General strike, Brisbane, 1912. Photograph. Between January and March 1912, a general strike erupted in Queensland in support of Brisbane tramdrivers who went on strike over the wearing of union badges.
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CHAPTER 37

LABOUR RELATIONS

PETER LOVE

FROM THE EARLIEST years of British occupation, most people in Australia have earned a living by selling their labour. In doing so, they entered into a complex set of relationships with employers, the laws and institutions of the state, their fellow workers, the physical environment of the workplace and the prevailing economic conditions. The interaction between all these has shaped the history of labour and industrial relations over the last two hundred years.

The first non-Aboriginal workers in Australia were convicts who were in no position to haggle over the price of their labour. But as the system of assigning convicts to free settlers developed, so did a labour market. The main issues of contention were the perennial ones of wages and conditions. The market was complicated from the mid-1820s onwards by the influx of free immigrants who swelled the ranks of the predominantly ex-convict working class. There were many skilled tradesmen among the immigrants and it was they who established the first mutual benefit societies, the precursors of trade unions. The laws of conspiracy and the Masters and Servants Act, however, discouraged the growth of unions. Instead, workers united around specific issues such as extension of the franchise, the movement to end transportation and the attempt to limit migration during the mid-1840s depression.

Although they had some experience of collective action by the middle of the nineteenth century, Australian workers were not able to establish permanent unions until economic conditions in Victoria and New South Wales were transformed by the 1850s gold rushes. Those workers who did not seek their fortunes on the goldfields were in a much better position to bargain and organise. Craft unions in the building, metal and printing trades grew as wages and the demand for labour soared, particularly in Melbourne where building workers won the eight-hour day in 1856.

The history of labour, however, has not been one of uninterrupted progress. After this 'golden' decade there was a longer period from the early 1860s to the mid-1870s when conditions were much less buoyant. Most of the craft unions survived, although their gains of the 1850s were eroded. Meanwhile, a new kind of union was beginning to emerge among the miners, shearers, waterside workers and seamen. Based on industry rather than craft, this 'new unionism' grew as the economy improved from the late 1870s onwards. Because their members and the issues that concerned them crossed colonial boundaries, these unions tended to see themselves against a wider, national horizon. Caring little for the traditions built up by the respectable craftsmen, they inclined more towards militant industrial action coupled with a radical political outlook.

The movement towards 'closer unionism' ran parallel to this. By the mid-1880s Trades and Labour Councils had been established in many of the major cities. They were the creation of the craft unions, designed to prevent and settle industrial disputes as well as co-ordinate the affairs of the smaller urban unions. Similar objectives inspired the intercolonial trades union conferences, held in various cities between 1879 and 1898. It was clear from discussion at the conferences prior to 1890 that the unions were beginning to see their interests within a broader perspective. Many of the issues debated—the need for factory acts, legal status for trade unions, conciliation and arbitration—required some form of state intervention in industrial relations. That implied political representation.

This gradual move towards parliamentary politics was accelerated by the depression and the great strikes of 1890–94. The pastoralists and the shipowners were aided in their struggle with the workers by the power of the state. The combined strength of parliaments, police, troops and the courts inflicted a humiliating defeat on the unions. Beaten but not crushed, they established the Labor parties in an effort to control the 'machinery of the state', to make it a friend of the workers, not an enemy. (In the matter of spelling, I have followed the convention by which Labor refers to the party and its formal institutions, while labour signifies the wider movement as well as the act of work; when citing references, the authors' own spelling has been copied.)

The labour movement as we now know it—with its industrial and political wings—grew out of that struggle between labour and capital. It was during this period that the movement's leaders began to write their own history from a heightened sense of collective identity. *The history of capital and labour in all lands and ages*, with chapters by John Norton, E.W. O'Sullivan and W.E. Murphy, appeared in 1888. George Black chronicled the emergence of the Labor party with his *Labor in politics* (Sydney, Australian Workman) in 1893, while W.E. Murphy (1896, 1900) celebrated improved working condition.

By the turn of the century the unions, both craft and industrial, had begun to recover their earlier strength. Through the Labor parties, especially in the eastern states, they had made some progress on industrial issues such as the establishment of wages boards and the passing of factory acts which tried to eliminate 'sweatshops' and improve safety in the workplace. Because of measures like these, Australia had earned a wide reputation as a 'social laboratory' where state intervention to regulate the conditions of labour gave it the appearance of a 'workingman's paradise'. Albert Métin (1901, trans, 1977) was one of many overseas visitors who had come to see it for themselves.

With the establishment of the commonwealth in 1901 and the formation of the Federal Labor Party, the gap between the party and the unions widened. Although many members were from union backgrounds, Labor tended to present itself as a nationalist rather than a class party. The tensions arising from that have been a persistent theme in writing on the labour movement.

