

The Queensland Journal of Labour History

No. 6

March 2008



The Brisbane Labour History Association



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Printed by Uniprint, griffith University

**This publication is supported by
The Search Foundation**

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See inside back cover for *Editorial Policy* and *Notes for Contributors*.

Front Cover Photo: Labour Day 1919 “The Eight Hour Banner at the head of the procession”, not a red flag in sight! [A reference to the Red Flag Riots of 1919]. Following the main banner is: “The Labour Women’s Vigilance Organisation”. Photo courtesy of John Oxley Library.

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ISSN 1832-9926

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Editorial

Dale Lorna Jacobsen

Welcome to the 6th edition of *The Queensland Journal of Labour History*.

It seems there are many important anniversaries to celebrate or remember around this time, and four of them inspired articles in this journal:

Brian Stevenson, who was awarded a Ph D for his biography of Vince Gair, relays the lesser-known story of his *bête noire*, Joe Bukowski in 'Midnight Joe' Bukowski: Vince Gair's Bitterest Enemy; Award-winning poet, Ynes Sanz, looks back at the bitter dispute between the Australian Railways Union and the Hanlon government in 1948; and Manfred Cross documents the growth of the Eight Hour Day in Queensland.

There are four very interesting book reviews: *Communism, a Love Story*; *Many Ships to Mt. Isa*; *The Third Metropolis*; and *A History of Queensland*. And a pictorial record of our recent and very successful *Rekindling the Flames of Discontent* concert.

During my own personal research in the Heritage Collection of the John Oxley Library (State Library of Queensland), I chanced upon a 50-

box collection of the papers of Joe Harris (perhaps best known for his book, *Bitter Fight*). It took me many days to work through, but each box contained hidden treasures I didn't know I couldn't live without. I have outlined this collection for your further investigation.

This is your journal. We welcome contributions from members and anyone else who wishes to document the history of Labour and other social movements in Queensland.

I particularly wish to thank each contributor to this issue, for their professionalism in their writing and in adhering to my strict cutoff dates. You have made my job as editor a pleasure. I would also like to thank Janis Bailey for her willing advice and assistance.

The BLHA committee would also like to gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the Search Foundation for their support in the publication of this issue of the Journal.

Lastly, I can't let a March issue of the Journal pass without saying:

'Happy International Women's Day!'

* * * *

BLHA

President's Column

Greg Mallory

It is very pleasing, as President of any organisation, to report on its activism at such an early time in the year, however in the case of the BLHA we have already organised three major events to occur in the first third of the year. It is pleasing to see that the BLHA is working with unions and other organisations in a number of areas in order to preserve the history of the labour movement in Queensland.

No doubt members and supporters will be aware of our *Rekindling the Flames of Discontent* concert held on 9 February. As this column goes to press I can report that Dale Jacobsen has performed a marvellous job in putting together an outstanding line-up of performers. The Queensland Council of Unions and the Woodford Folk Festival have provided financial and overall support for this venture and we thank them for this. Our long-term plan is to work with both these organisations in order to stage a union concert at the next Woodford Folk Festival. The second event is the launch of *The Coalminers of Queensland, Vol. 2: The Pete Thomas Essays*. The BLHA is hosting this

book launch in conjunction with the CFMEU Mining and Energy Division, Queensland District Branch. The third event is the launch of the CFMEU (Queensland Construction Workers' Divisional Branch) DVD *Building Unity*. Members and supporters have been advised of times and venues of these events in our January Newsletter.

Incorporation issue continues on

The Federal Executive of the ASSLH called a meeting on 17 December in Sydney to consider further aspects of this issue, particularly the issue of a national register. The BLHA Executive, at its January meeting, decided to form a sub-committee comprising the President, Vice-President and Assistant Secretary to make a formal response to the latest resolution. One of our major concerns is the effect these changes may have on *The Queensland Journal of Labour History*. The Federal Executive has been informed of our concerns and BLHA members will be kept informed by way of our newsletter or e-bulletin of further developments.

The AGM, thanks and communication

There was a slight change in the composition of the Executive elected at the recent AGM. Dale Jacobsen has replaced Ted Riethmuller as Secretary and Ted becomes the new Treasurer. I would like to once again thank Ted for all his work as Secretary. Janis Bailey has stepped down from the Executive and I would like to thank her for her great contribution to the BLHA. Janis was largely responsible for making the journal a great success. Both Ted and Janis have been responsible for making the BLHA one of the most active branches in the country. I thank the remainder of the Executive for all their work over the year. Our new Secretary, Dale Jacobsen, has thrown herself in to a number of important jobs. She is currently responsible for the journal, the newsletters, and the e-bulletins as well as performing normal secretarial duties. The quality of the newsletters and the e-bulletins has been so good that I am finding it hard to report to members on anything that they have not already read in either of our other publications. I think this is a very healthy state for the BLHA.

