

**THE QUEST FOR A 'MIDDLE WAY':
RADICAL AND ROCHDALE CO-OPERATION IN
NEW SOUTH WALES, 1859-c1986**

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VOLUME II

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GLOSSARY

The following definitions, descriptions and summaries are designed to assist the reader by providing a general background to the international, theoretical, historical and operational fields upon which co-operation in New South Wales has drawn. They are not held to be binding definitions.

Actuarial Co-operation (Building Societies): a system of housing finance perfected in Sweden after 1916 by Sven Wallender and others. Home seekers place a deposit on a dwelling and pay it off in the form of rent over, normally, twenty to twenty-five years. State and national governments furnish capital or underwrite loans raised through such societies, the affairs of which are managed by a professional secretary or company.

Agricultural Co-operative: (Rural Co-operative, Farmer Co-operative, Primary Producer Co-operative). An organisation of farmers for the mutual benefit of members as producers. It may serve a number of functions, including production, processing, distribution, farm supply, farm stock and product improvement and marketing (cf. 'Distributive' Co-operative, q.v.).

Antigonish Movement: (Nova Scotia Co-operatives). Credit unions, consumer co-operatives, production co-operatives, housing and other community advancement co-operatives begun among fishermen, miners and farmers of eastern Nova Scotia, Canada, around 1928 by Fr. J. J. Tomkins, Fr. M. M. Coady, A. B. McDonald and others associated with the Co-operative Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier College, University of Antigonish.

Autonomy Principle: a co-operative principle whereby an individual associating voluntarily with other individuals in a co-operative association is regarded as the primary co-operative economic unit, functioning as an independent and self-governing socio-economic entity.

Backstrom Paradigm: in E. V. Neale: Christian Socialism and Co-operation in Victorian England, London, 1974. P. N. Backstrom characterised ideological tensions in the English Rochdale Consumer Movement as those occurring between conservative-pragmatic 'federalists', (q.v.) subscribing to a wholesale-led theory of co-operation emphasising the primacy of the consumer and inclining towards centralism and managerialism, on the one hand, and radical-idealistic 'individualists', emphasising co-operative production, co-operative autonomy and a Co-operative Union of democratic organisations, on the other.

'Backwards Integration': a method of co-operative organisation, also known as the 'American Rochdale Plan', by which a central co-operative organisation conducts business, diversifying from the top down, rather than from the 'grass roots' up.

Bellamy, Edward (1850-1895): American writer and social reformer. In The Duke of Stockbridge (1879), Bellamy described a revolt in 1786 in terms of economic hardship and injustice. In Looking Backward (1888), a novel which made him famous, Bellamy described a Utopian Socialist Society achievable through a gradual, peaceful process (in Equality (1897)). Bellamy Clubs developed in the United States, Australia and elsewhere.

Blanc, Louis (1811-1882): French Utopian Socialist historian, journalist and political activist. Originator of the socialist formula 'from each according to his abilities to each according to his needs'. Blanc developed the ideas of Saint-Simon (q.v.) in The Organisation of Labor (1839), detailing a plan of social reform and arguing that the State should recognise the 'right to work' and assist through capitalisation the development of 'national workshops', managed collectively by workers. The State would own these enterprises, workers would control them and social change would be achieved through democratic processes in parliament. Blanc was opposed to revolutionary action and to the 'competitive system' based on individualism, preaching a paternalistic form of society in which employers and employees co-operated to release improved productivity and usurp private-profit enterprise.

Bond of Association: a fund of common knowledge and experience shared by members of a co-operative society standing as collateral in their business dealings with each other.

'Bogus' Co-operative: falsely appearing to be co-operative, or partly co-operative, while abrogating key co-operative principles of ownership and control. Often characterised by 'dry' (non-producing) shareholders, share-related voting rights and proxy votes.

British Co-operative Union: (see Co-operative Union).

Buchez, Philippe Joseph (1796-1865): French politician, Christian Socialist and historian. A follower of Saint-Simon (q.v.) between 1825 and 1830. Influenced by Blanc (q.v.), sought to reconcile Catholicism and socialism promoting a scheme of production co-operatives assisted by the State. Between 1832 and 1834, he formed co-operative associations for cabinet makers and goldsmiths. Artisan supporters published L'Atelier in the 1840s. Influenced the British Christian Socialists (q.v.).

Building Society: see Starr-Bowkett Society, Terminating Building Society, Permanent Building Society.

Chartism: a working-class movement in Britain between the 1830s and mid-1850s seeking to implement the 'People's Charter' (1838), including demands for universal suffrage and direct voting. Led by W. Lovett and others, Chartism grew from the London Workingmen's Association after 1836, and was accompanied by mass demonstrations and meetings seeking to exert pressure on Parliament. Factionalism developed between left-wing revolutionaries and moderate reformers producing a split in 1839. Strike action followed Parliament's rejection of the

first charter. In July 1840, the National Charter Association was founded in Manchester seeking to organise working-class political power towards parliamentary reform. New elements were added to the Charter including reform to the Corn Law of 1834, reduced taxes, a shortened work day and higher wages. After Parliament rejected this charter, mass strikes erupted resulting in bloody confrontation before the strikes were defeated. The National Charter Association fragmented into land reform and 'back to the land' schemes based on individual peasant ownership in collectively acquired settlements. Worker attention turned to political reform while left-wing Chartists established close ties with Karl Marx and F. Engels. Factionalism intensified through the 1840s when a third Charter was presented, calling upon the working-classes to organise politically and demand the nationalisation of land and the banks, advocated the 'co-operation of labour' and link economic struggle to political reform. As political reformism gathered sway in the 1850s, Chartism lost its influence.

Christian Socialism: a tradition of Christian thinking seeking to link the teachings of Jesus Christ to social doctrine through co-operation theoretically to free the working-classes from a dependency upon employers and the State. A group influenced by Buchez (q.v.) and Blanc (q.v.) formed in Britain after 1848: J. M. Ludlow (1821-1911), J. F. D. Maurice (1805-1872), C. Kingsley (1819-1875), E. V. Neale (q.v.) (1810-1892) and T. Hughes (1822-1896). The British Christian Socialists were sceptical of Chartism, arguing that it was better for workers to organise labour democratically. They assisted in achieving legal status for co-operatives and helped establish the Working Men's College in London in 1854. Generally favoured co-partnerships and profit-sharing schemes (q.v.).

Collectivism: a theory of economics in which ownership is subsumed in the group, rather than vested in individuals comprising the group. A feature of socialist and communist relations affirming as a principle the relationship between the individual and society in which public ownership is the social basis of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

Consumer Co-operative: a voluntary association of members in a consumer or retail co-operative purchasing goods and services at wholesale prices and who may sell these at market prices to themselves, distributing surpluses derived as a dividend in proportion to purchases or re-investing surpluses in co-operative expansion, or both.

Co-operation: the action of co-operating. A democratic social process based upon the voluntary association of individuals, directed to the achievement of objectives perceived to be universally advantageous and unavailable to participants as competing individuals.

Co-operative: a democratic combination of persons for the purposes of conducting economic activity or providing social services the benefits of which are shared equitably according to an agreed upon formula in terms of the individual's productive

contribution to the creation of surpluses or services. An enterprise belonging equally to members and distributing benefits equally. A democratic enterprise owned and controlled by its members.

Co-operative Commonwealth: a proposed organisation of society characterised by decentralised, autonomous co-operative enterprise in primary, secondary and tertiary industry linked democratically through a Co-operative Union and directed by policies set at a Co-operative Congress.

Co-operative Capital: money owned by individuals and loaned, or otherwise invested, as equity in a co-operative society or societies for the maintenance and expansion of co-operative enterprise according to co-operative principles.

Co-operative Democracy: a socio-economic system, characterised by co-operation as the dominant mode of production and basis of social organisation.

Co-operative Party: a political party of co-operative organisations which was established in England in 1919 to support co-operation in Parliament and defend it against adverse legislation. A minor political force, it nevertheless enjoyed a productive relationship with the British Labour Party until the 1950s.

Co-operative Settlement: a co-operatively owned tract of land upon which a community of people constructs or inhabits dwellings and other buildings of benefit to the group. Normally associated with co-operatively organised agricultural or horticultural production.

Co-operative Store: (see Retail Co-operative; Consumer Co-operation).

Co-operative Union: the supreme organisational and educational body of the British Co-operative Movement formed in 1868, maintaining legal, research, financial, publication and agricultural departments. Stimulated by H. Pitman's Co-operator as an attempt to revive Owenite ideas.

Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited (The CWS): founded in Manchester in 1863 as the North of England Co-operative Wholesale and Depot Society Limited. Before World War Two it had grown to become the world's largest association of retail co-operatives, organised as a wholesale with factories and farms in England, depots and agencies in several countries, shipping and transport links, plantations and estates in West Africa and Ceylon. Formed CWS Retail Society Limited in 1934 to develop a tied chain of retail stores and Co-operative Retail Services Limited in 1956 to accelerate the process of centralised ownership and control. Amalgamated with the Scottish CWS in the 1960s, formed the Co-operative Retail (Development) Society Services Limited to replicate functions of the Co-operative Union and converted to capitalist orthodoxy in the 1970s as CWS (U.K.) Limited.

Co-operator: one who advocates or practices co-operation; a member of a co-operative.

Co-partnership: a system of industrial relations in which employees own shares in their employer's business, sharing in the profits and/or management. Often confused with co-operation.

Credit Union (Small Loans and Saving Society): a co-operative association of people sharing a bond of association (q.v.), accepting deposits from and making short term loans to members on the basis of their character or reputation in the community.

Credit Union National Association (CUNA): developed from the Credit Union National Extension Bureau (q.v.) in 1934. Membership includes many thousands of credit unions in North America and internationally, including Australia. Headquarters in Maddison, Wisconsin.

Credit Union National Extension Bureau: a credit union promotional body organised in Boston in 1921 by E. A. Filene and R. F. Bergengren. Succeeded by CUNA Extension Bureau.

CUNA Mutual Insurance Society (CUMIS): a mutual life insurance society. Organised in 1935 as a subsidiary of CUNA (q.v.) and outgrowing its parent.

Dairy Associations of Europe (Danish Rural Distributing Co-operative): in the mid-1850s, Bishop Nicoli Grundtvig (1783-1872) assisted Danish peasants to form 'folkschule', experimenting with co-operative methods of production and marketing. Later, Pastor Christensonne helped develop the first Danish Dairy Co-operative. The idea spread to Belgium, Switzerland, elsewhere in Europe and influenced the development of rural co-operatives throughout the world.

Democracy Principle: a principle holding that decentralised control of co-operatives on a one-person-one-vote basis is necessary to a sensible understanding of co-operation.

Desjardin, A. (1841-1912): Quebec parliamentary reporter influenced by H. Wolff (q.v.). Introduced ideas of credit unions into North America through his publication, La Caisse Populaire de Levis.

Distributive Co-operative (Farmers Marketing Co-operative, Agricultural Co-operative): a farmers' organisation designed to market wholesale produce and obtain best returns by eliminating 'middle men'. Prevalent in the Australian dairy, grain, fruit, vegetable, rice and cotton industries.

Dividend (or 'divvy', sometimes 'divi'): a trading surplus distributed among co-operative members or reinvested in the co-operative on a proportional basis return to original patronage of a co-operative's services. Between the World Wars the 'divvy' in consumer stores ranged between 5 per cent and 20 per cent, with a 10 per cent 'divvy' being common. A New

South Wales family before World War One, spending about £30 annually in a 'co-op' might expect between £3 and £5 per annum in 'divvy', frequently more than a week's wage.

'Dry' Shareholder: a shareholder of a co-operative not directly associated with the productive activity of the co-operative. A common feature of 'bogus' co-operatives (q.v.)

Equity Principle: a co-operative principle assuming the equal right of members to participate in co-operative activity and the benefits so accruing.

Evolutionary Principle: a co-operative principle assuming that co-operatives will expand and become more complex, extending into all forms of socio-economic behaviour, ultimately creating a 'Co-operative Commonwealth'.

Federalist (and 'federalism'): a school of co-operative thought described by P. N. Backstrom (q.v.) emerging from Rochdale theory, subordinating production to consumption, stressing the primacy of a co-operative wholesale and the 'loyalty' of tied stores. Prevalent in the CWS (q.v.) and the New South Wales Rochdale consumer movement (cf. 'individualist' [q.v.]). See also Backstrom Paradigm.

Fourier, F. M. C.: (1772-1837): French Utopian Socialist detailing historical and social views in Universal Harmony (1803), On Trade Charlatanism (1807) and Theory of the Four Movements of General Destinies (1808). Treatise on Domestic Agricultural Association (1822) and New World of Industry and Partnership (1829). Maintained that human nature was retarded by competition and individualism and oppressed by regulation. Wrote of the destabilising influences of over-specialisation, arguing that material, mental and spiritual harmony existed in self-sufficient co-operatives or 'phalanxes' housed in palaces or 'phalanstères'. In these ideal communities the classes would group together in 'harmony'. Private property would be permissible and labour, capital and talent each would take their share of the profits. A proliferation of 'phalanstères' would transform society from a competitive to a harmonious one.

French Utopian Socialists: (q.v. L. Blanc, F. Fourier, P. Proudhon, J. Goudin, Comte de Saint-Simon).

Friendly Society (Benefit or Mutual or Provident Society): mutual assistance societies developed in England, Scotland and elsewhere at the end of the eighteenth century in which members paid periodic subscriptions in return for benefits such as old age pensions, sickness benefits or life insurance.

George, Henry (1839-1897): American economist, land reformer and writer, promoting the idea of a 'single land tax' as the basis for an equitable distribution of wealth. In Progress and Poverty (1879). George argued that, as land was increasingly scarce, its possessors reaped even greater returns at the expense of productive labour and capital. The State, therefore, should tax away all economic rent and abolish all other taxes,

'harmonising' labour and capital. From this tax the State could finance public works.

German Financial Co-operation: (see Raiffeisen, F. and Schulze-Delitzch, C. H.).

Gide, C. (1847-1932): French economist, historian and theoretician of the Nîmes School of Co-operative Socialism. In 1886, Gide joined the Society for the National Economy formed by E. de Boyven Nîmes advocating widespread consumer co-operation for the peaceful transformation of society, converting class enemies into class 'brothers'. Author of Consumers Co-operative Societies (1922).

Godin, J. B. A. (1817-1888): French reformer influenced by Saint-Simon (q.v.) and Fourier (q.v.). In 1859, he developed an association of producers and consumers at an iron factory in Guis, conforming to Fourier's idea of the 'phalanxe' which he called the familistère (from the French famille, family). Godin's co-operative communities attempted to combine private and creative property, free education, co-partnerships, co-operative stores, nurseries and mutualistic community services for '...the respect, protection and development of all human life over the world as a means of Serving God in Men by the worship of work and peace and by the love of humanity'.

Huber V. A. (1800-1869): German Christian Socialist. Founder of the Association of Christian Order of Liberty and advocate of consumer and producer co-operation as a cure for the ills of capitalism, 'reconciling the classes'. Known as the 'prophet of credit unions', he influenced Raiffeisen (q.v.) and Schulze-Delitzch (q.v.). His influence helped the spread of credit unions to Austria and Belgium.

'Individualist' ('individualism'): a perjorative term coined by 'federalists' (q.v.) in the British Consumer Movement to describe co-operators emphasising the primacy of the (secondary q.v.) producer in the co-operative economic cycle, organised in autonomous co-operatives and linked voluntarily through retail co-operatives to a wholesale co-operative controlled democratically by a Co-operative Union (q.v.) co-ordinating and directing co-operative growth.

International Co-operative Alliance (ICA): an international union of federated co-operative societies established in 1895 with headquarters in London. Its current headquarters is in Stockholm. Stated aims have included the collection of information on international co-operation, the promotion of co-operative education, the maintenance of friendly relations between members, the collection of co-operative statistics and the encouragement of the study of co-operation. The six ICA co-operative principles enunciated in 1966 were:

1. Membership of a co-operative should be voluntary and available without artificial restriction of any social, political, racial or religious discrimination to all

people who can make use of its services and are willing to accept the responsibility of membership.

2. Co-operatives are democratic organisations. Their affairs should be administered by people elected or appointed in a manner agreed by the members and be accountable to them. Members of primary co-operatives should enjoy equal rights of voting - i.e., one-member-one-vote - and participation in decisions affecting their co-operatives. In other than primary co-operatives the administration should be conducted on a democratic basis in a suitable form.
3. Share capital should receive only a strictly limited rate of interest, if any.
4. Surplus or savings, if any, arising from the operations of the co-operative belong to the members of that co-operative and should be distributed in such a way that no member gains at the expense of others. This may be done by decision of members as follows: (a) by provision for development of the business of the co-operation; (b) provision of common services; (c) by distribution among the members in proportion to their transactions with the co-operative.
5. All co-operatives should make provision for the education of their members, officers and employees and of the general public in the principles and techniques of co-operation both economic and democratic.
6. All co-operative organisations in order to best serve the interests of their members and their communities should actively co-operate in every practical way with other co-operatives at local, national and international levels.

International Co-operative Wholesale Society: an offshoot of the CWS formed in 1924 with central offices in Manchester to promote and encourage international co-operative trade. In 1937, it established the International Co-operative Trading Agency Limited (later 'Organisation', ICTO) with headquarters in London.

International Co-operative Women's Guild: an association of Women's Co-operative Guilds (q.v.) established in 1921 with headquarters in London, growing from the Rochdale Consumer Movement.

Joint-Stock Company (in the British sense): characterised by a separate legal existence and a sharing of ownership between shareholders whose liability is limited and who engage in the trading of shares.

King, Dr W. (1786-1865): English medical practitioner and advocate of consumer co-operation before and after the development of the Rochdale store (q.v.) Helped form the Brighton Co-operative Benevolent Fund in 1827 and a local Co-operative Trading Association, the former to assist

membership of co-operatives and the latter to develop trading surpluses for the development of co-operative communities. Published the Co-operator between 1828 and 1830 which was circulated widely and studied as a 'bible' by Owenites (q.v.). King advocated co-operative communities financed through co-operative trading and production, developing housing, schools, workshops and employment. Workers, by gaining experience in democratic enterprise, would improve their material and moral well-being. By 1830, there were approximately 300 co-operatives on the King model throughout Britain. Co-operative Congresses were held during the 1830s and attempts were made to develop a co-operative wholesale. The movement was almost extinct by 1835 following the collapse of Owen's schemes (q.v.).

Lassalle, F. (1825-1864): German socialist prominent in the German worker's movement, calling upon German workers to form their own party and fight for political and economic emancipation. Important in the development of the German Social Democratic Party, Lassalle saw production associations of workers under the benevolent guidance of the state achievable through political agitation and the democratic conquest of the means of production. Lassalle was opposed to consumer co-operation because he believed it promoted individualism and free enterprise hampering the development of 'State Socialism' (q.v.). Opposed also to credit unions and production co-operatives which were 'useless against the iron law of wages'.

'Limited' Rochdale Co-operation (Manchester School): a conservative 'federalist' co-operative analysis, promoted by the CWS of Manchester which rejected 'universal' (q.v.) and 'individualist' (q.v.) notions of social transformation, affirming that a powerful niche for co-operation existed within capitalism through the exertion of market forces by a giant co-operative wholesale benefiting consumers.

London Co-operative Association: published The Co-operative Magazine between 1824 and 1830. Advocated mutualism (q.v.), influencing Trade Unions, Friendly Societies and Mechanics Institutes.

London Co-operative Society: begun in 1920 following the amalgamation of several London co-operative societies. By 1940, it was the largest retail co-operative in the world and a 'universal' provider (q.v.).

'Middle Way': a term employed in the co-operative literature to denote the allegedly median position co-operation occupies between laissez-faire private-profit individualism and bureaucratic State Socialism (q.v.). The term is employed in the present study to denote choices made by individuals or groups between the acceptance of unfavourable circumstances or application of undesirable solutions in the overcoming of social and economic problems where the 'alternative' has been co-operation. Theoreticians have included G. D. H. Cole and J. Strachey (Britain), G. Lasser (France), and J. Warbasse (U.S.A.).

Supported in the 1930s by the Social Democrats of Germany, Belgium, Austria and the British Labour Party. See M. W. Childs, Sweden, the Middle Way, Yale University Press: 1938.

'Modernist': a term used in the credit union 'movement' to describe advocates of modern, large-scale operations, professional management and utilisation of existing financial institutions for the rapid advancement of credit unions (cf. 'traditionalist' [q.v.]).

Mudie, G: inspired by Owen (q.v.), Mudie began the Co-operative and Economical Society in 1821 and published The Economist. These failed in 1823.

Mutualism: a relationship between interdependent individuals or groups in pursuit of common goals. A term used early in reference to mutual assistance unions of weavers in Lyon, France. An Association of Mutualists formed in 1828, opposed to class struggle and revolution, seeking to create mutual societies including production and consumption societies. Influenced P. Proudhon (q.v.). An impulse underlying the formation of Trade Unions, Friendly Societies and co-operatives in the nineteenth century.

Mutuality Principle: a co-operative principle denoting the working together of independent persons for the benefit of the individual and the group: 'Each for All and All for Each'.

Neale, E. V. (1810-1892): British philanthropist and co-operative reformer. Influenced by Christian Socialism (q.v.). Argued consumer co-operatives as a basis for a 'Co-operative Commonwealth'(q.v.). Urged development of the CWS (q.v.). General Secretary of the Congress of the Co-operative Union (q.v.) (1875-1891).

'New' and 'Old' Owenism: (see Owen, Robert [q.v.]).

Owen, Robert (1771-1858): Welsh manufacturer, philanthropist and social reformer. Established mills at New Lanark, Scotland, demonstrating 'harmony' of employers and employees through 'co-operation'. His ideas developed to include self-sustaining co-operative communities sponsored by government and capitalists. Owen alienated church leaders by attacking the established church for its inactivity in overcoming the evils of capitalism. His 'object lesson' experiments with ideal communities in the United States and elsewhere failed. Owen's millennial ideas concerning ideal communities are referred to in the present study as 'Old' Owenism (q.v.). Owen returned to England in 1828 to find himself leader of a co-operative movement inspired by Owenite ideas of social transformation set in conventional settings and emphasising production co-operation. This tradition of Owenism is referred to in the present study as 'New' Owenism (q.v.). Rejecting the 'small beginnings' argument based on consumer co-operation advanced by Dr William King (q.v.) and others, Owen launched a Grand Union of the Trades and the Equitable Labour Exchange. These failed

in 1833, decimating Trades Unions associated with them and discrediting Owenism and co-operation.

Permanent Building Society: perform functions similar to terminating building society (q.v.) but do not dissolve at the end of a loan period, raising instead funds from members and the public to advance to home or property buyers. Recipients obtain loans against a mortgage for a specific period and the difference between interest received and interest paid finances the operating costs of the society.

Primary Co-operative: the basic co-operative unit conforming to co-operative principles regardless of affiliations with secondary (q.v.) or tertiary (q.v.) co-operatives. For example, a co-operative store (primary) might affiliate with a co-operative wholesale (secondary) and a co-operative umbrella organisation, such as a Co-operative Union (tertiary).

Profit-Sharing: an agreement between employers and employees that a proportion of a company's profits will be shared with employees in addition to wages. Favoured by Christian Socialists (q.v.) for allegedly removing the 'unchristian' qualities of the wages system, Trade Unions have viewed such arrangements with suspicion as potentially 'sweating' devices. Often confused with co-operation. (cf. 'co-partnership').

Production Co-operative ('worker' or 'workshop' co-operative): an association of people organised co-operatively to employ themselves and produce goods and services. Lack of capital, financial and managerial experience has hampered growth. A plank in the platform of co-operative idealists.

Proudhon, P. J. (1809-1865): French monetary reformer and socialist theoretician. In What is Property (1844), he gave the answer: 'It is theft'. In The System of Economic Contradiction for the Philosophy of Poverty (1846), he attacked capitalism and appealed to workers to organise themselves democratically, advocating voluntary associations of mutualistic societies in a decentralised system of economic and political power-sharing where 'owner-producers' would create an economic sector through 'people's banks' until all of society became a 'universal credit union'. This would achieve the peaceful transformation of society without reliance upon a central state and create a decentralised system of independent producers who would exchange goods and services on the basis of mutual aid. This 'social revolution' could be achieved through the co-operation of employers and employees in owner-producer associations. Through the democratic association of such co-operatives in autonomous regions, mutualism would develop between groups creating a people-based economy of justice.

Raiffeisen, F. (1818-1888): a German burgomaster who developed credit facilities for peasant farmers at Eilenberg in 1852 leading to the formation of agricultural credit banks. He emphasised, small, community-based societies where a strong bond of association (q.v.) provided 'limitless liability' making loans on the basis of personal character possible. Borrowers

owned and controlled their organisation which was managed voluntarily by a democratically-elected committee. Such 'credit unions' encouraged thrift, built character, and were evidence of Christian service of a high order.

Rochdale: an industrial town in Lancashire near Manchester in the north of England. Home of the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers (q.v.)

Rochdale Consumer Co-operative: (see Consumer Co-operative).

Rochdale Equitable Pioneers: the twenty-eight weavers who formed a consumer co-operative in Toad Lane, Rochdale, in 1844 following unsuccessful strike action.

Rochdale Objectives: to establish a store for the sale of provisions and clothing; to have built, to purchase, to assist with the erection of houses for members on a mutual self-help basis; to manufacture articles for the employment of the unemployed; to purchase or rent land which might be utilised by the unemployed; to unite the powers of production, distribution, education and government co-operatively and to promote the same.

Rochdale Principles: each member to have one vote and no more; no credit, all cash trading; to sell at market prices, not cut rates; to restrict capital to a fixed rate of interest; equality of the sexes in membership privileges; accounts properly audited and balance sheets presented regularly; frequent and regular meetings of members for discussion of the society's business; nett savings to be distributed to members in proportion to purchases.

Saint-Simon, Comte de: French theoretician and Utopian Socialist. In The Industrial System (1821) and New Christianity (1825), Saint-Simon described a scientific approach to the reformation of Christianity which would unite all productive workers, the working bourgeoisie, manufacturers and consumers under the spiritual leadership of a scientific elite creating a new economic and moral order. Emphasised economic activity as the engine of change in the building of a new society. A state-planned 'universal association' of people rewarded according to 'ability' and creating a world association of people for peace where 'people become brothers'. He stood for community of productive classes against 'parasitic non-producers' on the basis of the social ownership of the means of production and administration by men of high scientific and economic knowledge. Posthumously, Saint-Simon stimulated the formation of a quasi-religious sect.

Schulze-Delitzch, H (1808-1883): German economist born in Delitzch, promoting 'peoples' banks', or credit unions, for labourers and small-scale tradesmen in the 1850s. In 1859, he established the 'General Union of Co-operative Societies Resting on Self-Help', arguing economic rationalism, proper remuneration for management and emphasising economic goals above humanitarian and socially transformative objectives.

Secondary Co-operative: a co-operative association enhancing through its revenues, whether these be in primary, secondary or tertiary industries, the economic functions of affiliated primary co-operatives (q.v.). For example, a secondary co-operative could be a wholesale or a production co-operative developing from a consumer co-operative, co-operative distributive society or bank owned and controlled by primary co-operatives. To be distinguished from a 'tertiary co-operative' (q.v.) comprising an association of primary or secondary co-operatives.

Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society: organised in 1868 along CWS (q.v.) lines with headquarters in Glasgow. Amalgamated with the CWS in the 1960s and 1970s.

Spence, Thomas (1750-1814): English socialist and economist. In The Real Rights of Man (1775), Spence advocated the abolition of ownership and the transfer of church land for free rental of parishioners in the development of free associations of self-governing communities. Influenced Owen and Owenism. Advocated the collective ownership of the land by local communes which would replace government and develop a federation of autonomous democratic communities administering national affairs in a decentralised system.

Starr-Bowkett Society: a system of low-cost housing finance evolved in Britain in the 1850s by Dr T. Bowkett and R. B. Starr. Members subscribe small amounts and when sufficient for purchase or construction is accumulated, a 'marble' is drawn to identify the recipient.

State Socialism: a form of centralised socialism substituting state ownership and control of economic enterprise for capitalist ownership and holding that nationalisation of the means of production negates capitalism and produces a socialist transformation. Essentially a state monopoly regulation of capitalism. Early advocates included L. Blanc (q.v.) and F. Lassalle (q.v.).

Terminating Building Society: (see Actuarial Co-operation). Legal conduits linking consumers of housing finance and investors through the agency of actuaries, negotiating on behalf of members for bulk finance against securities at advantageous terms and conditions of repayment. Members apply share capital equivalent to the amount necessary to construct or occupy a dwelling and subscriptions and interest are returned by members at regular intervals for a specified period until fully-paid shares and mortgage deeds are exchanged, and the society terminates.

Tertiary Co-operative: an association of primary (q.v.) and/or secondary (q.v.) co-operatives for the purpose of advancing co-operation as a social movement. For example, a tertiary co-operative could be a Co-operative Union of democratically participating affiliates establishing policy at Congress and promoting co-operation throughout the community.

Thompson, W. (1785-1833): Irish sociologist and reformer economist. A follower of Owen who criticised capitalism and sought the resolution of antagonisms between employers and employees in democratic worker-organisations, creating 'social capital'. As labour was the true source of value, labour should receive in common the entire product distributed equitably. Thompson advocated improved worker-economic organisation in Principles of the Distribution of Work Most Conducive to Human Happiness (1824), Labour Rewarded (1827) and Practical Direction for the Establishment of Communities (1830).

'Traditionalist': a term used in the credit union movement to describe advocates of autonomous community-based organisations sharing a strong bond of association (q.v.) and conforming to Rochdale (q.v.) and/or Antigonish (q.v.) principles.

'Universal' Rochdale Co-operation: a notion of Rochdale consumerism (q.v.) holding that through the widespread application of consumer co-operation and the application of surpluses so created to a diverse range of co-operative enterprises, society might be changed from a competitive to a co-operative one.

'Universal' Store ('Universal' Provider): a co-operative retail store providing a full range of consumer household requisites and services (cf. 'Universal' Co-operation [q.v.]).

Universality Principle: a co-operative principle affirming that individuals find their greatest fulfilment in group effort in pursuit of mutual goals, rather than in individualistic pursuits.

Voluntary Principle: a co-operative principle meaning that individuals are free to join or leave co-operatives at any time and holding that co-operatives are voluntary associations of individuals presupposing participation and the acceptance of responsibility.

Wolff, H. W. (1839-1940): broadcast the achievements of the the Continental financial co-operators (Raiffeisen, Schulze-Delitzch, q.v.), to the English-speaking world in People's Banks: A Record of Social and Economic Success, London, 1893.

Women's Co-operative Guild: an association of female co-operators formed in England in 1883 following a Congress of the Co-operative Union (q.v.). By 1940, it possessed 65,000 members in 1,800 branches in Britain and was represented internationally. In 1922, its President, Margaret Llewelyn-Davies was elected to the Presidency of the Co-operative Union, the first woman to be elected to this position. The Guilds were directed to the improving of conditions for women and the advancement of co-operatives. Active in New South Wales after World War One.

'Worker' Co-operative: (see 'Production' Co-operative).

NOTES: PREFACE

- 1 There has never been a co-operative movement, as such in Australia, rather a loose assemblage of frequently contesting co-operative sectional interest groups including farmer co-operatives, building societies, credit unions together with the radical and Rochdale traditions discussed in the present study. For this reason the parenthesised form, 'co-operative movement', is employed.
- 2 CN, November, December 1922.
- 3 For example, Robin Gollan in Radical and Working Class Politics: A Study of Eastern Australia 1850-1910, Melbourne 1976 (first published 1960) draws attention to the importance of co-operatives to workers during industrial struggles. Gollan's frequent reference to this first attracted my attention to the largely unexplored field of co-operation.
- 4 The six million members of Australian co-operatives includes members who were shareholders of more than one co-operative; that is, the statistic exaggerates the number of actual co-operators. International Co-operative Alliance, Review of International Co-operation, Stockholm, November 1988, 9-12; K. Windschuttle, The Co-operative Sector in the New South Wales Economy, New South Wales Ministerial Council on Future Directions for Co-operatives, Parramatta, NSW, 1988, 1-7; E. Bogardus, Dictionary of Co-operation, New York, 1943.
- 5 The nomenclature 'production co-operation' has been preferred to 'worker' co-operative because the former reflects the function of such a co-operative while the latter emphasises personnel in it who may or may not be 'workers' in a conventional sense. 'Production co-operation' appears to be the preferred term in the international literature.
- 6 A rural (primary producer) co-operative is similar in structure and function to a trading society but specialises in the streamlining of processing, handling and distribution of primary produce, enhancing rural productivity and distributing surpluses according to the patronage principle. A building society is a voluntary association finance by deposits and other investments on which interest is paid and from which mortgage loans are advanced on homes and other real estate. Three main forms of building society have been the Starr-Bowkett, the terminating building society and the permanent society [GLOSSARY]. Essentially, a Starr-Bowkett is a financial 'club', a system of interlending, in which members regularly subscribe amounts of money for which, when sufficient is accumulated to purchase a dwelling, a 'marble' is drawn to establish the recipient. This process continues until all members have received funds for housing. A

terminating building society is a legal conduit linking an organised group of consumers of hiring finance and investors through actuaries. Mortgage loans, repayable in regular instalments over a set period, normally twenty-five years, are arranged. Upon completion of all repayments the society terminates. The principal benefit to members of terminating societies has been the negotiation of bulk finance at terms more advantageous than otherwise available. Permanent building societies have performed similar functions to those of terminating societies, but have differed in that they do not dissolve at the end of the loan period. They raise funds for members in the form of deposits and through public investments and advance mortgage loans to members repayable over a set period. The differences between interest paid and interest received finances the society's operations. A credit union is essentially a small loans and savings society owned and controlled by its members who share a 'bond of association' [GLOSSARY] for purposes of accepting deposits from and making short term loans to each other. Community advancement societies are essentially clubs designed for recreational or leisure. They have been important in social and cultural life but have played only a minor role in the politics of co-operation and for this reason are not given extensive consideration in the present study. This should not be taken to imply that they do not warrant serious study. Report: First Australian Congress of Consumers Co-operative Societies, Sydney, 6-10 April 1920; 11; CN, November 1922.

- 7 A co-operative settlement is essentially a group of people occupying a tract of land, working, sharing and developing assets upon it according to a democratically agreed formula ranging from total collectivisation to private possession of all or some of the assets and surpluses produced. As co-operative settlements have played little part in Australian co-operative history, and have received extensive treatment elsewhere, little attention is given to them here apart from periodic reference to the negative impact of their failure has had upon public perceptions of co-operation. See, for example, G. Souter, A Peculiar People, the Australians in Paraguay, Sydney 1981; R. B. Walker, 'The Ambiguous Experiment: Agricultural Co-operatives in New South Wales 1893-1806' in Labour History, May 1970; S. Grahame, Where Socialism Failed: An Actual Experiment, London, Murray 1913; M. Davitt, Life and Progress in Australia, Part II: 'The Murray River Labour Settlements', London 1898; G. Lewis, 'Co-operation, Carruthers and Community Settlement, The Co-operation Act, NSW, 1924', a sub-thesis for the Bachelor of Letters Degree, ANU, 1980.
- 8 Collective Mills developed at Woolwich and Chatham in 1760. Co-operative weavers' workshops formed at Fenwick in 1761, and Ayrshire in 1769. A co-operative of unknown description was established at Govan, Scotland in 1777, as was a tailors' co-operative in Birmingham. In 1794, a co-operative was begun at Mongerwell, Oxfordshire.

Co-operatives to fight high prices and bread monopolies developed in Hull (1795), Barnham (1796), and a co-operative bakery started at Oldham in 1795. In 1800, another began at Bridgeton, Scotland. In 1806, a co-operative started at Woolwich, England and in 1812 the Lennoxton Co-operative began in Scotland. The latter was still functioning after 1932. In 1815, the Davenport Co-operative started and a co-operative began at Sheerness the year after. The long-surviving Earlehall Co-operative began in Scotland in 1821. Co-operatives formed at Salford in 1829, London in 1830 and Manchester in 1831. The 'Rochdale' patronage principle was advocated by Alex Campbell as early as 1822 and practised with modifications by Lennoxton Co-operative in 1826. Building societies to assist migratory workers obtain housing finance began developing around 1775 and in 1793 a Friendly Society Act was enacted to regulate these.

Owen described communities comprising 1,200 people on 1,000 to 1,500 acres possessing communal housing blocks, common kitchens and a mess, surrounded by schools, lecture room, place of worship, committee room, library, adults' room, exercise and recreation areas, lodgings for married couples and up to two children, children's dormitories, apartments for superintendents, an infirmary, temporary accommodation for itinerants, apartments for staff, clergy, teachers, store rooms, gardens, factories, abattoirs, stables, washing and bleaching areas, farms, pastures, orchards, brewing and malting and cornmill installations. He later adapted this to include communities of 500 to 3,000 people, using modern technology, but engaged primarily in agricultural pursuits. Networks of such communities would 'take in the whole world' within ten years. A. G. Morton, The Life and Ideas of Robert Owen, London, 1962, 22-29; Robert Owen, A New View of Society, or Essays on the Principles of the Formation of the Human Character, London, 1813; Robert Owen, Report to the Committee for the Relief of the Manufacturing Poor, 1817; Robert Owen, The Revolution in the Mind and Practice of the Human Race, 1849, 74; Robert Owen, The Life, Time and Labours of Robert Owen, Written by Himself, London, 1854; Briggs, op.cit, 7-8; A. Briggs, 'Robert Owen in Retrospect,' Co-operative College Papers, No.6, Co-operative Union, Loughborough, England, April 1959, 66.

For a description of the genesis of co-operation see G. D. H. Cole, A History of Socialist Thought, Vol.1, Manchester, 1955; G. D. H. Cole, A Century of Co-operation, Manchester, 1944; G. D. H. Cole, The British Co-operative Movement in a Socialist Society, London, 1948; A. E. Bestor, 'The Evolution of Socialist Vocabulary,' Journal of the History of Ideas, Vol.4, June 1948; Co-operative Chronology, Co-operative Information Supplement No.2, International Labour Organisation, Geneva, 1973; W. C. Webb (ed.), Industrial Co-operation: the Story of a Peaceful Revolution, Co-operative Union, Manchester, 1904, 6..

- 9 Examples of journals carrying Owenite ideas include, The Economist (London, 1821-23), The Co-operative Magazine, The

Associate, The Co-operative Miscellany, The British Co-operator, The Co-operator (Brighton, 1827-30), The Co-operative Mirror, The Birmingham Co-operative Mirror, The United Trades Co-operative Journal. The New International Illustrated Encyclopaedia, 1969 Edition, Vol.5, 510, 667; S. Pollard, 'Doctor William King: A Co-operative Pioneer' in Co-operative College Papers, Co-operative Union, Loughborough, England, April 1959, 22, 25-29; E. Bogardus, 'Robert Owen' in Dictionary of Co-operation, New York, 1943; Briggs, op.cit, 13.

- 10 Owen purchased 30,000 acres and an established village constructed by a Rappite community in order to develop 'New Harmony'. This cost £30,000. By 1825, there were 800 settlers. Owen's selection process was inadequate and after granting 'self-government' to 'New Harmony', quarrels and secessions quickly followed. Many settlers were middle-class intellectuals, incapable of sustained manual labour or seeing it as beneath their station. By 1827, it was clear that 'New Harmony' had failed. Other Owenite communities were at Exeter, Cork, Dublin, Ralahine (near Limerick), Orbuston, Assington and Queenswood. Briggs, op.cit, 8.
- 11 Briggs, op.cit, 10-11; Morton, op.cit, 36-50; Pollard, op.cit, 19-31.
- 12 Trades Unions caught in the collapse included the Builders Union, the Leeds Union, the Potters' Union and the Spinners' Union. Stonemasons, Carpenters and Joiners were affected, but recovered reasonably quickly. The 'Tolpuddle Martyrs' were transported to Australia during this period for attempting to start the Friendly Society of Agricultural Labourers in Dorchester. W. C. Webb, op.cit, 12; Morton, op.cit, 40-50.
- 13 Briggs, op.cit, 10-13; Morton, op.cit, 40-50; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1969 edition, Vol.6, 452; Vol.16, 1174.
- 14 The Pioneers originally planned to devote 10 per cent of surpluses to education but were prevented from doing so by the Registrar of Friendly Societies. E. Bogardus, 'Rochdale Pioneers', Dictionary, op.cit; A. Briggs, 'Robert Owen in Retrospect', op.cit, 66; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1969 Edition, Vol.6, 452, Vol.16, 1174; P. N. Backstrom, Christian Socialism and Co-operation in Victorian England: Edward Vansittart Neale and the Co-operative Movement, London, 1974, 4.
- 15 P. N. Backstrom, Christian Socialism and Co-operation in Victorian England, op.cit, 76; A. Williams, Twenty Years of Co-partnership at Guise, London, 1903; F. Engels, 'Socialism: Utopian and Scientific' in R. C. Tucker (ed.), Marx-Engels Reader, New York, 1972, 610; C. Fourier, Le nouveau monde industriel et societaire, Paris, 1829; J. Carroll Moody and Gilbert C. Fite, The Credit Union Movement: Origins and Development, 1850-1970, University of Nebraska Press, 1971, 1-2; Donald S. Tucker, The Evolution

of Solutions to the Social Problem, New York, 1927; Donald S. Tucker, People's Own Banks, New York, 1922; Backstrom, op.cit, 23; C. Kingsley, Politics for the People, London, 1848.

- 16 Backstrom, op.cit, 28, 38.
- 17 Marxist-Leninism has held that co-operation is a form of utopian, reformist theory and that co-operatives are co-opted, capitalist enterprises, whose behaviour is governed by objective capitalist laws replicating the contradictions of capital. While co-operatives provide experience in democratic organisation and insulate members marginally against the exploitation of capital, Marxist-Leninists have argued that co-operation in itself is insufficient to transform capitalism and the idea that it does have such potential is illusory, diverting the working classes from class struggle. In pre-revolutionary Russia, for example, Marxist-Leninists organised to discredit co-operation while seeking to infiltrate and guide the Co-operative Movement, recognising it as an element of worker struggle. K. Marx, Communist Manifesto, Chapter XIII, in R. C. Tucker, Marx-Engels Reader, New York, 272-61, 358-61; K. Marx, 'Critique of the Gotha Programme' in R. C. Tucker, op.cit, 172-6; K. Marx, Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association, 1864, in R. C. Tucker, op.cit, 378-80; V. I. Lenin, Completed Works, 5th Edition, Vol. 11, 370; Vol.45, 375; V. D. Marktynov, in Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, 3rd Edition, Vol.13, Moscow, 1973, 116; Vol.19, 353.
- 18 Fifty of the 454 British retail co-operatives then operating, affiliated with the CWS. The Scottish CWS formed in 1869. Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1969 Edition, Vol.6, 452; Backstrom, op.cit, 86; Morton, op.cit, 46.
- 19 The Co-operative Union Congress, 1869: representatives attended from consumer co-operatives, production co-operatives (clothiers, weavers, tailors, boilermakers, printers, cabinet makers, framemakers and gilders, lightermen and watermen), co-partnerships, the CWS and the Scottish CWS. The Christian Socialists, T. Hughes, C. Kingsley and J. Ludlow joined with Owenites including W. Pare, Lloyd Jones, E. T. Craig, R. O. Greening and G. Holyoake. D. Flanagan, A Centenary Story of the Co-operative Union of Great Britain and Ireland, 1869-1969, Manchester, 1969, 4; Backstrom, op.cit, 4.
- 20 Backstrom, op.cit, 68-69, 89.
- 21 Important failures in production co-operation occurred at the Ouseburn Co-operative Works (1871-1877) and several Sheffield workshops. Backstrom blames mismanagement and dishonesty for the failures. The CWS ran the Crumpsall biscuit works as a wholly-owned subsidiary competing against the Leicester Boot Co-operative. The Irish dairy co-operative movement broke angrily from the CWS when the

latter established rivals. The CWS became a major shareholder of the British sugar monopoly, Tate and Lyle and the Manchester Ship Canal Association. It developed agencies and depots in New Delhi, Montreal, Vancouver, Sydney, Wellington, Buenos Aires and elsewhere. It founded tea plantations in Ceylon and other plantations in West Africa. In 1880, W. G. Nuttall moved to Victoria to become a gentleman farmer where he stayed for twenty years before returning to manage the CWS' London store. Webb, op.cit, 24; Backstrom, op.cit, 6-7, 14, 19, 69-71, 90, 99-100, 112, 191; CWS Public Relations Division, All About the CWS: World's Largest Co-operative Organisation, Manchester, 1961; The Co-operator, Official Organ of the Woolgrowers Co-operative Association, Sydney, August 1900, 13; Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, op.cit, Vol.13, 122-23. See P. Gallagher, Paddy the Cope, New York, 1942, for an interesting account of the role of a dairy co-operative in the life of an Irish community.

