewing, Perry, Waddell and Dickens.
215. SMH, 18 October 1890, p. 9.
216. SMH, 5 June 1891, p. 5. Other members included Dibbs, Copeland, Toohey and O'Sullivan.
217. DT, 1 June 1891, p. 5.
218. DT, 26 June 1894, p. 6.
219. DT, 1 June 1891, p. 5; 5 July 1894, p. 5.
220. DT, 1 June 1891, p. 5.
221. NSWPD, vol. LI, p. 327, 28 May 1891.
222. DT, 1 June 1891, p. 5.
223. ibid.
224. They were J.S. Perry, T. Ewing, B.B. Nicoll, O.O. Dangar and W.W. Davis.

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225. ibid.
226. H. Parkes, Meeting, 1891, p. 8.
227. ibid.
228. DT, 1 June 1891, p. 5.
229. J.A. Ryan points out the significance of Dangar's reference to his constituency: "It was a belief in the sturdy independence of the locally elected representative to represent his electors untrammelled by party allegiance, that characterized the liberalism of many colonial politicians, ...". (B.R. Wise, p. 74). See, for example:- E.W. Turner to Parkes, 4 September 1889. PC, vol. 47, A917, pp. 67-69, ML.
230. NSWPD, vol. XLVIII, p. 4617, 16 October 1890.

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1. B.E. Mansfield, 'Party Organization in the New South Wales Elections of February, 1889', JRAHS, vol. 41, pt 2 (September 1955), p. 71. (Hereafter:- 'Party Organization').
2. A.W. Martin, 'McMillan', p. 208.
3. See below, ch. 9.
4. Archibald Forsyth explained the principle: "It must, on consideration, be evident that in a constituency, say, returning four members, if the protectionists run six candidates, and the freetraders four, the latter must win even if they have a smaller number of voters". (SMH, 21 January 1889, p. 8). The presence in an electorate of a greater number of party candidates than available seats is termed 'vote-splitting'.
5. SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 7. The article went on to remark on the similarity between the operation of the system in the colony and its operation "at home" in Britain. See also:- B.E. Mansfield, 'Party Organization', p. 61.
6. See:- J.D.B. Miller, 'Party Discipline', p. 7; below, ch. 9, pp. 302-04.
7. See above, ch. 2, pp. 71-72.
8. SMH, 18 January 1889, p. 5; DT, 18 January 1889, p. 5.
9. DT, 18 January 1889, p. 5; 19 January 1889, p. 5.
10. SMH, 18 January 1889, p. 3 (advertisement).
11. DT, 19 January 1889, p. 5; SMH, 19 January 1889, p. 11. See also:- B.E. Mansfield, 'Party Organization', pp. 62-63; B.E. Mansfield, Democrat, p. 98; P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PFP, p. 145; N.B. Nairn, 'The Mastery', pp. 35-37.
12. See above, ch. 5, p. 160.
13. See above, ch. 5, p. 156.
14. NPA Conference, p. 78. Some time after the election, it was pointed out that the wealthy manufacturers "had provided all the sinews of war for carrying on the contest". (SMH, 29 April 1890, p. 5).
15. DT, 19 January 1889, p. 5.
16. It had been resolved to enlarge the committee to 500 members (ibid.), and, by 21 January, its membership had grown to over 300 (DT, 22 January 1889, p. 5; SMH, 22 January 1889, p. 4).

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17. DT, 22 January 1889, p. 5.
18. DT, 19 January 1889, p. 5; 21 January 1889, p. 5; 22 January 1889, p. 5; 23 January 1889, p. 5; SMH, 31 January 1889, p. 10. See ch. 5, n. 57. A.W. Gilles was a manufacturer and member of the CM. ('National Club, List of Members', in NPA Conference, pp. 232-38; C.R. Hall, Manufacturers, pp. 22-24).
19. SMH, 31 January 1889, p. 10.
20. SMH, 18 January 1889, p. 3.
21. DT, 21 January 1889, p. 5.
22. DT, 22, 23, 24 January 1889, pp. 5.
23. SMH, 25 January 1889, p. 4; 31 January 1889, p. 10; 2 February 1889, p. 4; 26 February 1889, p. 3; DT, 23 January 1889, p. 5. Another similar title was "National Protection Committee". (SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 4). See also:- N.B. Nairn, 'The Mastery', p. 51, n. 189.
24. If Forsyth's intention in changing the name of the PU was to reduce radical hostility, his choice of the new name was shrewd, for in 1886 and 1887 the title 'NPA' was associated with radical-initiated organisations. See above, ch. 5, pp. 150, 160-61.
25. SMH, 25 January 1889, p. 4. The three new secretaries were T.S. Parrott, C.B. Lowe and D. Graham. See also:- DT, 25 January 1889, p. 5. T.S. Parrott was an engineer by profession, and was probably a member of the CM. ('National Club, List of Members', in NPA Conference, pp. 232-38).
26. SMH, 18 January 1889, p. 3 (advertisement).
27. SMH, 21 January 1889, p. 8.
28. SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 4.
29. ibid. The total absence in 1889 of any attempt to discipline protectionist MsLA by depriving them of endorsement was demonstrated by the rule which stated that "the late Protectionist members of the Assembly have a prior claim on their own electorates as the Candidates of the party". (ibid.).
30. SMH, 18 January 1889, p. 3.
31. DT, 24 January 1889, p. 5.

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32. DT, 25 January 1889, p. 5. The final number of electorates in which local protectionist organisations made selections of candidates was only twenty-four out of seventy-four. They were:- Orange (SMH, 19 January 1889, p. 5); Bathurst (AS, 19 January 1889); Balmain (DT, 21 January 1889, p. 5); Mudgee (DT, 21 January 1889, p. 5); New England (SMH, 22 January 1889, p. 5); Patrick's Plains (DT, 23 January 1889, p. 6); Namoi (SMH, 23 January 1889, p. 10); Gundagai (DT, 23 January 1889, p. 5; 26 January 1889, p. 11; SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 9); Canterbury (SMH, 23 January 1889, pp. 3, 10; DT, 23 January 1889, p. 5); Goulburn (SMH, 22 January 1889, p. 5); Hastings and Manning (DT, 26 January 1889, pp. 9, 11); Inverell (SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 9); Murrumbidgee (DT, 23 January 1889, p. 5); Newtown (DT, 24 January 1889, p. 5); Paddington (DT, 24 January 1889, p. 5); Redfern (SMH, 23 January 1889, p. 9); St Leonards (DT, 23 January 1889, p. 5); Bourke (SMH, 30 January 1889, p. 10; 1 February 1889, p. 5; EN, 12 February 1889, p. 7); Young (SMH, 29 January 1889, p. 4; 1 February 1889, p. 7; 28 January 1889, p. 9; DT, 29 January 1889, p. 3; 1 February 1889, p. 6); Carcoar (DT, 25 January 1889, p. 3); Glen Innes (SMH, 9 February 1889, p. 9); Hawkesbury (SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 9; 29 January 1889, p. 5; 8 February 1889, p. 6; DT, 26 January 1889, p. 11); Central Cumberland (DT, 26 January 1889, p. 11); West Maitland (DT, 4 February 1889, p. 7; SMH, 2 February 1889, p. 12). For the name and location of, and the number of members returned by, each electorate during the 1889 general election, see Appendix VI.
33. On 24 January, for example, a meeting of the central committee stated that it was "dissatisfied with the progress made by the executive in the selection of candidates, and [it] passed a resolution urging them to increased activity". (SMH, 25 January 1889, p. 7).
34. The eight were Orange, Balmain, Mudgee, Bathurst, New England, Patrick's Plains, Namoi and Gundagai. Although the Goulburn Protection Union officially chose a Sydney protectionist, J. Osborne, on 21 January (SMH, 22 January 1889, p. 5), notification of his consent to contest the electorate was not received until 23 January, after the executive had compiled its first list. (DT, 24 January 1889, p. 6). The main reason for the failure of local leagues to act quickly was the fact that the election was unexpected, and at the time most of the local leagues were moribund. As the Telegraph pointed out, "Organisations which have lain dormant during the past two years are throughout the country being rapidly resuscitated and again brought into use; ...". (DT, 22 January 1889, p. 5).

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35. DT, 23 January 1889, p. 5; SMH, 23 January 1889, p. 9.
36. SMH, 23 January 1889, p. 10.
37. DT, 23 January 1889, p. 5; SMH, 28 January 1889, p. 9.
38. SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 9.
39. DT, 23 January 1889, p. 5.
40. ibid.
41. SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 9. The vote was thirty for Benson to thirteen for Barnes.
42. ibid. One correspondent to the Telegraph pointed to the bitter "local rivalry between Mr Barnes, of Cootamundra, and Mr Benson, of Gundagi". (DT, 2 February 1889, p. 5).
43. Bourke returned two members in 1887; for the 1889 election its representation was increased to three.
44. DT, 23 January 1889, p. 5.
45. SMH, 1 February 1889, p. 5.
46. SMH, 23 January 1889, p. 10.
47. SMH, 22 January 1889, p. 5.
48. SMH, 30 January 1889, p. 10.
49. EN, 12 February 1889, p. 7.
50. Further lists or endorsement information in executive or electorate reports appeared in the following:-  
SMH, 24 January 1889, p. 5; 25 January 1889, p. 7; 26 January 1889, p. 7; DT, 26 January 1889, p. 11; SMH, 28 January 1889, p. 7; DT, 28 January 1889, p. 5; SMH, 29 January 1889, pp. 3, 4; 30 January 1889, p. 9; DT, 31 January 1889, pp. 5, 6; SMH, 1 February 1889, p. 5; DT, 1 February 1889, pp. 5, 6, 9; 2 February 1889, p. 5; SMH, 5 February 1889, p. 7; DT, 5 February 1889, p. 5; SMH, 6 February 1889, p. 7; DT, 7 February 1889, p. 5; SMH, 7 February 1889, p. 7; 8 February 1889, p. 5; 9 February 1889, p. 9.
51. NPA central endorsements were either listed or positively announced for forty-eight electorates: Argyle, Balmain, Bathurst, Balranald, Bogan, Boorowa, Bourke, Carcoar, Clarence, East Macquarie, East Sydney, Eden, Forbes, Glebe, Gloucester, Grenfell, Gundagai,



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Hartley, Hawkesbury, Hume, Hunter, Illawarra, Macleay, Monaro, Morpeth, Mudgee, Murray, Namoi, New England, Northumberland, Orange, Parramatta, Patrick's Plains, Queanbeyan, Richmond, Shoalhaven, South Sydney, Sturt, Tenterfield, Tumut, Upper Hunter, Wellington, West Maitland, Wilcannia, Wollombi, Yass Plains, Young, West Sydney.

In six other electorates NPA endorsement was either claimed or very strongly implied: Braidwood (SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 7; 29 January 1889, p. 4); Glen Innes (SMH, 9 February 1889, p. 9; 12 February 1889, p. 7); Kiama (SMH, 28 January 1889, p. 7; DT, 5 February 1889, p. 6); Albury (SMH, 31 January 1889, p. 7); Redfern (DT, 1 February 1889, p. 5); and Wentworth where J.P. Abbott was elected unopposed, presumably still carrying the NPA endorsement given to him for his unsuccessful challenge to freetrade supremacy in East Sydney.

In accordance with the NPA selection rule that the selections of local leagues "be accepted as the Candidates of the party" (SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 4), it must be assumed that in electorates in which the NPA made no moves to intervene at all the candidates selected by local associations were regarded as official party candidates, despite the lack of any NPA confirmation. There were nine such electorates: Canterbury, Central Cumberland, Goulburn, Hastings and Manning, Inverell, Murrumbidgee, Newtown, Paddington, and St Leonards.

The eleven electorates in which there was no form of endorsement whatever were: Camden, Durham, East Maitland, Grafton, Gunnedah, Gwydir, Molong, Nepean, Tamworth, West Macquarie and Newcastle.

In several of the electorates for which no endorsement was made, the executive certainly displayed signs of weakness and uncertainty, and an unwillingness to make a definite choice. In Camden, for instance, it was announced on 1 February that the executive was "still undecided as to their candidates" (SMH, 1 February 1889, p. 7) and, despite a subsequent announcement that they hoped "to complete their list for that electorate this morning" (SMH, 2 February 1889, p. 11), no endorsements were ever forthcoming. A similar weakness was evident in the electorates of Durham, Newcastle and West Macquarie, and in East Maitland, they allowed the sitting freetrader to be re-elected unopposed. In electorates where there was either no superfluity of protectionist candidates, or no freetrade opposition offering, their inaction was more excusable (Gwydir, Molong, Grafton, Gunnedah, Tamworth, Nepean).