The most important development in the field of industrial relations before World War I was the establishment of the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration in 1904. Although its jurisdiction was confined to interstate disputes, its power to conduct compulsory hearings and make legally binding awards placed it in a commanding position to set general standards. In 1907 it did just that when its second president, Mr Justice Higgins, handed down his historic decision in the Harvester case. There, he introduced the concept of a 'basic wage', set at an amount he considered sufficient to support a worker's family in 'frugal comfort', supplemented by a 'margin for skill' where appropriate. Higgins (1922) wrote his own assessment of the court's role.

The prospect of winning such an award was a strong incentive for the expansion of unions, particularly those that could straddle state boundaries in either a legitimate or some contrived manner. There were some radicals, however, who warned that participation in the arbitration system would erode the right to strike and increase the tendency for the unions to be integrated into the capitalist state.

During World War I and in the years immediately after, the unions and the Labor party drifted further apart. The party, critically weakened by the 1916 conscription split, seemed irrelevant to

an increasingly militant union movement that was flirting with revolutionary and syndicalist ideas, particularly after the 1917 general strike and news of the Russian Revolution. The issue came to a head in 1921 at the union and party conference which eventually agreed to an uneasy marriage between industrial syndicalism and parliamentary socialism in the form of the 'socialisation objective'.

Coinciding with this 'red dawn', more varied forms of labour history began to appear. George Dale (1918; facs, 1965) reflected the prevailing radical mood in its celebration of working-class struggles in and around Broken Hill. Vere Gordon Childe's enduring analysis (1923; repr, 1964) cast a severe but scholarly eye over the institutions and practices of the labour movement to show why they had failed to transform the condition of the workers. J.T. Sutcliffe (1921; repr, 1967) wrote one of the earliest examples of institutional labour history. An academic from the Worker's Educational Association, he set out for the first time the principal stages in the growth of the Australian labour movement. T.A. Coghlan (1918; repr, 1967) attempted a more ambitious survey. Based on many years experience as a government statistician, his monumental four-volume work offered a history of economic development in the nineteenth century with some insightful commentary on the social conditions of labour.

After a series of major strikes in 1919–21, the unions concentrated their growing strength on campaigns for better wages and shorter hours through the Arbitration Court. Although they made some temporary gains, they also had difficulties with the court. In 1922, for example, it refused to recognise the syndicalist-inspired One Big Union as a legitimate national organisation. Not until 1927 were the unions able to establish a federal structure acceptable to most of their members and the court. The Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU), as the new body was called, was based on state labour councils and federal unions. It was empowered to act in federal disputes and on any other issues referred to it by the state labour councils. The infant ACTU was weakened, however, by the decision of the Australian Workers' Union, the largest of all, to remain outside the organisation.

The Arbitration Court, meanwhile, was having its own difficulties. After an unsuccessful attempt in 1926 to give the court power to override conflicting state awards and so establish uniform national standards, the Bruce–Page government decided in 1929 to transfer most federal industrial relations powers to state tribunals. The labour movement overcame its earlier ambivalence towards the court and vigorously opposed the move. The government was defeated in parliament on the issue and the prime minister lost his seat to the secretary of the Melbourne Trades Hall Council at the subsequent federal election.

Neither the incoming Scullin Labor government nor the ACTU was able to protect workers from the ravages of the Great Depression. The unions suffered a series of crushing defeats. Their membership fell drastically. Unemployment rose to over 30 per cent in 1932. The Arbitration Court cut wages by 10 per cent in January 1931 and in doing so changed Higgins' 1907 principle of the 'living wage' to one based on the 'capacity of industry to pay'. In June 1931 the Scullin government implemented the deflationary Premiers' Plan which contributed to its defeat in December 1931. Disillusioned with arbitration, and to a lesser extent with Labor governments, some unions turned to communist leaders who attempted to widen their members' horizons in campaigns on international issues such as the rise of fascism. Most unions, however, spent their energies for the rest of the decade on efforts to rebuild their organisations and recover lost ground on wages and conditions. During this grim period very little labour history was written, but the depression was to become the subject of intense historical interest in the 1960s and 1970s.

Australian workers did not experience full employment until World War II when the total mobilisation of the nation's resources created an extraordinary demand for labour. After some early unrest during the tenure of the first Menzies government, the unions co-operated with the Curtin Labor government in the interests of a united war effort, accepting many restraints that would otherwise have been vigorously rejected. During the war there were two developments in the labour force that were to become significant in later years. The first was a massive influx of women into the paid workforce to replace men who were in the armed services. The second

was an increasing communist influence in the larger, more powerful unions. This grew out of a wider interest in Marxist ideas which had become more respectable since the USSR had joined the allied cause in 1941 and Australian communists had adopted a strong pro-war policy. Although another forty years passed before the role of working women became a major preoccupation in the writing of labour history, the influence of Marxism was seen almost immediately in Brian Fitzpatrick (1940; repr, 1968) and E.W. Campbell (1945).