- 22 Interviews were conducted with Charles Gerrish (Ibis Co-operative, Victoria); Jack Macguire (Murray-Goulburn Co-operative, Victoria); Alan Hardham and Bill Lugg (Phosphate Co-operative Company Limited, Victoria); Laurie Plowright (Co-operative Insurance Company); Richard Barry and Michael Hicks (North East Co-operative Society Limited, Wangaratta); Bob Maybury (Association of Co-operative Housing Societies, Victoria); Ted Long (YCW Co-operative, Victoria); Kevin Yates, Dermot Ryan and Tom Kelly (Credit Union pioneers, New South Wales); Charles Butler (New South Wales Registry of Co-operative Societies); K. W. Edwards (Co-operative Federation of Western Australia); W. W. 'Bill' Rawlinson (Co-operative Federation of Australia); and Bruce Freeman (Co-operative Federation of New South Wales). The original field was to be all forms of co-operatives in Australia but as this proved to be unwieldy within the scope of a thesis, it was reduced to the present circumference. Completed working drafts concerning the original field, however, proved valuable in coming to understand the New South Wales situation. Leila Thomas, 'The Development of the Labour Movement in the Sydney District of New South Wales, 1788-1848', Labour History, Canberra, June 1962; E. Ross, A History of the Miners' Federation of Australia, Sydney, 1973; Verity Burgmann, In Our Time: Socialism and the Rise of Labour, 1885-1905, Sydney, 1985; Ray Markey, 'Trade Unionism and Co-operation in New South Wales in the 1890s', unpublished article from Labour and Politics in New South Wales 1880-1990, Ph.D. thesis, University of Wollongong, 1983; R. Markey, 'New Unionism in Australia, 1880-1900', Labour History, No.48, 1985; The Radical, Hamilton, 1887-88; The Australian Radical, Hamilton, 1888-1890; F. E. Pulsford, Co-operation and Co-partnership: The Way of Social Salvation, 'Worker' Trade Union Print, Sydney, 1913; Patricia Hampton, 'The Retail Co-operative Societies of the Lower Hunter Valley, New South Wales: Their Origins, Development and Decline, 1861-1981', unpublished History IV thesis, University of Newcastle, 1981; Our Home, Journal of the New South Wales Association of Co-operative

Building Societies, Sydney, 1936-1966; R. S. Maynard, His Was the Vision: The Life of C. E. D. Meares, Sydney, 1941; J. Sanford, Harper and the Farmers, Westralian Farmers Co-operative Press, Perth, 1955; N. Runcie (ed.), Credit Unions in the South Pacific, University of London Press, 1969; D. H. McKay, 'The History of Co-operation in South-East Australia: 1860-1940', M.A. thesis, University of Melbourne, c1942.

- 23 Backstrom, op.cit, 4; S. and B. Webb, The Consumer Co-operative Movement, Manchester 1921, 28.
- 24 At the 1934 ICA Congress in London it was decided that the 'most important principles' were: open membership, democratic control, patronage refunds on the basis of purchases; and principles of lesser importance were held to be: limited interest on share capital, and political and religious neutrality. It is interesting to note that the Pioneers' emphatic 'one vote and only one vote' had been altered to become the less prescriptive 'democratic control', and that 'restrictions regarding race, colour or creed' had been broadened to include 'political and religious neutrality'. A 1966 revision of ICA principles [GLOSSARY] (recently included in New South Wales co-operative legislation) indicated a further shift in orientation. The indicative 'shall' of the 1844 statement was rephrased to a subjunctive 'should' and the restatement reaffirmed an allegedly apolitical complexion for co-operation, tacitly condoned modifications to the democratic principle, was ambivalent in the definition of a democratic institution, legitimised variations to the Rochdale 'divvy' principle and remained silent on the notion of co-operative ownership. Australian Information Service, 'Co-operatives in Australia', Canberra, 1975.
- 25 T. W. Mercer, 'Foundation of Co-operation', in Review of International Co-operation, ICA, London, September-October 1931.
- 26 J. J. Worley, A Social Philosophy of Co-operation, Manchester, 1941.
- 27 E. S. Bogardus, Principles of Co-operation, Chicago, 1958. For further detail of the Bogardus' categorisation of co-operative principles, see Chapter 1 at pages 6-7.

NOTES: CHAPTER 1

A WEAK CO-OPERATIVE TRANSPLANT:
ROCHDALE CO-OPERATION, 1859-c1887

- 1 W. Kidston 'Co-operative Movement in Australia: Correspondence Study Course', Paper No.4, Brisbane (c1960), 3.
- 2 See Appendix 1 for details of co-operation in New South Wales before 1860.
- 3 Report: First Australian Congress of Consumers Co-operative Societies, Sydney, 6-10 April 1920, 11; CN, November 1922.
- 4 Leo Butler 'History of the First Fifty Years of Newcastle Co-operative Society', Newcastle and Suburban Society Collection, Newcastle Public Library, 2.
- 5 J. C. Docherty 'The Second City: Social and Urban Change in Newcastle, NSW 1920-c1929'. Ph.D. Thesis, ANU 1977, 10-11.
- 6 Docherty, op.cit, 19.
- 7 Docherty, op.cit, 22.
- 8 Docherty, op.cit, 20.
- 9 Docherty, op.cit, 20, 32, 282-3.
- 10 G. V. Portus 'Happy Highways', Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1953, 153-4.
- 11 Six new mines opened in the Illawarra region in the 1880s and Rochdale stores began to develop around them after the late 1880s. New mines included: Mount Kembla 1883; North Bulli 1886; Metropolitan, South Bulli, Bellambi 1888; Corrimal 1889. These, together with the opening of the Illawarra railway to Sydney in 1887 and the erection of jetties at Port Kembla and Bellambi, gave the district a greatly expanded capacity to produce and transport coal. Output of Illawarra coal increased from 240,211 tons in 1880 to 701,572 tons in 1889.

We are able to deduce that Protestantism was strong in the Illawarra by examining funeral statistics relating to a mining disaster at Bulli which claimed eighty-one lives in 1887. Stuart Piggins paints a vivid picture:

Most of the bodies were recovered on Thursday, the day after the disaster, and buried on Friday. They were conveyed on rough carts to three cemeteries. In some carts coffins were piled four high, with the name of the victim written in chalk on the lid. Nine Roman Catholics were buried in the nearest consecrated Catholic ground. A further eleven victims, who were known to be

Presbyterians, were buried in the churchyard of the Presbyterian Church at Woonona. The remaining sixty-one - Anglicans, Wesleyans and Primitive Methodists, and the unidentified - were buried in St. Augustine's Church of England Cemetery. Nine coffins were buried with the words "unknown" chalked on them... The digging of graves could not keep pace with the speed of the arrivals of the coffins, and twenty... accumulated, lying alongside each other on the grass around St. Augustine's [as eighty men dug].

This sad commentary also reminds us of the great danger and hardship, unknown to most capitalists and entrepreneurs, to which miners are exposed in the winning of their livelihood. S. Piggins, Faith of Steel: A History of Christian Churches in Illawarra, Wollongong 1984, 109, 303.

- 12 CN, October 1928.
- 13 The seven co-operative principles mentioned in discussion are based upon those which E. S. Bogardus in Principles of Co-operation, Chicago, 1958 has argued are necessary to the definition and practice of co-operation. Butler, op.cit, 2.
- 14 Butler, op.cit, 13.
- 15 Butler, op.cit, 27.
- 16 CN, June 1928, Portus, op.cit, 154.
- 17 Docherty, op.cit, 241.
- 18 Portus, op.cit, 155.
- 19 See Leila Thomas, 'The Development of the Labour Movement in the Sydney District of New South Wales 1788-1848, Labour History, Canberra, June 1962, 36-37.
- 20 W. Kidston, 'Co-operative Movement in Australia: Correspondence Study Course', op.cit, 3.
- 21 The Borehole Co-operative was at least six years old before it registered in 1866 under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act [29 Vic, No. 9] as the Borehole and Wallsend Co-operative Society. The West Maitland Co-operative Bakery formed in 1868. D. P. Hampton, 'The Retail Co-operative Societies of the Lower Hunter Valley, New South Wales: Their Origins, Development and Decline 1861-1981', History IV Thesis, University of Newcastle, 1981, 15.
- 22 Hampton, op.cit, 10-11, 39-40.
- 23 Butler, op.cit, 9.
- 24 E. Ross, History of the Miners' Federation, Sydney 1973, 23.
- 25 Ibid.

- 26 Fletcher went on to manage J. and A. Brown's Minmi Colliery, become part-owner of the Ferndale Colliery and, for a brief period in the late 1880s, was owner of the Newcastle Morning Herald. ADB, Vol.IV, 1851-90: 'J. Fletcher'.
- 27 E. Ross, *op.cit*, 24.
- 28 *Ibid*.
- 29 The Board of Sydney General Co-operative in 1864 included of: George Owen (smith, of Pitt Street); P. L. Quealy (bootmaker, of 20 Wilmot Street); C. Moss (joiner, of Wyndham Street); R. J. Parish (plasterer, of 207 Bourke Street); W. Thompson (clerk, of 96 Market Street); and J. Cathels (or Cathely) (engineer, of 68 Palmer Street). Prospectus: Sydney General Co-operative Society 1864: ML.
- 30 New members were admitted to Sydney General Co-operative only after they had been sponsored by two existing members and members had voted to approve their entry. Board members, who served voluntarily, were required to meet weekly, were fined for non-attendance and were required to contest annual elections. Quarterly audits were presented for the scrutiny of members. *Ibid*.
- 31 H. A. Smith, New South Wales Registrar of Co-operative Societies, in Annual Report, NSW Registry of Co-operative Societies, June 1924, 3.
- 32 Smith, Annual Report, *op.cit*, 45.
- 33 The Co-operation Act is the subject of Chapter 6.
- 34 The bona fides of co-operation as a valid alternative to the 'competitive system' hinged on its credentials as a genuine expression of democratic aspirations. If these were sullied by manipulation of co-operative methods for individual profit and condoned by slack legislation, the perception of co-operation as a democratic form would be diminished and without mass support for co-operation, its alleged potential for significant social change would be seriously qualified. Windeyer and Merno Slaughtering and Butchering Company Limited, and The Joint Stock Butchering and Baking Company, were two 'co-operatives' which registered under the Act in 1867. Leila Thomas, *op.cit*, 35; CN, January 1925.
- 35 G. K. Holden: An Enquiry into the New Relations Between Labour and Capital, induced by Co-operative Societies and other forms of Productive Industry, in which Labour is Employed on a footing more Independent than Common Hire, with some reference to Colonial Industry, Sydney 1867, 31.
- 36 The 1873 Friendly Society Act [37 Vic. No. 4] replaced 7 Vic. 10, an Act to Regulate Friendly Societies, 1843; 11 Vic. 10, An Act to Regulate Benefit Building Societies, 1847; 11 Vic. 53, An Act to Amend the Friendly Society Act, 1848; 14 Vic. 11, An Act for the Encouragement of Persons

Desirous of Providing for their Support in Old Age, 1850, 17 Vic. 26, An Act to Amend and Consolidate the Friendly Society Act, 1853; 29 Vic. 8, 1865, An Act to Establish Industrial and Provident Societies. There were no further changes until 31 of 1899. The 1901 Building and Co-operative Societies Act (11 of 1901), clarifying the distinction between building societies and co-operative societies, replaced the 1873 Act, and 46 of 1912. The Friendly Society Act was enacted expressly for Friendly Societies.

New South Wales Registrars of Friendly Societies (and Co-operative Societies), NSW, 1874-1983: A. Oliver (1874-92); T. A. Coghlan (1892-96); A. Davis (1896-1907); J. B. Trivett (1907-20); H. A. Smith (1920-27); T. Waites (1927-33); B. P. McEvoy (1933-38); A. B. Sheldon (1938-51); P. J. Carroll (1951); A. Crosky (1952-1966); G. J. Boreham (1966-72); D. A. Horton (1972-83); R. R. Baker (1983-). Uncited archival material in loose-note form located in Office of Registry of Co-operative Societies, Parramatta, NSW; Smith, Annual Report 2, op.cit, 45.

- 37 Civil Service Co-operative Society: Board, 1871: Eccleston Du Faur (draftsman, Crown Lands); A. C. Fraser (Clerk of the Peace); C. A. Goodchap (Chief Clerk for Railways); W. Hemming (Commissioner for Stamps); W. D. Meares (Clerk of Petty Sessions, Central Police); S. M. Mowle (First Clerk, Legislative Council); W. A. Quodling (Chief Clerk, Department of Railways); J. A. Scar (shorthand-writer, Legislative Council); W. Wilkins (Council of Education); Manager, R. J. Keenan; Office, 413-21 Pitt Street, Sydney, J. B. Trivett, Registrar of Friendly Societies, (1907-20), 'Friendly Societies in New South Wales', a Paper to the International Congress of Actuaries, (n.d.); J. Hancock, Registry of Friendly Societies and Co-operative Societies, 'Lecture One, to Officers of the Department', 15 January, 1948, in Archives, NSW, Registry of Co-operative Societies, Parramatta; CN, December 1930; Smith, Annual Report, op.cit, 3.
- 38 B. McKinlay, A Documentary History of the Australian Labour Movement, 1850-1975, Richmond 1979, 65-8.
- 39 W. G. Spence is discussed in Chapter 2 at pages 34-36.
- 40 Sydney Morning Herald, February 22 1885; Proceedings of the Second Intercolonial Trade Union Conference Report, Melbourne, 1884, in McKinlay, op.cit, 75-8.
- 41 John Plummer, Newspaper Cuttings, in Mitchell Library (uncited in catalogue).
- 42 Backstrom, Christian Socialism and Co-operation in Victorian England: E. V. Neale and the Co-operative Movement, London 1974, 130-155.

NOTES: CHAPTER 2

WORKERS AND THE CO-OPERATIVE OPTION:
RADICAL CO-OPERATION, 1887-c1891

- 1 See Chapter 3 for discussion concerning the rejection of radical co-operation as a sensible strategy by the Labour Movement.
- 2 Verity Burgmann, In Our Time: Socialism and the Rise of Labor, 1885-1905, Sydney, 1985; Ray Markey, 'Trade Unionism and Co-operation in New South Wales in the 1890s', unpublished article, drawn from R. Markey, 'Labour and Politics in New South Wales, 1880-1900', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wollongong, 1983, 4, 8; Ray Markey, 'New unionism in Australia - 1880-1900', Labour History, No.48, 1985, 15-28.
- 3 For a discussion concerning Newcastle consumer co-operatives formed between the 1880s and World War One, see Chapter 4.
- 4 Burgmann, op.cit, 195; Markey, 'Trade Unionism and Co-operation', op.cit, 13.
- 5 ASL Executive, 1887: J. E. Anderton, W. H. Higgs, W. H. McNamara, H. Hickman. Membership included several non-Anglo-Celtic activists, for example, Messrs Klupp, Wenzel, Numecke, Angelo. The Radical, 19, 1887; Constitution of the Australian Socialist League, in R. N. Ebbels, The Australian Labor Movement, 1850-1907, extracts from contemporary documents edited by L. G. Churchward, Sydney, 1960, 185.
- 6 The Australian Radical Board included A. M. Pilter, W. H. McNamara, T. Peters, H. Weber, J. E. Anderton, W. B. Lesing, J. Elphinston, A. Peterson, T. Segal. The Australian Radical was distributed through stores, two in Sydney and Newtown, one each at Glebe and Leichhardt, three in Newcastle, two each in Greta and New Lambton, one each at West Wallsend, Minmi, Lambton, Charlestown, Hamilton and East Maitland, five in Melbourne, two in Adelaide and one in Brisbane. The Radical, March 12, September 24, October 8, 1887; Burgmann, op.cit, 37.
- 7 Modern Socialists rejected land nationalisation as 'another tyranny' but referred to themselves as 'scientific socialists' insofar as their theory, they maintained, was based upon empirical evidence located in the experience of the British Rochdale Co-operative Movement. For this reason, Modern Socialism and Scientific Socialism are sometimes muddled together in the literature. The Radical, 24 February 1887.
- 8 The Australian Radical, 24 March, 14, 21 July, 1888.

- 9 Roseby, the son of a stonemason, was Congregational Minister at the Warren, in the Sydney suburb of Marrickville. The Radical, 26 November, 1887; ADB, Vol. 6, 1850-1890: 'Rev. Thomas Roseby'.
- 10 The Australian Radical, 10 November, 1888.
- 11 See the Preface, Appendix 4 and Chapter 10 at pages 225-227 for further discussion concerning the CWS.
- 12 Churchward describes an 'ideological confusion' among left thinkers in the 1880s and early 1890s who were 'reading with avidity rather than discrimination.' Popular authors in the period included: H. M. Hyndman, Belfort Bax, Annie Besant, John Burns, Kropotkin, H. G. Wells, M. Davitt, Vera Zasulich, Chernyschewsky, Nechayer, Herzen, Henry Hyde Champion, Proudhon, Fourier, Baboeuf, St Simeon, K. Marx, F. Engels, Lassalle, W. Morris, L. Gronlund, H. Spence, J. H. Macauley, J. S. Mills, Milton, G. J. Holyoake, J. Morrison Davidson, Sidney Webb, G. B. Shaw, and W. H. Davison. The Radical, 21 May, 6 August, 12 November, 24 and 31 December, 1887; The Australian Radical, 17 March, 21 April, 9, 16, 29 June, 25 August, 6 October, 24 November, 1888; Ebbels, op.cit, 7.
- 13 Modern Socialists endorsed free-trade and the immigration of non-Anglo-Celtic and coloured workers as this they believed was consistent with 'Liberty' and 'Fraternity' and need not threaten 'Equality' where co-operation prevailed. Protectionism and discrimination against non-whites militated against the revolutionary trilogy, but opinion was far from unanimous. J. E. Anderton, G. Black and Messrs Norman, Ganton, Whalley, Flowers and Lessing supported co-operation before protection, but Harradine, McNamara, Drake and Weber, all pro- co-operation, were anti free-trade, arguing that this was not synonymous with 'Liberty'. The Radical, 12 February 1888.
- 14 The Radical, 18 June, 1887.
- 15 The Radical, 12 November, 1887, 21 January, 1888; The Australian Radical 26 May, 16, 23 June, 7, 14 July, 13 October 1888.
- 16 The Australian Radical, 16 June, 24 November, 1888.
- 17 The Australian Radical, 18 August, 1888.
- 18 The Radical, 21 January, 1888.
- 19 The Australian Radical, 23 June, 1888.
- 20 The Radical, 11 November, 1887.
- 21 The Radical, 31 December, 1887; The Australian Radical, 6, 11, 18 August, 1888.

- 22 The Australian Radical, 18 August, 1888.
- 23 The Radical, 11 February, 1888.
- 24 The Australian Radical, 7 April, 1888
- 25 The Australian Radical, 11 August, 1888; C. M. H. Clark, A History of Australia, Vol.V, 'The People Make Laws, 1888-1915'. Melbourne University Press, 1981, 44.
- 26 The Radical, 5 November 1887.
- 27 McNamara believed that Owen was 'misunderstood' in Australia, where it was believed that his theory was based on the 'wild schemes' of Fourier, Baboeuf, St Simeon and 'religious enthusiasts', rather than inspiring the 'sound' thinking of Marx, Lassalle, Robertus, Hundman, Bax, Morris and Kropotkin. The Radical, 12 November, 1887.
- 28 The Australian Radical, 18 May, 16 June, 1888.
- 29 The Australian Radical, 16 June, 1888.
- 30 The Australian Radical, 11 August 1888.
- 31 The Australian Radical, 30 June, 1888.
- 32 The Australian Radical, 11, 18 August, 1888.
- 33 The Australian Radical, 29 September, 1888.
- 34 The Radical, 18 June, 1887.
- 35 It might be argued that the competitive system is only possible because people and institutions co-operate to permit its continuance. This, however, is not the sense in which Modern Socialists used the term 'competative'; they meant the contest between individuals for survival. The Australian Radical, 6 October, 1888.
- 36 The Australian Radical, 7 April, 1888.
- 37 Burgmann cites The Radical, 26 November, 1887 and The Australian Radical, 31 March and 1 May, 1888. My reading of The Radical, 31 March 1888, indicates a 'Co-operative Labour Agency', not an 'Australian Co-operative Agency'. I could not locate a copy of The Radical, 26 November, 1887 and was therefore unable to clarify this apparent discrepancy. Co-operative Labour Agency members included: W. J. Fairbairn, W. Johnson, M. Terry, Mr Simmonds, Mr Luscombe, J. E. Anderton with support from W. H. McNamara. Burgmann, op.cit, 37.
- 38 The Australian Radical, 16 June, 1888.
- 39 The reformed Co-operative Labour Agency (Federal Co-operative Association?, Australian Co-operative Agency?)

- included F. Norman (President), E. Beyer (Secretary), Mr Witton, with the parliamentary support of James Fletcher, A. J. Riley and J. Haynes. The Australian Radical, 11 August, 1888.
- 40 The Australian Radical, 11 August, 1888.
- 41 The Australian Radical, 16 June, 1888, 29 June, 1889.
- 42 The Radical, 21 January, 1888.
- 43 The Australian Radical, 16 June, 1888.
- 44 The Australian Radical, 23 June, 1888.
- 45 The Radical, 11 February, 1888; Proceedings of the Fifth Trade Union Intercolonial Congress, Report, Brisbane, 1888, 90. The agenda included: the organisation of Labour; wages; legislation and nationalisation; immigration; the Eight-Hour Day; the direct representation of Labour in Parliament, legal reform and the broadening of the franchise.
- 46 William Lane is discussed briefly in Chapter 3 at pages 49-51 and in Appendix 3.
- 47 Burgmann, op.cit, 21.
- 48 The Bulletin, August, 1888.
- 49 The Sydney Mail, 5 May, 1888; The Echo, 3 October, 1888.
- 50 The Australian Radical, 16 June, 29 February, 24 November, 1888.
- 51 In June 1889, the ASL and the reformed Co-operative Labour Agency met in an attempt to find support for a co-operative store on Rochdale lines with a view to creating a wholesale. Support was inconclusive.
- 52 The Australian Radical, 6 April, 1889.
- 53 The Australian Radical, 29 June, 10 August, 1889.
- 54 Discussed in Appendix 2.
- 55 The Australian Economic Association also included: E. W. O'Sullivan, E. Pulsford and Dr J. Garran, (MLC). O'Sullivan, a writer, was formerly the President of the TLC and was associated with the Democratic Alliance in 1884 where he promoted republicanism and parliamentary reform. The Federal Co-operative Association involved, at different times: E. Barton (MLC), E. Pulsford, F. C. Rooke, F. B. Gipps, Miss Windeyer, B. Backhouse, J. D. Fitzgerald, the Reverend T. E. Roseby, and John Plummer, the anti-Unionist and free-trader. The Democrat (an Independent Representative of Labour and the People), Sydney, 29 March, 1884; 7 June, 1884. SMH, 22 February, 1885, 12 March, 1890.

- 56 John Plummer outlined 'the principles of industrial and national co-operation', apparently an amalgam of 'limited' consumerism in association with the CWS and Raiffeisen [GLOSSARY] 'land banks'. This may have stemmed from Plummer's interest in the 'Co-operative Land Occupation Company' which was developing co-operative irrigation works in the Narranderah district. SMH, 12 March, 1890.
- 57 Markey, 'Trade Unionism and Co-operation', op.cit, 12.
- 58 For discussion concerning the Co-operative Coal Mine, see Chapter 1 at pages 10-12.
- 59 Markey, 'Trade Unionism and Co-operation', op.cit, 14.
- 60 Clark, A History of Australia Vol.V, op.cit; Burgmann, op.cit, 39-40, 49.
- 61 Report of the Royal Commission on Strikes, appointed November 25, 1890, New South Wales Government Printer, Sydney, May 1891. See Appendix 2 for a discussion concerning submissions to the Commission dealing with co-operation.
- 62 Plummer argued strongly against production co-operation, which Brennan supported, while supporting co-partnerships, which Brennan opposed. Report of the Royal Commission on Strikes, op.cit, 27.
- 63 R. Markey, 'New Unionism', op.cit, 25-26; C. Lansbury, 'William Guthrie Spence', Labour History, No. 13, November 1967, 3-10; Burgmann, op.cit, 71, 89; W. G. Spence, Australia's Awakening: Thirty Years in the Life of an Australian Agitator, Sydney, Worker Trustees, 1909, 50.
- 64 A Scot from a strongly Calvinistic background, Spence arrived in Victoria with his parents in the 1850s. At the age of twelve he worked as a man's share member in a co-operative mining party, learning first hand the principles of production co-operation. Receiving little formal education, Spence read widely including Bellamy, Blatchford, Ruskin, Morris, Holyoake and E. V. Neale. He is said to have preached for the Primitive-Methodist and Bible-Christians. Later he organised Unions, first locally and then nationally. Lansbury, op.cit, 68; Report of the Royal Commission on Strikes, op.cit, 58-9.
- 65 H. G. Palmer, W. G. Spence and the Rise of the Trades Unions, Melbourne 1963, 20; G. Serle, ADB, Vol.2, 'W. G. Spence', Sydney, 1949, 346.
- 66 Spence noted '...there will be so little difference apparent to the people between a Labor government and others that the alarmists will cease to worry whilst some of the extremists will be disappointed'. Spence, Australia's Awakening, op.cit, 129, 277, 355, 357, 378, 381, 382.

- 67 Spence loathed violence, describing revolutionary socialism as an impossibility in Australia:

No practical man can conceive of it as possible. It is not a healthy form of doing things. No parliament could clear away the immense amount of rubbish [following revolution]...even if it was a desirable thing, to spring it suddenly on a people grown-up under an entirely different set of conditions.

Spence, Australia's Awakening, op.cit 370-371; The Worker, Sydney, 20 June 1894; The Hummer, 16 January 1892.

- 68 It seems unreasonable to lump Spence with the essentially 'old' Owenite-Bush Socialist views of William Lane, as Verity Burgmann has done. See Appendix 3 for discussion on this point. Burgmann, op.cit, 71. Spence, Australia's Awakening, op.cit, 382; W. G. Spence, General Secretary's Report of the 7th Annual Conference of the Amalgamated Shearers Union, February 1893; W. G. Spence, General Secretary's Report of the 33rd Annual Conference of the General Labourers Union, March 1893, 7; The Australian Radical, 10 November 1888.
- 69 Report of the Royal Commission on Strikes, op.cit, 30-32.
- 70 Report of the Royal Commission on Strikes, op.cit 35-36.
- 71 Report of the Royal Commission on Strikes, op.cit, Recommendations.
- 72 The changing political environment for production co-operation is the subject of Chapter 3.

NOTES: CHAPTER 3

A CO-OPERATIVE ANACHRONISM:
RADICAL CO-OPERATION AND LABOUR, 1891-c1907

- 1 Successful LEL candidates included: A. J. Kelly, T. Davies, J. Johnson, J. C. Fegan, T. J. Houghton, W. S. Murphy, C. Danley, H. C. Hoyle, W. F. Gechey, J. S. McGowen, J. H. Cann. Clark, A History of Australia, Vol. V, op.cit, 80-82, 189.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ray Markey, 'Trade Unionism and Co-operation in New South Wales in the 1890s', unpublished article, op.cit, 4, 8; W. Nicol, 'Women and the Trade Union Movement, New South Wales 1890-1900', Labour History, No.36, Canberra, May 1979, 18-29.
- 4 Verity Burgmann, In Our Time, op.cit, 177.
- 5 The Federal Co-operative Association is discussed in Chapter 2 at pages 31-32.
- 6 Markey, 'Trade Unionism and Co-operation', op.cit, 6.
- 7 Markey, 'Trade Unionism and Co-operation', op.cit, 7.
- 8 Markey, 'Trade Unionism and Co-operation', op.cit, 4-5.
- 9 Markey, 'Trade Unionism and Co-operation', op.cit, 4, 5, 7.
- 10 Burgmann, op.cit, 70-73.
- 11 Petrie had helped start the Melbourne Anarchist Club (1886), and the Social Democratic League (1889) before moving to Sydney. Rosa had been a member of the Socialist Labour League of America. S. A. Rosa arrived in Australia in 1886, after having served on the Executive Council of the Social Democratic Federation in Britain. The Social Democratic Federation in Britain was related to the Knights of Labour. Preamble and Declaration of the Principles of the Australian Knights of Labour, Sydney, n.d., 1891(?) in R. N. Ebbels, Australian Labour Movement, op.cit, 25; Burgmann, op.cit, 30, 110; S. A. Rosa, Social Democracy Explained and Defined, Melbourne 1890, 2-4.
- 12 Burgmann, op.cit, 62-63.
- 13 Manifesto of the Socialist Democratic Federation of Australia, Sydney, 1895; Burgmann, op.cit, 73.
- 14 Markey, 'Trade Unionism and Co-operation', op.cit, 4, 7.

- 15 The co-operative settlements are discussed below at pages 49-53.
- 16 The Worker, 19 December, 1891, 18 December, 1894; Burgmann, op.cit, 72.
- 17 O'Sullivan lists: Armidale Co-operative Butchering Society, Albert Teamsters and Carriers Union and Co-operative Forwarding Agency Society (Limited), Borehole and Wallsend Co-operative Society, Bulli Co-operative Butchering Society, Balmain Co-operative Association, the Boot and Shoemakers Co-operative Society, Brisbane Co-operative Society, Balmain United Friendly Societies' Dispensary, Balgownie Co-operative Society, Clarence Sugar Manufacturing Association, Civil Service Co-operative Society, Carrington Co-operative Society, Canley Vale Progress Association Hall Company, Eveleigh Co-operative Society, London and New South Wales Paper Fibre and Paper Society, Lambton Co-operative Society, Lithgow Co-operative Society, Lithgow Co-operative and Industrial Society, Mudgee Ice Society, Mutual Supply Association, Mortlake Co-operative Society, Musical Instruments and General Furnishing Society, Mutual Aid Society, Northumberland Co-operative Butchering Society, Newtown United Friendly Societies' Dispensary, Nyngan Carriers Union Co-operative Forwarding Agency Society, Newcastle Friendly Societies' Dispensary, Newcastle Co-operative Society (Limited), New South Wales Amalgamated Railway and Tramway Service Association Co-operative Society (Limited), Newcastle Co-operative Stevedores' Association, Orara Co-operative Society, Pymont Co-operative Society, Pioneer Co-operative Society of Tanners and Curriers, Parramatta and District United Friendly Societies' Medical and Dispensing Institute, Rookwood Temperance Hall Co-operative Society, Riverina Carriers' Union Co-operative Forwarding Agency Society, Sydney General Co-operative Coaling Association (Limited), Sydney United Friendly Societies' Dispensary, Stockton Co-operative Society, Sydney Industrial Co-operative Society, West Maitland Co-operative Society, Windeyer and Meroo Slaughtering and Butchering Company, West Maitland Co-operative Society, Wallsend and Plattsburg Co-operative Society, West Wallsend Co-operative Society (Limited). Hamilton and Lambton Co-operative Society was registered as a friendly society. There were other co-operative dispensaries registered as friendly societies, including Balmain United (1888), Leichhardt and Petersham United (1893), and AHC Guild Medical Institute (1895). E. W. O'Sullivan, 'Social Industrial and Co-operative Associations in New South Wales, Australia', in, Pamphlets for the World's Columbian Exhibition, Chicago, 1893, Government Printer, Sydney, 1893, 7-8.
- 18 Statistical Register for New South Wales, 1900, New South Wales Government Printer, Sydney 1900.
- 19 For discussion concerning W. G. Spence's views on co-operation, see Chapter 2 at pages 34-36.

- 20 Markey, 'New Unionism in Australia, 1880-1900', in Labour History, No. 48', 1985, 23; W. G. Spence, Australia's Awakening, op.cit., 72-76.
- 21 By early 1984, disillusionment with parliamentary Labor was widespread and factionalism was rife in the LEL on a range of issues, including co-operation. The Worker, 15 December, 1894, 1.
- 22 The ASB at different times involved: Messrs Douglass, Dodd, Clayton, Dwyer and Ross. Issues dividing Labor included: a general strike to 'paralyse' capitalism; unemployment and the ineffectiveness of Labor in combating it; the nationalisation of key industries; and the 'Solidarity anti-Pledge' schism. Sectarianism was on the increase with Catholic and non-Catholic elements disagreeing on notions of ownership and control. Catholics influenced by the 1891 Papal Encyclical, Rerum Novarum, rejected the State Socialist-collectivist principle, disclaimed links between socialism and early Christianity and affirmed the individual and the family in private abode as the foundation of Catholic Social Doctrine. Justice, 10 February, 1894; Burgmann, op.cit., 65, 73; Bulletin, 19 May, 1894.
- 23 Markey, 'Trade Unionism and Co-operation', op.cit., 7.
- 24 The Australian Star, 15 August, 1896; Markey, 'Trade Unionism and Co-operation', op.cit., 6, 13.
- 25 E. Ross, A History of the Miners' Federation of Australia, op.cit., 84.
- 26 Clark, A History of Australia, Vol. V, op.cit., 116, 121-122, 138-140, 143.
- 27 'Anti-Pledgers' included the so-called Labor 'rats', Sharp, Banister, Dansley, Kelly, Johnston, Cotter, Clark, Houghton, Fitzgerald and York. Schey, Rae and Black were considered 'doubtful' by the LEL. Fitzgerald, Schey and Rae were identified as 'pro-co-operation'. Newspaper Cuttings: 'Visit of the CWS to Australia, 1896', Vol. 58, ML, 35; Justice, February, 1894, 10, 17, 31; Hard Cash, March, 1894.
- 28 'New Australia':
- New Australia Co-operative Settlement Association, Articles of Association, Brisbane Co-operative Printing, 1892.
- G. Souter, A Peculiar People, the Australians in Paraguay, Sydney, 1981, (first published 1968).
- S. Grahame, Where Socialism Failed: an Actual Experiment, London, Murray, 1913.
- W. Lane, A Workingman's Paradise, An Australian Labour Moral, Brisbane, Dunlop, 1892.

G. Hannon, 'The New Australia Movement', MA Thesis, Queensland University, 1966.

J. Mead, 'Tasmanians and New Australia', Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings, 13, 2 February, 1966, 19-38.

Queensland

G. Lewis, 'The Alice River Settlement and the Legend of the Nineties', Australian Journal of Politics and History, XIX, 3 December, 1973, 353-65.

New South Wales

J. Paterson, Practical Socialism in Australia, Broken Hill, Industrial Brotherhood Co-operative Colony, 1901.

R. B. Walker, 'The Ambiguous Experiment: Agricultural Co-operatives in New South Wales, 1893-1896', in, Labour History, 18 May, 1970.

Rev. Dr. T. Roseby, Lecture on Village Settlements, Searchlight, Sydney, 1894.

For discussion on the Bega and Wilberforce settlement, see NSWPD, Vol. 92, 1894-95. For Pitt Town, see SMH, 20 October, 1894; Report of the Select Committee on Pitt Town Settlement, 13 November, 1896, Paper 487a of 1896. Also NSWPP, 1896, Vol. 5, 1745-80.

Victoria

The Co-operative Village Settlement Association of Victoria, Political Economy Pamphlet No. 13, V 103, Melbourne 1893, State Library of Victoria.

South Australia

M. Davitt, Life and Progress in Australia, Part II: 'The Murray River Labour Settlements', London, 1898.

E. Gilmour, 'Life at Murtho Settlement, River Murray, 1884-1892: The Recollections and Letters of Mrs Elsie Gilmour', South Australia IV, 2, September, 1965.

The Advertiser, 7 October, 1893; 30 November, 1893; 23 September, 1895; 27 July, 1897; The Register, Adelaide 18 September, 1893, 14, 17 December, 1901; PDSA, 1895, 1446; 1900, 508; 1901, 114-16; South Australian Government Papers 113 and 113A-D of 1896; Paper 10 of 1900, Vol. 1, 11; Paper 37 of 1900: Final Report of Committee on Murray River Settlement; Paper 93 of 1900; South Australian Land Report, 1907, 9 and 1913, 27; S. H. Roberts, History of Australian Land Settlement, 1788-1922, Melbourne, 1924; H. J. Finnis, 'Village Settlements on the River Murray', Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society, (South Australian Branch),

Vol. 69, 195, 87-106; W. P. Reeves, Village Settlement in Australia, New Zealand Parliamentary Papers 1895, c.12, 11-14; Leroy-Beaulieu, Les Nouvelles Societies Anglo-Saxonnes, Paris, 1901; L. A. Kerr, 'Communal Settlements in South Australia in the 1890s', MA Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1952; D. C. Winterbottom, 'Co-operation in the Dried Fruit Industry', in, Report of the Annual Conference, Queensland Co-operative Union, 1951, 163; CN, December 1949.

- 29 For a brief discussion on Lane's 'old' Owenite ideas, see Appendix 3. Vance Palmer believes that Lane's failure had a 'lowering effect on radicalism in the 1890s, leaving radical forces limp and dispirited, intent on stitching together some compromise with the society radicals had sought to replace'. Burgmann, op.cit, 33.
- 30 R. A. Gollan, in, Greenwood (ed.), Australia: A Social and Political History, Sydney, 1975, 177.
- 31 Lane was deeply impressed by, and copied ideas from, Etienne Cabet's, Voyage en Icarie. He also corresponded with Evacustes Phipon who, in 1881, had founded a short-lived colony in South Australia and was in the 1890s a member of a communal settlement in North-West Mexico.

In 1890, Lane approached W. G. Spence, then Secretary of the ASU, proposing that shearers establish an independent co-operative colony. Spence agreed in principle, providing this occur in Australia. The two Labour leaders approached the New South Wales' and Western Australian governments with requests for land, but were unsuccessful.

In 1891, impatient with Lane's and Spence's efforts, and contending with terrible conditions, striking Queensland shearers formed a camp outside Clermont, and other camps followed at Barcaldine, Winton, Muttaborra, Hughenden, Capella, Isisford, Charleyville, Cunnamulla, Saint George and Mungindi. The Barcaldine camp was the most substantial, involving fifty bushmen who had already tried to develop a co-operative settlement at Blue Bush Swamp on the Alice River about six kilometres outside Barcaldine. By 1892, there were about 1,200 people in the Barcaldine camp, and twenty-five acres had been cleared and fenced, planted with gardens, orchards and vineyards, and slab huts had been constructed along streets named Liberty Street, Freedom Street, Union Street, and Casey Street. The community possessed a library of more than 600 books, and had a drum and whistle band which played as settlers met under the Eureka Flag. G. Souter, A Peculiar People, op.cit, 15, 18-19, 21-22; Boomerang, Brisbane, 13 April, 1889, 3.

- 32 The Hummer, 6 February, 1892.
- 33 The Co-operative Settlement Association organised rallies in capital cities and moved from station to station down the Darling River through the West and Riverina into Tasmania

and South Australia, declaring that 'New Australia' would provide:

Actual proof...that under conditions that render it impossible for one to tyrannise another and which declares the first duty of all to be the well-being of each, men and women can live in comfort, happiness, intelligence and orderliness unknown in a society where they cannot be sure today that they or their children will not starve tomorrow.

Quoted in G. Hannon, 'The New Australia Movement', op.cit, 75; Clark, Vol. IV, op.cit, 87, 100.

- 34 Lane's adventure received scathing attention in debates leading to the New South Wales Co-operation Act, the subject of Chapter 6. Cosme Monthly, Homestead Village Press, Paraguay, November, 1902; QPD, Vol. 74, 1895, pp.1861-1863; NSWPP, 1896, Vol. 5, 745-80.
- 35 SMH, 11 May, 1892.
- 36 R. B. Walker, 'The Ambiguous Experiment, op.cit, 22.
- 37 Co-operative Village Committee: B. Backhouse (Chairman), J. C. Watson (TLC), Arthur Rae (ASU), the Reverend G. T. Waters (Unitarian Church), the Reverend Dr. T. E. Roseby (Congregational Church), with Dean Slattery of the Catholic Church observing. SMH, 23 May, 1893.
- 38 Burgmann refers to the 1893 Act as the 'Labour Settlement Act'. This was the name given to the 'Land Settlement Act', in 1901. NSWPD, Vol. 68, 1917-1918, 1684, and Vol. 69, 1931; Burgmann, op.cit, 73.
- 39 Few settlers possessed experience in farming or bushwork, with most at Pitt Town, for example, coming from a background in building. Drunkenness was a problem and the quality of advisers was variable. Bitter and widely publicised disputes developed centering on the perennial issues of ownership and control with three-quarters of the population at Pitt Town demanding sub-division of the site into individual blocks and, on at least one occasion, police were called in to settle a row. Shy of controversy, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, which was considering the development of a fully-planned co-operative colony under the Act, abandoned the idea. For discussion concerning Joseph Carruthers, see Chapter 6 at pages 124-125.
- 40 NSWPD, Vol. 92, 1894-1895, pp.668-69; SMH, 20 October, 1894; Walker, op.cit, 26.
- 41 Walker, op.cit, 19-31.
- 42 SMH, 8 March, 1895.

- 43 Burgmann, op.cit, 73; NSWPD, op.cit, Vol. 68, 1684, Vol. 69, 1931, op.cit.
- 44 The Worker, 20 June, 1896.
- 45 The background to the CWS visit is discussed in Appendix 4. Apparently, the visitors were wholly concerned with cementing links to Australian primary producers, a detail making discussion of their 1896 visit fit awkwardly in Chapter 3 considering consumer co-operation, but this is the proper placement, since Manchester's encouragement of rural co-operation and opposition to indigenous production co-operation which might compete against its own exports was an important reason for the retardation of co-operation in Australia as discussion in subsequent chapters will verify.
- 46 Newspaper Cuttings 'Visit of CWS to Australia, 1896', Vol. 58, ML, 46; The National Advocate, 10 June, 1980.
- 47 Newspaper Cuttings, Vol. 58, op.cit, 13.
- 48 The Citizens Committee consisted of Premier Reid, the Minister for Lands (J. H. Carruthers); the Opposition Leader, For discussion concerning John Plummer see Appendix 4.
- 49 Newspaper Cuttings, op.cit, Vol. 59, 30.
- 50 Newspaper Cuttings, op.cit, Vol. 59, 35.
- 51 Provisional Committee of the New South Wales Co-operative Alliance, 1896: B. Backhouse, (MLC); G. H. Cox, (MLC); R. Atkinson-Price, (MP); A. C. Shadler; J. Medway-Day; J. H. Cann, (MP). Members were to subscribe to three £5 shares, entitling them to a 'dividend on profit' from trade, a vote and, significantly, the right to appoint proxies.
- While disapproving of the Civil Service Co-operative's practice of trading shares, CWS delegates negotiated 'expanded trade' with it. The party toured the Auburn-Granville Meat Works, with which the wholesale had already completed some business before moving on to the Hawkesbury Agricultural College, Kurrajong (where they met the Hon. E. Pulsford), to Riverstone, the southern coalfields, Moss Vale, Nowra, Wollongong, other South Coast dairy areas, and the Berrima District Co-operative Society, before returning to Sydney to visit the Balmain Co-operative Society, the Civil Service Co-operative Society and the Sydney Soap and Candle Factory at Botany. They also toured the Clarence, Richmond and Tweed River dairy areas and, armed with three large book of notes, sailed for New Zealand, Canada and the United States before returning to Manchester. Newspaper Cuttings, op.cit, Vol. 59, 46, 61.
- 52 The Australian Star, 10 August, 1896.
- 53 The Australian Workman, 15 August, 1896.

- 54 The Singleton Argus, 12 August, 1896; The Australian Star,
15 August, 1896.
55 Newspaper Cuttings, op.cit, Vol. 59, 36.
56 Ibid.