52. SMH, 24 January 1889, p. 5.
53. DT, 25 January 1889, p. 3.
54. DT, 1 February 1889, p. 5.

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55. DT, 4 February 1889, p. 7.
56. ibid.; SMH, 2 February 1889, p. 12.  
The vote was 49 for Pritchard to 41 for Wallace.
57. SMH, 9 February 1889, p. 9.
58. DT, 19 January 1889, p. 5.
59. SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 9.
60. SMH, 28 January 1889, p. 9.
61. SMH, 29 January 1889, p. 4.
62. ibid.; DT, 23 January 1889, p. 6.
63. DT, 29 January 1889, p. 3.
64. A.W. Martin and P. Wardle, Notes, pp. 87-88.
65. B.E. Mansfield, 'Party Organization', p. 66.
66. DT, 23 January 1889, p. 6; SMH, 29 January 1889, pp. 4, 5.
67. SMH, 28 January 1889, p. 9. Despite the lateness of its appearance in the Sydney press, the report of the Harden league's selection was despatched from Harden on 26 January, thus indicating that the selection meeting was held on 24 or 25 January.
68. SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 7.
69. SMH, 29 January 1889, p. 4 (Marengo); DT, 23 January 1889, p. 6; 29 January 1889, p. 3; SMH, 29 January 1889, p. 4 (Murrumburrah); DT, 29 January 1889, p. 3 (Cootamundra).
70. DT, 1 February 1889, p. 6; SMH, 1 February 1889, p. 7.
71. SMH, 31 January 1889, p. 8.
72. SMH, 5 February 1889, p. 8.
73. DT, 23 January 1889, p. 5.
74. See ch. 7, n. 32.
75. DT, 19 January 1889, p. 5 (Orange).
76. DT, 24 January 1889, p. 6.
77. DT, 28 January 1889, p. 5; 29 January 1889, p. 3.

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78. DT, 29 January 1889, p. 3.
79. SMH, 29 January 1889, p. 3; 31 January 1889, p. 8; DT, 1 February 1889, p. 6.
80. See above, p. 215.
81. DT, 6 February 1889, p. 6.
82. DT, 7 February 1889, p. 5.
83. ibid.
84. SMH, 8 February 1889, p. 6.
85. SMH, 8 February 1889, p. 5.
86. SMH, 30 January 1889, p. 9.
87. DT, 28 January 1889, p. 5; SMH, 30 January 1889, p. 9.
88. DT, 29 January 1889, p. 3; SMH, 30 January 1889, p. 9.
89. DT, 31 January 1889, p. 5. The same procedure also took place in Carcoar. Yet a further case occurred in Hawkesbury where, after much uncertain local organisation, the NPA finally endorsed a local protectionist, G.S. Yeo (DT, 7 February 1889, p. 5; SMH, 7 February 1889, p. 7), only to alter its choice the following day (SMH, 8 February 1889, p. 8) after Yeo had retired in favour of Thomas Rose, already defeated at Argyle but anxious to try again. (DT, 9 February 1889, p. 6).
90. In the city and suburban electorates, NPA activity was more assured. In West Sydney, two of the executive's initial 'bunch' of four endorsees (SMH, 23 January 1889, p. 9) retired unexpectedly (SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 7), but the executive quickly and efficiently took the initiative to plug the gaps. (DT, 31 January 1889, p. 5). Only in the freetrade citadel of East Sydney did the NPA exhibit uncertainty and failure. The NPA made an early announcement of two endorsements for the four-member electorate (SMH, 23 January 1889, p. 9), and two days later added a third, a Dr Cox, also stating that "the fourth candidate" would be selected on the following day. (SMH, 25 January 1889, p. 7). Not only was a fourth candidate never selected, but Dr Cox retired from the contest (SMH, 29 January 1889, p. 3) and no man was ever chosen to take his place.
91. SMH, 24 January 1889, p. 5.

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92. For example:- East Macquarie (Flood and Hughes retired in favour of F.B. Suttor); Glebe (Davison for Conlon); Gloucester (Readett for R.A. Price); Grenfell (Whelan for Vaughn); Kiama (Cameron for Roseby. DT, 5 February 1889, p. 6). Only candidates who retired specifically in favour of the endorsed candidate have been included in this list. The list is not exhaustive.
93. See above, p. 214. Similar compromises were worked out in West Maitland and Carcoar.
94. SMH, 9 February 1889, p. 9.
95. SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 7.
96. DT, 26 January 1889, p. 11.
97. ibid.
98. SMH, 26 August 1889, p. 4.
99. See above, p. 215.
100. SMH, 1 February 1889, p. 5.
101. DT, 1 February 1889, p. 6.
102. DT, 5 February 1889, p. 5; SMH, 9 February 1889, p. 9.
103. DT, 13 February 1889, p. 5.
104. See above, p. 216.
105. SMH, 31 January 1889, p. 7; DT, 31 January 1889, p. 5. Mackinnon's endorsement was later confirmed (SMH, 5 February 1889, p. 7), and he and Gough were described as the "candidates supported by the National Protectionist party". (SMH, 8 February 1889, p. 5; 9 February 1889, p. 9).
106. SMH, 2 February 1889, p. 12.
107. SMH, 5 February 1889, p. 8.
108. SMH, 2 February 1889, p. 12.
109. SMH, 20 February 1889, p. 8.
110. DT, 6 February 1889, p. 6.
111. SMH, 5 February 1889, p. 7; 20 February 1889, p. 8; DT, 6 February 1889, p. 6.
112. See above, pp. 214-15.

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113. See above, pp. 215-16.
114. DT, 30 January 1889, p. 3.
115. DT, 29 January 1889, p. 3; 2 February 1889, pp. 5, 6; SMH, 5 February 1889, p. 8.
116. DT, 5 February 1889, p. 5. For a discussion of McLaughlin's motives in agreeing to contest Gundagai, see B.E. Mansfield, 'Party Organization', pp. 67-68.
117. NSWPD, vol. XXXVII, p. 173, 5 March 1889.
118. SMH, 9 February 1889, p. 9.
119. SMH, 12 February 1889, p. 7.
120. SMH, 28 January 1889, p. 8.
121. SMH, 31 January 1889, p. 7.
122. DT, 2 February 1889, p. 5.
123. ibid.
124. DT, 2 February 1889, p. 6; 4 February 1889, p. 7; SMH, 4 February 1889, p. 5.
125. SMH, 28 January 1889, p. 8 (New England); SMH, 31 January 1889, p. 7 (Albury); DT, 4 February 1889, p. 7 (Hartley). For local hostility towards intervention from Sydney, see G. Wills, 'The Fiscal Issue and the General Elections of 1889 in New England', Armidale and District Historical Society, Journal and Proceedings, vol. 2, no. 1 (October 1961), p. 26.
126. SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 7.
127. ibid. In its Manifesto to the electors of New South Wales, first published on 31 January, the NPA stated that intransigent unendorsed candidates "are traitors to the cause they profess, and deserve to be excluded from the National Party in future elections". (SMH, 31 January 1889, p. 10; Bulletin, 2 February 1889, supplement).
128. DT, 2 February 1889, p. 5; SMH, 5 February 1889, p. 8.
129. The most obvious benefit was financial assistance, but this appears to have been almost entirely lacking, although there is some evidence to suggest that it was supplied in one or two cases. The report of the nomination proceedings in South Sydney stated that, at their commencement, Archibald Forsyth, chairman

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of the NPA executive, "came forward and tendered £160, made up in four parcels, each of £40, which he said were [the deposits] for Messrs Toohey, Traill, Wright, and Edmunds". (SMH, 1 February 1889, p. 3; DI, 1 February 1889, p. 5). In Hartley, the intransigent unendorsed protectionist, R.J. Inch, hit out at the NPA, stating that "his £40 [deposit money] was as good as any of theirs", thus implying the provision of financial assistance. (DI, 13 February 1889, p. 5). The election reports, however, contain no further reference to NPA financial assistance.

130. SMH, 7 February 1889, p. 7.
131. SMH, 9 February 1889, p. 9.
132. The protectionist MsLA, Dibbs, Lyne, Fletcher, Chanter, Creer, Grahame, J.P. Abbott, Melville, O'Sullivan, Brown, Walker, Howe, Toohey and Hassall visited the electorates of Carcoar, Central Cumberland, Nepean, Hartley, Patrick's Plains, Morpeth, Illawarra, Kiama, Hawkesbury, Forbes, Bogan, Tenterfield, Glen Innes and East Macquarie in support of endorsed protectionist candidates. (SMH, 7 February 1889, p. 7; 8 February 1889, p. 6; 9 February 1889, p. 9; 11 February 1889, p. 8; 13 February 1889, p. 8; 14 February 1889, p. 8; 15 February 1889, p. 5; 16 February 1889, p. 12).
133. DI, 12 February 1889, p. 5; SMH, 12 February 1889, p. 8.
134. DI, 11 February 1889, p. 6.
135. SMH, 8 February 1889, p. 5.
136. SMH, 8 February 1889, pp. 4-5.
137. SMH, 9 February 1889, p. 9.
138. SMH, 14 February 1889, p. 8.
139. Bogan, Bourke, Glen Innes, Hartley, Illawarra, Macleay, Morpeth, New England, Redfern, Wellington and Young.
140. Albury, Grafton, Gundagai, Richmond, Sturt, Upper Hunter.
141. SMH, 26 February 1889, p. 3. They were:- Bogan, Hartley, Illawarra, New England and Redfern. Forsyth's estimates appear to have been substantially correct.

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For example:-

(1)	<u>New England</u> (2 Seats)	
	H. Copeland (endorsed protectionist)	1396
	J. Inglis (freetrade)	1099
	<hr/>	
	W.C. Proctor (endorsed protectionist)	1052
	J. Givney (unendorsed protectionist)	459
(2)	<u>Hartley</u> (1 Seat)	
	J. Hurley (freetrade)	707
	<hr/>	
	J.P. Caulfield (endorsed protectionist)	537
	R.J. Inch (unendorsed protectionist)	203

Forsyth's estimate is open to serious doubt only in Redfern, where he claimed the unendorsed W.F. Schey's inclusion in the field robbed the protectionists of two seats.

142. Bulletin, 2 February 1889 (supplement).
143. See Appendix X.
144. SMH, 26 August 1889, p. 4.
145. SMH, 18 January 1889, p. 5.
146. DT, 12 January 1889, p. 5.
147. SMH, DT, 18 January 1889, pp. 5.
148. DT, 19 January 1889, p. 5.
149. ibid.; 21 January 1889, p. 5.
150. DT, 22 January 1889, p. 5.
151. SMH, 19 January 1889, p. 11; DT, 19 January 1889, p. 5.
152. ibid.
153. SMH, 19 January 1889, p. 11.
154. DT, 19 January 1889, p. 5.
155. See above, ch. 3, p. 94.
156. The freetrade MLA, John Hurley, offered the executive "his rooms in Norwich - chambers, Hunter-street" (DT, 19 January 1889, p. 5), into which the executive moved until 22 January, when it transferred to "commodious rooms" in 8 Tattersall's Chambers, Hunter Street (SMH, 23 January 1889, p. 9). At no stage did the FTA elections committee occupy the same offices as the parliamentary executive.
157. DT, 19 January 1889, p. 5.
158. DT, 21 January 1889, p. 5.

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159. SMH, 21 January 1889, p. 8.
160. ibid.; DT, 21 January 1889, p. 5.
161. DT, 21 January 1889, p. 5.
162. DT, 19 January 1889, p. 5; SMH, 19 January 1889, p.11; 21 January 1889, p. 8.
163. DT, 23 January 1889, p. 5.
164. DT, 22 January 1889, p. 5.
165. DT, 24 January 1889, p. 5.
166. DT, 22, 23 January 1889, pp. 5.
167. DT, 22 January 1889, p. 5.
168. SMH, 22 January 1889, p. 4.
169. DT, 25 January 1889, p. 4.
170. ibid.
171. DT, 23 January 1889, p. 5; 25 January 1889, pp. 4,5.
172. DT, 23 January 1889, p. 5.
173. Balmain (SMH, 22 January 1889, p. 4; DT, 21, 25 January 1889, pp. 5); South Sydney (DT, 24 January 1889, p. 5; 26 January 1889, p. 9); Newtown (DT, 24 January 1889, p. 5); St Leonards (DT, 25 January 1889, p. 6; 5 February 1889, p. 5); Central Cumberland (DT, 24 January 1889, p. 6).
174. Parramatta (DT, 7 February 1889, p. 5).
175. DT, 19 January 1889, p. 5.
176. ibid.; 24 January 1889, p. 5; SMH, 24 January 1889, p. 6.
177. SMH, 4 February 1889, p. 8.
178. DT, 26 January 1889, p. 9.
179. SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 14.
180. Newcastle (DT, 23 January 1889, p. 6; 25 January 1889, p. 5); Orange (SMH, 24 January 1889, p. 6); Carcoar (DT, 25 January 1889, p. 3); West Maitland (ibid.).
181. Hawkesbury (SMH, 31 January 1889, p. 8). Formal local freetrade organisation took place, then, in only eleven out of the seventy-four electorates.