When the war ended, so did industrial harmony. Determined to win their share of the prosperity promised by the Chifley Labor government's new social order, the unions gave vent to long-suppressed demands for higher wages and shorter hours. After a series of strikes and a protracted case before the Arbitration Court, they finally won the 40-hour week in 1948 and, in 1950, a £1 rise in the basic wage, with a minimum for women workers set at 75 per cent of the male rate. Communist-led unions, meanwhile, decided to challenge the Labor party's leadership of the working class. Their campaign reached its climax in the 1949 coal strike when the government sent troops into the mines and gaoled some of their leaders. That dispute, conducted in a chilling Cold War atmosphere, contributed to the Chifley government's defeat at the 1949 election and intensified the tensions with the labour movement that led to the struggles of 1954–55 described by Robert Murray (1984).

During the period of almost uninterrupted prosperity between the early 1950s and the mid-1970s a number of significant changes occurred in the economy, the workforce, the unions and the industrial relations system. As a result of overall but uneven economic growth there was a decline of employment in primary industry and an increase in the manufacturing and service sectors. This coincided with two major shifts in the composition of the workforce where there was a substantial rise in the proportions of women and of migrant workers. There was a slight decline in the percentage of workers who were unionists and a fall in the number of unions, although this resulted more from amalgamation than from loss of members. There was also a substantial growth in white collar unionism and a weakening of those covering semiskilled and unskilled workers. This process of consolidation allowed the ACTU to speak with an increasingly authoritative voice, particularly after it won the allegiance of white collar unions in the late 1970s.

Over the same period, changes were made to the arbitration system. Increasingly severe penal powers were reintroduced between 1947 and 1951, but were defeated by resolute industrial action in 1969. The rules and procedures for determining wages and conditions underwent several revisions, usually in conjunction with changes of government. In 1969 the Arbitration Commission accepted the principle of 'equal pay for equal work' to be introduced in progressive stages by 1972, although women continued to receive lower average weekly earnings because of unresolved structural problems in the workforce.

Wages and hours of work continue to be the main preoccupation of industrial relations. In recent years, however, other issues have become prominent. They include health and safety in the workplace, the environmental effects of economic development, equal opportunity, the concept of a 'social wage' and problems of rapid technological change.

Much has been written on all these issues. Indeed, the study of labour and industrial relations seems to have been one of the most spectacular growth industries in the postwar period. It is for this reason that most of the books in the accompanying bibliography were published comparatively recently. Reference to related earlier studies can usually be found in the notes and bibliographies of each book. There are also a number of journals in which important articles have appeared. These include *Australian journal of politics and history*, *Economic record* (1925–), *Historical studies* (1940–), *Journal of industrial relations* (1959–), *Labour history* (1962–), and *Politics* (1966–). A useful starting point for locating relevant material published before 1974 is *Index to journal articles on Australian history* compiled by Hogan *et al.* Continuations of this work have been issued by Victor Crittenden and a consolidation of this important bibliography is planned (see chapter 8).

Although writing in this field has become more diverse during the last thirty years, the more traditional kinds of labour history have continued to appear. These have usually been

commissioned union histories, written by participants or close observers who have almost invariably been sympathetic to the labour cause. Edgar Ross (1970) and Pete Thomas (1983) on the miners, A.E. Davies (1974) on the meat workers and Jack Mundey (1981) on the builders' labourers are examples of this genre. They are, in many ways, the descendants of Norton and Black, Murphy and Spence. However, most of the growth in published work has come from the universities. The complex reasons for this and the debates that have accompanied it are examined in John Merritt's chapter on 'Labour history' in Osborne and Mandle (1982).

In the 1960s a number of related developments centring on the Australian National University boosted academic study of labour history. Some members of staff had already completed research on the working class and the labour movement. Their interests, backed by research stipends, attracted talented postgraduate students who made extensive use of the university's archives of business and labour. Further encouragement came from the formation of the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History in 1961, with its base at the ANU. As the bibliography suggests, that convergence of circumstances was remarkably productive.

Some of this work, most notably the general histories by Gollan (1960; repr, 1974) and Turner (1965; repr, 1979), grew out of the 'old left' radical nationalism of Brian Fitzpatrick's (1940; repr, 1968) earlier writing. However, most of the studies undertaken in the 1960s and early 1970s were more narrowly focused. Partly because of the requirements of the PhD thesis, many were detailed institutional histories of unions, the ALP or more radical sections of the labour movement. They tended to concentrate on the growth of unions, relations between leaders and the rank and file, industrial issues and strikes, factional struggles and the tension between craft and industrial unionism.

