WORKING CLASS POLITICS AND CULTURE

A CASE STUDY OF BRUNSWICK IN THE 1920's.

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WORKING CLASS POLITICS AND CULTURE

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is motivated by a desire to explore the implications of recent debates in labor history circles on fundamental questions of theory and methodology. It is written in search of "history from below".

The techniques of "traditional labor history" have been thoroughly discredited in numerous recent works. The earlier "economistic" approach has been largely superseded by one related more to "culture" and "experience".1 Australian labor historians have been taken to task for their "poorly developed and unsatisfactory theory of class"2 and romanticised assumptions of socialist traditions unsupported by empirical evidence.3 Leading exponents of the new brand of labor history such as Edward Thompson have set out to "rescue the working man and woman from the oblivion into which they had been cast by Whig history, traditional labor history, and vulgar Marxist history".4

FOOTNOTES:
3. McQueen, H.: A New Britannia (Penguin, Melbourne, 1970), pp. 15-17. Note, however, that McQueen's attack itself is flawed: Macintyre (op. cit., p.237) exposes the inadequacies of his analysis, commenting that it "rests on a purely abstract and doctrinaire notion of what constitutes a working class and what determines its attitudes and practice". However, in this article and elsewhere, Macintyre strongly supports the thrust of McQueen's criticism of Australian labor historians, describing some writings of one of McQueen's main targets, Ian Turner, as "nostalgic sentimentalism": Macintyre, S.: "Radical History and Bourgeois Hegemony", Intervention No. 2, October 1972 p.69. For further analysis of the weaknesses of traditional labor history in Australia, see Connell, R.W.: Ruling Class Ruling Culture (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977) pp. 8 et seq.
Yet the rescue has not happened, at least not in Australia. As Margaret Sampson remarks, "Australian historical writing has remained peculiarly impervious to overseas developments in historiography". And as she concludes, it is vital that labor history transcends the study of "organisations which are studied simply because they and their records exist, or because the historian sympathises with their aims".

The primary aim of my thesis, therefore, is an examination of the rank and file of the Australian Labor Movement in its own surroundings. I intend to examine the relationship between rank and file unionists and activists and their leaders - without assuming that the leaders perfectly represent the views and aspirations of the rank and file. I also intend to examine their relationship with their own environment, the influence of the workplace and society at large. This may well be attempting the impossible, but I believe the attempt at least is worthwhile.

I have chosen Brunswick in the 1920's as the focus of my study for several reasons. Most obviously, a study of this nature requires some limitations of time and space. Brunswick was chosen because of its convenient location, its long history of Labor dominance, its position as an expanding industrial suburb, its lack of any substantial local history, and the fact that my own family has its roots in the area. The 1920's was chosen because it represents a state of relative calm between two cataclysmic events, war and depression, and also because I suspect that it is a period in which Australia was closer to a classically Marxist class structure than at any other juncture in its history - with industrialisation well advanced but occupational and class distinctions in general quite marked and readily apparent.

My task, then, is to delve as deeply as possible into the community that was Brunswick during the 1920's. The validity of such an exercise is admittedly debatable.

5. ibid., p. 91.
6. ibid., p. 92.
In MacFarlane's view, "it is impossible to make a systematic study of 'grand politics' at the local level". 7 And Foster, in spite of his own studies of Oldham and elsewhere, warns that an individual community is "never much more than an arbitrary bite out of a larger political system". 8 My response would be that one must look to the local level in order to determine what lies beneath grand politics, and seek to determine the extent to which the local community is representative of a larger political system. Nevertheless, such warnings must be kept in mind - as too must Blainey's classic indictment of "scissors and paste" local history, which is particularly apposite to this study. 9 Strictly speaking, this thesis is neither local history nor local labor history: it is localised labor history. Yet its own parameters take it within the realm of temptation to search "not so much for evidence as for ready-made history in books, old newspapers, journals, reports or diaries". 10

It is important to emphasise that this thesis is not a history of Brunswick from 1920 to 1929, just as Joan Scott's analysis of the Carmaux glassworkers' strike was not intended to be "a history of the glassworkers strike of 1895". 11 Although, as John Lack puts it, "examination of the conception of community is central to any investigation of social relations and consciousness of class", 12 the examination demands some selectivity. Certain aspects of Brunswick in the 1920's which would perhaps merit consideration in a local history will simply be irrelevant to the purpose of this thesis. Much of such material will of course be highly relevant, either as background or as immediately significant evidence.

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10. ibid.
Finally, it is necessary to explain the conception of "class" and "working class" which I take to my task. Although I have a liking for Thompson's famous formula of class as a "historical phenomenon" and "something which in fact happens" and his description of class consciousness as the cultural response to the collective experience of productive relations,¹³ as a simple statement I prefer the following dictum from Irving:

A working class must exhibit both a common relationship to the means of production and a specific class consciousness —— class consciousness requires a realisation of separate interests, an awareness that these are irreconcilable with the dominant class, an understanding of the role of the state, a high degree of collective solidarity.¹⁴

Working class experience is both structural and cultural. The consciousness which arises from it must necessarily be distinguished from popular culture,¹⁵ from status,¹⁶ and from occupational or industrial identity.¹⁷ The means by which consciousness may be measured are naturally elusive. In this respect this thesis is very much an exploratory exercise. It seeks to survey the social and cultural environment of Brunswick in the 1920's, to examine prevailing patterns of work and social organisation, to investigate the political activity of the period, and reach a reasonably firm conclusion on the nature and extent of working class consciousness at the time. Hopefully the outcome will provide some insights into the functioning of class in Australian society, the development of the Labor Movement at a crucial point, and the viability of "history from below" as a technique in labor history.

¹⁴. Irving, T., quoted in "What is Labour History?" Labour History No. 12, May 1967, p.77. I do however have some qualms about the term "understanding the role of the state". There is a world of difference between a sophisticated analysis of the state in capitalist society and a simple realisation that police function primarily to protect property and the propertied classes in a capitalist society.
¹⁶. Lack, op.cit., p.16.
BRUNSWICK BEFORE 1920

In 1839, a "small plateau tilting from a hill facing the Moonee Ponds Creek to the Merri Creek, timbered by stunted eucalypt trees, badly drained naturally and thus marshy" was surveyed in strips 1 1/2 miles long and 1/4 mile wide. 18 Over the next year or so, the land was purchased at prices ranging from £3. to £10.15s. per acre by local men of substance. 19 By 1841 the district had its first brickyard, opened by one Thomas Manallack, and its first church, a Wesleyan chapel. 20 In the following year came the first hotel, the Retreat Inn, and the beginning of work on Sydney Rd. 21 The district was named Brunswick in honour of the marriage of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, 22 superseding its previous aboriginal name "beek mornmoot bullartoo" or "very windy country". 23

As a staging post on the way to the gold-fields, Brunswick thrived during the 1850's. Commercial development snaked along Sydney Rd., and the district acquired a police station and a newspaper. Presbyterian and Church of England churches appeared in 1854 and 1858 respectively, and substantial mansions began to materialise in the north and west. Numerous hotels were established, and 1859 saw the opening of Municipal Chambers, Brunswick having been made a Municipal District two years previously. Within the decade, Brunswick had a cricket club, a football club, a Sunday School, reticulated water from Yan Yean, a Mechanics Institute, and a branch of the Manchester Unity Order of Oddfellows lodge. 24

18. Barnes, L.: "It Happened in Brunswick 1837-1981", (Unpublished Ms., Melbourne 1981) p.1. A copy of this manuscript is held by the author. This manuscript is the source of most of the information in this section, along with Miles, F.G.: Jubilee History of Brunswick (Periodicals Publishing Co., Melbourne, 1907). See Notes on Sources, infra., for a description of Les Barnes, a lifelong Brunswick resident who has devoted much of his life to assembling and chronicing the history of Brunswick.
21. ibid., p.2.
23. ibid., p.34.
The 1860's was a period of heavy industrial
development, with numerous brickworks and potteries
established to take advantage of Brunswick's clay deposits,
in particular Cornwell's Brunswick Potteries and
Brickworks in 1861 and the Hoffman Patent Brick and Tile
Company in 1863. The area in which the brickworks
proliferated had been dubbed "Philipstown" after the site
of an 1846 Repeal riot in Ireland, and the name did not
expire until the First World War. 25

The 1870's saw the establishment of a variety of
Dissenting churches, and the first wave of Irish-Catholic
migrants, heralded by the opening of Brunswick's first
Catholic Church, St. Ambrose's, in 1871. Civic
development dominated the 1880's, with the establishment
of State Schools in South and East Brunswick in 1885 and
1887 respectively, the inauguration of the Coburg railway
line in 1884, the opening of the cable tram service in 1887,
and the creation of the Town of Brunswick in 1888. 26 By
1890 Brunswick was thriving, with the Hoffman Brick Company
employing in excess of 800 people. 27

However, the collapse of the Land Boom hit Brunswick
badly, resulting in an exodus of population. 28 Development
stalled for several years, and the 1890's remain notable
mostly as the time of the first sectarian clash of
consequence - the breaking up of the 1898 Orange Day march
by several thousand Irish Catholics - and the introduction
of the first motor car in Victoria in 1897 by John Pender. 29
The first decade of the new century saw a revival in
development, with the establishment of Brunswick's two large
rope works, Downs and Millers, the formation of the Victory
Cycling Club in 1902, the opening of Brunswick's first
cinema in 1909, the launching of the first large clothing
factory Champion Shirts, and the commencement of sewerage
connection. Brunswick was proclaimed a City on January 5,
1908. 30 At the time, Miles listed its industries as
including "brick, pottery, tile, earthenware, sanitary ware,

25. ibid., pp. 8, 29.
27. "City of Brunswick", (Brunswick City Council, Melbourne,
1978) p.41.
29. ibid., pp. 21-22.
horseshoes, rails, iron, safes, crucible steel and wire, rope and smelting works, stone-crushing, gas and coke, boots, bacon-curing, white work, carriages and flock, engineering shops, timber, saw and turning mills, butter boxes, rabbit and fruit cases, furniture, plough-shares, bicycles, motors, glass and bottle-works".  

Politically, Brunswick was a stronghold of Radical Liberalism in the latter part of the nineteenth century, numbering both Berry and Higinbotham amongst its Parliamentary representatives. This strength, founded on the small shop-keepers of Sydney Rd. and the Dissenting churches, lasted well into the twentieth century. Although Labor, formally established in Brunswick in January 1901 as a Political Labor Council, was able to win the State seat of Brunswick in 1904, it was unable to wrest the Federal seat of Bourke from the Liberals until 1910. The Radical Liberal tendency - often in alliance with the Labor Party, lingered on in the Brunswick City Council up to and throughout the 1920's. 

The Brunswick which passed through, and emerged from, the First World War was thus a thriving industrial centre divided by the commercial strip of Sydney Rd., balanced neatly both politically and socially between the struggling Liberal shopkeeper of the past and the emerging industrial worker of the future. Topographically, it ranged from concentrations of brickworks and factories in its southern

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31. Miles, op.cit., p.38.  
32. Barnes, L., interview recorded with the author on December 21, 1983.  
and eastern sectors to stolid middle class homes on
the far north-eastern and south-western fringes to
sprawling open paddocks in the north and north-west.
Fairly simple workers' cottages radiated out from the
more industrial sectors, with south-east Brunswick
and the Irishtown quarter immediately south-west from
Sydney Rd. being the most closely-populated. Small shops
dotted the landscape, and cows and horses were a common
sight. Sydney Rd. was notoriously rough and - along
with many other streets - subject to flooding because
of poor drainage. Social intercourse was restricted by
primitive transportation services, relying heavily on
the Sydney Rd. cable tram. The ever-present dust and
grime of a burgeoning industrial centre was alleviated only
by occasional parklands. And even these areas were
dominated by Brunswick's industrial visage: the Brunswick
Football Ground and adjacent park and bowling green were
virtually at the front gate of the giant Hoffman brickworks.
The pattern of existence in Brunswick was relatively
uncomplicated, and the structure of its society stable and
predictable. Yet this was complemented by quite feverish
activity in industry and construction: the open spaces
were quickly disappearing in the face of industrial and
residential building and construction.
In 1920, with a population of 42,050, Brunswick was the fourth largest municipality in Victoria. Its population density was 16.4 persons per acre, relatively comfortable compared with the 37.9 of Fitzroy, and slightly lower than Prahran, South Melbourne and St. Kilda. The 1921 Census revealed a population of 44,476, of which a majority was female, living in 9,685 dwellings. A further 91 dwellings were in the construction stage. Brunswick population and population density grew steadily throughout the 1920's. In December 1928 its population was estimated at 56,500, leaving it third in size behind only the municipalities of Melbourne and Caulfield. The density of Brunswick's population was now estimated at 20.8 persons per acre.

The traditional back-bone of Brunswick industry, the brick tile and pottery industry, though entering a period of relative long-term decline, was reasonably buoyant for most of the twenties. Statistics for brick production in Victoria reveal 1920-1924 and 1926-1928 as periods of booming production with a peak of 247,598,000 bricks produced in 1923-24. Productive activity certainly peaked at Hoffmans in 1928, when, "for the first time in many years", all the company's kilns were operating.

35. Laughton, A.M.: Victorian Year Book 1920-21 (Government Printer, Melbourne, 1921) p. 184. (Hereinafter referred to as VYB). Only the cities of Melbourne, South Melbourne and Prahran were larger.
36. ibid., p. 327.
37. ibid., p. 316. The 44,476 people consisted of 23,147 females and 21,329 males.
38. VYB 1928-29 p. 43.
39. ibid.
40. Interview with author, op.cit.
41. This accords with the view of an old Brunswick resident then working in a family draper's shop in Sydney Rd.: Ronald Phillips, interview with author, December 15, 1983.
42. VYB 1923-24 p. 547. See appendix for detailed statistics of Victorian brick production during the 1920's.
43. Brunswick and Coburg Leader, September 7, 1928 p. 3. (Hereinafter referred to as BCL).
The giant of Brunswick brick tile and pottery manufacturing was in the throes of modernisation, reluctantly replacing with machines the teams of horses which grazed on paddocks in West Brunswick later subdivided for residential development. In overall terms, brick tile and pottery making remained central to the local economy, and fluctuated characteristically in line with variations in the building and construction industry.

Brunswick's clothing and textile industries, in contrast, developed in leaps and bounds during the twenties. The clothing industry had become prominent in the pre-war period, having moved to Brunswick in Barnes' view "to avoid the Wages Board". Although it continued to develop during the twenties, with new factories appearing the clothing industry was very quickly overtaken by the burgeoning textile industry. As Barnes writes, "the era of the Charleston, rayon stockings, rayon underwear brought boom to Brunswick's textile industry". Brunswick's first major textile mill, Yoffa's, had only been opened in 1917. In the first half of the 1920's, several major textile mills were established, including Prestige Ltd. in Donald St. in 1922, the Brilliant Textile Mill in Lygon St. in 1922, and A. & G. Staley in Merri St. in 1924. Staley's underwent a major expansion in 1929 in anticipation of further boom arising from the protectionist tariff revision of the new

44. Minutes of Hoffman Brick and Potteries Ltd., November 18, 1920 et seq., in which the expenditure item "cost of feeding horses" is faithfully recorded for most of the 1920's. As well as extended activity by Hoffman's, Barnes also recalls that Brunswick's other main brick manufacturers, Butler's, Cornwell Potteries, and the Barkly Brick Company, were all expanding production at this time.


46. Barnes, interview with author, op. cit. This assertion is virtually impossible to corroborate. Certainly prosecutions for breaches of Wages Board determinations by Brunswick employers had become fairly common by the twenties.

47. See, for example, BCL May 26, 1922, p.3.

48. Barnes, L.: "On Top in the Twenties" (Unpublished Ms. nd.) p.18. A copy of this manuscript is held by the author.

49. ibid., p.33.

50. ibid., p.4.
Scullin Labor Government. While the clothing trades suffered from normal seasonal fluctuations and the effects of changing fashions the textile boom continued unabated.

In general, the 1920's was a period of tremendous industrial expansion in Brunswick, with the "new industries" outpacing the older brick and clothing industries. The recently-established rope manufacturing industry thrived and a wide variety of new industrial establishments sprang up. The minutes of the Brunswick City Council, particularly in the early 1920's, are sprinkled with references to new factories. Similarly, the pages of the Brunswick and Coburg Leader bear testimony to the pace of industrial expansion: Mitchell's brush and broom factory R. S. Murray & Co. caramel manufacturers, the Australian Licorice Company, a new furniture factory, a new foundry in Gamble St., Marbut Engineering Service in Hope St., and later in the period the Nestler Rubber Fusing Company, "modern tyre and service station", and Gorham & Son, cake manufacturers in Stewart St. The pace was hectic, and the industrial future of Brunswick appeared limitless. The reports of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Shops suggest that Brunswick was in the van of a phase of major industrial development in Victoria. In 1922 in particular, the

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industries identified as "remarkably active" - building, brick-making, cement and terra cotta file-making, fibrous plaster sheet-making, furniture-making, sawmillng and joinery, rope and cordage manufacture, textiles and some clothing manufacture - all have a familiar "Brunswick" ring to them. 65 A more or less general slump from mid-1924 to late 1925, 66 was followed by a further spurt of slightly less frenzied development commencing in 1926, when industries such as brick-making, building, concrete pipe making, textile and woollen mills and rope and cordage manufacture experienced a "very busy year". 67 Brunswick was a singularly appropriate site for manufacturing growth following the end of the war, as it offered considerable tracts of undeveloped land, a substantial amount of low-cost housing, convenient access to commercial transportation networks, and an established manufacturing and commercial base.

Throughout much of this period, the demand for labor was very strong. Female workers in particular were in high demand, and the textile mills were offering such high wages that some even abandoned once prestigious clerical positions in order to take full advantage. 68 One Old Residents Survey respondent recalls voluntarily moving from job to job when she "got sick of a place", so easy was it for young women to find work in the Brunswick and surrounding districts' clothing and textile industries. 69 The tendency for factories to get larger and employ more women, already noticeable between 1910 and 1920, heightened further. 70

67. ibid., 1925-26, op.cit., p.408.
68. Barnes, "On Top in the Twenties", op.cit., p.18. Barnes recalls that teenage girls employed as "linkers" in textile mills were earning £9. per week in 1929.
69. Evelyn de Bonnaire, interview with author, June 2, 1982. See Notes on Sources, infra., and Appendices A and B, infra., for descriptive and statistical account of the Old Residents' Survey conducted by the author.
70. VVR 1920-21, op.cit., pp. 577, 579. In 1920, 72 per cent of women factory workers were employed in clothing and textile factories.
The short supply of female labor was remarked upon by the Chief Inspector of Factories and Shops at various points during the twenties.  

Even throughout this boom, however, trade union figures reveal a level of 5 per cent male unemployment. According to Les Barnes, this was largely comprised of young men who had been sacked upon reaching adult age. The difference between upper juvenile and adult wage rates was so vast (Barnes cites the 1929 compositor's rate of £5.15s. compared with the final year apprentice compositor's rate of £2.15s. as an example) that most juniors were sacked on attaining adulthood. Many did not remain unemployed for long, while others took to hustling pool or casual employment in rural areas. The Second Progress Report of the Royal Commission on National Insurance indicated that seasonal unemployment was very common in industries such as brick tile and pottery making, boot making, and textile manufacture. However, it found very little evidence of substantial structural unemployment. This impression is confirmed by the reports of Victoria's Chief Inspector of Factories and Shops, who wrote, for instance, in 1925: "Skilled and unskilled labour was plentiful throughout the year, but considering the depressed state of trade generally, there was comparatively little unemployment".

The scene changed markedly in the late 1920's. By 1928 unemployment was affecting even skilled workers, particularly in the boot and building trades.  

72. Barnes "On Top in the Twenties" op.cit., p.18. Barnes was employed in the printing trade in Brunswick in this period.
73. ibid.
75. Unemployment, op.cit., p.1419.
77. ibid, 1927-28, op.cit., p.327.
Union recorded that trade in most Brunswick factories was "exceptionally slack". The boom in the brickyards faltered in response to the decline in the building industry, and unemployment began to dominate debate. However, the boom in Brunswick was at least partly sustained by the still-thriving textile industry: even in December 1929, in expectation of more trade following increased protection, Staley's were employing more workers and setting aside more land. The crunch came for many at Christmas, when they received a note in their pay-packets informing them that they would be notified when their factory was re-opening.

The commercial development of Brunswick ran parallel to its industrial development in this period. New shops sprouted forth with amazing speed in the early 1920's: no less than 17 new shops in Lygon St. within a couple of months, attributable, according to the Brunswick and Coburg Leader, to the erection of a new theatre. With larger stores such as Coles opening for business, and smaller shops springing up along major roads in what had previously been "vacant spaces", Brunswick retailing flourished. The number of small shops in Sydney Rd., and, to a lesser extent, Lygon St., was quite staggering. According to the Sands & MacDougall Directory of 1921, Sydney Rd., Brunswick had 28 confectioners, 24 grocers, and 21 butchers' shops. The numbers for Lygon St. were 11, 11 and 9 respectively. In 1924, Sydney Rd. had 38 confectioners, 30 grocers and 24 butchers, while Lygon St. had 17 confectioners, 14 grocers and 10 butchers. By 1928 the retail boom had stabilised.

78. Minutes of Clothing and Allied Trades Union Executive, April 16, 1928.
79. ECG, December 6, 1929, p.5; December 13, 1929, p.1.
80. Barnes, interview with author, op.cit.
81. BCL, September 30, 1921, p.3.
82. Barnes "On Top in the Twenties", op.cit., p.5. For examples of reports with respect to new shops appearing, see BCL January 12, 1923, p.1; April 20, 1923, p.1; and June 22, 1923, p.1. At one point the Leader got rather carried away with the pace of this growth, and began running weekly lists of new commercial premises in Brunswick under headlines such as "The Toorak of the North", "Unprecedented Forward Move on all Sides in the District" and "Fourteen More New Shops" (BCL, September 22, 1922, p.1.).
and declined a little, so that Sydney Rd. had 34 confectioners, 24 grocers and 23 butchers, while Lygon St. had 25 confectioners, 15 grocers and 13 butchers. 85 This proliferation of small shops was by no means restricted to the main roads: in 1924 for instance, the relatively minor thoroughfare of Edward St. boasted three grocers, three dairies, a butcher, a confectioner, a tobacconist, a bootmaker and two woodyards. 86 Many such shops were exempt from the closing hours regulations promulgated under the Factories and Shops Act 1915, and with transport limited and supermarkets non-existent, enjoyed a captive and highly-localised market. 87

Although many of these shops were obviously little more than "hole in the corner" affairs, others clearly represented the arrival of a new age. What could be more symbolic than the closure of Glew's Hay and Corn store in Sydney Rd. in 1925 and its replacement by a shop specialising in the sale and repair of gramophones? 88 Although Maples continued to use horses to deliver furniture to customers and Hoffmans continued to use horse-teams, the age of the motor car was dawning in Brunswick - a fact reflected often in the pattern of commercial development in the twenties. 89

Indications of boom still appeared occasionally - "The West is Flourishing" headlined the Leader in 1926 90 - but after 1925 a gradual sense of uneasiness began to unfold in the Brunswick commercial world. Even in that year, Brunswick traders banded together to pay £100 for a range

86. Sands & MacDougall: Directory of Victoria for 1924, op. cit. The dramatic increase in the number of small shops, especially confectioners, drapers, grocers and green-grocers, was noted in the Chief Inspector of Factories and Shops 1923-24 report, op. cit., p. 265.
87. Confectioners, eating houses and newsagents were all unregulated; grocers and green-grocers were required to close by 7.00 p.m. Monday to Thursday, but otherwise were unregulated; butchers were restricted to 7.30 am. to 5.00 pm. Monday to Thursday, 7.30 am. to 6.00 pm. Friday, and 6.00 am. to 12.30 pm. Saturday: VVB 1920-21, op. cit., p.378.
89. ibid., pp. 6-8.
90. BCL, June 4, 1926, p.2.
of "shop in Brunswick" advertisements in the mass media.91 By the end of 1926, an East Brunswick Traders Association had been formed, and the local paper was running long articles headed "Why You Should Support Your Local Shop-keepers".92 And in 1927 a letter signed "struggling shop-keeper" drew attention to seven empty shops in one small section of Sydney Rd.93

At the very end of the twenties, as economic activity declined, Brunswick traders encountered competition on a larger scale: a Brunswick market opened in 1928,94 large grocery and other firms ate into the sales of local shops by giving away free gifts such as tea-towels by means of a coupon system,95 and Bourke St. stores like Myers began to advertise more heavily to take advantage of transport improvements.96 A Brunswick Traders Association was formed,97 and the "buy in Brunswick" campaign was accelerated.98 According to Ronald Phillips, the Association even employed a full-time organiser on a salary of £6 per week.99 Although still very healthy, it was clear that the future for Brunswick's small commercial establishments was not that of unbounded growth and opportunity perceived earlier in the decade.

The third major focus of the twenties boom was building and construction. A number of large estates were finally subdivided, including the North Brunswick estate (1921), the Melville estate (1924), the Mellody estate (1922), the Stony Park estate (1924) and the Hoffman estate (1925).10 Housing development flourished in the north and west,

91. ibid., March 27, 1925, p.1.
92. ibid., December 17, 1926, p.2. This tendency heightened as trade slackened: see, for example, BCL December 7, 1928, p.3.
93. ibid., February 11, 1927, p.3.
94. ibid., June 8, 1928, p.1.
96. ibid.
97. BCG, November 1, 1929, p.4.
98. ibid., November 8, 1929, p.5: "Support Local Trade Drive by Businessmen: Deputation to Council".
particularly following the inauguration of the long-awaited West Brunswick tram in 1925.\textsuperscript{2} Soldier settlements were established in the far west off Melville Rd. - where one Old Residents Survey respondent, James McNair, purchased a block for his home for £100 in 1923,\textsuperscript{3} and in the north, where Chinese market gardens adjacent to Stewart St. were resumed.\textsuperscript{4} Development continued in the later twenties, with the Ferry estate in north-west Brunswick being subdivided in 1926,\textsuperscript{5} and the ambitious Baker estate scheme blossoming in the Melville Rd. - Everett St. part of north-west Brunswick.\textsuperscript{6} Throughout Brunswick, but particularly in the north and west, a process of "filling in the gaps" was in train, with many new streets created in the period. Again, however, the housing expansion petered out at the end of the decade: 330 building permits for dwelling construction were issued in 1927, 206 in 1928, and only 107 in 1929.\textsuperscript{7}

The non-residential side of the building and construction industry was also very active in the earlier part of the decade. Numerous hotels - including the Victory, the Court House, the Cornish Arms, the Caledonian and the Butchers

\textsuperscript{2} BCL, March 12, 1926, p.1. The housing boom in the west was described most graphically by an Old Residents Survey respondent, David Tatam.
\textsuperscript{3} Interview with author, August 11, 1982.
\textsuperscript{4} Barnes, L.: "Memoirs of an Unsuccessful Politician" (Part 2: Learning All About it) (Unpublished Ms., 1982) p.31. A copy of this manuscript is held by the author. According to Barnes, the early twenties saw an exodus of Chinese market gardeners from north-east Brunswick.
\textsuperscript{5} Barnes, "On Top in the Twenties", op.cit., p.15. Significantly, the deceased owner of this estate, a former brick manufacturer, stipulated in his will that blocks could only be sold with a covenant obliging the purchaser to use only bricks in constructing any house or building on the site.
\textsuperscript{6} ibid., p.16. This scheme, which involved the purchase of a large area of land and construction of many well-outfitted "workers' houses", was run on bank finance by the Baker brothers, partners in a Brunswick real estate business. It eventually collapsed during the Depression.
\textsuperscript{7} WVB 1927-28, p.157; 1928-29, p.131; and 1929-30 p.126, respectively.
Arms - were extended or rebuilt. Schools were built and extended, and numerous church and lodge buildings were erected, such as the Rechabite Hall in 1922, the Catholic Church in Nicholson St. (Our Lady Help of Christians) in 1927, the Salvation Army Hall in 1928, and the Masonic Hall in 1928. The construction boom extended to public buildings - including the West Brunswick Hall in 1920 the new Electric Supply building in 1925, the Scouts Hall in 1926, the new Town Hall in 1927, the new Swimming Baths in 1928, and the Brunswick Free Kindergarten in 1929. In the meantime, substantial sums were being spent on ongoing public works such as road improvement and the extension of sewerage to Brunswick's unsewered areas. Although very difficult to quantify, it cannot be doubted that building and construction played a major role in the twenties boom in Brunswick. There can be little doubt that the injection of sums such as the £40,000 spent on the new Town Hall contributed substantially to local economic activity.

9. For example, a new Catholic school was built in North-east Brunswick in 1927: "Our Lady Help of Christians Church Parish Gazette", February 1961, Vol. 23, No. 9, p.7.
11. BCL, April 16, 1920, p.2.
14. BCL, August 5, 1927, p.4.
16. BCL, October 11, 1929, p.5.
17. Two Old Residents Survey respondents, Ida Donovan and Evelyn de Bonnaire, indicated that sewerage works were a major source of employment (Donovan, C.I.: "Written Response" (Unpublished Ms., Melbourne, 1981) p.1. A copy of this manuscript is held by the author; de Bonnaire, interview with author, op.cit.).
PATTERNS OF LIVING

The standard of living in Brunswick in the twenties incorporated elements of nineteenth century norms and emerging features of the technological revolution unfolding unevenly throughout the western world in the first part of the twentieth century.

Rental housing, which had hit rock bottom following the collapse of the land boom, remained relatively cheap. Home ownership was not a big issue: one Old Residents Survey respondent recalls that many people "took it for granted that they would rent forever". Another remembers that home purchasing became more prevalent towards the end of the decade, when bank finance was more freely available, and that "one day's wages for one week's rent" was considered a "good rent". Certainly the reference to increased purchasing in the late twenties is confirmed by the Baker scheme described above, yet it is interesting to note that of the 51 responses to the Old Residents Survey, 29 recalled their parents owning or buying their house, and 22 recalled them renting.