* * * *

CONCERT REVIEW
Worth Fighting For!
A Rekindling the Flames of
discontent Event

The large attendance at the East Brisbane Bowls Club on Saturday night 9 February showed that there is still significant interest in music and song coming from the folk tradition. About 150 people heard the offerings of big names such as Leah Cotterell with Jamie Clark, Margaret RoadKnight and Helen Rowe. The Combined Unions Choir provided support in the choral area.

Photos taken on the night show that the crowd, which nicely filled the venue, had a good time and showed their appreciation of the performers with unstinting applause. They smiled with pleasure and laughed at the right time (which was often) and generally contributed to the warm rapport that existed between the audience and the performers, and so emphatically contributed to the success of the concert. Some members of the audience even sang along without being bullied.

Dale Jacobsen was the MC. She brought to the role, not only her knowledge of music and the folk scene, but the competence and energy that has made her so successful as the new secretary of the BLHA. President Greg Mallory, a supporter of the folk movement from way back, offered a short welcome then the music began.

With a short break, the entertainment continued until eleven o'clock. The CUC was the first on the stage and rose to the expectations of the fans, as they always do.

Then came Margret RoadKnight, who has enriched the tradition that the concert was saluting. When she took the stage, there was a frisson of expectation because her reputation was obviously well established among the audience. She knew she was among friends so she was able to direct her formidable wit at deserved targets. 'What Shall I Wear to the Revolution?' As with the other performers, words are important to Margret because they hold meaning and her articulation and mastery of emphasis and timing ensured the message was understood. Perhaps knowing her time in Queensland was drawing to a close meant that the audience had a particular regard and appreciation.

Helen Rowe, who followed RoadKnight, also showed respect for ideas and the words used to express them. Her beautiful voice allowed her to express with great sensitivity the progressive sentiments that held sway that evening. Her agreeable personality allowed her to use irony like a rapier, for example in the song the refrain of which goes: "We don't have no reds to hate no more". Her stage persona was warm and engaging and the crowd responded. Leah Cotterell supported her in a couple of duets and Helen added her

voice to other groupings of the performers.

After the break it was Leah Cotterell in the spotlight. She let her hair down and, exuding energy and charisma, showed us why her reputation is so high as a songwriter and performer, in a wide range of musical genre — among them, heart warming songs of her hometown, Brisbane, written in collaboration with Jamie Clark. Her personality, her vocal range and expressive stage presence left her audience thrilled and excited.

Jamie Clark was the guitarist who accompanied the singers and like a good accompanist was willing to use his formidable talent to provide an appropriate setting for the vocals rather than showcase his own talents. The programme was packed, but it would have been nice to hear him show off this undoubted talent.

The BLHA is proud to have staged this concert, the second *Rekindle the Flames of Discontent* event. We see folk culture as very much part of labour history and we aim to rekindle the flames again and again.

RedReunion

The Cast of *Worth Fighting For!*



Performing before the *Flames of Discontent* silk backdrop, handcrafted by Annette hood for a workshop at the Maleny Folk Festival's *Union Stage*.

L-R:
Leah Cotterell
Helen Rowe
Margret RoadKnight
Jamie Clark

Leah Cotterell weaves her web of magic, accompanied by Jamie Clark on guitar



In a stirring finale — the full cast, including the Combined Unions Choir, sing *Worth Fighting For!* written by Leah Cotterell.





Who is this Bukowski?
ALP election pamphlet, Brisbane:
ALP, 1957
Fryer Library Collection.

‘Midnight Joe’ Bukowski: Vince Gair’s Bitterest Enemy

Brian Stevenson

‘... big, bulky, ruthless Joe Bukowski, an ex-cane-cutter with hands like hams and eyes as expressionlessly bleak as a crocodile’s’ Alan Reid, Sunday Telegraph 5 May 1957.