There was a parallel growth in the study of industrial relations. This was also due in part to the expansion of tertiary education in the 1960s and 1970s, but it was built on solid foundations laid down in the 1950s. Unlike labour history, however, it did not begin with the union movement. It was more the creation of employers who had adopted the principles of 'scientific' management. Accordingly, it developed as a field of study primarily concerned with the practical problems of how to 'manage' conflict in the workplace. As such, its preoccupations have been different from labour history.

While many labour historians have adopted variations of class analysis in their studies, people in the 'management' field have tended to view the relations between workers, employers and the state as a functional system capable of being professionally manipulated. For that reason most attention has been given to the formal institutions at the heart of the system; employers' organisations, unions, the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission and industrial law. The earlier work of O.deR. Foenander, *Studies in Australian labour law and relations* (MUP, 1954); and W.A. Baker, *The commonwealth basic wage, 1907–1953* (Sydney, Metal Trades Federation, 1953), reflected these preoccupations which have continued in the more contemporary writing listed in the bibliography. In recent years the increasing professionalisation of union leaders has been accommodated into research and teaching of industrial relations which, as a result, has become a more autonomous field of study. Nevertheless, the fact remains that labour history and industrial relations were disciplines created by the labour movement and the employers respectively, and that both bear the mark of their origins.

Since the 1970s studies of labour and industrial relations have begun to expand beyond narrow institutional horizons. Stimulated by perspectives from other disciplines and encouraged by impressive advances in English social history, Australian scholars have widened their vision. After a great deal of largely repetitious debate among 'new left' historians, Connell and Irving (1980) finally produced an analysis of class structure in Australian history that was both ambitious and illuminating. Williams (1981), Kriegler (1980) and Kennedy (1978) have published studies that located workers in the social context of their communities, while Broomhill (1978) has reconstructed something of the everyday experience of unemployed workers in the 1930s. These latter examples mark an important shift away from the history of the labour movement to the social history of labour. The early results are encouraging, although it is doubtful that they

will entirely displace the traditional forms of labour history. There is much yet to be said about the institutions created by the working class.

One of the most impressive developments of recent years has been in work on women and the labour movement. Growing out of the feminist revival of the 1970s and mobilised by the first Women and Labour Conference in 1978, an extraordinary amount of work has been produced to redress the long neglect of women in historical writing. However, it is not simply the quantity of material published that has been impressive. It has provided significant advances in at least two other areas. The first is in the development of the theory of patriarchy which has issued a profound challenge to a number of prevailing historical orthodoxies. The work of Game and Pringle (1983), for example, has raised important questions about the relationship between technology, gender and class in the workplace. The second concerns the use of sources. Since most of the data available to historians tend to ignore the role of women, writers in this field have been forced to make more imaginative use of that material. On the basis of work published so far it seems that the study of labour and industrial relations will be substantially enriched by the theoretical and methodological advances made in women's history.

Feminist and social historians have added a greater diversity to this field of study, as have sociologists and economists, through their explorations of the labour process. By asking different questions and pursuing them in imaginative ways, they are opening new avenues for research into the social experience of those who work. These new directions promise some of the most stimulating analysis in the future. They will not, however, make the more traditional kinds of labour history redundant. On the contrary, they are more likely to enrich that tradition. General studies of the labour movement will continue to be written, as will union histories, but they will be shaped by new perspectives and take a more expansive view of their subject.

Despite all the changing perspectives, shifting emphases and new methods adopted by writers in the field, one thing has remained constant in the history of Australian labour. In the two hundred years since the British invasion, most people have made a living by selling their labour to employers. Any study that fails to recognise this, or the productive and social relationships that arise from it, is in danger of missing the point.

I am grateful to Margaret Bevege, Phillip and Stephen Deery, John Merritt and Carmel Shute who offered suggestions for the following bibliography.

Coloured lithograph, 3 Dec 1917, NSW Government Printing Office. A strike by New South Wales railway and tramway workers in August and September 1917 severely disrupted the state's economy. The non-Labor government actively sought strikebreakers from among the general community. In December 1917 the acting premier, George Fuller, issued this certificate thanking the strikebreakers for helping 'to maintain Responsible Government'.
BOOROWA PRODUCTIONS

BAKER, J.S. *Communicators and their first trade unions: a history of the Telegraphist and Postal Clerk unions of Australia.* Sydney, Union of Postal Clerks and Telegraphists, 1980. 372 p, illus.

This history by a union secretary sets the UPCT in the context of technological change, economic fluctuations, industrial conflict and political campaigns.

BEVEGE, M. *et al, Worth her salt: women at work in Australia.* Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1982. 423 p, illus.

Papers from the 1980 Women and Labour Conference which examines the social condition of women and their attempt to change it.