21. Houses sold by J. & P. Baker were advertised thus: "Five rooms, separate bathroom finished in white enamel, complete with linen press, shaving recess, roll-top bath and basin. Panelled hall, double leadlight doors to front, casement windows, fitted with leadlights, serv ery from kitchen to dining room, blackwood mantle, tiled grate, red pine fixings, sink, gas recess, one-fire stove, pantry, family furnace copper, cement troughs, sleep-out fitted with fly-wire and canvas blinds, asphalt paths, cyclone fence, sewered, tile roof". (ECL, June 4, 1926, p.2.).
22. Responses to question 7, Old Residents Survey. Details regarding parents' occupations supplied by respondents suggest that they are reasonably representative in socio-economic terms: 33 of 49 fathers were engaged in blue collar employment, with a further 6 in lower white collar employment (Responses to question 2). 1933 Census figures (Census of the Commonwealth of Australia 1933, pp. 2004, 2027, 2030-2031, 2039) show that 3,720 Brunswick houses were owned by their occupants, 2,376 were being purchased by their occupants, and 5823 were being rented. (p.2027). The average weekly rental for a four-room weatherboard house in Brunswick was 15/7d. - approximately 2/-/d. per week higher than in Collingwood, Fitzroy and Richmond, but slightly lower than in St. Kilda and Prahran. (p.2039).
Housing circumstances were not without difficulties: a common problem for families renting was owners and agents' dislike of children. The solution was reasonably simple — the children were hidden when the agent called.23 Houses were often in a dilapidated state, and two Old Residents Survey respondents recall instances of friends sleeping on verandahs, one describing the practice as "fairly common".24

Furniture and clothing were fairly basic and reasonably adequate. Time payment, or "T.P." as it was then known, was the prevailing method of purchasing furniture, particularly from well-known Sydney Rd. store Maples.25 New clothes were purchased only occasionally, or rarely in many cases, and many people made their own clothes.26 Amongst children in poorer families, "first up, best dressed" was very often the rule.27 And for those who did buy clothes, purchases could be made on time payment28 or with the assistance of informal credit arrangements.29

Because of inevitable variations between and even within different localities, it is difficult to determine the quality and relative price of food at the time, but certain features are apparent. Short-weighing30 and adulteration31

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23. The Brunswick and Coburg Leader described this problem as "rife within the community". April 6, 1923, p.2.
24. Bradley, interview with author, op.cit.; de Bonnaire, interview with author, op.cit. (the remark quoted comes from the latter respondent).
27. De Bonnaire, interview with author, op.cit.
28. An advertisement for a draper in Miles, op.cit., p.105 (published in 1907) offers time payment.
29. As described by Phillips, interview with author, op.cit. (discussed further below). De Bonnaire, "Written Response" (Unpublished Ms. Melbourne, 1981) op.cit., p.3., a copy of this manuscript is held by the author, recalls that an ordinary dress cost 5/11d., a silk dress 10/-., and a finely-pleated georgette frock £2.2s. Shirts ranged from 2/11d. to 5/11d., and shoes from 5/11d. to 7/6d. A hand-tailored suit could be purchased for £12.
30. For example, BCL February 2, 1923, p.3.
31. For example, BCL March 4, 1921, p.3. Adulteration of milk was a major problem throughout the 1920's, with prosecutions reported routinely in the local paper: BCL October 8, 1920, p.2; October 19, 1923, p.1; November 14, 1924, p.1; October 1, 1926, p.3; April 8, 1927, p.2; BCG October 25, 1929, p.8.
were widespread. Unrest at the "high cost of living" was prevalent, particularly in the earlier twenties. A branch of the Housewives Association was established in Brunswick in 1920, vowing to "tackle Flinders Lane" and "take up the reins of Government", and demanding representation on the Price Fixing Board and Basic Wage Commission. 32 Belief in cartels and combines - perhaps with just cause - was widespread, and indeed the 1924 Royal Commission on the High Cost of Living attributed the relatively high cost of bread to price maintenance by a cartel of master bakers. 33 Yet, perhaps the most emphatic characteristic of food consumption patterns at the time, illustrated starkly by responses to the Old Residents Survey, was a quite remarkable degree of uniformity of diet. Virtually every response to the question seeking details of an average day's meals could be summed up thus: breakfast: porridge-toast-bacon/eggs; lunch: sandwiches-salad-leftovers; dinner: stew/meat-vegetables-soup-pudding. 34

Electricity was first connected in Brunswick in 1914, and the early 1920's saw a very large proportion of Brunswick homes connected. 35 Sewerage also was near-universal by the end of the decade, with the "night-man" disappearing after 1929. 36 Appliances were just beginning to appear, but even at the end of the 1920's, motor cars

34. Responses to Questions 21 and 32, Old Residents Survey.
35. For example, see BCL March 23, 1923, p.4, where the Electric Supply Committee of the Brunswick City Council reports that a further 45 houses have been connected in the previous fortnight, to bring the total to 8,646.
36. Old Residents Survey respondents recalled electricity in their parents' homes (responses to Question 18).
were few and far between: "you were someone of importance if you owned a motor car". Telephones were even rarer.

The scant evidence available suggests that health care was fairly rough and ready. Infectious diseases were a cause for concern throughout the twenties, with diphtheria prevalent, and bubonic plague feared. Tuberculosis was also quite prevalent, and responsible for numerous deaths. Brunswick's death rate in 1920 - 11.7 per 1000 - was the same as that of the Melbourne metropolis as a whole. It fell a couple of points early in the decade, and remained relatively static until 1929. Across the State, heart disease, old age, cancer and pneumonic diseases were the biggest killers. Brunswick's infant mortality rate, on the other hand, was substantially higher than the rates experienced in suburbs such as Footscray, Collingwood and Richmond and the State as a whole in 1920. However, infant mortality fell into line with other comparable rates in the early twenties, and remained so throughout the decade.

Women were encouraged to bear children at home, and

37. Ida Donovan, interview with author, December 17, 1983. It is worth noting, however, the establishment of Inness Motors in 1928, and the offer of Chevrolets, Oldsmobiles, Buicks and Cadillacs with free registration, three months' free service, and twelve months' warranty: BCL November 30, 1928, p.1.
38. Responses to Questions 18 and 28, Old Residents Survey.
39. Diphtheria and other infectious disease cases (scarlet fever being the next most prominent) were reported regularly to the Brunswick City Council by the Health Inspector. In 1928, 242 cases of diphtheria were reported, of which 6 were fatal: BCC, March 8, 1929, p.1.
40. Ninety food shops were visited during a plague scare (BCL October 14, 1921, p.4) and at one point the Council toyed with the idea of appointing an Assistant Health Inspector specifically to handle plague precautions (BCL, January 6, 1922, p.4).
41. BCL October 7, 1921, p.4. De Bonnaire recalls that families would sometimes be completely devastated by tuberculosis: interview with author, op.cit.
42. VVR 1920-21, p.133.
43. See statistics reproduced in appendix.
44. VVR 1920-21, pp. 148-148, and
45. Brunswick's infant mortality rate was 106.3 per 1000 in 1920, compared with the Victorian rate of 73.8 per 1000: VVR 1920-21 pp. 137-139.
46. See statistics reproduced in appendix.
were attended by midwives rather than doctors. Abortion was available, although death from septicaemia was always a risk. A baby health centre was run from the Town Hall, and was clearly overburdened. Accidents to babies and young children, especially death by scalding and drowning, were alarmingly common.

Maladies of lesser urgency received inadequate treatment as a rule. Poor teeth were very common, and eye disorders were not unusual. Medicines were dispensed by the United Lodges Dispensaries, but patent remedies such as "Dr. Williams Pink Pills for Pale People" or "Mother's Medicine" of licorice, molasses, Woods Green Peppermint Cure and brown sugar, were often used. As a general rule, doctors were only used in real emergencies.

The prevailing attitude towards education was not a great deal different. By the end of the decade, Brunswick had five State schools, three Catholic schools, a technical school, and a "Domestic Industry" school in which girls were trained to be good housewives. There was no High school, and the relatively small number of students who furthered their education in that direction went to Coburg High school or

47. McNair, interview with author, op.cit; De Bonnaire, response to Old Residents Survey Question 38.
48. One Old Residents Survey respondent recalls her grandmother, a qualified mid-wife, performing abortions (name of respondent withheld on request).
49. BCL January 9, 1920, p.2.
50. BCL November 18, 1927: 527 visits to the Baby Health Centre for the month of October reported.
51. Sec, for instance, BCL January 21, 1927, p.1.
52. Report of Female Medical Inspector of Factories, Victorian Parliamentary Papers, Vol. 2, 1927, p.410. According to this report, 10 per cent of young women examined suffered from eye disorders, and dental problems were "almost universal".
53. See below.
55. Marjorie Glew, response to Old Residents Survey question 38. Castor oil was also a favorite panacea: Gilbert Hayes, response to Old Residents Survey question 38.
56. Responses to Old Residents Survey Question 38.
University High School, or to St. Joseph's Christian Brothers, North Melbourne, Wesley College, or the Methodist Ladies College. There were some private "colleges" in Brunswick, competing with the State schools for custom. Although their advertisements made them look rather grand, they were essentially dame schools which competed with the State schools at the price of one shilling per week. In practical terms, Brunswick Technical School was the common destination for brighter students, who wished to use their aptitude to acquire trade skills.

The desirability of decent primary education was universally accepted, and education issues were very prominent in local politics at the time. Complaints of overcrowding and poor facilities were common, and the need for a new school in overcrowded West Brunswick was the focus of constant agitation. However, education was seen as a feature of childhood: most left school by the age of 13, when both they and their parents were anxious for them to start work and earn money. Census statistics indicate

59. Both MLC and St. Joseph's advertised regularly in the Brunswick and Coburg Leader: see, for examples, BCL January 30, 1920, p.1, and December 17, 1926, p.4. These details are confirmed by the recollections of Marjorie Glew (interview with author, February 14, 1981). One student who followed this pattern - in his case St. Ambrose's, Brunswick to St. Joseph's, North Melbourne - was B.A. Santamaria: Against the Tide (Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1981) p.8.  
60. For example, the advertisement for Brunswick College, run by Mr. Robert McKay, MA., in BCL January 9, 1920, p.2.  
61. Evelyn de Bonnaire (interview with author, op.cit.) recalls attending a private school run by two sisters and attended by approximately 30 working class children. In her opinion the standard of teaching was equal to that in the State schools.  
62. For an outline of the Technical School curriculum see BCL January 9, 1925, p.3. Although the school was subsidised by the Education Department, it had to charge fees to all but about 50 students who received free tuition because of their economic circumstances: BCL December 18, 1925, p.2.  
64. BCL July 7, 1922, p.1; February 16, 1923, p.3. At this stage, the one State school in West Brunswick was turning children away because it was full to overflowing.  
65. Pressure to leave school and start work was often very strong, particularly in large families: David Tatam, interview with author, July 14, 1982; de Bonnaire, "Written Response" op.cit., p.7; Donovan, "Written Response" op.cit., pp.2-3.
that there were 56 Brunswick residents at University in 1921 and 52 in 1933. However, in practice, upward mobility was very limited: university fees were an enormous barrier and many harbored real prejudice against higher education. Some did make it, however, often with the aid of repatriation programmes: in 1923 the Brunswick City Council proudly appointed J. E. Knott, son of a Brunswick quarry foreman, ex-AIF, and Bachelor of Civil Engineering from Melbourne University, as its new engineer.

As pressure to start work at the age of 13 suggests, it was common for teenage children to hand over a very substantial proportion of their rather meagre wages to their parents for a number of years. Old Residents Survey responses suggest that this proportion was usually over half. Large families were quite common, and there was a quite definite tendency towards the forms and practices of the extended family. To have cousins, uncles, great aunts

66. Commonwealth Census 1921 (Government Printer, Melbourne, 1921) pp. 775-778; Commonwealth Census 1933 (Government Printer, Canberra, 1933) p.181. These statistics reveal that there were 5,829 Brunswick children at State schools, and 1,832 at private schools in 1921, and 6,712 and 2,332 respectively in 1933. Of the 250 Brunswick residents attending technical school, 217 were male. It is reasonable to hypothesise that Brunswick's university students were concentrated in the more middle class far north-east and south-west sections of the municipality.
67. So much so that the Brunswick and Coburg Leader, though a rather conservative journal, ran a long article calling for free university tuition: BCL April 7, 1921, p.4. As Phillips recalls, the fees problem meant that only those with exceptional (scholarship-winning) ability found their way to university (interview with author, op.cit.).
68. Les Barnes was one who succumbed to parental pressure to get a trade, in spite of his teachers' ambitions for him to study history at university. He remembers his father denouncing Melbourne University as a "school for scabs" because students had been used as scab labor to break a gas-workers' strike (interview with author, op.cit.).
69. BCL December 14, 1923, p.2.
70. Responses to Old Residents Survey Question 22: of 32 responses to this question, 25 said they gave over 50 per cent of their wages to their parents.
71. Responses to Old Residents Survey Question 17 indicate the prevalence of larger families, and of extended families: 12 respondents recalled relatives living with their family, with some having several, and 31 stated that their household contained income-earners other than their parents. On average; there were 3.1 workers, other than the husband and wife, in each household.
or grand-parents living in your home more or less indefinitely was not unusual.\footnote{72}

The role of women in the society was very clearly defined. Their education was of minor importance\footnote{73} and as soon as they were able, they would go out to work in a local factory or a factory in Collingwood, Richmond or the City. They would then get married, cease working, and go about the business of establishing a home and raising a family. It was almost universal for women to resign their jobs upon getting married\footnote{74} -- those who didn't were liable to be sacked anyway.\footnote{75} A married woman working was a "sign of desperation" and an indication of inadequacy on the husband's part,\footnote{76} or, in McCalman's words, an "admission of failure, of losing grip".\footnote{77} Marriage usually occurred in the mid-twenties, probably because of the economic difficulties it entailed: the mean marriage age in 1920 for Victoria was 26 for women and 29 for men.\footnote{78} Child-rearing was most common for women in the 25-30 age group, and slightly more common for those between 30 and 35 than for those between 20 and 25.\footnote{79} It was a period of long engagements and carefully-tended "Glory Boxes" from whence sprang the new household after marriage. Very often, the new household would be within walking distance of the old: according to Ida Donovan, it was usual for newly-weds to live as close to their parents as possible.\footnote{80}

There were of course many exceptions to these norms. The Brunswick Creche provided child-care facilities for those

\footnote{72} Bradley, interview with author, op.cit.\footnote{73} Marjorie Glew remembers girls at West Brunswick State School "sitting at the back and keeping quiet", with the efforts of teachers being largely directed to the boys: interview with author, op.cit.\footnote{74} De Bonnaire, interview with author, op.cit.; Bradley, interview with author, op.cit.; Arthur Banks, interview with author, December 19, 1983.\footnote{75} Tatam, interview with author, op.cit.\footnote{76} Shelton, interview with author, op.cit.\footnote{77} McCalman, J.: "Respectability and Working Class Politics in Late Victorian London", \textit{Historical Studies} Vol. 19, No. 74, April 1980, p.114.\footnote{78} \textit{VVB} 1920-21, p.113.\footnote{79} ibid., p.123.\footnote{80} Interview with author, op.cit. This tendency is illustrated by an examination of the Sands & MacDougall directories: in 1928, for example, one section of Edward St. contained five Dawson households.
married women who did work,\textsuperscript{81} and many more must have made use of older siblings for this purpose. Many married women worked in family shops – and many women remained unmarried until quite late in life, or permanently. Separations and divorces were not unusual and neither were relatively healthy middle-aged widows.\textsuperscript{82} Approximately 20 per cent of Brunswick householders listed in the Sands & MacDougall directories of the period were female.

The Brunswick community was ethnically homogenous. The 1933 Census revealed that 48,549 Brunswick residents were born in Australia, 4,773 were born in the United Kingdom, 412 were born in New Zealand, 324 were born in other European countries, and 81 were born in Asia. 306 Brunswick residents were of non-British nationality, of which 67 were Italian, 67 were Poles, and 32 were Chinese.\textsuperscript{83} Yet in spite of their small numbers, there is ample evidence that the non-British, particularly the Italians and Chinese, were the brunt of regular racist attacks. The relative prominence of Italians in the fruit and vegetables trade gave rise to widespread allegations of "profiteering by foreigners".\textsuperscript{84} Italian fruit and vegetable shops in Sydney Rd. were a specific target of Council Health Inspectors, who, to the apparent delight of the \textit{Leader}, found "rotting tomatoes" and "millions of flies".\textsuperscript{85} These shops were also a favorite target for young larrikins.\textsuperscript{86} Competitors displayed signs reading "Shop Here Before the Day Goes".\textsuperscript{87} And prominent Labor identities attacked the

\textsuperscript{81} Banks, interview with author, op.cit.
\textsuperscript{82} The pages of Brunswick newspapers throughout the 1920's are littered with lurid court reports of divorce and maintenance cases. As a proportion of the total population, however, they must have been quite small.
\textsuperscript{83} \textit{Commonwealth} Census 1933, op.cit., pp.196-211.
\textsuperscript{84} \textit{ECL} April 21, 1922, p.4.
\textsuperscript{85} Ibid., March 26, 1926, p.6.
\textsuperscript{86} ibid., April 11, 1926, p.4.
\textsuperscript{87} Barnes, "On Top in the Twenties", op.cit., p.32.

Santamaria (op.cit., p.5.) recalls the widespread racism as a fact of life which he and his family had to endure.
Bruce Government for allowing thousands of "dagoes" into the country to take Australian jobs. Attacks on the Chinese centred largely on their supposed lack of cleanliness. Old Residents Survey respondent Hazel Bennett remembers a neighbour signing a petition to get rid of the Chinese because "the little humpies in which they lived were an eyesore and brought down the value of properties". Complaints about the Chinese prompted an inspection by Council Health Inspector Robert Harrower, who reported that their dwellings were as clean as most Europeans, and cleaner than many.

Physical existence in Brunswick during the twenties was thus a fairly rough and ready affair with very few frills. Basic social services were quite rudimentary, and distinct patterns of family and inter-ethnic group relationships were very firmly entrenched. In spite of obvious broad variations, there was a broad strain of fundamental homogeneity which ran through virtually the entire community.

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88. A speech by Councillor James Hudson, reported in BCG December 7, 1928, p.1. In the following edition, the Gazette published a response to Hudson's attack from Joseph Santamaria (presumably a brother of B. A. Santamaria). Santamaria did not respond to the offensive and racist nature of Hudson's statement, but merely challenged his facts, arguing that very few Italians emigrated to Australia and that those who did not take Australians' jobs.

89. Hazel Bennett, "Written Response" (Unpublished Ms., Melbourne, 1981) p.3. A copy of this manuscript is held by the author.

90. BCL March 2, 1928, p.5.
PATTERNS OF LEISURE

Social life in Brunswick during the 1920's was dominated by cheap commercial entertainments such as the cinema and dancing. Brunswick's first cinema, the Star, was housed in a ramshackle shed in Brunswick Rd. and expired with the establishment of the Lygon Cinema nearby. The three Sydney Rd. cinemas, the Empire, Lyric and Alhambra, dominated Brunswick's entertainment scene. Running two films three times each per week, and charging one shilling admission (sixpence for the children's Saturday matinee), the cinema became an integral part of the lifestyle of Brunswick residents of all ages. 30 of 44 Old Residents Survey respondents remember going to the cinema "regularly", while a further 10 recall going "occasionally". Evelyn de Bonnaire remembers the Empire as the largest and best of the various cinemas, and describes a typical programme as consisting of a two-reel Comedy, a short live sketch, a main feature, an interval, a short newsreel, another short live sketch, and finally the second main feature. West Brunswick acquired its own cinema in 1926 - the Western Theatre in Melville Rd. - and the boom peaked at the end of the decade, when the first "talkies" appeared at the Empire.

The dancing craze hit Brunswick in the early 1920's, with jazz music and dances such as the foxtrot having a major impact from 1921. The one commercial dance, Rose's Lyric

92. Banks, interview with author, op.cit; Donovan, interview with author, op.cit; Shelton, interview with author, op.cit; Tatam, interview with author, op.cit.
93. Old Residents Survey Responses to Question 51. 16 respondents indicated that they attended the cinema in the City as well as in Brunswick.
94. Interview with author, op.cit.
95. Barnes, "It Happened in Brunswick", op.cit., p.34.
97. Barnes, "On Top in the Twenties", op.cit., p.8. This unpublished manuscript contains an excellent section on the impact of dancing on 1920's Brunswick.
Hall, boomed for a couple of years until the craze ebbed slightly and its devotees went farther afield to dances in the City, St. Kilda and Prahran.\textsuperscript{98} The churches began to run their own dances\textsuperscript{99} and by 1926, a full-scale revival of the dancing boom was underway. Barnes describes 1926 as "the year of the Charleston". The new Scouts Hall in Victoria St. became the centre of Brunswick dancing, and soon "there was hardly a teenager who didn't go to the 'Scouts'".\textsuperscript{1} However, the Scouts Hall was quickly superseded by the new Town Hall, where twice weekly dances ran by 22-year-old Brunswick footballer and entrepreneur Cyril Bright soon attracted huge attendances. With dancing on the floor of the hall and silent movies showing upstairs for those in the balconies, Bright's Metropolitan Dance Company attracted attendances as high as 840 at times when various other dances were being held at other halls and churches.\textsuperscript{2} Durable cliques of young people grew up around particular dance venues, with young men vying to prove themselves the "champion" dancer.\textsuperscript{3} Bright even ran dancing contests with the winner judged by popular vote of patrons present, and interspersed the entertainment with distractions such as tug-of-war contests.

Other organised entertainments were available, but were nowhere near as popular. Live theatre in the City at venues such as the Atheneum, Her Majesty's and the Tivoli attracted patrons from Brunswick, probably from amongst the better-off sections of the community.\textsuperscript{5} Other more bizarre offerings

\textsuperscript{98} ibid., p.9.
\textsuperscript{99} With the exception of St. Ambrose's which, after a short period of regular dance-nights, abandoned them at the behest of a new priest, Father Sheehan: Barnes, "On Top in the Twenties", op.cit., p.9.
1. ibid., pp. 23-25
2. ibid., pp. 24-25. For another description of these Town Hall extravaganzas, see BCG December 7, 1928.
5. Bradley, interview with author, op.cit. 12 respondents to Old Residents Survey Question 51 indicated that they attended the theatre regularly or occasionally.
were sometimes available, such as the "great Chinese Magician" Lee Chee Loon, or local fortune-tellers who charged one shilling per session.

However, by far the most popular alternative was to make one’s own entertainment. Under the guidance of popular ALP Councillor George Hooper, the Brunswick City Band thrived in this period, holding major carnivals and in 1927 winning the Australian open championships held in Tasmania. Teachers of dancing, piano, violin, and even elocution abounded in Brunswick: the Sands & MacDougall directories list 36 music teachers in Brunswick in 1921, and 41 in 1928. Laught's in Sydney Rd. sold pianos and organs to those who could afford them, and "Miss Kathleen Rose" conducted weekly children's dancing classes at the Lyric Hall. However, according to Evelyn de Bonnaire, such diversions were "not for the average person" because of the expense of lessons and purchasing instruments. Nevertheless, there exists at least some evidence to justify McQueen's labelling of the piano as "the pinnacle of working class aspirations."

In a more general sense, self-entertainment was an important mode of leisure. Radio began to become popular in the late twenties, but even with the advent of the crystal set, access to it remained very limited. Reading was a

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8. Barnes, "On Top in the Twenties", op.cit., p.20
9. BCL, November 20, 1925, p.3.
10. Ibid., January 7, 1927, p.6.
11. For example, advertisements in BCL July 20, 1923, pp.2 et.seq: as well as six boxed advertisements for piano teachers and the like, there are several very large advertisements, complete with attractive photographs, for dancing and singing teachers. Sands & MacDougall Directories, 1921 and 1928, loc. cit. De Bonnaire recalls a proliferation of dancing teachers: "Written Response", op.cit., p.5.
12. BCL advertisement, February 4, 1921, p.4.
15. McQueen, op.cit., p.118. Donovan "Written Response", op.cit., p.3.
16. Edward Glew, interview with author, February 14, 1981. Crystal sets could be made for a few shillings. Yet of 42 responses, only 9 Old Residents Survey respondents listed listening to radio as a form of evening relaxation (Responses to Question 54). 20 indicated that they listened to radio on some occasions (Responses to Question 36).
popular form of relaxation, with a wide range of reasonably-priced newspapers and magazines available.\textsuperscript{17} Other popular home-based entertainments included cards and embroidery,\textsuperscript{18} and the gramophone began to enter Brunswick houses in the late 1920's.\textsuperscript{19} Self-entertainment was also commonly organised on a large scale: many Old Residents Survey respondents recalled regular euchre nights,\textsuperscript{20} and a "Housey Housey" (bingo) craze raged in the mid-twenties.\textsuperscript{21}

Even visiting and talking with people were cited by some respondents as forms of entertainment.\textsuperscript{22} And Sydney Rd. on Friday night functioned almost as a "social exchange", where people would wander up and down and socialise, some young women would display "flapper" fashions,\textsuperscript{23} young men would buy girls gifts, or congregate in gangs, and local shops would prosper. With political and religious street corner meetings sometimes attracting crowds in the hundreds, and occasional oddities such as the local soap manufacturer advertising his soap by shaving himself, Friday night Sydney Rd. is variously described as "a real community gathering" and a "carnival" by old residents of Brunswick.\textsuperscript{24} With horse

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17. Responses to Old Residents Survey, Questions 11 and 54. 29 of 42 respondents listed reading as a form of evening relaxation (Question 54) and as well as the four major newspapers of the day - the Age, Argus, Sun and Herald - seventeen other publications were nominated in responses to Question 11. Some of the more obscure included Punch, Table Talk, Sunday Companion (UK), and Home Budget.

18. Responses to Old Residents Survey, Question 54.

19. Barnes, "On Top in the Twenties", op.cit., p.23. Barnes maintains that the advent of the gramophone brought popular music to the masses, and that the range of music played on radio in the twenties was very restricted.

20. Donovan, "Written Response", op.cit., p.2; Banks, interview with author, op.cit.


22. Banks (interview with author, op.cit.), places emphasis on the point that "there was much more talking and general conversation then" because of the absence of television and other innovations.


24. McNair, interview with author, op.cit; Tatam, D,"Written Response" (Unpublished Ms., Melbourne, 1981) p.1. A copy of this manuscript is held by the author; Banks, interview with author, op.cit; Donovan, interview with author, op.cit.
traffic still predominant, the large crowds spilled onto the roadway. Particularly for young people, Sydney Rd. on Friday night was the social highlight of an ordinary week. Again reflecting the peculiar survey of 1839 which gave one thoroughfare such pre-eminence, Sydney Rd. dominated Brunswick socially as well as commercially.

The prevailing constraint on entertainment activities for the ordinary Brunswick resident was of course money both directly in the sense of admission prices, and indirectly in terms of transport costs and work obligations. Consequently, activities such as card-playing and the Sydney Rd. "promenade" were prominent. The rise of the cinema and dancing may possibly be attributable to increasing real incomes, although the lingering impact of the grim war years also undoubtedly helped to fuel both crazes. The most important point, however, is that in spite of such phenomena as the cinema, the majority of working class entertainments were self-generated rather than ladled out from above. The significance of this fact to the level of class consciousness and identity should not be overlooked.

If the 1920's was a decade of entertainment for the people of Brunswick, it was even more so a decade of sport. Participation and spectating increased markedly, and sporting questions, in particular football matters, occupied a dominant position in community affairs.

At the start of the decade, Brunswick Football Club was in a strong position. In 1921 it applied to join the Victorian Football League and this ambition obsessed the club - and a good part of Brunswick with it - for several years. In 1922, the club had approximately 2,000 members - although it was estimated that the Carlton Football Club had an even higher number of Brunswick residents as members.

26. Of the 35 respondents to Old Residents Survey Question 40, 32 named Sydney Rd. as the place where they did their shopping, 10 named the City, and 6 named Lygon St.
27. BCL October 28, 1921, p.3.
An indication of the local football club's prominence in community affairs can be gleaned from the report of its hotly-contested 1923 annual elections: "Motor cars flew about canvassing, illuminated signs were displayed, turning the City into a Gala Day, or on similar lines to a Federal Election. Fully 120 people were waiting to hear the result of the count until after midnight". Later in 1923, a public meeting of various sporting clubs, progress associations, friendly societies and other organisations decided to hold a "Back to Brunswick" carnival in order to raise the £10,000 necessary for the construction of a new grandstand at the football ground. Some months later, over 300 people attended a public meeting in support of Brunswick's application to join the VFL. At the end of 1924, Brunswick was passed over by the league, a cause of "great disappointment --- throughout Brunswick". Nevertheless, the club's new grandstand was opened on Anzac Day 1925, and Brunswick won the premiership in a weakened Victorian Football Association. A successful year was crowned by the launching of a Social Club to run fund-raising dances.

From that point on, however, the club went into decline. Crowds were reduced by the exit of Footscray, North Melbourne and Hawthorn from the competition, and in the latter part of the 1926 season, the club withdrew from the VFA in protest at what it believed to be the unfair suspension of two Brunswick players. After heated expressions of community pride and solidarity in support of the two players, notably from State Labor MP "Jimmie" Jewell.

29. ibid., March 5, 1923, p.3.
30. ibid., July 13, 1923, p.2.
32. ibid., January 16, 1925, p.1.
33. ibid., April 24, 1925, p.2.
34. ibid., October 9, 1925, p.1.
35. ibid., July 23, 1926, p.4. Ironically, this occurred immediately after a record crowd of over 18,000 had watched Brunswick play Coburg at the Brunswick oval: BCL July 30, 1926, p.1.
36. ibid., August 27, 1926, p.6. The actions of the club became the centre of very heated local controversy, with most local councillors becoming centrally involved in the dispute. See also BCL September 3, 1926, p.2.
sanity prevailed, and the club applied for readmission. 37 The club remained a major focus of community identity, and numerous Old Residents Survey respondents recall that it was the prime source of particularly strong local community spirit, especially because of the fact that most of its players were locals. 38 This was reinforced by other thriving local football clubs, such as the Brunswick Junior Football Club and the Brunswick Amateur Football Club. 39

Although the local community's spectating interests focussed very much on football, its participation in sport burgeoned in all directions during the twenties. Cricket, previously a middle class game, became a popular working class sport, and teams sprang up everywhere. 40 Cycling also blossomed from 1923, when the Northern Districts Cycle Club changed its name to Brunswick Amateur Cycling Club, changed its colours to black and white stripes (the football club's colours) and took over the club rooms previously occupied by the Brunswick Anglers Club. 41 The middle class section of the community took to tennis and golf 42 with

37. ibid., October 29, 1926, p.3. Only a mere 200 members turned up to the meeting which ratified, by a vote of 77 to 20, the committee's decision to apply for readmission: BCL November 19, 1926, p.3. By 1928, the club had only 435 members: BCG, January 25, 1929, p.1.
40. Barnes, "On Top in the Twenties", op.cit., p.21. "Almost every club, every lodge, every factory had its team" writes Barnes (p.11), who was himself the secretary of a local cricket club at the time. There is no apparent explanation for this upsurge in the popularity of cricket. Possible influences may include the impact of returned soldiers coming home from England, reductions in working hours, and the tremendous success of the Australian Test side in England in 1921 under the leadership of a famous Victorian of larrikin bent, Warwick Armstrong.
41. "The Rise, Consolidation of 'Golden Brunswick'"., Road and Track Cyclist, February 1967, p.22. The foundations of a cycling tradition second to none in Australia were laid in this period.
42. Barnes, "Memoirs of an Unsuccessful Politician", op.cit., p.1. Ironically, according to Barnes, working class participation in golf and tennis only really began during the Depression. ("It Happened In Brunswick", op.cit., p.36).
four new courts opened by the East Brunswick Tennis Club in 1923, and strong local tennis competitions focussed on the Protestant churches. Swimming boomed with the erection of new swimming baths, and in 1927 a crowd of over 2,000 witnessed a "Grand International Swimming Carnival" at the Brunswick Baths, featuring interstate and international competitors. Soccer, helped by a steady flow of British migrants, also flourished, and other sports gaining adherents included croquet, bowls, and hockey. A commercial gymnasium opened for business in 1925, offering a "course in physical culture", and for the less energetic, shooting and pigeon-racing proved popular. In 1923, the public library ceased opening on Saturday afternoon's because it was not being patronised at that time. Available evidence suggests a considerable upsurge in participation, both active and passive, in sporting activities. Forces influencing this trend were obviously not confined to Brunswick. They may have encompassed the impact of the immediate aftermath of war, with aroused physical and patriotic passions seeking alternative outlets, increasing leisure time, and the coincidental emergence of internationally famous Australian sporting heroes such as "Boy" Charlton. The

43. BCL September 28, 1923, p.4.
44. Barnes, "It Happened In Brunswick", op.cit. p.28. Both Methodist and Church of England churches constructed tennis courts in 1914.
45. BCL January 28, 1927, p.4. Barnes recalls that Brunswick considered itself the "swimming capital of Australia" from this time until the Olympic Pool was build: interview with author, op.cit.
47. Donovan, interview with author, op.cit.
49. ibid., June 18, 1926, p.2: Brunswick hockey team formed and participating in suburban competition.
50. ibid., March 13, 1925, p.4.
52. BCL November 16, 1923, p.2.
explanation could simply be that sporting activities were greatly subdued during the 1914-1919 period, and that a major upsurge of such activities once the society had returned to normal was virtually inevitable.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{53} It is interesting to note that much of this sporting activity was based on company teams, including cricket (Barnes, "On Top in the Twenties", op.cit., p.5) and the tug-of-war teams competing at the Town Hall Dance (BCG April 12, 1929, p.5.) Cornwell’s even went to the extent of employing two ex-Fitzroy cricketers in an attempt to win the potteries cricket competition, and lost the grand final to Wunderlichs in a game with the "excitement and interest of a football match" (Barnes, "On Top in the Twenties", op.cit., p.5). In similar vein, a "Miss Brunswick" contest was based on competitors representing various major employers in the district (BCL, May 10, 1929, p.4).
Throughout the 1920's, public debate in Brunswick was dominated by transport issues - particularly tram questions. The Sydney Rd. tramline, Brunswick's umbilical cord connecting it with Greater Melbourne, carried cable trams every three minutes which took approximately half an hour to reach the City. The new electric tram-line along Lygon St. reduced this journey to 25 minutes. Fares were cheap - 3d. return to the City before 9.00 am., with cheap monthly tickets available. And service was prompt: Jimmie Jewell took the Tramways Board to task in State Parliament when it allowed one service to decline to a rate of one every five minutes, declaring that "people will not wait".