57 In the decade following the CWS visit the rural 'co-operative movement' was torn with dissension and scandal as its Rochdale-inspired elements struggled with 'bogus' co-operatives to secure trade with Manchester. R. J. Fairbairn, the CWS agent, attempted to develop 'genuine' links to the CWS but when the major producers' co-operative distributor, the South Coast and West Camden Co-operative, collapsed, Fairbairn fell in with the free-trader Liberal Sir William McMillan and moved onto the management of the 'bogus' Farmers and Settlers Co-operative Company Limited. A bitter struggle ensued, involving Fairbairn and 'genuine' rural co-operatives led by C. E. D. Meares in a contest for 'most favoured' relationship with the giant British wholesale.

The former CWS agent's arrangements with McMillan caused a storm in both urban and rural co-operative circles. Bitterness deepened when disclosures from a Victorian Royal Commission into the Dairy Industry in 1901 and 1902 linked Fairbairn to a system of secret rebates through New South Wales and Victorian shipping agents resulting in increased freights being passed on to consumers with no benefit to producers. Broadened to a Federal level in 1904 and 1905, the Royal Commission reported irregularities in co-operative management, 'shady business practice' and commission deals involving Fairbairn and McMillan.

The 'co-operative movement', particularly rural elements, was rocked by these revelations and C. E. D. Meares, now convinced that co-operating with consumers was not in the interests of producers, struck an independent path attempting to gain access to the vast British Rochdale markets through an 'Australian Committee' of producers. There was no point in 'co-operating' the interests of producers and consumers, Meares argued, because producers produced to sell at the highest prices while consumers organised to purchase at the lowest and, therefore, co-operation between them reduced competition and diminished returns to producers. Moreover, the Fairbairn imbroglio had shown that consumers were not to be trusted. Summary of findings from research into rural co-operatives conducted in association with the present study. Reference in Bibliography.

Newspaper Cuttings, op.cit, Vol. 59, 38.

Farmers Co-operative News, October 1898, January 1900,
September 1904. Sydney Morning Herald, 4 August 1898; R. S. Maynard, His Was the Vision: the Life of C. E. D. Meares, Sydney 1941, 56-8.

Coastal Farmers Gazette, April 1901, March 1902; November 1904; February, October 1905; January 1907. The Co-operator, February 1897, March 1898, September 1900, December 1901, August 1902.

Royal Commission into the Butter Industry (Victoria) VPP 1904, No.42, Vol. 2, 1905.

58 Markey, 'Trade Unionism and Co-operation', op.cit, 5, 13.

At the same time, The Worker recommended a co-operative mail service for remote rural workers to 'train habits of self-help'. The Worker, 15 August, 1896.

59 J. Medway-Day, 'Co-operation: What it is and what it has done', Worker Literary Supplement, No. 2, Sydney, August, 1896.

60 The Worker, 19 March, 1898.

61 The CWS ^{had} bought 'reclaimed' land on the Waterloo Canal, a tributary of Cook's River. It manufactured a fertiliser made from animal by-products marketing this under the trade name 'Wheatsheaf'. The Co-operator, December, 1897; Newspaper Cuttings, op.cit, Vol. 58, 10 and Vol. 59, 1.

62 Constitution of the ASL, Sydney, Easter, 1898; People and Collectivist, 24 March, 1898, 7 May, 1898.

63 Labor was instrumental in the passage of the New South Wales Industrial and Arbitration Act, 1901, and the Federal Conciliation and Arbitration Act, 1904. Clark, Vol. V, op.cit, 168, 186-8, 191, 244-5, 258, 264, 275, 285, 442-43.

64 G. Greenwood (ed.), A Social and Political History, op.cit, 216-18; An Act Relating to Duties of Excise, Commonwealth Acts, 1896, Vol. 5, No. 16, 12 October, 1896; 'New Protectionism - Explanatory Memorandum in Regard to Commonwealth', 1907-8, Vol. 2, 2 December, 1907, 1887-9.

65 J. Merritt 'The Making of the AWU', unpublished manuscript in possession of author, 1984, Chapter 10, 38, 55. Subsequently published same title, Oxford University Press, 1986.

66 A Silk Workers Co-operative run by women survived for a few years but appears to have failed by the turn of the century. The Co-operative Refrigeration Society and the Co-operative Tailoring Company functioned for some years after 1896 but it is not known how successful these were. A co-operative printery started in Castlereagh Street and the Furniture Trades Union considered starting co-operative workshops to tender for government contracts for the construction of railway carriages. It is not known if the latter functioned. A Western Timber Cutters Co-operative

formed in 1901. The following year C. H. Spence, the literary figure, helped develop the first electrically-powered clothing manufacturing plant in the state run entirely by women on a co-operative basis observing that:

The idea was to enable a number of women to compete with machine labour in other factories...to obviate the 'bad physical result of the treadles. Co-operation made this possible where competition had failed and it behoves workers to co-operate to avoid being crushed by the competitive system. The sources are unclear; it is possible that the Co-operative Clothing Manufacturing Company was Adelaide-based, but C. H. Spence was residing in Sydney at the time.

A Country Press Co-operative of Australia formed in 1904 and, by 1906, Hay Store and Trading Workers, Cab Men and General Produce Workers had formed co-operatives. The primary producer co-operative, Coastal Farmers Co-operative, started a butter-box factory in residential Sydney in 1907 to break a private monopoly, but this was run along 'federalist' lines. It also provoked a controversy when Balmain residents protested at noise and other pollution and organised council action against it. Ships' masters complained of the hazard of floating logs in the harbour and seaboard residents complained of sawdust floating back onto beaches following the co-operative's dumping of residues at sea. Confectioners registered a co-operative in 1908 and two years later brick supply and coal trimming co-operatives formed in Newcastle.

In 1901, a Building and Co-operative Societies Act, 1 Ed, vii, No 7, augmenting an 1899 Amendment to the Friendly Societies Act, passed without comment, substantially the same as the 1873 Friendly Society Act, but attempting to distinguish co-operatives from co-operative companies and clarify administrative difficulties in respect of building societies. It failed to achieve either of these goals since it did not adequately define 'co-operation' and was repealed by the Friendly Societies Act Number 46, of 1912. NSW Statistical Register, 1900; R. S. Maynard, His Was the Vision, op.cit, 43; Markey, 'Trade Unionism and Co-operation', op.cit, 13; Burgmann, op.cit, 92, 101; The Co-operator, Sydney, March, 1902, 20.

NOTES: CHAPTER 4

'EACH FOR ALL AND ALL FOR EACH':
ROCHDALE CO-OPERATION TO THE EVE OF WORLD WAR ONE

- 1 Co-operatives which formed in New South Wales between 1896 and 1916 not mentioned in discussion include: St George's Industrial (bakery) (1896); Cobar (1899); Bega Store (1901); Barrier (Broken Hill) (1901); Ivy Co-operative (1903); Eastern Suburbs (1905); Tramway and General (1906) (did not function); North Sydney Pioneer (1906); Western Suburbs (1906); Burruga District (1906); Merryland Bakery (1906); Candelego Industrial (1908); Goulburn (1908); Granville and District (1909); Pittwater (1909); Wollongong Industrial; Combined Unions (Broken Hill) (1910); Bathurst (1910); Women's NSW (1911); Portland (1912); Kandos (1912); Greta (1914); Hurstville (1914); Lidcombe (1916); Griffith Settlers (1916); Wellington (1916); Murrumburrah (1916); Harden (1916). Butler, 'History of the First Fifty Years', op.cit, 10-11; Docherty, 'The Second City', op.cit, 32-3.
- 2 P. N. Backstrom: Christian Socialism and Co-operation in Victorian England, op.cit, 43.
- 3 Newcastle Morning Herald 6 October 1887, 17 July 1889.
- 4 CN, February 1927; Hampton, 'Retail Co-operative Societies', op.cit, 15.
- 5 Newcastle Morning Herald 8 July 1889, 31 March 1890.
- 6 Newcastle Morning Herald 14 October 1896; Hampton, op.cit, 17.
- 7 Hampton, op.cit, 17; Butler, 'First Fifty Years', op.cit, 18.
- 8 Hampton, op.cit, 17-18.
- 9 Newcastle Morning Herald 25 May 1889; Hampton, op.cit, 18-19, 29-30.
- 10 I have found no evidence of 'perks' such as reduced prices for goods, official or otherwise, for co-operative employees. Managers were occasionally provided with housing and vehicles.
- 11 Hampton, op.cit, 21, 27-28; 'Anonymous Essay', in Newcastle and Suburban Co-operative Collection, Newcastle Public Library.
- 12 Newcastle Morning Herald 20 April 1895; Hampton, op.cit, 22.
- 13 In 1917, the Stockton Extended Co-operative was renamed 'Central Co-operative Society'. It planned to build new

premises in Union Street, Newcastle West, provoking a row with the Newcastle and Suburban Society over allegations of membership 'poaching'. When the Newcastle and Suburban Co-operative suggested that the co-operatives amalgamate, the Central Co-operative flatly refused, strongly rebuking Newcastle and Suburban for unnecessarily duplicating services in the city and weakening the established co-operative. Docherty, 'Second City', op.cit, 32; Hampton, op.cit, 23.

- 14 Hampton, op.cit, 23.
- 15 A meeting was held to form West Wallsend Co-operative Society in June 1891, in W. Harden's house. Those present included: J. Stenhouse, A. Leckie, D. m. O'Neill, J. L. Gray, J. Sneddon, A. Anderson, W. Campbell, R. Sneddon, W. Harden, J. Oaks, J. Swan, T. Wilkinson, J. Donnelly, T. Robertson, R. Blakely, J. Reese, M. Fleming, J. Hughes, A. Henderson, D. Wilkinson, R. Wilkinson. Newcastle Morning Herald 23 October 1969; CN, August 1921; Souvenir Pamphlet, 'Back to Westy', West Wallsend Centenary, 1863-1963, 5, 15, 17, 22, 23, 31-33, 47.
- 16 When savings were frozen by banks in the 1893 financial crisis, a member advanced sufficient capital to enable construction to begin. Newcastle Morning Herald, 23 November 1969.
- 17 Hampton, op.cit, 25, 29.
- 18 Hampton, op.cit, 34.
- 19 The CWS delegation is discussed in Appendix 4 and Chapter 3 at pages 53-58.
- 20 Co-operatives continued to operate at Stockton, Hamilton South, Charlestown, Lambton, Merewether with branches elsewhere. Meetings to form the Newcastle and Suburban Co-operative were held in the Post Office Hotel through April 1898 attended by residents of the Hamilton block surrounded by Lawson, James, Elcott and Tudor streets. E. J. Brent: Address to Rochdale Co-operative Centenary 1844-1944, City Hall, Newcastle NSW, June 1944 in Newcastle Public Library 'Co-operative' file.
- 21 Butler, op.cit, 13, 19-21, 27.
- 22 Channon organised support in the Amalgamated Society of Engineers where some sympathy for co-operation existed. Frank Butler, organiser of the Newcastle Crane Workers (Stevedores) Co-operative, (the Carrington Co-operative Coal Shipment Company), propogandised the venture among port workers and railway employees. Butler, op.cit, 13, 35; Docherty, op.cit, Synopsis xvi; L. Gibbs: Address to Second Tranby Co-operative School, Glebe, NSW, February 1900.

- 23 Provisional Directors of Newcastle and Suburban Co-operative Society August 1898: F. Butler (President), R. Johnson, W. Channon, S. Butterworth, W. H. Milton, A. Eldred and Mr Morris. Directors 25 October 1898: W. J. Channon, R. Johnson, S. Butterwork, W. H. Hamilton, A. J. Miller, G. P. Morris. Butler, op.cit, 16, 19; Hampton, op.cit, 44.
- 24 Butler, op.cit, 27, 35-36, 40, 63.
- 25 The Federal Co-operative Society which started in 1901 had failed by 1904. For discussion concerning class tensions in co-operatives during World War One, see Chapter 5 at pages 90-97. Docherty, op.cit, 58; Hampton, op.cit, 43-8.
- 26 Later, 'Lang Street'.
- 27 The co-operative advanced goods and credit to support workers' industrial action in January 1905, April 1905, June 1905, November 1905, February 1906, November 1909, May 1911, May 1914, November 1916, September 1917, (when police commandeered co-operative shovels for scab labour), and August 1923, when £23,000 of credit was extended. G. Smith (ed.) 'Kurri Kurri 1904-1919', Newcastle, 1979, 41; W. Robinson: Address delivered to the First Tranby Co-operative School, Glebe, NSW 23-27 February, 1959; Hampton, op.cit, 27, 35-8; F. B. Shortland, Kurri Kurri Co-operative Society Limited: Twenty-Five Years History of the Society, 1904-1929, West Maitland, 1933, 20, 29, 37, 61.
- 28 Between 1902 and 1908 the annual turnover of the Lambton branch of the Hampton and Lambton Co-operative declined by approximately 40 per cent as families moved to the New Coalfields around Cessnock and elsewhere. Membership fell from 895 in early 1915 to 320 a year later. A possible reason was the closure of the unprofitable Stockton, Lambton and Hamilton stores leaving only the Newcastle West branch functioning as a co-operative. Certainly Hamilton and Lambton properties were sold in 1918. By the end of the Great War, Cessnock's membership had climbed to about 1,400, the co-operative's annual turnover had reached approximately £180,000 and it employed more than eighty people at its central store and branches at Bellbird (1917), Kearsley (1918), and Aberdare (1919). Later a slaughter-yard, branch butcheries and a 200 acre orchard were added. It ran an undertaking business after World War Two. By 1957, this co-operative of 4,610 members possessed £247,934 in capital and £412,930 in assets and was generating an annual turnover of £453,000. In its fifty-year existence, the Cessnock Co-operative Society produced a total turnover of £9,495,754, returning £1,221,373 to members. W. Leckie and F. Mattocks (eds.) Fifty Year History of the Cessnock Co-operative Limited, 1907 to 1957, Newcastle, 1957, 38; Hampton, op.cit, 27-28; Portus, Faith of Steel, op.cit, 153-4; Docherty, op.cit, 32.
- 29 The high percentage of Presbyterians reflected the presence in the district of Scottish miners brought out by the

Caledonian Coal Company. W. Leckie and F. Mattocks, op.cit, 39-41; Portus, op.cit, 153-4.

- 30 In 1889, three more tiny co-operatives began in Newcastle, Islington, Carrington and Derby Street, none as dependent upon mining as their predecessors. The first rose to a membership of 168 by mid-1891, the second remained tiny with a membership of twenty-eight on a capital of £50 and the third proved unprofitable. In 1890, there were 1,400 members of co-operatives in Newcastle. By 1893, affected by depression, membership had fallen to less than 1,000. None of the co-operatives mentioned above survived. The Charlestown Co-operative formed in 1891 (or 1892) in the Newcastle suburb of Charlestown and grew slowly through the 1890s and the early 1900s. With only 84 members in 1904 it was unable to withstand the 'poaching' effects of the expanding Newcastle and Suburban Society and failed in 1911.

In 1909, another Rochdale co-operative formed in the rural centre of West Maitland where coalmining developed in the 1900s. Although a co-operative bakery had been operating successfully in the town since 1868, the store begun in 1909 made little progress, possibly relating to the predominantly rural character of the town, its well-established links with surrounding rural industries and private suppliers, and the absence of a tight-knit mining community. The West Maitland Co-operative was unable to purchase its own store until 1923 and in 1927 still had only 468 shareholders. In 1943, West Maitland amalgamated with the Kurri Kurri Co-operative.

In 1912, residents in the small mining community of Boolaroo to the south of Newcastle formed a co-operative when the West Wallsend Co-operative discontinued services there. The Committee advanced £100 to purchase a store and, by 1916, membership had grown to 192 and sufficient capital had been saved to construct a solid new building. By 1924, branches had been established at Teralba and Toronto and, two years later, membership reached 573. In 1957, with membership at 3,000, Boolaroo was taken over by the Newcastle and Suburban Co-operative at half the face value of its shares. Hampton, op.cit, 40-1.

31 CN, April 1922.

32 CN, April 1922, June 1925.

33 CN, September, October 1921, July 1929.

34 CN, July 1929.

35 There had been an earlier attempt to form a Rochdale store in Lithgow, in 1893. CN, April 1934.

36 The Sydney Co-operative Societies Association is discussed in Chapter 1 at page 13.

- 37 Undocumented archival material, New South Wales Registry of Co-operative Societies, Parramatta, NSW; CN, July 1923, February 1927.
- 38 West Wallsend took ironmongery, boots and crockery from the CWS and, possibly, currants from the Murray River region. Charlestown called another conference to form a wholesale but again nothing developed. Several other meetings followed, initiated by the West Wallsend Co-operative and the Wallsend and Plattsburgh Co-operative, but no agreement could be reached. E. O'Neill, 'History of the Co-operative Wholesale Society of New South Wales', unpublished manuscript in 'Co-operatives File', Newcastle Public Library (n.d.), 2; Butler, op.cit, 19, 23-24; Hampton, op.cit, 29.
- 39 Representatives included: W. J. Channon and E. J. Brent (Newcastle and Suburban); J. Thompson and T. Johnson (Kurri Kurri); W. Harris and J. Bower (Wallsend and Plattsburgh); J. Stenhouse and S. J. Timmins (West Wallsend); W. E. Bell and A. Hughson (Eastern Suburbs); J. Campbell and M. Fitzpatrick (Balmain); W. Lindsay and A. Tulman (Woonona Industrial); J. Logan and W. P. Mitchell (Helensburgh and Lilyvale); R. Rea (Goulburn); T. Gascoign and H. Baker (Wyong); W. J. Thomas and W. T. Phillips (Lithgow); J. Chilvers and R. T. Hawke (Milthorpe); W. R. Errington and C. Hudson (Stockton); J. Hall and W. Wilson (Cessnock); J. Summer (Charlestown); Messrs Wall and Mease (West Maitland). Letters were received from co-operatives at Nepean, Junee, Bathurst, Western Suburbs and Broken Hill (Barrier). Delegates represented 11,031 members, with £66,486 capital and £6,102 reserves involved in an annual turnover of £519,437 paying an average dividend of one shilling and eightpence halfpenny in the pound. E. J. (Teddy) Brent, (1873-1962), was Director of Brent and Warburton Proprietary Limited, engineers, and, since 1903, had been involved in the Newcastle Starr-Bowkett Society. He subsequently joined the board of the NSW CWS and the National Co-operative Insurance Society (NCIS) and served on the Co-operative Advisory Council of New South Wales. Brent was later Chairman of the Board of the Newcastle group of building societies. Newcastle Morning Herald, 26 January 1909; Our Home (Journal of the NSW Association of Co-operative Building Societies) August 1954, January 1962; O'Neill, op.cit, 38.
- 40 Letter E. J. Brent to T. Shonk, 9 January 1945, 'Co-operatives File', Newcastle Public Library.
- 41 There were other important issues discussed at the 1909 conference. For example: Lithgow Co-operative wanted co-operative insurance; Wallsend and Plattsburgh wanted an educative journal; Balmain called for an education fund and a Co-operative Union; Eastern Suburbs Co-operative (Sydney) wanted production co-operatives to 'defeat dependence on private production'; the Nepean Co-operative argued uniform accounting systems and a professional auditing service to counter charges of 'amateurism' from private competitors;

and Newcastle and Suburban wanted an 'executive' to organise annual conferences. O'Neill, op. cit, 6, 9.

- 42 Northern District CWS Limited, affiliates and statistics, June 1909:

Co-operative	Members	Liabilities £	Assets £
Newcastle and Suburban	1,068	8,993	11,885
West Wallsend	1,114	13,430	16,757
Wallsend and Plattsburgh	550	8,592	9,662
Kurri Kurri	800	8,953	14,398
Cessnock and Aberdare	336	5,839	6,867
Stockton Extended	931	7,366	9,374

O'Neill, op.cit, 12, 13, 32.

- 43 CN, January 1926.

- 44 NSW CWS Board, 7 September 1912: J. J. Hill (Cessnock) (Chairman); J. Hill, S. Timmins, A. Leckie (West Wallsend); T. R. Davis, W. Humphrey (Wallsend and Plattsburgh); T. Curley, R. Wells (Newcastle and Suburban). Cessnock invested £57, West Wallsend £58, Wallsend and Plattsburgh £108 and Newcastle and Suburban £108.

- 45 The NSW CWS heard of a shipment of kerosene on its way to Sydney from South America and had it diverted to Newcastle. Upon taking delivery, the manager found many cans empty, mysteriously punctured. In its first six weeks, the NSW CWS sold £1,208 of produce, mainly to West Wallsend, including chaff, bran, pollard, maize, oats, onions, oil, cake, lucerne, hay, straw, potatoes, swedes, turnips, flour, tinned milk, cement, artificial manures, soaps, salts, candles, miners' tallow, washing soda, oils, margarine and sardines. In the first period of trading West Wallsend saved £128; Newcastle and Suburban £100; Cessnock £74; and Wallsend and Plattsburgh £78 (representing a 45.4 per cent return on share capital investment). O'Neill, op.cit, 16-17, 19.

- 46 CN, September 1949.

- 47 O'Neill, op.cit, 24; The Newcastle Morning Herald, 25 June, 1916, 9 November, 1916, 14 November, 1916, 15 November, 1916.

- 48 O'Neill, op.cit, 20-1, 24, 47; Butler, op.cit, 44, 50, 56, 58, 61; CN, October 1923; Shortland, Twenty-Five Years History of the Kurri Kurri Co-operative Society, 1904-1929, Kurri Kurri, 1929, 20-21.

- 49 In 1908, Pulsford had attempted to create a 'society of tent makers', an order of priests working for their living with

other workers, emulating the 'Apostles of Corinth'. F. E. Pulsford, 'Society of Tent Makers', Pamphlet, Bible House, Sydney, n.d.; F. E. Pulsford, Co-operation and Co-partnership: The Way of Social Salvation, Worker Trade Union Print, Sydney, 1913; CN, July, 1929.

- 50 Pulsford mentioned Coastal Farmers Co-operative, Berrima District Co-operative, the Co-operative Wool and Produce Company, Victorian Farm and Fruit, T. M. Burke's Victorian Wholesale, South Australian Farmers Co-operative Union, Eudunda Farmers Co-operative, Port Adelaide Industrial Co-operative, Adelaide Co-operative Society, the Hunter Valley co-operatives, Woonona Industrial, Balmain, Broken Hill and the Melbourne Civil Service Co-operative in his list of the 'co-operative movement'. Pulsford, Co-operation and Co-partnership, op.cit, 10, 23, 32, 55.
- 51 Pulsford, Co-operation and Co-partnership, op.cit, 23, 32, 55, 57, 64.
- 52 Pulsford, Co-operation and Co-partnership, op.cit, 64.
- 53 The Workers Educational Association (WEA) began in England in 1903, the work of Albert Mansbridge, an employee of the Tea Department of the CWS and, later, of the Co-operative Permanent Building Society. Mansbridge worked with the historian, J. H. Rose, a popular lecturer with the Cambridge University's Extension Department which sought to develop links between the Trade Union Movement and the Co-operative Movement to overcome deficiencies in adult education, particularly for workers and women. The WEA commenced (in Britain) with 50 per cent female membership, strongly supported by the Rochdale Equitable Co-operative Society. It was promoted and developed in Australia by David Stewart. Marxists opposed the WEA as 'devoted to the preservation of the existing order, [the] plaything of intellectuals and the clergy'. The Labour Movement sometimes regarded it jealously as a rival to its own educational programs. The WEA developed a system of tutorial classes and periodic publications intended to keep workers abreast of complex socio-economic events and enhance worker understanding of them. The spirit of the WEA is encapsulated in an address by the Bishop of York to the 1909 WEA Conference in Sheffield:

You may become strong and clamorous. You may win a victory. You may effect a revolution but you will be trodden down again under the feet of knowledge unless you get it for yourselves. Even if you achieve that victory you will be trodden down again under the feet of knowledge in the hands of privilege, because knowledge will always win over ignorance.

Pulsford, Co-operation and Co-partnership, op.cit, 1, 8; M. D. Stocks, Workers Educational Association: The First Fifty Years, London, 1953, 18, 23, 36; Workers Educational

Association of Australia, Provisional Handbook for Australia, Sydney, 1913; E. M. Higgins, David Stewart and the WEA, Sydney, 1957; Workers Educational Association, The Australian Highway, Sydney, August 1923, 123.

NOTES: CHAPTER 5

'OH YE WAGE EARNERS OF AUSTRALIA':
RADICAL AND ROCHDALE CO-OPERATION, 1914-1923

- 1 Clark, A History of Australia, Vol. V, op.cit, 407-414.
- 2 Relevant legislation included: the Customs Act (Commonwealth) 1910-1914; the New South Wales Commodity Control Act (1914); the South Australian Prices Regulation Act (1914); the South Australian Foodstuffs Commission Act (1914); Loans to Producers Act, 1917; the Western Australian Control of Trade in Wartime Act (1914); the Western Australian Foodstuffs Commission Act (1914); the Queensland Meat Supply for Imperial Uses Act (1914); the Queensland Control of Trade Act; the Queensland Co-operative Agricultural Production and Advances to Farmers Act, 1914-1919; the Queensland Co-operative Sugar Works Act, 1914; the South Australian Loans to Producers Act, 1917; (Vic) Cold Stores for Fruit Act, 1914; the Victorian Primary Producers Advances Act, 1919-1922; the Tasmanian Advances to Fruit Growers Acts, 1918-1919. These were largely restricted to wheat, wool, dairy and sugar produce. The Queensland Meat Supply for Imperial Uses Act (1914), the South Australian Grain and Fodder Act, and the New South Wales Wheat Acquisition Act, gave state governments powers of compulsory purchase and established Boards to purchase commodities for them. W. M. Smith, The Marketing of Australian and New Zealand Primary Production, London, 1936, 4; H. C. Wilkinson, State Regulation of Prices in Australia, Melbourne, 1917, 83; Maynard, His Was the Vision, op.cit, 42.
- 3 Pressure to regulate the marketing of commodities mounted but constitutional uncertainties lingered. Near the end of 1916, however, the federal government moved to create commodity pools to rationalise the war effort and state governments passed complementary legislation creating Pools Boards, statutory marketing authorities with powers to ensure quotas to domestic markets and regulate prices. These Boards, authorised to remain active until three years after the war, set a successful precedent for regulation in primary industry which contrasted to the relatively chaotic self-regulated markets of the pre-war period and were readily accepted by consumers who saw evidence of their efficacy in improved supply and prices. The question now was: would government vacate the field at war's end?

The leaders of the New South Wales rural 'co-operative movement' particularly C. E. D. Meares remained violently opposed to the Boards seeking to reduce them to an advisory role and calling for improved legislation for co-operatives as moves towards a distinctive rural political voice gathered sway. Maynard, His Was the Vision, op.cit, 42.
- 4 The Progressive platform included 'desirable' (British) immigration; rural settlement and leases to assist; resumption

of improvement leases; introduction of conditional purchase leases; the breaking up of large estates; improved railway and wharf facilities; better administration in the Department of Lands; bulk handling of grain; and improved agricultural co-operation.

The Australian Farmers Federal Organisation (AFFO) which formed near the end of 1916, was passionately pro-Empire and committed to the arrest of an urban drift, British immigration 'rooted in the soil', settlement related public works, a living wage for rural workers and 'co-operation not class warfare'. Co-operating with the Nationalists through the war, AFFO organised soon after to run independent candidates.

An urban drift was gathering pace. In 1871, 46.7 per cent of the New South Wales population lived in urban areas and 53.3 per cent in rural areas. By 1901, people engaged in primary production represented 32.9 per cent of the population, falling to 25.7 per cent by 1921 and 17.6 per cent by the end of World War Two. By 1920, 77.7 per cent of the population lived in urban areas and 22.3 per cent in rural areas and 43 per cent of the total population lived in cities. Affected by mechanisation and other structural changes in rural industry and by relatively poor rural working conditions, the drift carried serious economic and political implications for rural communities; families were being broken; businesses were suffering; townships were dying. Primary production, however, continued to account for approximately 90 per cent of all trading receipts throughout the period. These factors, together with a basic rural distrust of city-based politicians and financiers and a perception that rural living standards compared poorly with those in the suburbs and towns created conditions in which a distinctive rural political voice found expression.

Meares' was active in the Primary Producers' Union. Associates included W. G. Blanch, J. Gould, A. L. Elvery, W. A. Crawford, P. J. Daley, C. J. McRae, J. H. Frith, L. Birmingham, F. Reeding, R. E. Alcorn, R. W. Simes, H. B. Chisholm, W. T. Missingham, A. S. Mackenzie. The Primary Producers' Union was modelled on Trade Union methods: the compulsory raising of funds; the accumulation of reserves for industrial action and the guarantee of rights won to members only. There were unsuccessful moves during the War to start an Australian Producers' Co-operative Party legislating for a National Co-operative Wholesale modelled on the Coastal Farmers Co-operative and handling all imports and exports to ensure that the interests of both primary and secondary industry were advanced. Secondary workers were to have access to federal funds for the creation of production co-operatives and a network of retail co-operatives would distribute manufactures. A Co-operative Party would legislate for decentralisation and do away with 'too many governments, too many middle men, too many money lenders, strikes and a wasteful legal system'. Such a system would embody principles of Christian brotherhood and replace a system where 'stealing is the rule'. Royal Commission of Inquiry on the Rural,

Pastoral, Agricultural and Dairy Industries with Particular Reference to Share Farming, NSW Government Printer, August 1917; WAPD Vol. 82, 1929, 687; Maynard, op.cit, 30, 45-46, 52-56; Commonwealth Dairy Produce Equalisation Committee Limited Report, 1937, 1; W. M. Smith, op.cit, 259; Clark, History of Australia, Vol. V, op.cit, 339, 343; J. A. Morey, The Role of the Statutory Marketing Board in the Organised Marketing of Australia's Primary Products, M. A. thesis (published), University of Sydney, 1959, 9; U. R. Ellis, History of the Australian Country Party, Melbourne, 1963, 81; U. R. Ellis, The Country Party, A Political and Social History of the Party in New South Wales, Melbourne, 1958, 23; Select Committee to Report on the Conditions and Prospects of the Agricultural Industry and Methods of Improving the Same, NSWpp, 1, 1921; Gary Lewis, 'Co-operation, Carruthers and Community Settlement: The Co-operation Act of New South Wales, 1923', unpublished sub-thesis for the Bachelor of Letters Degree, Australian National University, 1980; Gary Lewis, 'Million Farms Campaign, NSW, 1919-25', Labour History, November 1984, 55-73; 'The Federal and State Manifesto of the Farmers and Settlers Association of New South Wales', in F. R. Crowley, Modern Australia in Documents 1901-1939, Melbourne, 1973, 328; F. J. Foster, 'Broad Principles of an Australian Producers Co-operative Party', Pamphlet, Burwood, NSW 1917.

- 5 Portland, Hurstville, Helensburgh, Scarborough, Woonona, Lithgow, Griffith and Canberra co-operatives later affiliated with NSW CWS. The NSW CWS Sydney depot was originally at 383 Sussex Street. O'Neill, 'History of the Co-operative Wholesale Society', op.cit, 36.
6. O'Neill, op.cit, 38.
- 7

Assets of Co-operatives in Australia, 1913-1914	
New South Wales	£444,765
Victoria	£346,444
Queensland	£ 73,645
South Australia	£195,161
Western Australia	£ 98,496

General Statistics Australian Co-operatives, 1913						
	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	WA	CTH
Number of Societies	40	36	4	7	8	95
Members	30,586	19,450	15,955	12,904	1,515	80,410
Income (£,000)	1.49	.626	.016	.394	.286	2.793

(No statistics available for Tasmania)

Progress in New South Wales					
	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912
Number of Societies	39	40	49	40	40
Members	-	-	-	23,083	26,767
Reserves and Nett Assets (£,000)	75	81	96	101	103

Pulsford, op.cit, 75, 120, 125, 130, 143; The Sydney Sun, 29 September 1912; Meredith Atkinson, (ed.), Trade Unionism in Australia: Report of a Conference held in 1915, WEA, Sydney, 1915.

- 8 Meredith Atkinson, op.cit, 22-25.
- 9 O'Neill, 'History of NSW CWS', op.cit, 10; Butler, 'First Fifty Years', op.cit, 52-3.
- 10 Butler, op.cit, 53.
- 11 Newcastle Morning Herald, 25 June, 9, 14, 15, November 1916; F. B. Shortland, Twenty-five Years History of the Kurri Kurri Co-operative, op.cit, 29.
- 12 New South Wales Co-operative Union, Report: First Australian Congress of Consumers Co-operative Societies, Sydney, 6-10 April 1920, 11.
- 13 CN, August 1923.
- 14 CN, June 1933.
- 15 O'Neill, op.cit, 28; Butler, op.cit, 28; CN, July 1926.
- 16 O'Neill, op.cit, 36-38; Report: First Australian Congress, op.cit, 14.
- 17 Clark, A History of Australia, Vol. VI, 'The Old Dead Tree and the Young Green Tree', Melbourne, 1987, 129, 131-3, 135-6, 144-5, 148, 159, 173, 180.
- 18 Pulsford had inspected the CWS empire, discovering that: '...some see the Co-operative Movement as purely utilitarian...merely shrewd far-sightedness and selfishness.' He contrasted this to the co-operative spirit he had found at the Shield Hall Co-operative Factories in Scotland and the idealism still alive in some sections of the International Co-operative Alliance (ICA) and the Co-operative Union of Great Britain. F. E. Pulsford, Leave Time Study of the Democratic Control of Industry Course, WEA, Sydney, n.d.

NEW SOUTH WALES

Balmain Co-op Society
 Wallsend and Plattsburgh
 Co-op Society
 West Wallsend Co-op Society
 Cessnock Co-op Society
 Rose Bay Co-op Society
 Kurri Kurri Co-op Society
 Boolaroo Co-op Society
 Newcastle and Suburban
 Co-op Society
 Hurstville Co-op Society
 Helensburgh Co-op Society
 Scarborough Co-op Society
 Portland Co-op Society
 Woonona Industrial Co-op
 Society
 Granville Co-op Society
 Bathurst Co-op Society
 Griffith Co-op Society
 Lidcombe Co-op Society
 Lithgow Co-op Society
 Canberra Co-op Society
 Maitland Co-op Society
 Greta Co-op Society
 Singleton Co-op Society
 Goulburn Co-op Society
 Bega Co-op Society
 Tenterfield Co-op Society
 Kandos Co-op Society
 Byron Bay Co-op Society
 Co-operative Wholesale
 Society

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Collie Co-op Society
 Goldfields Co-op Society
 Meekatharra Co-op Society
 Nelson Co-op Society
 Albany Co-op Society
 Dangin Co-op Society
 Northam Co-op Society
 Gwalia Co-op Society
 Bunbury Co-op Society
 Perth Co-op Society
 Fremantle Co-op Society
 Greenbushes Co-op Society
 Denmark Co-op Society

VICTORIA

Yarraville Co-op Society
 Moorabbin Co-op Society
 Ballarat Co-op Society
 Bendigo Co-op Society
 Cheltenham Co-op Society
 Cohuna Co-op Society
 Swan Hill Co-op Society
 Terang Co-op
 North Eastern Co-op Society
 Wangaratta Co-op Society
 Gippsland Co-op Society
 Traralgon Co-op Society
 Bacchus Marsh Co-op Society
 Trafalgar Co-op Society
 Foster Co-op Society
 Cora Lynn Co-op Society
 Box Hill Co-op Society
 Avon Co-op Society
 Hamilton Co-op Society
 Australian Stores Co-op Society
 Richmond Co-op Society
 Seymour Baking Co-op Society
 Maryborough Co-op Society
 St Arnaud Co-op Society
 Drouin Co-op Society
 Rutherglen Co-op Society
 Wonthaggi Co-op Society

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Adelaide Co-op Society
 Port Adelaide Co-op Society
 Port Adelaide Bakery Co-op Society
 Brompton Bakery Co-op Society
 Peterborough Co-op Society
 Mt Gambier Co-op Society
 Millicent Co-op Society
 Narracoorte Co-op Society
 Eudunda Co-op Society
 SA Fruitgrowers' Co-op Society

QUEENSLAND

Booval Co-op Society
Warwick Co-op Society
Kenilworth Co-op Society
Toowoomba Co-op Society
Rockhampton Co-op Society
Charters Towers Co-op Society

Report: First Australian Congress, op.cit, 24; W. Kidston, 'Co-operative Movement in Australia: Correspondence Study Course', Paper No. 4, op.cit 13.

- 20 CN, October 1921, April 1927.
- 21 CN, April 1926, February, May 1927.
- 22 CN, September, October 1927, November 1931, August 1938.
- 23 Report: First Australian Congress, op.cit, 137, 141, 153, 162, 166.
- 24 ADB, George Booth; H. Radi, et. al, Biographical Registry of the NSW Parliament, 1901-1910, Canberra, 1979; P. Johnson and T. Grant, Kurri Kurri Jubilee, 1904-1954, Cessnock, 1954; Report: First Australian Congress, op.cit, 27, 66, 100, 137; CN, March 1928; Sydney Sun, July 1960.
- 25 Report: First Australian Congress, op.cit, 12-14.
- 26 CN, October 1921, April 1926, June 1929; Report: First Australian Congress, op.cit, 48, 117, 162-3; Clark, Vol. VI, op.cit, 157, 231.
- 27 Pulsford said:
- Co-operation is primarily a social movement; its commercial side is merely its method. Its objective is a moral one. It seeks, in the realm of industry, to displace a low moral motive of personal profit by the high moral motive of community service. The dividend is merely a means to achieving the moral end. A social program and a moral aim are the lifeblood of the movement, the principal causes of its vitality and growth and the basis of the hope that is the way to industrial salvation.
- Report: First Australian Congress, op.cit, 24, 27, 37, 39, 41, 43-48, 52-54, 57-58, 66, 69, 72, 81, 136.
- 28 Report: First Australian Congress, op.cit, 52-54, 72, 81.
- 29 CN, September 1925, February 1926, December 1927.
- 30 Report: First Australian Congress, op.cit, 81, 136.
- 31 Australian Co-operative Union Committee (1920): W. Dempster, Hurstville (President), F. E. Pulsford, Balmain (Secretary), T. E. Shonk (Assistant Secretary). The Co-operative Union

was to defend and extend co-operative principles and educate the wider community through a co-operative journal, the conduct of classes on practical and philosophical issues relating to co-operation, the development of a legal section assisting the formation of new co-operatives, and provide machinery for the settlement of disputes within the 'co-operative movement'. It was to have a central audit authority directed to the achievement of uniform accounting practice and sympathetic legislation. Individual co-operatives would subscribe one penny per member per annum to subsidise its operations and elect at least one representative per co-operative, plus one representative per thousand members or part thereof, with upper limits on this. To the above was added what was described as the 'Pulsford clause':

To make the Co-operative Movement a uniting medium for all healthy constructive and humanitarian forces by inviting into it all who would further its industrial program, regardless of party, plan or creed; to make the Co-operative Movement a source of enlightened social consciousness pledged to the material resources of Australia being administered to yield the highest individual and greatest general wellbeing.

Daily Telegraph, 9 April 1920; Sydney Morning Herald, 8, 9, 10 April 1920; Report: First Australian Congress, op.cit, 52, 68.

32 CN, July, August, December 1921.

33 CN, July 1922.

34 Committee of The Co-operative News Committee, 1921: Mr Morris (Lithgow), Tom Marshall (Woonona), F. E. Pulsford (Balmain). CN, January 1922; O'Neill, op.cit, 42-43.

35 In 1921, F. W. Wallace, a flour merchant of 'Ivycliffe', Berry Bay, North Sydney, released two pamphlets: 'A Scathing Indictment of Present Day Competition and an Appeal for Co-operation' and 'Constructive Revolution: the Outline of a Method of Social Reconstruction: A Remedy for Industrial Unrest.' Wallace argued that Christ had advocated co-operation and that until society was put on a co-operative footing '...we are hypocrites, we are not Christians...Be a worker for Christ: co-operate'. The Federal Government should develop a 'large public co-operative' for the creation of a 'Co-operative Commonwealth' employing a 'co-operative coupon system' where an hour's labour equalled one halfpenny of remuneration. CN, December 1921, January 1922; D. H. McKay, Thesis, op.cit, 50.

36 Farm labourers did not recover 1884 wage levels until 1906 while urban labourers and navvies did not recover 1880 levels until 1911, a period of more than thirty years. Full weekly wages for labourers and navvies inched up by approximately

20 per cent between 1909 and 1919 while rural wages remained unaltered. Between 1916 and June 1920, wages for urban workers advanced in excess of 20 per cent while wages for rural workers increased at a slower rate. In 1920 average weekly nominal urban wages were £3.4.2 and for rural workers, with board and lodgings on a seasonal basis, \$1/15/-. Report of the NSW Board of Trade upon the Rural Industries and the Question of a Rural Living Wage: Conclusion Upon Inquiry During 1920-1921 Government Printer, 1921, 38-39, 44.

37 CN, December 1921, January, May, June 1922.

38 CN, July, November 1922.

39 There were 137 co-operatives in Australia in 1922, forty-three of them in New South Wales. They had almost 111,000 members, 50,000 of these in New South Wales producing £6,565,598 in sales, £3,000,000 of this in New South Wales and returning £300,000 to members, £236,000 of this in New South Wales.

STATISTICS AUSTRALIAN CO-OPERATION, 1922		
State	Co-operatives	Members
New South Wales	43	49,179
Victoria	29	20,158
Queensland	10	4,412
Western Australia	43	-
Tasmania	2	6,832
All States	137	110,979

CONSUMERS' CO-OPERATIVE SALES, PROFITS, INTEREST AND DIVIDENDS, 1922							
State	Total Sales	Net Profits	Interest on Loan Capital		Interest on Loan Capital		Dividends on Purchases
			Amount	Rate	Amount	Rate	
	£	£	£	%	£	%	£
New South Wales	3,148,913	255,044	1,049	4.7	24,976	5.2	236,054
Victoria	894,970	24,860	3,294	4.0	7,792	5.1	10,765
Queensland	233,862	5,737	574	5.2	1,191	3.4	3,373
South Australia	1,791,658	69,844	5,825	3.8	19,731	4.0	37,164
West Australia)							
Tasmania)	494,195	9,755	nil	-	1,824	3.4	5,349
All States	6,563,598	365,240	12,108	4.2	55,514	4.5	292,705

* Particulars of two Societies in Tasmania were combined with those for Western Australia, to avoid disclosure of individual details.

Present at the 1922 Congress: sixteen Victorian delegates representing co-operative stores at Ballarat, Jeparit, Cheltenham, Yarram, Leongatha, Terang, Dimboola and North East; W. Sharp (Perth Co-operative) and Stirling Taylor (Westralian Farmers); the South Australian Co-operative Union (W. McEllister, President): E. J. Moore, T. M. Evans, Dr H. Heaton and E. H. Jeffrey; A. Hogan (Mount Gambier); R. Loudon (West Wallsend); George Booth (NSW CWS); Meredith Atkinson (WEA); Margaret Jones (Marrickville Women's Guild); a representative from Mudgee; T. E. Shonk (Co-operative News) and F. Pulsford, representing Canberra Co-operative Society. CN, November, December 1922, January 1923, February 1927; McKay, Thesis, op.cit, 36.

- 40 CN, January, April, May 1923.
- 41 No details of the Co-operative Cleaner's Guild have been located.
- 42 CN, April, July 1923.
- 43 CN, May 1923.
- 44 CN, May, August 1923.
- 45 CN, August 1923.
- 46 Statistics compiled from those quoted in the Chapter and Notes.

NOTES CHAPTER 6

A 'HUCKSTERING' CONCERN: THE CO-OPERATION ACT, NEW SOUTH WALES, 1924

- 1 Dooley's Co-operation Bill is discussed in Chapter 5 at page 112.
- 2 Maynard, His Was the Vision, op.cit, 61; Ellis, History of the Australian Country Party, op.cit, 81-83, 115; Clark, History of Australia, 'The Old Dead Tree and the Young Green Tree', Vol. VI, Melbourne, 1987, 30, 134, 143, 192, 236; The Macquarie Book of Events, Sydney, 1983, 344-5.
- 3 U. Ellis, The Country Party: A Political History of the Party in New South Wales, op.cit, 10; Ellis, History of the Australian Country Party, op.cit, 80-83, 115; Clark, History of Australia, Vol.VI, op.cit, 30, 134, 143, 192, 236; Macquarie Book of Events, op.cit, 344-5; Gary Lewis, 'Million Farms Campaign, NSW 1919-25', op.cit, 55-73.
- 4 C. B. Schedvin, Australia and the Great Depression, Sydney, 1990, 63-73.
- 5 Schedvin believes:

There was too much capital expansion both public and private...investment could not have gone so far had there not been a driving force from outside. Australia was in fact a dependent economy but a willing recipient and even a petitioner for a share in the boom conditions. [It was] merely a... continuance of the established Imperial view by which Dominions absorbed surplus British labour and supplied "mother" with raw materials and foodstuffs ...the decade of the 1920s saw an "Indian Summer" of late 19th Century mercantalism.