BORDOW, A. *The worker in Australia: contributions from research.* UQP, 1977. 301 p.

Studies of workers and of one independent entreprenuer. Introduction includes review of literature on workers in Australia since 1945.

BROOMHILL, C.R. *Unemployed workers: a social history of the Great Depression in Adelaide.* UQP, 1978. 220 p, illus.

Reconstructs the everyday lives of the unemployed, how they responded to their condition as individuals rather than collectively.

BUCKLEY, K.D. *The Amalgamated Engineers in Australia, 1852–1920.* Canberra, Dept of Economic History, Research School of the Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1970. 318 p, illus.

A study of the early years of a British craft union transplanted into Australia. The story is continued by Sheridan (1975).

CAMPBELL, E.W. *History of the Australian labour movement: a Marxist interpretation.* Sydney, Current Book Distributions, 1945. 160 p.

A tendentious work written to bolster the Communist party's analysis of the labour movement in the mid-1940s.

CHILDE, V.G. *How labour governs: a study of workers' representation in Australia.* London, Labour Publishing Co, 1923. xxxii, 216 p.

A severe analysis of the way the industrial and political institutions of the labour movement are bound to betray the interests of the worker. Second edition published in 1964.

COGHLAN, T.A. *Labour and industry in Australia from the first settlement in 1788 to the establishment of the commonwealth in 1901.* London, Oxford University Press, 1918. 4 vols.

Pioneering work on issues such as immigration, land legislation, prices and political action insofar as they affected the labour movement. Reprinted in 1967.

COLE, K. ed, *Power, conflict and control in Australian trade unions.* Ringwood, Vic, Pelican, 1982. 302 p.

The popular image of unions as powerful and aggressive organisations is subjected to critical scrutiny, showing that they are subject to many constraints.

CONNELL, R.W. AND IRVING, T.H. *Class structure in Australian history: documents, narrative and argument.* Melbourne, Longman Cheshire, 1980. 378 p, illus.

A work of Marxist scholarship. Provides an outline of the class structure in which Australian industrial relations have been conducted.

CURTHOYS, A. *et al, Women at work.* Canberra, Australian Society for the Study of Labour History, 1975. 161 p.

Includes material on women as unpaid domestic workers and in the paid workforce. Emphasis on 1920–50.

DABSCHECK, B. *Arbitrator at work: Sir William Kelly and the regulation of Australian industrial relations.* Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1983. 169 p.

Uses Kelly as a case study of how judicial arbitrators arrive at their decisions.

DALE, G. *The industrial history of Broken Hill.* Melbourne, Fraser & Jenkinson, 1918. 269 p, illus.

Nominally centred on Broken Hill, this celebration of historic working-class struggles was written to fan the embers of revolutionary enthusiasm in the labour movement. Facsimile edition, Adelaide, LBSA, 1965.

D'ALPUGET, B. *Mediator: a biography of Sir Richard Kirby.* MUP, 1977. 277 p, illus.

Biography of a judge whose career spanned 25 years at the centre of the arbitration system and shows how law and politics are entwined in Australian industrial relations.

D'ALPUGET, B. *Robert J. Hawke: a biography* (rev edn). Ringwood, Vic, Schwartz/Penguin, 1983. 472 p, illus.

Particularly revealing on Hawke's career as president of the ACTU. Complement to Hagan's official history (1981). First published in 1982.

DAVIES, A.E. *The meat workers unite.* Melbourne, Australasian Meat Industry Employees' Union (Vic Branch), 1974. 303 p, illus.

A conventional history of industrial and political issues, it also provides lively discussion of personalities and cultural activities associated with the union.

EBBELS, R.N. *The Australian labour movement, 1850–1907: historical documents.* Ed by L.G. Churchward. Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1983. 255 p.

Documents concerning the ideas, movements and institutions which gave rise to the Australian labour movement. First published in 1960.

FARRELL, F. *International socialism & Australian labour: the left in Australia, 1919–1939.* Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1981. 284 p, illus.

Primarily a study of socialist ideas in the Australian labour movement, there are also two substantial chapters devoted specifically to the unions.

FITZPATRICK, B. *A short history of the Australian labor movement.* Melbourne, Rawson's Bookshop, 1940. 182 p.

An interpretative history which shows what labour had done to build a 'fair and reasonable' society under capitalism. Second enlarged edition published in 1944. Reprinted in 1968.

FITZPATRICK, B. AND CAHILL, R.J. *The Seamen's Union of Australia, 1872–1972: a history.* Sydney, The Union, 1981. 363 p, illus.

A history begun by Fitzpatrick and finished by Cahill. Concerned mainly with working conditions, strikes and wider political campaigns. Useful appendices.

FORD, G.W. AND PLOWMAN, D.H. eds, *Australian unions: an industrial relations perspective.* Melbourne, Macmillan, 1983. 576 p.