The construction of the West Brunswick electric tramline through Royal Park was an issue of prime concern in the first half of the twenties. Many deputations were organised to lobby for this crucial advance, and Jewell railed in Parliament against the unfairness of men having to walk between one and two miles to catch a tram or train to work. The issue gave rise to numerous public gatherings, and a spirit of local unity and purpose which provoked the Leader to remark: "When we have meetings to try and get electric trams, people of all shades of religious and political opinion, from the mildest to the fiercest of...

54. Barnes, interview with Norma Martin, op.cit.
57. VPD Vol. 171, August 12, 1926, p. 781. Later in the decade, Jewell told Parliament (presumably in a tone of appropriate outrage): "I remember an occasion when I had to wait at the corner of Bourke St. and Swanston St. for fourteen minutes before I could get a tram to take me to Brunswick". (VPD Vol. 173, August 10, 1927, p.509).
58. BCL December 16, 1921, p.2.
59. VPD Vol. 157, July 6, 1921, pp. 46-47.
60. BCL February 3, 1922, p.1.
antagonists, all meet in Brotherly Love----". 61 The strength of popular feeling ultimately prevailed, and the appropriate Bill was passed by the Legislative Assembly in December 1922. 62

With this victory under their belts, Brunswick's leaders turned their attention to a proposed Essendon to Heidelberg tram-line. 63 Brunswick's transport system was heavily biased to the north-south arterial axis, and new development in the north and west emphasised the imbalance. However, in spite of various conferences of northern suburbs councils and more deputations, this tram-line 'never eventuated.' 64 In the mean-time, a steady campaign for the extension of tramway services along Nicholson St., under the banner of the East Brunswick Progress Association and Nicholson St. Tramway Extension League, followed the same rocky path of deputations and public meetings. 65

The problems of Brunswick's transport system - not helped by the fact that its single rail service was renowned as the "Sloburg Line" 66 - were also tackled by private entrepreneurs. Several ex-soldiers started a passenger cab service along Albion St. from Sydney Rd. to Melville Rd. in 1919, providing a desperately needed service for the quickly growing west. The trip was expensive - 6d. a ticket - and the wait beforehand very often lengthy, but the custom was there. 67 A bus service along Blyth St. and Arthurtown Rd., linking Brunswick and Northcote, was commenced in 1927, and

61. ibid., May 5, 1922, p.3.
62. VPD Vol. 162, December 14, 1922, p.4053. The line took several years to construct, and did not reach Albion St. until late 1925: BCL October 9, 1925, p.3.
63. BCL August 3, 1923, p.4.
64. ibid., September 7, 1923, p.1. The cause was still being pursued in 1929: BCL, June 21, 1929, p.5.
65. BCL December 30, 1921, p.3; August 7, 1925, p.3.
66. Barnes, interview with Norma Martin, op.cit. Even after it was electrified in December 1920, the railway line remained poorly patronised and maintained a low profile in community life. Even a new station in North Brunswick, opened in 1924, did little to raise the railway's fortunes.
Brunswick was finally linked to Moonee Ponds at the end of the decade by a bus service along Victoria St. 68 The inevitable implication of these data, reinforced by the memories of old residents, is that people did quite a bit of walking.69

A further consequence of inadequate transport, with private cars still restricted to the well-to-do, was that journeys into suburbs other than those immediately adjacent were invariably communal efforts. This was the era of large-scale community picnics, particularly on holidays such as Melbourne Cup Day, 70 and day excursions. Arthur Banks recalls this period as one where people were "much more tied to their own suburbs": apart from the odd community picnic, perhaps a trade picnic, in which people ventured to places like Eltham in drags, or an occasional day excursion, by paddle-steamer to Sorrento, ordinary Brunswick's contact with the rest of Melbourne was very limited.71 Of 50 Brunswick children at a Toc H seaside picnic in 1928, 15 had never seen the sea before.72

In his study of Footscray, Lack found "an organic sense of community - one emphasising the mutual and harmonious interests of the constituent sections of the population, employee and employer, consumer and storekeeper, factory worker and shop assistant, labourer and artisan". 73 He attributed this primarily to a high degree of congruence of work and residence.74 He found evidence which enabled

69. For instance, McNair, interview with author, op.cit.
70. As recalled by Marjorie Glew, interview with author, op.cit; Donovan, interview with author, op.cit., and Banks, interview with author, op.cit.
71. Banks, interview with author, op.cit. Occasional examples of these "day-trips" appear in press reports from the period: on one occasion, the Brunswick City Anglers Club organised a mass excursion to the beach involving nine charabancs (each seating 30 or 40 people) and the Brunswick City Band: BCL March 11, 1921, p.2.
73. Lack, op.cit., pp. 55-56.
74. ibid., pp. 56, 62.
him to avoid a false assumption of "community", and to study Footscray as a discrete entity in a real sense. 75
Is the same true of Brunswick in the 1920's?

Comprehensive evidence of the extent to which people lived and worked in Brunswick is not available. However, Old Residents Survey responses 76 and the remembrances of old residents such as Les Barnes and Marjorie Glew suggest that the coincidence of work and residence was quite high. 77
There is ample evidence of a prevailing "Brunswick first" attitude: following the opening of a new factory, the Leader remarked: "Sorry to hear-----that 'immigrants only' need apply. That won't suit 'Bricky Brunswick'". 78

The importance of coincidence of work and residence in determining "community" may also be questioned. Before making an assumption that working elsewhere necessarily dilutes "community", one should examine the nature and circumstances of the work itself. For example, many Brunswick residents worked in City clothing factories to which they travelled with other Brunswick residents on trams often manned by local Brunswick identities including well-known footballers. In circumstances such as these, links with the worker's local community would hardly have been eroded considerably by the almost incidental fact that he or she worked outside Brunswick.

In examining this elusive concept of "community", the criteria suggested by MacFarlane may be useful. He lists a more open-ended set of indices including distinctiveness,

75. ibid., pp.26-27. Lack points out that primary contacts in the worlds of work, home and leisure are no respecters of local government boundaries, and that it is highly dangerous to assume a community when one sees a municipal unit.
76. 24 jobs described were situated in Brunswick, 17 in the City, and 10 in adjacent suburbs like Fitzroy. Brunswick jobs described were of longer duration than those outside Brunswick on average: Responses to Old Residents Survey question 42.
77. Barnes, interview with Norma Martin, op.cit.; Glew, interview with author, op.cit.
78. BCL September 22, 1922, p.3. The strong pressure to "buy local" (discussed above), even extending to pressure on the Council to buy its building needs from Brunswick suppliers, is further evidence of this attitude.
small size, homogeneity, economic self-sufficiency, frequent inter-personal contacts, localised marriage patterns, group political identity, and attachment to community. 79 When criteria such as these are applied to 1920's Brunswick, a strong sense of local "community" emerges. Brunswick was strongly isolated, bordered by creeks and open spaces to the west and east and with no transport links with the adjacent suburbs of Moonee Ponds and Northcote, separated from the City by broad expanses of parkland, and linked organically only with the adolescent Coburg community. Brunswick was dominated socially and commercially by a single arterial road, populated by an ethnically homogeneous people, and devoted to its strong and successful sporting teams. 80 Snippets of oral testimony add weight to this impression: Barnes describes "a very strong insular attitude peculiar to Brunswick"; 81 McNair recalls Brunswick as one of "a collection of scattered communities"; 82 Phillips remembers "a strong identification with local affairs"; 83 Shelton remarks that "people did what they did a lot more locally then"; 84 and Donovan comments that "most people in those days knew their neighbours up to the end of the street and back down the other side". 85 Even the Leader described Brunswick as: "a small community where everybody practically knows everybody". 86 The result is a strong body of subjective

79. MacFarlane, op.cit., p.10. Lack's central point, nonetheless, remains entirely valid.
80. Barnes, interview with Norma Martin, op.cit.; interview with author, op.cit. Barnes argues that Brunswick's early isolation is the key to understanding its history, and points out that for much of its early history, Brunswick's only practical connection with the outside world was via Brunswick Rd. and to the City along Brunswick St., Fitzroy.
81. ibid.
82. Interview with author, op.cit.
83. Interview with author, op.cit.
84. Interview with author, op.cit.
85. Interview with author, op.cit.
86. ECL, May 5, 1922, p.3.
evidence which suggests that Brunswick in the twenties was in fact a well-defined community, in many ways isolated from the outside world.  

87. However, there is some evidence to suggest that Brunswick in turn was itself divided between east and west. McNair remarks on the division caused by the existence of the potteries and other heavy industries in a large cluster around Dawson St. (interview with author, op.cit.) and on one occasion Councillor James Hudson (representing the South-West Ward) attacked east Brunswick for failing to support the Brunswick Football Club (based in West Brunswick): BCL May 8, 1925, p.2. However, as Barnes points out (interview with author, op.cit.) there were other socio-geographical divisions within Brunswick, particularly the division between proletarian "Irishtown" in the immediate south-west and the more genteel areas of "Moreland" in the north-east. The existence of such divisions in his view simply reinforce the argument that Brunswick was a self-contained community.
In 1928, Brunswick had 22 churches and 23 hotels. Of the churches, seven were Methodist, four Roman Catholic, three Church of England, three Presbyterian, two Church of Christ, one Congregational, one Salvation Army, and one Baptist. Census statistics reveal that between 1921 and 1933 the Church of England adherents grew from 17,747 to 17,922, the Romans Catholics from 9,642 to 12,327, the Presbyterians from 6,134 to 6,224, and the Methodists from 5,181 to 5,245. Other Protestant sects, not listed in 1921, are credited with 3,598 followers in 1933.

Church attendance and involvement was substantial: 29 of 44 Old Residents Survey respondents described their attendance as "regular", and 28 recalled knowing their parish priest or vicar. 17 out of 39 remembered being involved in church activities other than Sunday worship. Attendances were healthy: Marjorie Glew recalls that 300 was an average Sunday turnout at her Methodist Church, and parish records from Christ Church, Church of England reveal that 1,000 services were conducted, and 5,096 communions made, at the church in 1929. Sunday Schools, the focus of enormous effort in the 1910-1925 period, enjoyed very large attendances. In 1923, when local Methodist and Presbyterian churches celebrated anniversaries, their Sunday Schools provided choirs of 300-400 and 200-300 respectively. When St. David's Presbyterian Church in

90. Responses to Old Residents Survey Question 58.
91. Interview with author, op.cit.
93. Barnes, interview with author, op.cit.
94. BCL, June 1, 1923, p.4.
Melville Rd. acquired full church status in 1929, one of the new minister's first meetings was with 25 Sunday School teachers.  

In addition, each church formed the focus of a wide range of ancillary activities. These included such organisations as the Girls Friendly Society, the Band of Hope, the Flower Guild, the Choir, the Missionary Service, the Tennis Club, the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Fund and the Ladies Guild. Church-associated sporting teams were also very popular: even the relatively small Baptist Church had three cricket teams. Marjorie Glew recalls that there were social activities at her church almost every night of the week and David Tatam remembers concerts, Bible classes, cricket, football, debating and athletics teams based on his Presbyterian church, and even a monthly social magazine called "Our Rag" put out by young Presbyterians. The churches ran dances, euchre parties, and even gymnasiu.

However, this appearance of heavy church-going and intense involvement in church activities may be deceptive. There are indications that some of the ancillary organisations were a little skeletal, and statistical evidence such as the increasing rate of civil marriages suggests that the churches' grip on the populace was slipping. Les Barnes maintains that those involved in the various ancillary activities were "always the same people",

95. "St. David's Church West Brunswick: Retrospect 1908-83" (Uniting Church, Melbourne, 1983) p.3. Oral evidence from Old Residents Survey respondents such as Phillips, (interview with author, op.cit.) and Shelton (interview with author, op. cit.) also suggests that Sunday Schools were heavily patronised.
98. Interview with author, op.cit.
99. Interview with author, op.cit.
1. Donovan, interview with author, op.cit.; Shelton, interview with author, op.cit.
2. For example, the Ladies Guild of the Methodist Church, which "fell on lean days for a while, and was reorganised in 1930----": "Brunswick Methodist Church: 125 Years of Service" (Methodist Church, Melbourne, 1965) p. 23.
3. Civil marriages constituted only 3.01 per cent of all marriages in 1920 (VYB 1920-21, p.116) but by 1929 had risen to 8.04 per cent (VYB 1929-30, p.54).
regular church-goers in any case, and that the spate of church associated groups represented a deeper commitment from the minority of active faithful rather than a broader involvement of the inactive majority.  

Although, as Thompson points out, it is "difficult to re-imagine the moral assumptions of another social configuration", it is important to examine the moral imperatives being disseminated by the churches at the time. In particular, the Protestant churches were fundamental to the powerful Temperance movement. In 1920, the churches and the Brunswick and Coburg Leader spearheaded the campaign to make Brunswick a "dry" area. Their efforts were unsuccessful, however, with 6,048 voting for "no licences", 898 for a reduction in licences, and 8,270 for retaining existing licences. The Temperance campaign continued unabated, with even Lenin and Trotsky enlisted in support. The new Rechabite Hall in Albert St. provided teetotallers with a range of social activities from which alcohol was absent, and the campaign to restrict the masses' access to alcohol went on.

While there were strong links between the Temperance

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4. Interview with author, op.cit. Barnes likens the church spin-offs to the "front" organisations run by the Communist Party in the 1930's, remarking that in both instances "they were only activising themselves". Evelyn de Bonnaire recalls that church attendance "was for the goody-goodies", and that many lacked clothes sufficiently genteel to allow them to go to church even if they had wanted to. (Interview with author, op.cit.).


7. BCL September 10, 1920, p.3; September 17, 1920, p.4.


9. BCL June 17, 1921, p.3. Russia was cited as an example of dramatically improved economic and social conditions as a result of a crack-down on liquor consumption by Lenin and Trotsky.


11. For example, in 1926 Jewell presented a petition to Parliament signed by over 4,000 Brunswick residents calling for the closure of licensed premises on Good Friday, Christmas Day, and from 1.00 pm. Saturday to 9.00 am. Monday: VPD Vol. 171, October 19, 1926, p.2065.
movement, the Protestant churches, and the Nationalists. Temperance was also very strong amongst the more "respectable" working class. Labor Councillor Jack Kean was quoted as saying that people who attended public dances under the influence of liquor should be gaolled, and two other Labor Councillors were prominent in the Temperance movement. Councillor William Appleby was an official of the Brunswick Order of the Sons of Temperance, which hosted the Order's annual State Conference in 1929. Councillor Arch Reaburn, a doughty foe of the "awful curse of strong drink" as he described it, only narrowly missed selection as a full-time organiser for the Temperance campaign. A Workers Anti-Liquor League, including trade union and ALP members, was formed in Brunswick in 1929, and in November was addressed by A. R. Lewis, newly-elected Labor MHR for Corio, and the man who had previously beaten Reaburn for the job as Temperance campaign organiser.

The influence of church moral campaigns was also felt in the broader community. After considerable controversy, the Brunswick City Council voted to allow bands to play concerts in public buildings on Sunday evenings, in spite of concerted opposition. Dorothy Bradley recalls being all but excommunicated from the Methodist Church for refusing to give up dancing, having received a letter from the church asking her to chose between the church and

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12. Dorothy Bradley's father is a good example of this tendency, with involvements in all three: interview with author, op.cit.
15. BCG October 18, 1929, p.4.
16. Ibid.
18. BCL November 11, 1921, p.3. According to the Leader, "a large number of citizens, including representatives of the various Protestant churches, were present" at a previous Council meeting which had decided to maintain the ban on such concerts: BCL, October 14, 1921, p.2.
The Women's Christian Temperance Union even took to campaigning for the closure of all fruit and confectionery shops on Sundays because they constituted "a source of temptation to Sunday School children". However, on this and other issues, tolerance and indulgence remained in the majority, and the campaign failed.

The evidence indicates that the social "scene" which did exist in Brunswick at the time was very much centred on the Protestant churches. Marjorie Glew remarks that "anyone who was anything in the community had to be involved in the church", and suggests that social prestige was an important factor in church involvement. Phillips recalls that there was no true "upper class scene" in Brunswick, and that the social life of the better-off focussed on the churches. Although the Leader made sporadic efforts to drum up a "social scene" and major civic events and weddings were often reported in minute detail with exhaustive lists of dresses worn or presents given, Brunswick remained devoid of any real high society milieu.

However, sections of the community were still deeply involved in the pursuit of respectability. Developments were often opposed on the grounds that they would lower

19. Interview with author, op.cit. She was a "flapper", which involved "things that hadn't been done before by respectable girls". Bradley also recalls that her Methodist Sunday School teacher and his wife would never travel by tram on Sundays, in an effort to adhere to the Sabbath: Response to Old Residents Survey, Question 58.
21. Interview with author, op.cit.
22. Interview with author, op.cit. His recollection is confirmed by that of Bradley, interview with author, op.cit.
23. In 1921, the Leader wrote: "The local paper is badly in need of a column for Society Topics - both for its own sake as well as Brunswick and Coburg's------the absence from its pages of the above column gives the impression to outsiders that we have no gentry in our midst------. While this impression exists abroad, the value of homes and land here is depreciated. Our leading citizens are just as good as anywhere else, only their functions do not get the publicity they should": BCL September 23, 1921, p.2.
24. BCL November 18, 1921, p.3; June 21, 1929, p.5.
the tone of the area and reduced property values. Residents of South-west Brunswick petitioned Parliament against the proposed erection of a retarded children's home in Royal Park, maintaining that it would "give an objectionable taint to the whole of the neighbourhood and seriously prejudice property values" in "one of the most desirable residential portions of Melbourne." One West Brunswick resident petitioned the Council to change West Brunswick's name to Parkside because property prices "depreciated when they were put on the market because the name of Brunswick was associated with factories, potteries, clay pits and quarries". Middle class residents of north-east Brunswick made a concerted effort to carve a new suburb under the name of "Moreland" out of north-east Brunswick and south-east Coburg for the same reason. Domestic service was not at all uncommon, and there was a definite trend for people who had become modestly comfortable to move north into Coburg, acknowledged as a "better class area" than Brunswick.

In contrast to this yearning for respectability, a significant section of Brunswick's youth was engaged in earnest pursuit of notoriety. Larrikin pushes bulked large in popular consciousness, and there is ample evidence to

25. Brunswick City Council Minutes February 1920-September 1922, op.cit., p.250. Council received a petition from 20 ratepayers opposing the establishment of a flour-mill in Brunswick Rd. because it would "be detrimental to the locality and greatly depreciate the value of property".
27. ECL April 20, 1928, p.1.
29. Bradley, interview with author, op.cit; Donovan, interview with author, op.cit. According to Bradley, domestic service was an important source of income for widows and women whose husbands were unemployed.
30. De Bonnaire, interview with author, op.cit; Shelton, interview with author, op.cit. This trend is confirmed by an analysis of 160 randomly-selected Brunswick householders of 1921 who had moved by 1924: of the 98 who were traceable, 39 had moved elsewhere in Brunswick and 16 had moved to Coburg: Sands & MacDougall Directory for 1921, op.cit; Sands & MacDougall Directory for 1924, op.cit. (the streets sampled were Blyth St., south side; Rose Street, east side; Howard St., west side; Laura St., south side; Mitchell St., north side; Davies St., south side; Park St. West, north side, and Stewart St., north side).
suggest that they were a crucial focus of social organisation for the "roug bers" elements of Brunswick youth.

The most well-known push, the "Hungry 72's", materialised in 1914. Even though it seems to have disappeared during the early twenties, this push still sprang readily to mind to many Old Residents Survey respondents sixty years later. Various pushes were active in Brunswick in the twenties, and the local press is studded with tales of their exploits, in spite of an announcement by local JPs at the start of the decade that they intended to eradicate "the class of offences which are committed by groups of young hoodlums known as 'pushes'". In 1925, a policeman broke up a pitched battle in Lygon St. between the "East Brunswick Rebels" and the "Fitzroy Glingy Boys" with bottles and pickets used for weapons: numerous house windows were broken, and two combatants were taken to hospital. A year later, a push consisting of three laborers, three metalworkers, two drivers and an electric welder, with ages ranging from 20 to 32, was run in by several policemen. A year later again, the "Grey Checkers" were dispersed by a police baton charge outside the Mechanics Institute whilst preparing for battle with a Carlton push. Two men, a 19 year-old plasterer and an 18 year-old pottery laborer, were later fined £1 each.

31. Barnes, "It Happened in Brunswick", op.cit., p.28. Barnes attributes the rise of larrikin pushes to the introduction of compulsory military training, with the cultivation of violence and pride in group identity. The history of the Hungry 72's bears testimony to his claim: with membership climbing, they chose to limit their numbers to an arbitrary point, adopted the equivalent of a battalion nick-name, and even had little "H72" brass badges made for themselves. When the war came, 37 enlisted: most of the Hungry 72's later went on to become solid, respectable citizens: Barnes, interview with author, op.cit.
32. Responses to Old Residents Survey, Question 53. Of 41 responses, 34 said they remembered larrikin pushes, most citing one or more names. 9 cited the Hungry 72's.
34. Ibid., July 10, 1925, pp.2-4. This battle was later graphically recounted in Parliament by Jewell, who happened to witness it: VPD Vol.169, September 29, 1925, p.1338.
35. BCL, July 23, 1926, p.4.
36. Ibid., July 15, 1927, p.3. This report adds weight to Barnes' theory: "the police saw a crowd of youths in grey check caps marching along in military formation".
In the latter part of the twenties, pushes began to congregate around particular dances and cinemas. The local police applied a mixture of toughness and tolerance in their dealings with the pushes; participants were more likely to get a kick in the pants and be sent home than prosecution in the courts. Almost without exception, Old Residents Survey respondents maintain that larrikin pushes "never bothered decent people", and that they invariably fought amongst themselves. The evidence suggests that pushes were a form of entertainment for young single men living at home and paying the bulk of their wages to their parents. They provided cheap amusement and social identity for young adult men kept in a state of semi-dependency by their family circumstances and anxious to escape from it.

There is plentiful indication that Brunswick experienced considerable vandalism, truancy, and general violence as part of everyday living. Domestic violence, an important

38. Fights at dances became fairly commonplace, but not particularly serious: see BCL November 26, 1926, p.2; April 20, 1928, p.3; December 21, 1928, p.4; Barnes "On Top in the Twenties", op.cit., p.27.
39. As Jewell told State Parliament: VPD, Vol. 160, July 20, 1922, p.268; this is confirmed by Evelyn de Bonnaire, interview with author, op.cit., who recalls knowing a couple of push members at that time. The battle between police and push became something of a public diversion, with police heroes including one constable known universally as "Tom Mix" after the popular film star, and Richmond ruckman Barney Herbert: BCL: December 30, 1921, p.2.
42. The fact that the mean marriage age for males at this time was very high 29 (VVE 1920-21, op.cit., p.113)is also significant.
43. Examples included wanton damage to trees and shrubs in parks (Brunswick City Council Minutes February 1920-June 1922, op.cit., p.182); damage to trams (BCL June 18, 1920,pp.1-2); damage to street lights (BCL, July 16, 1920, p.2); graffiti on shop walls (BCL March 31, 1922, p.3); breaking into factories (BCL, September 17, 1926, p.2); and smashing windows in public toilets (BCL, November 19, 1926, p.5).
44. Multiple truancy prosecutions occurred regularly at the Brunswick police court: see BCL, March 5, 1920, p.3; October 9, 1925, p.1; May 18, 1928, p.3.
indicator of the nature of patriarchal control, appears to have been quite widespread. Typical of news reports of the time is the following item:

Mrs. Campbell had given evidence that her husband returned home in a disagreeable mood at 12.25 p.m. on 15th January. She asked him where he had been all night, and he simply replied "Out". He struck her four or five times over the head. She called him a cruel wretch, and he called her offensive names and beat her again.

Fights between male members of families were not unusual either, perhaps because of the effects of the "extended family" syndrome. And fights between neighbours often ended in court as assault or insulting words charges or defamation suits. In 1921, the Leader reported avidly: "A quarrel between two ladies, which resulted in one lady knocking the other out was listed, but as one of the parties, who had been counted out, was unable to appear, her assailant was remanded for a week on £20 bail."

Major crimes occurred quite regularly. In 1928, it was reported that Brunswick was averaging 40 robberies per month, and reports of major break-ins at commercial

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45. BCL January 29, 1926, p.3. Norman Campbell's 14-day gaol sentence was changed to a suspended sentence with a £20 bond following a plea for leniency from his wife. One man two years later was less fortunate, and received 3 months' gaol for assaulting his wife (BCL June 30, 1928, p.2). There are numerous instances of drunken domestic brawls ending in court (for example BCL May 7, 1926, p.5) although as Police Magistrate Freeman later remarked, it was common for wives to lay assault charges against their husbands and not turn up on the day of the hearing (BCG November 29, 1929, p.5).
46. For examples see BCL January 8, 1926, p.1. (man receives one month's gaol for using insulting and threatening language to his brother) and October 29, 1926, p.4 (assault charge against father by son-in-law).
47. BCL April 9, 1920, p.2; September 23, 1921, p.3.
48. Ibid., June 18, 1926, p.3.
49. Ibid., February 18, 1921, p.3. Later in the decade the Leader commented that "street assaults are becoming very common in Brunswick---"(BCL March 16, 1928, p.1).
50. Ibid., June 8, 1928, p.3.
are common. In 1921, the Brunswick City Council granted permission for War Service Homes Commission clerks to carry revolvers while paying workers on Commission housing projects in Brunswick. Shoplifting and pickpocketing were in evidence, as also was embezzlement. Sexual offences were fairly common, though often difficult to identify from press reports because they were referred to by such coy names as "a serious offence." Punishment showed distinct signs of class bias. One man received 3 months gaol for stealing a ten shilling bag of chaff, another received two years' gaol for being on private premises without lawful excuse, and a 66-year-old beggar was given 14 days' gaol for vagrancy. Yet a man charged with using insulting words to police was let off without conviction after the constable told the court: "I have found out he comes from a respectable family, and he has apologised to me".

In spite of the many lurid reports in the local press and the constant demands for more police in Brunswick, most Old Residents Survey respondents remember Brunswick of that period as a place where women could safely walk alone in the streets any time of day or night. Barnes and Banks both argue that the newspaper reports of crime

51. For instance, the theft of £125 worth of stock from Love & Pollard's drapers: BCL, December 7, 1923, p.1.
52. Brunswick City Council Minutes February 1920-June 1922, op. cit., April 18, 1921, p.43.
53. BCL, February 17, 1928, p.5.
54. Ibid., April 24, 1925, p.1.
55. Ibid., June 2, 1922, p.2. A clerk employed by the Steel Company of Australia succeeded in embezzling £500.
56. Ibid., May 19, 1922, p.2; see also October 26, 1923, p.2, and April 3, 1925, p.4, for other examples. There was a rash of convictions for indecent behavior in the mid-twenties because of the paucity of public toilets: see BCL, January 21, 1927, p.6.
58. Ibid., February 10, 1922, p.3. This man was convicted on the testimony of the shopkeeper only.
59. Ibid., February 4, 1927, p.5.
60. Ibid., January 14, 1927, p.6.
61. For example, VPD, Vol. 158, September 15, 1921, p.105.
and violence must be viewed against the background of a working class city of over 50,000 people. 63 The Brunswick court was occasionally free of major criminal cases, 64 and even the Leader at one point announced proudly that "Brunswick and Coburg may claim to be amongst the most peaceful suburbs around Melbourne in regard to their population, so far as regards crime is concerned". 65

It may be concluded that much of Brunswick's "crime" was in fact endemic social behavior: the prevalence of petty violence, gambling, larrikinism, offensive behavior, and small-scale thieving was undoubtedly linked to the rather rough living standards of Brunswick's industrial working class and the entrenched position of alcohol in the social structure. Behavior categorised by the authorities as "criminal" was taken for granted in large sections of the local community.

At 3d. per 14 oz. pot of beer, 66 alcohol was relatively cheap. It was also readily available - hotels closed at 11.30 pm. at the end of the war, and later at 11.00 pm., 67 and sly-grogging was prevalent. 68 State-wide beer consumption fell steadily from 12.42 gallons per head per annum in 1920 to 11.27 gallons in 1926, and then increased marginally until the end of the decade. 69 Beer was an integral element in Brunswick working class life: prosecutions for drunkenness and alcohol-related offences were legion. 70 Comments from Old Residents Survey

63. Interviews with author, op.cit.
64. BCL, July 30, 1920, p.1; December 21, 1928, p.1.
65. Ibid., June 2, 1920, p.2.
68. See BCL, January 9, 1925, p.1; September 17, 1926, p.2; January 21, 1927, p.2; and May 27, 1927, p.3. In the third of these cases, 600 bottles of beer were seized. The culprits in the second and fourth instances received 6 months gaol.
70. For a few examples, see BCL, January 5, 1923, p.1; January 30, 1925, p.2; February 26, 1926, p.5; January 7, 1927, p.1. Sentences varied considerably: many received "slap-on-the-wrist" fines of £1, while one man received 21 days' gaol for driving under the influence of alcohol (BCL, November 6, 1925, p.1.).
respondents on the influence of alcohol vary considerably: many maintained that its role was very minor, while others disagreed.\(^{71}\) One respondent wrote: "There were a lot of heavy drinkers in the working class. My father was inclined to be that way."\(^{72}\)

Illegal gambling, similarly, was a popular pursuit. "Common gaming houses", operating under the guise of sporting clubs and the like, were regularly raided by police.\(^{73}\) One Old Residents Survey respondent tells of the elaborate network developed by members of her family, who built quite a substantial illegal gambling empire based in Brunswick in the 1920's and 1930's.\(^{74}\) Every hotel had its SP bookie out the back or down the side-lane, officially unknown to the publican but in fact encouraged as a means of attracting drinkers.\(^{75}\) Respectable institutions like the Brunswick Football Club were occasionally caught running illegal gambling fund-raisers,\(^{76}\) and semi-legal games such as Housey-Housey soared in popularity.\(^{77}\)

The sexual habits of the people of Brunswick are even harder to fathom than their drinking and gambling habits. Divorce and separation were quite common, though undoubtedly very small as a proportion of total marriages.\(^{78}\)

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71. Responses to Old Residents Survey, Question 49.
72. Name withheld by request.
73. See reports of such raids in BCL, March 18, 1921, p.2; April 1, 1921, p.3; November 14, 1924, p.2; October 14, 1927, p.4; and October 19, 1928, p.3. By 1929 the courts were handing out heavy fines to proprietors of illegal gambling establishments: BCL October 11, 1929, p.5; November 22, 1929, p.4.
74. Name withheld by request. According to this respondent, her family's empire was well-protected by regular payments to police officers. It also received spiritual "protection": the principals were all good Catholics who went to Mass and donated to church funds.
75. Banks, interview with author, op.cit. Bets were usually in small sums such as two shillings, and often transacted on a "trust" basis.
76. BCL, January 30, 1925, p.4.
77. Donovan, interview with author, op.cit: "Written Response", op.cit., p.6; BCL, April 3, 1925, p.1. The legality or otherwise of Housey Housey was the subject of a prolonged court battle: BCL, January 30, 1925, p.1; March 27, 1925, p.4; May 22, 1925, p.1. Many families of course had absolutely no contact with gambling: Dorothy Bradley recalls that her parents would not even allow cards, "the devil's plaything", in their house: interview with author, op.cit.
78. For some of the many examples, reported in loving detail, see BCL, October 29, 1920, p.1; April 17, 1925, p.4; October 7, 1927, pp.3-4.
With the free availability of contraceptive sheaths in chemists, newsagents and bookshops, and of books such as Marie Stopes' *Married Love*, pre-marital sexual activity must have been relatively common. The Salvation Army home for unmarried mothers in Cohuna St. maintained a steady trade, at one point numbering three unmarried mothers under the age of 15 in its company. The most popular venue for mating rituals was the section of Sydney Rd. immediately south of the southern boundary of Brunswick, known as the "chicken run". On Sunday afternoons and evenings, young Brunswick men and women would dress up and wander down to the chicken run in twos and threes in search of a "catch". As Royal Park later became a favorite venue for "sex under the stars for 3/6d." when prostitution became prevalent in Brunswick during the Depression, one can perhaps assume that the chicken run often involved more than holding hands. This would mostly occur under the guise of semi-formal courtship, in which a young couple would go out together for two or three years, get engaged, and get married twelve to eighteen months later.