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182. E. Howard to Parkes, 25 January 1889. PC, vol. 17, A887, p. 272, ML.
183. SMH, 5 February 1889, p. 7.
184. SMH, 22 January 1889, p. 5.
185. DT, 23, 24 January 1889, pp. 6.
186. DT, 1 February 1889, p. 6; SMH, 2 February 1889, p.12.
187. FTLA Conference, p. 29.
188. See ch. 7, n. 203.
189. SMH, 24 January 1889, p. 6.
190. SMH, 21 January 1889, p. 8.
191. SMH, 19 January 1889, p. 11.
192. SMH, DT, 24 January 1889, pp. 6.
193. DT, 26 January 1889, p. 11.
194. SMH, 21 January 1889, p. 8.
195. DT, 23 January 1889, p. 5.
196. SMH, 22 January 1889, p. 4 (Bathurst); DT, 25 January 1889, p. 5 (Bogan).
197. DT, 23 January 1889, p. 5.
198. A.H. Conroy, of Goulburn (SMH, 19 January 1889, p. 11; DT, 24 January 1889, p. 5), and Alfred Miller (SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 9; DT, 26 January 1889, p.10).
199. Riddell became a prominent member of the STL (SMH, 20,30 January 1890, pp.4), and also president of the North Sydney LEL in 1891 (DT, 6 June 1891, p. 6; AS, 9 June 1891, p. 3).
200. SMH, 26 January 1889, pp. 9 (Eden), 11 (Inverell).
201. DT, 25 January 1889, p. 5.
202. Orange, Bogan, Inverell, Murrumbidgee and Eden.
203. The eight electorates were Tamworth, Newcastle, Braidwood, Sturt, Murray, Morpeth, Shoalhaven and Wellington.  
Press reports that discussed the work of the FTA also mentioned electoral developments in Braidwood

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and Tamworth (SMH, 22 January 1889, p. 4), but did not specifically relate these to the FTA. On 19 January, it was reported that Alexander Riddell would be a candidate for Sturt (SMH, 19 January 1889, p. 11), but as the FTA later directed him to Inverell, it is possible (and assumed) that they filled the gap in Sturt caused by his departure. In the two-member electorate of Murray, the only announced freetrader at the time the endorsements were published received executive 'approval'; since it was the FTA which later arranged for a second freetrade candidate to contest the electorate (See below, p.230), it is possible that it had also arranged the first. The FTA's possible involvement in Shoalhaven and Morpeth is similarly based on surmise. The sitting member for Shoalhaven, W.F. Martin, was a member of the FTA's ally, the CM, and the Association had assisted him in 1887 (SMH, 31 January 1887, p. 5). On 22 January, it was announced that Martin would contest the electorate of Morpeth (SMH, 22 January 1889, p. 4), from which he subsequently retired and did not seek re-election at all. On the basis of his previous association with the FTA, it is possible that the Association had requested him to make the otherwise unusual move of abandoning his old electorate to contest Morpeth, had filled the vacancy in Shoalhaven, and then did the same in Morpeth after Martin's retirement.

204. Orange, Newtown and Newcastle.
205. Balmain (SMH, 22 January 1889, p. 4).
206. DI, 26 January 1889, p. 9.
207. Hawkesbury (SMH, 30 January 1889, p. 10; 31 January 1889, p. 8) and Camden (DI, 7 February 1889, p. 5).
208. Newtown and Balmain (local selections confirmed); Glebe and West Sydney (independent endorsements).
209. Glebe (2 seats): Bruce Smith; West Sydney (4 seats): Abigail, O'Connor and Playfair.
210. For Glebe, Michael Chapman was added (SMH, 25 January 1889, p. 7), and Alfred Lamb was added to the trio already endorsed for West Sydney (SMH, 30 January 1889, p. 9).
211. SMH, 29 January 1889, p. 3; DI, 30 January 1889, p.6.
212. ibid.
213. DI, 6 February 1889, p.5.

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214. EN, 1 February 1889, p. 5.  
This list confirmed the previous endorsements made for West Sydney, Balmain, Paddington, Newtown and Glebe, and added initial endorsements for East Sydney, South Sydney (confirming the selections of the local FTA branch. See ch. 7, n. 173), Canterbury and Redfern.
215. See above, p.221. From the very beginning of the campaign the protectionist executive had decided that "unless ... [candidates] are adopted by the executive the protectionist electors will be called upon to ignore them ...". (DT, 22 January 1889, p. 5).
216. DT, 11 February 1889, p. 6.
217. DT, 28 January 1889, p. 6; 2 February 1889, p. 6; SMH, 2 February 1889, p. 12.
218. DT, 28 January 1889, p. 6; 29 January 1889, p. 3.
219. DT, 25 January 1889, p. 6 (Northumberland); DT, 21 January 1889, p. 5; 23 January 1889, p. 5 (Albury).
220. SMH, 28 January 1889, p. 9.
221. SMH, 30 January 1889, p. 10.
222. After the announcement in Bourke that "one or two candidates will be put forward by the Freetrade Association" (SMH, 25 January 1889, p. 5), the prominent FTA council member, G.N. Griffiths, appeared in Bourke as a freetrade candidate.
223. DT, 29 January 1889, p. 3.
224. SMH, 28 January 1889, p. 9.
225. SMH, 5 February 1889, p. 8.
226. Quoted in SMH, 20 February 1889, p. 8.
227. Quoted in DT, 21 January 1889, p. 5.
228. The imported FTA candidate in Albury recognised his slim chances of success, "particularly ... as he was opposing two local men". (DT, 29 January 1889, p. 3).
229. A. Riddell (Inverell) SMH, 5 February 1889, p. 8; J. Caro (Bogan), SMH, 7 February 1889, p. 8.
230. T.H. Martyn (Albury), A. Wilson (Wilcannia), A. Conroy (Murrumbidgee and Murray), A. Cameron (Wellington) and M. Browne (Sturt).

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231. A. Conroy (Murrumbidgee) DT, 26 January 1889, p. 9; A. Wilson (Wilcannia) SMH, 1 February 1889, p. 5.
232. T.H. Martyn (Albury), A. Conroy (Murray) and M. Browne (Sturt).
233. For example, Newcastle. See:- DT, 26 January 1889, p. 8; SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 7.
234. SMH, 24 January 1889, p. 6.
235. DT, 24 January 1889, p. 5.
236. DT, 24 January 1889, p. 6.
237. ibid.
238. SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 9.
239. DT, 26 January 1889, p. 11.
240. The nomination day was not until 12 February.
241. For example, in Grafton. (DT, 26 January 1889, p. 11).
242. In nine electorates (Balranald, Boorowa, Clarence, Gwydir, Hume, Molong, Murray, Wentworth, and Yass Plains), eleven protectionists were elected totally unopposed. In a further six electorates (Albury, Grafton, Gundagai, Richmond, Sturt and Upper Hunter), the field for the nine available seats was composed entirely of rival protectionists. (DT, 23 February 1889, p. 6).
243. SMH, 28 January 1889, p. 9 (Upper Hunter); SMH, 29 January 1889, p. 4 (Balranald); SMH, 12 February 1889, p. 7 (Gundagai).
244. SMH, 29 January 1889, p. 3 (Upper Hunter).
245. SMH, 5 February 1889, p. 8; 8 February 1889, p. 8.
246. J.N. Bruncker to W. McMillan, 29 January 1889. W. McMillan Papers, MSS 1885/2, p. 13, ML.
247. DT, 21 January 1889, p. 5.
248. See above, ch. 2, pp. 69-70.
249. DT, 22 January 1889, p. 5; SMH, 22 January 1889, p. 4.
250. SMH, 29 January 1889, p. 3.
251. See above, ch. 2, pp. 69-70; ch. 2, n. 213.
252. A. Allen and J.C. Neild (Paddington), F. Farnell (Central Cumberland) and J.S. Hawthorne (Balmain).

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253. NSWPD, vol. XXXVI, p. 1541, 11 January 1889.
254. SMH, 22 January 1889, p. 5.
255. DT, 26 January 1889, p. 9; SMH, 26 January 1889, p. 7. During late 1888, Neild had expressed his frustration at the ministry's refusal to enact a freetrade policy containing direct taxation, thereby removing a heavy financial burden from the labouring classes (See above, ch. 3, p. 92). This frustration was probably basic to his heretical statement that "he would support a new tariff if it took the tax off the poor man's food and placed it on the luxuries of the rich". (DT, 25 January 1889, p. 6).
256. SMH, 29 January 1889, p. 3; DT, 26 January 1889, p. 11; 28 January 1889, p. 5.
257. SMH, 29 January 1889, p. 3.
258. SMH, 18 June 1889, p. 8.
259. DT, 29 January 1889, p. 5.
260. SMH, 30 January 1889, p. 9.
261. DT, 31 January 1889, p. 6.
262. SMH, 31 January 1889, p. 7.
263. DT, 2 February 1889, p. 5.
264. See above, p. 231.
265. SMH, 12 February 1889, p. 7.
266. The freetrade vote was affected by a superfluity of candidates in only five electorates: Camden, Gloucester, Kiama, Paddington and St Leonards.
267. DT, 29 January 1889, p. 3.
268. DT, 31 January 1889, p. 5.
269. SMH, 28 January 1889, p. 9 (Despatch from Emmaville, dated 26 January).
270. SMH, 31 January 1889, p. 8.
271. He had been in touch early in the campaign regarding events in Tenterfield. E.R. Whereat to Parkes, 24 January 1889. PC, vol. 42, A912, p. 222, ML.

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272. E.R. Whereat to Parkes, 31 January 1889. ibid., vol. 47, A917, p. 412.
273. ibid.
274. DT, 7 February 1889, p. 5.
275. E.H. Becke to Parkes, 4 February 1889. PC, vol. 48, A918, p. 386, ML.
276. C.E. Jeanneret was one of the two members for Carcoar, but at the time of the election was returning home from England (SMH, 22 January 1889, p. 4). For this reason "his Carcoar friends" withdrew his name from the field for that electorate (DT, 24 January 1889, p. 5), and it was probably only due to the executive that he contested any electorate at all.
277. SMH, 6 February 1889, p. 7.
278. SMH, 7 February 1889, p. 7.
279. See above, p. 231.
280. See ch. 3, n. 143.
281. This was specifically pointed out in the case of West Macquarie, SMH, 20 February 1889, p. 8. In all four electorates, the candidates provided at the last minute all suffered heavy defeats.
282. SMH, 14 February 1889, p. 7. Meeks's retirement brought to nine the number of FTA-provided, or executive-endorsed, candidates who were not even nominated to contest the electorate for which they were provided/endorsed.
283. For example: "The freetrade party were offering £500 and £600 as an inducement to candidates to come forward". (DT, 29 January 1889, p. 5. Speech by A.D. Nelson); "... the importers of Sydney had contributed £50,000 towards paying the expenses of free-trade candidates". (SMH, 6 February 1889, p. 8. Speech by H.W. Tilley).
284. DT, 5 February 1889, p. 5 (Election Address of N. Melville); SMH, 2 February 1889, p. 12 (Nomination Addresses of N. Melville and T. Walker).
285. FTLA Conference, pp. 29-30.
286. SMH, 22 January 1889, p. 4; DT, 23 January 1889, p. 5.
287. DT, 25 January 1889, p. 5. Reports, such as that from Newcastle that "Thousands of handbills, issued by the Sydney Freetrade Association, were distributed at the close of Mr. Brown's address, ..." (DT, 26 January 1889, p. 11) indicate the successful operation

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288. DT, 31 January 1889, p. 5.
289. SMH, 25 January 1889, p. 7.
290. SMH, 28 January 1889, p. 7.
291. DT, 8 February 1889, p. 6.
292. DT, 4 February 1889, p. 6.
293. SMH, 12 February 1889, p. 7.
294. S. Burdekin to Parkes, n.d. [c. 10 February 1889]. PC, A919, pp. 599-600, ML.  
The extent of this type of support was that seventeen freetrade MsLA visited eighteen country electorates to campaign on behalf of freetrade candidates. See:- SMH, 5, 6, 7 February 1889, pp. 7; 8 February 1889, p. 6; 9 February 1889, p. 9; 12, 13 February 1889, pp. 7; 15 February 1889, p. 5; 16 February 1889, p. 12.
295. J. Inglis to Parkes, 21 January 1889. PC, vol. 19, A889, p. 293, ML.
296. SMH, 25 January 1889, p. 5.
297. At the close of the thirteenth parliament, the freetraders numbered 80 and the protectionists 44 in an Assembly of 124 members. Of these 124 seats, during the election the freetraders lost 16 in 13 electorates (Bourke, Upper Hunter, South Sydney, Redfern, Young, Wollombi, Newcastle, Glen Innes, Bogan, Gundagai, Inverell, Orange, West Macquarie) to the protectionists, and won two from them (Central Cumberland, Grenfell). The expansive clauses of the Electoral Act added 13 new seats in 13 electorates, and of these, the freetraders won 5 (Central Cumberland, St Leonards, Illawarra, Balmain and Paddington) and the protectionists 8 (Macleay, Bourke, Bogan, Newcastle, Camden, Glen Innes, Sturt/Wilcannia and Richmond).  
Thus, in the new Assembly of 137 members, there were 71 freetraders and 66 protectionists.  
See:- SMH, 18 February 1889, p. 5; DT, 23 February 1889, pp. 5-6.
298. SMH, 11 March 1889, p. 9. See also, for example:-  
SMH, 26 March 1889, p. 5 (speech of A. Hutchison);  
31 October 1889, p. 5.
299. Bathurst Times, quoted in SMH, 20 February 1889, p. 8.

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300. See, for example:- SMH, 26 March 1889, p. 5 (speech of S. Smith).
301. Parkes to W. McMillan, 8 May 1889. W. McMillan Papers, MSS 1885/2, pp. 42-43, ML.
302. SMH, 26 March 1889, p. 5 (speech of S. Smith).
303. SMH, 26 August 1889, p. 4.
304. SMH, 30 March 1889, p. 8 (speech of W. McMillan).
305. J.N. Bruncker to W. McMillan, 29 January 1889. W. McMillan Papers, MSS 1885/2, p. 16, ML.
306. SMH, 26 August 1889, p. 4.
307. SMH, 23 July 1889, p. 5.
308. DT, 23 July 1889, p. 6.
309. DT, 21 February 1889, p. 6.
310. SMH, 20 February 1889, p. 8. See also:- SMH, 11 March 1889, p. 9; 26 March 1889, p. 5.
311. DT, 11 February 1889, p. 5.
312. DT, 18 February 1889, p. 5.
313. Parkes to W. McMillan, 8 May 1889. W. McMillan Papers, MSS 1885/2, p. 43, ML.
314. ibid., pp. 43-44.