Examines several important aspects of how unions operate, including organisation and practice, freedom and control, co-operation and conflict, issues and policies.

GAME, A. AND PRINGLE, R. *Gender at work.* Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1983. 147 p, illus.

Through a study of six areas in which women work, it provides an analysis of the relationship between gender, the labour process and technological change since 1945.

GOLLAN, R.A. *The coalminers of New South Wales: a history of the union, 1860–1960.* MUP, 1963. 249 p.

A history which broke new ground in the use of employers' records to locate the miners within a wider pattern of class relationships.

GOLLAN, R.A. *Radical and working class politics: a study of*

eastern Australia, 1850–1910. MUP, 1974. 238 p.
A classic study of the process which gave rise to the union movement and the Labor party. First published in 1960.

HAGAN, J. *The ACTU: a short history on the occasion of the 50th anniversary, 1927–1977.* Sydney, Reed, 1977. 95 p, illus.
An introductory history for the general reader.

HAGAN, J. *The history of the ACTU.* Melbourne, Longman Cheshire, 1981. 476 p.
The official history and a scholarly account of how the ACTU has emerged as one of the leading institutions in the Australian economy.

HAGAN, J. *Printers and politics: a history of the Australian printing unions, 1850–1950.* ANUP, 1966. 386 p, illus.
A history which stresses the recurring tension between conservative craft unionism and radical industrial unionism.

HARGREAVES, K. *Women at work.* Ringwood, Vic, Penguin, 1982. 402 p.
Women's entry into the paid workforce. Issues in the 1970s: child care, discrimination, migrant women, right to work, unions, working conditions.

HARRIS, J. *The bitter fight: a pictorial history of the Australian labor movement.* UQP, 1970. 310 p, illus, maps.
Documents, photographs and cartoons with historical commentary. Covers from the convict era up to 1922.

HEAD, B. ed, *State and economy in Australia.* OUP, 1983. 305 p.
Chapters by Butlin, Macintyre, Matthews and Howard are useful for background to contemporary industrial relations.

HIGGINS, H.B. *A new province for law and order: being a review, by its late president for fourteen years, of the Australian Court of Conciliation and Arbitration.* London, Constable, 1922. 181 p.
The role played by the court as seen by its second president who handed down the famous Harvester judgment of 1907.

HILL, J. *From subservience to strike: industrial relations in the banking industry.* UQP, 1982. 296 p, illus.
A history of the Australian Bank Employees' Union from 1919 to 1973. A product of recent academic interest in white collar unionism.

HINCE, K. *Conflict and coal: a case study of industrial relations in the open-cut coal mining industry of Central Queensland.* UQP, 1982. 250 p, maps.
Covers the period from 1975 when Utah developed new mines in the Bowen Basin.

THE HISTORY of capital and labour in all lands and ages: their past condition, present relations, and outlook for the future. Sydney, Oceanic Publishing Co, 1888. 943 p, illus.
The first major book on the history of Australian labour. Contains chapters on the various colonies.

HUTSON, J. *Penal colony to penal powers.* Sydney, Amalgamated Metals Foundry and Shipwrights' Union, 1983. 359 p.
The development of the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission, the system for fixing wages and conditions, and the penal powers used as sanctions to support arbitration decisions. First published in 1966.

JUDDERY, B. *White collar power: a history of the ACOA.* Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1980. 319 p.
A history of the Administrative and Clerical Officers' Association, commissioned by the union.

KENNEDY, B.E. *Silver, sin, and sixpenny ale: a social history of Broken Hill, 1883–1921.* MUP, 1978. 202 p, illus, maps.
Study of a mining community where bitterly fought industrial conflicts shaped the city's distinctive character and institutions.

KINGSTON, B. *My wife, my daughter, and poor Mary Ann: women and work in Australia.* Melbourne, Nelson, 1975. 158 p, illus.
From the 1860s to the 1930s, covers the difficulties that confronted women as they moved into the workforce, or performed unpaid labour in the home.

KRIEGLER, R.J. *Working for the company: work and control in the Whyalla shipyard.* OUP, 1980. 308 p.
A contemporary account of life at the BHP shipyards written from the perspective of the workers.

LOUIS, L.J. *Trade unions and the depression: a study of Victoria, 1930–1932.* ANUP, 1968. 225 p.
A study which shows how Victorian unions were neither theoretically nor organisationally equipped to protect workers from the ravages of the depression.

LOVE, P. *Labour and the money power: Australian labour populism 1890–1950.* MUP, 1984. 240 p, illus.
Examines 'money power' theory to show how populist ideology left an impression on the way the labour movement saw its role as an agent of social change.