The contrast between the respectable and the rough in Brunswick during the 1920's is not an especially remarkable one. The division clearly may be related to the distinction between the working class and middle class sections of the Brunswick community, though it is blurred by the presence of

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80. Barnes, interview with author, op.cit. Again, the relatively late average age of married couples seems significant.
81. BCL, November 18, 1921, p.2.
82. This material comes from interviews conducted by the author with Evelyn de Bonnaire and Arthur Banks, op.cit.
84. De Bonnaire, interview with author, op.cit., Barnes recalls (interview with author, op.cit.) that "everyone in Brunswick always stank", and that a bath once a week was fairly standard. However, with the opening of new swimming baths, and the extension of hot water, electricity and sewerage during the twenties, this problem was mitigated greatly. One can perhaps assume, in the light of "mating ritual" evidence, that Sunday morning was a common bath-time.
"respectable" working class elements. There is a little evidence which points to a parallel between the "respectable" working class and permanent labor, and the "rough" working class and casual labor, and to a preponderance of "respectable" workers in labor politics. Yet the bastions of respectability in Brunswick remained dominated by middle class people, and Labor produced such "rough" leaders as George Hooper, first Labor Mayor of Brunswick, renowned for his willing drinking, agnosticism, Tammany Hall appearance, and genuine affinity with real battlers. The contrast between rough and respectable is strong, but its significance beyond the obvious is not very clear.

85. Conclusions reached by McCalman in her study of Shaftesbury Park Estate, op.cit., pp. 112, 116. Barnes points out that many workers in the brick and pottery industries were semi-casual, because of the tendency of employers to hire and fire according to small fluctuations in trade, and that permanent jobs in areas such as the public transport system were much sought after.
86. Barnes, interview with author, op.cit.
THE DYNAMICS OF WORK

According to statistics produced by Copland, real wages increased steadily throughout the 1920's - largely because of a marginal decline in the cost of living. In 1920 in Victoria, most award wage levels were between £2.10s. and £3. per week, with more highly-skilled tradesmen earning over £4. per week. In 1929, most rates were between £3. and £4. per week, with the more highly-skilled earning over £5. per week.

However, while most wage-rates followed these patterns more or less, there were many substantial variations. Juvenile and female rates were extremely low: both Nellie Shelton and Marjorie Glew recall working in clothing factories on 5 shillings per week, and Evelyn de Bonnaire's initial rate of 10/9d. per week was later reduced to 8/6d. per week. Federal award rates for juniors in clothing factories in 1928 did not exceed £1 per week until the employee had been working for 18 months.

At the other end of the scale, many workers enjoyed wage rates well above the standard award rates. The basic rate for brick tile and pottery workers was £3.16s. in 1920 and £4.12s. in 1926. Brunswick City Council enjoyed a minimum rate of £4.4s. per week in late 1920 and skilled mechanics in booming industries such as textile manufacture were pushing towards £10 per week in 1929. And with

88. VFB 1920-21, p. 377.
89. VFB 1929-30, p. 220. Responses to Old Residents Survey, Question 42, accord broadly with these figures.
90. Interviews with author, op.cit.
91. Interview with author, op.cit.
92. Clothing Trades Award 1928, pp. 18-23.
93. BCL, April 30 1920, p.3.
94. Ibid., September 3, 1926, p.6.
95. Ibid., October 1, 1920, p.2.
96. Barnes, interview with Norma Martin, op.cit.
piecework, young girls were earning rates equivalent to those of male tradesmen in certain industries. \(^97\) The traditional Australian obsession with remuneration for margins of skill was in evidence, \(^98\) but it could not cope with the enormous demand for female workers.

Working conditions also varied considerably. Many workers won the 44-hour week in the latter part of the twenties, \(^99\) while burners at local brick-works were still fighting to have their ordinary hours reduced from 60 to 48. \(^1\) Avoidance of award requirements was relatively widespread, and included denial of rest periods, \(^2\) employing school-age juveniles, \(^3\) working longer hours \(^4\) and requiring workers to perform tasks when not on duty. \(^5\) Conditions in many factories were primitive. \(^6\) A survey of working conditions of women workers in the clothing industry in 1919 reported that most workers performed constant repetitive tasks, suffered strain from machine vibration, glare, and immobility, inhaled dust and fluff, and ate lunch

\(^97\) Ibid; interview with author, op.cit. De Bonnaire remembers earning £3 per week at the age of 15 because of piecework: interview with author, op.cit. Piecework did have its nasty side, however: workers could turn up for work and be told none was available, thus losing money on fares and the fruits of a day's work: Shelton, interview with author, op.cit.

\(^98\) See, for example, the extremely complex range of classifications in the Brunswick City Council pay-roll (Minutes February 1920-June 1922, op.cit., March 29, 1920 pp. 50-51) and later correspondence from a foreman of works seeking a percentage increase in line with recent increases granted to unskilled Council employees (ibid., April 10, 1922, p. 868).

\(^99\) Of 50 responses to Old Residents Survey Question 42, 22 recalled working 48-hour weeks and 26 recalled working 44-hour weeks.
2. Minutes of Clothing Trades Union Executive, op.cit., March 9, 1925.
6. For example, Dorothy Bradley's description of conditions at a City factory, where the toilet was outdoors and three storeys up and workers ate lunch at their machines: interview with author, op.cit.
at their benches.\footnote{7} It concluded that most of the work done was "very arduous" and "extremely fatiguing" in hot weather.\footnote{8} A similar study in 1928 identified problems of eye strain, back injuries due to forced stooping, poor ventilation and heating, and major dust inhalation problems.\footnote{9} On the other hand, some of the newer factories were constructed with working conditions in mind: the R. S. Murray & Co. caramel factory erected in Brunswick in 1921 incorporated a ventilation network based on a large refrigerator in order to keep ambient temperatures bearable in summer.\footnote{10} Some new enterprises often prided themselves on their clean, streamlined premises and mechanised operations which eliminated some of the more arduous physical tasks.\footnote{11}

Workers did not receive a great deal in the way of fringe benefits. There was no paid annual leave and no sick pay, and many workers were not even paid for public holidays. Workers in the building industry received no pay for public holidays, and often went for two or three weeks without pay while between jobs.\footnote{12} Some firms dismissed employees before Christmas and re-employed them early in the new year to avoid paying holiday pay.\footnote{13} Employees in the public sector were slightly better off: Brunswick City Council workers enjoyed quite liberal sick pay entitlements, for instance.\footnote{14}

8. ibid., pp. 11-13.  
10. BCL, December 30, 1921, p.2.  
11. Descriptions of such enterprises appear quite often in the \textit{Leader}; see, for instance, the report on the new Federal Steam Laundry in Weston St. (BCL, May 1, 1925, p.6.).  
12. Tatum, interview with author, op.cit.  
13. Minutes of Brick Tile and Pottery Employees Union Executive, December 30, 1929. For other examples of Brunswick employers avoiding holiday pay obligations, see Minutes of Brick Tile and Pottery Employees Union Executive, op. cit., May 5, 1924 (Cornwell's Potteries) and Minutes of Melbourne District Committee, Amalgamated Engineering Union, op. cit., April 13, 1928 (Prestige Ltd.).  
14. BCL, May 28, 1926, p.3.}
The attitudes of employers towards their workers were also highly varied. Some like Hoffmans ran on a paternalistic basis, preferring to take on sons of existing employees and paying occasional unsolicited bonuses to staff members. Others prided themselves on universal use of Christian names in the workplace and on the fact that a woman worker "could leave her work and go straight to a place of amusement or to a friend's home for the evening, where her attire would do her justice." According to the Chief Inspector of Factories and Shops, so-called "enlightened" employers were prevalent:

Employers nowadays generally realise that they cannot expect to get the best results from their business unless they look well after the comfort and welfare of their employees. In fact there are very few of the occupiers of the larger factories who do not see that the subject is of paramount importance. The result is an increase of goodwill between employers and their workpeople.

The reality for many was totally different. Workers who were perceived to be inadequate were sacked unceremoniously. Dismissal would often occur without any notice, and might be brought on merely by leaving a machine, refusing to work under an extremely dangerous machine, or suffering an accident at work. Even in the tramways

15. Barnes, interview with author, op.cit. Three generations of Les Barnes' family, starting with his uncle, worked continuously at Hoffmans from 1886 to 1963.
17. BCC, April 19, 1929, p.8. The factory concerned was A. & G. Staley's hosiery factory, which had just greatly extended its operations.
21. Rope and Cordage Workers Union Executive Minutes October 15, 1929. A notice posted at Downs & Son ropeworks read: "Any operative leaving their machine without the consent of the foreman is liable for instant dismissal".
22. Old Residents Survey respondent James Martin recalls being sacked from Millers Ropeworks because he refused to crawl under a very dangerous machine: Response to Question 70.
workers lost pay for relatively trivial misdemeanours.\textsuperscript{24}

More serious was the ever-present danger of death or major injury. Reports of serious work accidents appear often in the Brunswick press, examples including a Hoffman's laborer killed by an earth-wall collapse,\textsuperscript{25} a railway worker killed by an earth fall in a subway excavation,\textsuperscript{26} a 16-year-old railway porter killed at a level crossing,\textsuperscript{27} a laborer crushed to death between two brick-carts,\textsuperscript{28} two men severely burned in an explosion at Prestige Ltd. Mills,\textsuperscript{29} a Council quarry laborer severely injured by a premature explosion,\textsuperscript{30} a laborer killed after his arm is caught in a machine at the Barkly Brickworks,\textsuperscript{31} several girls injured by electric shocks from faulty wiring in factory machinery,\textsuperscript{32} and a Council electricity worker killed when a rotten pole he is strapped to collapses.\textsuperscript{33}

It is impossible to gauge the toll taken by industrial accidents, but these reports make it clear that risks were often high, and consequences catastrophic.\textsuperscript{34} At the time, on the job provision for first-aid and medical attention was virtually non-existent.\textsuperscript{35}

Of course, not all Brunswick workers were employed in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{24} For examples, see "Diary of Ernest Christie, Coburg Depot AMOTEA Delegate" June 5, 1922, p.3., and December 2, 1922, p.3. (Unpublished Ms., Melbourne, 1981) a copy of this manuscript is held by the author. The offences consisted of "uncalled remarks" to an inspector, and inadvertent failure to properly notify a day off through illness.
\item \textsuperscript{25} ECL, April 16, 1920, p.2.
\item \textsuperscript{26} ibid., February 6, 1920, p.2.
\item \textsuperscript{27} ibid., February 18, 1921, p.3.
\item \textsuperscript{28} ibid., November 11, 1921, p.2.
\item \textsuperscript{29} ibid., December 15, 1922, p.2.
\item \textsuperscript{30} ibid., November 27, 1925, p.6.
\item \textsuperscript{31} ibid., July 2, 1926, p.3.
\item \textsuperscript{32} ibid., September 16, 1927, p.6.
\item \textsuperscript{33} ibid., August 24, 1928, p.3.
\item \textsuperscript{34} De Bonnaire relates that her father was killed in an industrial accident on the railways in the 1920's: interview with author, op.cit.
\item \textsuperscript{35} McQueen, H.: \textit{Social Sketches of Australia 1888-1975} (Penguin, Melbourne, 1978) p.94. The 1925 Royal Commission on Health found that only 52 factories in the whole of Australia had some provision for immediate treatment of sick or injured workers. Workers Compensation legislation provided some assistance to injured workers and their dependants, but never sufficient to provide even for basic needs.
\end{itemize}
factories. Many worked as outworkers, particularly in the clothing trades. By 1928, the prevalence of outwork in much of inner Melbourne had prompted the Age to revive its anti-sweating campaign: "today in Melbourne there is a fairly large army of women accepting outdoor work from factories and shops, slaving at prices which would necessitate their working 24 hours a day to earn ordinary wages at award rates".

Working conditions were also tough for many in Brunswick's commercial sector. Phillips recalls that conditions for white collar workers such as shop assistants were "very very modest" and bakers sometimes worked night-time shifts of up to 16 hours' duration. Conditions in some of the smaller shops were sometimes very onerous: Santamaria describes his father's workload thus:

The shop would open at 7.00 am., when my father returned from market, which, three days a week, meant rising at 2.00 am. It would close at 11.00 pm., after the emptying picture theatre a little way up the road had sent a few home-going customers into the shop. My mother cared for the family. In the afternoons, she would mind the shop for a couple of hours while my father snatched some sleep to allow him to make next morning's early rise.

Though white collar workers and small shopkeepers may have enjoyed slightly higher social status than industrial workers, their living and working conditions were not necessarily any less arduous.

The twenties was in general a period of expansion and consolidation for trade unions in Brunswick. The Textile Workers Union membership in metropolitan Melbourne grew dramatically in the second half of the twenties.

36. CTU General Meeting Minutes, op.cit., May 31, 1926; Tatam, interview with author, op.cit. Tatam's mother did outwork mostly when his father, a building tradesman, was between jobs.
37. Age, November 13, 1928, p.11.
38. Interview with author, op.cit.
40. Santamaria, op.cit., p.5.
41. Minutes of State Executive, Textile Workers Union, October 25, 1927, October 27, 1928. This membership increase came essentially from workers joining a union for the first time.
Nellie Shelton, a shop steward in the clothing trades, recalls the early twenties as a period when many workplaces were unionised. The working conditions, lack of holidays, and ups and downs of piecework meant that there was some degree of "moderate enthusiasm" for unionism amongst the workers with whom she was involved.42

The activities of contemporary trade unions were many and varied. Wage rates and piecework rates naturally occupied much of their attention,43 as did questions concerning hours and shift-rostering.44 Dismissals of union members were also of prime concern, on one occasion leading to a general tram strike which lasted for 12 days.45 Limiting overtime, a traditional union concern, was of great interest to Brunswick metal trades unionists,46 as was the restriction of piecework to clothing trades workers.47 A variety of specific problems was ever-present, such as travelling time pay, safety,49 and apprenticeship indenture disputes.50 The more highly-organised unions

42. Interview with author, op.cit.
43. See, for examples, AEU Minutes, op.cit., August 15, 1928; CTU Minutes, op.cit., February 20, 1928; February 9, 1925; and August 26, 1929.
44. For instance, in the case of the brick-works burners referred to above: BTPEU Minutes, op.cit., January 8, 1922; ASE Minutes, op.cit., March 7, 1923; BCL, February 25, 1927, p.2. For other examples see Christie Diary, op.cit., April 29, 1922, p.2. (rostering dispute) and letter from T. Jewell, AMOTEA Secretary, to MMTB, September 10, 1924 (various hours and rostering issues).
45. Christie Diary, op.cit., May 5, 1924, p.10. For a further example of a union taking up the cause of a sacked member, see BCL, July 16, 1926, p.3.
46. ASE Minutes, op.cit., May 18, 1921; August 11, 1922; July 23, 1924; December 10, 1924; and April 1, 1925. Note that many members of the Brunswick branch of the ASE (later AEU) worked in the City or adjacent suburbs.
47. CTU Minutes, op.cit., February 9, 1925. The union was unsuccessful in its attempt to limit piecework at the Lancashire Shirt Factory in Brunswick, brought on by a reduction in piecework rates.
48. Letter from T. Jewell, Secretary AMOTEA, to MMTB, July 19, 1921.
49. Letter from T. Jewell, Secretary AMOTEA, to MMTB, November 23, 1922 (Coburg and Brunswick tramworkers call for public inquiry into local tramways in the interests of public safety); BCL, February 8, 1929, p.1. (AMOTEA deputation to Chief Secretary regarding safety issues).
50. ASE Minutes, op.cit., March 29, 1922.
arranged membership levies for the assistance of unemployed members and for participation in the 8-Hours celebration. All unions routinely donated money to a variety of "good causes", including charities, the Labor Party, and industry-based sporting organisations. Unions also kept a watchful eye open for workers with two jobs, and adopted policies such as dismissal of single men before married men whenever retrenchments occurred. On one occasion, the Brick Tile and Pottery Employees Union even arranged for nine Hoffman's workers under threat of retrenchment to work "week about" with another nine workers. The union also co-operated with Hoffman's in pursuing tariff issues, and the Rope and Cordage Workers Union sought the assistance of Millers' Ropeworks to defeat "the unfair tactics of -----small factories". Unions gained new members transferring from their counterpart organisations in Britain, undertook recruiting drives, and on some occasions secured closed shop agreements with employers. All unions played an important role in

51. ibid., January 11, 1922.
52. AEU Minutes, op.cit., January 1, 1928.
53. The Brick Tile and Pottery Employees Union donated £2 to the Brunswick ALP to assist in the 1921 State election campaign, and a month later donated £5 to the Brick and Tile Cricket Association; BTPEU Minutes, op.cit., August 22, 1921; September 19, 1921.
54. In 1928, the Australian Theatrical and Amusement Employees Association complained to Brunswick City Council that one of its employees was working as a projectionist on Saturday nights at a Coburg cinema: BCL, June 27, 1928, p.2; Minutes of Brunswick City Council October 1926-September 1929, July 9, 1928, p. 852.
55. BTPEU Minutes, op.cit., June 1, 1928.
56. ibid., March 8, 1929. The traditional trade union dislike of job-sharing was not evident in this instance, although this may have been due to the fact that the Brick Tile and Pottery Employees Union was "recognised as a bit of a weakie". (Barnes, interview with author, op.cit.).
57. BTPEU Minutes, op.cit., November 18, 1929.
60. CTU Minutes, op.cit., August 30, 1926: 23 of 25 women at Stirlings in Brunswick join the union.
61. ibid., June 21, 1926: compulsory union membership agreement with Perro Manufacturing Co. of Brunswick.
securing the enforcement of award provisions.62

Perhaps the most significant function of trade unions for the bulk of union members was the "friendly society" aspect which had provided a key focus for union activity in nineteenth century Britain. With social services very primitive, most unions played a crucial part in ensuring that injured, ill, and sometimes even unemployed members managed to survive. The Brick Tile and Pottery Employees Union is a fine example of the elaborate "social security" systems built into trade union activities of the period. The union ran a sickness and accident compensation scheme for its members,63 and regularly ran benefit functions to provide financial assistance to distressed members and their families.64 It was also standard practice for unions to seek the assistance of other unions in this regard, and there was a constant circulation of books of "Art Union" tickets between unions for this purpose. Donations for the assistance of other union's members were often taken directly from union funds.65

There is no data available which indicates the level of union membership in Brunswick in the twenties. It is clear, however, that there were very many workers who did

62. Reports of prosecutions for award breaches are common: see BCL, February 6, 1925, p.1. (unguarded circular saw); March 6, 1925, p.1., CTU Minutes, op.cit., March 9, 1925 (Brunswick shirt manufacturer, W. J. Wilson, convicted for non-payment of holiday pay, insufficient rest-time, and failure to keep proper time records); BCL, July 23, 1926, p.3. (employment of boy under 18 on circular saw) and June 27, 1928, p.2., CTU Minutes, op.cit., July 16, 1928 (Rodden & Son, tailors, convicted for various award breaches). Fines imposed were quite paltry, however, and it is probable that actual prosecutions only barely scratched the surface of total award breaches.

63. BTPEU Minutes, op.cit., January 12, 1920, et.seq.

64. ibid., March 22, 1920. The union often donated money from union funds to members in "distressed circumstances"; for example, Minutes, op.cit., July 26, 1920.

65. passim. "Art Union" seems to have been a euphemism for raffle.
not belong to any union. Unions were perceived as struggling to raise the living standards of the working class and, according to David Tatam, won quite a deal of public sympathy for some campaigns in regard to hours and conditions. In certain areas, rank and file consciousness was clearly very strong: tramway workers at Brunswick held mass meetings to discuss a new log of claims, accorded a deceased comrade a "tramway funeral procession" and demonstrated at the Brunswick court in large numbers when a colleague was charged with assaulting a passenger who had reported him for insolence. Gil Hayes, who was active in the Boot Trades Union at the time, recalls that union general meetings were generally well-attended and one general meeting of the Clothing Trades Union at the Trades Hall is recorded as attracting an attendance of 1,600 members and closing with a rendition of "Solidarity Forever". There must have been a good number of solid unionists in Brunswick at the time, men and women like Les Barnes' father who, he recollects, "always attended his union meetings and was always a good unionist on the job." On the other hand, there is plenty of evidence of mass indifference to trade unionism. Less than a year after 1600 of its members sang "Solidarity Forever" in the Trades Hall, the Clothing Trades Union reported that 61 per cent

66. Of 48 responses to Old Residents Survey Question 42, only 17 recalled union membership. 4 of these 17 remembered active involvement in union affairs. Both Dorothy Bradley and Evelyn de Bonnaire recall that unions "did not exist" as far as their workplaces were concerned (interviews with author, op.cit.), and even where unions had a presence, there were often non-unionists working side by side with unionists (for example, at Millers Rope Works: Rope and Cordage Workers Union Minutes, op.cit., October 24, 1922). Banks, interview with author, op. cit., recalls that many were reluctant to join unions not through any antagonism towards them but rather through fear of losing their jobs, or being seen as a "clock-watcher" by their employers.
67. Interview with author, op. cit.
68. BCL, May 5, 1922, p.2.
69. ibid., January 28, 1927, p.5.
70. ibid., July 6, 1928, p.3. Unionism was well-entrenched in the transport sector by this stage - in contrast to manufacturing industry where the struggle to organise workers, particularly the unskilled and semi-skilled, was continuing.
71. Interview with author, February 17, 1981.
72. CTU Minutes 1918-1924, op.cit. March 5, 1923, p.442
73. Interview with author, op.cit. Barnes' father was a gasfitter.
of its members were unfinancial. Unions found it necessary to pay a 10 per cent commission to shop stewards for collecting membership dues, and a fee for attending regular union meetings. And unions were forever prosecuting recalcitrant members for payment of arrears in dues. The principles of unionism were sometimes honoured more in the breach than anything else, and the hard work was usually left up to the small active minority. Barnes remembers most union members regarding their unions as organisations separate from themselves which "owed" them something in return for their dues. Yet unionism was clearly strong enough in Brunswick to influence the outlook of the Brunswick and Coburg Leader: at one point it was publishing a "Tramway Employees News" column, and when discussing a controversy over football club printing in

74. CTU Minutes, op.cit., February 11, 1924. The President of the union commented: "I am convinced the better the conditions and the higher the wages, the less interest there is taken in the union".
75. BTPEU Minutes, op.cit., March 21, 1921. It should be acknowledged, however, that "payment for services performed" is a principle which is long-entrenched in union tradition.
76. See, for example, Rope and Cordage Workers Union Minutes, op.cit., July 15, 1924; November 18, 1924 (various employees of Downs & Sons sued for arrears).
77. As the Leader commented pithily: "it is nothing to find Mr. Unionist going to his work and coming home and assisting Mrs. Unionist in the shop, either openly at the counter or in some other way behind the scenes. Those cases of the breach of the principles of Unionism are generally known to all and sundry, but are simply winked at by the Unions". (May 5, 1922, p.2).
78. Interview with author, op.cit. "It was always they who had to do something - people always left things to the union officials". However, in spite of this passive attitude towards union membership, small but active branches of the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the Australasian Society of Carpenters and Joiners functioned in Brunswick throughout the 1920's. Employer attitudes to unions varied widely. While some attempted to sack workers who joined a union (CTU Minutes 1918-1924, op.cit. December 13, 1920, pp.286-287) others maintained a very good relationship with the relevant union (Phillips, interview with author, op.cit.: shop assistants in Phillips' family business were free to be involved in their union, and he recalls that relations with the union were generally cordial). Some like Hoffmans adopted an equivocal stance: they would donate crockery for the Carters and Drivers Union picnic (Hoffman Minutes, op.cit., January 28, 1926) and yet refuse the Brick Tile and Pottery Employees Union access to their workers (ibid., August 30, 1923).
79. BCL, May 4, 1923, p.4.
1921, it was careful to suggest that quotes be obtained from "Union Label" offices only. Throughout the decade, the paper published snippets of "union news", much of it quite obscure.

Although there was no major localised industrial conflict in Brunswick during the twenties, it was affected by some of the broader industrial struggles of the time. The 1923 police strike had a strong impact on popular consciousness: many Old Residents Survey respondents remember people being "shocked" and "bamboozled" by the strike. Yet Brunswick was a fair distance from the action, and there is a surprising amount of evidence to suggest that the strikers had strong working class support. The Brick Tile and Pottery Employees Union held membership meetings, which decided to donate £25 and later a further £12 to the strikers. Labor Councillors Hooper and Holbrook opposed a Council resolution in support of the Government's efforts to maintain order, describing prevailing police pay and conditions as "sweating". Several Old Residents Survey respondents who describe the "horror" of the community in response to the strike took pains to point out that the police had strong and legitimate grievances.

80. ibid., November 4, 1921, p.3.  
81. passim.  
82. Donovan, interview with author, op.cit.; Shelton, interview with author, op.cit.; Bradley, interview with author, op.cit.; Tatam, interview with author, op.cit.; de Bonnaire, interview with author, op.cit. In Dorothy Bradley's words, "people were horrified - police weren't supposed to go on strike".  
83. BPEU Minutes, op.cit., November 23, 1923; April 14, 1924.  
84. BCL, November 16, 1923, p.2. The Leader itself effected a quite temperate line on the police strike, acknowledging that the strikers had legitimate grievances, and even publishing a Trades Hall Council appeal to unionists for financial support for the strikers: November 23, 1923, p.1.  
85. McNair, interview with author, op.cit.; Shelton, interview with author, op.cit.; Tatam, interview with author, op.cit.; de Bonnaire, interview with author, op.cit. McNair recalls that a fellow employee who had worked as a "special volunteer" during the strike was unpopular with his workmates for years afterwards as a result.
The 1925 seamen's strike had little impact on Brunswick, although it did generate a demonstration against Prime Minister Stanley Bruce at the Brunswick Town Hall. Barnes argues that the 1928 waterside workers' strike was the first major industrial conflict that involved a substantial section of Brunswick. Many wharffies lived in Brunswick, and well-attended meetings were held outside the Mechanics Institute every Friday night for the duration of the strike.

However, the impact of previous industrial disputation on the people of Brunswick was totally dwarfed by that of the 1929 timber strike. Two very substantial concerns, Grundy's and the Northern Timber Company, each employing over 50 workers, were out on strike, and the action became rather fiery. Confrontations between scabs and strikers occurred, with one Brunswick striker Edward Thurley receiving 14 days' gaol for punching a scab.

Community support for the striking timber workers was massive. Between 300 and 400 people attended a public meeting in support of the strikers organised by the Brunswick ALP, and a week later the Mechanics Institute was packed to overflowing to hear the Timber Workers Union Secretary address the Brunswick ALP. Two months later,

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86. Hayes, interview with author, op.cit. The Leader described the strike as having "a serious effect on our local industries" (January 30, 1925, p.1) but the context makes it impossible to determine whether it is referring to Brunswick or Melbourne as a whole.
87. Interview with author, op.cit.
88. Ibid. Another smaller Brunswick mill was also on strike, while one - Whelan's - was declared "white" on account of its adherence to the old award provisions (Timber Workers Union Leaflet listing "white" mills, 1929). Interestingly, the core of the dispute - a counter-offensive by the employers in regard to wages, conditions, and hours of work - had been brewing for some years. Even in 1925, the Leader reported that "timber workers are incensed at the demands made by employers with regard to wages and conditions in the industry" (March 6, 1925, p.1).
89. BCG, March 8, 1929, p.4.
90. Ibid., March 15, 1929, p.5.
91. Ibid., March 22, 1929, p.1. Prominent Labor Parliamentarians and Councillors were among those present. Two months' later the West Brunswick ALP voted unanimously to donate the branch's entire funds to the timber workers: BCG, May, 17, 1929, p.3.
the West Brunswick ALP obtained the use of the Empire Theatre from Hoyts Theatres Ltd. free of charge, and ran a successful entertainment night to raise funds for the strikers' families. Support from other trade unions was also impressive. The Brunswick branch of the AEU voted 60:3 in favor of an eight shillings per member levy and again 55:3 in favor of a five shillings per member levy. Hayes recalls that he encountered no problems in collecting the strike levy in the boot factory where he worked, and Barnes remembers the secretary of his union telling him that the response to the timber workers strike levy amongst printing workers was "the strongest support he had ever seen". In keeping with Foster's observation that class consciousness and mass involvement tends to develop when the working class is attacked, Barnes argues that the support for the timber workers was linked directly to the fact that many workers had recently won the 44-hour week and were fearful that, like the timber workers, it would be taken away from them. He maintains that the timber strike saw the emergence of "true union consciousness" in Brunswick.

For those with no trade unions to fight for them - the aged, invalid and unemployed - life was particularly difficult. Jimmie Jewell spoke in Parliament on numerous occasions on the severe distress suffered by many in his electorate, recounting on one occasion a visit by his wife to a house a few doors from theirs where a child had just died, and where the occupants lacked the ordinary

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92. Brunswick City Council Minutes October 1926-September 1929, op.cit., May 13, 1929, p.1206. Presumably this gesture was for public relations purposes.
93. BCG, May 24, 1929, p.7; June 7, 1929, p.4. Not all such efforts succeeded: a series of euchre tournaments in the Town Hall in support of the strikers had to be prematurely abandoned: Minutes of Brunswick City Council October 1926 - September 1929, op.cit., June 17, 1929, p.1251.
94. AEU Minutes, op.cit., March 13, 1929.
95. ibid., June 26, 1929.
96. Interview with author, op.cit.
97. Barnes, interview with author, op.cit.
98. Foster, op.cit., pp. 4-5.
99. Interview with author, op.cit.
necessities of life".  Immigration often caused temporary, but severe, squalor, with new settlers often huddled into "overcrowded tenements" and existing on virtually nothing until work could be found. And there is clear evidence of an entrenched sub-culture of poverty, as witnessed by occasional prosecutions for begging and vagrancy.

Towards the end of the decade, however, severe distress was spreading; in its 1929 Annual Report, the Ladies Benevolent Society stated:

The committee has had in many cases to provide bedding and furniture for families who were sleeping on the floor. In many cases, also, they have had to pay for the removal of furniture of people who had been put out of their homes through inability to pay their rent.

Many Old Residents Survey respondents recalled considerable poverty in Brunswick, particularly in the late 1920's. Children lacking shoes and warm clothing in winter, and hawkers or swaggies begging at back gates, were two common memories.

1. VPD, Vol. 179, August 27, 1929, p.1142; see also VPD, Vol. 155, July 21, 1920, p.386; Vol. 169, October 22, 1925, p.1796; Vol. 171, July 14, 1926, p.248; and Vol. 171, August 17, 1926, p.854. In the last of these speeches, Jewell referred to a family who had lived on dry bread for a week, and one man who had not eaten for three days.
2. BCL, March 9, 1923, p.2; Frank Anstey, MHR for Bourke (the electorate which incorporated all of Brunswick) raised these problems in Federal Parliament: Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 100, August 31, 1922, p. 1819.
4. Ibid., August 20, 1921, p.1. In this instance an old woman convicted of vagrancy was sentenced to three months' gaol because she refused to enter a home. Memories of Old Residents Survey respondents of a proliferation of hawkers in this period (Responses to Question 48) add weight to suggestions of such a sub-culture.
5. Quoted in BCG, August 23, 1929, p.5.
6. Responses to Old Residents Survey Question 48. These comments must be treated with caution, in view of the close proximity of the Great Depression.
Social welfare services at the time were based very largely in the local community, and were predominantly voluntary in nature. With Commonwealth old age pensions 15 shillings per week in 1920\textsuperscript{7} and no unemployment or sickness benefits, the burden of providing for those unable to provide for themselves fell squarely on the local community. As a result, organisation of charitable pursuits formed a major focus of community activity.