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1. DT, 27 September 1887, p. 5; see above, ch. 5, p. 173.
2. EN, 21 February 1889, p. 5. Also:- SMH, 9 March 1889, p. 9.
3. For example, the branch at Orange (SMH, 28 February 1889, p. 8).
4. For example, branches at Liverpool (SMH, 27 February 1889, p. 5) and Leichhardt (SMH, 28 February 1889, p. 8).
5. ibid. Some of those undergoing formation were the branches at Paddington, Redfern, Glebe, Newtown, St Leonards, Manly, Adelong, Walcha, Bulli, Scone, Picton, Cowra, Oberon, Glen Innes and Granville.
6. SMH, 2 March 1889, p. 12.
7. SMH, 16 March 1889, p. 11. See:- E. Pulsford, Suggestions Concerning the Formation and Working of Branches of the Free Trade Association of New South Wales, dated 9 March 1889, Sydney, 1889. (337.1/P, ML).
8. SMH, 26 August 1889, p. 4.
9. DT, 23 July 1889, p. 6.
10. SMH, 23 July 1889, p. 5.
11. ibid.
12. See above, ch. 3, pp. 94-95.
13. SMH, 2 March 1889, p. 11.
14. The executive or organising committee (McMillan, F.J. Smith, Brunker, Sydney Smith, Burdekin, Carruthers and Abigail) appointed a Rules sub-committee of three MsLA (F.J. Smith, R.W. Thompson, A.J. Gould) and a Platform sub-committee of six MsLA (McMillan, Brunker, Abigail, Lee Carruthers, and Garrett). These sub-committees were responsible to the organising committee, and submitted their proposals to it for approval and amendment, prior to their ratification by a full meeting of the LPA. See:- 'First Report of Organising Committee of The Free Trade Party', [c. 27 February 1889], PC, vol. 14, A884, pp. 357-58, ML; Draft Platform of the LPA, 6 March 1889, ibid., vol. 23, A893, pp. 15-16; 'Draft Rules for the management of the Liberal Party of New South Wales', [c. 6 March 1889], ibid., pp. 17-19; above, ch. 3, pp. 95-97; Appendix IX).

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15. SMH, 2 March 1889, p. 11.
16. SMH, 4 May 1889, p. 9.
17. 'First Report of Organising Committee of The Free Trade Party', [c. 27 February 1889], PC, vol. 14, A884, p. 357, ML.
18. SMH, 28 March 1889, p. 5.
19. SMH, 19 February 1889, p. 7.
20. SMH, 16 March 1889, p. 11.
21. SMH, 8 April 1889, p. 5. This estimate was later confirmed when Edward Pulsford told the annual meeting of the FTLA that "The late general election was scarcely over when the foundation of branch associations became general, and in a short time nearly 100 branches were formed". (DI, 23 July 1889, p. 6).
22. For example, at Woollahra (SMH, 13 March 1889, p. 5), Glebe (SMH, 12 March 1889, p. 5), Newtown (SMH, 14 March 1889, p. 9; 16 April 1889, p. 5), Petersham (SMH, 16 March 1889, p. 8), Manly (SMH, 26 March 1889, p. 5), St Peters (ibid.), Waverley (SMH, 29 March 1889, p. 4), Kogarah (ibid.), Ashfield (SMH, 30 March 1889, p. 8), Rockdale (ibid.), Waterloo (SMH, 13 April 1889, p. 8), Ryde (SMH, 16 April 1889, p. 5) and Dulwich Hill (SMH, 17 April 1889, p. 5).
23. W. Affleck, Reminiscences of William Affleck from Infancy to Present Date, Sydney, 1916, p. 37 (Hereafter:- Reminiscences).
24. SMH, 4 March 1889, p. 6.
25. SMH, 18 March 1889, p. 4.
26. SMH, 16 March 1889, p. 11; G.A. Bolton to B.R. Wise, 27 March 1889. PC, vol. 5, A875, pp. 410-12, ML.
27. SMH, 16 March 1889, p. 11.
28. ibid.; E.H. Becke to Parkes, 20 April 1889, PC, vol. 26, A896, pp. 157-58, ML.
29. Rockdale (SMH, 30 March 1889, p. 8); Petersham (SMH, 16 March 1889, p. 8); Dulwich Hill (SMH, 17 April 1889, p. 5).
30. St Peters (SMH, 26 March 1889, p. 5.).
31. G.A. Bolton to B.R. Wise, 27 March 1889. PC, vol. 5, A875, p. 410, ML.

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32. SMH, 28 March 1889, p. 5.
33. The four members for Canterbury, J.H. Carruthers, J. Wheeler, J.T. Wilshire and A. Hutchison, were particularly active in their own electorate. All four were present to inaugurate branches at Petersham (SMH, 16 March 1889, p. 8), St Peters (SMH, 26 March 1889, p. 5), and Kogarah (SMH, 29 March 1889, p. 4); all except Carruthers were present at the creation of the Ashfield branch (SMH, 30 March 1889, p. 8); and all except Hutchison attended the inauguration of the new branch at Dulwich Hill (SMH, 17 April 1889, p. 5). In addition the three members from the neighbouring electorate of Newtown also participated in these events; Joseph Abbott was present at Petersham; E.W. Molesworth and N. Hawken at St Peters; and Molesworth and Abbott at Ashfield. Abbott and Hawken were also active in the inauguration of the new branch in their own electorate (SMH, 14 March 1889, p. 9; 16 April 1889, p. 5), at which the Canterbury MsLA, Wilshire and Carruthers, were also present. Other freetrade MsLA who actively aided in the formation of local branches in their own electorates were:- W. Stephen (Redfern, SMH, 13 April 1889, p. 8); F. Farnell, R. Ritchie, J. Nobbs and J. Linsley (Central Cumberland, SMH, 16 April 1889, p. 5); B. Smith (Glebe, SMH, 12 March 1889, p. 5); S.E. Lees (Nepean, SMH, 18 March 1889, p. 4); J.F. Burns, J.F. Cullen, H. Parkes (St Leonards, SMH, 26 March 1889, p. 5); J. Shepherd, A. Allen (Paddington, SMH, 29 March 1889, p. 4).
34. Those MsLA who ventured beyond their own or neighbouring electorates to aid in the formation of branches were:- S. Smith, G.W. Fuller, G.H. Reid, J.T. Wilshire, A. Kethel, J.H. Carruthers, F.J. Smith, J.S. Hawthorne, W. McMillan, F. Abigail, D. O'Connor. (SMH, 12 March 1889, p. 5; 18 March 1889, p. 4; 26 March 1889, p. 5; 30 March 1889, p. 8; 29 March 1889, p. 4; 16 April 1889, p. 5).
35. See ch. 3, n. 14; Appendix VII.
36. They were:- D. O'Connor, J.F. Burns, C.E. Jeanneret, J.C. Seaver, J.F. Cullen, J.R. Street, J. Sutherland, J. Wheeler, W. Teece, W. Stephen, T. Playfair, J.R. Linsley, J. Hurley. (SMH, 28 March 1889, p. 5; 2 April 1889, p. 4; DT, 2 April 1889, p. 6).
37. See N.B. Nairn, 'The Mastery', p. 49, n. 137.
38. See Appendix VII.
39. Parkes to W. McMillan, 8 May 1889. W. McMillan Papers, MSS 1885/2, p. 43, ML.

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40. SMH, 14 March 1889, p. 9.
41. H.E. Farmer to Parkes, 14 March 1889. PC, vol. 14, A884, pp. 207-08, ML.
42. SMH, 26 March 1889, p. 5.
43. See above, ch. 6, pp. 203-04.
44. DT, 23 July 1889, p. 6.
45. SMH, 1 May 1889, p. 7.
46. SMH, 8 April 1889, p. 5. The FTA deputation comprised R. Teece, G.N. Griffiths, B.R. Wise, D. Hogarth, A.J. Drayton, E.W. Foxall, J.A. Dobbie.
47. The LPA delegation comprised eight MsLA: F.J. Smith, R.W. Thompson, C.A. Lee, H.H. Cooke, E.W. Turner, W. McCourt, P.H. Morton and S. Burdekin. Of the seven delegates appointed by the FTA, only six attended the conference, B.R. Wise being the absentee. (SMH, 11 April 1889, p. 4).
48. ibid.
49. SMH, 26 April 1889, p. 4.
50. SMH, 1 May 1889, p. 7.
51. See Appendix VII.
52. SMH, 1 May 1889, p. 7.
53. M. Duverger, Parties, p. xxix.
54. P. Loveday and A.W. Martin, PFP, p. 148.
55. DT, 23 July 1889, p. 6; SMH, 23 July 1889, p. 5.
56. See Appendix VII.
57. DT, 23 July 1890, p. 6; SMH, 23 July 1890, p. 4.
58. See Appendix VII.
59. SMH, 22 June 1889, p. 8. For the FTLA's involvement in the by-election, see also:- SMH, 12 June 1889, p. 5; 18 June 1889, p. 8; AS, 18 June 1889, p. 4.
60. See Appendix VII.
61. See below, p. 245; ch. 8, n. 79.
62. See below, p. 247.

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63. SMH, 23 July 1889, p. 5.
64. SMH, 11 March 1889, p. 9.
65. SMH, 28 March 1889, p. 5.
66. SMH, 20 July 1889, p. 13.
67. ibid.
68. SMH, 17 August 1889, p. 9.
69. SMH, 20 July 1889, p. 13. The Committee was composed of J.H. Carruthers, J.F. Burns and F.J. Smith, MsLA; E.W. Foxall and Edward Pulsford ('The Free Trade Conference', 30 July 1889. PC, vol. 14, A884, p. 360, ML). An amended composition, however, was given in the printed report of the conference, A. Garran (FTLA president) replacing F.J. Smith. (FTLA Conference, p. 4).
70. 'The Free Trade Conference', 30 July 1889, PC, vol. 14, A884, pp. 360-61, ML.
71. ibid.
72. E. Pulsford to Parkes, 31 July 1889. ibid., p. 359.
73. FTLA Conference, pp. 91-104.
74. SMH, 26 August 1889, p. 4.
75. For the names of the seventy-eight branches, see FTLA Conference, pp. 23-24. The ten suburban electorates represented were:- Canterbury, Paddington, Balmain, Central Cumberland, St Leonards, Newtown, Redfern, South Sydney, West Sydney and Glebe. The thirty country electorates represented were:- Tumut, Bathurst, Bourke, Carcoar, Camden, Shoalhaven, Hastings and Manning, Illawarra, Queanbeyan, Gundagai, Bogan, Glen Innes, Forbes, Goulburn, Mudgee, Wollombi, Murrumbidgee, Macleay, West Maitland, Molong, Murray, Newcastle, Orange, Tamworth, Hawkesbury, East Macquarie, Young, Hartley, Nepean.
76. SMH, 20 July 1889, p. 13.
77. See FTLA Conference, pp. 23-24.
78. Those on the Conference Committee were J.F. Burns, J.H. Carruthers and F.J. Smith (see ch. 3, n. 69); G.H. Reid took the chair at the conference on several occasions (FTLA Conference, pp. 49, 67); G.H. Reid, S. Burdekin and J. Inglis were the FTLA hosts on the harbour cruise (ibid., p. 89).

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79. They were:- W.H. Vivian (ibid., p. 20), W. McMillan (ibid., pp. 21, 85), G.H. Reid (ibid., pp. 5, 32-45, 104), J.H. Carruthers (ibid., pp. 51-62), B.R. Wise (ibid., pp. 69-85, 104), H. Parkes (ibid., pp. 32, 91-104, 105), J. Martin (ibid., pp. 111-14), Joseph Abbott (ibid., p. 45), D. O'Connor (ibid., p. 62), Bruce Smith (ibid., p. 104), J. Haynes (ibid., p. 117), R.J. Black (ibid., p. 105).
80. They were:- W.H. Paul, P.H. Morton, R.A. Ritchie, F. Woodward, W.H. Vivian, H.H. Cooke, J. Plumb, R.J. Black, J. Haynes, J.H. Carruthers, R.W. Thompson, R. Scobie, V. Parkes, J. Wheeler, C.E. Jeanneret, J. Garrard, C.J. Roberts, J.C. Neild, J. Tonkin, S. Smith, B.R. Wise, J. Wilshire. (ibid., pp. 23-24).
81. ibid., p. 31 (J.H. Carruthers).
82. ibid., (B.R. Wise).
83. ibid., p. 28.
84. ibid., p. 50.
85. ibid., p. 30.
86. ibid.
87. ibid., p. 50.
88. ibid., p. 63.
89. ibid., p. 30.
90. ibid.
91. ibid., p. 27. (underlining my own). The board was to comprise five members. Those appointed were G.H. Reid and S. Burdekin (MsLA); FTLA president, A. Garran; E.W. Foxall and Sir John Robertson (ibid., p. 28).
92. ibid., p. 26.
93. ibid., p. 27.
94. ibid., p. 28.
95. ibid., p. 27.
96. ibid.
97. ibid.
98. See above, ch. 6, p. 205.