LOWENSTEIN, W. AND HILLS, T. *Under the hook: Melbourne waterside workers remember working lives and class war, 1900–1980.* Melbourne, Melbourne Bookworkers in association with the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History, 1982. 192 p, illus.
A history prepared by a labour historian and a retired waterside worker. Most chapters are transcriptions of group interviews.

McKINLAY, B.J. *A documentary history of the Australian labor movement, 1850–1975.* Melbourne, Drummond, 1979. 778 p, illus.
Commentaries which bring together many of the important documents previously scattered in other publications.

McMURCHY, M. *et al, For love or money: a pictorial history of women and work in Australia.* Ed by I. Dunn. Ringwood, Vic, Penguin, 1983. 186 p, illus.
This history from the beginnings of settlement to the present consists of a collection and illustrations with a commentary. Based on the film of the same title.

MARTIN, R.M. *Trade unions in Australia: who runs them, who belongs—their politics, their power.* Ringwood, Vic, Penguin, 1980. 165 p.
Introduction to contemporary trade unions. Martin examines the popular idea that unions are aggressive and powerful. First published in 1975.

MÉTIN, A. *Socialism without doctrine.* Sydney, Alternative Publishing Co-operative, 1977. [22], 200 p.
Russel Ward's translation of Métin's analysis of 'the working-man's paradise' in Australasia, published in 1901 as *Le Socialisme sans doctrine.*

MUNDEY, J. *Green bans and beyond.* A & R, 1981. 154 p, illus.
Autobiography of the union leader who instigated the tactics of union bans on building projects which threatened to degrade the environment.

MURPHY, D.J. ed, *The big strikes: Queensland, 1889–1965.* UQP, 1983. 303 p, illus.
Studies of particular strikes plus chapters on causes and catalysts, strike law in Qld and trade unions.

MURPHY, D.J. ed, *Labor in politics: the state Labor parties in Australia, 1880–1920.* UQP, 1975. 480 p, illus.
Provides detailed studies of the parties that grew out of the union

movement during those forty years, plus a helpful introduction.

MURPHY, W.E. *History of the eight hours' movement.* Melbourne, Spectator Publishing Co, J.T. Picken, 1896–1900. 2 vols, illus.

An example of the celebratory style of labour history, written by one of its leaders.

MURRAY, R. *The split: Australian labor in the fifties.* Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1984. 392 p.

An account of the factional struggles in the labour movement between communists and Catholic Actionists which led to the Labor party split of 1954–55 and the formation of the Democratic Labor Party. First published in 1970.

MURRAY, R. AND WHITE, K. *The ironworkers: a history of the Federated Ironworkers' Association of Australia.* Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1982. 341 p, illus.

This history of the union's industrial and political struggles is largely sympathetic to the present leadership.

NAIRN, N.B. *Civilising capitalism: the labour movement in New South Wales, 1870–1900.* ANUP, 1973. 260 p, illus.

Examines the role played by the unions in forming the Labor party and how it was a catalyst in the development of the Australian party system.

OSBORNE, G. AND MANDLE, W.F. eds, *New history: studying Australia today.* Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1982. 216 p.

An important chapter by Merritt on labour history provides a survey of the major preoccupations of labour historians from the end of the nineteenth century to the present.

PLOWMAN, D.H. *Wage indexation: a study of Australian wage issues, 1975–1980.* Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1981. 193 p.

An examination of a recent experiment with wage indexation.

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A textbook on the nature of industrial conflict, different approaches to it, the parties and the processes involved.

RAWSON, D.W. *Unions and unionists in Australia.* Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1978. 166 p.

A study of the tendency for unions to be increasingly integrated social organisations rather than part of a working-class movement.

ROSS, E. *A history of the Miners' Federation of Australia.* Sydney, Australasian Coal & Shale Employees' Federation, 1970. 528 p, illus.

A history up to 1970. Concerned mainly with the union's growth and the major issues that have confronted it.

RYAN, E. AND CONLON, A. *Gentle invaders: Australian women at work 1788–1974.* Melbourne, Nelson, 1975. 196 p.

Examines the effects of various wage concepts on working women. Refers to the Harvester judgment as the 'Judge Higgins' albatross'.

SHERIDAN, T. *Mindful militants: the Amalgamated Engineering Union in Australia, 1920–1972.* CUP, 1975. 329 p.

Traces the main industrial and political preoccupations of a union whose strength and militancy made it a pacesetter in wages and a major prize for contending political factions. Companion volume to Buckley (1970).

SPENCE, W.G. *Australia's awakening: thirty years in the life of an Australian agitator.* Sydney, Worker Trustees, 1909. 630 p, illus.

A semiautobiographical account of the emergence of the labour movement up to 1908. New edition published in 1961.

STUART, J. *Part of the glory: reminiscences of the shearers' strike, Queensland, 1891.* Sydney, Australasian Book Society, 1967. 167 p, illus.