Vincent Clair Gair, Labor premier of Queensland, Democratic Labor Party Senator for Australia and a great many other things had a long memory. It is likely that even if his boyhood contemporary, ALP and AWU leader Joe Bukowski, had not been the bitterest of his many, many political enemies he would have remembered him as a sharp dresser in early twentieth century Rockhampton. Although the two shared a school, a boyhood town, a year of birth, a deep involvement in Labor party politics, a palpable detestation for Communism and a pig-headedness unusual even for conservative Labor party politicians, they were never, ever friends and their association would prove disastrous for the party. Gair’s career has been well documented, but Joe Bukowski is but little remembered.¹ Given the explosive political events that he helped to detonate, it should not be this way.

Always known as Joe, Rochus Joseph John Bukowski was born at Mount Morgan on 7 August 1901. Joe’s father, Joseph Aloysius, was a tailor with a legendary reputation in Rockhampton and Mount Morgan because of his craftsmanship and his probity. Mount Morgan miners would say that a job was ‘Joe Buck’ (Joe Bukowski) if they were satisfied that the timber reinforcements in a mine were safe.²

As a lad, Joe moved with his family to Rockhampton. In the early

twentieth century, social divisions in that town were well defined during the school years, as working class families struggled to find the money for educational expenses.³ Thomas Hanger, a sixty-year veteran of Queensland schools, said of the Rockhampton he knew in 1890 that the people 'could be divided into two classes – the "haves" and the "have-nots" ... I know of no place where the division was so marked.'⁴

As one of nine children, another Rockhampton boy named Vincent Clair Gair was aware of economic and class differences. Over sixty years later he recalled, probably with some acerbity, that the tailor's son Joe Bukowski was sartorially superior to his contemporaries.⁵

Records of St Joseph's Christian Brothers School show that both boys went there, but not at the same time.⁶ They certainly knew each other during their schooldays. Gair recalled in 1977 how 'Bukowski's bullying had made life a misery for those boys, such as Gair, who were smaller and physically weaker than himself.'⁷ Forty years later, on 14 January 1952, Gair, as acting premier, addressed the annual delegate meeting of the AWU at Bukowski's invitation. As he welcomed Gair, Bukowski recalled how he and Gair had known each other as lads, significantly, 'as members of opposing groups in Rockhampton.'

Gair's reply, adequate as a social

pleasantry, may have been delivered through clenched teeth and certainly was filled with irony considering the experiences the two would share over the next five years:

It is nice to look back on those boyhood days to which Mr Bukowski referred. They were days, probably, when we believed that we had a lot of worries, but they were really days of freedom from troubles and tribulations or any full appreciation of just what worries and troubles mean.⁸

Gair's career has been comprehensively documented.⁹ The decade and a half of his life after school was largely unremarkable. Gair eked out a living as a railway clerk, seasoning his drab vocational existence with Labor party activities, as president of his South Brisbane branch and as a campaign manager.

Bukowski's years after St Joseph's were much more colourful and adventurous.¹⁰ He worked in his father's tailoring business for a short time, but headed out west. He was working as a station hand on Acacia Downs near Aramac when he tried to enlist. Naively, he tried to enlist at the Aramac township but was recognised and sent away. He subsequently enlisted at Rockhampton under a false name and underwent the training. On the day he was to set sail, the deception was exposed, and he was discharged. More than likely it was a blessing in disguise. Every one of the

men who was in young Joe's hut during training was killed in action.

Joe returned to station life, and worked at just about any job available on the stations – cook's offsider, station hand, wool presser and dog-netting fencer. Surprisingly, he did not give shearing a try, feeling it was not his line. He managed his father's Dawson Valley cotton farm and impressed no less a personage than former premier Ted Theodore with the high standard of food, accommodation and conditions on the Bukowski property.

He returned to the mines at Mount Morgan and was one of the volunteers who worked for 16 to 18 hours without pay to get to the seat of the 'big fire' there in 1920, but such was the damage that the mine needed years of reconstruction. Undeterred, Joe made for New Guinea as a gold prospector, but was not one of the lucky ones, turning instead to rubber growing. He later returned to Queensland and took to canecutting at Gordonvale, Tully, Babinda and South Johnstone.