The cornerstone of the provision of social welfare was the Ladies Benevolent Society, an autonomous State-subsidised organisation which offered five shillings per week or food vouchers to the destitute.\textsuperscript{8} The Society also channelled donations of books, clothes and bedding to those in need of assistance.\textsuperscript{9} By 1928 its resources were stretched to breaking point by the economic downturn, and it had to close operations temporarily in order to clear a £600 debt.\textsuperscript{10} Again in September 1929, the Society wrote to the Brunswick City Council informing the council that its funds were exhausted.\textsuperscript{11} In spite of this, the Society spent £3,266 in 1929, and entered into a variety of arrangements with groups of employees at particular factories "adopting" destitute families or sending weekly grocery parcels.\textsuperscript{12}

The Lady Mayoress' Committee also played a crucial fund-raising role, running dances, "at homes" and other functions to raise money for orphanages, hospitals, and local charities.\textsuperscript{13} Raising money for charity was seen as a key function of the Mayor's office, and Labor Mayors were often at the forefront in providing aid to the poor. George Hooper told the Council in 1925: "When he was Mayor he or his wife were not too proud

\textsuperscript{7} VVB 1920-21, p.401.
\textsuperscript{8} Donovan, interview with author, op.cit.
\textsuperscript{9} BCL, September 10, 1926, p.4.
\textsuperscript{10} BCG, December 7, 1928, p.5.
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., September 27, 1929, p.4.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., August 23, 1929, p.5.
\textsuperscript{13} See, for examples, BCG, April 12, 1929, p.6: May 24, 1929, p.7.
to go amongst the people and raise money". In 1928, Arch Reaburn and his wife were praised for being "actively engaged giving every possible assistance to relieve the distress caused by unemployment amongst the local residents". In 1929, Nationalist Premier Sir William McPherson praised Brunswick as having "done more than any other municipality" towards the alleviation of poverty and distress.

Various other organisations were also active in charitable activities, such as the Brunswick RSL Mothers Association and, towards the end of the decade, Toc H. On occasions, a burst of enthusiasm would give rise to a special committee dedicated to a particular cause, such as the "Grand Sacred Concert for the Sick Poor of Brunswick". In mid-1925, an Unemployed Relief Committee was established with Labor Councillors and Brunswick ALP Secretary Ted Peters prominent amongst its members. The Council donated £175 and later agreed to give £1 for £1 up to £1000. The Committee raised £164 at a concert, but soon disbanded.

In spite of this heavy emphasis on charitable works amongst the City's leading citizens, its ordinary workers relied just as much on self-help as on the benevolence of the better-off. Whenever a worker was seriously injured, a woman left widowed with numerous children or a family fell into "distress", some local organisation was bound to run

15. BCL, February 24, 1928, p.5.
16. BCL, April 26, 1929, p.4.
17. BCL, November 11, 1927, p.5.
18. BCL, March 23, 1928, p.6. Toc H, which focussed its efforts on providing for children, was aiming to "break down class hatred and social barriers" according to the Leader report.
20. ibid., June 26, 1925, p.4.
21. ibid., July 17, 1925, p.6. Other donors included Hoffmans, who gave £10.10s.: Minutes, op.cit., July 16, 1925.
22. BCL August 28, 1925, p.6. Upon the Committee disbanding, Peters wrote: "It is a matter of regret to my Committee that the appeal was not more successful; that those able to give did not give more freely, and that many able to help did not help the Committee in any way".
some form of benefit for them. It might be fellow workers, a local lodge, a football club, or even the local ALP branch. Many such benefit efforts were organised, often with some direct or indirect assistance from the Council. The prevailing feature of these voluntary benefits was that they were organised by the victim's peers, not his "betters", and their popularity may in part be explained by the "charity" stigma attached to middle class welfare organisations. These community-based efforts were further supplemented by countless whip-rounds on the job for less fortunate fellow-workers.

The earliest manifestation of this self-help tendency, health insurance, was by this stage a solidly-entrenched part of community life. A wide range of different lodges operated in Brunswick, including the Rechabites, Manchester Unity, Australian Natives Association, Irish National Foresters, and Grand United Order of Oddfellows. Although in Barnes' view they declined somewhat in the twenties from a pre-war peak when they were "strong organisations of the working class", the social activities of the various lodges were still important in that period. Nevertheless, by this stage their primary function was providing access to free medicine - the combined lodges operated dispensaries staffed by qualified doctors, which in 1927 doled out a total of 96,710 prescriptions. For the politically and socially mobile, the lodges were an important path to advancement, as some such as the Irish

23. BCL, February 9, 1923, p.2. (Brunswick tramworkers run a benefit concert for two "distressed comrades").
25. ibid., November 16, 1923, p.3. (East Brunswick Football Club raises £20 at dance benefit for injured player.).
26. ibid., May 11, 1923, p.4. (Brunswick ALP runs a benefit concert for widow with large family).
27. For example, BCL, October 1, 1926, p.3; December 16, 1921, p.3; Minutes of Brunswick City Council February 1920-June 1922, op.cit., May 24, 1920, p.99; August 1, 1921, p.564.
28. Barnes, interview with author, op.cit. recalls that this form of social security prevailed until 1946, when the Chifley Government gained constitutional power over social services and the foundations of the modern social security system were laid.
29. Barnes, interview with author, op.cit.
30. BCL, March 2, 1928, p.2; Donovan, interview with author, op.cit.
National Foresters, Masonic Lodge, and Rechabites, were organised around particular sub-strata in the community. The lodges still organised debates, ran sporting teams and held social functions, but for most members, their sole purpose was the provision of health insurance.

One rather crucial area where working class self-help does not seem to have developed was in the provision of credit. Some shops provided informal credit facilities to trusted customers - Ronald Phillips recalls that it was common for his father to say "give me what you can and fix me up later on", and he would go out on his bicycle on Monday mornings to pick up repayments. However, for most the only escape from a hand-to-mouth existence on a modest wage came through local moneylenders such as George Adams. The sums available for loan were as low as £5, but many borrowers got into difficulties regardless. Prosecutions for defaulting were reported regularly in the press. Although the courts sometimes showed tolerance to defaulters, the lure of easy money still took its toll. "Paying high rates of interest on loans" appears as a specified cause of bankruptcy in almost every insolvency reported in the period.

In overview, then, the safety net under the wage system was a tangled mixture of working class self-organisation and middle class paternalism. The obituary accolade "a most assiduous worker on all charity movements" might appear in the eulogy for a pottery magnate or a tram

31. Interview with author, op.cit. Dorothy Bradley, interview with author, op.cit., recalls that it was very common for shops to allow credit, particularly in the latter part of the decade when times were tougher.
32. For example, BCL February 2, 1923, p.4; August 14, 1925, p.1; February 3, 1928, p.4.
33. On one occasion a case was adjourned for two months because the debtor was seriously ill: BCL, August 14, 1925, p.1.
34. For examples, see BCL, August 6, 1926, p.1; September 17, 1926, p.3. Insolvents were invariably people with common blue-collar occupations.
35. BCL, March 11, 1927, p.3.
The Ladies Benevolent Society seems to have been a "Nationalist turnout" dominated by the "upper crust", and there was a clear connection with the Protestant churches in this respect. With ordinary workers demonstrating a collective solidarity and capacity for fund-raising which would have done the Society proud, it may be that the efforts of the Society and similar groupings were more tolerated than welcomed.

36. ibid., November 13, 1925, p.3. The quote in fact appeared in the obituary for tram conductor Herbert Beeson.
37. Barnes, interview with author, op.cit.
38. Banks, interview with author, op.cit. The President of the Society in 1929 was Mrs. Thompson, who lived in middle class Cassells Rd. and was also President of the Nationalist Federation.
A DIVIDED COMMUNITY

At the outset of the 1920's, Brunswick was a community divided on two axes: the religious and the military. The sectarian division was more deeply-rooted and bitter than the division between the returned soldier and the rest of the community, yet both were extremely prominent in the social and political life of Brunswick, particularly in the first half of the decade.

Sectarian divisions had their roots in the influx of Irish-Catholic migrants into predominantly Nonconformist Brunswick in the latter part of the nineteenth century. A "Cohesive, inward-looking minority group", they quickly established themselves as a force in Brunswick society. With working class adherence to the various Dissenting churches waning for a number of reasons including the church leaders' involvement in the Land Boom, the Catholic Church became the dominant working class church, a trend which reached its apotheosis in the anti-conscription campaigns of 1916-17. The simmering Irish question added fuel to the flames of the bitter conscription struggles, and the influence of this division lingered on into the twenties and beyond.

39. Lawson, R.: Brisbane in the 1890's (University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1973) p.21. De Bonnaire recalls being taught to revere Alderman McSweeney of Cork, and remembers that almost everything in her childhood world "seemed vaguely Irish or had something to do with Ireland". (Interview with author, op.cit.).
40. As the disruption of the 1898 Orange Day march demonstrated: Barnes, interview with author, op.cit.
41. ibid.
42. Brunswick voted strongly against conscription in both referenda: in 1916, 56.36 per cent of formal votes in Bourke said "No", and in 1917 the percentage was 58.07 per cent. On each occasion only four electorates had higher "No" votes: Yarra, Melbourne, Melbourne Ports, and Batman: Elections and Referendums 1903-1928 (Australian Electoral Office). Barnes maintains that a relatively close affinity between the Catholic Church and the average worker developed, because Catholics were viewed as being "Labor, good unionists, and good militant fighters", and the Protestant churches were seen as the main source of war-mongering at a time when most Brunswick people were sick of war. (Interview with author, op.cit.).
Even before the war, sectarian bitterness was a major element in Brunswick politics. From 1910 onwards, the conservatives campaigned against Frank Anstey on a sectarian basis - in spite of his professed Rationalism, he was dubbed "the priests' nominee". The conscription campaigns led to an influx of Catholics into the ALP and a resurgence of the Brunswick Protestant Federation, which claimed 500 members in 1917. In the immediate post-war period, sectarianism dominated politics in Brunswick: Anstey was almost defeated by a returned soldier making use of posters such as "Ryan Rule means Rome Rule" in the 1919 Federal election. And local council elections became religious struggles, with Catholics and Protestants both savouring victory at various points. In July 1920, a meeting of the Brunswick Catholic Federation made a public plea for all Catholics to ensure that they were registered on the municipal voting rolls.

The Irish question sharpened the conflict, with St. Ambrose's Catholic Boys School briefly adopting Sinn Fein's green, white and gold as its colours at the behest of Head Brother Doran. Even the supposed settlement of the problem in 1922 did not dampen the issue: in 1926, while laying the foundation stone of the new St. Joseph's Convent in West Brunswick, Archbishop Mannix was reported thus: "Ireland, he hoped, would be one and undivided before long. It was an offence to Irishmen that six counties in the North had been severed from the remainder of Ireland".

43. Barnes, interview with Norma Martin, op.cit.; interview with author, op.cit.
44. Barnes, interview with author, op.cit.
45. ibid. Ryan was Thomas J. Ryan, ex-Premier of Queensland, then Deputy-Leader of the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party. The Nationalist candidate was Sergeant R. E. Tracey.
46. Numerous Old Residents Survey respondents remarked on the sectarian atmosphere of Council elections in this period: Tatam, interview with author, op.cit.; Phillips, interview with author, op.cit.; Glew, interview with author, op.cit. Phillips remembers his uncle, a Brunswick Councillor for many years, leading a Loyal Orange march down Sydney Rd. wearing his Mayoral robes.
47. BCL, July 2, 1920, p.2.
49. BCL, January 22, 1926, p.4.
The entrenching of the Catholic-Labor coalition ensured that the sectarian element would remain prominent in politics for some time. And this coalition was certainly a strong one: in 1929, Frank Anstey - noted left-winger and Rationalist - described Mannix as "a bulwark of democracy in the State and a true friend of the working classes". 50

In a sense, the whole sectarian division revolved around the charismatic Mannix. The arch-demon of "disloyalty" during the anti-conscription campaigns who had baited Billy Hughes and got away with it, Mannix was so often in Brunswick that one might perhaps be excused for mistaking him for a parish priest rather than Archbishop for the whole of Victoria. 51 Throughout the twenties, he crops up at virtually every significant Catholic function held in Brunswick, including mass confirmations in a three weeks' Holy Mission, 52 opening a new presbytery at Our Lady Help of Christians, 53 laying the foundation stone of St. Joseph's, 54 opening St. Joseph's, 55 opening the new school at Our Lady Help of Christians, 56 handing out the school prizes at St. Ambrose's, 57 convening a Eucharistic Congress in the Brunswick Town Hall, 58 and opening extensions to St. Joseph's school. 59 And when he did appear, Mannix drew crowds in the thousands. 60 Even speeches made by Mannix in other parts of the State were sometimes reported in the Brunswick press. 61

50. BCG, September 20, 1929, p.2.
51. In fact, Mannix missed becoming parish priest at St. Ambrose's at an earlier date only because of the intervention of Archbishop Carr, who sent him to the moribund West Melbourne parish instead.
52. BCL, June 16, 1922, p.3.
54. Ibid., January 22, 1926, p.4.
55. Ibid., May 28, 1926, p.6.
56. Ibid., January 28, 1927, p.3.
57. Ibid., January 27, 1928, p.4.
60. For example, an estimated 2,000 attended the opening of the new presbytery at Our Lady Help of Christians (BCL, November 14, 1924, p.1) and 2,500 came to watch Mannix open the new convent at St. Joseph's (BCL, May 28, 1926, p.6).
61. For instance, a speech at Brighton on modern fashions: BCL, January 14, 1927, p.5.
Sectarian bitterness was especially divisive socially during the twenties. The distinction between Protestant and Catholic was all-pervasive: numerous Old Residents Survey respondents recall that it was standard practice for the first inquiry about a new acquaintance to be about his or her religion. It was widely believed that a person's religion was of crucial importance in securing employment. Moran & Cato's grocers was well-known to be a "Protestant shop". Several other major firms were believed to discriminate one way or the other, and Barnes maintains that Protestants dominated the tramways and Catholics dominated the railways. Rumours of Catholics "taking all the best government jobs" were spread widely, and a number of Old Residents Survey respondents proffered first-hand examples of religion affecting employment. Les Barnes even recollects seeing a sign in a baker's window which read "Girl wanted: no RC need apply". Yet perhaps the substance was slightly less dramatic than the appearance: Glew maintains that what discrimination there was did not extend beyond "preference", and never reached outright exclusion. And de Bonnaire argues that it only affected jobs of a certain status, and was not relevant to ordinary laboring jobs.

Various Old Residents Survey respondents also recalled that religion very definitely influenced where people shopped. Glew comments: "We were sent to shops that were Protestant owned". And Hornby recalls: "I think that my mother avoided if possible patronising shops run by Catholics". Mixed marriages, difficult enough because of

62. For example, Guthrie Lord, Response to Old Residents Survey Question 59; Banks, interview with author, op.cit.
63. Tatam, interview with author, op.cit.; Donovan, interview with author, op.cit.; Elizabeth Murphy, response to Old Residents Survey Question 59. Dorothy Bradley disputes the reality of this commonly-held perception: interview with author, op.cit.
64. Responses to Old Residents Survey Question 59.
65. Interview with author, op.cit.
67. Interview with Norma Martin, op.cit.
68. Interview with author, op.cit.
69. Interview with author, op.cit.
70. Both Marjorie Glew and Evelyn de Bonnaire made this comment: interviews with author, op.cit.
71. Responses to Old Residents Survey, Question 59.
the considerable social gulf between Protestants and Catholics, were strongly frowned on. "We would not think of having a Catholic boy-friend" comments Marjorie Glew, and one Old Residents Survey respondent whose father was a Methodist and a Freemason remembers that her marriage to a Catholic "just about broke Dad's heart". Some mixed marriages were made even more difficult by the fact that the respective families would not talk to each other.

The various organised sectarian forces remained relatively quiescent during the 1920's. The Protestant Federation held monthly meetings at the Town Hall and made occasional half-hearted forays into the public arena, but both it and the Orange Lodge had little impact. Only one major sectarian clash occurred in the decade - a slightly farcical riot by several hundred Catholics outside the Empire Theatre where the film "The Murphys and the O'Callaghans" was being shown. The film was offensive to Catholics because one scene showed an Irishman blessing himself by pouring bootleg liquor from a chamber-pot over himself. The Catholic picket, led by St. Ambrose's priest Father McCarthy, got a little out of hand, and order was only restored when the police arrived and the proprietor agreed to cancel the film. In response to this disturbance,

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72. The following item from the Leader indicates the nature of this gulf: "E.F. Hendren and A. Sandham, members of the English eleven, are set down for entertainment at social evenings by fellow Roman Catholic admirers". (BCL, December 5, 1924, p.1). The origins of the social division lay in factors such as the separate Catholic education system and the lasting national antagonism between the English and the Irish. Hazel Bennett remembers being taught as a child that it was a sin to mix with Catholics: response to Old Residents Survey, Question 59.
73. Response to Old Residents Survey, Question 59.
74. Name withheld by request.
75. De Bonnaire, interview with author, op.cit.
77. For instance, in 1928 the Protestant Federation wrote to the Council protesting about Catholic processions which, it said, "are a source of offence to a great section of the Protestant Community"; BCL, October 12, 1928, p.4.
78. Barnes, interview with author, op.cit.; de Bonnaire, interview with author, op.cit. (Evelyn de Bonnaire was an eye-witness at this incident).
a local property developer and estate agent, P. M. Shedden, formed a "League of Silent Knights" with two Loyal Orange tramways workers, but this organisation soon petered out. 79

The significance of sectarianism in this period is difficult to pin down. The perception of sectarian conflict and division was clearly very strong, 80 but the substance is just a little elusive. This contradiction is highlighted strongly by the responses to Old Residents Survey question 59: 35 of 45 respondents answered that sectarianism was prevalent in Brunswick in the 1920's, and of those 35, 18 added without prompting a comment to the effect that they never encountered it personally. There may be some validity in Barnes' assessment that the role of sectarianism in the twenties was "much exaggerated" and that it was not much more than "a lot of talk". 81

The second abiding division within the Brunswick community, also a legacy of the bitter days of 1916-18, was between returned soldiers and the remainder of the community. The returning servicemen started on the wrong foot by bringing with them the dreaded influenza, which hit Brunswick especially hard. 82 Schools, dances, meetings and other gatherings were all closed, and many people wore medicated white masks in the street. 83 A good many Brunswick people died in the epidemic, and it was not fully under control until April 1919.

Of approximately 6,000 Brunswick men who had enlisted, 300 were killed, 47 left war widows, and by 1923 2000 owned their own homes. 84 By 1933, according to the Commonwealth

79. Barnes, interview with author, op.cit. The tramways men were acquaintances of Les Barnes.
80. So much so that organisations like the Housewives Association (BCL, March 12, 1920, p.1) and the Scouts (BCL, April 15, 1921, p.4) went to some trouble to assure everyone that they were "non-sectarian". This is also highlighted by headlines such as "Roman Catholics and Protestants Assemble Together at Kew" (BCL, November 25, 1921, p.3).
81. Interview with author, op.cit.
84. BCL, December 21, 1923, p.2. These figures were supplied by J. H. Donnelly, President of the Brunswick Returned Servicemen's League.
Census, there were only 1,780 returned servicemen in Brunswick. The returning soldiers received a "heroes' welcome", but according to Barnes it came primarily from the same middle class - Nationalist-Protestant axis which had formed the backbone of Brunswick's pro-war push. In his view most working class people regarded the soldiers as "mugs to be pitied", and were suspicious of "the whole attitude" which gave rise to the RSL: Irish-Catholics saw the soldiers as "potential Black and Tans". Of course, many returned soldiers were themselves thoroughly disillusioned, and wanted nothing more to do with war or its trappings. Nellie Shelton recalls that her husband just wanted to forget the war, and had no interest in the RSL. Other returned men regarded the RSL as an anti-Labor organisation "designed to split soldiers away from the Labor Party". Addressing a meeting of returned soldiers in 1919, Labor Councillor Bert Holbrook reminded them that they had interests in common with civilian workers, not against them.

The Brunswick RSL survived for a few years, often relying on middle class patronage to sustain itself. In 1924 it folded when its secretary absconded with £500 which had been collected for the construction of a memorial. It did not re-form until 1928, following an earlier aborted revival which had again been thwarted by an official absconding with the organisation's funds. 90 ex-soldiers met at the Town

85. Commonwealth Census 1933, op.cit., p.181. The Brunswick and Coburg Gazette, May 1, 1931, p.6., provided different figures, stating that 3,573 Brunswick men had enlisted and 510 had been killed.
86. Interview with author, op.cit.
87. ibid.
88. ibid.; McNair, interview with author, op.cit.
89. Interview with author, op.cit.
90. Barnes, interview with author, op.cit. As secretary of a local cricket team, Barnes recalls allowing a local RSL team to share his team's ground "only after the President and Secretary had convinced me that they were Labor men".
91. BCL, June 6, 1919, p.6. The perception of the RSL as an anti-Labor body was undoubtedly fuelled considerably by Tracey's campaign against Anstey in 1919. Barnes also maintains that the RSL (or RSA as it was first known) was "full of ex-conscript-ionists" : interview with author, op.cit.
92. BCL, May 25, 1923, p.4: Mrs. Andrews of Stewart St. places her billiards room and tennis court at the disposal of RSL members.
93. McNair, interview with author, op.cit.
94. ibid.
Hall in September 1928 and the Brunswick RSL was reconstituted. In keeping with Barnes' view that the local RSL was an organisation of the officer caste and middle class, the reconstituted Brunswick RSL executive included a bank manager, an insurance representative, a postmaster, the Town Clerk, a publican, the chief municipal clerk, and a businessman. The RSL revival was closely linked to the commercial sphere: "Prominent businessmen have been approached, and their support is assured", cried the Leader. In March 1929, the Gazette reported that "digger activities" were "flourishing".

The celebration of Anzac Day in Brunswick in this period followed a pattern similar to the rise and fall of the fortunes of the RSL. After an early spurt of enthusiasm, Anzac Day services had become very low key by 1923. A letter in the Leader attacked the apathy and ingratitude of Brunswick to its returned soldiers, and in 1925 a "digger's mother" wrote complaining that the only "service" on Anzac Day 1925 had been the opening of the new grandstand at the Brunswick football ground. It was not until 1928 that special commemorative services for Anzac Day were resumed in Brunswick's churches.

97. September 28, 1928, p.3.
98. March 23, 1929, p.8. The RSL revival may be partly attributable to the fact that immediate post-war babies had now reached an age which allowed their fathers greater freedom. Even in 1929, however, the Brunswick RSL had only about 80 members, out of the 2,000 or more ex-soldiers in Brunswick. In 1937, the Brunswick RSL Sub-branch Ninth Annual Report commented: "Although membership stands at the satisfactory figure of 404, it is still felt that in a locality like Brunswick, containing such a large number of returned men among its citizens, a membership considerably higher than that already reached should be attained".
1. BCL, May 4, 1923, p.2; May 1, 1925, p.6.
The rocky progress of plans for a grand memorial in Brunswick followed a similar path. In 1922 the Council reached agreement with the returned soldiers on a Memorial Hall as a suitable monument to Brunswick's fallen, and by mid-1923 work on the hall was due to begin, with the Council contributing £2,200 and the soldiers £800. However, by the end of 1923, returned soldiers were said to be "enraged" by the Council's lack of action on the project and in April 1924 the RSL wrote to the Council dissociating itself from the project. Undeterred, the Council decided to incorporate returned soldiers' club-rooms in the new Town Hall as a memorial, and in spite of the RSL's strong opposition, this proposal was approved by a public meeting of Brunswick residents. The first floor of the east wing of the new Town Hall thus became the RSL's club-rooms, and Brunswick's memorial to the fallen. The Council rubbed salt into the wound in 1928 by rejecting a proposed donation of £1000 towards the construction of the Shrine of Remembrance because it entailed "glorification of the martial spirit" and would enable "brass hats to air their oratorical powers to the accompaniment of the beating of drums and the waving of imperialist flags".

In 1920, every Brunswick returned soldier was issued with an ornate certificate of service, presumably to serve as authentification when seeking employment. Although there was a degree of agitation on the issue for much of the 1920's, it would seem that preference in employment for returned soldiers had little impact in Brunswick. Many soldiers returned to their old jobs in line with promises made at the time of their enlistment while others secured

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3. BCL, June 30, 1922, p.3.
5. Ibid., December 14, 1923, p.2.
6. Ibid., April 4, 1924, p.3.
8. BCL, June 19, 1925, p.4.
9. BCL, December 7, 1928, p.4. Four months later this decision was reversed when three Labor councillors were absent: BCC March 30, 1929, p.8.
10. One of these certificates is on display in the Brunswick RSL rooms.
jobs quickly in the thriving construction industry. According to Barnes, preference only really functioned in government employment. Heated "preference" controversies were common in the first few post-war years, and in 1922 a public plea by the RSL resulted in 23 returned soldiers finding employment. However, it was not until the slump in 1928 that preference re-surfaced as an issue, with returned soldiers complaining about the absence of preference in municipal employment in Brunswick and many donning their service badges to enhance their chances of finding work. Many ex-soldiers set up small shops during the twenties, making use of their status with advertising lines such as "Are you guilty of the crime of indifference of not supporting a Returned Digger?" Others bought small vans with gratuities or deferred pay, painted their regimental colours on the side, and plied for trade amongst local businesses. The impact of "returned" status in the economic sphere is difficult to assess, but was possibly quite minor.

13. Interview with author, op.cit. Tatam, who worked as a clerk at the Tramways Board, recalls being passed over for promotion because he was not a returned soldier, and states that this did not really cause any resentment against returned soldiers, even amongst those who had been too young to enlist.
14. In 1919 the RSL ran a candidate for the Brunswick City Council following the granting of permanent status to two temporary municipal employees who were not returned soldiers: Thomson, "Back to my own Native Land", op.cit., pp. 13-14.
17. Barnes, interview with author, op.cit.
18. BCL, April 7, 1922, p.1. Advertisements carrying lines such as "late AIF" were common in this period.
19. Barnes, "On Top in the Twenties", op.cit., p.6. At one point, returned soldiers established a car-parking service which, though "not a very desirable job for returned soldiers", was a means of relieving "many cases of acute distress" : BCL, July 16, 1926, p.5. Others tried to scrape by selling flowers at street-stalls: BCL, October 1, 1926, p.6. At the beginning of the decade, returned soldiers who were unemployed were entitled to a dole of £2.2s. per week, with an additional 15/-d. if married and 3/6d. per child, and all returned servicemen were eligible for an £800 housing loan from the War Service Homes Commission, repayable as rent, at 5 per cent interest: VYB 1920-21, p.386. However, all was not well: in 1921 a public meeting was held to complain about the cost and condition of war service homes: BCL, February 25, 1921, p.2.
Many returned soldiers were unable to adjust to the resumption of quiet civilian life. Some missed the "larrikin freedom" of camp life upon their return to "stale relationships or families of strangers".\(^{20}\) Drunkenness, marriage problems, and a general "tumult of spirit" prevailed.\(^{21}\) One Old Residents Survey respondent recalls her father's problems on returning from the war: restless, unable to accept his wife's new independence, unable to hold down a steady job, lacking his earlier sense of responsibility, withdrawing into prolonged bouts of drinking and card-playing with other returned soldiers, he eventually left his family.\(^{22}\) Some suffered major health problems as a result of having been gassed, some were afflicted with neuroses, and others were restricted by their circumstances, having returned to a virtual backwater with "the ideas of Europe".\(^{23}\)

There is some evidence that the prevailing 1920's dichotomy of "loyalty" and "disloyalty" was present in the Brunswick community. Middle class Protestant elements continued their war-time efforts to engender loyalty, for instance through the erection of a "Brunswick stand" in the procession for the Prince of Wales in 1920.\(^{24}\) However, most of the available evidence indicates that militarism and imperialism held little real attraction for the majority of Brunswick people, and that it engendered some resentment and a great deal of apathy.\(^{25}\)

21. ibid; McNair, interview with author, op.cit.
22. Name withheld by request. This respondent also recalls her eldest sister becoming pregnant to a returned soldier at the age of 12, and undergoing an abortion in consequence.
23. Phillips, interview with author, op.cit; McNair, interview with author, op.cit; Barnes, interview with author, op.cit.
25. Barnes' outline of the popular attitude to compulsory military training is an excellent example. He recalls monthly prosecutions of up to 30 or more young men for evading training, and an overwhelmingly cynical attitude to the whole business. Saturday afternoon drill, supposedly four hours, would consist of a march to the Brunswick football ground where time would be accumulated watching the latter part of the game, and a return march to the drill hall in Percy St. It was common to see "ten or twelve fellers marching in ragged formation looking so sorry for themselves", and when the scheme was abandoned at the end of the decade, there was no public outcry in Brunswick.
THE DYNAMICS OF POLITICS

The life-blood of localised political activity in Brunswick for much of the 1920's came from the various local progress associations. Brunswick residents were quite partial to voluntary associations; they started the decade with the East Brunswick Progress Association, the West Brunswick Progress Association, and the North-West Brunswick Progress Association, and by 1929 had added the North-East Brunswick Progress Association and the East Brunswick Improvement League to the list.

No local issue was too obscure or trivial for these earnest bodies, as reports in Brunswick's press graphically illustrate. Public transport issues figures prominently in their campaigns, including the long-sought after electrification of the Nicholson St. tramline, rises in tram fares, overcrowding on trams, the need for a road to accompany the new tram-line through Royal Park, and the need for a seat at the Blyth St. bus-stop. Consumer protection was also a popular theme: progress associations raised matters such as the selling of shark as Murray Cod, the residential development of swampy land near Merri Creek, high rents and sub-standard housing conditions, the prices of staple products and the "high cost of living in general", and the need for local councils to sell electrical appliances direct to the public. The state of various streets, drains, and street-lighting was a constant theme.

26. BCL, March 9, 1928, p.4.
27. BCG, May 24, 1929, p.5.
28. BCL, December 30, 1921, p.3; May 27, 1927, p.4; BCG, May 24, 1929, p.5.
29. BCL, May 13, 1921, p.3.
30. Ibid., January 12, 1923, p.2.
33. Minutes of Brunswick City Council June 1922-September 1924, op.cit., April 10, 1922, p.880.
34. BCL, August 14, 1925, p.4.
35. Ibid., September 8, 1922, p.4.
36. Ibid., February 24, 1922, p.3.
38. For example, BCL, September 16, 1921, p.2; Minutes of Brunswick City Council February 1920-June 1922, op.cit. July 12, 1920, p.145. The vigilance of the progress associations in these matters was quite startling.
and more general matters such as the need for more police, 39 more public conveniences, 40 and greater efficiency in local government 41 were pursued regularly.

The progress associations also provided an important forum for the discussion of important issues, and the delivery of travelogues and lectures on obscure topics. Such evenings included debate on the proposed Greater Melbourne Council, 42 an address on "The Constitution and the Need for its Alteration", 43 a lecture by the secretary of the Single Taxers, 44 a description by Frank Anstey of his journeys in Europe, 45 and a lecture by Maurice Blackburn, MLA, on "European Peoples: Their Origin and Descent". 46 The progress associations sometimes convened public meetings for the purpose of discussing major issues of concern, 47 and regularly sent deputations to the Brunswick City Council. 48 They were very much an organic part of the process of local government, participating jointly with the Council in deputations to Government bodies 49 and exercising formal representation on committees responsible for administering public parks. 50 Though they did not officially endorse candidates in Council elections, they were influential networks often used by candidates to boost their support. They met regularly, albeit with

39.  BCL, October 20, 1922, p.3; June 16, 1928, p.2.
40.  ibid., November 5, 1926, p.2.
41.  ibid., May 1, 1925, p.5. The East Brunswick Progress Association even raised the issue of "sweating" of Brunswick City Council staff, who were forced to attend Council meetings lasting sometimes beyond 2.00 am., and then turn up for work at 9.00 am. the next morning: BCL, June 27, 1928, p.4.
42.  ibid., May 1, 1925, p.5.
43.  ibid., April 15, 1921, p.2.
44.  ibid., August 19, 1921, p.3.
45.  ibid., May 13, 1921, p.1.
46.  ibid., June 19, 1925, p.3.
47.  For example, the West Brunswick Progress Association held a public meeting to discuss the proposed Greater Melbourne Council (BCG May 17, 1929, p.5) and the East Brunswick Progress Association held a similar meeting to discuss the interminable Nicholson St. tram issue (BCL, June 17, 1927, p.5).
48.  For example, in 1923 a thirty-member deputation tackled the Council on various "streets and drains" matters: Minutes of Brunswick City Council June 1922-October 1924, op.cit., July 9, 1923, p.448.
49.  ibid., May 21, 1923, p.403.
50.  ibid., June 16, 1924, p.894.
occasionally poor attendances, and although obviously the domain of the more respectable, appear to have been relatively "democratic": the President of the North-West Brunswick Progress Association, for example, was a tramways worker.