First-hand account of this important period in union history.

SUTCLIFFE, J.T. *A history of trade unionism in Australia.* Melbourne, Macmillan, 1921. 226 p.

One of the first chronicles of the landmarks in the development of the Australian union movement. Reprinted in 1967.

TAPERELL, K. *et al, Sexism in public service: the employment of women in Australian government administration.* AGPS, 1975. 111 p.

Paper prepared for the Royal Commission on Australian Government Administration. Describes women's past and present inferior position in the commonwealth public service and outlines proposals for change.

THOMAS, P. *Miners in the 1970s: a narrative history of the Miners Federation.* Sydney, Miners' Federation, 1983. 552 p, illus, map.

A chronicle of the main issues and events which occupied the Miners' Federation in the 1970s. Continues the work of Edgar Ross (1970).

TURNER, I. *Industrial labour and politics: the dynamics of the labour movement in eastern Australia, 1900–1921.* Sydney, Hale & Iremonger, 1979. xxix, 272 p.

A major scholarly work which illustrates the role of mass working-class action in shaping the labour movement. First published in 1965.

TURNER, I. AND SANDERCOCK, L. *In union is strength: a history of trade unions in Australia, 1788–1983.* Melbourne, Nelson, 1983. 183 p, illus.

A short history which provides a useful introduction. First published in 1976.

WALKER, A.E. *Coaltown: a social survey of Cessnock.* MUP, 1945, 141 p.

Brings the perspective of social anthropology to a study of family life, work and leisure in a coalmining community.

WATERS, F. *Postal unions and politics: a history of the Amalgamated Postal Workers' Union of Australia.* Ed by D.J. Murphy. UQP, 1978. 311 p, illus.

A history of a union now known as the Australian Postal and Telecommunications Union covering its growth, industrial issues and political campaigns.

WATERS, M. *Strikes in Australia: a sociological analysis of industrial conflict.* Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1982. 239 p, illus.

Examines the complexity of strikes as a social phenomenon with emphasis on the development of industrial technology and how it has changed the tactics of the major protagonists.

WILLIAMS, C. *Open cut: the working class in an Australian mining town.* Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1981. 222 p.

A study of work and family relationships among working-class people in a Qld mining community where the town is owned by the Utah Company.

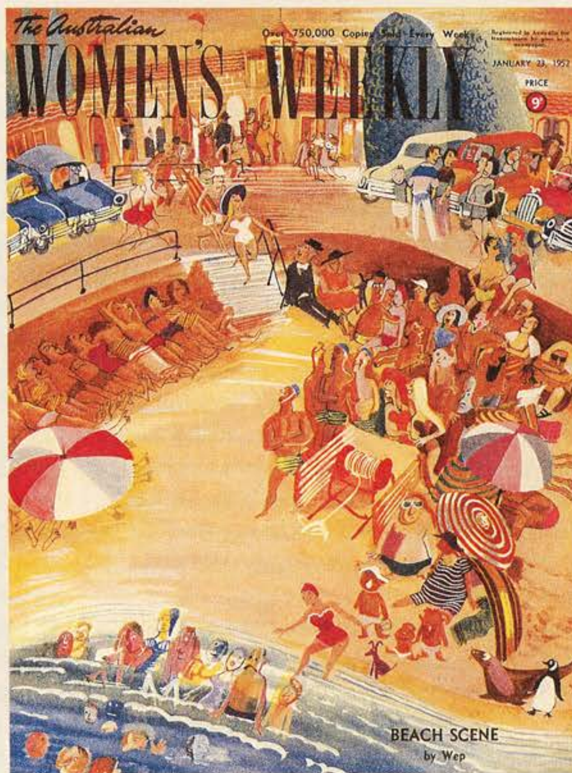
WINDSCHUTTLE, E. ed, *Women, class and history: feminist perspectives on Australia, 1788–1978.* Sydney, Fontana/Collins, 1980. 604 p.

Papers from the first Women and Labour Conference held in 1978, divided into five chronological periods, which consider the position of women in the paid and unpaid workforce.

WINDSCHUTTLE, K. *Unemployment: a social and political analysis of the economic crisis in Australia.* Ringwood, Vic, Penguin, 1980. 343 p.

Nature of the crisis, social consequences, institutional responses, solutions. Radical analysis which was the subject of an ABC television documentary series. First published in 1979.

IX
SOCIETY



Cover, Australian women's weekly, *23 Jan 1952. With the legalisation of daylight bathing in the early 1900s and the establishment of surf lifesaving clubs thereafter, the beach became a major venue for both sport and leisure. Bayside, riverside and harbourside resorts, which flourished from the 1880s to the 1940s, gave way to the surfing beach. The range of people participating in Australian beach culture is well captured by Wep in this cover.*