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99. See:- SMH, 23 September 1889, p. 8; 30 September 1889, p. 7; 21 October 1889, p. 7; E. Pulsford to Parkes, 25 September 1889 [cyclostyled circular]. PC, vol. 30, A900, p. 470, ML.
100. For example, SMH, 28 October 1889, p. 4 (Burwood).
101. SMH, 16 September 1889, p. 5.
102. SMH, 20 January 1890, p. 4.
103. ibid.
104. Single Tax League of New South Wales, Sydney Branch, Second Annual Report, 1890. Parkes Papers, A1023, ML.
105. ibid.
106. See Appendix VII.
107. See ch. 3, n. 163.
108. For Farrell's membership and influence in the STL, see:- SMH, 20 April 1889, p. 9; 29 April 1889, p. 9; 30 January 1890, p. 4; 5 March 1890, p. 5; 29 January 1891, p. 7; 1 April 1891, p. 8; 2 April 1891, p. 4.
109. J. Farrell to Parkes, 6 June 1889. PC, vol. 13, A883, p. 340, ML.
110. See Appendix VII.
111. W. Affleck, Reminiscences, p. 38.
112. They were:- Albury (W.H. Hall, STL, SMH, 2 June 1894, p. 7); Balmain (W.H. Wilks and S.J. Law, FTLREC, SMH, 4 May 1893, p. 2; 19 September 1893, p. 6); Captain's Flat (E.W. Foxall, STL, SMH, 29 April 1889, p. 9); Dulwich Hill (J. Farrell, STL, see ch. 3, n. 108); Forbes (F. Cotton, STL, SMH, 29 April 1889, p. 9); Goulburn (F.O. Furner, STL, ibid.); Leichhardt (F. Walsh, STL, ibid.); O'Connell (F.N. Alldritt, STL, SMH, 5 March 1890, p. 5); Picton (H. Fletcher, STL, SMH, 29 April 1889, p. 9); Queanbeyan (W. Affleck and N.B. Downing, STL, SMH, 5 March 1890, p. 5); Wagga (T. Halloran, STL, ibid.).
113. SMH, 31 December 1890, p. 9.
114. SMH, 26 February 1890, p. 5.
115. See Appendix VII.

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116. SMH, 15 November 1889, p. 4.
117. SMH, 30 January 1890, p. 4.
118. SMH, 26 February 1890, p. 5.
119. See above, ch. 3, p. 97.
120. SMH, 28 March 1889, p. 5.
121. SMH, 30 March 1889, p. 8.
122. See above, ch. 3, pp. 97-98.
123. SMH, 9 April 1889, p. 5.
124. FTLA Conference, p. 50.
125. ibid.; see above, ch. 3, p. 100.
126. SMH, 16 January 1894, p. 6.
127. J.A. La Nauze, The Making of the Australian Constitution, Melbourne, 1972, pp. 6-7 (Hereafter:- Constitution).
128. See:- ibid.; J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, p. 278; W.G. McMinn, 'Sir Henry Parkes as a Federalist', HSANZ, vol. 12, no. 47 (October 1966), p. 416. (Hereafter:- 'Parkes').
129. J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, p. 278.
130. B.R. Wise, The Making of the Commonwealth, pp. 32-33. See also:- W.G. McMinn, 'Parkes', p. 415.
131. J.A. La Nauze, Constitution, pp. 8-9.
132. A.W. Martin, 'McMillan', p. 209.
133. A.W. Martin, 'Electoral Manipulation', p. 108.
134. A.W. Martin, 'McMillan', p. 209.
135. ibid.
136. ibid.
137. A.W. Martin, 'Electoral Manipulation', p. 108.
138. H.V. Evatt, Labour Leader, p. 17.
139. A.W. Martin, 'Electoral Manipulation', p. 108.
140. See above, ch. 3, pp. 86-88.



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141. See above, ch. 3, p. 92.
142. See above, ch. 3, p. 99.
143. See above, ch. 3, pp. 99-100.
144. FTLA Conference, pp. 46-47.
145. J. Quick and R.R. Garran, The Annotated Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth, Sydney, 1901, pp. 117-18.
146. A.W. Martin, 'McMillan', p. 209.
147. Parkes to E. Barton, 5 November 1889. E. Barton Papers, MSS 249/3, p. 95, ML.
148. See his speech in the Legislative Assembly, 7 May 1890, quoted in H. Parkes, The Federal Government of Australasia. Speeches Delivered on Various Occasions, November 1889 - May 1890, Sydney, 1890, p. 161.
149. J.A. Ryan, B.R. Wise, p. 277.
150. As suggested by A.W. Martin, 'McMillan', p. 209.
151. DT, 23 November 1889, p. 6.
152. SMH, 1 February 1890, p. 7.
153. ibid.
154. SMH, 22 February 1890, p. 8.
155. SMH, 1 February 1890, p. 8. Neild's view of a 'freetrade policy' envisaged the abolition of a revenue tariff and its replacement by a system of direct taxation on land, property and income. (See ch. 3, n. 33).
156. SMH, 22 February 1890, p. 8.
157. SMH, 15 February 1890, p. 13.
158. SMH, 22 February 1890, p. 8. Downing, as a member of the STL, also objected to a revenue tariff, but urged its replacement by a system of direct taxation on land alone.
159. ibid.; 1 February 1890, p. 8.
160. SMH, 15 February 1890, p. 13.
161. SMH, 22 February 1890, p. 8. Foxall, like Cotton, Johnson and Downing, was a single taxer; to him 'true freetrade' meant no customs revenue, all revenue to be raised by a single tax on the value of land.

162. ibid.
163. ibid. (amendment moved by Teece, seconded by Burdekin, and supported by Pulsford); 8 February 1890, p. 8, (amendment moved by Griffiths).
164. SMH, 22 February 1890, p. 8.
165. SMH, 15 October 1890, p. 9.
166. SMH, 6 November 1890, p. 4.
167. SMH, 5 November 1890, p. 5.
168. SMH, 6 November 1890, p. 4.
169. SMH, 5 November 1890, p. 5.
170. SMH, 6 November 1890, p. 4.
171. SMH, 11 November 1890, p. 7.
172. SMH, 28 January 1891, p. 8.
173. SMH, 6 February 1891, p. 6.
174. SMH, 24 November 1890, p. 6.
175. SMH, 11 February 1891, p. 9.
176. See Appendices I and VII.
177. SMH, 4 June 1891, p. 5.
178. SMH, 31 December 1891. p. 3.
179. See above, ch. 5, pp. 159-60.
180. See above, ch. 5, pp. 160-63.
181. See above, ch. 7, pp. 212-13.
182. 'Private Circular', Sydney, 21 January 1889.  
M.J. Hammond Papers, Uncat. MSS Set 117, Item 1, ML.
183. ibid.
184. See ch. 7, n. 25.
185. See ch. 5, n. 57; C.R. Hall, Manufacturers, p. 74.
186. See ch. 5, n. 96.
187. A.W. Martin and P. Wardle, Notes, pp. 142-43.

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188. AS, 30 January 1889, p. 6.
189. The names of all 103 appear in ibid.
190. Members of the CM who helped inaugurate the NC included A. Forsyth, C.H. Hoskins, A.D. Nelson, J.M. Toohey, Vicars, J.P. Wright, J. Ross, A.W. Gilles, John Young, W. Armstrong, W.A. Hutchinson, Alexander Martin, J.T. Toohey and A.W. Meeks. (See ch. 5, n. 57; C.R. Hall, Manufacturers, pp. 22-23, 74).
191. Of the known members of the NPA3 executive (See above, ch. 7, p.212; ch. 7, n. 25), A. Forsyth, C.B. Lowe, J.P. Wright, L.F. Heydon and A.W. Gilles were included among the initial membership of the NC, and T.S. Parrott became a member at a later date. ('National Club, List of Members' in NPA Conference, p. 237).
192. The NC's initial membership contained at least ten council members of the old PU: A. Forsyth, C.H. Hoskins, A.D. Nelson, J.M. Toohey, Vicars, J.P. Wright, J. Ross, W. Armstrong, H.S. Bond, and L.F. Heydon. (See ch. 5, nn. 77, 95, 96, 98).
193. See ch. 4, n. 88; A.W. Martin and P. Wardle, Notes; 'National Club, List of Members' in NPA Conference, pp. 232-38.
194. See ch. 4, n. 70; 'National Club, List of Members' in NPA Conference, pp. 232-38.
195. The list of the 229 members, shows the occupations of 206. Their occupations fall into five major categories, all of which were very nearly equally represented among the members: Manufacturers (including engineers, contractors, brewers and millers) 36, including 13 known members of the CM; Merchants and Mercantile (importers, ship owners) 34; Commercial (including financial, mining, land, commission and stock agents; share, wool and finance brokers; insurance; bankers; managers; accountants; auctioneers) 40; Pastoralists 38; The Professions (doctors, solicitors, barristers, architects) 25. ('National Club, List of Members' in NPA Conference, pp. 232-38).
196. 'Private Circular', Sydney, 21 January 1889. M.J. Hammond Papers, Uncat. MSS Set 117, Item 1, ML.

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197. AS, 27 June 1889, p. 7. N.B. Nairn also points to the conservatism of the Club when he states that "its committee represented wealthy citizens whose financial interests were assured by customs duties rather than property or income taxation". ('The Politics of New South Wales, 1856-1889: A Note On A Reply', HS, vol. 13, no. 52 (April 1969), p. 543. (Hereafter:- 'Note On A Reply')).
198. TCJ, 23 February 1889, p. 13.
199. SMH, 28 March 1889, p. 7.
200. ibid.
201. AS, 14 March 1889, p. 5.
202. AS, 20 March 1889, p. 8.  
The five MsLA were G.R. Dibbs, J.P. Abbott, W.J. Lyne, J.M. Chanter and A. Forsyth; the ten non-parliamentarians were W. Macleay, W. Armstrong, A. Forsyth, L.F. Heydon, A. Martin, J. de V. Lamb, C.B. Lowe, E. Barton, J.P. Wright and J.T. Toohey.
203. AS, 5 April 1889, p. 5.
204. AS, 6 April 1889, p. 4.
205. M. Duverger, Parties, p. xxix.
206. A. Forsyth, W. Armstrong, L.F. Heydon and J.P. Wright had been members of the PU Council (see ch. 8, n. 192); Forsyth, Lowe, Wright and Heydon had been on the NPA3 executive (see ch. 8, n. 191); Armstrong, Forsyth, Wright, Martin and Toohey belonged to the CM (see ch. 8, n. 190).
207. AS, 27 June 1889, p. 7.
208. The twenty-eight parliamentary members of the NC in October 1889 were: W. Alison, J.P. Abbott, W.E. Abbott, H. Clarke, J.M. Chanter, G.A. Cruickshank, D. Copland, T. Dalton, G.R. Dibbs, W. Edmunds, R.G. Fitzgerald, C.A. Goodchap, T.H. Hassall, J. Kidd, W.J. Lyne, A. Lakeman, M. McRae, J.A. Mackinnon, J. McFarlane, B.B. Nicoll, E.W. O'Sullivan, J. Perry, T. Slattery, J. See, J. Torpy, J.M. Toohey, W.H. Traill, F.A. Wright. Of these, seven (Alison, J.P. Abbott, W.E. Abbott, Cruickshank, Copland, Hassall, Lakeman) had pastoral interests (see ch. 4, n. 88); nine (H. Clarke, Dalton, Dibbs, McRae, McFarlane, Nicoll, Perry, See, Wright) had commercial or mercantile interests (see ch. 4, n. 70); four (J.P. Abbott, Fitzgerald, Edmunds, Slattery) were solicitors (see ch. 4, n. 72). See also:- A.W. Martin and P. Wardle, Notes. The three well-known radical MsLA were O'Sullivan, Traill and J.A. Mackinnon. ('National Club, List of Members in NPA Conference,

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209. AS, 20 March 1889, p. 8.
210. ibid.
211. SMH, 16 May 1889, p. 4.
212. SMH, 19 March 1889, p. 5.
213. AS, 6 April 1889, p. 4.
214. AS, 27 June 1889, p. 7.
215. SMH, 16 May 1889, p. 4.
216. ibid.
217. ibid.
218. SMH, 11 June 1889, p. 4.
219. SMH, 25 June 1889, p. 4.
220. ibid.
221. SMH, 9 July 1889, p. 5.
222. AS, 16 May 1889, p. 5.
223. SMH, 16 May 1889, p. 4.
224. ibid.
225. For example, at the meeting on 17 July, "correspondence was read from Albury, Campbelltown, Cudgegong, Goulburn, Hargraves, Hill End, Paddington, Mount McDonald, and Redfern National Protection Associations, ..." (AS, 18 July 1889, p. 2). See also: AS, 25 July 1889, p. 7; 1 August 1889, p. 3; 15 August 1889, p. 7).
226. AS, 23 August 1889, p. 7.
227. AS, 18 July 1889, p. 2.
228. 'List of Country and Suburban National Protection Associations' in NPA Conference, pp. 225-31.
229. ibid., p. ii.
230. Although the conference was clearly organised by the Political Committee of the NC, it was decided at the conference to alter the name of the central organisation to NPA, in order to bring all the protectionist organisations under the same name. Hence, the NC formally became the NPA4 during the conference, and the organisation's new title is used to refer to the conference. (See below, p.268).