In some respects, the progress associations were usurping the traditional functions of the lodges. Although the lodges continued to organise debates on topical issues such as "Is the trend of Industrial Unionism beneficial to the workers of Australia?" and "Is a Shorter Working Week Economically Possible?", and occasionally sent deputations to the Council, their influence in public affairs declined. From Barnes' comments it would appear likely that the minority who kept this aspect of lodge affairs going were mostly "respectable" working class.

The functions of the various lodges and progress associations in the political and social existence of Brunswick were not greatly different from those of the local branches of the Labor Party. The pursuit of "streets and drains" issues by the various progress associations was almost paralleled by Brunswick's two ALP branches, Brunswick and West Brunswick. The activities of Brunswick branch included writing to the Council about postal problems caused by poor house-numbering; drawing the Council's attention to the

51. The East Brunswick Progress Association met fortnightly, and for a period in the latter part of 1923 was only getting a handful of members turning up at its meetings: BCL, December 7, 1923, p.2.
52. BCL, January 27, 1927, p.5. At some point in the latter 1920's, the West Brunswick Progress Association was all but taken over by the West Brunswick branch of the ALP.
53. ibid., March 10, 1922, p.2; March 25, 1927, p.5. The former debate attracted a "crowded house" which included State MP Jimmie Jewell. It is significant that topics of this nature were debated, and unfortunate that details of participants have not survived.
54. Minutes of Brunswick City Council October 1926-September 1929, op.cit., April 2, 1928, p.730. This deputation was from West Brunswick ANA, which managed to attract 57 of its 110 members to its first annual general meeting: BCL, December 10, 1926, p.2.
55. Interview with author, op.cit.
56. BCL, September 21, 1923, p.4.
poor condition of a culvert and the need for a children's library, urging the Council to take over the moribund Mechanics Institute, campaigning in support of Unimproved Land Value rating, pursuing the abolition of the Mayoral Ball as an undemocratic and elitist function, calling for wage increases for council workers, and urging democratisation of the Mechanics Institute library committee. Similarly, West Brunswick branch devoted time and energy to raising the issue of traffic congestion, seeking the erection of a public hall in West Brunswick, urging the council to purchase and subdivide land in West Brunswick for residential development, complaining about the state of various streets and drains, pursuing a reduction in fees for connection of electricity, and discussing the new Vocational Guidance system. The ALP branches even sent formal deputations to Council meetings on matters of local concern such as cheaper electricity tariffs.

The position of the local branches on broader issues is something of a mystery up until the latter part of the decade: no records survive, and until about 1927 the Brunswick press seemed to view the "streets and drains" matters outlined immediately above as the only ALP activities worth reporting. However, Gil Hayes recalls that the Brunswick ALP of the mid-twenties was comparatively militant, and taken to discussing socialism quite often. Both branches were strongly anti-militarist: the West Brunswick

57. ibid., November 16, 1923, p.3.
58. ibid., March 7, 1924, p.3.
59. ibid., October 30, 1925, p.1.
60. ECG, June 28, 1929, p.5. This issue led to a lengthy correspondence in the Gazette between branch secretary Ted Peters and Brunswick Mayor, Cr. Roy Ivey: July 12, 1929, p.4; July 19, 1929, p.8; July 21, 1929, p.4; August 2, 1929, p.4.
61. ibid., December 20, 1929, p.5.
62. ibid., November 15, 1929, p.7.
63. ECL, April 4, 1924, p.1.
64. Ibid., November 21, 1924, p.1.
65. ibid., August 28, 1925, p.1.
67. ibid., August 26, 1927, p.1.
68. ECG, November 22, 1929, p.2.
70. Interview with author, op.cit. Hayes, a member of the Brunswick branch at the time, went on to be an official in the Boot Trades Union and later President of the Trades Hall Council.
branch got quite upset when it discovered that a "special roll" of returned soldiers' children had been read at local schools on Anzac Day as it felt that this "had the effect of creating a feeling of caste in the minds of the children". 71 And socialism, if not around the corner, was at least on the agenda by 1929. Former State Minister Tom Tunnecliffe cited steps towards the socialisation of transport as one of the main achievements of the Hogan Government when he spoke at the Brunswick ALP, 72 and when a young Arthur Calwell spoke several months later, he attributed the growing economic crisis to private ownership of the means of production, concentration of land ownership in few hands, and monopoly control of banking. 73 By the end of 1929, the West Brunswick branch was debating a proposed statutory Right to Work, and the implementation of Labor's Socialisation objective. 74 Yet Barnes recalls the Brunswick branches as being predominantly non-socialist at this time, even at the height of the Depression, 75 and Carolyn Rasmussen's work suggests that the Coburg branch regarded itself as a good deal more progressive and active than its Brunswick counterparts. 76

Certainly both Brunswick ALP branches appeared very healthy at the end of the twenties, with West Brunswick welcoming 40 new members at the beginning of 1929, 77 and

71. BCL, June 30, 1928, p.3. The strong stance of Brunswick ALP against the Shrine of Remembrance is further evidence of this anti-militarism: BCG, May 3, 1929, p.5.
72. BCG, March 1, 1929.
73. Ibid., July 26, 1929, p.7. Calwell's suggested solutions were slightly more moderate, although he did call for the nationalisation of banking.
74. Ibid., December 20, 1929, p.3; December 27, 1929, p.5.
75. Interview with author, op.cit. Barnes recalls that he "could never get any motion through calling on the Scullin Government to socialise the means of production", even at the very worst period of the Depression, in his early days as a Brunswick ALP member.
76. Rasmussen, C.A.: "Labor Politics in Coburg 1919-1940" (MA Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1978) p.129. She describes the Coburg ALP as "strongly opposed to minority Labor Governments, suspicious of 'craft unionism' as a divisive and conservative force in the Labor movement, and impatient for a radical transformation of economic relationships in Australian Society". (p.63). Her incomplete membership data suggests that the branch membership was overwhelmingly working class (pp.4-5, Appendix C).
77. BCG, January 10, 1929, p.3. The Gazette reported a "tone of healthy enthusiasm".
Brunswick reporting a "steady increase" in membership in the first part of the year. The branches functioned at a variety of levels in the local community. They were involved in charitable activities, held many social functions, and took an active interest in trade union affairs, linking up with Brunswick unions for mutual benefit on a number of occasions. Their most active members were a mixture of the ambitious and the dedicated, the most prominent being Ted Peters, who intended to succeed Anstey in the seat of Bourke and even mimicked Anstey's mannerisms. Another prominent figure was Annie O'Brien, who died in 1925: the report of her funeral provides some insight into the interface between the local ALP and the community:

For long years Mrs. O'Brien has been a very prominent figure in Brunswick in Federal, State and Municipal elections, and much of the success that has been achieved was due to the splendid organising ability of the deceased lady. It is also a well-known fact that Mrs. O'Brien's usefulness did not end with organising elections, as many a poor person in our midst can testify. The widow bereft of her husband,

78. ibid., May 3, 1929, p.5. This was in spite of an increase in membership fees at some point in 1929 from 2/- for men and 1/- for women to 3/- for men and 2/- for women: BCG, December 20, 1929, p.5.
79. See above. In late 1929, the West Brunswick ALP was one of the organisations canvassed for urgent assistance by the Ladies Benevolent Society: BCG, December 27, 1929, p.5.
80. See, for examples, BCL, July 22, 1921, p.2; July 1, 1927, p.2. This level of activity extended even to a two-day Christmas fair: BCL, November 28, 1924, p.4. Another social aspect of Labor branches, which resembled the progress associations, was their propensity for holding lectures on "travels abroad": for example, BCL, May 17, 1929, p.3.
81. The Brick Tile and Pottery Employees Union loaned its paid officials to the Brunswick ALP for campaign work (BTPEU Minutes, op.cit., May 29, 1922) and pursued issues of concern to it through the West Brunswick branch, where its secretary, J. Sinclair, was a member (BCG, February 1, 1929, p.1; BTPEU Minutes, op.cit., January 25,1929). The West Brunswick branch was vigilant in pursuing municipal employees with two jobs (BCL April 8, 1927, p.4; August 17, 1928, p.1). And the Brunswick branch obtained lists of union members living in Brunswick so that it could circularise them urging them to join the ALP (BCG. June 28, 1929, p.1).
82. So much so that he became known as "the young Mr. Anstey". Peters was a public servant and a member of the Parish Committee at St. Joseph's; he later became MHR for Burke (a different seat from Anstey's Bourke) and suffered considerably when, along with Calwell, he stayed with the Labor Party in the wake of the DLP split. (Barnes, interview with author, op.cit.)
the mother of destitute little children, uninitiated in the practices and laws of the State, to Mrs. O'Brien have they directed their footsteps-------. In the cause of charity she played her part in such a way as will keep her memory green in the lives of many a poor soul in the city where she has done such useful work. 83

There is little evidence of any substantial activity from the far left in this period. The Socialist Party of Australia held regular street-meetings in Sydney Rd. on Friday nights in the mid to late 1920's, 84 but otherwise socialist agitation was minimal. A rather eccentric Rationalist, John Longley, was able to fill the Empire Theatre on Sunday evenings, but was unable to win many converts. 85 His harangues were apparently patronised more for their entertainment value than their intellectual content. 86

There is indeed a good deal of evidence to suggest that political activities were attended substantially for their entertainment value in this period. Many Old Residents Survey respondents recalled street political meetings, particularly in Sydney Rd. on Friday nights, as barely one step removed from sideshows at a carnival. 87 Others recall

83. BCL, February 27, 1925, p.2. The State Parliamentary Leader of the ALP and former Premier, George Prendergast spoke at Mrs. O'Brien's funeral.
84. Barnes, "Memoirs of an Unsuccessful Politician", op.cit., p.25. Barnes recalls that Brunswick had a grand total of one Communist Party member in this period, a man called Alan McEvoy: interview with author, op.cit. In 1929, however, a northern suburbs branch of the Communist Party was formed, and Brunswick's Communist population increased to four: Barnes, "Memoirs of an Unsuccessful Politician" Park 3, op.cit., p.5.
86. Like any sizable community, Brunswick had its share of political mavericks. Perhaps the most unusual was James Phillips, successful draper and good Christian, who was a devoted student and adherent of Marxism and went to recite Marxist catechisms in his family's Sydney Rd. establishment: Phillips, interview with author, op.cit.
87. Donovan, interview with author, op.cit; Bradley, interview with author, op.cit; de Bonnaire, interview with author,op.cit. In his study of Brisbane, Lawson concluded that "Public meetings of every kind were so frequent-----and usually drew such good attendances, that they must be regarded as a form of entertainment", (op.cit., p.228).
that people were genuinely interested, and that questions and interjections were usually reasonably serious and intelligent.  

The Labor Party, the Nationalist Party, the Socialist Party and the Salvation Army all occupied a regular Sydney Rd. street corner on Friday night, and offered a variety of speakers on a wide range of issues. The meetings were certainly well-attended and very noisy: Mechanics Institute library users made an official complaint to the Council about the level of noise outside the Institute caused by Friday night meetings on the corner.  

Responses to Old Residents Survey questions suggest that the entertainment value and ease of access to street meetings may have been paramount in determining their relative success. Whereas only a handful recalled any involvement in any political campaigns or functions, 16 of 35 respondents remembered attending street-corner political meetings.  

Barnes recalls the 1920's as an "age of political inactivity" when ordinary people in Brunswick and elsewhere "believed in leaving it up to the politicians and union officials". Such an assessment is almost impossible to prove or disprove, but it is clear that there is no significant evidence which points to the contrary.  

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88. Shelton, interview with author, op.cit.; Hayes, interview with author, op.cit.; Tatam, interview with author, op.cit.  
89. BCG, December 14, 1928, p.1. Regardless of their differences in regard to motives for attendance, old residents more or less unanimously recalled these meetings as well-attended with crowds sometimes as high as 200 and over.  
90. Responses to Old Residents Survey, Questions 64, 65, 66, and 67.  
91. Interview with author, op.cit.  
92. The position of women in society was clearly a restriction on genuine mass involvement in politics, as politics was very widely regarded as "men's business": Donovan, interview with author, op.cit. Voting patterns prior to the introduction of compulsory voting confirm this impression. Whereas 51.8 per cent of eligible male voters voted in the 1921 State election, only 41 per cent of eligible female voters voted (Electoral Statistics 1917-1929 (State Electoral Office)). In the 1922 Federal election, 62.4 per cent of eligible males, and 45.7 per cent of eligible females, voted (Elections and Referendums 1903-1928, op.cit.).
LABOR IN OFFICE

Prior to 1919, Jimmie Jewell had been the only Labor nominee to win a seat on the Brunswick City Council. In the immediate post-war period, however, with 1919 seeing the end of an era of councils dominated by the conservative and liberal middle class, Labor progressed in leaps and bounds. By 1922, the ALP had its first Mayor of Brunswick, and by 1925 it was effectively in control. 93

During the war, inflation increased rents to a level where most tenants were eligible to vote in council elections, 94 and in consequence Labor gradually achieved supremacy in council elections. In 1919 George Hooper was first elected to the council, and in a bitter by-election fought on sectarian lines in the same year. Labor sympathiser and anti-conscriptionist Walter Disney defeated local solicitor and Freemason J. T. Hickford. 95 A further shock followed in 1920, when official ALP candidate John Brownlie defeated David Phillips, a former Mayor who had been on the Council for over 30 years. 96 The election of Brownlie, a tobacco worker and later secretary to Frank Anstey, caused "a sensation". 97

93. Barnes, "On Top in the Twenties", op.cit., p.12; "Memoirs of an Unsuccessful Politician", op.cit., p.15. The phenomenon of Labor dominating State and Federal seats but unable to wrest control of the municipal council from the middle class occurred also in Footscray: Lack, op.cit., p.64.
94. Barnes, interview with author, op.cit. Municipal and Legislative Council franchise was based on ownership or rental of property above a particular value. War-time inflation elevated virtually all Brunswick residential properties above the £20 per annum valuation minimum.
95. PCL, May 2, 1919, p.3.
96. Ibid., August 27, 1920, p.2. The 1919 by-election was caused by the death of Councillor John Fleming, who had been on the Council since 1867.
97. Barnes, "On Top in the Twenties", op.cit., p.12. Another Labor candidate, Bert Holbrook, also won a seat in 1920. As the total number of voters was small (Brunswick had 8,461 ratepayers in 1920 and 11,850 in 1929: VYE 1920-21, p. 184; VYE 1929-30, p. 129) votes cast for the various candidates were in the hundreds rather than the thousands.
In 1921, a redistribution from three to four wards caused an election for the entire council, and the ALP put in considerable effort towards taking control. Over 100 people attended a meeting to form an ALP campaign committee for the south-west ward. The anti-Labor forces responded in kind, distributing free boomerangs with their names printed on them. Labor ran sitting councillors George Hooper and Bert Holbrook, along with Jim Hudson in south-west ward, Arch Reaburn, Bill Smith and Bob Tutty in north-west ward, sitting councillor John Brownlie, along with Frank Anstey and Robert Cook, in north-east ward, and left south-east ward to the Liberals. The initials of Labor's candidates even gave rise to a catchy slogan: "Vote Labor - the ABC ticket or RST ticket or the three Hs." However, the massive effort and the strength of the local Federal MP on the ticket were to no avail: Labor won south-west ward comfortably, but lost both north-east and north-west wards.

There was no change in the complexion of the Council in 1922, with Hudson returned unopposed for south-west ward. However, with a longstanding tradition of the Mayoralty rotating from ward to ward, Labor's George Hooper was elected Mayor. The council numbers were maintained in 1923, when Hooper easily defeated returned soldier and leather goods manufacturer Arthur Smith, and Tutty was beaten in north-west ward by Walter Appleby. There was again no change in 1924, but in 1925 Labor won its first seat in north-west ward with the victory of Arch Reaburn, and Jim Hudson retained his south-west seat easily. Although 1925 saw the most substantial contest since 1921,

98. BCL, July 29, 1921, p.2.
99. Ibid., August 5, 1921, p.2.
2. BCL, August 26, 1921, p.2.
5. BCL, August 24, 1923, p.3.
6. Ibid., August 28, 1925, p.3. George Hayes, father of Old Residents Survey respondent Gil Hayes, was defeated in south-east ward by conservative Roderick McSolvin.
interest was low, with the Leader describing attendances at candidates' public meetings as "a disgraceful exhibition of the apathy and concern the ratepayers are showing as to their future representation". 7

In 1926 the status quo was maintained, with Hooper again winning south-west ward easily, and ALP organiser John Kean failing to repeat Reaburn's success in north-west ward of the previous year. 8 However, Kean was successful in the following year, 9 and in 1928 when his conqueror of 1926 Walter Appleby, and the successful north-east ward candidate in 1926 Ben Warr both joined the ALP, Labor at last had a majority on the council. 10 This majority was sustained in 1928 and 1929, with Reaburn and Hudson re-elected unopposed in 1928, 11 and Hooper re-elected unopposed in 1929 12 and both Warr and Appleby, in spite of their change of allegiance, re-elected. 13 However, the ALP had been effectively dominant since 1925 as a result of an informal alliance with old-style radical liberals such as Matthew Balfe, and by 1929, Holbrook, Hudson and Reaburn had all taken a turn in the Mayoral chair. 14

The Labor councillors were predominantly working class in origin, and a number of them occupied official positions in the Labor Movement. Reaburn and Appleby were both plasterers, and Hooper and Hudson were electricians and officials of the Electrical Trades Union. Kean was an ALP official, and Holbrook worked in his family's small, struggling shop. 15 Hooper was the most flamboyant of the group: Barnes recalls that he once deliberately engineered his own arrest on vagrancy charges by an over-zealous young policeman, and spent a night in gaol for his trouble.

7. ibid., August 21, 1925, p.4.
8. ibid., August 27, 1926, p.5.
9. ibid., August 26, 1927, p.4. Holbrook was re-elected unopposed in south-west ward, and Ted Peters failed in south-east ward.
11. BCL, August 10, 1928, p.3.
13. ibid., August 30, 1929, p.5.
15. ibid., p.19; interview with author, op.cit.; BCG, August 30, 1929, p.1. Ironically, Hooper and Hudson were both employed as electricians by the neighbouring municipal body, the Melbourne City Council.
The purpose of this exercise was attained: when he was revealed to the Magistrate the next morning as Councillor Hooper, J.P., the over-zealous policeman was admonished by the Bench and the recent rash of vagrancy charges came to a sudden halt. Hooper's politics had a strong ideological base - according to Barnes he saw the world divided between the "progressive supporters of change and those who had a vested interest in opposing change" and he was something of a populist: in 1929 he interrupted a local dance to carry a motion against the Bruce Government's entertainment tax increase. In 1927 Hooper stood for Labor preselection for the State seat of Essendon, but was defeated by another union official.

Hooper's main compatriots were a little more ordinary. Jim Hudson was a solid Irish-Catholic from the "Irishtown" part of Brunswick, and a rather pedestrian local councillor in Barnes' view. Bert Holbrook, also Catholic, was an ardent Irish Republican and a "genuine socialist in his views". Arch Reaburn was a rather strait-laced Protestant who was a convert from liberalism and the most obvious representation of the "respectable" working class in the group.

The Labor councillors devoted a good deal of energy to issues which they saw as fundamental. Their first target was the introduction of the Unimproved Land Value rating system, which was official ALP policy. This was a particular interest of George Hooper, who was gunning for ex-Town Clerk Charles Ogden, who had purchased large tracts of land cheaply in the wake of the Land Boom, let it sit and improve in value as others developed land around it and council services were extended, paid very low rates on the land, and then sold it at a handsome profit. Hooper was particularly

17. ibid.
20. Interview with author, op.cit.
21. ibid.
23. Barnes, "On Top in the Twenties", op.cit. Ogden was also one of the anti-Labor candidates defeated by Hooper, Holbrook and Hudson in south-west ward in 1921.
outraged that Ogden was asking an exorbitant price for West Brunswick land being sought by the Education Department for a desperately-needed new school.\textsuperscript{24} After an attempt to introduce the new system in February 1922 was defeated on the Mayor's casting vote,\textsuperscript{25} the Labor councillors were successful in having the new system adopted in September 1922, with the assistance of radical liberal councillors.\textsuperscript{26} A substantial controversy erupted, and a ratepayers' referendum was held on the issue at the end of the year. In spite of the efforts of local business,\textsuperscript{27} and a massive campaign against the new system in the local press, the new system triumphed by a 274-vote majority.\textsuperscript{28} The reason for this victory was simple: the Council gave ratepayers a slip with their ballot-papers telling them how much they paid under the old system and how much they would pay under the new: a majority were promised rate reductions, and a majority voted for the new system.\textsuperscript{29} Business interests did not allow the issue to rest, however, and in 1926 a resolution to return to the old system was defeated only on the casting vote of Mayor Matthew Balfe.\textsuperscript{30} The matter was settled decisively later in the year, when ratepayers voted 4,676 to 2,644 in favor of Unimproved Land Value rating.\textsuperscript{31}

The second major campaign by Labor councillors was to reduce Brunswick's electricity charges. Again Hooper was the leading protagonist: he initially opposed the expenditure of £40,000 by the Council on a new Town Hall, and in 1925 succeeded in having a motion passed by a public meeting calling on the Council to expend this money on electricity.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{24} ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{25} \textit{BCL}, February 10, 1922, p.1. The meeting closed at 4.30 am.
\item \textsuperscript{26} ibid., September 8, 1922, p.2.
\item \textsuperscript{27} A Brunswick Ratepayers Protection League was formed, and it secured considerable funds from donations from Brunswick commerce and manufacturing; Hoffman's donated over £40:
\item \textsuperscript{28} \textit{Minutes}, op.cit., October 12, 1922.
\item \textsuperscript{29} Barnes, "On Top in the Twenties", op.cit., p.14.
\item \textsuperscript{30} \textit{BCL}, February 26, 1926, p.2.
\item \textsuperscript{31} ibid., August 27, 1926, p.3.
\end{itemize}
rate reductions and drainage improvements. Making use of their occupational expertise, Hooper and Hudson dominated the council's Electric Supply Committee in the mid-twenties, and the push for cheaper electricity was taken up by the Brunswick ALP and the East Brunswick Progress Association. They encountered no major local opposition, but the State Electricity Commission refused to allow a reduction in charges. However, with other progress associations joining the fight, prices were eventually reduced and meter charges abolished. Les Barnes recalls that as a result of the Labor councillors' initiative, Brunswick enjoyed cheaper electricity throughout the 1930's than virtually all other Melbourne municipalities.

Labor councillors, in concert with the remaining radical liberals, were also to the fore in raising what may be termed "quality of life" issues in this period. The Council effected a strong policy of "providing adequate breathing space and parklands", and throughout the twenties several disused clay-pits were acquired and new parks such as Fleming Park, Methven Park and Temple Park created. Complaints from groups of local residents about the effects of existing or proposed industrial activities were commonplace, and several major

32. ibid., February 27, 1925, p.1; April 17, 1925, p.3.
34. ibid., February 11, 1927, p.4; June 17, 1927, p.4.
35. ibid., November 4, 1927, p.3.
36. ibid., November 25, 1927, p.1. The problems with the SEC continued for some time, however: see, for example, BCL, March 23, 1928, p.3.
38. BCG, January 11, 1929, p.5.
40. For examples, see Minutes of Brunswick City Council February 1920-June 1922, op.cit., October 18, 1920, p.250 (proposed flour mill in Brunswick Rd.opposed by petition signed by 20 residents); BCL, September 2,1921,p.1 (petition from 80 residents complaining of smoke nuisance from Frith St.factories); Minutes of Brunswick City Council February 1920-June 1922 op. cit., March 27, 1922,p.851 (petition from 88 residents complaining about "objectionable smell" from Cassells Rd.factories); BCL, July 27, 1923, p.2. (complaints about unsightly advertising hoardings); ibid., October 26, 1923,p.4. (complaints about smoke nuisance from Hoffman's); Minutes of Brunswick City Council October 1924-September 1926, op.cit., August 16, 1926, p.966 ("objectionable practice" of council employees failing to use deodorant while cleaning catch-pits); and BCL, October 28,1927, p.6 (Hudson attacks Hoffman's "greed for clay" as the cause of current serious disrepair of parts of Albert St.).
controversies arose on such issues at various stages of the decade. In 1923, following substantial local outcry against the renewal of a local tanner-furrier's licence the Council resolved to ban all "noxious trades" from the municipality. A year later, recurring problems with wandering cattle prompted Hooper to move a resolution banning cows from Brunswick from the beginning of 1925. Stone-crushing by William Bysouth's quarry in Albert St. became the focus of a major dispute in 1924, with residents presenting a petition describing it as "offensive, noisome, and a menace to health". In 1926, a heated and prolonged controversy arose concerning proposed extensions to Galt's flock mills, with Labor Councillors supporting local residents opposed to the extensions in spite of Galt's threats to sack his 50 workers and close and the fulminations of the Leader and various progress associations. The dispute raged for months, with Galt's workers turning out in mass to Council meetings, and although a partial back-down occurred, the proposed extensions were eventually defeated in 1929.

Not surprisingly, the Labor Councillors were also particularly vigilant in matters relating to council employees. They defended day labor against contract labor vigorously, took up questions on behalf of Electrical Trades Union members employed by the Council, and set up a committee to draw up a superannuation scheme for Council

41. ibid., March 30, 1923, p.2.
42. ibid., April 13, 1923, p.3.
43. Minutes of Brunswick City Council July 1922-September 1924, op.cit., July 28, 1924, p.961. Hooper later withdrew this resolution. For examples of problems caused by wandering cattle, see BCL, April 7, 1922, p.1.
44. Minutes of Brunswick City Council July 1922-September 1924, op.cit., February 18, 1924, p.711; BCL, March 14, 1924, p.5. The Council eventually discovered that it lacked adequate powers to deal with this problem: BCL, December 2, 1927, p.4.
45. ibid., January 29, 1926, p.5.
46. ibid., March 26, 1926, p.2.
47. ibid., May 21, 1926, p.4.
48. BCG, February 22, 1929, p.5. This last dispute is particularly interesting in that Labor Councillors stood firm in defence of residents' "quality of life" in the face of charges of hypocrisy and lack of concern about unemployment.
49. BCL, July 9, 1926, p.1, BCG, March 15, 1929, p.8. This issue was a very prominent one in local government in the second half of the twenties.
50. BCL, September 23, 1927, p.3.
They were involved in moves to ban married women with working husbands from Council employment, and pursued the question of Council workers holding down other jobs. Labor Councillors were also to the fore in pushing the policy of preference to Brunswick residents for Council jobs, and preference to Brunswick manufacturers for Council purchases.

The Labor representatives were by no means homogeneous politically, and were split on two important social issues towards the end of the decade. Labor Councillors could claim a fine record of anti-militarism, securing Council endorsement of the Trades Hall Council's "Disarmament Sunday" in 1921 and opposing the erection of a memorial trophy gun in a Brunswick park because it was "an instrument of destruction" (Hooper) which would "glorify war in the eyes of the young". Yet, after an initially firm stand against any donation towards the Shrine because it was "more a monument to war than to those who fell" (Holbrook), two Labor councillors switched their votes and voted against the purported "instructions" from local ALP branches. Councillors Kean and Appleby used local employment creation likely to be generated by the need for over five million bricks to build the Shrine as their excuse, and Kean is reported to have called one local branch member an "anaemic pacifist". And similarly, after having firmly supported Sunday evening band concerts against the strong opposition of local Protestant churches, Labor Councillors split on...
the issue of mixed bathing in the new Brunswick swimming
baths, with Reaburn and Hudson voting for continued
segregation.62

In totality, however, Brunswick Labor Councillors could
look back on the twenties as a decade of achievement. As
well as securing major victories on the rating system and
electricity charges, they managed to promote a variety of
Labor causes such as shorter working hours,63 better public
transport,64 amalgamation of councils,65 and universal
adult franchise in municipal elections.66 And the decade
saw an impressive array of major achievements such as a
free kindergarten, a revamp of the Mechanics Institute, a
new Town Hall, new swimming baths, a new grandstand at the
Brunswick football ground, a new Council yard, and a new
Electric Supply building.67

By the 1920's, the State lower house seat of Brunswick
and the upper house seat of Melbourne North, which
incorporated the Brunswick municipality, were safe Labor
electorates. In October 1920, with a voter turnout of
61.34 per cent, Jimmie Jewell defeated the Nationalist
Albert Bailey 9,764 votes to 5,663.68 A year later he
repeated the performance, defeating John March 7,369 to
4,104, with only 46.07 per cent voting.69 In 1924 Jewell
was re-elected unopposed, and in 1927 he defeated Leonard

62. BCG, November 8, 1929, p.4; December 20, 1929, p.1.
Their opposition was not sufficient to prevent the Council
from voting to approve mixed bathing.
63. BCL, June 30, 1922, p.3. Labor Councillors moved that
the Council support a Typographical Society claim for a
38-hour week. Their motion was defeated 3:7.
64. Ibid., October 10, 1926, p.5. Holbrook campaigned for
better public transport on Sundays, the one day of the week
when workers "can get away with their families".
65. Ibid., March 3, 1922, p.1. Labor Councillors voted,
with no support from other Councillors, in favor of an
amalgamation of Brunswick and Coburg Councils.
66. Ibid., September 24, 1920, p.3. There were however some
aberrations: in 192", for instance, Hudson and Warr moved that
the Council protest to the State Premier about the SEC
purchasing German-made equipment: Minutes of Brunswick City
67. Barnes, "On Top in the Twenties", op.cit., p.20; interview
with author, op.cit. Barnes argues that Labor Councillors like
Hooper and Holbrook were the driving force behind these
achievements.
per cent of the formal vote.
69. Ibid. Jewell's proportion of the vote rose slightly to
64.2 per cent.
Smith by a massive 16,204 votes to 5,102. In 1929, predictably, he was again re-elected unopposed.

Labor did not win the two Legislative Council seats covering Brunswick until 1916 and 1919, because the franchise was restricted to municipal ratepayers. In 1922 Esmond Kiernan was re-elected with 51 per cent of the primary vote, in a 31.3 per cent turnout. In 1925 William Beckett was re-elected unopposed, and Kiernan was paid the same compliment in 1928.

Those election campaigns which were fought were dominated by Labor agendas. Jewell's Nationalist opponent in 1920 told Brunswick voters that he supported national unemployment insurance, compulsory voting, abolition of the Legislative Council, and replacement of State Governments with regional councils. Labor campaigns were dominated by bread and butter issues such as wages and working hours, prices, and state insurance. Kiernan's Nationalist opponent in 1922 felt compelled to present himself as a better representative of the working class than the Labor Party:

Although an employer, I have risen from the ranks, and am still a worker. My ideal is a fair day's work for a fair day's pay. Much remains to be done for the workers. Housing conditions should be improved, educational facilities increased, and railway and tramway fares reduced to the lowest point possible. Liberalism, and not the Labor Party, has given the workers all the advantages they enjoy today. It abolished sweating, created Wages Boards, regulated the hours of labor, provided old-age pensions, adult suffrage, and free, compulsory and secular education.

70. ibid. This followed the introduction of compulsory voting. Jewell's proportion of the vote was 76 per cent.
71. ibid.
72. Barnes, interview with author, op.cit.
74. BCL, October 15, 1920, p.3.
75. ibid., May 19, 1922, p.3.
76. ibid. The Nationalist Candidate for the Legislative Assembly seat tried a different tack later in 1922, concentrating on Labor's socialisation objective: BCL, November 17, 1922, p.2.
In 1927, Jewell lost the southern part of Brunswick to the seat of Carlton, and the northern part to Coburg, following a redistribution. He predicted that Brunswick would "prove faithful to the only party that had worked for the masses of the people", and he was proved right: all three Labor MPs now representing Brunswick scored "magnificent victories".