C. B. Schedvin, op.cit, 64; J. Lewis and I. Turner (eds.), The Depression of the 1930s, Cassell Publishing, 1968, 12.

- 6 Co-operatives present at the 1919 conference included: South Australian Farmers Co-operative Union, Murray River Wholesale Co-operative, Farmers and Graziers Co-operative Grain and Insurance Agency Company, Coastal Farmers Co-operative, Farmers Co-operative Distribution Association of Queensland Limited, Tasmanian Orchardists and Producers Limited, Co-operative Dried Fruit Sales Proprietary Limited, Gippsland and Northern, Victorian Butter Factories Co-operative Limited, Victorian Producers Co-operative Limited and Westralian Farmers. The combined turnover of these organisations was £18.5m. Coastal Farmers' turnover was £3.25m. It is possible that the later banning of co-operative insurance by the Co-operation Act related to the development of CIC (Australia) and the concern of

private insurance companies in New South Wales that co-operative taxation privileges would unfairly advantage it. Provisional Board of the Australian Producers Wholesale Co-operative Federation (APWCF) November 1919: P. H. Ibbot (Victorian Producers Co-operative Company), A. W. Wilson (G and N Co-operative Selling and Insurance Company Limited), B. L. Murray (Westralian Farmers), C. E. D. Meares (Coastal Farmers Co-operative Union), T. E. Yelland (SA Farmers Co-operative Association), A. C. Galbraith (Rural Industries Co-operation [Q] Limited), R. McWhinney (Farmers Co-operative Distribution Company of Queensland). Later NORCO, Berrima District, CIC (Victoria) and the Victorian Butter Factories Company joined the APWCF.

In 1919, C. E. D. Meares of Coastal Farmers and Basil Murray of Westralian Farmers travelled to England to negotiate the APWCF's affiliation with the CWS. In Manchester, Meares and Murray met with CWS officials and representatives of other Empire 'Co-operative Movements' to form the Overseas Producers Wholesale Co-operative Federation. Maynard, op.cit, 65-7.

- 7 In Britain, Meares and Murray encountered H. W. Osborne of the Western District Co-operative (Victoria), sent by the Commonwealth Pools Committee to seek accreditation and British markets through the Pools. Furious, Meares undermined Osborne's position by broadcasting that the Pools would be unconstitutional after 1921 and, following acrimonious exchanges between the Australians, Osborne returned home with no progress to report.

Overseas Farmers developed branches at Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Cardiff, Birmingham, Nottingham, Bristol, Leeds and Belfast. In 1921, A. E. Gough revisited Australia to lead a conference of 'Co-operative Federations' from South Africa, New Zealand and Australia. The theme of the conference was a 'Co-operative Commonwealth', but not in the Rochdale sense; in an Imperial sense. Maynard, op.cit, 65-7.

- 8 The APWCF handled commodities for the Australian Wheat Board, the Australian Dairy Products Boards and the Australian Dried Fruits Boards. Producers Co-operative Distribution Society (PDS) Report, Sixth Annual Conference, Sydney, September 1932; Maynard, op.cit, 68; D. H. McKay, 'History of Co-operation in South-Eastern Australia', M.A. Thesis, Melbourne University, c1943, 16; W. Kidston, 'History and Economic Background of Co-operatives in Australia', in Commonwealth Department of Foreign Affairs, International Training Course, Handbook, Perth, 1969.
- 9 A campaign to propel Carruthers back into prominence began at the end of 1919, when a complimentary dinner was held in Parliament House in his honour. At this, Carruthers was lauded as 'another Sir Henry Parkes in the mould of Sir John Robertson, the land reformer'. Ill-health, it was said, had interrupted a great career. J. Ashton, a former Minister of

Lands in Carruthers' ministry, stressed Carruthers' alleged capacity to reduce public debt, a skill needed in 1919, he said, when big government was the 'gravest danger existing'. Ashton said Carruthers had been 'intellectually re-born' and could restore sound economic administration to the state. ADB, 'Joseph Hector Carruthers'; Official Souvenir Complimentary Dinner Tendered by Members of the Legislative Council to Sir Joseph Carruthers, Parliament House, Sydney, 9 December 1919.

Royal Commission of Inquiry on the Rural, Pastoral, Agricultural and Dairy Industries with Particular Reference to Share Farming, NSWPP 1, 2 August 1917.

- 10 Carruthers Papers, ML MSS 1638/71, item 7; SMH, 22 September 1922.
- 11 Carruthers conducted conferences to discuss the Bill at: Bega, 15 March; Goulburn, 22-23 March; Orange, 9-10 April; Parkes, 11 April; Sydney, 15 April; Wagga, 17-18 April; Tamworth, 17 April; Inverell, 28 April; Lismore, 7-8 May; Grafton, 10-11 May; Taree, 14 May; Maitland, 16 May; Hawkesbury Agricultural College, 19 June. SMH, 16 March 1923; NSWPD Vol. 90 1922, 3857-74; Vol. 92 1923, 1651-1658; Vol. 94 1923, 2901-2911, 3053-3117, 3149-3189; CN, May 1924; Gary Lewis, 'Co-operation, Carruthers and Community Settlement', op.cit, 32-56; B. P. McEvoy, Notes on the Co-operation Act, New South Wales Registry of Co-operative Societies, 1924. For a description of co-operative societies described by the Co-operation Act, see Appendix 5.
- 12 B. P. McEvoy, Notes on the Co-operation Act, Registry of Co-operative Societies, Sydney 1937, 7; NSW PD Vol. 90, op.cit 3869; Daily Telegraph, Sydney 22, November 1922; SMH, 22 November 1922, 2 January 1923.
- 13 Carruthers Papers, ML MSS 1638/69, 1638/70 Item 1; NSWPD Vol. 92, 1923, 1651-58; Evening News, Sydney, 7 November 1923; Daily Telegraph, Sydney, 7 November 1923; Daily Mail, Sydney, 9 November 1923; SMH, 9 November 1923.
- 14 NSWPD Vol. 94, 1923, 901-99, 2191-97, 3053-117.
- 15 NSWPD Vol. 94, op.cit, 3163.
- 16 NSWPD Vol. 94, op.cit, 3157.
- 17 NSWPD Vol. 94, op.cit, 3070, 3084; Carruthers Papers, ML MSS 1638/72.
- 18 NSWPD Vol. 94, op.cit, 3053-69.
- 19 NSWPD Vol. 94, op.cit, 3089, 3869.
- 20 NSWPD Vol. 94, op.cit, 3048.
- 21 Ibid.

- 22 CN, August 1929.
- 23 CN, June 1937, November 1943.
- 24 Pulsford's Co-operative Societies Association discussed in Chapter 5 at pages 116-117.
- 25 CN, June 1937.
- 26 In 1923, there were 453 organisations in New South Wales using 'co-operative' in their title. Many were not co-operative in anything but name. Two of the ten wool-brokers in the state, handling 22 per cent of the Sydney sales, used 'co-operative' in their title. A voluntary wheat pool set up after the suspension of wartime regulations handled half of the crop passing through Sydney, but this fell to about 5 per cent after the lifting of regulations. The fruit industry was rapidly converting to a co-operative basis modelled on the California Fruit Growers Exchange, and, after the formation in 1921 of the Gosford Bulk Handling Co-operative Society, five other co-operative fruit associations formed.
- 27 Maynard, His Was the Vision, op.cit, 29.
- 28 There were 133 rural societies in 1923, 124 in 1937 and 129 in 1940. In 1935, the annual turnover of rural societies was £12.9m, rising to £16.5m in 1937 (with 55,000 members) and £18.37m in 1940 compared to trading societies which produced an annual turnover of £3.86m in 1920, with 117,657 members. In 1931, there were 46 trading societies, but only seven were Rochdale in description, according to The Co-operative News. In 1931, there were 160 rural societies. By 1933, only 72 of these survived, a mere seventeen affiliated with the NSW CWS. By 1935, the number of trading societies was stationary at 46, but annual turnover had fallen to £1.95m. Only 22 were affiliated with the NSW CWS, eight of these rural based. By 1940, the number of trading societies had fallen to 43, but the number affiliated with NSW CWS remained stationary. Fifty trading societies failed in rural districts between 1920 and 1940, mainly between 1920 and 1926. CN, January 1925, February 1925, July 1931, November 1935; NSW Statistical Reporter, 1934-35, 1941-42; OH, September 1950; Maynard, op.cit, 16.
- 29 Co-operative Advisory Council, NSW, 1924: C. J. McCrae (Coastal Farmers); H. Carter (mixed farming); S. M. Osborne (grazier); Major Halland (fruit); W. E. Taylor (Agricultural Bureaux); J. Johnson (building societies); G. Booth (traders and consumers); H. A. Smith, Registrar and Chairman of the Council. A second consumer representative was added, in 1925, but the proportional representation of consumers did not improve as representatives of rural credit and community settlement societies were added simultaneously. G. G. Neil was appointed 'Co-operative Information Officer' for the Registry of Co-operative Societies in 1925. Morey, op.cit, 52-54; Clark, Vol. VI, op.cit, 247, 260-1; CN, December 1938; E. O. Shann, Quotas and Money, Sydney, 1933, 5.

NOTES: CHAPTER 7

THE THWARTING OF ROCHDALE IDEALISM:
FEDERALISTS AND INDIVIDUALISTS, 1923-c1929

- 1 Clark, A History of Australia, Vol.VI, op.cit, 152, 166, 199, 202-4, 215; Docherty, 'The Second City', op.cit, 75.
- 2 Docherty, op.cit, 234, 235-236, 238-9.
- 3 Committee of Pulsford Education Fund: T. Marshall (Woonona Industrial), Mr Master (Balmain), T. E. Shonk (Co-operative News). CN, August 1923.

4 SALES THROUGH THE NSW CWS
JULY-DECEMBER 1922

Co-operative	Sales (£,000)	Members
Kurri Kurri	37	2,249
Liverpool	2	135
Cessnock	33	2,081
West Wallsend	21	1,600
Boolaroo	7.7	580
Wallsend and Plattsburgh	8	680
Morrisset (defunct)	.23	20
Woonona	11	1,064
Canberra	6	626
Portland	5	560
Maitland	3	384
Gulgory	1.5	165
Helensburgh and Lilyvale	3.8	470
Kandos	1.74	147
Bankstown	.77	100
Newcastle and Suburban	24	3,481
Rose Bay	.76	133
Lithgow	20	3,625
Batlow	.30	79
Greta	.64	173
Lidcombe	.77	850
Balmain	9.1	13,418
Oxley	.27	417
Central	.006	186

CN, September 1923.

5 CN, November 1924.

6 CN, October 1923.

7 CN, April, July, November 1923, January 1924.

8 The meeting with CWS visitors was conducted in C. E. D. Meares' office at the Coastal Farmers Co-operative, an

- affiliate of the APWCF tied to the CWS through the Overseas Farmers Federation and Empire Dairies. CN, January 1924. The Australian Producers Wholesale Co-operative Federation (APWCF) is discussed in Chapter 6 at pages 123-124.
- 9 CN, May 1924.
 - 10 Ibid.
 - 11 The Woonona Industrial Co-operative invested £2,000 in what The Co-operative News called the 'CWS Insurance Fund', but it seems unlikely that Woonona would have done this, since the Co-operation Act had recently outlawed co-operative insurance. It is more likely that Woonona intended the investment for the Manufacturing Fund, established in 1921. McKay, Thesis, op.cit, 57, Butler 'First Fifty Years', op.cit, 70.
 - 12 Clark, Vol.VI, op.cit, 237.
 - 13 NSW CWS Finance Committee 1924: Messrs Pearce (West Wallsend); Mann (Boolaroo); Morris (Lithgow); Shonk (Secretary of Propaganda) (sic). CN, September, October, November, December 1924.
 - 14 Union of Co-operative Employees Committee: T. Marshall, E. O'Neil, J. M. Baddeley, R. James. Nine consumer co-operatives, mainly in rural districts, failed between 1924 and 1926, possibly relating to the impact of the Co-operation Act, but this is not certain. As an example of the dedication of some women to the Women's Guilds, Mrs Read of Sans Souci would catch four trams with her daughter in all weather to attend Guild meetings at Marrickville. She did this for eight years. CN, February, April, September, November 1924, May 1932; O'Neill, 'History of NSW CWS', op.cit, 47.
 - 15 Hampton, 'Retail Co-operatives', op.cit, 46-47; CN, March 1932.
 - 16 John Short went on to steer the Victorian coalmining co-operative, the Wonthaggi Co-operative, to brilliant success and to influence Victorian co-operation after World War Two. Short nursed bitter memories of the NSW CWS 'federalists', a factor possibly contributing to the sometimes acrimonious relationship between the 'co-operative movements' of Victoria and New South Wales.
 - 17 CN, January, July 1925.
 - 18 CN, July 1924.
 - 19 CN, October 1924, April, July 1926; Shortland, 'History of Kurri Kurri Co-operative', op.cit, 33.
 - 20 CN, April, July 1925.

- 21 G. N. Morris, the pro-NSW CWS Manager, with whom 'The Committee' had replaced the sacked Lithgow manager, was the consumer representative on the Co-operative Advisory Council. The declared purpose of the meeting was to stem a run on shares allegedly precipitated by 'malicious rumours' in the Country Traders Association Journal, The Storekeeper concerning the co-operative's solvency, viz:

If the Lithgow Co-operative had deliberately set out to prove the absurdity of the great socialist ideal of the amateur control of business, it could not have done so more effectively than it did involuntarily...Amateur government, which is a feature of all co-operative enterprise and also the socialist ideals (sic)...becomes a farce when put into practice.

CN, May, November 1925, February, April 1926, March 1930.

- 22 CN, April, July 1926.

- 23 CN, July, September 1926.

- 24 Australian Co-operative Union, November 1924; T. Shonk (Honorary Secretary, New South Wales), W. E. McEllister (President, South Australian), H. Ray (Cheltenham, Victoria) with 'support' from the Co-operative Federation of Western Australia. CN, November 1924, February, March, May, August, September, 1925.

- 25 CN, November 1924.

- 26 Shortland, op.cit, 51.

- 27 CN, July, September, October, 1925, April 1926, August, September 1927.

- 28 CN, March, May, December 1926, July 1927, January 1928.

- 29 CN, July, September 1927.

- 30 CWS delegates, 1926: T. Allen, W. T. Charter and T. English. Co-operatives visited included Balmain, Woonona, Helensburgh, Newcastle and Suburban, Boolaroo, West Wallsend, West Maitland, Wallsend and Plattsburgh, Kurri Kurri and Cessnock. CN, September 1926, February 1927.

- 31 CN, November 1926, August 1929.

- 32 CN, November 1926.

- 33 Back on the Board, Marshall resumed his attack on the 'weird and obsolete' method of electing the President and Vice President, urging that the 'co-operative movement' be divided into four zones and that all shareholders have equal voting rights regardless of the size of their co-operative. Eschewing politics, Marshall said:

Under the systems of Government existing side by side with Capitalism, Poverty, Unemployment and insecurity [sic]...of livelihood must be permanent elements to prevent the structure from crumbling to a fall. Unemployment, Insecurity and Poverty are the three great weapons or links comprising the economic pressure which chain the working masses to the capitalistic machine and force them to allow themselves to be the victims to produce rent, profit and interest to perpetuate the system which must still enslave them.

The Guilds discussed a range of topics, including war in China, peace issues, the League of Nations, sex education for the young, animal welfare and vivisection and the implications of Lang's welfare program among and a more responsible role for women in co-operative affairs. CN, September 1927.

- 34 Initial items of trade included tea, hardware, soaps, manchester, cottons, groceries. By the end of the year the NSW CWS was packing several mainly CWS-lines including: alum, tartaric acid, arrowroot, bird seed, haricot beans, baking powder, benzine, borax, boracic acid, brooms, custard powder, cornflour, coconut, castor oil, essences, glycerine, ground ginger, honey jellies, methylated spirits, machine oil, ground nutmeg, olive oil, pepper, peas, phenol, salad oil, self-raising flour, vinegar and water glass. Other commodities packed by NSW CWS included: rolled oats, oatmeal, pickles, Worcestershire sauce, tomato sauce, candles, jams, boot polish and canned fruits. CN, January, July, September 1926, February, July, August, September, November 1927.
- 35 CN, February, June 1927.
- 36 CN, November 1927, April, June, July 1928, November 1929.
- 37 Farmer support for government intervention in the rural industry grew after World War One, stimulated by the example of the wartime pools. Following federal conferences in Melbourne in August 1923 and April 1924, a Western District Co-operative (Victoria) proposal calling for a Commonwealth-regulated prices and income stabilisation scheme for dairy exports under federal external powers co-ordinated through a 'voluntary association of marketing authorities in the states' to circumvent constitutional difficulties relating to restraint of trade, was approved by the industry. Correspondingly, the Commonwealth passed the Dairy Producers (Export) Control Act setting up the Dairy Produce (Export) Control Board including representatives of co-operatives and proprietary companies to regulate prices and levy the industry for income stabilisation. The leader of the New South Wales rural 'co-operative movement', C. E. D. Meares, urged dairy farmers to boycott this, describing it as 'practically proprietary in outlook and decision' and following threats from New South Wales co-operatives to

withdraw from CIC (Australia) (the Victorian-based insurance company to which APWCF affiliates were affiliated) the Dairy Produce Board was reduced to an advisory role. CN, December 1938; E. O. Shann Quotas and Money, Sydney, op.cit, 5.

- 38 The 'Patterson Scheme' was a thorn in the consumer side. As the national debt climbed, as the Bruce-Page government steered the Australian economy closer to Britain's, streamlining the Loan Council, for example, to rationalise 'bulk' borrowings and repayments, and as severe drought continued, the urgency to improve productivity and find new export markets grew. By the mid 1920s, with production climbing and London prices for butter falling, more farmers began urging the Commonwealth to extend the Dairy Producers (Export) Control Act to the equalisation of returns and the stabilisation of prices within and between domestic and foreign markets. This led, in January 1926, to a so-called 'improved' system of voluntary regulation: the Australian Butter Stabilisation Committee, known as the 'Patterson Scheme'; a system of cross-subsidising domestic and export markets, sharpening the regulatory powers of the Dairy Produce (Export) Control Board while increasing co-operative representation on it. Its declared objective was 'to give producers a return more in keeping with Australian living standards' by paying a bonus to producers for butter exported and equalising returns between domestic and external markets. Producers in turn were levied to finance the Committee. The rub for Australian consumers was that local prices were to be adjusted by the amount of the export bonus and maintained to this degree above London parity. In other words, Australian consumers were to subsidise the competitiveness of Australian producers abroad.

By 1933, in the depths of Depression, it was clear that the 'Patterson Scheme' was producing anomalies as disintegrating export markets saw surpluses actually reducing local prices to lower than London prices less shipping. 'Disloyal' factories, co-operative and private, refused to pay levies while enjoying the relatively higher prices available in domestic markets. Aggressive discounting and border trade price wars developed as competition intensified bringing further instability and no lasting benefits to consumers. Another voluntary system of market regulation was in tatters. Meares finally acknowledged that, in the depressed conditions, voluntary association was inoperable and endorsed the formation of the Dairy Produce Equalisation Committee, a body compulsorily requiring dairy farmers to conform to its regulations. A march of regulation continued; the old nineteenth century vision of a self-regulated industry built upon voluntary association had faded. Maynard, His Was the Vision, op.cit, 62. Morey, op.cit, 51.

- 39 Major Russell replaced Meares as Managing Director of PDS. Russell had spent more than twelve years in London for APWCF, also representing the Australian Dairy Products Export Control Board. In 1929, Dairy Farmers Co-operative

absorbed the Camden Vale Milk Company Limited and the Farmers and Dairymen's Milk Company. In 1932, E. Hardy Johnston, the CWS attorney, briefed the Co-operative Advisory Council on dairy exports and some of his recommendations were carried in the NSW Dairy Products Act. In the same year, eleven of the fifty-two affiliates of PDS were non-co-operative. In 1934, PDS acquired the Singleton-Waratah Milk Company Limited, McNamara Limited, and the Woodstock Milk and Cream Company Limited. CN, February 1933; Maynard, op.cit, 79; PDS 1932 Annual Conference, Report, 3; Australian Institute of Political Science, Pamphlet Series, Sydney, 1937, 28-29.

40 CN, October 1924, January, July 1925, March 1936; Maynard, op.cit, 74; The Producers and Consumers Co-operative Conference Report, NSW Government Printer, 1926, Bathurst, September 1926.

41 The Primary Producers Union described the Bathurst Conference thus:

A conference inspired by political altruists was convened, the ostensible object being to consider and devise ways and means of bringing the producer and consumer closer together...Representatives of the retail co-operative houses which, in the main, represent and cater for the benefit of an industrial clientele, sought to bridge the gap which was alleged to yawn between producer and consumer by an attempt to deal direct with the factories...To representatives of the producers the queer idea did not appeal in the least [for] they realised that if [it] materialised it would mean the end of the co-operative distributing business which had been initiated and carried on largely by the employment of producers' capital. Now they were being asked cheerfully to cut the throat of...their co-operative undertakings...The conference, therefore, proved abortive and nothing good or evil came of it.

CN, October 1926.

42 As recession deepened, Messrs Hewieson, Little, McEwan and Justhason the last manager of the CWS Dairy Produce Section and governing manager of the wholesale toured extensively throughout Australia to expand sales of CWS goods. 'Direct supply', that is, a barter system of exchange, was developed in some lines (possibly tea in exchange for dairy and other primary products). Between 1921 and 1939, CWS officials toured New South Wales on at least nine occasions, usually on the way to New Zealand. CN, May, October 1924, February 1925, August 1927, June 1928, July, November, August 1929, February 1933, November 1935, March 1936, May 1937, September 1939; J. Thompson, 'Problems of Agricultural Co-operation', Economic Record, February 1928, 38-45; Imperial Conference on Agricultural Co-operation; Report of Proceedings, Empire Exhibition, Glasgow, Scotland, 18-20 July 1938, London, 1938, 27.

43 A poll was conducted if 100 or more (or half the producers of any small rural industry) requested it, and voting was compulsory. A two-thirds majority vote was necessary to the creation of a marketing board. This was reduced to 50 per cent in 1934. A Board, thus constituted, had powers to acquire and sell the products of the industry. A Director of Marketing was appointed and a State Marketing Bureau created. New South Wales legislation influenced the Marketing and Primary Products Act, Victoria 1935, the Marketing of Primary Products Act, Tasmania 1935, and specific commodity boards in South Australia and Western Australia. Most New South Wales rural industries, however, remained suspicious of the Marketing of Primary Produce Act. Wheat, butter, millet, meat and fresh fruit producers, for example, all rejected proposals for implementation of it in its first year of existence. In *James v South Australia* (1927), it was suggested that 'compulsory' powers vested in state marketing authorities were obnoxious to the constitution. Nevertheless, as recession deteriorated into depression, producers in newer industries where co-operation was not well-established turned to its provisions. For example, in 1928, the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area Rice Growers Co-operative Society voted to constitute a Board, as did egg producers. In 1928, the Murrumbidgee River Irrigation Area Rice Growers Co-operative Association sustained heavy losses after a 6,000 tonne consignment went bad in Sydney. Growers petitioned the government, and the state Rice Marketing Board was set up to assist them.

Poultry farmers had used the Berrima District and Coastal Farmers distribution system prior to 1929, when the Egg Marketing Board was set up. When the NSW CWS complained that poultry farmers were ignoring the welfare of consumers, poultry farmers replied that the Rochdale 'movement' had ignored them for twenty-five years and told the NSW CWS to 'wake up to itself', that it had co-operation the 'wrong way around'; the producer, not the consumer, comes first'. A Honey Board formed soon after, but, along with Boards for bananas, ginger and potatoes, had dissolved by 1932, destroyed by depression.

The Commonwealth Dried Fruits Act passed without reference to growers, complemented by the NSW Dried Fruits Act (1927) and giving the Commonwealth Dried Fruits Board authority to acquire crops, determine quotas for export, issue licences for interstate trade and reject and regulate trade. This arrangement, too, was subject to court challenges, but it was able to function virtually up to World War Two when the NSW Dried Fruit Board was constituted. Meanwhile, the performance of co-operative associations, under the Co-operation Act continued to disappoint with Registrar Smith's carefully-nurtured Young (Prunes) Co-operative Association, for example, also collapsing in the Depression. The economic truth was that markets simply did not exist to sustain co-operative, compulsory, or 'voluntary' marketing systems, although provision for each existed. CN, January 1925, March 1931, March 1932, July

- 1928; Morey, op.cit, Chapter 10 especially, 52-55; Smith, op.cit, 70-73, 80-81.
- 44 CN, July 1927, March 1928.
- 45 CN, January, August 1929; May 1930; February 1931; Registrar of Co-operative Societies, New South Wales, Annual Report, 1934.
- 46 Guilds formed at Corrimal, Thirroul, Balgownie, Woonona and Coledale. Discussion nights were held and equal pay, women in the Soviet Union, the desirability of keeping Labor in office, 'back to nature' philosophies and other matters were explored in the interests of educating women. Jones sought ties with the Housewives' Association (formed in 1917), the more radical Housewives' Progressive Association and the Militant Women's Group, a Communist-inspired group. Clark, A History of Australia, Vol. VI, op.cit, 232, 283; Bessie Rischbieth, March of Australian Women, Perth, 1964; CN, August, July 1927, March, September, November, December 1928, July 1929.
- 47 CN, February, September, November 1927.
- 48 Poems from (possibly fictitious) Guildswomen were printed in The Co-operative News praising the wholesale, such as the following:

My blessings on you, C.W.S.,
 I've ne'er tried you before.
 You've wealth of gear for spoon and knife,
 Heart could not wish for more.

Heaven keep you clear of stir and strife,
 Till far beyond four-score.
 And by the way of death and life,
 I'll ne'er go past your door.
 "Kurri Guildswoman"

CN, February, June, July, August, November, December 1927, January 1928.

- 49 Objects of the Co-operative Union, 1928:

To carry on trades and businesses of booksellers, publishers, accountants, general commercial advisers and arbiters in matters of disputes arising between Societies which cannot be settled locally; to undertake the propagation of Co-operative principles; the organising of Co-operation in all its branches, especially in industries, trades and businesses; to promote the spread of education within the movement; to undertake and execute any trust where deemed advisable; to promote essential uniformity in rules governing Co-operative Societies; to protect and forward Co-operative interests in the legislatures of the State and

Commonwealth, and to promote uniformity of laws governing Co-operative Societies in the different States; to conserve all powers granted to the Union by the Act.

CN, January, June 1928, June 1929.

- 50 Other papers included: Mr Harris (WEA), 'Value of the Co-operative Movement to the Community'; A. Watson, 'Review of the Marketing Board Act'; S. Alen (WEA), 'Co-operative Finance'; and J. T. Sutcliffe, 'Present Day Trading Systems'. Balmain, Kurri Kurri, Cessnock, Portland, Kandos, Woonona, Helensburgh, Newcastle and Suburban co-operatives attended the conference. West Wallsend sent apologies and good wishes. Wallsend and Plattsburgh declined to participate. Other societies did not reply. CN, January, June 1928, June 1929.
- 51 At the 1929 Summer School, Guildswomen from Balgownie, Balmain and Branches, Cessnock, Coledale, Corrimal, Kurri Kurri, Weston, Leichhardt, Liverpool, Marrickville, Thirroul, Wollongong and North Sydney were in attendance. Other agenda items included: low prices and low dividends at co-operatives; to work for peace through a Department of Peace; to remove anomalies in Labor's Widow's Pension Bill (in respect of children attaining the age of fourteen); the abolition of compulsory military service; the proclaiming of the 7th of July as 'Co-operation Day'; and education for women. Papers were given on Robert Owen, the co-operative control of industry and co-operative ethics and management. CN, June, November, December 1928.
- 52 CN, May, August 1928.
- 53 CN, January, February, March, July 1929.
- 54 CN, July, October 1929, February, 1930.
- 55 CN, August, October, December, 1929, February, March, 1930.
- 56 Silcocks was born in South Wales, the great-grandson of a Chartist and grandchild of passionate Rochdale supporters. He was, himself, a disciple of Blatchford. After spending some time in the merchant marine, Silcocks jumped ship at Fremantle, wandered about northern Australia and later joined the Collie Industrial Co-operative. After a period in Maitland, Silcocks moved to the south coast of New South Wales where, following a mine accident, he was 'victimised for three years'. He joined Woonona Industrial in 1914 and, by 1918, was the co-operative's Vice President and auditor. Active in the Miners Federation (Coke Workers) after 1926, Silcocks was organising secretary of the South Coast May Day celebrations. CN, March 1930, August 1931.
- 57 Meeting of Central Guild, 22 September 1930. The Feminist Club as situated at 77 King Street, Sydney. CN, July 1929, January 1930.

58 CN, January, July, November, 1930.

59 CN, April, 1930, July, August, 1930

60 Board of NSW CWS, 1930: G. Booth, W. Basdon, D. McGhee, J. Hancock, J. W. Onions, T. Miller, J. Weston, W. Paterson, A. Camerson, G. Pearce, E. O. O'Neill, R. J. Grierson. CN, April, July, October 1939.

61 CN, December 1937.

NOTES: CHAPTER 8

'A VALLEY OF DRY BONES':
ROCHDALE, DEPRESSION AND THE MANCHESTER 'UMBILICUS',
1929-c1939

- 1 Clark, A History of Australia, Vol. VI, op.cit, 285,290.
- 2 CN, January 1930.
- 3 Clark, Vol. VI, op.cit, 293, 299, 310.
- 4 Clark, Vol. VI, op.cit, 315,325.
- 5 The New South Wales Civil Service Co-operative went into voluntary liquidation in 1931. In 1930, it possessed paper assets of £280,000 but owed the Commonwealth Bank £62,000. After Lang refused to guarantee its overdraft, the Bank foreclosed. One estimate is that the collapse cost shareholders almost £300,000. Clark, Vol. VI, op.cit, 333, 342; CN, December 1931.
- 6 Clark, Vol. VI, op.cit, 416; CN, June 1932.
- 7 CN, December, October 1932, September 1934, December 1937, January 1941.
- 8 Clark, Vol. VI, op.cit, 396, 404, 424, 447, 436.
- 9 Controversy surrounded the demise of a profit-sharing arrangement at the Overton Mine, near Mussellbrook, which Union officials dismissed as a 'sweating' operation. A Trade Union-run co-operative day-bakery, designed to improve workers' conditions, failed, prompting a Registry inquiry which unearthed inefficiency, factionalism, dishonesty and mismanagement and eroded what little confidence in co-operation survived in the official Labour Movement.

Official Union suspicion of co-operation was exacerbated by a controversy at the Balmain Coal Contracting Company Limited, a co-operative hewing-system registered under Company Law which met with strong Union resistance. The Southern District of the Miners Federation, for example, sought to expel workers involved, claiming that they were working longer hours, hewing more coal and receiving less than other workers. Workers appealed to the Central Council of the Federation, demonstrating that incomes had in fact improved with no perceptible erosion of conditions. The Council narrowly upheld the appeal, but disagreement continued over the issue until the Balmain mine closed in 1931. A co-operative woollen mill formed in 1933, a 'conversion' co-operative in which employees purchased plant. No further details have been located. A co-operative weighbridge was begun at Llangothlin, near Guyra. The Hasting Deering motor-car sales company

distributed dividends among customers. Darling Point ladies formed a 'delivery co-operative' because '...the strain of carrying heavy parcels is injurious to the health of women. The Christian Co-operative Federation (CCF) formed a craft co-operative consisting of social workers, potters, weavers, glove makers, embroiderers, metal workers and carpenters, involving twelve master craftsmen and craftswomen who instructed the public, particularly the elderly. A 'Bethlehem' Holiness Mission, at Wyee, involving fifty communards, attempted to put the teachings of Christ into practice.

10 CN, December 1930.

11 Butler, 'First Fifty Years', op.cit, 79.

12 Partly because of Loudens reservation, and partly because of chronic dissension in the Newcastle and Suburban Co-operative, changes were made to the co-operative's management in 1930. Bob Grierson became manager of the Newcastle and Suburban Co-operative and Bob Loudens and Frank Clarke moved to the NSW CWS. The Co-operative News described this as a 'bombshell' but it was actually a rehearsed move, enabling Grierson both to take a seat on the NSW CWS Board while continuing to promote the sale of CWS manufactures through the Newcastle and Suburban Co-operative which Loudens appeared reluctant to do:

...it presented an opportunity to show that the big Society could excel private enterprise...to have left the task to uncertain quantities would have been too risky...It was a backward step [for Grierson] but a noble act putting Movement before self.

CN, April, June 1932, August 1933.

13 CN, January, October, December 1931, November 1931, June 1935.

14 Butler, op.cit, 82.

15 Souvenir Pamphlet Back to Westy, op.cit, 26.

16 Shortland, Twenty Five History of Kurri Kurri Co-operative, op.cit, 55.

17 CN, January 1935.

18 CWS Delegation 1929: T. J. Henson, T. Liddle, G. A. McEwan, Messrs. Justin and Thompson. CN, May 1930, August 1933.

19 CN, November, July 1930, January 1931.

20 CN, February, December 1930, June 1931, June 1932.

21 Butler, op.cit, 94; CN, February 1932, February 1934.

- 22 CN, October 1925, May, December 1926, July, October 1927, June, October 1928, April 1929, September 1930, February, November 1934, April 1935, May 1937.
- 23 At the 1931 ALP Easter Conference, for example, some delegates enthusiastically endorsed co-operative banking and insurance as prerequisites to socialisation. Some in the audience must have known that both co-operative insurance and banking were outlawed in New South Wales. CN, September 1931.
- 24 CN, October 1931.
- 25 CN, January, September 1928, August 1929, June 1932, September 1936.
- 26 By 1933, only 475 tons had actually been sent, but in 1930 this dismal performance was still generally unknown. CN, March, April, May, June, August, November, December 1932, April 1933, June 1934.
- 27 CN, May 1930, January, June 1931, November 1932, September 1936.
- 28 CN, January 1928, January 1931, September 1936.
- 29 NSW CWS Board 1930: S. Clarke (Balmain), R. Thomas (Boolaroo), T. Crawford (Cessnock), C. Bennet (Helensburgh), C. Ritey (Kandos), P. Murphey (Kurri Kurri), H. Morris (Lithgow), W. H. Kennedy (Liverpool), E. J. Brent (Newcastle and Suburban), H. Thompson (Portland), T. R. Scott (Wallsend and Plattsburgh), J. Young (West Wallsend), J. T. Evans (Woonona). NSW CWS reserves were £33,602, share capital £84,879 and sales £757,366. CN, April, December 1930, March, December 1931, April 1932.
- 30 CN, October 1930, October 1931, October 1933.
- 31 CN, March, August 1930, February, March, June, July 1931.
- 32 CN, March 1931.
- 33 Even C. E. D. Meares, that great defender of voluntarism in the dairy 'co-operative movement' now eschewed it; the Depression had crushed voluntariness, he said, and farmers must yield to regulation if the wholesale destruction of the dairy industry was to be avoided. CN, June 1931, April, July 1932, January 1934, July 1939.
- 34 CWS Delegation 1933: W. Sutton (Finance), W. Bradshaw (Manufacturing), J. Bradshaw (Grocery). The itinerary included South Africa, New Zealand and the United States. The CWS owned 35,133 acres of tea plantations in India and Ceylon, employing 13,474 workers, had estates in Denmark, West Africa and Spain, depots in France, Canada, America, possessed 25,700 acres of agricultural land in Britain employing 597 employees and had 79 factories, including coal

mines, with 28,523 employees producing biscuits, preserves, soap, flour, shirts and clothing, cotton, woollens, boots, furniture, brushes, mats, printing, among other things. It had 1,084 stores with a turnover of £84m, selling £8m of butter, £2m of grain, £2m of canned goods and £4m of other animal by-products, annually. Its bank and insurance offshoots produced an annual turnover of more than £710m operating on a capital of approximately £70m. Sales between 1864 and 1932 amount to £1.9 billion. CN, July 1932, June, July 1933, June 1934.

35 CN, March 1933.

36 CN, April 1934.

37 South Australia elected to participate in the Equalisation Committee only for cheese production. Western Australia, largely because of the powerful influence of the rural 'co-operative movement' in that state, and a majority poll of producers favourable to the scheme notwithstanding, conducted an independent market regulation system until 1946. The Australian Dairy Produce Board consisted of sixteen members: one Commonwealth representative; one representative from the Federal Council of Australian Factory Managers and Secretaries Association; two representatives from proprietary companies; two representatives of co-operatives and co-operative companies from each of the major producing states (New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland); and three representatives of co-operatives and co-operative companies from South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania.

The Dairy Produce Equilisation Committee consisted of eight shareholders from each of the larger producer states, (Victoria, New South Wales and Queensland), and four from each of the other states, designed to establish a quota system, fix prices, market produce, reclaim inequitable returns from producers breaching the Committee's charter, meet transport costs and levy producers for the costs of maintaining the Committee. Results of a dairy producers' poll to constitute a Board, 11 October, 1934:

State	No of Votes in favour of continuance of Act	No of Votes not in favour of continuance of Act	No of Votes rejected as informal	Majority of Votes in favour of continuance of Act
NSW	15,779	188	21	15,591
VIC	15,120	346	24	14,774
QLD	16,114	152	28	15,962
SA	1,346	233	7	1,113
WA	1,339	16	4	1,323
TAS	1,049	481	3	568
Totals	50,747	1,416	87	49,331

The Committee had scarcely begun to operate when the Privy Council pronounced the Commonwealth Dairy Produce Act unconstitutional and it was forced to revert to a 'voluntary' arrangement. State governments now agreed to 'assist' the Committee with legislation effecting state quotas, since the Committee, itself, was prevented from determining these. In *James v Commonwealth*, 1935, the Privy Council reversed a High Court Decision of 1920. The Commonwealth then unsuccessfully sought appropriate constitutional powers through referenda in 1936, 1944, and 1946. Legislation complementing the Commonwealth Dairy Produce Act: Queensland Dairy Products Stabilisation Act, 1933; NSW Dairy Products Act, 1933; WA Dairy Products Act, 1934; Victorian Dairy Products Act, 1933, Tasmanian Dairy Products Act, 1933. The Commonwealth was reduced to acting through its Customs and Trade Description powers. Nevertheless, the Committee remained substantively unchanged, co-ordinating State Boards through 'voluntary' agreements.

Essentially a national commodity monopoly under the aegis of the federal government, the Committee was a queer corporate hybrid made up of state Dairy Produce Boards consisting of bureaucrats, proprietors and co-operatives, 'co-operating' as shareholders in a limited company. It was empowered to 'oblige every manufacturer to accept the principle of sharing markets equitably and remove any incentive to impair value by engaging in any unhealthy competition [sic] in any particular market'. Co-operatives which now produced more than 80 per cent of the national dairy output, were given generally better representation on the new Australian Dairy Produce Committee than had been the case under the old Dairy Producers (Export) Control Board. Here was the product of more than half a century of rural co-operation in the New South Wales dairy industry: a monopolistic statutory authority empowered to compel producers to share the market 'equitably' by managing out 'unhealthy' competition. This was no manifestation of 'self-help', eliminating the 'middle man'; quite the contrary: it was a classic example of state-assisted economic feather-bedding, subsidised by consumers and tax-payers. The NSW Dairy Products Board was the new 'middle man', in rural co-operation, compulsorily regulating competition and insulating producers against genuine market forces. In the depressed conditions there was no alternative: certainly co-operation had not produced one. The possibility of a co-operative 'middle way' ever emerging from this regulated rural field was more remote than ever. Commonwealth Dairy Produce Equalisation Committee Limited, Report, 1935, 1; Commonwealth Dairy Produce Equalisation Committee Limited, Report, 1937, op.cit, 1; Commonwealth Dairy Produce Equalisation Committee Limited, Report, 1940, 3; Commonwealth Dairy Produce Equalisation Committee Limited, Report, 1946, 4; Smith, op.cit, 73, 235; C. Ashton (ed.) Dairy Farming in Australia: Victoria Edition, Commonwealth Department of Commerce and Agriculture, Sydney, 1949, 34.

- 38 Lamenting co-operation's poor performance in marketing, C. E. D. Meares of PDS acknowledged that the Dairy Produce Equalisation Committee was necessary for the survival of 'established' producers through the maintenance of local prices, arguing that this could only be achieved through a system of quotas giving a 'fair share' of the market to all producers, and price equalisation. Such a formula, he believed, exercised through a system of licences and 'quota shares' would have the effect of eliminating excess capacity from the industry, including market irritants and 'disloyal' producers, such as the NSW CWS-Hunter Gloucester District Butter Factory arrangement. He concluded that 'it was hopeless to expect [that] this result could be achieved by voluntary arrangement'. Commonwealth Dairy Produce Equalisation Committee Limited, Report, op.cit, 1937, 1; Morey op.cit, 91; Smith, op.cit, 113-117; Ashton, op.cit, 34; PDS Annual Conference, Report, 1931, 9; Commonwealth PD 14/15, Geo V Vol.109, 17-35; CN, 1927; November, 1929; November 1929; Osborne, op.cit, 58.
- 39 Butler, op.cit, 97, 109; CN, July, August, October, November 1934, January, May 1935.
- 40 CWS Delegation 1935/36: A. Pickup (Finance), T. W. Williams (Grocery) and J. Penny (Drapery). Affiliates of the NSW CWS in 1936: Gosford Bulk, Caragabal, Quandrialla, Boolaroo, Bribaree, Broken Hill, Central Coast, Cessnock, Griffith, Helensburgh, Kandos, Kurri Kurri, Lithgow, Liverpool, Maitland, Newcastle, Portland, Singleton, Wallsend and Plattsburgh, West Wallsend, Woonona, Yenda.
- When CWS delegates visited New South Wales in 1939, they spent only two days in Sydney meeting managers only and making 'no appointments'. The Co-operative News expressed bitter disappointment at this snub reporting again that Manchester apparently had no interest in 'strengthening our movement here'. J. Penny and A. Pickup, Report of Deputation to Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand, Co-operative Wholesale Society's Printing Works, Manchester, March 1936; CN, September 1936.
- 41 CN, December 1925, March, August, September 1936, May 1937. O'Neill, op.cit, 29.
- 42 Marshall, Clarke, Grierson, Brent and Mann addressed the Agricultural Bureaux Conference in March 1936. NSW CWS representatives also spoke to Agricultural Bureaux audiences at Goulburn, Grenfell, Tarana, Oberon, Bathurst, Blayney, Orange and Barry. CN, June, October, December 1935, January, March, July, December 1936, February, October 1937.
- 43 CN, November 1936, August 1937, September 1938, February, March, July 1939.
- 44 In 1937, there were 336 primary producer co-operatives in Australia with 136,139 members and an annual turnover of

£24m. There were 160 consumer co-operatives with 12,000 members and a turnover of £4m. In New South Wales, there were 26,000 'Rochdale' co-operators associated with the NSW CWS and 76 'combined' rural and consumer co-operatives with 39,000 members and a turnover of £3.5m. CN, March, April, June, December 1937.

45 CN, April, June 1937.

46 The agenda of the 1938 Congress included: 'Co-operation in Sweden', 'Trades Unions and Co-operation', 'Women and Co-operation', 'Co-operation or Exploitation?' and 'Primary Producers and Boards'. At the Federal Labor Conference, Perth, May 1939, delegates discussed a plan for 'co-operative socialism', a network of retail stores managed by a 'central economic council'. CN, May, December 1938, April 1939.