231. NPA Conference, pp. 5-10.
232. ibid., p. 17.
233. ibid.
234. In fact, all sixty-five members of the parliamentary party officially took part, thirty as delegates of local branches (ibid., pp. 5-10) and thirty-five as "ex-officio members of the Conference". (ibid., p. 11). Among the delegates of the branches were the radicals, E.W. O'Sullivan, W.N. Willis, J. Creer, N. Melville, T. Walker, J.G. Gough, R. Stevenson, J. Gormly and A. Hutchison.
235. S.B. Redgate, S.A. Byrne, A. McLean and East were the PPRL's four official delegates (ibid., p. 9); R.C. Luscombe was a delegate of the Grenfell league (ibid., p. 7); William Richardson represented the East Sydney branch (ibid.); and League president, R. Scott Ross, was present as a member of the Conference Committee (ibid., p. 12).
236. J.R. Talbot and J.E. West (ibid.).
237. ibid., p. 70.
238. ibid., pp. 70-71.
239. ibid., pp. 70, 75.
240. See:- ibid., p. 225; AS, 18 July 1889, p. 2; 1 August 1889, p. 3.
241. NPA Conference, p. 80.
242. ibid., p. 75.
243. ibid., p. 79.
244. ibid., p. 75 (underlining my own).
245. ibid., p. 76.
246. ibid., p. 77.
247. SMH, 5 October 1889, p. 8.
248. NPA Conference, p. 78.
249. ibid., p. 79.
250. ibid.
251. ibid., p. 80.

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252. ibid., p. 79.
253. SMH, 1 April 1890, p. 7.
254. SMH, 29 March 1890, p. 11.
255. SMH, 22 March 1890, p. 12. The fourteen members of the committee were:- Dibbs, Copeland, See, H. Clarke, O'Sullivan, Garvan, Traill, Howe, Kidd, Toohey, Lakeman, Nicoll, Wright and Hassall.
256. SMH, 3 April 1890, p. 7.
257. SMH, 29 March 1890, p. 11.
258. SMH, 1 April 1890, p. 7; 3 April 1890, p. 7.
259. SMH, 29 April 1890, p. 5. The six MsLA who acted as delegates were H. Copeland, J. Perry, J.F. Barnes, A. Lakeman, R. Stevenson and G.E. Cass.
260. J.G. Gough, J. Kidd, W.H. Traill, W. Edmunds, J. Fletcher, J.P. Howe and N. Melville.
261. G.R. Dibbs, F.A. Wright and E.W. O'Sullivan.
262. J.G. Gough, W.H. Traill, J.P. Howe, N. Melville, R. Stevenson and E.W. O'Sullivan.
263. A. Forsyth, A. Martin, W. Armstrong and J.T. Toohey.
264. AS, 27 June 1889, p. 7.
265. In particular, the remarks of W.H. Traill (SMH, 29 April 1890, p. 5).
266. ibid.
267. ibid.
268. DT, 29 April 1890, p. 5.
269. SMH, 29 April 1890, p. 5.
270. See above, ch. 5, pp. 160-63.
271. DT, 14 May 1890, p. 4.
272. SMH, 25 June 1890, p. 11.
273. SMH, 14 May 1890, p. 7. The fifteen MsLA elected were J. Fletcher, J.P. Garvan, H. Copeland, W.H. Traill, T.H. Hassall, J. Kidd, A. Lakeman, N. Melville, J.P. Howe, T. Slattery, H. Dawson, J.M. Toohey, W.C. Wall, J. Perry and W.N. Willis. They joined Dibbs, F.A. Wright, O'Sullivan, Chanter, and Edmunds of the Political Committee to bring to twenty the parliamentary members of the NPA5

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274. SMH, 22 May 1890, p. 9.
275. SMH, 25 June 1890, p. 11.
276. SMH, 5 August 1890, p. 3.
277. SMH, 17 September 1890, p. 9.
278. SMH, 1 May 1890, p. 5.
279. See ch. 8, n. 273.
280. W.H. Traill, N. Melville, J.P. Howe, W.N. Willis and E.W. O'Sullivan.
281. W. Armstrong, A. Forsyth, A. Martin and J.T. Toohey (SMH, 25 June 1890, p. 11).
282. The four radicals were R.A. Price, J. Norton, W.H. Swain (see SMH, 29 April 1890, p. 5) and J.D. Fitzgerald (successful LEL candidate for West Sydney in 1891).
283. AS, 16 September 1890, p. 7.
284. ibid.
285. AS, 26 November 1890, p. 2; SMH, 26 November 1890, p. 8.
286. SMH, 31 December 1891, p.3.
287. SMH, 17 September 1890, p. 9.
288. SMH, 26 November 1890, p. 8.



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1. NSWPD, vol. LI, p. 274.
2. ibid., p. 327, 28 May 1891.
3. DT, 2 June 1891, p. 5.
4. SMH, 15 June 1891, p. 6.
5. DT, 4 June 1891, p. 5. They were G.R. Dibbs, W.J. Lyne, J.P. Howe, W. Edmunds, J.M. Toohey, W.H. Traill, N. Melville, E.W. O'Sullivan, and H. Copeland. The number of MsLA on the executive was later increased by the addition of W.S. Dowel (SMH, 5 June 1891, p. 5) and J. Kidd (SMH, 9 June 1891, p. 5).
6. AS, 4 June 1891, p. 6.
7. DT, 1 June 1891, p. 5.
8. DT, 3 June 1891, p. 5.
9. See AS, 4 July 1891, p. 3.
10. DT, 3 June 1891, p. 5.
11. DT, 9 June 1891, p. 5; AS, 9 June 1891, p. 6.
12. DT, 10 June 1891, p. 5.
13. DT, SMH, 9 June 1891, pp. 5; AS, 7 July 1891, p. 5.
14. See ch. 8, n. 190.
15. See ch. 8, n. 202.
16. See above, ch. 8, p. 262.
17. DT, 9 June 1891, p. 5.
18. ibid.; 10 June 1891, p. 5.
19. ibid.
20. SMH, 4 June 1891, p. 5.
21. ibid.
22. SMH, 5 June 1891, p. 5; DT, 4 June 1891, p. 5.
23. ibid.; SMH, 9 June 1891, p. 8.
24. ibid.

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25. AS, 10 June 1891, p. 5. The freetrade Herald explained it a little less bluntly: "The Free Trade and Liberal Association, which in previous elections has exercised a very considerable influence, has, we learn, decided not to act as an independent body during the present contest". (SMH, 10 June 1891, p. 5).
26. DT, 4 June 1891, p. 5.
27. H. Parkes, Meeting, 1891, p. 14 (J.H. Carruthers).
28. ibid. (Teece).
29. ibid.
30. ibid., p. 15.
31. ibid.
32. DT, 4 June 1891, p. 5. They were J. Garrard, F. Farnell, A. Allen, C. Garland, J.F. Cullen, F. Abigail, and J. Martin. All except Garland represented Sydney electorates, and Garland (Carcoar) did not seek re-election in 1891.
33. J.M. Conroy Papers, Add. MSS 892, DL. The executive was also referred to as the "federation and freetrade committee". (SMH, 8, 10 June 1891, pp. 5). The total membership of the FTFC was, then, the eight ministerial freetrade MsLA (H. Parkes, J.H. Carruthers, W. McMillan, B. Smith, S. Smith, D. O'Connor, J.N. Bruncker and A.J. Gould), plus the seven MsLA appointed by the remainder of the parliamentary party (Garrard, Farnell, Allen, Garland, Cullen, Abigail and Martin).
34. SMH, 5 June 1891, p. 5.
35. J.M. Conroy Papers, Add. MSS 892, DL.
36. SMH, DT, 8 June 1891, pp. 5.
37. SMH, 8, 9 June 1891, pp. 5; DT, 15 June 1891, p. 5; J.M. Conroy Papers, Add. MSS 892, DL.
38. See above, ch. 8, pp. 246-47, 266-67.
39. In contrast to the seventy-eight local branches represented at the FTLA conference in August 1889 (FTLA Conference, pp. 23-24), a survey of the Herald between April 1890 and March 1891 revealed that only twelve branches remained in active existence (Central Cumberland, South Sydney, Woollahra, Waverley, Paddington, Redfern, Glebe, Balmain, Leichhardt, Marrickville and West Macquarie). At the general meeting of the active Waverley FTLA in March 1891, it was accurately remarked that "considering the

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apathy shown by the parent association, the Waverley branch had done well". (SMH, 17 March 1891, p. 6). Of the twelve branches that remained in active existence, all except that at West Macquarie (probably Bathurst) were Sydney suburban branches. For general freetrade apathy in the country districts after 1889, see:- W. Affleck to D. O'Connor, 11 March 1890. PC, vol. 1, A871, pp. 373-74, ML.

40. SMH, 4 June 1891, p. 5.
41. The protectionists seem to have had as much cause for pessimism as the freetraders. In October 1889, the protectionists boasted 204 active local branches (NPA Conference, pp. 225-31), but only fifty-three branches were represented at a protectionist conference in April 1890 (SMH, 29 April 1890, p. 5), and this number declined rapidly thereafter. A survey of the Herald between May 1890 and March 1891 revealed only four active branches, all of which were Sydney branches: Waverley, Glebe, East Sydney and Paddington. Three country branches (Argyle, SMH, 28 April 1891, p. 6; Balranald, AS, 4 July 1891, p. 3; Cootamundra, SMH, 12 May 1891, pp. 4, 6) also appear to have been active prior to the election.
42. AS, 5 June 1891, p. 5.
43. DT, 5 June 1891, p. 5. See:- FTLA Conference, p. 30; NPA Conference, p. 17.
44. AS, 5 June 1891, p. 5.
45. AS, 6 June 1891, p. 6.
46. AS, 9 June 1891, p. 6.
47. AS, 13 June 1891, p. 6.
48. DT, 13 June 1891, p. 12.
49. For example, a freetrade committee was convened in Gundagai during the first week of June to consider the selection of a suitable candidate. (SMH, 2 June 1891, p. 5; 5 June 1891, p. 6).
50. See ch. 7, nn. 3, 4, 10, 11.
51. They were:- Bogan (DT, 16 June 1891, p. 6); Canterbury (SMH, 25 April 1890, p. 7; 15 June 1891, p. 8); Carcoar (SMH, 6 June 1891, p. 7); Central Cumberland (SMH, 11 June 1891, p. 6); Glebe (DT, 4 June 1891, p. 5); Goulburn (DT, 12 June 1891, p. 6); Gundagai (SMH, 2 June 1891, p. 5; 5 June 1891, p. 6); Illawarra (SMH, 11 June 1891, p. 5); Molong (DT, 18 June 1891, p. 3); Murrumbidgee (SMH, 6 June 1891,

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- p. 9; 10 June 1891, p. 11); Newcastle (SMH, 10 June 1891, p. 11); Newtown (DT, 5 June 1891, p. 5; 9 June 1891, p. 6); Orange (DT, 15 June 1891, p. 3); Paddington (DT, 30 May 1891, p. 5); Queanbeyan (DT, 13 June 1891, p. 12); Redfern (DT, 6 June 1891, p. 6); South Sydney (see above, ch. 3, p. 103; 11 June 1891, p. 3); West Macquarie (DT, 5 June 1891, p. 6); West Sydney (SMH, 16 June 1891, p. 7).
52. In 1889, local protectionist organisations undertook selection work in twenty-four electorates (see ch. 7, n. 32); in 1891, local protectionist bodies existed in the same number of electorates. The electorates containing active local branches were: Argyle (SMH, 28 April 1891, p. 6; 5 May 1891, pp. 4, 5); Balmain (DT, 15 June 1891, p. 6); Balranald (AS, 13 June 1891, p. 6); Bogan (DT, 16 June 1891, p. 6); Braidwood (SMH, 2 June 1891, p. 5); Carcoar (AS, 9 June 1891, p. 6; 15 June 1891, p. 5); Central Cumberland (DT, 13 June 1891, p. 6); East Macquarie (AS, 12 June 1891, p. 6); Eden (SMH, 11 June 1891, p. 5; 13 June 1891, p. 7); Glebe (AS, 6 June 1891, p. 5); Gundagai (SMH, 12 May 1891, pp. 4, 6); Bourke (SMH, 20 June 1891, p. 10); Hawkesbury (AS, 6 June 1891, p. 6); Illawarra (AS, 3 June 1891, p. 6); Hastings and Manning (AS, 6 June 1891, p. 5); Mudgee (AS, 5 June 1891, p. 5); Newcastle (see ch. 4, p. 135; SMH, 10 June 1891, p. 11); New England (AS, 3 June 1891, p. 5); Newtown (AS, 17 June 1891, p. 3); Paddington (DT, 2 June 1891, p. 5); Redfern (SMH, 5 June 1891, p. 6); South Sydney (DT, 8 June 1891, p. 5); West Maitland (SMH, 5 June 1891, p. 6); Young (SMH, 8 June 1891, p. 6).
53. SMH, 19 April 1890, p. 11. See also:- DT, 6 June 1891, p. 6; SMH, 12 June 1891, p. 8 (speech of W.C. Coombes).
54. SMH, 12 May 1891, pp. 4, 6. For the name and location of, and the number of members returned by, each electorate during the 1891 general election, see Appendix VI.
55. See above, ch. 7, pp. 214-16.
56. FTLA Conference, p. 50.
57. NPA Conference, p. 17.
58. SMH, 28 April 1891, p. 6.
59. SMH, 12 May 1891, p. 5.
60. SMH, 14 May 1891, p. 4.
61. DT, 9 June 1891, p. 5.