Jewell's role in local affairs throughout the 1920's was immense. As well as diligently fulfilling the traditional duties of the local Parliamentarian in squeezing out more Government services and assistance for his electorate, he and his wife seemed to function as a de facto social welfare bureau. He was constantly approached by men seeking work, and often toured around the various State authorities trying to find employment for constituents. Jewell also approached private employers seeking work for unemployed Brunswick men with families in need of support. And his wife was invariably at the forefront in the functioning of the voluntary social welfare networks which provided assistance to those locked out of the wage system.

Socially, Jimmie Jewell was irrepressible. He can be found somewhere in the middle of virtually every organisation or organised activity seen in Brunswick in the decade. He was on the Brunswick Football Club Committee, helped to open the new West Brunswick hall, competed in local bowls competitions and represented Brunswick in a friendly bowls contest with Coburg arranged by the respective Councils, spoke at the annual "smoke night" of Moreland ANA, assisted in a pageant run by Brunswick tramworkers for "two distressed comrades", spoke at the opening of the new grandstand at Brunswick's football ground, acted as President of

77. ibid., April 1, 1927, p.5.
78. ibid., April 21, 1927, p.3.
79. For example, E.L, December 18, 1925, p.2. (Jewell arranges more Education Department funding for Brunswick Technical School).
80. VPD, Vol. 171, July 14, 1926, p.248
81. ibid.
82. Described above.
83. ECL, February 27, 1920, p.3.
84. ibid., April 16, 1920, p.2.
85. ibid., May 6, 1921, p.3; March 23, 1923, p.2.
86. ibid., December 16, 1921, p.1.
87. ibid., February 9, 1923, p.2.
88. ibid., May 1, 1925, p.5.
Brunswick Junior Football Club. His presence in community affairs is attested to by the fact that 10 of 34 Old Residents Survey respondents correctly identified him as Brunswick's State MP in the 1920's. Gil Hayes remembers Jewell walking up and down Glenlyon Rd. ringing a bell to publicise a Friday evening street-corner meeting and Ida Donovan recalls his speeches at the local school where the children laughed at him dropping his g's and h's. They and other Old Residents Survey respondents recall that Jewell was "enormously popular" and "very close to the local community". Even at the time, Jewell's popularity was acknowledged by the Leader:

Mr. Jewell, or "Jimmy" as he is known to thousands in Brunswick ---- is so unquestionably popular, not alone with the supporters from his own party but with a great number of electors who differ with him on many political questions, that an opponent takes some finding.  

Federally, the story of Labor in Brunswick during the twenties is very similar. Frank Anstey narrowly retained his Bourke seat in 1919, but scored 70 per cent of the formal vote in an easy win in 1922. His margin was reduced

89. ibid., February 11, 1927, p.2.  
90. Responses to Old Residents Survey, Question 73. It is unlikely that the percentage of contemporary Victorians who could name their current State member would be as high as 30 per cent.  
91. Interview with author, op.cit.  
92. Interview with author, op.cit.  
93. ibid.; Shelton, interview with author, op.cit.; Tatam, interview with author, op.cit.; McNair, interview with author, op.cit.; Bradley, interview with author, op.cit.; Phillips, interview with author, op.cit. They also recall Jewell being nick-named "the silent member" because of the limited number of occasions on which he made substantial speeches in Parliament.  
94. ECL, August 6, 1920, p.2. In spite of its general anti-Labor stance at the time, the Leader welcomed Jewell's 1920 victory thus: "His manner was genial, his instincts human, his heart kindly to one and all, and so it is good that he is still member for Brunswick": November 5, 1920, p.1.  
95. ECL, January 9, 1920, p.1: the result was Anstey 21,359 to Tracey 18,814. Anstey's earlier role as a prominent critic of Australia's involvement in the war undoubtedly contributed to his loss of support.  
96. Elections and Referendums 1903-1928, op.cit., Anstey received 17,068 votes to his Nationalist opponent's 7,290.
somewhat in 1925, when he received 62.5 per cent of the formal vote and then his vote was restored to 68.7 per cent of the total formal vote in 1928. In 1929, Anstey won 77.4 per cent of the formal vote, defeating the Nationalists' Lionel Hahn 43,714 to 12,763. Prior to the introduction of compulsory voting, voter turnout was relatively low: in the 1922 Federal election, only 53 per cent of Bourke's registered voters made it to the polling booths.

Anstey drew very large crowds at his election meetings, emphasised issues such as national sickness and unemployment insurance, White Australia, immigration, monopoly land ownership, protection, war expenditure and manipulation of the Cost of Living by Flinders Lane. His opponents' meetings were often the subject of organised disruption, with the 1925 campaign a particularly rough one. A street-fight between two women, leaving one with a black eye and the other with a bloody nose, and fights and broken windows at the Nationalist candidate's meetings, were features of the 1925 contest. The 1929 campaign and Labor victory had a certain apocalyptic tinge: the "standard of living" would be saved by higher protection, more stringent immigration and white Australia policies, and special relief work for the unemployed. With Archbishop Mannix publicly advocating a vote for Labor and the Age doing likewise, Brunswick's

97. Ibid. Anstey won 32,325 to 19,399.
98. Ibid. Anstey won 36,835 to 16,797.
99. Ibid.
1. BCL, January 5, 1923, p.3. This may have been substantially attributable to transport problems. Donovan recalls that candidates mobilised fleets of cars on election day to carry voters to the polling booths: interview with author, op.cit.
2. In 1925, for example, the overflow from his Town Hall campaign opening was so large that a separate meeting was convened across the road: BCL, October 16, 1925, p.2.
3. Ibid., October 23, 1925, p.2.
4. Ibid., October 9, 1925, p.1; October 30, 1925, p.5; November 13, 1925, p.3. Organised disruption of Nationalist meetings also occurred in 1928 (BCL, November 2, 1928, p.3) and may have been motivated by the fact that the candidate on both occasions was a man who had ratted on Labor in 1916.
7. Ibid., November 1, 1929, p.6. The West Brunswick ALP passed a resolution congratulating the Age on its "magnificent and consistent fight for the rights of the democracy of Victoria during the recent Federal elections".
many Labor supporters saw out the twenties with high expectations for the future.

Locally, Anstey's role in the community was very similar to that played by Jewell, although it declined noticeably in the latter part of the decade when Anstey suffered prolonged health problems and the Federal Parliament moved to Canberra.\(^8\) He remained President of the Tramways Union until the end of 1924\(^9\) and maintained a direct involvement in union affairs, chairing a large meeting of local tramways workers convened to discuss a new log of claims,\(^10\) and assisting with Jewell at the tramworkers benefit for their "distressed comrades."\(^11\) Anstey was President of the Brunswick Football Club,\(^12\) and was often encountered making the annual presentations,\(^13\) speaking at the opening of the new grandstand,\(^14\) or simply involving himself in everyday club committee work.\(^15\) Like Jewell, he could always be found opening the new hall\(^16\) or the Catholic church fete,\(^17\) and his ordinary electorate work ranged from public meetings where he reported on post-war Europe\(^18\) to harassing the Post-Master General's Department about the opening hours of the East Brunswick Post Office, the need for quicker repairs to the public telephone in Nicholson St., or the size of openings in local letter-boxes.\(^19\) This activity may be contrasted with his position as the leading proponent of the Left in the Federal ALP Caucus at the time, and suggests that Anstey's approach was primarily a populist one.

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8. Anstey suffered a stroke and fell unconscious in the street in 1925 (BCL, December 11, 1925, p.3) and following a trip to New Guinea to recuperate (ibid., August 20, 1926, p.3) he was forced to resign as Deputy Leader of the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party because of recurring bouts of malaria (ibid., January 21, 1927, p.4).
11. ibid., February 9, 1923, p.2.
12. ibid., February 27, 1920, p.3.
13. ibid., February 13, 1925, p.3.
14. ibid., May 1, 1925, p.5.
17. Ibid., December 2, 1921, p.4.
19. ibid., December 3, 1920, p.2; May 15, 1925, p.4; and December 17, 1920, p.2, respectively.
Again like Jewell, Frank Anstey was widely revered throughout Brunswick. Phillips recalls often seeing him walking down Sydney Rd. talking to people,\(^{20}\) and numerous Old Residents Survey respondents remembered Anstey as a popular and respected man who was a focal point of community life.\(^{21}\) A remarkably high 13 of 34 Old Residents Survey respondents correctly identified Anstey as their Federal member in the twenties.\(^{22}\) The evidence indicates that both Jewell and Anstey were central to Brunswick life, and that in a time of less instantaneous communications and transport, they functioned almost as links with the outside world.

20. Interview with author, op.cit.
22. Responses to Old Residents Survey Question 73.
WORKING CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

To what extent, then, did the workers of Brunswick consider themselves to be part of a class, with a "realisation of separate interests, an awareness that these are irreconcilable with the dominant class, an understanding of the role of the state, a high degree of collective solidarity"? 23

The leaders of Brunswick's Labor community certainly spoke often in class terms. Jewell told State Parliament that he represented a "working class district." 24 Esmond Kiernan described his 1922 Legislative Council contest as "the age-old conflict between the upper dog and the lower dog. The contest between wealth, property and privilege, and the masses of the people striving for a little better portion of the wealth they produce-------". 25 Anstey told Brunswick's voters in 1925 that "the Labor Party stood as the poor man's interests and in opposition to any attempts to augment the rich man's possessions", and described the Bruce Government as "a rich man's Government mindful of the interests of wealth". 26 Ted Peters sought an audience for a speech by Trades Hall Council secretary E. J. Holloway by describing him as "an expert on industrial and working class matters". 27 And the local press routinely referred to the division between "capital and labour" as the central division in Australian society. 28 Following the 1927 State election, it described the victories of Brunswick's three Labor representatives as "a most fitting tribute of recognition for long services rendered to the industrial classes". 29

25. BCL, May 26, 1922, p.3.
26. Ibid., November 6, 1925, p.3.
27. BCG, March 1, 1929, p.3.
28. BCL, April 29, 1921, p.2; May 27, 1921, p.3; June 10, 1921, p.3.
29. Ibid., April 22, 1927, p.5.
The evidence of Old Residents Survey respondents adds considerable weight to the contention that Brunswick workers were conscious of themselves constituting a class. Doris Moore wrote in response to Question 70: "We always voted Labor because they worked for ordinary people. We belonged to unions because my father in earlier years worked from dark to dark, sometimes only able to speak to his children at weekends. The Eight Hour Day was brought about by men who formed unions".  

Similarly, Nellie Shelton responded: "We belonged to the working class and had experienced many advantages brought about by the Labor Party and the unions, that we had every reason to support them". She recollects that people were generally aware of class distinction, seeing it as a matter of "the toffs and the underdogs". McNair recalls "a big gulf between the common man and the nob's". Bradley remembers that the girls she worked with at Yoffa's textile mills had a simple approach to political discussions: "we're working class, and we vote Labor". She recalls this position as one of self-description or self-categorisation based on acceptance of an inevitable fact rather than on any analysis of society: "they didn't have any concrete ideas about it: it was just a matter of they worked, so they were Labor". Tatam recalls the Labor Party as "almost part of the local culture" and that this was due to the fact that the ALP "was supposed to look after the working man". For most people, supporting Labor was like following a football team or belonging to your family's church: "only a very small percentage actually thought it out for themselves". De Bonnaire confirms this recollection: "you were automatically a Labor person", and class divisions were "taken for granted". Banks recalls that support for the Labor Party was very closely linked to involvement in the productive process: "if you were a laborer

30. Old Residents Survey, response to Question 70.
31. ibid.
32. Interview with author, op.cit.
33. Interview with author, op.cit.
34. Interview with author, op.cit.
35. Interview with author, op.cit.
36. Interview with author, op.cit.
you supported Labor, and if you were in business in any way, you supported the other side". He remembers politics as "almost getting to the stage of the haves and the have nots", and recalls people changing allegiances as soon as they "climbed a bit". Donovan remembers that the Labor Party was seen as "representing the interests of the workers".

Contemporary evidence suggests that working class consciousness of power relations within the society was generally fairly crude, but nonetheless potent. The image of "combines" and "Flinders Lane" was a recurrent theme in the twenties, and its main promoter was Brunswick's own Federal member Frank Anstey, author of Money Power. The vision of greedy profiteering capitalists was forever lurking. At the inaugural meeting of Brunswick's division of the Housewives Association, strong protest was made against the "enormous profits" of British cotton manufacturers, and a desire to collectively tackle Flinders Lane expressed: "Many men had said you were up against Flinders Lane, and they have the money. But, ladies, if the women band together, the warehousmen will have to bow to their wills--------". Labor Movement traditions were also strongly implanted. Scabbing and ratting were abhorred, as the harassment of Anstey's "Labor Rat" opponent in the 1925 and 1928 elections and incidents during the 1929 timber workers strike illustrated. Union consciousness was often used in the local paper as a means of promoting some other cause such as prohibition, and an argument between two

37. Interview with author, op.cit.
38. Interview with author, op.cit.
39. Anstey, P.: Money Power (Fraser & Jenkinson, Melbourne, 1921). Examples of this theme appeared regularly in Anstey's speeches: see BCL, December 8, 1922, p.3.
40. One butcher felt compelled to advertise with the line "No more big profits" - a sure indication of the extent to which this vision was implanted in popular consciousness: BCL, December 8, 1922, p.3.
41. ibid., March 12, 1920, p.1.
42. ibid., October 9, 1925, p.5.
43. BCC, March 8, 1929, p.4.
44. BCL, September 17, 1920, p.4.
neighbours about the husband of one going to work on Eight Hours Day led to a brawl and mutual civil assault charges. There is some indication that consciousness heightened quite substantially at the end of the decade: with the "standard of living" of the workers under attack, Brunswick people took on the bitter struggle of the timber workers as their own. By the end of 1929, socialism was being discussed by community leaders at Labor branch meetings: Councillor Kean spoke of "the curse of capitalism" and Councillor Reaburn told branch members that "Capitalism within itself had its own destruction, and would ultimately destroy itself".

The progenitor of working class consciousness is experience, and there can be little doubt that life-experience in Brunswick in the twenties provided such motive force towards the development of consciousness. Upward mobility, which Lawson identifies as crucial in determining the strength of working class consciousness, was clearly very limited. Economic forces impelled the young out of the education system and into the workforce at an early age, and social forces reinforced the effect of wage-labor on socio-economic status: Dorothy Bradley recalls that marriages which crossed the Yarra boundary were commonly described as "geographically impossible". In Nellie Shelton's memory the thought of children becoming doctors or lawyers "just didn't occur to people". Several Old Residents Survey respondents recall that the aspirations of most people at the time were "very modest". Responses to Old Residents Survey questions indicate a high level of

45. ibid., May 14, 1926, p.3.
46. This phrase was very much the "first commandment" in Labor's political catechism in the twenties: see, for example, Kiernan's election speech: May 26, 1922, p.3.
47. Described abov.,
48. BCG, December 27, 1929, p.5.
49. Lawson, op.cit., p.80.
50. Interview with author, op.cit.
51. Interview with author, op.cit. De Bonnaire recalls that the near-universal aspiration of the young male was to "get a job and buy a suit". (Interview with author, op.cit.).
52. Shelton, interview with author, op.cit; Bradley, interview with author, op.cit.; de Bonnaire, interview with author, op.cit.
consciousness of "working class" status, and fairly limited aspirations. Of the 26 respondents who identified themselves as "working class", 53 23 had fathers who were blue-collar workers, the other three being a publican, a wood merchant and a trade union secretary. 54 Of the 26 respondents, again only three did not work in blue-collar jobs during the twenties, and all three were housewives. 55 On the other hand, of the 7 respondents who identified themselves as "middle class", six had self-employed fathers, the seventh being an electricity meter-reader. 56 Of the seven respondents, three did not work during the twenties, two worked in the family business, and two worked in textile factories until they married. 57 Of the 24 self-proclaimed working class respondents who responded to Question 46, all 24 stated that they aspired to happiness and comfort, 11 to buying their own house, 11 to giving their children a good start, 7 to achieving job promotion, 5 to making a good match, 2 to moving to a better area, 2 to investing in property, and one to starting a business. 58

Shop-floor experience must have formed a solid foundation for the class consciousness that was present, 59 as is illustrated by James Martin's response to Old Residents Survey Question 70 that he had been sacked for refusing to work under an extremely dangerous machine. The boom female labor was also significant in this respect: Barnes argues that it "proletarianised Brunswick's women" during the twenties. 60

53. Responses to Old Residents Survey, Question 74. 46 respondents answered this question.
54. Cross-referenced with responses to Old Residents Survey, Question 2.
55. Responses to Old Residents Survey, Question 74, cross-referenced with responses to Old Residents Survey, Question 42.
56. Responses to Old Residents Survey, Question 74, cross-referenced with responses to Old Residents Survey, Question 2.
57. Responses to Old Residents Survey, Question 74, cross-referenced with responses to Old Residents Survey, Question 42.
58. Responses to Old Residents Survey, Question 74, cross-referenced with responses to Old Residents Survey Question 46. The 6 self-proclaimed middle class respondents likewise all aspired to happiness and comfort; 3 sought to own their own home, 2 to move to a better area, 2 to make a good match, and one to achieve job promotion.
60. "On Top in the Twenties", op.cit., p.5.
However, it cannot be said that there were any substantial signs of alienation from the work process: there is no significant evidence of rebellion against industrial discipline, mechanisation or harsh working conditions.

The patterns of living and culture in Brunswick also contributed to the development of consciousness of class. The lingering division between the Protestant-militarist-loyalist and the Catholic-trade unionist was a powerful force, and clearly class-based, with cultural manifestations of unrelated origin interacting with underlying class antagonisms. Everyday experience with short-weighing, adulteration, the "high cost of living" problem, and unfriendly estate agents also fuelled consciousness in an indirect fashion. The popular recreations of drinking, gambling and larrikinism, either illegal or frowned on by the most visible manifestations of the dominant class in Brunswick, likewise must be considered as features of an underlying working class culture, with the prevalence of overwhelmingly unself-conscious self-help and self-organisation amongst working people as a complementary element in the total social scene. The contradistinction between middle class charity and working class self-help in the social welfare sphere suggests an ingrained class solidarity which had almost become submerged in the total culture. It also points to a rather passive quality in class consciousness: working class self-help was more parallel than antagonistic to middle class charity.

However, it is difficult to ascribe any real sophistication or assertiveness to the working class consciousness which prevailed. A strong element of acceptance of the status quo, even deference to the "better classes", was built into popular consciousness. Shelton recalls that people "seemed to get on very well with the bosses". 61 and de Bonnaire remembers that although class divisions were marked, actual conflict was minimal because "you stayed within your class"

61. Interview with author, op.cit.
and the bosses "were on another plane". Some workers voted Nationalist because they saw it as natural that business and managerial people should run the country. The relationship between capital and labor was perceived in much the same way as a marriage: it was accepted that capital played the dominant male role, that labor had certain rights and preserves, and that, ultimately, the interests of the community (or family) had to prevail. As Lawson found of 1890's Brisbane, "society had not bifurcated". Brunswick manifested an entrenched "us and them" culture which had become an integral part of, rather than a threat to, the status quo. In spite of the distinct heightening of class consciousness and solidarity at the end of the decade, Barnes maintains that there was "very little political consciousness of any real character" in Brunswick during the 1920's.

The crucial unresolved question, wherein lies the explanation of the nature of working class consciousness in Brunswick, is this: did Brunswick workers capture the arms of the State and stamp their own hegemony on the local community, or were their leaders co-opted into positions of prominence in order to protect the status quo?

There can be no doubt that by the late twenties, most of the key political and social positions in the Brunswick community were dominated by Labor activists and supporters. The pattern of influence of Jewell and Anstey was reflected further down the Labor hierarchy. Labor activists were

62. Interview with author, op.cit.
63. Hayes, interview with author, op.cit. In particular Hayes recalls an incident while door-knocking for the ALP when he encountered an unemployed man with a large family who voted Nationalist for this reason.
64. As encapsulated neatly in the Leader: "In the end, notwithstanding all arguments to the contrary, capital must concede to labour, labour must concede to capital; both must concede to the public". (April 29, 1921, p.3).
65. op.cit., p.87.
66. Macintyre described the "us and them" phenomenon as a state of "subordinate consciousness", a fairly appropriate description in this context: Little Moscows, op.cit., pp.189-90.
67. Interview with author, op.cit. It is possible to speculate that the very suddenness of the onset of the Depression over-welmed the entrenched network of working class solidarity evident in the twenties, and that survival became a matter of sauve qui peut.
68. The second of these alternatives is not intended to entail connotations of conspiracy.
prominent in the various progress associations: ex-Councillor Brownlie was on the East Brunswick Progress Association committee in the first half of the decade and President of the North East Brunswick Progress Association in the second half, and Ted Peters was Secretary of the West Brunswick Progress Association. Reaburn was Secretary of the West Brunswick State School committee, and on the controlling committee of the Mechanics Institute with Holbrook and Appleby. He and Hooper were the prime organisers for the Brunswick City Band, and Reaburn was also later President of the Brunswick Croquet Club. Both the trade unions and local ALP branches were accorded formal representation of the Brunswick Technical School Council and the Vocational Guidance Council respectively. Links between the Labor hierarchy and the Catholic Church were strong, with Ted Peters prominent in St. Joseph's parish in West Brunswick and a cosy relationship of mutual admiration (at least in public) between Anstey and Mannix. Laborites were well-represented on the Lady Mayoress' Committee and were prominent among "Philanthropic Workers" entertained by the Mayor and Mayoress in 1926. The Brunswick Football Club was dominated by Labor identities for much of the decade: at its 1928 Annual General Meeting, Labor Councillor Reaburn took the Chair in the absence of Labor Councillor and Club President Holbrook, the committee report was presented by

69. BCL, March 17, 1922, p.2. Unsuccessful Labor Council candidate Sylvester Malone was Assistant Secretary: ibid., April 28, 1922, p.4.
71. BCG, May 17, 1929, p.5.
72. BCL, May 8, 1925, p.4.
73. ibid., December 10, 1926, p.6.
74. ibid., January 7, 1927, p.6.
75. BCG, October 18, 1929, p.4.
76. ASE Minutes, op.cit., August 3, 1921; BTPEU Minutes, op.cit., July 26, 1920; BCG, November 1, 1929, p.6. The last-mentioned example is a neat illustration of the primary point: J. Kitchenman had to relinquish his position as ALF representative on the local Vocational Guidance Council as he had just been elected to represent the West Brunswick Progress Association on the same body.
77. He subsequently became a member of the Parish Committee: Minutes of St. Joseph's Parish, West Brunswick, Church Committee 1933–34.
78. BCG, September 20, 1929, p.2.
80. BCL, August 20, 1926, p.5.
Labor Councillor Warr, and its adoption was moved by Labor Parliamentarian Jewell. Only in the Protestant churches did middle class hegemony remain, and even there Labor exercised some influence through the involvement of some of its more "respectable" elements in the Temperance movement. Even the local press, a faithful mouthpiece for Sydney Rd. commerce at the start of the decade, fell under Labor influence. The Leader carried a "Labor Party Notes" column in 1924, and became more and more sympathetic to Labor as the decade progressed. The Gazette, which first appeared in late 1928, exhibited a quite extraordinary pro-Labor bias. It ran advertisements for ALP social functions thinly-disguised as news items, editorially supported day labor against contract labor, described fund-raising to aid striking timber-workers as "such a worthy cause", and praised Brunswick Labor activists as "giving constant indication of keen practical interest in the progress and welfare of their city". The Gazette routinely ran virtual verbatim reports of ALP branch meetings.

The source of this dominance was primarily the City Council, which occupied a position of paramount importance in Brunswick affairs. The Council was central to social welfare and unemployment relief, dominant in sporting organisations such as the Brunswick Football Club, the focus of both "respectable" and "popular" entertainment, and the centre of local politics. And by the latter part of the decade, Brunswick Labor had "captured" the Council, both in numerical and ambient terms.

However, this conquest was by no means a one-way process. Although the ALP made admirable use of its Council strength

81. ibid., February 17, 1928, p.4.
82. BCG, October 18, 1929, p.4.
83. ECL, March 14, 1924, p.4.
84. BCG, January 18, 1929, p.3.
85. ibid., March 15, 1929, p.4.
86. ibid., June 7, 1929, p.4.
87. ibid., February 1, 1929, p.1.
88. ibid., January 18, 1929, p.3; February 1, 1929, p.1; May 31, 1929, p.3.
to promote a fairer rating system, cheaper electricity, and anti-militarism, it also slipped easily into the patriarchal camaraderie and social consensus of the middle class which set the overall parameters for the Council's functions. Contemporary news reports convey a very chummy atmosphere at Council meetings, and the defection of Appleby and Warr to Labor in 1928 seems to have made little impact on Brunswick political life. As dominant Labor figures such as Hooper, Holbrook and Reaburn emerged, the regularity of divided votes with Labor councillors against the rest, never great, declined even further. Reaburn in particular was only a step away from radical liberal politics, and moved easily into the prestigious social role of the local councillor coveted by conservatives. In 1928, new streets built in the far south-west of Brunswick were named after the four most prominent Labor councillors, Hooper, Holbrook, Reaburn and Hudson. In the same year, Hudson and Holbrook were introduced to the boys at St. Ambrose's School as "men who had made successes of their lives."

This is not to suggest that the class war was raging on other fronts. Even local trade unions enjoyed a peculiar paternal benevolence on the part of local employers: Hoffman's regularly supplied a horse-team and kiln for use by the unions on Eight Hours Day and supplied crockery and other items for the Carters and Drivers Union's annual picnic. And the notoriously left-wing Anstey often exhibited a true politician's skill in wriggling out of

89. BCL, September 2, 1927, p.4; March 24, 1922, p.3.
90. In 1925 he indubitably defended Councillor Matthew Balfe against attacks by a deputation of unemployed men, describing him as "one of the finest men the working class ever had in Brunswick": BCL, July 31, 1925, p.4.
91. Presenting trophies at the annual general meeting of the Brunswick Horticultural Society is one instance of this syndrome, which still afflicts Labor in local government: BCL, October 15, 1926, p.3.
93. BCL, January 6, 1928, p.3.
94. ETPEU Minutes, op.cit., May 15, 1922.
supporting militant positions on highly controversial issues. He spoke at an official function for the Vice-Admiral of the British Fleet, made jokes about his own left-wing views, and protested that he was "exceedingly loyal all the same". He called for justice for Walsh and Johnson in 1925, but refused to endorse their actions. He urged striking waterside workers to return to work, telling the East Brunswick Progress Association: "I do not believe in strikes------. The direct actionist cannot ignore the new economic factors which have arisen within the last 30 years, when men from mine and factory have become small land-holders". Soon after, he remarked that the Bruce Government "could suppress the so-called Communistic organisation, but it preferred to foster it------".

The answer to the question "conquest or co-option" depends essentially on one's interpretation and personal value system. It is clear, though, that Brunswick workers saw themselves as having a stake in the system and set about exercising their influence in order to protect and enhance that stake. They evinced a distinct consciousness of working class identity and a separate cultural milieu, and adhered strongly to ingrained Labor Movement traditions. However, they had no programme, and no real perception of a society run by the workers. Working class consciousness in Brunswick was an acceptance of fact rather than an assertion of social or political force. Isolated from the society's truly dominant classes by geographical, social and economic influences, they interacted primarily with a local middle class which was predominantly paternalistic and usually accorded legitimacy to the institutions of working class organisation and culture. The fabric of working class

96. *BCL*, March 26, 1924, p.4.
consciousness was passive and essentially defensive, and ultimately quite conservative. The socio-cultural hegemony of the middle class was challenged by the simple device of ignoring it: Brunswick workers voted with their feet against Temperance and against laws which made gambling illegal. The economic dominance of the middle class was not challenged at all: union officials and Labor politicians were elected to pursue incremental gains and protect those already secured. And the political supremacy of the local middle class was gradually overcome by a process of friendly infiltration, in which the infiltrators inevitably acquired some of the prevailing characteristics of the infiltrated. The Brunswick community functioned as a relatively cohesive social unit in which most people occupied a place defined for them by the dynamics of religion, family, geography and production. The prevailing social consensus was a working class hegemony sanitised by interaction with middle class respectability.
POSTSCRIPT: BRUNSWICK SINCE THE TWENTIES

A wander through contemporary Brunswick offers many glimpses of the twenties. Many of the factories established in the period are still churning out clothing, textiles, bricks and rope. Municipal monuments of the twenties such as the Town Hall and the swimming baths remain, and the names of prominent figures grace parks and reserves such as the Reaburn Reserve in West Brunswick. Churches and schools remain more or less intact, and many small shops still bear the faded advertising signs of a bygone era. Brunswick ALP branches still meet in the Mechanics Institute, and Brunswick has the same 22 hotels that it had in 1929.

Much of course has changed. Hoffman's has been a mere subsidiary of the Clifton Brick Company for 31 years, and its two vast clay-pits in West Brunswick have been filled and are being developed as parks. Cornwell's Potteries closed in 1959, and Maples furniture store closed in 1978. The Town Hall dance, the Lygon Theatre and the Alhambra Theatre fell victims to television in 1958, and in the same year the Empire Theatre was converted into a Greek theatre. The Western Theatre in Melville Rd. closed down five years later. Three Methodist churches in Union St., Albion St., and Victoria St. have closed, with the latter two becoming Greek Orthodox and Italian Pentecostal respectively. The various lodge dispensaries closed in 1974 with the introduction of Medibank, and Brunswick's local paper since 1956 has been part of a mass-produced suburban chain, with little of the community-based strength of the Leader and Gazette of the latter twenties. And since 1966 Brunswick has even had a High School.¹

The factors which have wrought change are immigration, transportation improvements, television, secularisation, Commonwealth social security, and long-term decline in

¹ The details of this excursus are drawn largely from Barnes, "It Happened in Brunswick", op.cit., pp.39-41.
Australian manufacturing. Improvements in education and the status of women have also dramatically altered the structure of the family. Anglo-Saxon working class influence in the Labor Party is declining rapidly in the face of a long-term influx of Greek and Italian migrants and middle-class professionals.

Yet a sub-structure of "old Brunswick" survives, sustained in sporting clubs, the Protestant churches, the RSL, elderly citizens clubs, and sections of industry and commerce. There are countless old residents who have lived in Brunswick all their lives, seen and experienced these changes, and who understand them far more than any student of tender years and inquiring mind ever could.
NOTES ON SOURCES

A research exercise of this type is naturally very much at the mercy of available sources. Fortunately sufficient material was available from a disparate array of sources to make it worthwhile.

The most productive source without doubt is the Survey of Old Residents, which was conducted during 1981. 75 people who had lived in Brunswick during the 1920's, most of them still living in Brunswick, responded to advertisements in local papers or the Age, visits to elderly citizens' centres, or word-of-mouth contact. Of these, 51 returned survey questionnaires (copy appended hereto) in various stages of completion.

The questionnaire was drafted partly in reference to that used by Ronald Lawson in Brisbane in the 1890's (University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1973), partly in reference to that proposed for a survey of the 1930's in Australia 1938: Bulletin No. 1 (Bicentennial Committee, Sydney, 1980) pp. 16-21, and partly in discussion with my supervisor, Dr. Stuart Macintyre. It was also subjected to the scrutiny of one of its targets, Mrs. Ida Donovan, and amended accordingly.

The quality of responses varied, but in overall terms was remarkably good. Many respondents took up the invitation to write additional material, and most exhibited very good recall. Some questions, such as those seeking details of the impact of major political events in the 1920's, were clearly far too ambitious, and resultant responses were quite meaningless. Other equally speculative questions, on the other hand, drew forth extremely valuable material on matters such as dirt, larrikinism and sectarianism - material simply not available from other sources.

Material from Old Residents Survey responses must obviously be used with considerably caution, as it cannot be regarded as a random survey. For obvious reasons, those sampled were almost invariably under 30 during the 1920's, and the overwhelming majority were permanent rather than
transient residents. However, responses to questionnaires indicated that the group of respondents was not wildly unrepresentative: Catholics were marginally under-represented, and women marginally over-represented, but all other data such as occupational material and voting behavior closely reflected the more "objective" material available. The extent to which the survey is distorted by the fact that it taps only the memories of those with a propensity to respond to surveys simply cannot be speculated upon.