47 CN, September 1939.

48 Boards constituted under the Marketing of Primary Products Act, 1927 (year of establishment shown in brackets):

Barley Marketing Board for the State of NSW	(1972)
Central Coast (Citrus) Marketing Board	(1967)
Egg Marketing Board for the State of NSW	(1928)
Grain Sorghum Marketing Board for the State of NSW	(1971)
Lemon Marketing Board for the State of NSW	(1963)
Murray Valley (Citrus) Marketing Board	(1966)
Oats Marketing Board for the State of NSW	(1972)
Oilseeds Marketing Board for the State of NSW	(1973)
Rice Marketing Board for the State of NSW	(1928)
Sheep Meats Marketing Board for the State of NSW	(1973)
Tobacco Leaf Marketing Board for the State of NSW	(1965)
Wine Grapes Marketing Board for the Shires of Leeton, Wade, Carrathool and Murrumbidgee	(1933)
Yellow Maize Marketing Board for the State of NSW	(1976)

Boards and Authorities constituted under separate legislation:

Banana Marketing Control Committee	(1969)
NSW Dried Fruits Board	(1939)
Dairy Industry Authority of NSW	(1970)
NSW Dairy Products Board	(1933)

Other Statutory Boards or Authorities influencing marketing:

Grain Elevators Board of NSW	(1955)
NSW Meat Industry Authority	(1970)
Metropolitan Meat Industry Board	(1915)
Sydney Farmer Produce Market Authority	(1968)

On the eve of World War Two, the NSW CWS was locked in mortal combat with dairy farmers for control of the Newcastle fresh milk supply and railing against an alleged 'growing fascism' as Dungog farmers were stopped by the

Dairy Board from supplying the wholesale. Big rallies were held in Newcastle and a Consumers' Defence Council was formed but to no avail. As Meares had predicted in 1933, by 1938, following a series of takeovers and amalgamations, only two 'approved' milk board distributors survived in New South Wales: PDS and NORCO. The NSW CWS carried the challenge for a Board Licence into a Royal Commission into the Dairy Industry, charging that PDS was not a true co-operative and should therefore be ineligible to hold a licence. The Newcastle and Suburban Co-operative, speaking for the NSW CWS, contended that the Dairy Farmers Co-operative did not conform to the one-person-one-vote principle, demonstrating convincingly that it was controlled by a small group of shareholders. Dairy farmers had 3,300 members with 168,000 £1 shares. 'Dry' shareholders were admitted by a majority vote to General Meetings where five shares allowed one vote, 25-100 shares allowed two votes, more than 100 shares allowed four votes. Any one member could proxy for up to twenty other members. There seems little doubt that according to the 'one-person-one-vote' test applied here, the NSW CWS allegations were valid, but the NSW CWS could hardly complain. CN, March 1936, February, March, May, June 1939, October, 1940.

49 CN, March, April, July, November, December 1937, April, May, December 1938, April, December 1939; Commonwealth Year Book, June 30, 1939.

50 CN, December 1938.

51 Attempts to learn of the activities and life of Margaret Jones after this period proved fruitless. Thanks to Hilary Kent of the ADB Biographical Register and Laurence Hill of the Helensburgh Historical Society for their efforts in this regard.

NOTES CHAPTER 9

A CO-OPERATIVE 'NEW ORDER': 1934-c1944

- 1 The term 'credit union' has been used in preference to 'small loans association' and other nomenclature because this has been the most common title in New South Wales since World War Two. Neither building societies nor credit unions were 'new' in an international or Australian sense. Building societies of the permanent, terminating and Starr-Bowkett varieties [GLOSSARY] had been functioning in New South Wales since the early 1850s, experiencing a 'golden age' in the late 1880s before being decimated in the 1890s Depression. Some survived, and there was a modest revival of interest in them before and after World War One before they were again reduced by the 1929 Depression. There had also been earlier attempts to form small savings and loan associations (credit unions) but these had come to nothing. For example, some consider Caroline Chisholm's Family Colonisation Loan Society of 1850 to be the first credit union, but it was really a charity organisation. There was also provision for urban and rural credit societies in the 1923 Co-operation Act but this was poorly utilised. Credit unions in Australia are essentially a post-World War Two phenomenon. The groundwork for their development, however, was prepared in the period discussed in the present chapter.
- 2 Affiliates and co-operatives trading with the NSW CWS in 1940 included: Boolaroo, Cessnock, Kurri Kurri, Maitland, Newcastle and Suburban, Wallsend and Plattsburgh, West Wallsend, Crows Nest, Helensburgh, Kandos, Lithgow (five branches), Liverpool, Portland, Caragabal, Quandriella, Taree, Griffith, Yenda, Broken Hill, Glenreach, Woonona Industrial (eight branches) and Cessnock (five branches). Newcastle and Suburban had 16,473 members and an annual turnover of £1m. J. R. Robertson in Frank Crowley (ed.) The New History of Australia, Melbourne, 1974, 437-9, 441-2; Clark, A History of Australia, Vol VI, op.cit, 457, 493; A. Curthoys, et al (eds.), Australians from 1939, Sydney, 1987, 84, 87-88; E. J. Docker, Stevens and the Slums, Communist Party of Australia, Sydney, 1937; CN, October 1935, August 1940, August 1941.
- 3 A precedent for this existed in New South Wales in the form of indemnities for co-operative settlement and community advancement societies under the Co-operation Act, although the provision had been poorly utilised. Co-operative Building Advisory Committee: Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Housing: A Model of a Co-operative Building Society on an Actuarial Basis with the Outline of Structure, Comparison with Other Types, Methods of Operation, Explanations of Actuarial Basis, Tables of Payment, Procedures for Formation. Sydney, n.d. Committee members:

B. P. McEvoy, A. B. Sheldon, W. Frith, A. M. Grahame, J. G. Lee, J. E. Webb. The Co-operation Act was amended: S17a Act No. 27, 1937, S10(1)(b).

- 4 The grant to the ACBS was \$3,500 per annum. The Government Guarantees Act combined with the Housing of the Unemployed Act (Number 4 of 1934) and was augmented by the Housing Improvement Act (Number 59 of 1936). Our Home Official Journal of the Association of Co-operative Building Societies (hereafter, OH), May 1938.
- 5 J. A. Burke was the brother of T. M. Burke (1870-1949), a major figure in Victorian co-operation before World War One. T. M. Burke, a former railway clerk and union activist, had risen to become Manager and Chairman of the Board of the Victorian Civil Service Co-operative, a large 'entrepreneurial' co-operative emporium and delivery service, modelled on the New South Wales Civil Service Co-operative. T. M. Burke, and the Civil Service Co-operative which functioned between 1906 and 1915, attracted the ire of Unionists concerning alleged 'sweating' and 'capitalist' tendencies, which, following the collapse of the Civil Service Co-operative, produced bitter divisions between the Labour Movement and the Victorian 'co-operative movement' taking decades to heal. Abandoning co-operation after 1915, T. M. Burke went on to develop one of Australia's largest property development and real-estate empires, T. M. Burke Proprietary Limited, with subsidiaries and agencies in Sydney, Newcastle, Brisbane, Auckland, Singapore and London. The Age, 7 February 1903; Federal Co-operative News (Melbourne), June 1903, April, July 1915; ADB: 'T. M. Burke'.
- 6 Report First Australian Congress, op.cit, 69, 141, 153, 158.
- 7 Pooley immediately demonstrated his ability by enrolling enough members to fill three terminating societies, in lean times. OH, May 1938, January 1942, February 1955.
- 8 Brent also part-owned a private engineering firm, and was associated with the Newcastle Co-operative Building Society, together with L. Gibbs and K. Mathieson. He was Chairman of the Greater Newcastle Co-operative Building Society. Each society possessed a government guarantee of £100,000. CN, June, October, November, 1937; OH, May 1938, January 1942, August 1954, January 1962.
- 9 CN, January, July 1937.
- 10 Building societies operating with a government guarantee in 1938:

The Albury and District Co-operative Building Society Limited
Annandale-Leichhardt and General Building Co-operative Society Limited

Armidale Co-operative Investment and Building Society Limited
 Ashfield Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Bankstown Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Bankstown Co-operative Building Society No. 2 Limited
 The Bathurst Home Building Co-operative Society Limited
 Bathurst Citizens' Co-operative Building Society No. 2 Limited
 The Batlow Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Bexley-Kingsgrove Co-operating Building Society Limited
 Bankstown-Wentworthville and District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Blue Mountains District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Bondi and Vaucluse Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Bulli and District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Campbelltown-Camden Districts Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Canley Vale and District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Canoblas City Co-operative Building Society Limited (Orange)
 The Casino Co-operative Building Society Limited
 The Central Blue Mountains District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Charlestown Co-operative Building Society Limited
 The Chatswood-Willboughy Co-operative Building Society Limited
 City of Sydney and Suburbs Co-operative Building Society No. 1 Limited
 Coonabarabran Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Coronation No. 4 Co-operative Benefit Building Society Limited (Mudgee)
 The Cowra Co-operation Building Society Limited
 The Cronulla and District Co-operative Building Society No. 2 Limited
 The Cronulla and District Co-operative Building Society No. 3 Limited
 The Cronulla and District Co-operative Building Society No. 1 Limited
 Crookwell Building Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Deniliquin Co-operative Building Society Limited
 The Don Dorrigo Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Dubbo Co-operative Terminating Building Society Limited
 Earlwood-Canterbury District No. 1 Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Earlwood-Canterbury District No. 2 Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Earlwood-Canterbury District No. 3 Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Earlwood-Canterbury District No. 4 Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Eastern Suburbs No. 1 Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Eastern Suburbs (No. 2) Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Fairfield District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Federal No. 4 Co-operative Building Society Limited (Mudgee)

Fivedock-Drumoyne-Granville No. 1 Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Forbes Co-operative Building Society Limited
 General Co-operative Building and Investment Society Limited
 General Co-operative Building and Investment Society Limited (No. 2)
 George's River District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 The Glenn Innes Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Gosford Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Goulburn Homes and Building Co-operative Society Limited
 Government Services (New South Wales) Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Government Services (New South Wales) No. 2 Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Grafton and South Grafton Co-operative Building Society Limited
 The Greater Newcastle Co-operative Building Society Limited
 The Greater Sydney Co-operative Society No. 1 Limited
 Griffith Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Gulgong and District Co-operative Benefit Building Society Limited
 Home Building Co-operative Society Limited
 Home Building Co-operative Society No. 2 Limited
 Home Building Co-operative Society No. 3 Limited
 The Homebush-Auburn Co-operative building Society Limited
 Hornsby-Kuring-gai No. 1 Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Hornsby-Kuring-gai No. 2 Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Inverell Co-operative Building and Investment Society Limited
 Kensington-Maroubra District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Kensington-Maroubra District Co-operative Building Society No. 2 Limited
 Kogarah and District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 The Kogarah and District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Kogarah-Rockdale Co-operative Building Society Limited
 The Lane Cove and District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 The Lidcombe Co-operative Building Society Limited
 The Lidcombe Co-operative Building Society No. 2 Limited
 Lismore and District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Liverpool District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Manchester Unity Oddfellows Co-operative Building Society No. 1 Limited
 Manly Co-operative Building Society Limited No. 1
 The Master Plumbers Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Metropolitan Homes Building and Investment Society Limited
 Metropolitan Homes No. 2 Building and Investment Co-operative Society Limited
 Mid North Coast Co-operative Building Society Limited (Kempsey)
 Moree and District Co-operative Building and Investment Society Limited

The Mosman and Districts Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Mudgee Co-operative Benefit Building Society Limited
 Mutual Loan and Savings Co-operative Building Society Limited
 The Narrabri and District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 National Co-operative Building and Investment Society Limited
 National Co-operative Building and Investment Society Limited No. 2
 The Newcastle and Northern District Co-operative Building and Investment Society No. 1 Limited
 The Newcastle and Northern District Co-operative Building and Investment Society No. 2 Limited
 The New Home Co-operative Building Society No. 1 Limited
 New South Wales Co-operative Building and Investment Society Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 Limited
 Newtown-Marrickville and General Co-operative Building Society No. 1 Limited
 Newtown-Marrickville and General Co-operative Building Society Limited No. 2
 Northbridge-Middle Harbour Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Northern Districts Home Building Co-operative Society Limited
 Northern Districts Homes Building Co-operative Society No. 2 Limited
 The Northern Rivers Co-operative Building Society Limited (Lismore)
 The Northern Rivers No. 2 Co-operative Building Society Limited (Lismore)
 The Northern Rivers No. 3 Co-operative Building Society Limited (Lismore)
 Northern Suburbs Co-operative Building Society No. 1 Limited
 Northern Suburbs Co-operative Building Society No. 2 Limited
 North Shore Co-operative Home Purchase and Building Society Limited
 Orange and District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 The Pacific Co-operative Building and Investment Society Limited
 The Parkes District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Parramatta District No. 1 Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Parramatta District No. 2 Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Parramatta District No. 3 Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Parramatta District No. 4 Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Penrith District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Petersham Co-operative Building Society No. 1 Limited
 Petersham Co-operative Building Society Limited
 The Port Kembla Brick Co-operative Building Society Limited
 The Port Kembla Co-operative Building Society Limited
 The Port Kembla Co-operative Building Society No. 3 Limited

Port Jackson-Manly-Pittwater District No. 1 Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Port Jackson-Manly-Pittwater District No. 2 Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Prudential Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Railway Employees' Metropolitan Co-operative Building Society Limited
 The Randwick-Coogee District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Randwick and District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Rockdale-St George Co-operative Building Society No. 1 Limited
 Rosebery-Mascot and District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Ryde District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Ryde District Co-operative Building Society No. 2 Limited
 The Shoalhaven District Co-operative Building Society Limited (Nowra)
 Singleton and District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 South Coast Co-operative Building Society Limited (Wollongong)
 South Sydney No. 1 Co-operative Homes Building Society Limited
 Stanmore Co-operative Building Society Limited
 St George Co-operative Building Society Limited (Hurstville)
 Star No. 3 Co-operative Benefit Building Society Limited (Mudgee)
 Star No. 4 Co-operative Benefit Building Society Limited (Mudgee)
 Strathfield-Concord No. 1 Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Strathfield-Enfield District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Sydenham-Bankstown District No. 1 Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Sydenham-Bankstown District No. 2 Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Sydenham-Bankstown District No. 3 Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Sydenham-Bankstown District No. 4 Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Sydney and Suburban Co-operative Building Society Limited (Muswellbrook)
 Sydney County Council Employees Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Tamworth and District Co-operative Building Society Limited
 The Upper Hunter Valley No. 1 Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Wagga Co-operative Building Society Limited
 The Warringah Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Wellington Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Western Suburbs Homes Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Windsor-Richmond Co-operative Building Society Limited
 Wollongong and District Co-operative Society Limited No. 1
 Wollongong and District Co-operative Society Limited No. 2
 Woy Woy and District Co-operative Building Society Limited

Yass District Co-operative Building Society Limited
Young and District Co-operative Building Society Limited.

The Colonial Treasurer granted indemnification of building society loans, on the authority of the Governor, acting on the advice of the Executive Council following recommendations from the Co-operative Building Advisory Committee. The New South Wales Co-operative Building and Investment Society, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 Limited secured the largest guarantees amounting to £625,000.

In spite of what Our Home described as 'hysterical' criticism from some banks, suspicious of the government's intentions in favouring one section of the finance industry, and rumours pedalled in the press concerning alleged amateurism and mismanagement in building societies, the Stevens Scheme was clearly popular, even though bureaucratic slowness was delaying loan approvals for up to three months, adding '£20 to the cost of a house' and generating considerable consumer frustration in the clamour to build. OH, August, September 1938.

- 11 The first private use was probably the Sydenham-Bankstown Building Society, formed after a neighbourhood meeting in the Belmore residence of S. E. Parry. On the other hand, it might have been the Parramatta Investment Building Society, the source is unclear. In one edition, Our Home reports that the National Co-operative Building and Investment Society was the first 'actuarial' society to register in Sydney and the first to approach the Colonial Treasurer for a guarantee. In another edition, however, it notes that '...the first society to operate with a government guarantee was the Sydney and Suburban Building Society, sponsored by C. Reed'. Possibly, the first building society to register was not the first to operate, helping to explain this apparent discrepancy. The first public use of the Stevens Scheme, however, appears to have related to a slum-eradication program in the inner-city following the Housing Improvement Act (Number 95 of 1936). OH, May, June 1938, January 1939, November 1946.
- 12 Sheldon was born at Muswellbrook, in 1891. Wounded at Gallipoli in 1915, he returned to win the Sydney University Medal for Political Science. Entering the Registry of Co-operative Societies in 1924, Sheldon was passionately committed to the idea of achieving a powerful, united Co-operative Movement. OH, October, November 1938.
- 13 For a full report of Sheldon's speech see: A. B. Sheldon, 'The Co-operative Building Society Movement in New South Wales: Its Wider Aspects', an Address to the First Co-operative Building Societies Conference, Government Printer, Sydney, 10 May 1939; OH, March 1938; CN, April, May, July 1944.
- 14 OH, August 1938.

- 15 Through this period, E. Bartrop, of the Victorian Real Estate Institute, inspected the Stevens Scheme and his report was influential in Victorian legislation for building societies after the War. Burke formed an Institute of Building Society Secretaries, a chapter of accountants and managers, which operated as an informal 'inner cabinet' within the ACBS through the late 1930s and early war years, developing contacts and expertise necessary to the development of permanent societies should favourable conditions present. OH, March 1938.
- 16 Christian Co-operative Fellowship, The Christian Approach to Co-operatives, Citizens Printing, Camberwell, n.d.
- 17 Educated at Kobe Presybterian College and Princeton Theological Seminary and University, Kagawa spent time in the slums of Shinkawa, in 1912, emerging from this experience advocating the widespread development of co-operative enterprise.
- Kagawas' support of strike action and opposition to anti-Union legislation had led to his imprisonment in Japan on a number of occasions. Kagawa helped to develop more than 140 co-operative hospitals and schools, churches and credit unions and, holding co-operation to be the economic foundation for world peace, launched the Kingdom of God Movement in 1939. CN, May 1935.
- 18 Friends of Jesus, Kagawa in Australia, New Zealand and Hawaii, Melbourne, 1935. Collier's Encyclopaedia: Toyohiko Kagawa. Kagawa published hundreds of works including: Meditations on the Cross, Christ and Japan, Behold the Man, The Law of Life, Crossing the Deathline, and Shooting the Sun.
- 19 Referred to by devotees as the 'Saint who laughs', Kagawa visited Brisbane, Newcastle, Sydney, Hobart, Launceston, Adelaide, Canberra, Warrnambool and Melbourne, addressing audiences of pacifists and young idealists wherever he went, some of whom composed poems and sonnets to him. Kagawa in Australia, op.cit, 10, 25-6.
- 20 The Christian Co-operative Federation shared premises with the Peace Pledge Movement, the Study Christ Movement and the Church of England fellowship. CN, August 1938.
- 21 In the following years in Victoria, the National Secretariat for Catholic Action fostered the National Christian Workers Movement, the National Catholic Rural Movement and the Young Christian Workers Movement (YCW), all prominent in co-operative development before and after World War Two. The Campion Movement's journal, Catholic Worker, was influential through this period. Early issues of the Catholic Worker carried the slogan, 'Property for the Proletariat', and under the editorship of the enthusiastic B. A. Santamaria, flamboyantly attacked both capitalists and communists. Calls for a social 'revolution' were common and

the paper supported nationalisation of enterprises such as the Broken Hill Proprietary Company Limited, as an interim step to control by the workers. The paper's heroes were the corporatist Catholic states led by Salazar in Portugal and Dollfuss in Austria, and it fervently supported Franco when he emerged at the head of the Spanish 'Loyalists' six months after the paper started publication. Robert Murray, The Split: Australian Labour in the Fifties, Melbourne, 1947, 44, 47-49; N. Runcie (Ed.), Credit Unions in the South Pacific, University of London Press, 1969, 164.

- 22 CN, November 1938.
- 23 A Co-operative Societies Ordinance for the ACT passed in the following year, including provision for small loan associations. CN, August 1937, June 1943; Report on Small Loans Facilities, Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers, 1938.
- 24 CN, May 1935.
- 25 CN, June, September 1938.
- 26 CN, August 1943.
- 27 Based in Helen Street, Lane Cove.
- 28 Topping was escorted by the Reverend Alf Clint, an important figure in co-operation among Aboriginal, Papuan New Guinean and Torres Strait Islanders. CN, June, September, November 1939.
- 29 Co-operative League 1939: J. C. Johnston (Chairman), W. I. Short (Secretary), F. L. Ingham (Treasurer), R. J. Gurr. The League's first meeting took place in November 1939. Books in the Co-operative League's library included H. J. Laski, The Spirit of Co-operation, Manchester 1936; H. Stolpe, Cogor Collaborator, Stockholm, 1939; Social Action Department, Organised Social Justice - an Economic Program for the United States, National Catholic Press, Paulist Press, NY, (n.d.); Ernest Poisson, The Co-operative Republic, Manchester, 1925. CN, December 1939.
- 30 CN, January, April 1940.
- 31 Co-operative Union Committee 1940: T. Crawford, A. Southern, T. Silcocks, J. Weston, A. T. Reid, E. Hilyard; CN, May, June 1949.
- 32 Co-operative Services Limited formed on 23 May 1940 and was based in Wingelo House, Angel Place, Sydney. Committee: C. T. Davis, R. J. Gurr, J. C. Johnston, T. R. Waters, F. L. Ingham. Ms B. Thomas organised study groups, seeking to form a credit union, a retail co-operative, a health food farm and restaurant serving produce grown at Glenfield Farm, a small community settlement near Liverpool. M. J. Lee became first full time secretary of Co-operative Services

Limited , in 1946. CN, September, November 1940, June 1946;
OH, February 1947.

33 CN, May, October, December 1940.

34 CN, November, December 1940.

35 The Co-operative Union included R. J. Gurr, four (unnamed) northern guildswomen and three (unnamed) southern guildswomen. It was numerically dominated by NSW CWS supporters, including Tom Shonk, representing 'Sydney', CN, September, November 1940.

36 CN, December 1940.

37 Report, Christian Co-operative Conference, Sydney, 18 January 1941.

38 CN, February 1941.

39 Ibid.

40 CN, July 1942.

41 A sharp downturn in building activity in 1940 reached its nadir in 1942 when minus five houses, due to demolition, were constructed. In 1942, the ACBS conducted a survey of 1,000 borrowers revealing that more than 80 per cent of all terminating society members were skilled or semi-skilled workers. Approximately 82 per cent of building society members were in industry, predominantly carpenters, fitters, iron workers, tram drivers and shop assistants. About 8 per cent were small shop keepers, 7 per cent teachers and 7 per cent white collar workers. The average income of members was £5/9/- per week and the average home loan was £70. OH, October 1942, January 1943, December 1946; CN, February, March 1941; Smith's Weekly, 29 March 1941; SMH, 27 March 1941.

42 Runcie, op.cit, 135-36.

43 Murray wrote in Co-operative News:

I thought we were the only group in Australia interested in credit unions. I became interested in July 1939 (soon after Topping's visit to Newcastle: author) and sent away for information to Alberta, Nova Scotia and CUNA. I studied the information and then we formed a group, studying the Co-operation Act to find model rules. In December, the Registrar helped us, and the State Treasurer, Richardson, expressed interest. We have not been able to register. Why has permission been given to Wormer (in Victoria) and not us? Perhaps it is electioneering. All the forms are ready to go.

Influenced by the Topping visit, Murray had written to the Credit Union National Association (CUNA) Extension Bureau in the United States [GLOSSARY] and to credit unions in Alberta and Nova Scotia for advice. He had studied the Co-operation Act, corresponded with Registrar Sheldon, and had read about a credit union in Victoria, the CCF Credit Union Limited, in The Co-operative News. Murray described credit unions as the 'most democratic form of co-operation...a practical experience in democratic socialism, avoiding bureaucracy and centralisation'. Howard Wormer was the President of the CCF Credit Union of Victoria. CN, September 1941, August, November 1942, November 1943.

44 CN, April, May 1941.

45 Opinion in the NSW CWS concerning credit unions was far from unanimous with most opposed. The West Wallsend Co-operative however, appears to have favoured the idea of credit co-operation. CN, September 1941.

46 CN, September, October 1941.

47 J. A. Burke retired as President of the ACBS in 1942, and G. Weir (MLA Labor, Dulwich Hill) succeeded him, injecting new idealism into the Association. Weir believed that the Stevens Scheme would precipitate a 'new order' after the War (assuming an Allied victory), based on co-operation. To this end, he sought to unite the ACBS and other sections of the 'co-operative movement' in resistance against government encroachment:

Après le Guerre there will be a New Order and co-operatives will be the basis for it...Co-operation demands subordination of self to the common good and unless that is the aim and objective of the New Order...it is doomed to an ignominious failure. If it is used as a vehicle for politicians, socialists and church leaders, economists and philanthropists to rise to place and power, then it is merely the bad 'Old Order' in a new guise. This is a critical year; we must put our house in order. The War has eclipsed us and the position of government in relation to social services is changing rapidly. Remember... co-operators have few friends in high finance and the bureaucracy. We must convince the public that we are more economic, more democratic, more publically spirited. If we are to succeed in becoming an instrument of social reconstruction we must sell the spirit of co-operatives to the public. We must imbue it with the fervour of a religion. If the future is to be built upon a self-reliant community in which all who desire it may own their own house, may be encouraged to say: 'This Is Mine Own Castle'. If we are to achieve this end then co-operation as a means thereto must be adopted by that community as an

article of its social and ethical faith. If we delay
in a world changing fast we will be lost.

OH, August 1943.

- 48 W. G. Pooley, broadcast over Radio 2KY, 25 March 1943. Pooley referred to C. E. D. Meares' 'Co-operative Box Company' as an example of 'people's power in co-operation', suggesting a certain ignorance of co-operative history. OH, April 1943.
- 49 CN, September 1941, March 1943.
- 50 OH, April 1943.
- 51 The action against Peacock had arisen after a crisis meeting of 126 building societies, where it was decided that a finding for him would destroy the entire 'building society movement'. OH, February 1941, May 1943, October 1944.
- 52 CN, October 1943.
- 53 Mrs Gollan sought (again unsuccessfully) to link the Guilds to the Country Women's Association and the Housewives' Association. CN, March, April, May, July, December 1941, August, 1942, January 1943.
- 54 Tennant was a close friend of the Reverend Alf Clint who had accompanied Topping on her Australian tour. CN, May, August, 1942.
- 55 CN, March, June 1942.
- 56 Miss Bond was largely responsible for organising the conference. Others involved included Margery Pulsford, Mrs Clegg, formerly of the Balmain CWGS, Miss B. Thomas, Mrs Waters and Eileen Entwistle, former secretary of The Co-operative News. Directors of Sydney Co-operative Services at this time were: Mrs I Wilson, Messrs. C. Walters, N. Roberts, S. R. Deans and Seamans. Eileen Entwistle composed a drama in verse called 'Our World' for a co-operative review put on by Co-operative Services Limited. J. C. Johnston, formerly of Sydney Co-operative Services Limited, went teaching at Tamworth and was influential in developing a consumer co-operative. CN, January, May, June 1942.
- 57 CN, March 1942.
- 58 CN, August, September 1942, January, March, June 1943.
- 59 CN, June 1943.
- 60 CN, October 1943.
- 61 CN, November 1943.

- 62 The 'credit union property group' was formed to stimulate interest in parish and employee credit unions. It included T. R. Waters, N. G. Roberts, B. V. Murray, Mr Herman, Miss Ruth Stevens, Mr Tuey. CN, November 1924, January 1943, February 1943.
- 63 CN, March 1943.
- 64 CN, July, October 1943.
- 65 CN, May 1943.
- 66 CN, August 1943.
- 67 Conference: Lansbury Fellowship Centre, 25-26 June 1943. Represented were: Sydney Co-operative Service Limited, the Christian Socialist Movement, the Australian Student Christian Movement, the Christian Endeavour Union, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Congregational Youth Fellowship. CN, January 1943.
- 68 CN, August 1943.
- 69 CN, March 1944, reporting Dr W. G. Goddard's address to Round Table Club.
- 70 OH, July 1943.
- 71 OH, March 1943.
- 72 OH, January 1943.
- 73 The ACBS fired the first shot in what was to become a long struggle with Labor in a letter to Treasurer Chifley, near the end of 1943:

The Co-operative Building Society Movement has the structure ready to handle 15,000 homes a year without fuss. Co-operation is the key to post-war reconstruction....Housing must not be the plaything of the profit motive. We write [also] to warn the antagonists of co-operation of the danger that confronts them...We aim to crystalise the powerful and state wide, but incoherent, body of feeling sympathetic to co-operation. In particular we seek to awaken the sleeping giant who will have his slogan - Hands off the Co-operative Building Society Movement.

OH, May, September, November 1943.

- 74 See Chapter 10 at pages 228-233 for a discussion on the NSW CWS' 'One Big Society'.
- 75 CN, July 1943, April 1944, February, April 1945.

NOTES: CHAPTER 10

'POSTERITY WILL LIVE TO CURSE US': THE CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION OF AUSTRALIA, 1943-c1955

- 1 Report: Commonwealth Consumers Co-operative Conference, Canberra, December 6-8, 1943, 'Worker' Pioneer Co-operative Labour Journal, Brisbane 1944. Delegates attending the conference:

Western Australia

W. D. Johnson, MLA (CFWA; Director, Westralian Farmers; Chairman, Co-operative Wholesale Section, Westralian Farmers; Director, Producer and Citizens Co-operative Assurance Company);
T. H. Bath (CFWA; Chairman, Co-operative Bulk Handling; Director, Tammin Farmers Co-operative);
C. W. Harper, (Chairman, CFWA; Chairman, Westralian Farmers; Director, Producer Markets Co-operative Limited);
E. C. Barnett, (Manager, Co-operative Wholesale Section, Westralian Farmers);
J. H. Worthington (CFWA; Assistant Secretary, Westralian Farmers);
F. Howie (President, Collie Industrial Co-operative);
F. Nisbet (Manager, Collie Industrial Co-operative).

New South Wales

G. Booth, MLA (President, NSW CWS);
F. Clarke (General Manager, NSW CWS);
T. Silcocks (Director, Woonona Industrial Co-operative);
T. Shonk (Director, NSW CWS; Editor, Co-operative News);
H. Head (Economist, representing Registry of Co-operative Societies).

Queensland

S. Lloyd (Chairman of Directors, Poultry Farmers Co-operative; Director, Queensland Board of Co-operative Insurance Company);
C. Kidd (Assistant Manager and Secretary, Poultry Farmers Co-operative; Editor, Red Comb).

Victoria

H. A. Elliot (Gippsland and Northern Co-operative; Managing Director, Bloomfield Butter and Cheese Co-operative Company);
W. Purvis (Director, Wonthaggi Industrial Co-operative);
I. M. Kelly (Education Secretary, Melbourne Rochdale Consumer Co-operative Society; Director, Northern Suburbs Co-operative Society).

South Australia

H. S. Hatwell (Chairman, Adelaide Co-operative Society);
A. W. James (Secretary, Adelaide Co-operative Society);
E. J. Trowbridge (Chairman, Eudunda Farmers
Co-operative);
T. P. Richardson (Secretary, Eudunda Farmers
Co-operative).

Tasmania

J. R. Hilder (Chairman Tasmanian Farmers Co-operative);
C. Mitburn (Manager, Tasmanian Farmers Co-operative);
A representative of King Island Co-operative Society.

- 2 Business Review Weekly, 18-24 August 1984. The APWCF is discussed in Chapter 6 at pages 123-124.
- 3 Victorian co-operation was powerfully influenced by the presence in Melbourne of the headquarters of the APWCF which included as affiliates the two big Victorian dairy co-operatives, the Gippsland and Northern Co-operative and the Western District Co-operative and their off-shoot, the Co-operative Insurance Company (CIC) Victoria Limited. As in New South Wales, sections of the Trade Union Movement experimented with production co-operation in the 1890s and rejected it. There were also a number of unsuccessful attempts to form a Co-operative Union and a surge of Christian 'new order' energy between the Depression and World War Two, as in New South Wales.

The origins of the weakness of Rochdale co-operation in Victoria can be traced to the pre-World War One period when Victorian urban co-operation was dominated by the big 'entrepreneurial' co-operative, the Civil Service Co-operative of Victoria (1906-1915). This quasi co-operative, which was quoted on the Stock Exchange, was effectively controlled by a small group of Melbourne-based shareholders, including T. M. Burke, brother of J. A. Burke, prominent in the NSW building society 'movement' after 1936. The Civil Service Co-operative, and similar smaller ones begun by J. A. Burke, soured relations between the 'co-operative movement' and the Victorian Labour Movement between the Wars. Deep suspicion of building societies lingering from the crash of the 1890s continued and credit unions, as in New South Wales, were scarcely evident before World War Two, although the Civil Service Credit Society, considered by some to be Australia's first credit union, had commenced in the first decade of the new century.

- 4 The Adelaide Co-operative, formed in 1863, was the oldest surviving Rochdale co-operative in Australia. It sought the development of a national Co-operative Union seeing itself, positioned as it was between east and west coasts, as the natural nucleus of this. The Port Adelaide Co-operative, consisting mainly of Unionists, endorsed the idea of 'One Big Society' on the Manchester model, sought links to the

NSW CWS and dismissed the idea of a Co-operative Union as impractical. The Eudunda Farmers Co-operative, which had grown from humble beginnings among wood gatherers at the turn of the century to become the largest consumer co-operative in the southern hemisphere by the 1930s with forty-three branches along the Murray River and surrounding regions, saw no need for a wholesale or a Co-operative Union, believing that it performed the function of the former and that success had been achieved without the latter. In South Australia, these orientations were pervasive enough to damn all attempts at divergent unity. Some old and independent building societies survived in South Australia, including the important South Australian Co-operative Building Society, but these remained disunited until after World War Two. No evidence of credit union activity in the period before the Second War has been located.

- 5 One remarkable and unique Queensland co-operative did play an important role in post-World War Two Australian co-operative politics: the Poultry Farmers (Red Comb) Co-operative; a primary producer co-operative with close urban ties and a reverence for Rochdale principles. From its earliest years in the 1920s the Poultry Farmers Co-operative enjoyed good relations with both the CWS and the NSW CWS and in the post-World War Two period helped develop one of the most cohesive of Australia's 'co-operative movements' under the guidance of Clem Kidd, Stan Lloyd and, later, William Kidston.

There appears to have been little co-operative activity in Tasmania outside of the fruit and dairy industries, but the research has not been systematic. The Tasmanian Farmers Co-operative Association conducted a store at Burnie and some building societies established in the 1850s survived.

- 6 By 1949 the CWS was Britain's biggest non-nationalised business. However, relations between it, the British Co-operative Party and the British Labour Party were deteriorating as the two former reacted against British Labour nationalisation plans, particularly for insurance.

Delegates at the 1954 British Co-operative Congress organised by the Co-operative Union demanded a comprehensive survey of the British Co-operative Movement, particularly the relationship between the CWS and CRS, which was apparently proceeding with no regard for co-operative principles.

Discussion with Les Boyd, former Manager of National Co-operative Insurance Society (NCIS), Newcastle, January 1981; CN, October, November 1949.

- 7 Through the CRS, the wholesale ran a chain of pharmacies, travel agents, hotels, bakeries, dairies, optical services and retail subsidiaries. The English CWS and the Scottish CWS began a process of amalgamation through this period to form the British CWS.

By 1964 the operations of the Co-operative Retail (Development) Society and the ailing Co-operative Union had been virtually merged. CN, January 1956.

8 STATISTICS OF ENGLISH CWS GROWTH; YEARS 1864-1960

Year	Share Holders'	Share Capital	Nett Sales	CWS Production	Nett Surplus
		£	£	£	£
1864	18,337	2,455	51,867	-	306
1865	24,005	7,182	120,754	-	1,850
1880	361,523	146,061	3,339,681	118,598	42,090
1890	721,316	434,017	7,429,073	341,277	126,979
1900	1,249,091	883,791	16,043,889	2,264,088	289,141
1910	1,991,576	1,740,619	26,567,833	6,581,310	462,469
1920	3,341,411	4,270,408	105,439,628	33,404,466	64,210
1930	4,844,090	8,515,097	85,313,018	25,825,426	1,344,218
1940	7,078,362	15,859,540	142,593,952	56,297,545	3,890,388
1945	7,852,875	18,805,574	182,776,340	53,825,831	4,982,257
1950	8,590,914	20,697,288	321,641,923	95,481,018	6,890,123
1951	8,663,242	20,811,953	359,141,772	106,820,059	5,777,852
1952	8,824,678	23,792,626	398,344,136	114,349,231	4,531,886
1953	8,920,942	25,708,343	420,887,590	122,122,210	6,452,282
1954	9,220,970	27,481,064	410,552,832	128,609,025	6,782,538
1955	9,300,884	28,109,603	418,073,209	138,487,756	7,239,001
1956	9,415,062	28,743,473	444,285,406	142,832,603	7,336,486
1957	9,483,488	29,293,635	453,960,174	147,145,990	7,427,928
1958	9,695,545	30,117,392	463,274,603	146,798,765	6,294,968
1959	9,728,241	30,478,908	467,867,807	148,882,659	5,753,148
1960	9,780,279	30,797,349	475,565,896	143,870,416	5,628,099

CWS Public Relations Division, All About the CWS: World's Largest Co-operative Organisation, Manchester, 1961.

- 9 Although still the major export item, Australian primary production was declining as a percentage of total exports as was Britain's importance as a trading partner leading to some tension in the Australian-British trading relationship around 1957. The shift away from Britain and towards Pacific Rim Nations, however, was irreversible and from the late 1950s onwards Australian participation in Asian trade increased appreciably. The Australian-Japan Trade Agreement, for example, was signed in 1957 extending 'most favoured' status to the partners.

In 1948/9, Britain took 55 per cent of Australian commodity exports and produced 41 per cent of its imports, but by 1961/2 these figures had fallen to 20 per cent and 29 per cent, respectively. By 1947, Australia had entered the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) resulting in general tariff reductions, regulated bi-lateral trade agreements, import restrictions and reduced preference for British imports. The Old Imperial patterns, nevertheless, only slowly eroded. In 1959, for example, Australia still bought 48 per cent of

its imports from Britain, 14 per cent of the rest from Europe and 8 per cent from the U.S.A., while Australia sold 33 per cent of its exports to Britain, 26 per cent to the rest of Europe and 15 per cent to the U.S.A. forging close defence links with the Americans. J. S. A. Hunter and J. C. Wood, International Economics: An Australian Perspective, Sydney, 1983, 129, 153-4; CN, November 1957, April 1958, July 1959; P. E. Weereman, The ICA in South East Asia, New Dehli 1971, 41. For a discussion concerning ICTO see Appendix 8 and Chapter 13 at pages 284-285.

- 10 By the early 1970s, 60 per cent of Australian imports and 70 per cent of exports were traded with U.S.A. and other Pacific nations. The U.S.A. provided Australia with 75 per cent of its capital inflow. Japan accounted for 13 per cent of Australian imports, Britain for 21 per cent and the U.S.A. for 25 per cent. The demise of Rochdale is discussed in Chapter 11. Hunter, *op.cit.*, 153-4.
- 11 CFNSW, Federation Newsletter, August-September 1973; CFA: Australian National Co-operative Convention Report, Canberra, October 1974, 6, 39-40, 47.
- 12 The ICA Principles are listed in the Glossary.
- 13 CFA Convention Report 1974, *op.cit.*, 33-36.
- 14 CFA Convention Report 1974, *op.cit.*, 39-40, 47.
- 15 Westralian Farmers Gazette, February 16, 23, April, July 1939, April 1940, August 1941, May, June November 1943, September 1947; CFWA Minutes Annual Conference, 20-22 February 1939.
- 16 The Co-operative League is discussed in Chapter 9 at page 204.
- 17 Commonwealth Consumers Conference, *op.cit.*, 27.
- 18 Council of the Commonwealth Co-operative Federation (renamed the Co-operative Federation of Australia), December 1943: G. Booth (President); W. Johnson (Vice President); H. Elliot (Secretary); Mr. Thorton (not mentioned in delegate list), (Assistant Secretary and Treasurer); F. Clarke (New South Wales); C. Kidd (Queensland); T. Bath (Western Australia); J. Hilder (Tasmania); H. Hatwell (South Australia); I. M. Kelly (Victoria, pro tem). The CFA Canberra Secretariat was to be run on a £2,000 budget, New South Wales contributing £600, Western Australia £500, Queensland £300, Victoria £300 and Tasmania whatever was possible.

Political divisions quickly surfaced when Labor Treasurer Chifley visited the conference and '...a large number of delegates [including most CFWA delegates] were unavoidably absent'. On the following day, when Chifley received a conference delegation, only Johnson and Worthington attended for Western Australia; neither Bath nor Harper went. This was hardly surprising considering that one conference recommendation to government was that the CFA represent

- consumers on any Board set up to control or regulate prices. Co-ordinated Interstate Buying Committee: Clarke, Richardson, Barnett, Elliot, Kidd, Milburn. Report: Commonwealth Consumers Conference, op.cit, 22, 26-29, 37, 41, 45, 46, 78; CN, January 1944.
- 19 CFA meeting, 27-28 March 1944 at the Club Room, Co-operative Services Limited, Sydney. Present were Messrs. Bath (Western Australia), Hatwell (South Australia), Kidd (Queensland), Holder (Tasmania), Elliot (Victoria), Clarke, Shonk, Booth (NSW CWS) and H. Head representing the Registrar. Agenda items at a November 1944 meeting of the CFA included national co-operative legislation, education, co-operation between producers and consumers, co-operative home-building, 'One Big Society', rehabilitation, 'benevolent' co-operatives and co-operative production. CN, January, March, April, June, August, November, December 1944, January, February, April, May, June, July 1945.
 - 20 CN, August, October 1945.
 - 21 Edwards represented the CFA at ICA Conferences in Scotland, France and Sweden. CN, November, December 1945.
 - 22 CN, February 1946; OH, April 1946.
 - 23 Marsland replied: 'I will canvass the possibility of co-operative goods being sent out to Australia on a competitive basis and the possibilities of establishing joint undertakings by the respective wholesales'. CN, February 1946.
 - 24 CWS delegation 1946: H. M. Gibson, S. C. Kassell, F. Pickup, A. Cassin. Other 'co-operative' insurance companies included the Farmers and Settlers Co-operative Insurance Company of Australia Limited, the Farmers and Graziers Co-operative Grain and Insurance Agency Company Limited and the Producers and Citizens Co-operative Assurance Company Limited. CN, July, August 1946, January 1948; Westralian Farmers Co-operative Gazette, December 1947, July 1949.
 - 25 The NSW CWS invited sixty-seven co-operatives to attend meetings in South Australia but only eighteen attended. CN, August 1946.
 - 26 Board of Australian Co-operative Insurance Company 1947: Messrs Booth, Leckie, Pendlebury, Marley, Silcocks, Silversides, Brent, Waters, Lee, Robertson, Clarke, with J. Thornton and J. Hancock representing the New South Wales Registry. Boyd and Clarke travelled extensively throughout New South Wales and Victoria. The NCIS was registered in Victoria and South Australia. The author's attempts to interview A. F. J. Smith proved unsuccessful. CN, February, June, July, August, September, December 1947, May 1954; discussion with Les Boyd, Newcastle, January 1981.
 - 27 The Co-operative Institute is the subject of in Chapter 11. In Hobart, Bath organised a 'co-operative union' and in Melbourne

- he established the 'Victorian CFA' in association with the APWCF.
- 28 CN, February, May, October, December 1948, April, August 1949; Westralian Farmers Co-operative Gazette, December 1948.
 - 29 CWS delegates 1949: N. Tattersall, N. Wood, A. A. Johnson, Chairman of the Finance Committee, Director of CIS, Chairman of the Overseas Trade Consultative Committee and Director of a Permanent Building Society. At a CFA conference in Melbourne the English delegates met Messrs. Kidd (Queensland), Clarke (New South Wales), Russell (Victoria), Cheary (South Australia), Bath (Western Australia). CN, April, May, August, November 1949.
 - 30 George Booth visited the Collie Industrial Co-operative which was traditionally opposed to Westralian Farmers' policies and had recently withdrawn from the CFWA. CN, August, October 1949.
 - 31 CFA Council Meeting, Brisbane, April 16-17, 1950. Present: Booth, Clarke, Silcocks (New South Wales), Lloyd, Kidston (Queensland), MacDonnell (Victoria), Bath (Western Australia). Queensland delegates sought a reduction of the subscription fee. The South Australians signalled that they were preparing to withdraw. Victoria was funded by Wonthaggi Industrial to the amount of £12/10/-. New South Wales contributed £200, Queensland £150, Western Australia £125, South Australia £25. Westralian Farmers Co-operative Gazette, December 1951; CN, March, December 1949.
 - 32 CWS delegates 1952: N. Retcliffe (Drapery), J. M. Peddie (Insurance and Finance), N. H. Gregory (Grocery). CFA Meeting, Melbourne, May 26, 1952. Present: Messrs. Loton (Western Australia), Kidston (Queensland), Lowe (Victoria), Kentish (South Australia), Hilder (Tasmania), Clarke, Booth, Shonk (New South Wales). J. Thomson, the General Manager of Westralian Farmers, described the Rochdale Pioneers as 'definitely socialist' and consumer co-operators as 'Labor supporters... and, therefore, there is something about their ideals, unfortunately, which we cannot accept'. Westralian Farmers Co-operative Gazette, December 1951; CN, October 1951, March, June, July, September 1952; The Bulletin, 9 January 1952.
 - 33 CN, May 1954; Westralian Farmers Co-operative Gazette, July, April 1952.
 - 34 CFA Meeting, Sydney, June 4-5, 1954. Present: Messrs. Booth, Shonk, Silcocks (New South Wales), Loton (Western Australia), Kidston (Queensland), Lowe, MacDonnell (Victoria), Kentish (South Australia). CN, July, August, December 1954.
 - 35 CWS delegates 1955: A. Wild, R. Deans, W. P. Dodd. Second CWS delegation 1955: B. T. Eccles (Grocery), E. Dodler (Finance), H. Kempt (Drapery). Delegates visited the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area, Canberra, the south coast, Newcastle for a civic reception, the northern coalfields, Gosford, Lithgow,

Portland, Orange, Wellington, Dubbo, Coonabarabran, Gunnedah, Armidale, Guyra, Glen Innes, Tenterfield. They stayed with Booth and Clarke at Mr. Heath's property at Curlewis. K. W. Edwards, E. T. Loton, and E. W. Richards of Westralian Farmers attended the 1956 Blackpool Co-operative Congress. CN, May, July 1955.