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62. Hastings and Manning (AS, 6 June 1891, p. 6; 12 June 1891, p. 6; SMH, 12 June 1891, p. 8); Balmain (AS, 9 June 1891, p. 6; DT, 15 June 1891, p. 6).
63. AS, 3 June 1891, p. 5.
64. SMH, 11 June 1891, p. 5.
65. SMH, 13 June 1891, p. 10.
66. AS, 8 June 1891, p. 6.
67. DT, 8 June 1891, p. 5.
68. AS, 13 June 1891, p. 6.
69. SMH, 12 June 1891, p. 8.
70. ibid.
71. SMH, 25 April 1890, p. 7.
72. SMH, 15 June 1891, p. 8.
73. SMH, 5 June 1891, p. 6.
74. SMH, 13 June 1891, p. 6.
75. SMH, 15 June 1891, p. 8.
76. SMH, 11 June 1891, p. 5.
77. SMH, 16 June 1891, p. 8.
78. SMH, 19 June 1891, p. 6.
79. ibid.; 20 June 1891, p. 10.
80. ibid.
81. SMH, 22 June 1891, p. 6.
82. SMH, 19 April 1890, p. 9.
83. ibid.; 5 June 1891, p. 6.
84. DT, 5 June 1891, p. 5.
85. SMH, 9 June 1891, p. 8.
86. SMH, 15 June 1891, p. 8.
87. SMH, 13 June 1891, p. 6.
88. See:- SMH, 11 June 1891, p. 6; 16 June 1891, p. 4.

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89. The printed advertisement of the meeting was included in a letter from the branch's secretary, G.W. Thornton, to Parkes. (G.W. Thornton to Parkes, 6 June 1891. PC, vol. 40, A910, p. 149, ML).
90. AS, 11 June 1891, p. 6.
91. DT, 12 June 1891, p. 6.
92. ibid.
93. SMH, 11 June 1891, p. 6.
94. DT, 12 June 1891, p. 6.
95. ibid.
96. F.R.L. Rossi to L. Hollis, 11 June 1891. Copy enclosed in F.R.L. Rossi to Parkes, 11 June 1891. PC, vol. 33, A903, pp. 386-87, ML.
97. F.R.L. Rossi to Parkes, 11 June 1891. ibid., p. 389.
98. DT, 6 June 1891, p. 6.
99. SMH, 18 June 1891, p. 3.
100. AS, 3 June 1891, p. 6.
101. AS, 23 June 1891, p. 6.
102. SMH, 6 June 1891, p. 9.
103. SMH, 20 June 1891, p. 10.
104. SMH, 22 June 1891, p. 5.
105. SMH, 10 June 1891, p. 11.
106. SMH, 12 June 1891, p. 8.
107. The fifteen electorates were:- Carcoar (SMH, 6 June 1891, p. 7); Central Cumberland (SMH, 11 June 1891, p. 6); Glebe (AS, 4 June 1891, p. 5; DT, 4 June 1891, p. 5); Goulburn (AS, 11 June 1891, p. 6; SMH, 11 June 1891, p. 6; DT, 12 June 1891, p. 6); Gundagai (DT, 9 June 1891, p. 6; SMH, 10 June 1891, p. 11); Illawarra (SMH, 16 June 1891, p. 8; 22 June 1891, p. 6); Molong (DT, 18, 19 June 1891, pp. 3; 23 June 1891, p. 6); Newtown (SMH, 5 June 1891, p. 6; 10 June 1891, p. 8; 12 June 1891, p. 8); Orange (DT, 15 June 1891, p. 3); Paddington (SMH, 19 April 1890, p. 9; DT, 30 May 1891, p. 5; 4 June 1891, p. 5; 5 June 1891, p. 5; 9 June 1891, p. 6; SMH, 9 June 1891, p. 8; 13 June 1891, p. 6);

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Queanbeyan (DT, 12 June 1891, p. 6; 13 June 1891, p. 12); Redfern (SMH, 19 April 1890, p. 11; 6 June 1891, p. 7; DT, 6 June 1891, p. 6); South Sydney (SMH, 11 June 1891, p. 3); West Macquarie (DT, 5 June 1891, p. 6); West Sydney (SMH, 16 June 1891, p. 7).

108. The twenty-one electorates were:- Argyle (SMH, 9 June 1891, p. 8); Balmain (AS, 9 June 1891, p. 6; DT, 15 June 1891, p. 6); Balranald (DT, 13 June 1891, p. 12; AS, 13 June 1891, p. 6); Braidwood (SMH, 2 June 1891, p. 5; 12 June 1891, p. 8); Carcoar (AS, 5 June 1891, p. 5; 9 June 1891, p. 6; 15 June 1891, p. 5); Central Cumberland (DT, 13 June 1891, p. 6); East Macquarie (AS, 12 June 1891, p. 6); Eden (SMH, 13 June 1891, p. 7); Glebe (AS, 6 June 1891, p. 5; 9 June 1891, p. 5); Gundagai (SMH, 12 May 1891, pp. 4, 6); Hastings and Manning (AS, 6 June 1891, p. 6; 12 June 1891, p. 6; SMH, 12 June 1891, p. 8); Hawkesbury (SMH, 10 June 1891, p. 11; AS, 9 June 1891, p. 5); Mudgee (AS, 5 June 1891, p. 5; 9 June 1891, p. 5; 15 June 1891, p. 6); Newcastle (SMH, 10 June 1891, p. 11); New England (AS, 3 June 1891, p. 5; 9 June 1891, p. 5; SMH, 13 June 1891, p. 10); Newtown (SMH, 10 June 1891, p. 8; AS, 17 June 1891, p. 3); Paddington (SMH, 10 June 1891, p. 11; 12 June 1891, p. 8; AS, 8 June 1891, p. 6; 13 June 1891, p. 6; DT, 8 June 1891, p. 5); Redfern (SMH, 5 June 1891, p. 6; 11 June 1891, p. 3; AS, 17 June 1891, p. 3); South Sydney (AS, 8 June 1891, p. 5; DT, 8 June 1891, p. 5); West Maitland (SMH, 5 June 1891, p. 6; 15 June 1891, p. 8); Young (SMH, 12 May 1891, pp. 4, 6).

Note that both local freetrade and protectionist branches made selections in the eight electorates of Carcoar, Central Cumberland, Glebe, Gundagai, Newtown, Paddington, Redfern and South Sydney.

109. SMH, 5 June 1891, p. 5.
110. SMH, 9 June 1891, p. 5.
111. SMH, 11 June 1891, p. 3.
112. SMH, 10 June 1891, p. 5.
113. AS, 5 June 1891, p. 5.
114. SMH, 10 June 1891, p. 5.
115. NPA Conference, p. 17.
116. FTLA Conference, p. 27.
117. NPA Conference, p. 17.
118. See above, ch. 7, pp. 214-17.

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119. See above, ch. 7, pp. 228-29.
120. AS, 4 July 1891, p. 3.
121. SMH, 10 June 1891, p. 5.
122. SMH, 8 June 1891, p. 5.
123. SMH, 10 June 1891, p. 5.
124. The NPPEC's and FTFC's first comprehensive lists appeared in DI, 12 June 1891, p. 5, with smaller additional lists and revised full lists appearing thereafter:- SMH, 13 June 1891, p. 6; DI, 13 June 1891, p. 5; 15 June 1891, p. 5; 16 June 1891, p. 5; SMH, 15 June 1891, p. 5; 17 June 1891, p. 5.
125. This was the case in twelve of the twenty-one electorates in which local protectionist bodies made local selections (Argyle, East Macquarie, Eden, Gundagai, Hastings and Manning, Glebe, Newcastle, Mudgee, New England, Paddington, South Sydney, West Maitland), and in eight of the fifteen electorates in which freetrade branches made selections (Carcoar, Glebe, Goulburn, Gundagai, Orange, Queanbeyan, Redfern, South Sydney). At first sight, some deviation between the central endorsement and the selection of the protectionist leagues in Glebe and Newcastle was apparent. Glebe: on 8 June, the local association chose M.J. Conlon and W. Mitchell (AS, 9 June 1891, p. 5); the NPPEC's list endorsed only Conlon (DI, 12 June 1891, p. 5). Mitchell, however, had retired from the field on 11 June. Newcastle: on 9 June, the Newcastle Labour and Protectionist Parliamentary League chose W. Grahame, A. Brown and D. Scott as its candidates; the NPPEC endorsed only Grahame and Brown (DI, 12 June 1891, p. 5). Scott, however, had been selected without his consent and he had repudiated his selection (DI, 9 June 1891, p. 7; SMH, 11 June 1891, p. 6).
126. The local protectionist league in Redfern met as early as 4 June to choose its candidates for the four-member electorate, and it duly selected the sitting MsLA, Schey, Howe and Goodchap, adding H.C. Hoyle as its fourth candidate. (SMH, 5 June 1891, p. 5). On 9 June, however, Goodchap decided not to seek re-election, and the league was forced to meet again to fill the vacancy. This they did on 10 June, choosing the president of the TLC, W.H. Sharp. (SMH, 11 June 1891, p. 3). The NPPEC, therefore, endorsed Schey, Howe, Hoyle and Sharp for Redfern. (DI, 12 June 1891, p. 5). Sharp, however, stood as an official Labor candidate, and he firmly rejected the protectionist endorsement. (SMH, 12 June 1891, p. 8; 16 June 1891, p. 3). Once again the local league was forced to re-convene to fill the vacancy, and it did so on 15 June, choosing G.F. Garton. (AS, 17 June 1891, p. 3). It was, however, too late for the NPPEC to confirm the League's final choice.



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127. DT, 13 June 1891, p. 6.
128. DT, 13 June 1891, p. 5; SMH, 13 June 1891, p. 6.
129. DT, 12 June 1891, p. 5.
130. AS, 17 June 1891, p. 3 (Newtown - protectionists); SMH, 16 June 1891, p. 7 (West Sydney); SMH, 12 June 1891, p. 8 (Newtown - freetraders).
131. NPA Conference, p. 17.
132. AS, 11 June 1891, p. 5.
133. SMH, 11 June 1891, p. 6.
134. SMH, 12 May 1891, pp. 4, 6.
135. SMH, 2 June 1891, p. 5.
136. DT, 12 June 1891, p. 5; SMH, 13 June 1891, p. 6.
137. Central Cumberland and Braidwood.
138. AS, 13 June 1891, p. 6; DT, 13 June 1891, p. 12.
139. DT, 17 June 1891, p. 5.
140. Newton was the secretary of the Riverina Carriers' Union (SMH, 11 June 1891, p. 6), supported "all the planks in the platform of the Electoral Labor League" (DT, 29 June 1891, p. 5), and was admitted to the first caucus of the Labor party on his return to parliament (N.B. Nairn, Civilising, p. 62).
141. AS, 4 July 1891, p. 3.
142. DT, 12 June 1891, p. 5; SMH, 15 June 1891, p. 5.
143. AS, 4 July 1891, p. 3.
144. DT, 5 June 1891, p. 6.
145. DT, 13 June 1891, p. 12.
146. SMH, 13 June 1891, p. 6.
147. DT, 15 June 1891, p. 3.
148. DT, 15 June 1891, p. 6 (Balmain); 23 June 1891, p. 6 (Molong).
149. AS, 9 June 1891, p. 5; SMH, 10 June 1891, p. 11.
150. See above, p. 284.

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151. SMH, 16 June 1891, p. 7.
152. See above, p. 283.
153. DT, 24 June 1891, p. 5.
154. The twenty electorates for which the FTFC made no endorsement were:- Clarence, Gunnedah, Hartley, Upper Hunter, Illawarra, Inverell, Macleay, Molong, Monaro, Mudgee, Murrumbidgee, Newcastle, Northumberland, Paddington, Richmond, Sturt, Wellington, Wentworth, Wilcannia, Yass Plains.
155. See ch. 7, n. 51.
156. The thirteen electorates for which the NPPEC made no endorsement were:- Balmain, Carcoar, Durham, Grenfell, Gunnedah, Hartley, Hawkesbury, Illawarra, Kiama, Namoi, Richmond, Shoalhaven, Tenterfield.
157. DT, 12 June 1891, p. 5.
158. See above, ch. 8, pp. 242-44, 247.
159. For Parkes's involvement, see:- SMH, 22 June 1889, p. 8; J.C. Ellis to Parkes, 5 October 1889. PC, vol. 13, A883, pp. 93-94, ML; J.H. Carruthers to Parkes, 6 October 1889. Parkes Papers, A1023, ML; H.T. Gordon to Parkes, 2 December 1889. PC, vol. 16, A886, pp. 163-64, ML; J.N. Bruncker to Parkes, 13 December 1889. ibid., vol. 3, A873, pp. 197-98.  
For Carruthers' involvement, see:- J.H. Carruthers to Parkes, 6 October 1889. Parkes Papers, A1023, ML; J.H. Young to J.H. Carruthers, 2 April 1890. J.H. Carruthers Papers, MSS 1638, Box 14a, ML.
160. J.H. Carruthers to Parkes, 19 March 1891. PC, vol. 7, A877, pp. 486-89, ML.
161. Parkes to W. McMillan, 29 May 1891. J.H. Carruthers Papers, MSS 1638, Box 14a, ML.
162. See above, p. 278.
163. J.H. Carruthers to Parkes, 19 March 1891. PC, vol. 7, A877, p. 487, ML.
164. DT, 9 June 1891, pp. 6-7; 10 June 1891, p. 3; SMH, 10 June 1891, p. 11; AS, 10 June 1891, p. 5.
165. DT, 12 June 1891, p. 5.
166. AS, 10 June 1891, p. 5.