In any event, the nature of this thesis is such that material of this kind is used as illustration rather than "proof". Combined with contemporary material such as local newspaper reports or trade union minutes, it forms a quite powerful basis of argument - certainly stronger than the latter material alone. Provided that one does not "confuse perception with reality" (Jackie Templeton, "Exploiting Our Sources - Written and Oral", in Australia 1938: Bulletin No. 2, p.19) the subjective material provided by respondents is enormously useful whether employed collectively or individually, and a sense of atmosphere which simply cannot be found elsewhere. It is also valuable in unearthing people deserving of more detailed personal interview - of which I ultimately conducted twelve in total.

As the volume of references suggests, I also found enormous value in the local papers of the period, the Brunswick and Coburg Leader (1920-28) and Brunswick and Coburg Gazette (1928-29). Detailed examination of sections of the Brunswick City Council Minutes indicates that the reporting of both journals, at least in that sphere, was accurate. Because of their idiosyncratic nature and their habit of reporting speeches verbatim, they proved far more valuable than I expected. From 1924, the Leader was published by the Secretary of the East Brunswick Progress Association, A. B. Turnham. I am unaware of the reason for its disappearance in 1929, and of the ownership of the more vibrant, slick and sophisticated Gazette which replaced it. The influence of the two papers on local affairs was probably relatively limited (Jewell estimated that the Leader had a circulation of only 1,000 in 1922
VPD Vol. 162, November 15, 1922, p. 2721) but they were
clearly of prime importance to Brunswick's "opinion-
makers" (as the extraordinary exchange of correspondence
on Mayoral Balls between Ted Peters and Mayor Roy Ivey in
early 1929 indicates). However, subjective material in
these papers must obviously be treated with caution: for
example, R. E. Fordham, "popular manager of the Brunswick
and Coburg Electric Tramway" according to the Leader
(March 5, 1926, p.1) appears anything but popular when one
reads the diary of Tramways Union delegate Ernest Christie.

One individual, an old resident of Brunswick with a
passion for history, provided more valuable material than
any other source. Les Barnes, born in Brunswick in 1906,
has both an astonishing memory and a fervent commitment to
recording the history of Brunswick. I obtained material
from a variety of written material and interviews with Les,
and by inevitable examination in concert with material from
other sources, I soon found confirmation that his memory
regarding detail is almost invariably accurate. The most
valuable aspect of his material is that unlike other old
residents, he is both eye-witness and analyst, the historian
on the spot. His longstanding involvement with the Left of
the Labor Movement imbues him with an inherent bias in
perspective (albeit a quite mild bias only) but places him
in the centre of the sorts of event and issues I wished to
investigate.

I was fortunate to gain access to a reasonably wide range
of other primary material. Union Minutes and other records,
in particular, proved valuable. Two surveys of working
conditions of women factory workers, the minutes of the
Hoffman Brick Company, and the diary of Tramways Union
delegate Ernest Christie were also important sources. The
voluminous scrap-book and material on local churches of
Marjorie Glew was of central importance, as the churches
themselves proved relatively barren of substantial material.
I was unable to gain access to any material from St. Ambrose's,
for example, because it was apparently discarded in 1960
when the presbytery was moved. Local sporting bodies and
ALP branches were also fairly barren, inevitably, in light
of their voluntary nature and shoestring finances. I was
fortunate to gain access to a substantial body of material on returned soldiers in Brunswick during the twenties as a result of contemporary fourth-year honours research conducted by Alistair Thomson. This material was all supplemented by a variety of standard references such as Sands & MacDougall directories, Yearbooks, Parliamentary Debates, Census records, and Government reports.

This array of sources cannot be described as comprehensive, but I think it must be regarded as sufficient. Unfortunately, for much of the subject-matter of my thesis, no record exists or ever existed. Larrakin pushes do not keep membership records and minutes. The material I did manage to garner is in my view of sufficient quantity and range to make the object of my thesis viable. The nature of the topic, more than the nature of the material, makes its conclusions more tentative than I would like them to be.
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APPENDIX A.

BRUNSWICK IN THE 1920's: SURVEY OF OLD RESIDENTS

How to Answer the Survey

1. It is important that you give your basic details, such as age, occupation during the 1920's, sex, and so on. You do not have to answer every question and there will undoubtedly be questions that you cannot answer because you are unable to remember or because they are not applicable to you. It is quite alright for you to leave out any questions which you find offensive or upsetting. However, I must stress again the importance of including your basic details: without them, any answers to the remaining questions become virtually useless.

2. It is very likely that you will find it difficult to remember whether certain events in your life happened in the 1920's or in some other period. It may be useful to adopt one of the following devices to ensure that your answers do relate to that decade:
   * the twenties were basically the intervening period between the Great War and the Depression: you can think up your answers by asking yourself 'what was I doing between the end of the war and the start of the Depression?'
   * you can work out how old you were in 1920, and again, how old you were in 1929, and think up answers by asking yourself 'what was I doing between the ages of (say) 17 and 26?'

3. Please try to be as concise and clear as possible in your answers. This will save you time and effort, and make your answers easier to understand.

4. Take all the time you need to fill in the survey. If I haven't heard from you in a couple of months I'll probably get in touch to see if you're having any problems.

5. Spaces for your answers are provided on the form, but it is very likely that you will need more space for some answers. Whenever you do need more space, just write the rest of your answer on a separate piece of paper and attach it to the survey form. If you do so, identify the question which you are answering by writing its number beside the part of your answer on the separate piece of paper.

6. Please try to write as neatly as you can: I don't want to misunderstand any of your answers!

7. Several questions may be virtually impossible for you to answer as required. For example, one question asks you to give details of jobs you held in the twenties. Obviously if you had many different jobs in the decade it will be very difficult for you to give all those details. If you can't, then just a general description of the type of work you were doing, and the standard features of the places you were working at, will suffice. Hence if you worked as a machinist in several clothing factories during the twenties but find it
hard to remember specific details about each one, just try and give a 'general' impression of all those factories lumped in together in your answers. If you were a housewife in this period and not working outside, just write 'housewife' or 'home duties' as your answer to the employment questions.

8. When I have eventually received your answers, it is possible that I may want to come and ask you some more questions in person about some particular aspect of your experiences. Because I hope to get between 50 and 100 people to answer the survey, I obviously will not be doing that for everyone. However, it is likely that I will get in touch with some of those who answer the survey to ask them a few further questions. If you don't want me to do that in your case, please write a note to that effect on the top of the form.

9. Finally, if you are concerned about the confidentiality of your answers, you can take one or more of the following steps:

* answer the questions on the form, but don't write your name on it;
* write on the top of the form that you wish your answers to remain totally confidential;
* mark specific answers with 'confidential' so that I will know not to quote or show them to anyone else; or
* write on the top of the form that you wish your answers to be returned to you once I have finished examining them for purposes of my research.

You can rest assured that I will abide strictly by any instructions in this regard.

Once again, thank you for assisting me in my research - and best of luck with your answers!

Lindsay Tanner.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name ................ Year of Birth .
   Current Address ......................

Parents' Background

2. What was your father's occupation? ....
What did he work as in the 1920's? ....

3. Did your mother work in the 1920's? If so, what as? ...

4. Did your parents live in Brunswick in the 1920's? If so, between what years? If not, whereabouts did they live? ...
5. Did other members of your family, such as uncles, aunts and grandparents, live in or near Brunswick? Give details if you can

6. Were your parents born in Brunswick? If not, when did they come to Brunswick?

7. Did your parents own their home in the twenties, or rent it?

8. Did your parents own any other property such as land or shares? Please give details if you can

9. Did either of your parents have any strong involvement in political, social or cultural organisations such as the RSL, the Labor Party, or the Rechabites? Please give details if you can

10. Can you remember who each of your parents generally voted for in elections? (please tick a space for each)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swinging Voter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other/Don't Know</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. Can you remember newspapers and magazines that your parents usually read in the twenties?

12. Was your father unemployed for any length of time during the 1920's? If so, for how long? Do you remember why?

13. Which church did your parents belong to?

How often did they go to church? Regularly - occasionally - very rarely?

Home Background

(Because some respondents to this survey will have lived with their parents for part of the twenties, this section is divided into two parts. The first concerns your parents'
household during the 1920's; the second involves questions about your own household in that period. If you were not living with your parents at any time during the 1920's, ignore Part A and move straight on to Part B. If you lived with your parents throughout the 1920's, then answer Part A and ignore Part B. If you spent part of the twenties living with your parents, and part living in your own house, please answer both Part A and Part B if you can).

Part A: Living With Parents During 1920's

(If you lived in a number of different houses in this period, it would be helpful to have the details of all of them. However, if it is too hard for you to remember, a description of the house which you lived in the longest will do just as well, provided that you indicate that you did live in other places as well, and say approximately how many times you moved during the twenties.)

14. What street did your parents live in? .........

15. What was their house made of? Brick - weatherboard - stone? .........

16. How many rooms did the house have? .........

17. How many children did your parents have living with them? .........

Were there any other relatives living in the house? ....

Were any of the children/relatives living in the house working at the time? .........

18. Did your parents' house have -

   electricity ___  front yard ___
   gas ___  back yard ___
   bath ___  telephone ___
   sewerage ___  radio ___

(please tick in the space provided to indicate 'yes').

19. Did your parents own a car during the 1920's? .........

20. Did the females in your household always do all the housework, or did the males do some also? .........

21. What sort of meals did you normally eat at your parents' house? If you can remember, outline a typical breakfast, lunch, and tea .........

22. If you were working while living with your parents, what proportion of your wages did you give to them each week? .........
Part B: Living in Your Own Household in 1920's

(If you lived in a number of different houses in this period, it would be helpful to have the details of all of them. However, if it is too hard for you to remember, a description of the house which you lived in the longest will do just as well, provided that you indicate that you did live in other places as well, and say approximately how many times you moved during the twenties.)

23. What street did you live in? ........................................

24. What was your house made of? Brick - weatherboard - stone? ......................................................

25. Did you own or rent your house? How much was the weekly rent or purchase instalment? ......................

26. How many rooms did the house have? .........................

27. Who lived with you? Spouse - children - relatives? .................................................................

28. Did your house have -
   electricity   _____  front yard   _____
   gas          _____  back yard    _____
   bath         _____  telephone    _____
   sewerage    _____  radio        _____

(please tick in the space provided to indicate 'yes').

29. Approximately how much money was coming into the house each week in wages? Who was responsible for deciding the way it was divided up and spent? ..............................

30. Did you own a car during the twenties? ......................

31. Did the females in your household always do all the housework, or did the males do some also? ..............

32. What sort of meals did you normally eat? If you can remember, outline a typical lunch, breakfast and tea.

33. Did you marry and/or have children during the twenties? If so, did your spouse come from Brunswick, or somewhere else? .................................................................

If married: did your spouse work during the twenties? Give details of employer, wages and hours and so on if you can remember them.
34. Did you own any modern appliances such as washing machines? Did you pay cash for them, or hire purchase?

35. What newspapers and magazines did your household buy regularly during the 1920's?

36. Did you listen to radio very much in the 1920's? What sort of programmes?

37. Did anyone in your family suffer a major illness or accident in this period? If so, did this cause severe financial and other difficulties for the family?

38. When ill, did you go to the doctor always - sometimes - rarely?

39. How often would you entertain visitors at your house? How often would friends from outside Brunswick visit you? How often would you visit friends living outside Brunswick?

40. Where did you go to do your shopping? Sydney Rd. - elsewhere in Brunswick - Moonee Ponds - Coburg - the City? How often did you go on a major shopping expedition? Once a week - once a month - very rarely? Did you know the people who worked in the shops?

Work

41. Were you at school at any stage during the 1920's? If so, give the name of the School and the year you left school if you can remember it. Did you have children who attended school during the 1920's? If so, give the name of the school.

42. Give details of your employment during the 1920's:
Job No. 1:
Name of employer .................................. Suburb ............
Employer's Business .............................................
Years in which you worked for him .........................
Nature of your work ..............................................
Normal hours of work ............................................
Wages .................................................................
Length of pay period .............................................
Approximate number of workers at firm ......................
Means of transport to and from work .......................
Did you eat lunch at work or at home? ......................
Did you belong to a union? Which one? ......................
Were you active in any way in union affairs? If so, describe your involvement .................................
.................................................................
Did you ever suffer any major injuries at work? ........
.................................................................
About how many people would you see at work on any ordinary day? ............................................
How often did you see your immediate superior? .........
How often did you see your ultimate boss? .................
Were you ever involved in a strike or any other form of industrial action? ..................................
What proportion of your fellow workers came from Brunswick? ............................................
.................................................................
What proportion of your fellow workers were friends who you socialised with outside working hours? ........
Were you active in any way in union affairs? If so, describe your involvement.

Did you ever suffer any major injuries at work?

About how many people would you see at work on an ordinary day?

How often did you see your immediate superior?

How often did you see your ultimate boss?

Were you ever involved in a strike or other form of industrial action?

What proportion of your fellow workers came from Brunswick?

What proportion of your fellow workers were friends who you socialised with outside working hours?

Job No. 3:
Name of employer
Employer's business
Years in which you worked for him
Nature of your work
Normal hours of work
Wages
Length of pay period
Approximate number of workers at firm
Means of transport to and from work
Did you eat lunch at work or home?
Did you belong to a union? Which one?
Were you active in any way in union affairs? If so, describe your involvement.
Did you ever suffer any major injuries at work?
About how many people would you see at work on an ordinary day?
How often did you see your immediate superior?
How often did you see your ultimate boss?
Were you ever involved in a strike or other form of industrial action?
What proportion of your fellow workers came from Brunswick?
What proportion of your fellow workers were friends who you socialised with outside working hours? .........

(Obviously you would need to have a pretty remarkable memory to be able to answer all these questions with respect to however many jobs you had during the 1920's. However, please try and answer as many as you can – an incomplete answer is much much better than no answer at all. For example, you may be able to remember your employer's line of business, but not his name: something like that really doesn't matter a great deal. Just do as best as you can in this section. If you held lots of jobs all of the same type, and can't remember details about most of them, just give a 'composite' answer in one of the sections provided, and beside 'name of employer' write 'several'.)

43. Were you at any stage during the 1920's in charge of your own business or self-employed? ..............

Type of business ................................................

Name of firm (if any) ..............................................

Suburb of operation .................................................

Years in which you ran business ...............................

Nature of your work (purely administrative, or productive also) .........................................................

Normal hours of work ..............................................

Average income drawn from business ......................

Approximate number of workers firm employed ..........

Means of transport to and from work ......................

Did you eat lunch at work or at home ......................

Did your employees belong to a union? Which one? ....

Describe your relations with the union, if applicable ...

.................................................................

How often did you see your employees in person? .......

Did your firm ever suffer a strike or other form of industrial action? ............................................

Approximately what proportion of your workers came from Brunswick? .............................................

Did you socialise with any of your workers as friends outside working hours? ..............................

How did you come to own/operate your own company? –

It was a family business ........................................

You started it yourself after having worked in the trade .................................................................

You came into some money and used that to start your own business ..................................................
Your particular occupation was just organised on a small business basis ___

(please tick one or more of the appropriate spaces).

44. Were you occupied solely as a housewife at any stage of the 1920's? ________________
Did you act as a housewife and do part-time or full-time work as well? ________________

45. Did you have many friends who lived outside Brunswick? Did you see them very often? ________________

46. How would you describe your basic aims and aspirations at this stage of your life?
   to be happy and comfortable _____
   to move into a better area ______
   to start your own business ______
   to get promoted in your job ______
   to buy your own house ______
   to buy a better or bigger house ______
   to invest in land or shares ______
   to give your children a good start ______
   to make a good match ______
   other (please specify) ______

(please tick in the appropriate place beside as many statements as reflect your true feelings at the time as you remember them).

Social Activities

47. How often did you go out of Brunswick other than for work reasons? ________________
Which other Melbourne suburbs did you visit most during the twenties? ________________
What means of transport did you normally use for such journeys? ________________

48. Do you remember there being much poverty and hardship in Brunswick in the 1920's? ________________

49. What role do you remember alcohol playing in ordinary Brunswick life? Did you know many heavy drinkers? Was alcohol a dominant factor in social life? ________________
50. Did you or any member of your family learn to play a musical instrument in the twenties? What instrument? Did they learn from a teacher in Brunswick? 

51. How regularly did you go to the theatre and/or cinema during the 1920's? Did you go to theatres in Brunswick, the City, or both? 

52. Describe any major sporting involvements you had during the 1920's - whether playing, watching, or organising. 

53. Were you aware of the existence of any 'larrikin pushes' in Brunswick in the twenties? 

54. If you can remember, could you describe the sorts of things that you usually did in the evening after tea? Reading - dancing - visiting - relaxing with your family etc. 

55. Did you go away for your holidays? If so, where did you visit normally, and for how long? 

56. Did you go to the beach very often during the twenties? 

57. Did you go on picnics or outings to places of interest very often? Who organised such outings? 

Religious Involvements

58. Which church did you belong to? Did you know your local minister/priest personally? Did you attend church regularly? Were you involved in church organisation? Were you involved in any church-linked social or cultural organisations such as youth groups? 

59. It has often been said that the 1920's was a period of considerable sectarian bitterness between Catholics and Protestants. Do you think this is true? Do you remember sectarianism having any effect on your life in the twenties -
such as on where you shopped, or where you could get
jobs? ..................................................
..................................................
60. It has also been said that this sectarianism flowed
over into politics in the twenties, and that at that time
the Labor Party was predominantly supported by Catholics
and the Nationalist Party by Protestants. Do you think
this is true? ...........................................
..................................................
61. Do you remember if your local minister or priest ever
spoke on political issues from the pulpit? ................

Cultural Involvements

62. Did you belong to any cultural organisations such as
literary or debating societies during the 1920's? If so,
describe them and their activities if you can ...........
..................................................
63. Did you belong to any religious-oriented or issue-
oriented organisations such as the Masonic Lodge, the
Rechabites, or the RSL? If so, describe your branch and
its activities if you can remember them .............
..................................................

Political Involvements and Attitudes

64. Were you a member of any political party during the
1920's. If so, give as many details as you can remember
of your branch - how many members it had, how active it
was, how often it met, what it did, etc. - and your own
involvement in politics ...........................
..................................................
Did you hold any official position in your party such as
branch secretary during the twenties? ...............
Were you active in any political campaigns over particular
issues or in election campaigns? ..................
65. Were any of your friends actively interested or involved
in politics? If so, in what ways? .................
..................................................
66. Did you ever attend any social functions put on by
political organisations? Did you ever help organise any such functions? .................................

67. Did you ever attend any public meetings during the twenties? If so, could you describe them - where they were held, who spoke, how many watched, what time of day they were held, etc. - to the best of your recollection . . . .

.................................

68. Did you have any involvement in any of the following -

Prince of Wales visit in 1920 ______

Empire Day ______

Anzac Day ______

St. Patrick's Day ______

Federal election campaigns ______

State election campaigns ______

Brunswick Council election campaigns ______

Labour Day/Eight Hours Day ______

(please tick in the appropriate space, and if you can, describe the nature of your involvement in the space immediately below)

.................................

.................................

69. Below is a list of major political events of the 1920's. Study it carefully, and indicate in the space provided the amount of impact which you remember each event having on you at the time - that is, how much you remember thinking about it, and how much it dominated the news at the time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>big impact</th>
<th>some impact</th>
<th>little impact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prince of Wales visit in 1920</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall of Billy Hughes in 1922</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Strike in 1923</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seamen's Strike in 1925</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four Governments in one year in Victoria in 1924</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referendum on Arbitration and Emergency powers in 1926</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timber Strike in 1929</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defeat of Bruce-Page Government in 1929 Federal Election</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other political event (specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
70. If you can remember, could you indicate in the spaces provided which party you usually voted for in the various elections during the 1920's?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Federal</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Council</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nationalist</td>
<td>_______</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>_______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Party</td>
<td>_______</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>_______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>_______</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>_______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (specify)</td>
<td>_______</td>
<td>______</td>
<td>_______</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If you like, give reasons why you voted the way you did in the twenties - either general or specific reasons . . . .

71. How often did you talk about politics or political issues in the 1920's? With friends - with your family - with your workmates - with casual acquaintances? . . . .

If you did talk about politics with the people around you, describe the sorts of issues that you used to discuss . . .

72. Of the following list, which Australian politician of the time would you say you admired the most at that time?

- Sir Stanley Bruce
- Billy Hughes
- Jack Lang
- Frank Anstey
- Sir Earle Page
- James Scullin
- Edward Theodore
- Harry Lawson
- George Prendergast
- John Allan
- Other (specify)
- None of them

Give reasons for your choice if you want to . . . . . .

Which of these did you most dislike? Why? . . . . . .

73. Do you remember who your local State and Federal members of Parliament were during the 1920's? . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
74. In the twenties, how do you think you would have described yourself - which of the below did you feel were most important?

- an Australian
- a Victorian
- a Melbournian
- a Brunswicker
- a worker
- working class
- middle class
- upper class
- British
- Irish
- Protestant
- Catholic
- Christian
- Other (specify)

(tick as many spaces as you want).
APPENDIX B

OLD RESIDENTS SURVEY

QUANTITATIVE DATA ON RESPONSES

Total Respondents: 51 (NR: No Response).

QUESTION

1. Males: 22  Females: 29

2. Father's Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled manual:</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled manual:</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical:</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Business:</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional:</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union official:</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1920's Employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupation listed</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different occupation</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deceased</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermittent jobs</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Mother's Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Home Duties</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop assistant</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing worker</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deceased</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Parents lived in Brunswick: 46
throughout 1920's: 40

5. Family in local area:

average number per respondent with family local: 4.4

6. Parents born in Brunswick

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Range</th>
<th>Both</th>
<th>One</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arrived 1880-1900</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrived 1900-1910</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrived 1910-1920</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Parents owned/paying off home:

renting: 22

8. Parents owned other property: 8
9. Parents' involvements (overlapping)

ALP: 6
Rechabites: 9
Freemasons: 5
Nationalists: 2
Other: 1

10. Parents' voting behaviour:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALP</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalist</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage ALP vote: 72.8 per cent.

11. Newspapers and Magazines

Age: 39
Argus: 18
Herald: 17
Sun: 5
Weekly Times: 5
Truth: 3
Sporting Globe: 3
Table Talk: 3
World News (UK): 2


12. Father unemployed: 7

13. Parents' Religion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Both</th>
<th>One</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>1</td>
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Attendance

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Regular</th>
<th>Occasional</th>
<th>Rare</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>NR</th>
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15. House

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brick</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weatherboard</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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16. Number of rooms: average 5.75 rooms/house.

17. Children living with parents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>Nil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average: 4.2
18. Electricity: 41  Front Yard: 39
    Gas: 39  Back Yard: 48
    Bath: 45  Telephone: 5
    Sewerage: 45  Radio: 32
    NR: 2

19. Relatives living with parents: 12 households
    Children/resident relatives work: 31 households
    Average 3.1 non-parent workers per household.
    Parents with car: 9

20. Females only did housework: 38
    Males helped: 11
    NR: 2

22. Over 50 per cent of wages to parents: 25
    Under 50 per cent of wages to parents: 7
    NR: 19

24. House

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Part</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brick</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Weatherboard</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR</td>
<td>38</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

25. Owned/paying off home: 8
    Renting: 5
    NR: 38


27. Additional residents in house: 4
    Only direct family: 9
    NR: 38

28. Electricity: 12
    Gas: 10
    Bath: 12
    Sewerage: 12
    Front Yard: 10
    Back Yard: 12
    Telephone: 1
    Radio: 9
    NR: 39

30. Car: 2
    No: 11
    NR: 38

31. Females only did housework: 9
    Males helped: 4
    NR: 38

33. Married in 1920's: 17
    Had children in 1920's: 5
    Spouse from Brunswick: 6
    adjacent suburb: 3
    other Melbourne: 1
    Victorian country: 4
    NR: 38
35. Newspapers and Magazines

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>19</th>
<th>Truth:</th>
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<tr>
<td>Argus</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sporting Globe:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Herald</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>World News (UK):</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>Weekly Times</td>
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</table>

New Idea, Woman’s Weekly (UK), Woman’s World, Family News (all mentioned once).

36. Major family illnesses:

| None | 23 |
| NR:  | 19 |

37. Used doctors regularly:

- 4
- sometimes:
  - 5
- rarely:
  - 19
- NR:
  - 23

38. Visitors from ex-Bruns.

| Regularly | 19 |
| Sometimes | 7  |
| Rarely    | 6  |
| Never     | 2  |
| NR        | 17 |

40. Shopping place

| Sydney Rd: | 32 |
| City:      | 10 |
| Moonee Ponds: | 2 |
| Coburg:    | 3  |

| Smith St: | 2 |
| Lygon St: | 6 |
| Other:    | 2  |
| NR:       | 16 |

41. School

| Brunswick: | 20 |
| Other State: | 6  |
| Other Private: | 2 |
| NR:        | 23 |

42. Employment

- Male: 19
- Female: 17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Entire</th>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Part</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brunswick</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>City</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inner suburbs</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
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<table>
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<th>Decade</th>
<th>Part</th>
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<tr>
<td>Clothing worker</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boot worker</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decorator</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toolmaker</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitter/turner</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office worker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing grocer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumber</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabinet-maker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driver</td>
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42. (Continued)  

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<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheet Metalworker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timberworker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rope worker</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leather worker</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing plaster</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watchmaker</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop assistant</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick worker</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal employee</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookbinder</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hours:</th>
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<th></th>
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<td>48:</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44:</td>
<td>26</td>
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<tr>
<td>NR:</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Paid:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weekly:</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortnightly:</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>NR:</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>Transport:</th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tram:</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Train:</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicycle:</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walked:</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Car:</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lunch:</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Work:</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home:</td>
<td>1</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Union membership:</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Involvement:</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No:</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR:</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work injuries:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No:</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR:</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

44. Housewife during 1920's: 9

45. Contact with friends outside Brunswick

| Substantial:                      | 16            |      |
| Little:                            | 7             |      |
| None:                             | 12            |      |
| NR:                               | 16            |      |

46. Aims/aspirations

| Be happy/comfortable:             | 38            |      |
| Move to better area:              | 4             |      |
| Start business:                   | 2             |      |
| Job promotion:                    | 12            |      |
| Buy own house:                    | 20            |      |
| Buy bigger house:                 | 3             |      |
| Investment:                       | 1             |      |
| Give children good start:         | 13            |      |
| Make good match:                  | 13            |      |
| Other:                            | 7             |      |
47. Going out of Brunswick
   Several times a week: 6
   Once a week: 12
   Occasionally: 8
   Rarely: 10
   NR: 15

48. Significant poverty:
   Only in Depression: 22
   No: 10
   NR: 13

49. Alcohol prominent:
   Only with some: 11
   Insignificant: 22
   NR: 12

50. Played musical instrument:
   Immediate relative played: 14
   None: 13
   NR: 17

51. Theatre and Cinema attendance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Theatre</th>
<th>Cinema</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regularly:</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasionally:</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely:</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

52. Sporting involvement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sport</th>
<th>Theatre</th>
<th>Cinema</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Football:</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cricket:</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennis:</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sport</th>
<th>Theatre</th>
<th>Cinema</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basketball:</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swimming:</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horseriding:</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

53. Aware of larrikin pushes:
   Not aware: 34
   NR: 7

54. Evening relaxation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Theatre</th>
<th>Cinema</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading:</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio:</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cards:</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relaxing:</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dancing:</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Visiting:</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Study:</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Theatre</th>
<th>Cinema</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Embroidery:</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Church groups:</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Music/singing:</td>
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<td>Table tennis:</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Games/models:</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
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<tr>
<td>NR:</td>
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55. Holidays

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Theatre</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Annual:</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twice yearly or more:</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Never:</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR:</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
56. Visits to Beach
   Regularly: 25
   Sometimes: 5
   Rarely: 15
   NR: 6

57. Picnics
   Regularly: 13
   Sometimes: 17
   Rarely: 13
   NR: 8

58. Religion
   Anglican: 14
   Roman Catholic: 9
   Methodist: 8
   Presbyterian: 5
   Baptist: 7
   Jewish: 1
   None: 1
   NR: 6

   Knew priest: 28
   Did not: 16

   Attendance
      Regularly: 29
      Sometimes: 3
      Rarely: 12

   Involved in organisations/groups: 17
      Not involved: 24

59. Sectarianism prevalent: 24
      Not prevalent: 7

61. Politics preached from pulpit: 1
      Not preached: 36

63. Lodges
   Rechabites: 3
   Masons: 4
   IOOF: 2
   None: 28

64. Involvement with political party: 2
    No involvement: 37
    NR: 12

65. Friends involved in politics: 7
    None: 31
    NR: 13

66. Attended political functions: 2
    No: 37
    NR: 12

67. Attended public meetings: 16
    No: 19
    NR: 16
70. Party voted for:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Count</th>
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<tr>
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<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nationalist</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too Young</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR</td>
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72. Most admired politicians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Count</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anstey</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scullin</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruce</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lang</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prendergast</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawson</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theodore</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewell</td>
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Most disliked politicians

<table>
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<td>Hughes</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruce</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lang</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theodore</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anstey</td>
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73. Identified State and Federal members

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Both correct</td>
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<tr>
<td>State correct</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal correct</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can't remember</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR</td>
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74. Self-perception

<table>
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<td>Victorian</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Melbournian</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunswicker</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worker</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
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<td>Working class</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>Upper class</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
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<td>Christian</td>
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<td>Other</td>
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</table>
**APPENDIX C**

**MISCELLANEOUS STATISTICS**

**COMMONWEALTH CENSUS**

1. **Birthplace of Brunswick Residents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>N.Zealand</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>Europe</th>
<th>Asia</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>18,265</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>2,413</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>20,190</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>2,485</td>
<td>103</td>
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<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>22,968</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>2,343</td>
<td>324</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>25,581</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>2,230</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **Occupations of Brunswick Residents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1933</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Agriculture</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mining/Quarrying</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Manufacturing</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>5,516</td>
<td>6,772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>2,761</td>
<td>4,495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Building</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>1,095</td>
<td>1,417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Works/construction</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gas/Water/Electricity</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>9,453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Land transport</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>1,633</td>
<td>1,711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Water transport</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Communications services</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commerce</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>2,708</td>
<td>3,309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>811</td>
<td>1,272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Professional</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Entertainment</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Domestic service</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pension</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>1,136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>1,701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dependant</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>6,877</td>
<td>7,275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>17,929</td>
<td>19,028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>21,339</td>
<td>26,011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>23,145</td>
<td>28,337</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Religion of Brunswick Residents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1933</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Roman Catholic</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>4,494</td>
<td>5,757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>5,148</td>
<td>6,570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Church of England</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>8,618</td>
<td>8,637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>9,129</td>
<td>9,285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Methodist</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>2,456</td>
<td>2,423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>2,725</td>
<td>2,822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Presbyterian</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>2,924</td>
<td>2,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>3,210</td>
<td>3,225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hebrew</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other Protestant</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>1,627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>1,971</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Average weekly rental, 1921

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Weatherboard</strong></th>
<th><strong>Brick/stone</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 rooms</td>
<td>11/2</td>
<td>11/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 rooms</td>
<td>14/6</td>
<td>14/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 rooms</td>
<td>17/10</td>
<td>17/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 rooms</td>
<td>20/8</td>
<td>21/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**VICTORIAN YEAR-BOOKS**

5. Brunswick Birth-rate per 1000 population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>25.85</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>22.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>22.49</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>23.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>23.44</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>20.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>24.26</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>19.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>25.22</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>18.59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Brunswick Death-rate per 1000 population.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>11.70</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>10.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>10.42</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>9.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>8.90</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>9.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>11.46</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>10.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>10.50</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>8.56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Brunswick Infant Mortality rate per 1000 births.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>106.3</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>64.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>58.4</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>62.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>62.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>75.2</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>76.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>61.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>42,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>44,476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>46,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>47,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>48,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>51,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>56,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>57,230</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9. Number of Brunswick Houses sewered.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Houses Sewered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>9,257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>9,483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>9,935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>10,565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>11,268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>11,626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>12,108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>12,471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>12,806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>12,890</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. Bricks manufactured in Victoria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Bricks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>203,424,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>169,715,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>227,183,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>247,598,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>201,440,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>190,505,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>230,914,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>204,277,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>182,981,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>162,676,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Tanner, Lindsay

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Date:
1984

Citation:

Publication Status:
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