- 36 CFA Meeting, organised by the Co-operative Federation of Queensland, Sydney, September 12, 1956. Present: Messrs. Smith, Booth, Clarke, Shonk (New South Wales), Kidston (Queensland), Lowe (Victoria), Loton, Bath (Western Australia). Agenda items: changing trade conditions, taxation, accountancy practices. In 1956, C. W. Harper and T. H. Bath of the CFWA died. John Thomson retired as General Manager of Westralian Farmers and his son-in-law, K. W. Edwards, succeeded him. CN, October 1953, January, March, April, October, December 1956, April, June, September 1957.

NOTES CHAPTER 11

THE 'SPIRITUAL ATOMIC BOMB': THE NEW SOUTH WALES CO-OPERATIVE INSTITUTE, 1944-c1955

- 1 Rumours spread that the 'Movement' was receiving money from 'confidential American government sources' (the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]) for anti-communist work in the Australian Labour Movement.

As an example of Communist Party progress, at the June 1945 Australian Council of Trades Unions (ACTU) Congress, communists posted notable successes generating a powerful reaction both inside and outside Labor. Indeed, Labor Prime Minister Chifley employed troops to quell communist-inspired strikes in the mining industry in 1949. In such a climate, the Liberal tactician R. G. Menzies and the shrewd Country Party leader Arthur Fadden 'kicked the communist can' to great effect and were swept to power in the 1949 elections. The Papal Encyclicals, Rerum Novarum (1891) and Quadragesimo Anno (1941), affirming the individual en famille, private property and the immorality of dependence upon the state, were of seminal importance in the ferment surrounding these events. In Sydney, the 'Movement's' platform was strongly supported by the anti-Communist activist, Dr. P. J. Ryan of the Catholic Social Bureau, Chaplain of the Sydney Archdiocese and a passionate supporter of Antigonish co-operation [GLOSSARY]. Gerard Henderson, Mr Santamaria and the Bishops, Sydney, 1983, 49-51, 61, 71; Robert Murray, The Split: Australian Labor in the Fifties, Melbourne, 1947, 47-49.

- 2 Murray, op.cit, 283-288; Henderson, op.cit, 71; E. H. Collings, The Trojan Horse in the Labour Movement, Bateau Bay, 1966, 4, 5, 11.
- 3 Findings of research into credit unions conducted in association with the present study. Antigonish supporters argued that there was an invasion of privacy and, therefore, 'socialist' in the theological sense. Gordon Greenwood, Australia: Social and Political History, Angus and Robertson, 1974, 412-429; The Macquarie Book of Events, Sydney, 1983, 289-90; E. W. Campbell, 'ALP Industrial Groups - a Reassessment', Australian Journal of Politics and History, No.2, 1962, 187.
- 4 The Co-operation Act is the subject of Chapter 6.
- 5 CN, April, May, July 1944.
- 6 In September, George Booth addressed a Trade Union Conference in Sydney, assuring delegates that co-operative factories would be developed 'eventually' and a committee was formed to 'explore this'. CN, August, September, October 1944.

- 7 'Round Table' Conference of Co-operative Interests, Sydney, 16 September 1944. Delegates represented:

Vegetable Growers Association of NSW
Graziers Co-operative Shearing Company Limited
Growers Co-operative Sales Limited
Potato Growers Association
Leeton Cannery Company Limited
Hunter Valley Co-operative Dairy
Primary Producers Union
Norco Co-operative Limited
Co-operative Box Company of NSW Limited
Dairy Farmers Co-operative Milk Company
Sydney Market Gardeners Co-operative Society Limited
NSW CWS
Producers Co-operative Limited
Eastwood Co-operative Society
CFA
Fruit Shopkeepers Co-operative Society
Co-operative Services Limited
Association of Co-operative Building Societies
Glen Davis Community Advancement Society
George's River District Co-operative Building Society
State Mechanisation Scheme
Department of Agriculture
Co-operative Insurance Company
Premier's Department
Co-operative Building Advisory Committee
Prime Growers Co-operative Union Limited
CWS

Also present were representatives of various building societies and editors of The Co-operative News, The Primary Producer, Our Home, and Country Press Limited. A Standing Committee formed consisting of T. E. Shonk, R. Tyacke, W. G. Pooley, Major Russell King, Mrs A. B. York. OH, October 1944.

- 8 Directors of the Co-operative Institute, January 1945: G. Booth (MLA), A. G. Enticknap (MLA), G. Weir (MLA), R. C. Gibson (Primary Producers Union, President), E. C. Sommerland, R. Tyacke, A. B. Yorke, H. Marsland (CWS), A. B. Sheldon, T. E. Shonk. CN, October 1945; OH, May 1946.
- 9 The 'One Big Society' idea is discussed in Chapter 10 at pages 228-233.
- 10 Directors of the Co-operative Institute, March 1946: G. Booth, R. C. Gibson, J. A. Burke, A. B. Yorke, A. C. Enticknap, T. Shonk, D. R. McLennan, Dr C. Bean, K. Yates, A. B. Sheldon. S. J. Johnstone (Secretary). Based in Primary Producers' building in Spring Street, Sydney. CN, October 1945, March, April, May 1946; OH, April, May 1945, January, February, May 1946.
- 11 Australian Credit Union Magazine, December 1980, 17. Discussion with Kevin Yates, 8 March 1983.

- 12 CN, July, August, September, December 1946.
- 13 Part of the NSW CWS 'One Big Society' strategy was to start a branch of the CWS Insurance Company in Australia, the eventual National Co-operative Insurance Society (NCIS).
- 14 NSW Co-operative Institute Congress, Sydney, 4-5 November 1946. CN, November, December 1946, January 1947.
- 15 CN, February, March, May, June 1947; January 1948; OH, February 1947, January, February 1948.
- 16 The CFA is the subject of Chapter 10.
- 17 Directors of the Co-operative Institute, December 1948: N. Grist (Chair), A. J. Eade, K. Yates, N. Grist, Messrs Gunn, Waters and Bovis. CN, March, May, June, August, December 1948, April, May, November 1949.
- 18 CN, May 1948; OH, November 1947.
- 19 This important amendment allowed non-members to act as directors of a co-operative; that is, a Board was empowered to appoint a deputy to act for an absent director, with Advisory Council approval. This meant, in effect, that the NSW CWS, for example, could 'plant' agents in any co-operative to encourage 'loyal' trading or 'legitimate' co-operation on its own terms.
- 20 Discussion with Kevin Yates, 8 March 1983.
- 21 The Co-operative Advisory Council approved the idea of a Co-operative Farmers Promotion Committee extending government indemnification (available to community settlement societies and advancement societies under the Co-operation Act) to loans for farm purchase. K. A. Mathieson was Chairman of Directors of the Greater Newcastle Group of Building Societies and served on the Board of the Newcastle and Suburban Co-operative Society. The Greater Newcastle Group consisted of eight Starr-Bowketts, twenty-seven terminating building societies, one miners' saving society, one permanent and investment society, one credit union, one community advancement society, and one 'co-operative association'. CN, July 1948, February, October, December 1949; OH, September 1948, January 1952.
- 22 OH, July 1949.
- 23 Mr Healey of the Communist Party was involved with the 'consumer movement'. OH, August 1949.
- 24 CN, September 1948; OH, September 1948. Note: research complicated by unavailability of Co-operative News, November 1948 and Our Home, November, December 1948, January 1949.
- 25 CN, November, December 1949.

- 26 A. F. J. Smith, meanwhile, was organising the import of frozen fish from the CWS. The CWS had also recently purchased a large sporting goods company in England and the NSW CWS was handling some of these lines. The boycott related to this. CN, April, November 1950; OH, October, November, December 1949; Minutes and Report of the 30th CFWA Annual Conference, Perth 20-22 February 1950; NSWPD, 1 March 1950, 5035.
- 27 CN, June 1950.
- 28 Others in the New South Wales Parliament involved in building societies included: J. T. Lang, W. T. Murray, (Legislative Assembly), J. M. Concannon, G. Weir, G. W. Brain, J. F. Gerghty and A. H. Howorth (Legislative Council). Jo Kramer in Federal Parliament was a Director of the Apex Permanent Building Society. CN, August 1950; OH, February 1947, April, August, September 1950, January 1952.
- 29 OH, August, October 1950.
- 30 OH, December 1950.
- 31 OH, April, May 1951.
- 32 OH, September 1951.
- 33 The Co-operation Act had begun as a Labor initiative, and was promoted by Sir Joseph Carruthers (MLC). Bavin escorted the Bill through the Legislative Assembly. See Chapter 6 at pages 125-129.
- 34 Only J. Arthur, Minister for Mines, supported Booth. CN, February, May, June, July, December 1951; OH, March 1950, January 1952; NSWPD 1951, 194, 1105, 195, 2137-2153, 196, 2999-3019, 197, 4140.
- 35 CN, June 1951.
- 36 Booth had left Bolton forty-two years earlier. CN, January, February, May 1953.
- 37 'Co-operative House' was actually 'Vauxhall House'. Another 'Co-operative House' was opened at Cronulla, a Sydney suburb, serving as headquarters for the later giant building society, the St George Permanent Building Society.

The Minister soon managed to outrage the ACBS by broadcasting that 'building societies will go out of existence through lack of funds', bringing a scalding attack from Sheldon, in retirement, who blasted Evatt for this shattering blow to confidence. The Co-operative News, meanwhile, was criticising the Minister for promoting a 'ridiculous co-operative ferry system' which was 'bound to discredit co-operation'. It also reported 'rackets in the home building industry, not excluding at least one group of

so-called building societies'. CN, January, April 1953; OH, August, September 1951, October, December 1952, December 1953.

- 38 Seeking to heal rifts in Labor lingering over the issue, J. T. Lang proposed a 'co-operative bank for housing, so co-operators can control a home purchase scheme for Housing Commission tenants'. There was little support for this convoluted idea but the heat had dissipated anyway, following Booth's surrender on the bank issue and a Labor victory at the polls.
- 39 NSW CWS delegation to the Minister: Messrs. G. Booth, C. Mann, F. Clarke, A. F. J. Smith, E. J. Brent, T. Silcocks. CN, September, October 1953, February, May 1954; OH, October, December 1953.
- 40 Tom Kelly, of the New South Wales Credit Union League was prominent in the 1969 co-operative bank initiative. Co-operative Guildswomen attempted to revive the idea periodically thereafter, and there were even some in the ACBS who occasionally canvassed the need for a bank, but generally speaking the issue was dormant until the late 1960s when it resurfaced within the credit union movement. CN, June 1957; OH, December 1954, January 1955.
- 41 Discussion with Kevin Yates, 8 March 1983.
- 42 Directors of Co-operative Institute, November 1957: A. F. J. Smith (CWS), T. Shonk (NSW CWS), J. Eade, W. J. Dellow (Friendly Societies), A. E. Nordon (Building Societies), K. Yates and R. T. Waters (Community Welfare Interests), T. F. Kelly (Small Loans Societies [Credit Unions]), J. S. Ward (Individual Members), R. Bovis (Registry), W. Egan (Honourable Secretary), J. Eade, (Chairman). By the middle of 1958, Institute Directors included four men associated with the NSW CWS: A. F. J. Smith, V. Pollak, T. E. Shonk and J. Thompson (an Englishman, Sydney Manager of NCIS and auditor for the NSW CWS).

It is not clear whether or not the 'Sydney Co-operative Society' was the 'North Sydney Co-operative Society'. A 'Crows Nest Co-operative' continued at Willoughby for some years and both A. F. J. Smith and K. Yates were directors. CN, February, March, April, July, September 1950, February, September, October, 1951, May 1952, March 1953, September 1955, July 1956, January, March, April 1957, March 1959; OH, September 1950, September 1954.

NOTES: CHAPTER 12

'WE ARE ASKING FOR THE POWER TO TAKE OVER':
THE ABROGATION OF ROCHDALE PRINCIPLES, 1950-c1980

- 1 Discussion Les Boyd, former Manager of NCIS, Newcastle, January 1981.
- 2 CN, March 1956, November 1958.
- 3 An index of personal consumption using 1948-9 as a base of 100 shows that a consumption rise of 136 occurred in 1968-9 as compared with 73 in 1938. Book of Events, Sydney, 1983, 209-211; P McAnnally, The Economics of the Distributive Trades, London, 1971, 42, 60-1; Colliers Encyclopaedia, Vol. 15, 'Marketing'.
- 4 Yates observed the North American model of Consumer Associations, introducing the idea into Australia and helping to develop the Australian Consumers' Association's influential publication, Choice. Discussion with Kevin Yates, 8 March 1983.
- 5 A sustained immigration campaign began in 1946. In that year the British and Australian governments agreed to co-operate in a scheme of assisted passage especially for ex-servicemen and their families. Approximately one million Britons arrived in Australia over the next ten years. The scheme was later extended to include other Europeans, Americans and the resettlement of refugees. By 1952, 170,000 non-Britons had arrived since the War and between 1950 and 1970 the Australian population increased by five million to 12.5m. The population doubled between 1947 and 1977, characterised by an increasingly rich multiculturalism. The surge of population, its multicultural composition and demand for material abetterment saw the emergence of new habits of consumer demand and new industries to service these. Gordon Greenwood, Australia: A Social and Political History, Sydney, 1977, 437.
- 6 Newcastle Morning Herald, 6 August 1980.
- 7 McAnnally, op.cit, 115, 132, 145-147, 153; Australian Bureau of Statistics, Retail Sale of Goods Australia: Report 1952-1967, Canberra 1967; D. P. Hampton, 'The Retail Co-operative Societies of the Lower Hunter Valley', op.cit, 51.
- 8 Hampton, op.cit, 51; McAnnally, op.cit, 153.
- 9 CN, February 1952, March 1955, December 1958.
- 10 CN, February 1952, May 1959.
- 11 CN, January, July, September, November 1958.

- 12 Booth described the 1947-48 financial year as 'the greatest in our history'. The Co-operative Women's Guilds were reported to be the second biggest women's organisation after the Country Women's Association. CN, February, June, September, October 1948, October 1949, March, April, January, November 1950, March, June 1951.
- 13 CN, June, December 1950.
- 14 CN, May 1950.
- 15 CN, June, December 1950.
- 16 Eugene O'Neill, long a stalwart of the NSW CWS and formerly an organiser of the CFA, lost his position on the Board under the 'category' system. This displeased him greatly and in a letter to the NSW CWS Board he noted that he was in possession of 'voluminous notes on many aspects of CWS history, including Remarkable Actions and Interesting Decisions of Directors (sic), which would be unwise to publish, except impersonally, and out of place in an objective history.' O'Neill's manuscript concerning the history of the wholesale was never published, but has been of great benefit in research towards the present study. University of Newcastle Archives, MS No. AB 8045; CN, July 1951.
- 17 CN, September 1953.
- 18 The Co-operative News reported Mr Buttweiler of Migros Co-operatives, Switzerland. CN, January 1954.
- 19 The Co-operative News promoted British Paints and Taubman's Paints. CN, October 1952, November 1953, March 1955, September 1958.
- 20 CN, March 1956.
- 21 W. Robinson (ed.) A Jubilee Message: Fifty Years History of the Kurri Kurri Co-operative Society, 1904-1954, Kurri Kurri Co-operative Society Limited, Newcastle, NSW, 1954, 26; CN, April, June, August 1956.
- 22 More than 200 delegates attended the Congress:
- Western Australia: E. T. Lotan, J. Thomson, W. Blackwell, J. Lowry.
- South Australia: T. P. Richardson (Eudunda),
- Queensland: W. Kidston, S. Dalglish, B. Maguire (Registry)
- Victoria: F. Lowe (Wonthaggi), Mr Kelly, E. T. Ebbels (Registry)

New South Wales: G. Booth, F. Clarke, A. R. Crossley (Registry), K. E. Downing, Messrs Moir, Ward (Building Societies), K. Young (Credit Unions).

Report: 'All Australia' Co-operative Congress, Sydney, June 1957, 13; CN, July 1957.

- 23 CN, July, August 1954, April, May, June, August 1956.
- 24 Guildswomen continued to demand co-operative production, mobile co-operatives, equal pay for women and a co-operative bank. Booth supported only the last. CN, July 1956, April, July, September, November 1958, July 1959.
- 25 CN, July 1958.
- 26 CN, July 1959.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 CN, December 1957, May 1958, July 1959.
- 30 CN, January, June 1959.
- 31 George Booth died of a heart attack in Wallsend Hospital on 31 July 1960. The Sun, 1 August 1960.
- 32 Co-operatives survived at Portland, Kandos, Blayney, Young, Thirlmere, Bowral, Tumut, Batlow and Junee New South Wales. Registry of Co-operative Societies Annual Report, 1973.
- 33 Newcastle Morning Herald, 5 May, 5 August, 15 November 1978; 6 June, 16 November 1979; 18 June, 25 July, 6 August, 26 August, 25 September, 17 October 1980; 20 February, 11 April, 13 April 1981; Hampton, 'Retail Co-operatives', op.cit, Chapter 7.
- 34 Newcastle Morning Herald, 13 April 1981.

NOTES: CHAPTER 13

'THE BIRD THAT PECKS AT THE TEETH OF THE CROCODILE':
CO-OPERATION 1970-c1986

- 1 Responding to the financial crisis, the Whitlam government reduced tariffs by 25 per cent, appreciated the Australian dollar, tightened control on capital inflow while introducing expansionary monetary and budgetary policies linked to ambitious health, education, urban regeneration and welfare schemes. Hampton, 'Retail Co-operatives of Hunter Valley', op.cit, 49-54; Newcastle Morning Herald, 5 May 1978.
- 2 A wholly-pragmatic organisation, the CFNSW was designed to foster and develop the 'co-operative movement', to consider and recommend legislation, to assist members in industrial matters (subsequently as a member of the Employers Federation), to advise on legal, accounting, administrative and financial matters and to conduct training schools on these. This last goal of was as close as the Federation came to an educational objective at the time.
- 3 Colin Littlemore, the first full-time Secretary of the CFNSW, moved into the position from the Plastics Institute of New South Wales. Tom Kelly took a seat on the CFNSW Board but the credit union 'movement' remained aloof.

Co-operative Statistics, New South Wales,
30 June 1973

Type	Societies	Members	Assets \$m
Permanent Building Societies	36	650,000	1,216
Credit Unions	382	385,000	180
Building Societies (Co-operation Act)	2,793	146,000	583
Rural Societies	163	120,000	154
Non-rural Commercial Societies	150	300,000	38
Community Advancement Societies	160	52,000	39
Associations	45	4,060	41

CFNSW Federation Newsletter, January-February, June-July, August-September, 1973, December, 1974, January-February, March-April, May-June, June-July, 1975.

- 4 See Appendix 6 for statistics of Australian co-operation for random years 1960-1974.

- 5 W. W. 'Bill' Rawlinson arrived in Australia in 1955. A gifted linguist, Rawlinson emerged from a distinguished career in the Indian Army, the International Commission stationed in the British Zone of Germany and the colonial government of the Federation of Malaya and Singapore. He served for several years in the Good Neighbour Council of Western Australia.
- 6 Affiliates of the CFA in 1970 included the CFWA, the CFQ, the CFNSW, the Murray River Wholesale Co-operative Association. Associate members included CIC (Australia), the AFCUL, the Australian Producers Wholesale Co-operative Federation (Victoria), the Phosphate Co-operative Company, Eudunda Farmers Co-operative, the Newcastle and District Co-operative and the NCIS. The CFA Council in 1970 was:
- President: W. Kidston (Q)
 Vice-President: M. J. Lane (WA)
 Councillors: A. F. J. Smith (NSW)
 L. Gibs (NSW)
 S. F. Dalgliesh (Q)
 W. W. Rawlinson (WA) (Councillor,
 Secretary and Treasurer)
- Representatives of the ICA Reinsurance Bureau and the British Co-operative Insurance Society (CIS) visited to meet CIC (Australia) and the Westralian Farmers Co-operative Insurance Division.
- 7 W. W. Rawlinson travelled to Warsaw in October 1972 to attend an ICA Congress where CFA strategies for the 1970s were clarified. Discussion K. W. Edwards, Perth, 8 April 1983.
- 8 CFNSW Federation Newsletter, January-February 1973.
- 9 CFNSW Federation Newsletter, June-July 1973.
- 10 In March 1972, the government assisted the CFA in bringing R. Lemare, Chairman of the ICA Reinsurance Bureau, and H. H. Knighton of the British CIS, to Australia. CFNSW Federation Newsletter, August-September 1973.
- 11 The 1973 Convention was organised by W. W. Rawlinson with the assistance of K. Yates and C. Murphy, the credit union pioneers. K. W. Edwards detailed 'backwards integration', urging rural co-operatives to move into 'value added areas', arguing soundly that this was necessary in order to fend off international 'agribusiness' and replace statutory marketing authorities, which Edwards argued, hampered the movement of co-operatives into more sophisticated market functions. I. H. Hunter of Westralian Farmers, the Vice Chairman of ICTO, sought financial support for Singapore headquarters of the Organisation's revamped South-East Asian Region. Australian Government Information Service, Co-operation in Australia, Reference Paper, Canberra, July 1975, 3; CFA: Australian Co-operative National Convention Report,

Canberra, August 1973, 9, 14-15, 20-22; John O'Hara to Thirteenth Annual Conference CFNSW in Federation Newsletter, October-December 1977.

- 12 Murray-Goulburn Co-operative had grown from a handful of Victorian ex-servicement dairy farmers in the 1950s to become one of Australia's greatest co-operatives. CFA Convention Report, 1973, op.cit, 31-34, 37-56, 67, 72-78; CFNSW Federation Newsletter, November-December 1973, July-August 1974; CFA Report, Year Ending 30 June 1974; Australian Association of Permanent Building Societies, Fact Book, Deakin, ACT, 1981, 45.
- 13 Bulletin, 3 August 1983; Australian Financial Review, 8, 22 May, 15 July 1978; CFNSW Federation Newsletter October-December 1977.
- 14 See Appendix 8 for a discussion concerning the takeover of rural co-operatives by corporate capital.
- 15 CFA Australian Co-operative National Convention Report, Canberra, October 1974, 27-38.
- 16 CFNSW Federation Newsletter, August-September 1973; CFA Convention Report, 1974, op.cit, 33-35, 47.
- 17 CFA Convention Report: 1974, op.cit, 28, 36.
- 18 CFA Convention Report: 1974, op.cit, 39-40.
- 19 The CFA, incorporated in Western Australia, registered as a foreign company in the ACT. The National Agricultural Committee of the CFA, 1975:

G. A. Beytagh (PDS Chairman)
J. A. Schultz (Murray-Goulburn)
G. C. Rogers (Barossa Co-operative Winery)
R. M. Graham (Westralian Farmers)

later joined by:

R. G. Sutherland (CFWA)
W. Kidston (CFQ)

Finance Committee of the CFA, 1975:

R. M. Graham (Westralian Farmers, Chairman)
R. A. Litchfield (Barossa Co-operative Winery)
W. H. Lugg (Phosphate Co-operative Company [Vic])
C. J. Robinson (NSWCUL)

The Finance Committee was later expanded to include:

W. Kidston (CFQ)
G. F. Scarth (CIC [Victoria])

The South-East Asian Region of ICTO had been restructured in anticipation of improved trade. It could not have come at a worse time as the full impact of international financial instability was tearing into the asset formation of co-operatives. The Australian rural 'co-operative movement', principally Westralian Farmers, provided 50 per cent of ICTO's establishment costs in association with co-operatives from Malaysia and the Philippines and applications for shares were received from the New South Wales co-operatives: PDS, Grazcos, Namoi Cotton Co-operative, the Manning Meat Co-operative and the Newcastle and District Co-operative; from the Queensland co-operatives: the Co-operative Wholesale Society (QCWS), McTaggart's Co-operative Company, the Primary Producers Co-operative Association ('Primaries') and the South Queensland Tobacco Co-operative; from Western Australian co-operatives: the Grain Pool of Western Australia, Co-operative Bulk Handling (CBH) and Westralian Farmers; and from the South Australian co-operative: the Barossa Co-operative Winery (Kaiser Stuhl). Significantly, the old Victorian dairy co-operatives, the Western District Co-operative and the Gippsland and Northern Co-operative, and the influential South Australian Farmers Co-operative Union (SAFCU), stayed out. The Murray-Goulburn Co-operative, the Phosphate Co-operative Company (Victoria) and the Eudunda Farmers Co-operative (South Australia) supported the CFA in principle but remained equivocal in their support of ICTO. By October 1974, it was apparent to the CFA Executive that the ICTO was being under-utilised and, hit by spiralling inflation, industrial unrest affecting rural industry and the declining competitiveness of some Australian primary producers, the Organisation again fell virtually moribund.

The keynote address at the 1975 CFA Convention was given by Werner Schiffgen, Secretary-General of the International Raiffeisen Union and Director of the Foreign Relations Department of the German Co-operative and Raiffeisen Society. Papers were entitled 'Mobilisation and Co-ordination of Co-operative Self-Help in Rural and Urban Credit Services' and 'Co-operative Banking in the Federal Republic of Germany.

F. J. Russ, the Executive Officer of the Newcastle District Co-operative, argued for affiliation with INTERCOOP (The International Organisation for Consumer Co-operative Distribution Trades), which was created in 1971 following the amalgamation of twenty-one ICA committees, including the Co-operative Wholesale Committee and the Co-operative Retail Distribution Committee. INTERCOOP consisted of twenty-eight European consumer organisations. There was little Australian interest in this since EEC regulations hampered Australian exports. There was more interest in UNICOOP, the Japanese equivalent, but little of a practical nature came from this. CFA Executive 1975:

M. J. Lane (WA - President)
I. H. Hunter (WA)
W. W. Rawlinson (WA)
R. J. Woolnough (NSW)
A. J. O'Neill (NSW)
M. Studt (Q)
W. Kidston (Q)
W. J. Lyons (Vic)
B. Macintosh (Vic)
B. R. Litchfield (SA)
P. C. Bagley (SA)

CFA Convention Report, 1974, op.cit, 111, 125-127, 131-133, 137; CFA Report, Year Ending 30 June 1976; CFNSW Federation Newsletter, November-December 1974, January-February 1975; CFA Australian Co-operative National Convention Report, October 1975, 5-6, 13-14, 34-35, 70-74, 83-84, 94; CFA Report, Year Ending 30 June 1976.

- 20 Parliamentary Committee to investigate a 'co-operative bank for farmers': J. Short (Liberal), B. Simon (Liberal), A. Thomas (Liberal), D. McVeigh (National Country Party). The CFA formed a 'Rural Policy Committee' to lobby Sinclair, affiliated with the West German Raiffeisen Union and arranged for a visit by its President, L. Fallestein, and a return visit by Dr. W. Schiffgen. I. H. Hunter of Westralian Farmers, succeeding the deceased M. Lane as President of the CFA, travelled to the U.K. and Germany to meet officials of the ICA and the Raiffeisen Union, furnishing statistics of Australian co-operation.

An attempt was made through this period to establish an 'Australian National Co-operative Education and Training Centre' at the University of New England, but this failed largely because of a lack of interest within the 'co-operative movement'. At the same time, the CFA, funded by the Federal Government in association with Australian Development Aid Abroad (AIDAB) and the ICA, was providing technical and educational assistance to foreign co-operatives.

Sinclair pressed ahead, conducting meetings with representatives of the private banks, pastoral houses and insurance companies, assessing their attitudes to such a bank. The Australian Bankers Association, predictably, was opposed to a fully-fledged rural bank arguing for alternative 'refinancing' machinery with an 'element of public subsidy' since banks were prepared to act only as conduits for Treasury loans to rural consumers of long-term concessional interest-rate finance. Sinclair yielded and the Primary Industry Bank of Australia (PIBA), a refinancing service with five banks as shareholders, was created in August 1978, '...in spite of protracted delays and a lot of farmer criticism concerning its domination by city financial interest'. The Commonwealth Bank, the Rural Bank of New South Wales, the State Savings Bank of Victoria, the State Savings Bank of South Australia, the Rural and Industrial

Bank of Western Australia and seven trading banks participated in PIBA as shareholders. CFWA Fifty-Sixth Annual Conference Report, 1976; CFWA Sixtieth Annual Conference Report, 1980; CFA Report, Year Ending June 1976; CFA Report, Year Ending June 1977; CFA Report, Year Ending June 1978; CFNSW Federation Newsletter, May-June 1976, April-May 1977, January-March 1978, Australian Financial Review, 5 May 1977; Ronald Anderson 'Primary Industry Newsletter', No. 629, September 1978.

- 21 CFA Report, Year Ending 30 June 1976.
- 22 Newcastle Morning Herald, 11 May 1958, 6 February 1962, 31 May 1973, 30 May 1974, 12 April, 28 November 1975, 5 April 1977.
- 23 Special Committee of Management, CFNSW, 1975:
 - F. Blake (Hunter Valley)
 - C. Murphy (Railway Staff Credit Union)
 - A. J. O'Neill (Grazcos)
 - Mrs B. Scott (C.O.O. Haulage and Transport)
 - B. Sharpe (Dairy Farmers)
 - F. J. Wiley (Central Dairy Co-operative Society)
 - R. J. Woolnough (C.I.S.)
 - K. J. Yates (Australian Credit Services Co-operative Limited)
- CFNSW Federation Newsletter, December, 1975, February, 1976.
- 24 CFNSW Federation Newsletter, April, May, December, 1976.
- 25 CFNSW Federation Newsletter, December, 1976, April-May, June-July, August-September, 1977.
- 26 CFNSW Federation Newsletter, August-September, October-December, 1977.
- 27 CFNSW Federation Newsletter, October-December, 1977.
- 28 CFNSW Federation Newsletter, August 1976, February, 1977, April-July, 1978, January-February, 1979, August-September, 1980.
- 29 CFNSW Federation Newsletter, January-February, 1979, March-May, 1979.
- 30 CFNSW Federation Newsletter, August-September, 1980.
- 31 Sheahan described 'service' co-operatives as worker (production) co-operatives, pre-schools, childcare, community school, community service, alternative lifestyle, Aboriginal welfare and community advancement co-operatives. CFNSW Federation Newsletter, August-September, October-November, 1980.
- 32 CFNSW Federation Newsletter, April-September, 1981.

33 Affiliates of the CFNSW in 1983:

Adamstown RSL Club Co-operative Limited
Alternative Publishing Co-operative Limited
Associated Newsagents Co-operative Limited
Association of Central Credit Unions Limited
Association of N.S.W. Credit Unions Limited
Australian Beverage Enterprises Co-operative Society Limited
Australian Credit Services Corporation Limited
Australian Mushroom Growers Co-operative Limited
Australian Office Equipment Dealers Co-operative Limited
Australian Ski Club Co-operative Limited
Australian Wine Consumers Co-operative Society Limited
B.G.F. Marketing Co-operative Limited
Banana Diseases Control and Development Co-operative Limited
Banana Growers Federation Co-operative Limited
Baryulgil Square Co-operative Limited
Bega Co-operative Society Limited
Belmont Bowling Club Co-operative Limited
Berrima Co-operative Rural Society Limited
Bermagui Fishermen's Co-operative Limited
Berry Rural Co-operative Society Limited
Bodalla Co-operative Cheese Society Limited
Bowral Co-operative (Trading) Limited
Brunswick Byron Fishermen's Co-operative Limited
Certificated Seed Potatoes Co-operative Limited
Clarence River Fishermen's Co-operative Limited
Common Ownership Finance Proprietary Limited
Co-operative for Aborigines Limited
Co-operative Housing Societies Association of N.S.W. Limited
Co-operative Insurance Company of Australia Limited
Cobargo Co-operatives Society Limited
Coff's Harbour Fishermen's Co-operative Limited
Combined Pig Marketing Co-operative Limited
Comboyne Rural Co-operative Society Limited
Community Child Care Co-operative Limited
Community Insurance Brokers Co-operative Limited
Concrete Masonry Association of Australia Co-operative Limited
Condong Infield Haulage Co-operative Limited
Corvair Buying Co-operative Limited
Crowdy Head Fish Co-operative Limited
Curlewis Farmers Co-operative Limited
Dairy Farmers Co-operative Limited
Estate Agent's Co-operative Limited
Evans Head Fishermen's Co-operative Limited
Farmers Grazcos Co-operative Limited
Frederick Street Kindergarten Co-operative Limited
Gerringong Co-operative Dairy Society Limited
Gloucester Wingham Co-operative Limited
Gosford Co-operative Citrus Packing House Limited
Grafton-Ulmarra Co-operative Dairy Company Limited
Griffith Co-operative Society Limited
Griffith Producer's Co-operative Company Limited
Hardex Co-operative Limited
Hastings Co-operative Limited
Hunter Valley Co-operative Dairy Company Limited

Illawarra Co-operative Central Dairy Society Limited
 Independent Liquor Group Co-operative Limited
 Innisfree Co-operative Limited
 Jamberoo Co-operative Dairy Society Limited
 Junee District Co-operative Society Limited
 Kiama Alpine Club Co-operative Limited
 Kiama Rural Co-operative Limited
 Kindamindi Co-operative Limited
 Korinderie Ridge Co-operative Limited
 Kosciusko House Co-operative Limited
 L.G.P.A. Co-operative Limited
 L.O.D. Co-operative Haulage and Transport
 Lemon Tree Passage and District RSL & Citizens Club
 Co-operative Limited
 Letona Co-operative Limited
 Lightning Ridge Miners Co-operative Society Limited
 Lithomaster Proprietary Limited
 Lockhart Co-operative Stores Limited
 Macleay Co-operative Limited
 Macquarie Towns Communications Co-operative Society Limited
 Malabar Mothers Co-operative Limited
 Mannering Park Fishermens Co-operative Limited
 Manning River Co-operative Dairy Limited
 Maroubra Neighbourhood Children's Centre Co-operative
 Limited
 Mid-Coast Co-operative Meat Society Limited
 Murrumbidgee Irrigation District Farmers Co-operative
 Society Limited
 N.S.W. Abalone Divers' Co-operative Society
 N.S.W. Bookmakers Co-operative Limited
 N.S.W. Dairy Farmers Association
 N.S.W. Sugar Milling Co-operative Limited
 N.S.W. Association of Professional Fishermen Co-operative
 Limited
 Nambucca River Co-operative Society Limited
 Namoi Cotton Co-operative Limited
 Nepean Milk Co-operative Limited
 Newcastle District Fishermen's Co-operative Limited
 Nimbgee Community Co-operative Limited
 Norco Co-operative Limited
 North Coast Aboriginal Co-operative Association Limited
 Northern Co-operative Meat Company Limited
 Nowra Dairy Co-operative Limited
 Nowra District Fishermen's Co-operative Limited
 Nungera Co-operative Society Limited
 Oldina Ski Club Co-operative Limited
 PACT Co-operative Limited
 Paddington Woollahra RSL Memorial Club Co-operative Limited
 Permanent Building Society Association Limited
 Pet Care Co-operative Limited
 Pig Producers Co-operative Limited
 Pioneer Mutual Fund Co-operative Limited
 Plumbers Supplies Co-operative Limited
 Railway Staff Credit Union Limited
 Ricegrowers Co-operative Mills Limited
 Richmond District Fishermen's Co-operative Limited
 Rigin Proprietary Limited

Riverina Co-operative Society Limited
 Rural Co-operative Society Limited
 S.W.B. Family Credit Union Limited
 Shelter N.S.W. Co-operative Limited
 Swansea Workers Co-operative Club Limited
 Sydney Markets Credit Co-operative Limited
 Tamworth Co-operative Limited
 Tamworth Dairy Co-operative Society Limited
 Taree Fishermen's Co-operative Society Limited
 Taskforce Industries Co-operative Limited
 Teamwork Co-operative Limited
 Technology Ski Club Co-operative Limited
 Tuggerah District Fishermen's Co-operative Limited
 Tullibigeal Co-operative Limited
 Tumut Co-operative Society Limited
 Twofold Bay Fishermen's Co-operative Limited
 Ullr Ski Lodge Co-operative Society Limited
 University Co-operative Bookshop Limited
 Walbundrie Co-operative Limited
 Walla Walla Co-operative Rural Society Limited
 Wallis Lake Fishermen's Co-operative Limited
 Warringah Glasshouse and Growers Co-operative Limited
 Westmont Co-operative Society Limited
 Wollongong Fishermen's Co-operative Limited
 Women's Emergency Shelter and Training Scheme Co-operative
 Limited
 Wooli Fishermen's Co-operative Limited
 Woolitji Co-operative Limited
 World Development Tea Co-operative Limited
 Yamacoonna Rural Co-operative Limited
 Yenda Producers Co-operative Society Limited
 Young Fruit Growers Cool Stores
 Zig Zag Railway Co-operative Limited

**STATISTICS OF CO-OPERATIVE SECTOR IN NEW SOUTH WALES AS AT
JUNE 30, 1987**

Finance

Type of Society	Number of co-ops	Members	Loans
Permanent building society	12	2,914,000	\$4,579 million
Credit unions	197	1,008,800	\$2,638 million
Co-operative housing societies	268	51,080	\$1,630 million
Starr-Bowkett building societies	36	13,218	\$ 57 million
Total-finance	512	3,987,018	\$8,904 million

STATISTICS NEW SOUTH WALES CO-OPERATIVES 1988.

Rural and Trading

Type of Society	Number of co-ops	Members	Loans
Rural	99	83,754	\$1,196 million
Fishing	24	1,820	\$ 61.9 million
Commercial	33	398,568	\$104.2 million
Manufacturing	8	524	\$ 23.4 million
Transport	35	4,701	\$ 57.4 million
Service	15	1,559	\$ 31.2 million
Total - rural/trade	214	490,926	\$1,475 million

Recreation and Community Services

Type of Society	Number of co-ops	Members	Loans
Aboriginal	20	1,864	\$ 0.98 million
Child care	38	6,745	\$ 4.3 million
Recreation/Sport	108	16,832	\$ 6.8 million
Licensed clubs	155	161,112	\$100.5 million
Community Service	173	28,786	\$21.4 million
Totals	494	215,339	\$134 million

Insurance

Type of Society	Number of co-ops	Members	Loans
Friendly Society	30	308,831	\$227.2 million

Keith Windschuttle, The Co-operative Sector in the New South Wales Economy, New South Wales Ministerial Council on Future Directions for Co-operatives, Parramatta, 1988, 5. Worklink, September, October, 1980, November, 1981, September 1982; CFNSW Federation Newsletter, January-March, April-July, 1978, August-September, 1980; 'Doubletake', ABC radio broadcast, 15 March 1983.

- 34 Worklink, January, February, 1981; Sydney Morning Herald, 16 May, 27 June, 17 July, 10, 26 September, 1983, 8 April, 1984; W. J. Metcalfe and F. M. Vanday Participation in Alternative Lifestyles in Australia, Institute of Applied Social Research, Griffith University, Queensland, July, 1984.
- 35 Worklink, October 1980.
- 36 CFNSW, Annual Report, 1983; Australian Association of Co-operatives Limited, Publicity Booklet, Sydney, 1986, 1.
- 37 Co-operation (Amendment) Bill, New South Wales, 1986, First Print, 3.

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Publication details of sources in many cases have been found to be inadequate reflecting the generally poor state of the Australian co-operative record. Where it is thought helpful, reference to the call number and library of source is provided. The Bibliography is of a general nature and is not confined to radical and Rochdale co-operation in New South Wales, reflecting the original ambit of research. It is thought most helpful to the student of Australian co-operation in this format. The entries are organised under the following headings:

1. Official Papers Sources and Records - Government (Published and Unpublished)
2. Private Papers - including Official Co-operative Movement Papers
3. Newspapers, Journals and Periodicals (including Newspaper Cuttings)
4. Unpublished Theses and Manuscripts
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APPENDIX 1

BACKGROUND TO CO-OPERATION IN NEW SOUTH WALES BEFORE 1860

The discussion in Appendix 1 has three main functions: to describe the advent of 'Owenism' [GLOSSARY] and other ideas of settlement co-operation in colonial New South Wales; to offer a tentative explanation for the weak impact of co-operation before the 1860s; and to debunk the persistent myth that co-operation 'shot like a bolt from the blue' to the antipodes, when a Rochdale store opened in Brisbane, in 1859.¹ This last perception ignores important developments preceding the Rochdale tradition which has formed but one co-operative tradition in Australian history.²

The discussion highlights the functions which workers and worker-advocates attributed to co-operation for the solution of a range of problems confronting them in the proto-capitalist colonial economy: the maintenance of British wage levels and conditions; the contending with convict labour; the creation of economic independence; settlement; the defeat of monopolies and price rings; and the overcoming of shortages in, and adulteration of, foodstuffs. There is some flimsy evidence suggesting that co-operation was touted by radicals as a foundation for a 'harmonious' society on the Owenite model.

(i) 1827-1837

The period 1820 to 1830 was one of great political, economic and social change in Australia. The colonies were developing rapidly, faster than any other British possession. More than 200,000 free settlers, mainly British, arrived in the colonies during this period, including a large number of skilled labourers, tradesmen and artisans.

Working people began combining for their mutual benefit in New South Wales in the 1820s and, after 1830 in response, the wealthy combined to meet the threat of radicalism. In this interaction, the roots of European-Australian working-class mutualism, finding form as friendly societies, trades unions and co-operatives, are to be found.³

Early 'mutual' organisations shared similar characteristics. Commonly known as 'benefit' or 'provident' societies, each variety sought to protect and advance the interests of members and their functions frequently overlapped. Friendly societies were designed to assist members through old-age, infirmity, or other hardship; trades unions to assist members improve wages and conditions, to obtain tools of trade, secure employment and alleviate financial difficulties in periods of unemployment; and co-operatives were designed to create independent employment, to produce goods and services and to break monopolies or price rings.⁴

The first reference located to co-operation in New South Wales' occurs in Peter Cunningham's Two Years in New South Wales, published in London in 1827. Cunningham, (1789-1864), a naval surgeon and author, wrote of:

...settling primarily (Cunningham's emphasis) upon the principle of co-operation, that is by turning the combined exertions of the settlers to clearing, cultivating and creating the necessary buildings upon a central farm from which the individual settlers might afterwards verify their own locations, after they had thus secured lodging and subsistence for themselves at the parent depot.⁵

His settlement plan, borrowing from 'old' Owenite theory was geared, ultimately, to the private working of individual farms, hence the author's emphasis on 'primarily'. The idea, involving a 'parent depot', had been tried successfully in Northern Canada by the Canada Company, and had attracted considerable attention in Britain. Cunningham believed that groups of government assisted settlers might develop co-operative 'central farms', vacating these when sufficient resources for private, individual

farms had been produced. The original farm would then be re-occupied by new settlers and, supported by taxes gleaned from original settlers, the process would recommence. This would continue until other 'central farms' were required, eventually creating a network of co-operative 'central farms' with private farms scattered about them. In this way, Cunningham argued, an area could be settled inexpensively, pressure could be taken off British prisons and new markets opened for British exporters: 'For immigrants with no great amount of capital...settling upon the plan of the co-operative system is undoubtedly the best they can adopt'.