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167. See, for example:- W.H. Paul to Parkes, 2 June 1891. PC, A926, pp. 509-10; J.M. Paul to Parkes, 3 June 1891. ibid., vol. 30, A900, pp. 132-33; J.M. Paul to Parkes, 10 June 1891. ibid., A926, pp. 511-12; J. McLean to Parkes, 9 June 1891. ibid., A925, pp. 877-79; J. McLean to Parkes, 2 July 1891. ibid., vol. 27, A897, pp. 46-51; W.C. Hunter to Parkes, 21 June 1891. ibid., vol. 17, A887, pp. 414-15; G.A. Thompson to Parkes, 26 June 1891. ibid., vol. 40, A910, pp. 371-72.
168. See, for example:- W. McCourt to Parkes, n.d. [June 1891]. ibid., A920, pp. 549-50; W.H. Paul to Parkes, 2 June 1891. ibid., A926, pp. 509-10; R.P. Abbott to Parkes, 5 June 1891. ibid., A919, pp. 57-60; C.E. Jeanneret to Parkes, 8 June 1891. ibid., vol. 20, A890, pp. 229-31; J.N. Bruncker to Parkes, 10 June 1891. ibid., A919, pp. 323-24; G. Watt to Parkes, 11 June 1891. ibid., A930, pp. 540-41; F.R.L. Rossi to Parkes, 11 June 1891. ibid., vol. 33, A903, pp. 388-91; W.F. Tribe to Parkes, 12 June 1891. ibid., A928, p. 985; J.N. Bruncker to Parkes, 15 June 1891. ibid., vol. 3, A873, pp. 160-61.
169. Bruce Smith to Parkes, 9 June 1891. ibid., vol. 37, A907, pp. 166-67.
170. J. McLean to Parkes, 9 June 1891. ibid., A925, p. 877.
171. DT, 12 June 1891. p. 5.
172. See, for example:- W.A. Harper to Parkes, 3 June 1891. PC, A923, p. 304, ML; G. Hurst to Parkes, 6 June 1891. ibid., vol. 18, A888, pp. 448-49.
173. DT, 10 June 1891, p. 6.
174. G. Watt to Parkes, 11 June 1891. PC, A930, pp. 540-41, ML.
175. SMH, 19 June 1891, p. 6.
176. SMH, 18 June 1891, p. 3.
177. SMH, 25 June 1891, p. 6.
178. J.H. Carruthers to H. Mahon, 30 June 1891. H. Mahon Papers, MSS 937, Series 1, Item 5, NLA.
179. DT, 12 June 1891, p. 5.
180. DT, 13 June 1891, p. 5.
181. NPA Conference, p. 7.
182. 'National Club, List of Members' in ibid., p. 236.

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183. SMH, 17 June 1891, p. 8. See also:- SMH, 22 June 1891, p. 6.
184. FTFC: E.H. Barton (Bogan), R.P. Abbott (Glen Innes), T. Bawden (Grafton), F. Russell (Gwydir), A.F. Twine (West Macquarie), H. Mahon (Wollombi); NPPEC: W. Brown (Sturt).  
In addition, one NPPEC endorsee, J. Hughes (East Macquarie), who had also been selected by the local league in the electorate, was not nominated.
185. A.F. Twine (West Macquarie) and H. Mahon (Wollombi).
186. The two protectionists were elected unopposed in Grafton and Gwydir where FTFC endorsees withdrew, and the Labor candidate in Sturt due to the withdrawal of the NPPEC endorsee, W. Brown.
187. FTLA Conference, p. 29.
188. NPA Conference, p. 17. See also:- FTLA Conference, p. 30.
189. AS, 4 June 1891, p. 6; SMH, DI, 8 June 1891, pp. 5.
190. DI, 8 June 1891, p. 5.
191. ibid.
192. The twelve protectionists returned unopposed by a freetrader in nine electorates were:- J.P. Abbott (Wentworth), J. McFarlane (Clarence), J. See (Grafton), E.B.L. Dickens (Wilcannia), G.A. Cruickshank (Inverell), T.H. Hassall (Gwydir), T. Ewing, J.S. Perry and B.B. Nicoll (Richmond), T.H. York (Wellington), and O. O. Dangar and P. Hogan (Macleay).
193. See ch. 6, n. 163.
194. NSWPD, vol. LI, p. 327, 28 May 1891.
195. J.H. Carruthers to Parkes, 19 March 1891. PC, vol. 7, A877, p. 488, ML.
196. Parkes to W. McMillan, 29 May 1891. J.H. Carruthers Papers, MSS 1638, Box 14a, ML.
197. See ch. 7, n. 242.
198. In 1889, the electorates were East Maitland and Balranald (DI, 23 February 1889, p. 6); in 1891, they were Tenterfield and Sturt. In the latter, the endorsed protectionist retired, allowing the Labor candidate in unopposed.
199. AS, 12 June 1891, p. 6.

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200. DT, 11 June 1891, p. 5.
201. SMH, 12 June 1891, p. 5.
202. SMH, 14 June 1891, p. 5.
203. See above, ch. 5, p. 174.
204. See above, ch. 5, p.174 ; ch. 7, p. 235.
205. J.M. Conroy Papers, Add.MSS 892, DL.
206. H. Parkes, Meeting, 1891, p. 14.
207. J.M. Conroy Papers, Add.MSS 897, DL. This section of the Conroy Papers is labelled "Freetrade and Federation Committee. General Election 1891", and it consists almost exclusively of details regarding FTFC finance - a balance sheet, itemised receipts for expenditure and bank deposit slips. Unless otherwise stated, all details of FTFC expenditure are taken from this source.  
The MsLA who contributed to the fund were D. O'Connor, C. Garland, Bruce Smith, H. Parkes, A.J. Gould, J.N. Brunker, J.H. Carruthers, W. McMillan, S. Smith (£50 each), G.H. Greene (£25), R.J. Black (£20), J. Plumb, J. Wheeler and R.B. Wilkinson (£10 each). £15 was contributed from FTLA funds.
208. J.M. Conroy Papers, Add. MSS 892, DL.
209. J. McLean to Parkes, 2 July 1891. PC, vol. 27, A897, pp. 46-51, ML.
210. See G.A. Thompson to Parkes, 26 June 1891. ibid., vol. 40, A910, p. 372.
211. In 1889, they paid the nomination fee of several candidates. See ch. 7, n. 129.
212. J.N. Brunker to Parkes, 15 June 1891. PC, vol. 3, A873, p. 160, ML.
213. AS, 9 June 1891, p. 6.
214. AS, 5 June 1891, p. 5.
215. SMH, 8 June 1891, p. 5.
216. SMH, 8 June 1891, p.7.
217. ibid.
218. ibid.
219. DT, 9 June 1891, p. 5.
220. SMH, 8 June 1891, p. 5.

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221. SMH, 11 June 1891, p. 3.
222. SMH, 10 June 1891, p. 5.
223. W. Affleck, Reminiscences, p. 40.
224. SMH, 13 June 1891, p. 6.
225. SMH, 13 June 1891, p. 10.
226. SMH, 1 July 1891, p. 5.
227. SMH, 25 June 1891, p. 6.
228. SMH, 16 June 1891, p. 3.
229. SMH, 15 June 1891, p. 11 (J. Connolly).
230. See ch. 7, n. 215; above, ch. 7, pp. 221-22.
231. FTLA Conference, p. 27.
232. See above, p. 285.
233. DT, 13 June 1891, p. 5.
234. DT, 15 June 1891, p. 3.
235. SMH, 15 June 1891, p. 11.
236. ibid.
237. DT, 15 June 1891, p. 3.
238. Burrangong Argus, 27 June 1891.
239. SMH, 25 June 1891, p. 6.
240. DT, 16 June 1891, p. 5.
241. AS, 17 June 1891, p. 3.
242. Final figures for the electorate were:-  

H.W. Newman	LEL, FTFC endorsements	1073
J. Torpy	NPPEC endorsement	1045
T. Dalton	NPPEC endorsement	1035
P. Burke	unendorsed protectionist	860
243. SMH, 15 June 1891, p. 11.
244. SMH, 16 June 1891, p. 8. A further case of unsuccessful NPPEC intervention occurred in Boorowa. See:-  
DT, 22 June 1891, p. 5; 24 June 1891, p. 5.

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245. Final figures for the electorate were:-
- |              |                          |      |
|--------------|--------------------------|------|
| R. Scobie    | FTFC endorsement         | 677  |
| J. Pritchard | NPPEC endorsement        | 455  |
| J. Connolly  | unendorsed protectionist | 232. |
246. The number of announced candidates declined from 420 on 9 June (DT, 9 June 1891, p. 5), to 360 on 13 June (SMH, 13 June 1891, p. 6) and to the final figure of 326, or nearly 2½ candidates for each of the available 141 seats.
247. The freetrade vote was split in sixteen electorates: Balmain, Camden, Canterbury, Central Cumberland, Glebe, Grenfell, Hartley, Illawarra, Morpeth, Newtown, Paddington, Parramatta, Redfern, St Leonards, West Maitland, Yass Plains. The protectionist vote was split in seventeen electorates: Balranald, Boorowa, Bourke, Braidwood, Camden, Carcoar, Durham, Eden, Glen Innes, Goulburn, Gunnedah, Hunter, Monaro, Morpeth, Murrumbidgee, Orange and Yass Plains. The three electorates in which the vote of both parties was split were Camden, Morpeth and Yass Plains. In a further three electorates (Macleay, Wellington and Richmond), there were too many protectionist candidates, but no freetrade opposition to take advantage of the situation.
248. See above, ch. 7, p. 222.
249. SMH, 16 June 1891, p. 5.
250. SMH, 16 June 1891, p. 4.
251. See Appendix X; above, ch. 7, p. 223.
252. See Appendix XII.
253. See AS, 13 December 1889, p. 5. For the appearance of the 'Cocktail Party' in December 1889, see above, ch. 6, p. 199.
254. See above, ch. 6, p. 204.
255. NSWPD, vol. XLVIII, p. 4618, 16 October 1890 (H. Copeland).
256. ibid., p. 4621 (E.W. O'Sullivan).
257. See ch. 6, n. 163.
258. NSWPD, vol. LI, p. 327, 28 May 1891. For the responsibility of the censure motion in bringing on the election, see above, p.275. The Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, J.P. Abbott, who gave his casting vote in favour of Parkes, had also been named at the end of 1889 as a member of the 'Cocktail Party'

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(see ch. 6, n. 163), but his action in saving the ministry from defeat was based on political precedent rather than party disloyalty. (See NSWPD, vol. LI, p. 327, 28 May 1891).

259. See ch. 6, n. 163.
260. DT, 1 June 1891, p. 5.
261. NSWPD, vol. XLVIII, p. 4616, 16 October 1890 (O.O. Dangar); see ch. 6, n. 206.
262. The Western Herald and Darling River Advocate, 27 May 1891.
263. DT, 1 June 1891, p. 5.
264. DT, 30 May 1891, p. 5.
265. SMH, 12 June 1891, p. 5.
266. SMH, 13 June 1891, p. 6.
267. The Western Herald and Darling River Advocate, 20 June 1891.
268. SMH, 20 June 1891, p. 10.
269. ibid.
270. AS, 6 June 1891, p. 8.
271. SMH, 19 June 1891, p. 5.
272. The final figures were:-  
Bourke (3 members)
- |              |                          |      |
|--------------|--------------------------|------|
| H. Langwell  | NPPEC endorsement        | 2091 |
| W.N. Willis  | NPPEC                    | 1886 |
| J.P. Howe    | NPPEC                    | 1727 |
| T. Waddell   | unendorsed protectionist | 1125 |
| E.D. Millen  | FTFC endorsement         | 943  |
| W.W. Davis   | unendorsed protectionist | 870  |
| A.J. O'Grady | unendorsed protectionist | 102. |
273. NSWPD, vol. LI, p. 327, 28 May 1891.
274. SMH, 8 June 1891, p. 5.
275. Parkes to W. McMillan, 29 May 1891. J.H. Carruthers Papers, MSS 1638, Box 14a, ML.
276. ibid.
277. DT, 12 June 1891, p. 5.
278. W. McMillan to V. Parkes, 12 June 1891. Parkes Papers, A1052, ML.



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279. SMH, 15 June 1891, p. 5.

280. SMH, 3 July 1891, p. 5.

Conclusion

1. N.B. Nairn, Civilising, p. 30.
2. J.A. Ryan, 'Colonial Politics in Australia: A Symposium. I. Faction Politics: A Problem in Historical Interpretation', Australian Economic History Review, vol. 8, no. 1 (March 1968), p. 45.

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