Granted land in the upper Hunter Valley, Cunningham attempted to implement his idea, but, financially broken in 1830 by drought and fire, he returned to Britain and nothing more is heard of the scheme, the first known example linking British imperial priorities to Australian rural co-operation and settlement.⁶

It was not until the early 1830s when free settlers started pressing for parity with British working conditions that informal benefit and mutual protection societies began to develop in the colony. What has been described as the first 'strike of significance' occurred in New South Wales in 1831. Typographers, first, and later carpenters and the crew of a whaler, went out in protest at the impact upon wages of an inflationary flood of Spanish dollars. Possibly stemming from this, boat builders in 1832 attempted to form a benefit (friendly) society modelled on British examples, to 'protect members against hardship'. It is not certain that this functioned. In 1833, however, cabinet makers and upholsterers developed a protective association, an embryonic 'trade union', for the maintenance of London piece-rates, the insuring of tools, and the assistance of members in the event of a family death or injury. This became the model for numerous similar 'friendly' or 'mutual benefit' societies which developed before 1846, most between 1840 and 1843.⁷

In 1833, the Society of Immigrant Mechanics formed, to co-ordinate free-worker opposition to convict labour, and this acted as a forum for worker debate between 1834 and 1839. From this ferment, a group known variously as the 'delegates of the trades', 'the bread faction', or 'the trade-union party' emerged, a collection of worker-advocates and working-class activists, including, at various times, N. Kentish, W. A. Duncan, J. Bibb, J. McEachern, W. Edwards, H. MacDermott, and R. Hipkiss. These periodically canvassed production co-operation [GLOSSARY] as a means of coping with convict labour and maintaining British standards.⁹

Richard Hipkiss and John Bibb arrived in Sydney on the same ship, in 1832. Bibb, later a leading architect and surveyor, had been involved in an English 'working-class co-operative', of unknown denomination, before migrating. Hipkiss, a journalist, agriculturalist, reformer, artist, auctioneer, shipping-agent and small-holder, had been involved in the Birmingham Political Union, and brought from that city a 'faith in self-help and self-improvement' through co-operation underpinned by the 'old' Owenite assumption that the middle- and working-classes were natural allies in politics, when they co-operated. Active in the Sydney Society of Immigrant Mechanics' School of Arts, Bibb was its librarian and chief spokesman.

Hipkiss is described in the Australian Dictionary of Biography as the 'leader of the Sydney Co-operative Movement before 1835', but the reading suggests that Nathaniel Kentish was more active in co-operative affairs. Kentish, (1797-1867), surveyor, engineer and author, arrived in Sydney in 1834, and immediately set about seeking support for a co-operative bakery and a newspaper to be known as The Australian Union, owned by the Society of Immigrant Mechanics. This was to become the 'accredited voice of aggrieved mechanics with the object of advocating the cause of the people, the good of the many in opposition to the interests of the few'.⁹ The newspaper was to be run by a democratically-elected editorial Board, propagandising co-operation and providing a financial base for

further co-operative enterprises, including a bakery. The Society rejected the proposal, however, opting for a benefit society for the relief of hardship in times of sickness and other misfortune and developed the 'Trade Union Benefit Society' to this end, providing benefits for sickness, death of a member's wife and superannuation. Registered under the 1793 British (Friendly) Societies Act, the Trade Union Benefit Society included on its Board the emancipist, W. C. Wentworth, who was part-owner of the newspaper, The Australian, and members of the Society of Emigrant Mechanics' 'bread faction'. Subsequently renamed the Australian Union Benefit Society, (AUBS), the Trade Union Benefit Society developed into a successful insurance company.¹⁰

Why did the Society of Emigrant Mechanics reject Kentish's proposal? It is only possible to conjecture, but it is probable that the collapse of Owen's Grand Moral Union and Equitable Labour Exchange in England a year earlier influenced thinking. Newspaper reports suggest that the absence of protective legislation was important. Doubts about the liability of members in the event of co-operative failure dogged discussion. Suspicion of radical 'imported ideas' is evident in the numerous derisive references to 'Birmingham Political Handicraft' in the government newspaper, The Sydney Gazette. Neither would The Sydney Gazette nor Wentworth's The Australian have looked favourably upon a rival newspaper. The important detail for discussion, however, is that the Society of Emigrant Mechanics rejected the option of 'risky' co-operation and endorsed 'safe' mutualism in friendly societies, for which protective legislation did exist.

Kentish, nevertheless, did launch a newspaper, The Sydney Times, soon outstripping rivals in circulation. Described as the 'first publication attempting in Australia having for its object the dissemination of religious knowledge and principles and the promotion of social morality', The Sydney Times spoke of 'the good sense of co-operation' which, it argued, could create

worker economic independence through an application of 'self-help' principles.¹¹

With his newspaper functioning and wheat and flour prices souring through 1834, Kentish and Bibb suggested to 'a few respectable democrats', including Directors of the AUBS, that they should form a co-operative company to be known as the 'Australian Wheat Growers and Consumers Society, [and] eliminate the middle-man [while] giving advantage also to the capitalist, who will derive advantage from becoming a subscriber'. But in meetings to form the company no agreement could be reached on what 'co-operation' meant. At one noisy gathering, Kentish and Bibb argued for a non-competitive, non-interest bearing benefit association, while others, including Wentworth, sought a trading bakery with transferrable, interest-bearing shares. That is, some sought a co-operative and others a joint-stock company [GLOSSARY].¹² From the slight evidence available, it would appear that neither was fully understood and that they were muddled in a debate which saw co-operation once again rejected as 'risky', lacking legislative protection for investors.¹³

Nevertheless, following months of confused deliberation, in May 1835 Kentish, Bibb and Hipkiss joined Wentworth on the Board of the 'Australian Wheat and Flour Company', a milling operation based on joint-stock principles, but described by newspapers, including Kentish's own, as a 'co-operative'. The company started well, with government support, but, by July, The Sydney Gazette, was accusing it of monopolistic practices, of undercutting other millers and of supplying underweight, poor quality bread. It was, the Gazette charged, a 'refuge for the destitute, got up to feed a few hungry and sullen men cast upon the coast...Take notice...we shall "historify" your plans!' A journalistic war erupted between Kentish's Sydney Times and the Sydney Gazette, with Hipkiss alleging that 'private' interests were using the Gazette to undermine confidence in the 'co-operative' because it was breaking a colonial monopoly and setting new standards. A 'Friend to Justice' accused the Gazette of allowing 'pompous, ginger-bread blockheads...' to

destroy the company. The Gazette replied that Hipkiss, Kentish and Bibb had created 'another sample of Birmingham Political Handicraft in all its naive purity...Here readers is a trio to defend bad bread'. It had been necessary, the Gazette reported, for a 'patriotic' miller to intervene and buy up a shipment of wheat intended for the 'co-operative' to guarantee supply and quality to consumers. What the Gazette failed to report was that the 'patriot' had diverted supplies from the Australian Wheat and Flour Company forcing it to raise its price for bread from eight pence to the standard nine and a halfpence!

Weakened by the of the Gazette's editorial campaign, by economic sabotage and speculative share-trading among investors, the company collapsed in 1836 and soon after, the embryonic Sydney 'co-operative movement' began to fragment. Hipkiss became involved in the Australian Patriotic Association, an emancipist organisation working for representative government and adopted a Chartist platform [GLOSSARY] although he did periodically canvass support for co-operation. In 1842, for example, he unsuccessfully tried to form a Garden and Farm Produce Society, involving direct trade between producers and consumers to eliminate the 'middle man', possibly the first attempt in Australia to create a co-operative wholesale. In 1846, he advocated the formation of a Consumers Meat Co-operative, but this, too, failed to function.¹⁴

Kentish attempted to convert The Sydney Times into a co-partnership [GLOSSARY], meeting with temporary success. Hampered in this by continuing attacks from The Sydney Gazette and The Australian, and by the absence of useful legislation, Kentish and seventy-three co-partners signed a 'deed of co-partnership in the Sydney Times Newspaper Company'. The Gazette described this as 'void and illegal' whereupon Kentish threatened legal action and launched a series of lectures on co-operation to 'capitalists and labourers alike', describing '...the means available to the Colonists, with or without the aid of the local Government, [to] benefit the Colony, and as a consequence, themselves individually [and] the means available

to the individual, with or without the co-operation of any of their neighbours, for the benefit of themselves, and consequently for the benefit of their neighbours.' With confidence in the scheme shaken, however, The Sydney Times co-partnership failed and Kentish left for South Australia for surveying work, before moving to Van Diemen's Land, in 1840.¹⁵

Nevertheless, limited support for co-operative ideas survived.

(ii) 1838-1848

Following crop failures in 1838 and droughts which saw grain prices again soar, worker discussion returned to the idea of a co-operative bakery. In 1839, Bibb and Henry MacDermott, (1798-1894), a wine and spirit merchant with interests in squatting, money-lending and land speculation, organised a 'Co-operative Meeting for Working Class People Only' to fight a flour monopoly and canvass support for a 'Union of Associations of Sydney for the Relief of the Working Classes'. At this meeting, described as the 'first called by trade delegates,' Bibb and MacDermott urged workers to create and control a co-operative flour mill and bakery, purchasing wheat direct from farmers in order to 'eliminate the middle-man'. Workers were urged to subscribe to 1,000 £1 shares, to acquire land, to erect co-operatively-run mills and purchase machinery for them, and to buy wheat and produce flour and bread for sale to workers at cost, plus 10 per cent. Here is an early example of 'new' Owenite radicalism, [GLOSSARY], possibly influenced by the British co-operative activist, Dr William King, linking worker industrial organisation and economic strategies. It is interesting to note that such thought appears to have been abroad in Sydney at least six years before the Rochdale Pioneers perfected their consumerist model in Britain. Bibb argued that profits so produced would finance other co-operative enterprises and create economic independence. But uncertainty lingered, however, concerning the absence of legal protection for investments and talk again turned to a joint-stock company under existing law, to be known as the 'Union Flour and Bread

Company', which, unlike the failed Australian Wheat and Flour Company, would be confined to 'mechanics, tradesmen and other such persons as would conform to its rules', indicating that a degree of class-consciousness was, indeed, abroad. A provisional committee formed and an office located but nothing more is heard of the scheme and it is almost certain that it did not function.¹⁶

The reasons for this are unknown: possibly the earlier failure of Kentish's schemes; almost certainly the absence of helpful legislation; and perhaps factionalism and sectarianism in the tiny Sydney Owenite 'co-operative movement'. As an instance of the last, W. Duncan (1811-1855), a co-operative advocate and editor of The Catholic Australasian Chronicle, was castigating the 'atheistic' co-operators of the Sydney Owenite Society, in 1839. The Sydney Gazette, too, was attacking the 'unprincipled subterfuge of socialism...the foul system of...the immoral, blasphemous and atheistic,...the monster Owen,...founder of the licentious social system...', in a series of anti-socialist lectures by British churchmen. An 'Owenite' replied:

I, Sir, have personally known Robert Owen for the space of three years in London, and was a member of his social system. I took great pleasure in calling him 'Father', for he was more than a father to many of us. Until you know Robert Owen, abstain from epithets which reflect no credit on you, nor disgrace on him. That man who attempts any innovation is sure to meet with opposition from those whose interest it is to let the world go on as it does.¹⁷

No further information concerning the Union Flour and Bread Company, nor the Sydney Owenite Society, has been located. Neither has it been possible to assess to what degree, if at all, Owenism influenced a growing working-class militancy after 1840 as unemployment grew and Emancipists and Exclusives found accommodation in the pursuit of representative government. We do know, however, that MacDermott continued to 'insult his old friends' in Emancipist circles by promoting 'dangerous and revolutionary doctrines', including a broadening of the franchise, land reform through co-operative settlement and

co-operative action to protect the interests of workers. That is, MacDermott appears to have been advocating a trilogy of political, industrial and economic strategies. If this is so, then it provides further evidence to suggest that by 1840 leading thinkers in the embryonic Sydney Labour Movement had intellectually linked democratic economic action and worker industrial and political organisation. For radical co-operators, attempts to realise that link would become the quest for a 'middle way'.

As depression and unemployment worsened in 1843, (during which time 5,000 people left for Chile in six ships), huge meetings of operatives gathered, one of 5,000 and another of 3,000 in Sydney, where calls were made to march on Government House. But Duncan and MacDermott were among those speaking against this, urging, instead, a petition to the Governor demanding support for the destitute and the organisation of mutual protection societies to 'impress upon all the community the need of co-operation', fostering local primary and secondary production and working-class interests.

The Mutual Protection Association, which emerged from this ferment, is a landmark in Australian working-class history, marking an early attempt to affirm common bonds between skilled, semi-skilled and, to a lesser degree, unskilled workers, a clear case where the fostering of class consciousness was attempted. Moreover, it provides further limited evidence of worker leaders arguing a relationship between independent, co-operative production and the furthering of worker interests. If this is so, then the Mutual Protection Association may be seen as another flowering of radical 'new' Owenism in Sydney in the early 1840s. In practice, however, the Association's energies were directed to unemployment relief, and, as conditions improved, Chartism strengthened and progressive reforms were enacted, its raison d'etre disappeared.^{1a}

It is possible, however, that the existence of the Mutual Protection Association stimulated legislation to regulate

for co-operation in November 1843, W. C. Wentworth steered the Friendly Society Act [7 Vic No.10] through the Legislative Council. This was ostensibly to assist the 'frugal investment' of the savings of members in friendly societies 'formed for any legal purpose [but] no secret society having signs, countersigns, passwords or numbers, nor any trade society shall be entitled to the benefit'. Wentworth justified the Act, providing guidelines for the securing of monies in friendly societies, as essential to the development of AUBS and the Sydney Total Abstinence Society. But it is possible that the legislation's purpose was to promote 'safe' mutualism, and, while not actually to prohibit radical co-operation as espoused by the Mutual Protection Association, to discourage it.¹⁹ What constituted a 'trade society', in terms of the Act, was vague: it could be an industrial organisation, such as the Mutual Protection Association, or a trading co-operative, not that any known examples existed; the decision rested with a Clerk of the Peace empowered to register, refuse to register, or de-register any society on technical or other grounds, ostensibly to protect members against financial loss. This prohibition was removed in 1848, but in the interim, a legal wedge was driven between 'safe' friendly societies and 'risky' Trade Unions and co-operatives. Scarcely any societies employed the Act before 1848, a detail possibly underlining its irrelevancy, but the evidence is inconclusive; it may simply indicate a lack of interest in co-operation.²⁰

Efforts continued through this period, however, to link rural settlement to immigration through co-operation. Following his replacement as editor of the Catholic Australasian Chronicle in 1843, possibly stemming from his radical sympathies, W. Duncan launched Duncan's Weekly Register, supported by the Shoemakers Benefit Society, painters and, occasionally, carpenters. Duncan promoted 'self-help' through co-operation, linking this, as Cunningham earlier, to assisted immigration which, he argued, need not lead to unemployment and reduced wages if new arrivals were assisted into self-contained co-operative communities. In a lengthy pamphlet on 'Self-Supporting Agricultural Working

Unions for the Labouring Classes' in 1844, Duncan called for government help in the development of intensively-settled co-operative communities in the Illawarra Region, south of Sydney, modelled on Fourier's phalanstère [GLOSSARY] and the Dairy Associations of Europe [GLOSSARY]. In terms similar to those of Cunningham's proposal of 1827, Duncan suggested that 5,000 immigrants and families might be assisted for six months with food and fodder, arguing, along Owenite-lines, that the hired labourer in the employ of a gentleman farmer was not a productive worker and constituted a loss to the nation and empire; the only good worker was one with a personal stake in the success of the enterprise. Such communities would eventually be self-supporting, and, administered by democratically-elected Boards, would host new arrivals and assist the development of other independent communities at no cost to the government. Settlements would develop independent schools, social amenities and private and communal industries, such as fruit and peat cultivation, silk production and candle-making and Duncan advocated mulching, composting and organic methods of cultivation. Candidate settlers would undergo a three-month probationary period during which time they might be balloted in and, if necessary, balloted out.

This bold plan for autonomous co-operative communities was ignored by the administration, apparently suspicious of the independent, and, probably Catholic, social power such communities might wield, but, again, the evidence is inconclusive. Soon after, the Weekly Register ceased publication and Duncan left Sydney to take up a position in Customs at Moreton Bay, a move attracting charges of desertion from former radical associates.²¹

Between 1843 and 1848, the tiny Sydney 'co-operative movement', appears to have fallen moribund, possibly a victim of Wentworth's Friendly Society Act but this is purely conjectural. Certainly 'safe' co-operation in the form of building societies, flourished after this period encouraged by an Act to Regulate Benefit Building Societies in 1947, [11 Vic

No.10]. Leila Thomas believes that in 1848, when the Friendly Society Act was amended to permit the formation of trade societies for 'provident and benefit purposes', modern Trade Unionism began. If this is so, then it may have also contributed to the rapid decline in interest in co-operatives after that year.²² Indeed, in the following forty years, very few examples of production or settlement co-operation are to be found; it was as if they had entered a 'darg age'. An important exception was the Co-operative Coal Mine formed in the Hunter Valley in 1861, an outgrowth of a Rochdale co-operative, discussed in Chapter 1.²³

Co-operation's poor impact by 1848, compounding with worker suspicion of it stemming from the British experience, meant that co-operation was only weakly established when Trade Unionism began to evolve, a factor possibly helping to explain the historical gulf between the forms in New South Wales. These factors: unhelpful legislation; the resistance of vested interests; a conceptual imprecision surrounding co-operation; inadequate capitalisation; worker suspicion; factionalism within the 'co-operative movement'; sectarianism and co-operation's remoteness from Labour would characterise all subsequent stages of the 'quest for a middle way'.

(iii) **An Hiatus: 1848-1860**

New socio-economic forces pushed radical co-operation, never strong, further to the margins before 1860. Chartist ideas, for example, were prevalent in the two decades to 1860 as many Chartists, disillusioned with attempts to achieve the Great Charter, left Britain after 1848 to settle in the colonies and agitate for the unification of working-class and middle-class interests in opposition to the dominant land-owning squattocracy. Political reform swept the need for co-operation further into the background. In 1850, the Australian Colonies Government Act empowered the Legislative Council to formulate a constitution. In the same year, Victoria was separated from New South Wales; Queensland followed suit a decade later. By 1860,

New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia had secret ballots, manhood suffrage and regular parliaments; political conditions superior to anything achieved by Chartism in Britain.

Economic buoyancy further eroded co-operation's raison d'etre as colonial economies were galvanised by great gold rushes which saw Australia's population treble in the decade after 1851.²⁴ While the economy was not uniformly buoyant, with crises in 1854 and 1857, and stagnation for much of the 1860s (during which period Rochdale consumer stores developed in the Hunter Valley and Sydney), conditions were generally expanding between 1875 and 1885, stimulated by increasing British investment in the pastoral, mining and transport industries.

The only known example of production co-operation between 1848 and 1859, before Rochdale co-operation took root, was an attempt by Sydney printers in 1854 to form a co-operative newspaper, to be called The Operative, to educate workers and co-ordinate action for better conditions. No further details have been found. In Victoria, two examples of co-partnerships were located, one involving the Melbourne Age in 1854, and another the Stonemasons Union, in 1859.²⁵

Trades Unionism, by contrast, albeit small, localised, and confined mainly to the craft and semi-skilled industries, made important advances, organising around the issues of shorter hours and better conditions and employing the strike weapon to great effect. In 1871, the Sydney Trades and Labour Council (TLC) formed and, by 1875, twenty-four Unions had affiliated. The first Inter-colonial Trade Union Congress was held in Sydney, in 1879. Similar advances were being made in the labour-intensive mining and pastoral industries.

APPENDIX 2

A SUMMARY OF SUBMISSIONS CONCERNING CO-OPERATION TO THE 1890 ROYAL COMMISSION INTO STRIKES

The Royal Commission Into Strikes convened in November 1890 and reported in May 1891. A summary of submissions dealing with co-operation other than that given by W. G. Spence treated in the main argument, is presented below for insights into the understanding of co-operation into notions of co-operation it provides. This will help underline the confusion surrounding co-operation in this fluid and dynamic period.

R. McKillop, of the Wharf Labourers Union, involved in the Co-operative Loading and Unloading Scheme, believed that co-operation could eliminate the 'middle man' and bring a 'superior class of men' together and 'weed out the drones'. Fewer would be required to do the same job where workers co-operated and it would be cheaper and beneficial to both employers and employees. Co-operation would improve wages, McKillop believed, (a claim later refuted by the Sydney Morning Herald) if Trade Unions organised co-operatives. Co-operation need not cut across arbitration and conciliation systems as these would be necessary to resolve co-operative disputes.¹ Responding to a question inferring that Union officials were 'living on the proceeds of agitation by creating dissension between capital and labour', McKillop said that co-operative profits could be channelled to workers through Unions, which would not be 'neutralised' entirely by co-operation since they would be required to resolve 'errors' made by Labour and Capital. Employers would benefit from more productive workers and they should assist co-operatives with 'starter' capital within an arbitration and conciliation system.

P. J. Brennan, a former President of the TLC Defence Committee, Chairman at the Australian Labour Conference, founder of the

Stewards and Cooks Union, and an activist in the Maritime Strikes, confused the concepts of 'co-operative' and 'co-partnership', alarming Union leaders by calling upon ship owners to support the 'Wharf Labourers Co-operative' system as this would:

...put the Union out of the question altogether,...do away with a great many disputes and [be] beneficial both to the employers and the men themselves...There is no doubt that if co-operation comes into vogue it will do away with trade unionism altogether, do away with the necessity of it [since] trade unionism was formed...to protect the rights of the workers. In a co-operative society, the workers are their own employers...There is no person to take profit off their work...Whatever profit is made is directly divided between the capitalist and the worker.²

J. D. Fitzgerald, of the Typographical Association and the TLC, believed that only 'State Co-operation' was practicable and that this was superior to 'universal' [GLOSSARY] production co-operation. It is not clear what Fitzgerald meant by 'State Co-operation' but it appears to have implied a blend of State Socialism and Modern Socialism although how this might have worked was not made apparent.³

There was support for co-operation from other sections of the Industrial Movement. T. Bavister, of the Building Trades Council, for example, described co-operation in Australia as 'intellectually slow in movement', but 'possible and necessary'. Workers should have confidence in themselves and develop co-operatives, 'irrespective of the officers of the Unions', and should not confine their efforts to Unionism. He was opposed to Union intervention in co-operative affairs since workers should be free to co-operate however they wished. He also pointed to possible legal difficulties for Unions performing an 'employer' role in co-operatives under the terms of the Master and Servant Act which contemplated fines or imprisonment for employers in breach of it. H. Wilkinson, of the Carpenters and Joiners Union, thought co-operation could work if problems of capitalisation were overcome. Findings in

the present study suggest that this was an understatement of historical proportions.⁴

Most support, however, came from outside the Labour Movement. For example, A. Ross, a colliery manager from Wallsend, and J. Gregson, General Secretary of the Australian Agricultural Company, thought production co-operation was a 'good idea' but doubted workers' capacity to raise the necessary capital, arguing instead for co-partnerships.⁵ The Reverend T. E. Roseby, a Congregationalist Minister, Christian Socialist, and member of a Conciliation Committee appointed during the Great Strikes, supported Union struggles for industrial justice and agrees with W. G. Spence that production co-operation was a prerequisite to this. C. T. Barnes, a mining manager, believed that co-operation was worth considering, and T. A. Dibbs, then General Manager of the Commercial Banking Company, attempted to dispel doubts concerning an alleged boycott by private banks of co-operatives as 'the future of our manufactories depends very largely upon co-operation, or change in the fiscal policy', inferring that productivity released through co-operation was superior to, and a practical substitute for, protectionism.⁶

Non-Union support for co-operation was presented in terms of co-operation's alleged capacity to reduce, even abolish, strikes. For example, John Plummer, the free-trade journalist, argued for co-partnerships and profit-sharing arrangements, describing these as 'co-operatives' and saying that they produced better profits because workers were motivated in a way impossible under the wages system. Such enterprises had not developed in Australia because Australian workmen did not trust each other sufficiently and because Trade Unions did not understand co-operation. It was not as Trade Unions thought, 'a means to enable the labourer to fight the employers...[since] under co-operation the worker plays both parts and learns the duties and responsibilities [of both]'. Production co-operation could develop from co-partnerships and profit-sharing enterprises as workers acquired the necessary management skills, but, in the interim, profit-sharing arrangements should be

encouraged, although not on the 'national principle' as advocated by radicals as this would mean 'the reconstruction of society'. Plummer provided statistics from the British Co-operative Movement and model rules for a profit-sharing contract, the latter alarming Union officials since it stated that 'no employees [are] to belong to a Trade Union [and] any employee joining a Trade Union, or legally convicted of injuring the works, is to forfeit dividend'. Indeed, Plummer's main idea of co-operation appears to have been that co-operation was a method for de-unionising workers and converting them into 'little capitalists'.⁷

Justice W. C. Windeyer of the Supreme Court strongly advocated production co-operation, describing the Great Strikes as a 'waste of money' which should have been invested in co-operatives. Co-operation was not an immediate solution to industrial conflict, but an evolutionary one, and workers should include it in their arsenal.⁸ J. Parkinson, a solicitor, said that co-operative workers would 'think twice' before striking, improving industrial relations. The great problem for co-operatives, however, would be securing of contracts from a suspicious private sector and a possible solution to this could be a statutory authority awarding contracts to co-operative tenderers. Others doubted that governments, representing private interests, would condone this.⁹ A. Lyell, an accountant and Executive Member of the Capital and Labour Federal League of Victoria, said that co-operation was a good idea but very difficult to implement because of the mobile nature of the Australian workforce and would be very slow to develop. He confirmed Parkinson's view that the private sector would boycott co-operatives and suspected that some Trade Union leaders would do so, also.¹⁰

Those speaking against co-operation included both non-Unionists and Unionists. R. Garn, T. Napier, and J. M. Doyle, all stevedores affected by the Wharf Labourers Co-operative and A. F. Lenehand, of Talbot and Company (Shippers), believed that co-operatives could not work since they would be unable to meet

their losses. P. Dow, President of the Master Builders Association, said that jealousies in apportioning work would destroy co-operatives and that conciliation was better.¹¹

But the most stinging criticisms came from W. G. Higgs, of the Australian Socialist League (ASL), editor of The Australian Workman and Secretary of the Typographic Association. Higgs said:

Socialists do not place any faith in small co-operative enterprises, or even large ones, because these institutions are worked for the purpose of profit and the idea of socialism is to do away with all profit, rent and interest and make the state the sole employer.

Predicting a 'violent upheaval of the masses of the workers', Higgs said that the only way to avert this was in 'the extension of the principle of the state as an employer of labour':

Co-operative companies are of no avail in settling the problem; for such companies only better the condition of those persons interested in those companies through being shareholders or customers. They do not reach the great mass of the people, the unemployed and the partially employed. In fact it has been stated that the wage earners employed in many of the co-operative companies in England are paid lower wages and work longer hours than wage earners employed by other employers. Profit-sharing, the socialists regard only as a method of intensifying the labour problem and a distinct benefit to the capitalists, employers and landlords, for [it] would act as an incentive to the wage earners to strive harder and work longer to increase their employer's profits in order that they might procure a share in the profits. Such a course would have the effect of rendering competition keener than ever and its evil results would be increased.

State Socialism was the only solution, Higgs believed, and he spoke of 'Modern Socialists [sic] as of one school - disciples of Karl Marx who believe in state co-operation'. Conciliation was useless; only socialism contemplating the national and collective ownership and control of the means of production, distribution and exchange could resolve the antagonisms of capital.¹² It would appear from Higgs' submission that

'Modern Socialism' had received new meaning since the separation of the ASL and The Australian Radical in 1889, and that ASL State Socialists had claimed the nomenclature as their own.

J. Grant, a stonemason and land nationaliser, agreed with Higgs; co-operation was 'the solution of superficial thinkers' and applicable only in isolated areas. As soon as it became extensive, Grant argued, the 'earth owners would annexe the whole benefits'. J. Thompson, of the Miners Association, Northern District, added that State Co-operation was the 'only co-operation that will be of any use since the concentration of capital in a few hands would inevitably render co-operatives inoperative'. Thompson quoted the example of the New South Wales Co-operative Coal Company in the 1860s, which was 'run out of the market by private companies' which lowered prices to kill co-operation. State Socialism, he said, was the only solution, and he agreed with Higgs and Grant that conciliation was useless.¹³

Clearly, 'co-operation' was a confused idea and capable of generating much ideological heat.

APPENDIX 3

WILLIAM LANE: AN 'OLD' OWENITE?

The following very brief note suggests that William Lane drew more immediately upon 'old' Owenite ideas of co-operation than upon 'new' Owenism, radical 'universal' Rochdale co-operation, or Modern Socialism as it came to be called in the 1890s.¹ The implication is that Lane was resurrecting an already discredited social theory rather than offering a framework for radical action modelled on the materially successful example of the British Rochdale Movement to which Modern Socialists referred. This, in turn, has repercussions for the assessment of Lane.

Writing under the nom de plume 'John Miller' in the Wagga Wagga Hummer, a co-operatively-run newspaper edited by Arthur Rae for the Amalgamated Shearers Union and General Labourers Union, Lane argued the merits of 'voluntary co-operative socialism' in a much quoted passage:

Many object to socialism because they think it will tend to turn the state into a tyranny and the people...into mere machines. [But] socialism is being mates, and you can't be made mates by legislation...Workers must own co-operatively, that is in common between them, the land and the machinery used in producing wealth and must arrange among themselves for working and must divide fairly...the wealth produced. We must get into swing a system where we are working for ourselves instead of for banks, employers and other profit mongers. We would have no need to cut-throat each other. We would be able to be mates with everybody and we could chuck the biggest part of law overboard as being unnecessary...This wouldn't be establishing a tyranny...Just how this co-operation of the workers is to come about is a matter on which socialists argue considerably...Voluntary co-operation will show the people at large how to do it [and] legislation will follow from this and [as co-operation spreads] all need for legislation or for state-force of any kind will pass away and we will evolve a truly socialistic method of co-operation which we shall uphold without law, because we shall all love being

mates and all hate the very notion of competing with each other.¹

If the above truly reflects his thinking, Lane saw a temporary role for the state in the transformation of society and held 'mateship', an allegedly innate love of humanity residing in Australians, to be the fundamental agent of change. No legislature could enact this. The phenomenon of social transformation would occur as the state incrementally and voluntarily abolished itself, through 'mateship', or 'socialism', they were synonymous and found expression in democratic co-operatives. But while Modern Socialists argued that radical transformation could occur in conventional settings through production and consumer co-operation, Lane argued the formation of discrete, perfect 'object lessons' proving the efficacy of voluntary co-operative socialism beyond all doubt, and exciting the 'universal' application of it. Strong parallels between such thinking and early-Owenite attempts to create ideal 'harmonious' communities may be seen.

Lane's muddling of collectivist and co-operative principles is confusing. What did he mean, for example, by the 'collective' ownership of land. Did he mean parcels of collectivised land developed independently of each other? And if so, what impact, if any, could this have on capitalist property relations? Or did he mean nationalised land with autonomous co-operatives functioning on it? If so, how was this to be sensible where a national government did not exist to regulate co-operative relations since the regulation of such complex co-operative relations surely presupposed the existence of a state? Could the sentiment of 'mateship' be relied upon to effect this?; and, if not, did it not contradict Lane's central idea of the withering state? What of co-operatively-produced assets created on collectivised land? Were these to be owned collectively at a national level or privately at a co-operative level conforming to the co-operative equity principle? Again, how were impoverished workers to secure land and the means of production? This question was precisely that asked by workers of the 'old' Owenite analysis more than half a century earlier

where 'new' Owenite and radical-Rochdale solutions had been production and consumption co-operation. Lane's answer was to accept the beneficence of the Paraguayan government and appeal to grandiose socialist sentiment in pursuit of support for the 'New Australia' adventure. His idea that the 'actual proof' provided by this would bring a 'world-wide revolution' smacked of 'old' Owenite messianism and the belief that mankind would become 'mates' as legislators cheerfully legislated themselves out of existence was fanciful. In any event, the failure of Lane's grand scheme discredited co-operation and socialism as Owen's failures had in Britian for more than half a century earlier had in Britain. It was a retrograde adventure in co-operative history and it seems unfair to tar William Lane and W. G. Spence with the one brush as Burgmann and others have done.²

APPENDIX 4

BACKGROUND TO THE 1896 CWS DELEGATION

Planning for the CWS delegation began in 1894, when Mr McFell of Melbourne and John Plummer, then a buyer for the Sydney Civil Service Co-operative, corresponded with the Manchester wholesale. At the request of the CWS Board, W. G. Nuttall, a former CWS Executive, then resident in Victoria, McFell and Plummer toured New South Wales and Victoria propagandising 'co-operation with the old country'. Plummer told farmers that they could benefit from a shortfall in CWS requirements for dairy products, then accounting for one-seventh of all British dairy consumption, by exploiting the 'co-operative barter system', a free-trade system of consignments direct to Manchester via the recently completed Manchester Canal, bypassing London markets where Australian produce generally presented poorly. By directly indenting CWS goods, farmers could avoid exchange-rate disadvantages affecting the Australian currency. Mississippi wheat growers had 'co-operated' in this way with British consumers, Plummer said, in exchange for CWS manufactures, including woollens, cotton goods, needles, nails, watches, jewellery, cutlery, locks, machinery, hardware, tinware, glassware, pianos, boots, shoes, leather goods, and other products.¹

Responding to these recommendations, the Victorian Government sent J. M. Sinclair to Britain to investigate and it was probably he who was the 'Australian delegate present at the formation of the International Co-operative Alliance in 1895', mentioned in the literature, and the 'Special Commissioner in the United Kingdom', who kept colonial primary producers informed on market conditions and CWS requirements at the turn of the century.²

Preparing for the visit, Plummer organised an experimental barter cargo of Australian tallow, direct to Manchester, in exchange for cocoa. But Mr Gray, then Secretary of the British Co-operative Union, where 'individualists' were still strongly represented, emphasised that any further trade could occur only between co-operative organisations, commissioning Plummer to prepare a statistical survey of Australian co-operation and organisations representing it. This recorded impressive production statistics for dairy co-operatives but a generally poor picture of co-operation then hit by depression, worker uncertainties and financial difficulties. With Nuttall, however, Plummer organised a 'Central Co-operative Board' early in 1896 based in Melbourne and with Mr McFell as President designed to act as a conduit between Australian producers and the Manchester wholesale. Subsequently, 'the city of Manchester...decided to co-operate with [it] in promotion of the direct-trade movement'.³

During the next six months, Plummer and Nuttall wrote extensively for provincial newspapers, broadcasting the export potential existing in trade with the British Rochdale Consumer Movement, and preparing for the visit of a high-level CWS delegation.⁴

In July 1896, Ben Jones, Joseph Clay and William Stokes of the CWS arrived in Port Adelaide on board the RMS Ballarat on the first leg of a tour taking in all of the eastern colonies. In a crowded second day, delegates met the Minister of Agriculture, where, significantly, discussion ranged over 'orderly marketing' and a possible role for government in this, anticipating state regulation in the Manchester-Australia connection. They toured the State Despatch Depot at Port Adelaide, the Port Adelaide Co-operative Society, and, after meeting businessmen, addressed an audience at Trades Hall. 'We have too much capital', said one. 'Send it here!' came the jibe from the floor. To a question concerning production co-operation Jones replied: 'Buy your own machinery...for then you can work less hours for the same money, or the same hours

for more money'. This evasive answer was typical of those given whenever the delicate issue of CWS imports and the impact of these upon indigenous production co-operation and local employment was raised. In another example of deceptive talk, Jones told the Democratic Club: 'We started in England from the consumers' point of view, but from the producers' point of view in the colonies. The result will be the same, for all workers ultimately are consumers'.⁵ The terminology was deliberately vague: 'consumers', 'producers' and 'workers' were employed as synonyms. Secondary workers in the audience might have reasonably concluded from this that they were 'producers', which indeed they were, but the CWS visitors meant 'primary producers', as discussion in the present study will confirm.

Accompanied by South Australian government officials, the delegates spent five days on the steamer Ellen, visiting all of the Murray River co-operative settlements, except Ramco, investigating possible sources of dried fruit and vine products and distributing Rochdale 'federalist' propaganda. The party then moved on to Mount Gambier and Ballarat in Victoria. At Warrnambool, delegates met a 'co-operative dairy association', about which no information has come to hand, and four days later, they travelled to Melbourne before moving on to Sydney. Delegates appear to have spent most of their time in Victoria in the Western District dairy area, on W. G. Nuttall's property at Korumburra.⁶

APPENDIX 5

A NOTE ON CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES DESCRIBED BY THE CO-OPERATION ACT, (NSW No.1 of 1924)

The Co-operation Act made provision for eight forms of co-operative society, namely: rural societies, trading societies, rural credit societies, urban credit societies, building societies, investment societies, community advancement societies and community settlement societies. Provision was also made for associations of co-operative societies and unions of co-operative associations.

In its original form, the Bill was entitled 'The Community Settlement and Rural Credit Bill' but by October 1923, it had become the 'Co-operation, Community Settlement and Rural Credit Bill'. Soon after World War Two, this title was reduced to simply 'The Co-operation Act'. There have been extensive amendments to the Act since 1924 but the following summary is restricted to the form societies took around 1924.¹

Rural societies were to assist the organisation of primary producers, 'streamlining' marketing procedures, including provision for buying, selling and agent activities. They could 'do anything a community advancement society (q.v.) could do', sharing this characteristic with community settlement societies (q.v.). Also, they were empowered to make contributions to any body or organisation formed to promote the interests of rural industry and rural life. This was important for the evolving Country Party and, indeed, such societies formed an important part of the financial base of that Party.

Trading societies were intended as organisations of consumers and would carry on any business, trade or industry, wholesale or retail, including the buying and selling of land, the working of mines or quarries, timber getting or fisheries. They could buy

or sell agricultural products but were precluded from the disposing of agricultural produce in the manner provided for by rural societies.

An urban credit society could make, arrange or guarantee short term loans to assist members in the purchase of furniture, tools, machinery or stock in trade, could acquire or carry on any business, trade or industry and assist members in paying a deposit on a home or a business. This provision was introduced by Nationalists to answer city charges that the Co-operation Act was too rural-oriented and to attract Labor support. The provision was repealed in 1969.²

Building societies were to assist members in the acquisition of a home or other property and to make loans to members upon security of a freehold or leasehold property. Such societies were later given state assistance in the form of indemnification against loss, sharing this characteristic with community settlement societies. A building society could acquire shares in or make loans to a community advancement society. This arrangement helped stimulate the growth of clubs such as the Returned Services Leagues (RSL) clubs.³

Investment societies were to assist individuals with small amounts of money in combining to secure, jointly, investments which would otherwise be impracticable. In a sense, these societies were to encourage large numbers of people to become 'little capitalists' in co-partnership, apparently forming part of a Nationalist strategy to capture co-operative radicalism and convert it to orthodox capital relations. The sphere of investment was restricted '...in order to minimise the risk of fraud and failure'. Denied the powers of raising loans or receiving deposits, such societies were unable to grow and formed a tokenistic concession to the idea of co-operative production.

A community settlement society could prepare land and market it for convenience and profit, subdivide land and provide bridges,

culverts and roads, erect dwellings and set aside land for communal use, sell or let land to anyone, engage in share farming, make or arrange loans, issue bonds, raise money, receive deposits, acquire shares in another society, purchase and sell, arrange insurance and 'do anything that a community advancement society can do' to provide community service and promote the economic interest of its members.

A community advancement society could be formed for the object of providing any community service or benefit and, except for provisions whereby the Colonial Treasurer undertook to indemnify community settlement societies was, in legal substance, virtually identical to a community settlement society.⁴

APPENDIX 6

SUMMARY OF ESTIMATED STATISTICS OF AUSTRALIAN CO-OPERATION,
1960-1974

Summary of Estimated Co-operative Statistics, 1960-62.

Particulars	QLD 1960-61	NSW 1960-61	VIC 1960-61	SA 1961	TAS 1960-61	WA 1962	AUSTRALIAN TOTALS
Societies...No	162	314	140	70	13	94	793
Members...No	129748	246549	81592	111031	4925	65665	639510
Total Turnover and Income (\$A)	62882000	12633900	36897000	18539000	2616000	50040614	297313614
Debates and Bonuses (\$A)	929000	2774000	293000	771000	12000	387784	5166784
Dividends and Share Capital (\$A)	156000	586000	300000	131000	29000	169851	1371851

Source of information (except Western Australia): Bureau of Census and Statistics, Brisbane.

Western Australia Figures - Co-operative Federation of Western Australia.

Excludes Co-operative Building Societies

2 Summary of Estimated Co-operative Statistics: 30 June 1969 (Excluding ACT and NT)

	NSW		VIC		QLD		WA		SA		TAS		TOTAL	
	Co-Op	Membs	Co-Op	Membs	Co-Op	Membs	Co-Op	Membs	Co-Op	Membs	Co-Op	Membs	Co-Op	Membs
Producer, Consumer Community Co-op	556	378778	155	144130	93	60475	104	99014	66	130355	16	5705	990	818465
Building Societies	2676	307009	1185	67602	564	65317	282	56556	27	26373	81	12316	4815	535173
Credit Unions	365	229133	172	45439	57	22393	40	21987	14	6594	21	10672	715	343271
Total	3617	914920	1512	257179	724	140185	426	177557	107	163322	118	26693	6520	696899
Total 30/6/68	3471	774945	1834	289429	613	132003	303	148884	106	164279	83	22576	6410	1411209
Popul- ation in millions 30/7/69	4.53		3.42		1.79		.97		1.12		.39		12.3	

Source of Information:

- (1) NSW Report of Registrar Division 1, 2 and 4 (30/6/70)
- (2) Victoria - Commonwealth Year Book No. 57 issued 1971
- (3) Queensland - Report of Registrar (Co-operative and Other Societies Act 1967) 30/6/70 - excluding Credit Unions and Mutual Buying Groups
- (4) Western Australia - Report of Registrar of Societies plus report of Co-operative Federation of Western Australia (30/6/70)
- (5) South Australia and Tasmania - Commonwealth Year Book No. 57 issued 1971
- (6) Credit Unions - including ACT - World Council of Credit Unions International Year Book 1971.
Excludes Queensland co-operatives registered under legislation for primary production.

3 Summary of Estimated Co-operative Statistics 30 JUNE 1971 (Excluding ACT and NT)

	Cooperatives	Members	Turnover \$A,000	Loans/Benefit
Consumer	480	514,580	170,449	
Agricultural	462	371,235	746,317	
Fishing	31	4,306	43,810	
Miscellaneous (Community etc.)	879	81,587	68,634	
Credit Unions	752	445,237		150,266
Building Societies	5429	862,617		453,038
Friendly Societies	213	434,857		49,958
TOTAL	8246	2,714,419		

Source of Information: Co-operative Federation of Australia Report, Year Ending 30 June 1976

4 Summary of Estimated Co-operative Statistics 30 June 1972 (Excluding ACT and NT)

Type of Co-operative	Co-operative	Members	Turnover \$A,000	1971
Consumer	480	588,627	295,555	TURNOVER \$A,000
Agricultural	452	377,530	862,750	
Fisheries	33	4,356	44,961	
Miscellaneous	945	90,197	15,340	
			1,218,606	1,020,210
			Loans	Loans Advanced \$A,000
Credit Building	782	533,695	203,416 Advances On Mortgages	150,266
Permanent	193	998,683	1,586,625	Advances Mortgages \$A000
Terminating	5,434	244,615	875,633	
Building Societies Total	5,627	1,243,298	2,462,258	2,038,305
				Benefits Paid \$A,000
Friendly Societies	204	438,761	65,334	49,956
Total Co-operatives	8,517			8,246
Total Members		3,278,464		2,714,419
	6,722			

Source of Information:

- (1) Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics of Information
- (2) Co-operative Registrars of Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria
- (3) Registrar of Friendly Societies, Western Australia
- (4) Registrar of Building Societies, Western Australia
- (5) Co-operative Federation of Western Australia

5 Summary of Estimated Co-operative Statistics 30 June 1973 (Excluding ACT)

	<u>Co-ops</u>	<u>Members</u>	<u>Turnover</u> \$000's
Agricultural	440	388,369	971,974
Fishery	35	3,971	42,595
Consumer	349	581,229	200,472
Community-Miscellaneous	<u>1,199</u>	<u>219,621</u>	<u>61,999</u>
Sub-Total	2,023	1,193,190	1,277,040
			<u>1972</u>
			<u>1,218,606</u>
Credit Unions	<u>812</u>	<u>673,313</u>	Loans Advance <u>307,035</u>
Sub-Total	<u>2,835</u>	<u>1,866,503</u>	<u>1972</u> 203,416
			Advances on Mortgages
Building Societies			
Terminating	5,699	202,135	887,725
Permanent	<u>187</u>	<u>1,341,840</u>	<u>2,235,265</u>
Building Societies Total	5,886	1,543,975	<u>3,212,990</u>
			<u>1972</u> 2,462,258
TOTALS June 1973	<u>8,721</u>	<u>3,410,478</u>	
TOTALS June 1972	<u>8,319</u>	<u>2,839,703</u>	
POPULATION June 1972		<u>12,729,831</u>	

Source of Information:(a) Australian Bureau of Statistics
(b) Co-operative Registrars, NSW, Vic, Qld, ACT
(c) Registrar of Friendly Societies, Western Australia
(d) Co-operative Federations, Queensland, Vic, Western Australia
(e) Australian Federation Credit Union Leagues

6. Summary of Estimated Co-operative Statistics 30 June 1974

	CREDIT UNIONS			TERMINATING BUILDING SOCIETIES			TOTAL			
	Co-op	Membs	Loans to Members \$A,000	Co-op	Membs	Loans to Members \$A,000	Co-op	Membs	Turnover \$A,000	Loans to Members \$A,000
NSW	318	565109	379579	3319	181434	166287	4308	462336	744966	545866
VIC	205	206955	177933	1813	53881	63634	3109	463116	516624	241567
QLD	62	121815	123000	967	17771	193431	1269	290619	434142	316431
WA	39	84631	72082	593	n.a.	n.a.	695	151630	470240	72082
SA	32	70794	64657	14	3846	302	96	195621	111736	64959
TAS	21	30773	21773	122	2671	1497	186	60327	35372	23270
ACT & NT	12	37767	28048	226	n.a	n.a	250	39692	1930	28048
Total	689	1117844	867072	7054	259603	424151	9913	2663341	2315010	1308223

	PRODUCERS			CONSUMER			COMMUNITY		
	Co-op	Membs	Turnover \$A,000	Co-op	Membs	Turnover \$A,000	Co-op	Membs	Turnover \$A,000
NSW	146	107925	541684	146	389222	121808	357	218646	81474
VIC	89	77697	490217	114	64269	25411	888	60314	996
QLD	77	82518	339764	101	60894	93951	62	7621	427
WA	22	44483	438255	41	22516	31985	-	-	-
SA	35	17186	90610	15	103795	21126	-	-	-
TAS	18	5364	12233	25	21519	23139	-	-	-
ACT & NT	-	-	-	12	1925	1930	-	-	-
Total	409	335173	1912763	454	664140	319350	1307	286581	82897

Source: Co-operative Federation of Australia: Establishment and Management of Co-operative Course (n.d.)

APPENDIX 7

A NOTE ON CO-OPERATIVES AND TAXATION

The first Commonwealth Income Tax Assessment Act of 1915 did not contain any specific provisions for taxing co-operative companies. In 1918, the definition of 'income' contained in the Act was amended to include, in the case of a co-operative company or society, all sums received from its members in respect of commodities, valuables or land sold or supplied to or on behalf of the members. At that time, all companies were entitled to a deduction in respect of amounts distributed as dividends to shareholders or members.

The amendment to the definition of 'income' was thought necessary to prevent the possible loss of revenue from tax on the income of a co-operative company which could have occurred had not the law made specific provision for its inclusion. Doubts had arisen as a result of a High Court judgement that members' subscriptions received by a club did not constitute income of the club. It was thought that the judgement also applied to co-operative associations and would render them exempt from tax on amounts received from trading with members. The amendment to the definition prevented such an event.

In 1921, the definition of 'income' was again amended to exclude rebates received by members of a co-operative based on their purchases from the company where the company was one which usually sold goods only to its members. This provision was amended the following year to exempt rebates of a kind where the Commissioner was satisfied that 90 per cent of co-operative sales were made to its own members. A further amendment in 1930 restricted the rebates to be excluded to those rebates not based on 'purchases for the purposes of a business'.

The deduction in respect of amounts being distributed as dividends was removed by an amendment to the Act in 1923 so that companies were taxed on the whole of their income regardless of the amount of dividends distributed to shareholders. This basis of assessment, although it conformed with the views of the Royal Commission on Taxation (1922), proved to be a heavy burden on many co-operatives and, in 1925, a provision was inserted to allow consideration to co-operatives for amounts distributed among shareholders as interest or dividend on shares.

For the purposes of that provision, a definition of a 'co-operative company' was also inserted. To qualify, the rules of a company had to limit the number of shares that could be held by, or on behalf of, members and prohibit the public sale or purchase of shares. As well, it was necessary that the company be established for the purpose of carrying on a business, industry or trade, having as its primary object, or objects, one or more of the following:

- (a) The acquisition of commodities or other goods for disposal or distribution among members;
- (b) the acquisition of commodities or animals from members for disposal or distribution;
- (c) the storage of commodities for members.

These conditions were subsequently extended to include the rendering of service to shareholders and the obtaining of funds from shareholders for lending to co-operative shareholders in order to enable them to acquire land or buildings to be used for the purpose of residence or residence and business.

In any financial year in which less than 90 per cent of the total of such activities was conducted with its members a company would fail to qualify as a co-operative.

In 1927, rebates and discounts were added to the specific deductions of interest or dividends on shares that had been provided for by the 1925 amendments. The reasoning was that

rebates and discounts distributed by co-operatives to its shareholders based upon the business done with the company be regarded as correctly deductible from the assessable income derived by the company being similar in nature to a share discount granted by an ordinary business to a customer.

In 1930, provision was made for the allowance of deductions for co-operatives which claimed certain Commonwealth or state government loans. The loans in question were then made to enable co-operatives to borrow assets required for the purpose of carrying on business or to take over such assets from the government. The purpose of this amendment was to assist certain co-operatives to withhold monies borrowed from governments to acquire sugar mills, butter factories, bacon factories and other primary production plant.

It may be seen that 'co-operative companies' have received favourable treatment at the hands of the Taxation Commissioner, a factor perhaps helping to explain their impressive material growth of some, particularly rural co-operatives, but also, possibly, their cocooned mentality rendering them vulnerable to sudden structural changes. Against this must be weighed the prohibition on co-operative insurance and banking in New South Wales.

A Royal Commission on Taxation, (1932-1934), reported inter alia:

In considering the liability of a co-operative company, a clear distinction must be made between the payments to persons because they are shareholders and payments made to persons because they are customers. For example, interest paid on or in respect of shares is to all intents and purposes a dividend as it arises from the possession of a share-interest and not because of a business transaction with the company. Rebates to persons who deal with the company are in a different category. If the co-operative company charged the exact price for the goods which it sold or paid the exact price for those which it bought, no rebates would be payable. But if the societies, for good reasons, prefer to fix a scale of prices which gives them a margin, an adjustment has to be made periodically to so

much of the balance as the Directors think fit to divide or distribute among the members or customers in proportion to the value of the business they have done with the company. This rebate is clearly not profit but merely an adjustment of the sale or purchase price.

Leaders of primary-producer co-operatives argued that if a co-operative company was to be regarded in the same light as any other company there was no reason why the interest paid on or in respect of shares or dividends should be allowed as a deduction to the company, for they represent a distribution which, if not made by another company, would not be allowed as a deduction to the company and which should be subject to tax in the hands of the recipient. But the Commission could not see why an exception should be made in the case of co-operative companies nor any justification for allowing as a deduction to the company profits applied to repay loans, as this would be a concession denied to other tax-payers.

Subsequently, taxation conditions for co-operatives were redrafted in the Consolidated Income Tax Assessment Act of 1936, Division 9, Sections 117-121, inclusive. Section 121 provided that:

Every association of persons for the purpose of insuring those persons against loss, damage or risk of any kind in respect of property shall for the purposes of this Act be deemed to be a company carrying on the business of insurance and the assessable income of any such company such include those premiums derived by the company whether from its shareholders or not, other than premiums received in respect of policies of life assurance for considerations received in respect of annuities granted.

A co-operative qualifying under the Act was authorised to deduct from its assessable income market surplus distributed by way of dividend and share-capital, although the dividend remained taxable in the hands of the member recipient. The amendment affected the operations of the Westralian Farmers' insurance department and the eastern states' primary-producer Co-operative Insurance Company (CIC [Australia]). Distribution of surplus by way of rebate or bonuses based on the business done by a member

with his co-operative was also allowed to be deductible. Division 9 remained unchanged until 1974 when variations were incorporated to assist credit union liability for interest gained from the investment of members' lodgements. At that time legislation applicable to co-operatives in Australia included:

. New South Wales

Co-operation Act 1923-1972
Credit Union Act 1959-1971
Permanent Building Societies Act 1967-1972.

. Victoria

Co-operation Act 1958-1971
Building Societies Act 1958-1971
Co-operative Housing Societies Act 1958-1972
Industrial and Provident Societies Act 1958.

. Queensland

Co-operatives and Other Societies Act 1967
Primary Producers Co-operative Associations Act 1922-1957
Co-operative Housing Societies Act 1958
Building Societies Act 1958

. Western Australia

Companies (Co-operative) Act 1943-1959
Co-operative and Provident Societies Act 1903-1973
Building Societies Act 1920-1970

. Tasmania

Co-operative Industrial Societies Act 1928
Building Societies Act 1976
Co-operative Housing Societies Act 1963

. South Australia

Industrial and Provident Societies Act 1923-1974
Building Societies Act 1881-1968

. Australian Capital Territory

Co-operative Trading Societies Ordinance 1939-1963

. Northern Territory

Co-operative Trading Societies Ordinance 1945-1962

APPENDIX 8

DISAPPEARANCE OF THE RURAL CO-OPERATIVE 'BACKBONE'

The following discussion provides important background to events in the Co-operative Federation of Australia and its primarily primary producer affiliates in the period between the late 1950s and early 1980s when the 'traditional' Australian 'co-operative movement' was desimated. It assists our understanding of events discussed in the main argument.

(i) The International Co-operative Trading Organisation (ICTO) and the 'Decade of Co-operative Development'

Following the 1957 'All Australia' Congress, at which Rochdale principles were publically renounced, A. Silsbury of the Co-operative Federation of Western Australia (CFA) went on to represent the CFA at an ICA Conference in Stockholm. Here, forty-one national co-operative organisations met, representing 125,000,000 members and 409,000 co-operative societies; 65,000,000 members in consumer co-operatives, 15,000,000 members in agricultural co-operatives and 31,000,000 members in credit unions.¹

At Stockholm, planning for an International Co-operative Trading Organisation (ICTO) began directed covertly to the division of international co-operative trade into communist and capitalist blocs. In late 1958, representatives of co-operatives from South and South-Eastern Asia, Japan and Australia (the last represented by the CFA) formed an ICA South-East Asian Regional Office with its Secretariat in New Dehli. This was to co-ordinate a Committee of Agricultural Trade (South-East Asian Region) as a regional zone of ICTO:

[To] assist existing Co-operative Movements to go into partnership with European co-operative organisations

[sic] and encourage, through guidance, technical aid, staff training and publicity, strong trading links... between East and West countries.

Through this 'international co-operation', the ICTO rhetoric went:

The ICA is continuing the work of the Rochdale Pioneers and, in accordance with co-operative principles, seeks complete independence and, by its own methods, to substitute for the profit-making regime, a co-operative system organised in the interests of the whole community and based upon mutual self-help.²

By the late 1960s, the ICTO was fragmenting as participants in South-East Asia came to resent the one-sided trading equation it represented which favoured the industrialised nations. The Co-operative Movements of poorer nations charged that the so-called 'preference to trade' between the ICTO-regional Co-operative Movements was meaningless, with private companies faring better than co-operatives. The whole arrangement was perceived as little more than a ploy to expand markets for developed nations and, in particular, the Manchester-based Co-operative Movement.³

After 1969, W. W. 'Bill' Rawlinson, the Executive Officer of the CFWA, with a brief extending to the CFA, and W. Kidston of the CFQ, began moves to revive the CFA and the ICTO as part of an ICA-declared 'Decade of Co-operative Development. Rawlinson and Kidston, first set about attempting to refurbish links to the 'co-operative movements' of the Pacific region and South-East Asia. Assisted by federal government foreign-aid programs, they successfully organised an important South-East Asian Co-operative Study Course in 1969. Next, the CFA Executive sought affiliate endorsement of a 'backwards integration' program into 'value added' markets, a policy strongly supported by Westralian Farmers Co-operative Company. An economically rational plan, insofar as it sought the diversification of co-operation from farm gate to the point of consumption and the development of a scale of operations

commensurate with a competitive allocation of resources, the policy implied formidable difficulties in the federal application, particularly as it related to taxation liability. In New South Wales, for example, the Co-operation Act was quite explicit on what constituted a co-operative for taxation purposes: 90 per cent of trade, no less, must occur with members.⁴

In response to affiliate concern at a possible taxation backlash attending expressed by a 'backwards integration' policy, from the South Australian Farmers Co-operative Union (SAFCU), for example, and disquiet concerning the 'co-operativeness' of the idea, the CFA proposed the establishment of a National Secretariat in Canberra, 'educating' politicians on CFA policies and co-ordinating federal support for rural co-operatives through a 'farmer co-operative service', possibly linked to a Raiffeisen bank joined with the ICA, organising sympathetically-structured finance for rural co-operatives. In order to achieve the scale of operations necessary to make this feasible, the CFA sought to rally the national 'co-operative movement' behind its flag.⁵

(ii) Poor support for ICTO

By June 1974, the South-East Asian Region of ICTO had been completely restructured in anticipation of improved trade. The Australian rural 'co-operative movement', principally Westralian Farmers, provided 50 per cent of establishment costs in association with co-operatives from Malaysia and the Philippines and applications for shares were received from twelve rural co-operatives involved in dairy, beef and mixed grazing, cotton, mixed farming, wheat and grain, tobacco, wine and retailing and wholesaling from four states: New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia and Western Australia.

Significantly, however, the old Victorian dairy co-operatives, the Western District Co-operative and the Gippsland and

Northern Co-operative, and the influential South Australian Farmers Co-operative Union (SAFCU) stayed out. The Murray-Goulburn Co-operative, the Phosphate Co-operative Company (Victoria) and the Eudunda Farmers Co-operative (South Australia) supported the CFA in principle but remained equivocal in their support of ICTO.

It could not have come at a worse time as the full impact of international financial instability was tearing into the assets of co-operatives. By October 1974, it was apparent to the CFA Executive that the ICTO was being under-utilised and, hit by spiralling inflation, industrial unrest affecting rural industry and the declining competitiveness of some Australian primary producers, the Organisation again became virtually moribund.⁶

(iii) Disappearance of the rural co-operative 'backbone'

Meanwhile, major co-operatives and co-operative companies, unconvinced of the soundness of the ICTO strategy, tied as it was to the British Co-operative Movement, as Australia's trading future shifted to Asia and the Pacific and wary of 'backwards integration' sought other solutions to new challenges and opportunities present in the changed economic conditions. Pursuing an independent path, the SAFCU Board, for example, turned to private consultants for advice on how to structure themselves more flexibly, retaining the services of R. Seldon and Associates, management consultants of Sydney. Seldon convinced SAFCU Directors that there were fundamental flaws in the capital and funding structures of co-operatives which were only now maturing in contemporary economic conditions.⁷

Persuaded, SAFCU restructured to become 'Southern Holdings'. Ron Brierley, of Brierley Investment Limited (New Zealand) and Industrial Equity Limited (IEL) then took a 47 per cent share in the new company, retaining SAFCU's co-operative structure for its 'cash flow, which was...almost as good as a merchant

bank'. Southern Holdings then joined with Westralian Farmers and the Victorian Producers Co-operative Association to form Australian Farmers Proprietary Limited.⁸ The process of rural co-operation's ingestion by private capital had begun; the co-operatives fell like dominoes.

In 1975, Seldon was invited to restructure the Queensland Primary Producers Co-operative Association and the McTaggart's Producers Co-operative Association Limited along the lines of SAFCU's Southern Holdings, resulting in the creation of Primac Holdings, the largest pastoral house in Queensland.⁹

Then, the long-established Victorian dairy co-operatives, the Gippsland and Northern Co-operative and the Western District Co-operative (which had amalgamated with the Victorian Butter Factories Co-operative Company Limited in 1967) amalgamated to form Amalgamated Co-operative Marketers (Australia) Limited (ACMAL), registering a subsidiary in New South Wales under company law: G. & N. Company Limited. Primac Holdings then joined with ACMAL, Southern Holdings and Westralian Farmers (Wesfarmers) to form the Australian Stud, Stock and Land Company Proprietary Limited. The Western District Co-operative Company Limited was retained by ACMAL as a nominal co-operative for its 'investment income'.¹⁰

Meanwhile, CIC (Australia), the rural-based insurance co-operative company which included the New South Wales co-operative companies, PDS and the Dairy Farmers Co-operative, already holding between them \$7m in listed shares, moved into Winchcombe Carson Limited, the Sydney pastoral house, in association with Seldon and Brierley. Shedding workers' compensation, CIC (Australia) restructured as CIC Holdings declaring that it 'often pays to act in tandem with Brierley', as the Australian Financial Review was reporting that '[Brierley's] IEL has a valuable ally in [CIC] in the never ending takeover wars'. CIC holdings then invested in Primac Holdings, 'taking advantage of the liquidity problems of many co-operative companies' to form Consortium Property and

Investments Society Limited taking 24 per cent of its shares with equal parcels being taken up by Southern Farmers, IEL and Beneficial Finance Corporation. CIS Superannuation, the giant offshoot of CWS (U.K.) Limited, retained a nominal 4 per cent.¹¹

The Consortium Property and Investment Society Limited then launched a takeover of the giant South Australian Fishermen's Co-operative Limited (SAFCOL), with plant in four Australian states, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines. This was restructured as SAFCOL Holdings with the co-operative retaining 51 per cent of ownership for 'its traditional way of buying fish caught by members'. By 1981, this co-operative shell had been stripped away with Brierley's Southern Holdings taking a 33 per cent share and the (British) Cold Storage Holdings (an unlisted public company) a further 33 per cent. SAFCOL was not the only fishing co-operative to fall to corporate capital. In 1977, the New South Wales Department of Decentralisation and Development, in association with H. J. Heinz, the multinational food processor, moved to assist the Eden Fishermen's Co-operative on the south coast of New South Wales, then the largest Australian fishing processing plant, in an arrangement whereby the government would financially underpin the co-operative and Heinz would market its produce. By 1978, Heinz had emerged as the co-operative's major shareholder which had forfeited its co-operative structure.¹²

By mid-1978, the Brierley pastoral empire, largely constructed on old co-operative assets purchased at bargain-basement rates, was the second largest in Australia behind the John Elliot-led Elders GM controlling 15.3 per cent of the market. By 1983, Brierley owned 100 per cent of Southern Holdings which now included the Adelaide Milk Supply Co-operative (50 per cent), the Farmers Co-operative Executors and Trustees (100 per cent) and CIC (Holdings) (29 per cent).¹³

In 1980, the backbone of the influential Co-operative Federation of Queensland (CFQ), the 'Red Comb' Co-operative,

(Stock Feeds Co-operative Limited), was taken over by Gillespie Proprietary Limited. In the same year in South Australia the Barossa Co-operative Winery Co-operative Limited (Kaiser Stuhl) Australia's largest winery, and a CFA, supporter was taken over by Penfolds Proprietary Limited.¹⁴

Then C. E. D. Meares' old distributive co-operative, PDS, fell to Tooth the brewer after a PDS merger with ACMAL fell through. In preparation for the planned merger, PDS had registered as a company since no useful legislation existed to allow interstate co-operatives to merge as co-operatives and, after negotiations stalled, the former Assistant General Manager of PDS, then employed by Tooth, 'got wind of this' and initiated the takeover.¹⁵

Meanwhile, in Victoria, the Co-operative Farmers and Graziers Direct Meat Supply, a huge meat processing, distributive and retailing operation, was embroiled in scandal rebounding as far as Federal Cabinet and involving the gaoling of the co-operative's manager and a further deterioration in the traditionally poor relationship between Trade Unions and co-operatives in that state.¹⁶

But it was not all retreat and decay for rural co-operatives. Scores of smaller co-operatives survived and some of the larger old established ones adapted successfully to the changed conditions. For example, the Victorian Co-operative Fruitgrowers Society successfully resisted efforts by Henry Jones, IXL, the CBS Bank and private pastoral houses, including Elders-Smith and Goldsborough Mort, to gain control of the Victorian co-operative fruit industry. Also, the Murray-Goulburn Co-operative launched a brilliant series of initiatives to contend with Britain's entry into the EEC developing new foreign and domestic markets, employing latest technology and purchasing the New South Wales distribution rights of NORCO and the 'Allowrie' label.¹⁷

The giant Westralian Farmers (Wesfarmers) Co-operative Limited went from strength to strength in pursuit of its 'backward integration' policies, shedding all vestiges of co-operative identity in the process. In 1974, it joined with the Bank of New South Wales and Development Finance Corporation of Sydney to form WESDELF, a merchant bank, with Ron Brierley holding a 6 per cent interest. Through 1977 and 1978, Wesfarmers conducted one of the largest takeover bids in Australian corporate history to that time, attempting to absorb Cuming-Smith (Super Phosphate), of Melbourne. The Australian Financial Review bellowed that this '...could develop into a threat to part of Australia's corporate heritage' and Brierley and others, including the media-magnate, Kerry Packer, made counter offers. Elders GM, British Petroleum (BP), Western Livestock and the Trades Practices Commission opposed the bid, precipitating lengthy and expensive litigation in the Victorian Supreme Court during which the Western Australian Farmers Union angrily dismissed the idea that Westralian Farmers was in any sense a co-operative: 'It is a...giant corporate monolith'. Subsequently, Westralian Farmers secured only limited control of super phosphate markets.

The Western Australian Farmers Union allegations were justified: in addition to its previously-mentioned corporate activities, Westralian Farmers (Wesfarmers) controlled subsidiaries in the transport, shipping agency, grain and wool, handling of storage, trading, metal, dairy, manufacturing and distribution, liquid petroleum gas, meat supply, food export, wine, stock feed, stud, stock and land agency industries, running these along orthodox capitalist lines. None of this would have been possible in New South Wales, for example, under the Co-operation Act. In 1984, Westralian Farmers (Wesfarmers) prepared for listing on the Perth Stock Exchange as one of Western Australia's largest enterprises rivalled only by Robert Holmes-a-Court's Bell Group and Bond Corporation. The big 'bogus' co-operative so influential in Australian co-operation, had finally declared its true colours.¹⁸

The 'backbone' of the rural 'co-operative movement' had gone, subsumed within capital. That is not to say that all of the old rural co-operative 'establishment' had disappeared; indeed, important dairy co-operative companies such as Dairy Farmers Co-operative Limited survived, together with several others, mostly small, for banana, fruit, mushroom, fishing, dairy, pig, sugar milling and beef production and marketing, for example. But nationally, the rural 'co-operative movement' had been decimated by the changed conditions of the 1970s. The 'Decade of Co-operative Development' had turned into a decade of co-operative rout.

NOTES: APPENDIX 1

BACKGROUND TO CO-OPERATION IN NEW SOUTH WALES
BEFORE 1860

- 1 For example, see CN, December 1938, and W. Kidston, History of Co-operation in Queensland, Discussion Paper for the Australian International Training Course in Co-operative Management, Brisbane, 26 May 1969. Other co-operative traditions have included the Antigonish [GLOSSARY] tradition and various forms of building societies including Starr-Bowketts [GLOSSARY].
- 2 For references to Continental influences upon co-operation see GLOSSARY: 'Comte de Saint Simon', 'Fourier', 'Gide', 'Proudhon', 'Bucheze', 'Schulze-Delitzsch', 'Raiffeisen'.
- 3 Leila Thomas, 'The Development of the Labour Movement in the Sydney District of New South Wales 1788-1848,' Labour History, Canberra, June 1962, 36-37.
- 4 R. M. Hartwell, in Gordon Greenwood (ed.), Australia, a Social and Political History, Sydney, 1977 edition, pp. 46-48, 55-56. For a useful account of the emergence of Friendly Societies, see D. G. Green and L. G. Cromwell: Mutual Aid or Welfare State: Australia's Friendly Societies, Sydney, 1984.
- 5 P. Cunningham, Two Years in New South Wales, Letter xxvi, Vol.2, London, 1827 (facsimile). Sydney, 1966, pp. 254-5, 392.
- 6 P. Cunningham, Letter xxvi, op.cit; ADB, 'P. Cunningham'.
- 7 Between 1835 and 1837, typographers formed a trade society and seamen, coachmakers and joiners developed benefit societies, the last quickly failing. The Independent Order of Oddfellows, possibly the first lodge, commenced in 1836, and the Manchester Unity Independent Order of Oddfellows and the Ancient Order of Rechabites formed three years later. In 1840, with depression worsening, carpenters and joiners, engineers, millwrights, founders, house painters, plumbers and glaziers, cordwainers, boot and shoemakers, and possibly tailors, formed benefit societies. In 1841, sawyers, bakers and journeymen, plasterers, slaters and shinglers formed benefit 'unions' or 'societies' and, in 1843, a 'trade union' of weavers, spinners and warpers and stonemasons developed a benefit society. A few combinations developed after 1843, including benefit societies for watermen (1844), woolstaplers (1845), brickmakers (1845), and the Australian Clerks' Provident Society in 1846. From 1848 onwards, as economic conditions improved, the development of such mutual organisations slowed sharply. Hartwell, op.cit, 56; Thomas, op.cit, 32-36.

- 8 Hartwell, op.cit, 57.
- 9 Kentish's publications included The Present State of New South Wales, (1835), and Political Economy of New South Wales, (1838). ADB, 'R. Hipkiss'; ADB, 'N. Kentish'; Clark, A History of Australia, Vol.II, Melbourne, 1968, 226; Thomas, op.cit, 23-24.
- 10 Bibb, Kentish and Hipkiss were AUBS Board members. The Australian, Sydney, 4 April 1834; Thomas, op.cit, 21-25.
- 11 J. Bonwick, Early Struggles of the Australian Press, London, 1890, 14,23; The Sydney Gazette, 14 July 1835; The Sydney Times, 23 September 1834.
- 12 The Chairman of the Australian Wheat and Flour Co-operative was E. W. Rudder. The Australian, 3 October 1834; Thomas, op.cit, 23-24.
- 13 The Sydney Times, 7 October 1835; Thomas, op.cit, 24.
- 14 The 'patriotic' miller, Mr Miller-Barker, bought up a shipment of wheat, originally intended for the Company, and pushed up the price of flour. The Company was compelled to adjust prices for bread accordingly. The Sydney Times, 7 October 1835; The Sydney Gazette, 13 March 1835, 18 April 1835; 4 July 1835; 7 July 1835; 9 July 1835; 14 July 1835; 16 July 1835; 18 July 1835; 15 September 1835; The Sydney Times, 15, 17 September 1836.
- 15 Shareholders of The Sydney Times, October 1838: J. Sparke, W. P. Burne, E. Hicky, T. P. Baxter, J. Lazar, A. G. Dumas, N. L. Kentish, J. Hosking, G. W. Evans, G. J. McDonald, B. Lovey, P. McIntyre, W. Ken, A. Elambell, J. Eales, S. Stephen. The Sydney Gazette, Index: 'R. Hipkiss'; Thomas, op.cit, 25; ADB, 'N. Kentish'; ADB, 'R. Hipkiss'; The Australian, 18 October 1838; The Sydney Times, 7 April 1835.
- 16 ADB, 'H. MacDermott'; Thomas, op.cit, 68; The Sydney Gazette, 25 September 1838; 16 March, 13 June, 15 August 1839; The Australian, 22 February 1840; 3 March 1840; 1, 2, 8, 11 January 1842; The Australian Chronicle, 2 July 1840; Hartwell, op.cit, 56.
- 17 The Sydney Gazette, 1, 4 February 1840; The Australian Chronicle, 2 July 1840.
- 18 G. Souter, A Peculiar People: The Australians in Paraguay, Sydney, 1968, 62; The Australian, December 23, 1841; 14, 16, 19, 22 February 1842; 1 March 1842; 4, 7 June 1842; Hartwell, op.cit, 58.
- 19 NSW Friendly Society Act [7 Vic No. 10], 1843; CN, March 1923.
- 20 Thomas, op.cit, 32.

- 21 W. A. Duncan, On Self Supporting Agricultural Working Unions for the Labouring Classes: Shewing the means by which industrious men may raise themselves to a state of comfortable independence in Australia, with or without the assistance of milling authorities, Sydney, 1844; Thomas, op.cit, 32.
- 22 Hartwell, op.cit, 70.
- 23 Thomas, op.cit, 36-37.
- 24 Leila Thomas, op.cit, 36-37; E. Ross A History of the Miners Federation of Australia, Sydney, 1973, 71.
- 25 In 1854, printers and journalists entered a co-partnership with the Syme family to run The Melbourne Age. David Blair, the newspaper's editor, vigorously promoted co-operation to readers and Unionists for eighteen months before The Age was sold back to David and Ebenezer Syme. This co-partnership was significant for negative reasons: it further confused the principles of co-partnership and co-operation. Workers of The Age were seen to 'co-operate' with the Syme family merely to have the company return to capitalistic orthodoxy as soon as economic conditions improved. 'Co-operation' not only failed to achieve any lasting alteration in class-relations, but divided workers bitterly along ideological lines and co-operators were seen by many to be 'little capitalists', traitors to the worker cause.

Deepening antagonism between Unions and co-operators in Victoria developed after 1859, when the Stonemasons Union, one of the more progressive Unions, formed a 'co-partnership association' with quarry owners and with strong Union support. The association took contracts, paid standard wages and distributed surpluses democratically. After functioning successfully for several years, the 'co-operative', as it was called, introduced savage cost-cutting to win contracts for the supply of stone in the construction of Pentridge Prison against two other companies, provoking a row between Unionists, with claims that the Stonemasons' 'co-operative' was driving down wages and conditions, and pitting worker against worker in a competition advantageous to employers and public authorities. Thomas, op.cit, 36-37; D. H. McKay 'The History of Co-operation in South-East Australia: 1860-1940', M.A. Thesis, University of Melbourne, op.cit, 23.

NOTES: APPENDIX 2

A SUMMARY OF SUBMISSIONS CONCERNING CO-OPERATION TO THE 1890 ROYAL COMMISSION INTO STRIKES

- 1 New South Wales: Royal Commission on Strikes, appointed November 25, 1890 Report, Government Printer, Sydney, May 1891, 19, 23, 36, 37, 58; SMH, January 9, 1891; Sydney Telegraph, 6 June 1891.

- 2 Report of the Royal Commission on Strikes, op.cit, 167-170.
- 3 Report of the Royal Commission on Strikes, op.cit, 71.
- 4 Report of the Royal Commission on Strikes, op.cit, 19.
- 5 Report of the Royal Commission on Strikes, op.cit, 311, 339-340.
- 6 Report of the Royal Commission on Strikes, op.cit, 411, 422.
- 7 Report of the Royal Commission on Strikes, op.cit, 224-231.
- 8 Report of the Royal Commission on Strikes, op.cit, 187.
- 9 Report of the Royal Commission on Strikes, op.cit, 286.
- 10 Report of the Royal Commission on Strikes, op.cit, 311.
- 11 Report of the Royal Commission on Strikes, op.cit, 44, 45, 86, 107, 347.
- 12 Report of the Royal Commission on Strikes, op.cit, 361-2, 375-77.
- 13 Report of the Royal Commission on Strikes, op.cit, 388.

NOTES: APPENDIX 3

WILLIAM LANE: AN 'OLD' OWENITE?

- 1 The Hummer, 16 February 1892.
- 2 Burgmann, In Our Time, op.cit, 77, 88.

NOTES: APPENDIX 4

BACKGROUND TO THE 1896 CWS DELEGATION

- 1 Plummer noted that 48 rural co-operatives were registered under friendly society legislation in New South Wales in 1896, while 84 were registered under company law. 'John Plummer' Papers in ML (uncited in catalogue); Newspaper Cuttings, 'English Co-operative Wholesale in Australia' ML, Vol.53, 13; The Argus, 8 April 1896; SMH, 14 February 1896.
- 2 Co-operative Federation of Victoria: Annual Report, February, 1983; Newspaper Cuttings, Vol.58, op.cit, 23.
- 3 Newspaper cuttings, Vol.58, op.cit, 23, 31.
- 4 SMH, 8 May, 1896; The Age, 14, 17 March 1896; Wagga Express, 25 February 1896; The Hillgrove Guardian, 28 February 1896;

The Monaro Mercury, 3 March 1896; The Inverell Times, 10 June 1896; The National Advocate, 10 June 1896.

- 5 Jones, born at Salford in 1847, was the son of a dyer's labourer and a handloom weaver. A strong federalist [GLOSSARY] he was appointed manager of the CWS London branch in 1873, set up in competition against established co-operatives. W. G. Nuttall, after returning to Britain from Victoria, became the Manager of this branch in 1899 (approximately). Jones presided at the Woolwich Co-operative Congress at which federalists finally asserted numerical supremacy over individualists. Adelaide Co-operative Society officials present at the CWS reception included: J. Wedlock (President), G. Thompson (Secretary and Manager), W. Brooks (of the South Australian Farmers Co-operative Union), (Treasurer), H. D. Gell and R. S. K. Threlfall.

STATISTICS OF CWS GROWTH; YEARS 1864-1960

Year	Share Holders'	Share Capital	Nett Sales	CWS Production	Nett Surplus
		£	£	£	£
1864	18,337	2,455	51,867	-	306
1865	24,005	7,182	120,754	-	1,850
1880	361,523	146,061	3,339,681	118,598	42,090
1890	721,316	434,017	7,429,073	341,277	126,979
1900	1,249,091	883,791	16,043,889	2,264,088	289,141
1910	1,991,576	1,740,619	26,567,833	6,581,310	462,469
1920	3,341,411	4,270,408	105,439,628	33,404,466	64,210
1930	4,844,090	8,515,097	85,313,018	25,825,426	1,344,218
1940	7,078,362	15,859,540	142,593,952	56,297,545	3,890,388
1945	7,852,875	18,805,574	182,776,340	53,825,831	4,982,257
1950	8,590,914	20,697,288	321,641,923	95,481,018	6,890,123
1951	8,663,242	20,811,953	359,141,772	106,820,059	5,777,852
1952	8,824,678	23,792,626	398,344,136	114,349,231	4,531,886
1953	8,920,942	25,708,343	420,887,590	122,122,210	6,452,282
1954	9,220,970	27,481,064	410,552,832	128,609,025	6,782,538
1955	9,300,884	28,109,603	418,073,209	138,487,756	7,239,001
1956	9,415,062	28,743,473	444,285,406	142,832,603	7,336,486
1957	9,483,488	29,293,635	453,960,174	147,145,990	7,427,928
1958	9,695,545	30,117,392	463,274,603	146,798,765	6,294,968
1959	9,728,241	30,478,908	467,867,807	148,882,659	5,753,148
1960	9,780,279	30,797,349	475,565,896	143,870,416	5,628,099

*Deficit

Newspaper Cuttings, Vol.58, op.cit, 23; CWS Public Relations Division, All About the CWS: World's Largest Co-operative Organisation, Manchester, 1961; CN, October, November 1949, January 1956.

- 6 On the second day, delegates met eighteen representatives of the butter industry, were received by the South Australian Premier, visited an hospital and journeyed to Thomas Hardy's

vineyards where trade in blackcurrants was discussed. The next day they visited a butter factory, attended church, toured schools with the Minister for Education, and spoke 'On Co-operation'. Later, they met representatives of producers' stores and announced details of a planned visit to the Murray River co-operative settlements. The delegates' stay in Melbourne can only have been short, for they arrived in Sydney early in August. Newspaper Cuttings, Vol.58, op.cit, 42, 46.

NOTES: APPENDIX 5

A NOTE ON CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES DESCRIBED BY THE CO-OPERATION ACT (NSW, No.1 of 1924)

- 1 Gary Lewis, 'Carruthers, Co-operation and Community Settlement: the Co-operation Act, New South Wales, 1923', a sub-thesis for the Bachelor of Letters Degree, Australian National University, 1981.
- 2 Act No. 8, 1969 S105(1)(e).
- 3 Amendment S17A. Act No.27, 1937, S10(1)(b).
- 4 B. P. McEvoy, Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Notes on the Co-operation Act, Sydney, 1937, 7.

NOTE: APPENDIX 7

A NOTE ON CO-OPERATIVES AND TAXATION

Australian Government Information Service Reference Paper, Co-operatives in Australia. Canberra, July 1976, 5-6; Commonwealth of Australia Royal Commission on Taxation 1932-1934, Part Number 3, Section XLVI, Paragraphs 886, 887, 888, pp.146-7; Discussion W. W. Rawlinson, formerly Executive Officer Co-operative Federation of Australia; Correspondence J. P. McDermott, Senior Assistant Commissioner of Taxation to W. W. Rawlinson 25 March 1977, in Archives, Co-operative Federation of Victoria Library.

NOTES: APPENDIX 8

DISAPPEARANCE OF THE RURAL CO-OPERATIVE 'BACKBONE'

- 1 The ICA Central Committee consisted of 104 members elected by Congress with Britain, France, Czechoslovakia, the USA and the USSR each with ten members and other countries with graded membership.
- 2 Representatives of co-operatives attended from: Burma, Ceylon, India, Japan, Laos, Sarawak, Malaya, Singapore, Pakistan and Australia. CN, November 1957, April 1958, July 1959.

- 3 P. E. Weereman, The ICA in South East Asia, New Dehli, 1971, 43.
- 4 For a discussion on co-operatives and taxation, see Appendix 7.
- 5 Discussion K. W. Edwards, Perth, 8 April 1983. Australian Government Information Service Reference Paper, op.cit, 3; CFA, Report Australian Co-operative National Convention Digest 1973, Canberra, 1973, 9, 14-15, 20-22, 31-34, 37-56, 67, 72-78; Federation Newsletter, November-December 1973, July-August 1974, October-December 1977; CFA, Report, Year Ending 30 June 1974; Australian Association of Permanent Building Societies, Fact Book, Deakin ACT, 1981, 45.
- 6 Applications came from the New South Wales co-operatives: PDS, Grazcos, Namoi Cotton Co-operative, the Manning Meat Co-operative and the Newcastle and District Co-operative; from the Queensland co-operatives: the Co-operative Wholesale Society (QCWS), McTaggart's Co-operative Company, the Primary Producers Co-operative Association ('Primaries') and the South Queensland Tobacco Co-operative; from the Western Australian co-operatives, the Grain Pool of Western Australia, Co-operative Bulk Handling (CBH) and Westralian Farmers; and from the South Australian co-operative, the Barossa Co-operative Winery (Kaiser Stuhl).
- 7 Bulletin, 9 August 1983, Australian Financial Review, 8, 22 May, 15 July 1978; CFNSW Thirteenth Annual Conference, November 1977, in Federation Newsletter, October-December, 1977.
- 8 Australian Financial Review, 8, 22 May, 15 July 1978.
- 9 Australian Financial Review, 10 July 1978.
- 10 Australian Financial Review, 17 February 1975.
- 11 CIC (Australia) consisted of 204 affiliates in 1975 in the dairy, woolbroking, fruit, cattle, sheep, pig, stock and station, poultry and eggs, honey, livestock, milling, feed, tobacco, cold storage, sugar, bean, cane, maize, potato, credit union, wholesaling, building society and hotel industries. Approximately 300 co-operatives in Papua New Guinea were shareholders. Subsidiary companies of CIC Holdings Limited at the end of 1975 included CIC, CIC Insurance Proprietary Limited, NCIS Insurance Proprietary Limited, CIC Insurance (Pacific) Proprietary Limited, CIC Marine Investment Proprietary Limited (Q), Nova Holdings Proprietary Limited (Q), Redco Holdings Proprietary Limited (Q). Amalgamated Co-operative Marketers (Australia) Limited: The Story of Seventy-Five Years, 1905-1980, Melbourne, 1980, 19; CFNSW Federation Newsletter, May 1977; Australian Financial Review, 17 February 1975, 31 May 1976, 6 April, 10 July 1978; CIC Holdings Annual Report, 1975, 1976.
- 12 Sydney Morning Herald, 26 September 1983; Australian Financial Review, 31 May, 1 June 1976; South Australian Fishermen's

Co-operative Limited, (SAFCOL), Twenty-Seventh Annual Report, Adelaide, June 1971.

- 13 In a novel and opportunistic adaptation of co-operative methods the sugar monopoly, CSR, responding to Trades Practices Commission (TPC) complaints, urged New South Wales cane growers in 1975 to purchase co-operatively its three relatively unprofitable mills in that state and 'enjoy the tax benefits.' The New South Wales government provided \$3m and CSR provided technical support for five years. Canberra Times, 9 July 1977; Canberra Sunday Life, 21 May 1978; Australian Financial Review, 10 July 1978; Bulletin, 9 August 1983.
- 14 'Kaiser Stuhl' became the largest winery following a 1976 merger of several, smaller co-operative wineries. Correspondence: J. E. Urquhart, Assistant Manager, Gillespie Brothers Proprietary Limited, 22 April 1982 and R. Schiller, former Chairman, Barossa Co-operative Winery, 1 July 1984; Australian Financial Review, 9, 30 June 1978.
- 15 Discussion: W. W. Rawlinson, Executive Officer, CFA, Melbourne 17 June 1983.
- 16 Australian Financial Review: 24 March 1976, 21, 24 February, 1 July, 23, 24 August, 8 September, 25 October 1977, 9 January, 25 July 1978, 9 January 1979.
- 17 Discussion: J. J. McGuire, Managing Director, Murray-Goulburn Co-operative Limited, Melbourne, 18 June 1983. Australian Financial Review, 27 April 1976, 21 July 1977, 16 March 1978.

18 WESTRALIAN FARMERS CO-OPERATIVE LIMITED (WESFARMERS),
SUBSIDIARIES AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES, 1980

Westralian Farmers Transport Proprietary Limited
(Melbourne)
Westralian Farmers Transport Limited (London)
Wesfarmers Europe Limited (London)

Subsidiary Companies

Advance Press Proprietary Limited
Bonestock Proprietary Limited
CSBP and Farmers Limited
Cuming Smith and Company Limited
Farmers Stores of WA
Gascoyne Trading Proprietary Limited
High Nickel Alloys Proprietary Limited
Masters Dairy Limited
Sunnywest Co-operative Dairies Limited
Wesfarmers Kleenheat Gas Proprietary Limited
Wesfarmers Linley Valley Meats Proprietary Limited
Westralian Farmers Superphosphates Limited
Westralian Fruit Exports Proprietary Limited

Associated Companies

Albany Woolstores Proprietary Limited
Alexandra Bridge Wines Proprietary Limited
Australian Stud Stock and Land Company Proprietary Limited

Detroit Engine and Turbine Company (WA)
Fremantle Dumpers Limited
Glanvill West Proprietary Limited
Liquid Air WA Proprietary Limited
Wesdelf Limited
Wesfarmers Hassall Proprietary Limited
Wesfarmers Tutt Bryant
Wesfeeds Proprietary Limited
Wesmilk Proprietary Limited
Wool Exchange (WA) Proprietary Limited

Australian Financial Review, 2 November, 13, 20 December 1977;
5, 13, 18, 20, 26 January, 15 February, 10, 31 March, 4, 5, 6,
7, 10, 11, 12, 20 April, 17 July, 6, 18 September 1978;
Business Review Weekly, 18-24 August 1984.