It is likely that as a very young man, Bukowski was a member of the Communist Party. Treasurer Ted Walsh made the accusation in the last parliamentary session of the Gair government in June 1957. Vitriolic accusations and counter-accusations rained on both sides during that memorable period, and this one seemed more laughable than most,

but Walsh was able to document it. He produced and read into the parliamentary record a letter, dated 4 May 1942 and containing the claim, from the then Federal minister for supply and development, Jack Beasley, to Clarrie Fallon, then Queensland state secretary of the AWU. Beasley, however, noted that 'no evidence was obtained that he [Bukowski] was an active worker in that body.'¹¹

Bukowski seems to have never specifically denied the allegation or challenged the genuineness of the document. Uncharacteristically, he let the accusation go, which was wise on several counts. There was no litigious remedy as the accusation was made in Parliament. It dropped from the public consciousness almost as the words were spoken and seems not to have been recorded or reported anywhere except in Hansard, so its ephemeral nature did his reputation negligible damage. He was only accused of membership, not activism or militancy, so if the accusation was true, it behoved Bukowski to simply be quiet about a youthful and idealistic aberration.

Even if he was briefly among their midst, he was fighting the Communist influence on the canefields by 1934 when he impressed Clarrie Fallon, state secretary of the AWU, so much with his anti-Communist activities that Fallon invited him to become an organiser.

Joe Bukowski was a big man

physically. Even at 50, he was 105 kg and still 'amazingly strong'.¹² He showed no reluctance to use his size and strength to intimidate and coerce workers, even those ostensibly on his side. 'I've slapped Communists down wherever I've been – in Mt Coolon, Ayr, Home Hill, Mackay, Bundaberg and Brisbane' he recalled. When Frank McManus, later a DLP Senator commented to Bukowski on the severity of his methods against Communists, Bukowski replied: 'Brother, when I go out to fight the nightman I don't put on my dress suit.' Nor was he subtle in dealing with non-Communist workers who would not co-operate. He bragged to McManus of signing up reluctant workers for the AWU in northern New South Wales (part of the AWU's Southern Queensland District, but in a state where unionism was not compulsory) 'because they know that if they don't, we will throw them in the river.'¹³ He also earned the sobriquet 'Midnight Joe', from the hour in which he was wont to call on recalcitrant workers.¹⁴

In a more legitimate use of his physical capabilities, he reputedly impressed miners at Mt Coolon, cane loaders at Home Hill and canecutters on another farm with demonstrations of his physical strength: filling trucks at a greater rate than the miners and loaders were able to, and levelling an area of sugar cane larger than the professional cutters could in the same time.

However, no one could ever accuse

him of being indolent in his pursuit of improved conditions for the workers under his charge. In the five years he was in Ayr, he prosecuted 500 cases for award breaches. He earned the nickname 'King of the Burdekin' while organising at Ayr, but in the enthusiastic verbiage of ALP publicist 'the name represented to most workers a genuine tribute to him for his forthrightness and his unflinching capacity to back his statements with appropriate action.'

The AWU transferred Bukowski from Ayr to Bundaberg where he served as Central District Secretary. Ever energetic, he found time to put down Communist influence here, simultaneously concerning himself with the renovation of the nurses' quarters at the local hospital: an overstepping of the boundaries which earned him a rebuke from the Home Secretary Ned Hanlon. However irked Hanlon was, however, it did not stop him from asking Bukowski to help with the restructuring of the Bundaberg Hospital Board. In 1941 Bukowski became the Southern District Secretary of the AWU, looking after the needs of over 25 000 members.

Communist influence in the Queensland union movement peaked in the immediate post-war period. After the disruptive meat industry strike of 1946 the AWU and the Merthyr branch of the ALP urged the creation of an official industrial group structure within the unions to combat

the Communist party, considered to have been a major agent provocateur during the strike. But the groups that were subsequently established were ineffective in preventing the 1948 railway strike, which the ALP in Queensland believed, as an article of faith, was orchestrated by the Communists. Accordingly, in July 1948, responsibility for the creation, maintenance, advancement and control of ALP industrial groups throughout Queensland was placed in the hands of a heavyweight committee, consisting of Joe Bukowski, Ted Walsh, the ALP's state organiser and a former deputy premier, and Tom Rasey, a Brisbane City Council alderman and former Queensland president of the Transport Workers' Union.¹⁵

By 1951 Bukowski became state president of the AWU. Previously the ALP governments of Forgan Smith and Hanlon had worked in close consultation with AWU leaders such as Clarrie Fallon, but with the accession of Vince Gair to the premiership after Hanlon's death on 15 January 1952 the nexus was broken, however the consequences of the change would not be immediately apparent. However, for the next few years a struggle between Gair and Bukowski would be a given in Labor party politics. Gair was not an AWU member, and had rejected an invitation to join them decades before, so he felt no obligation to kow-tow to Bukowski or any AWU leader. Bukowski, however, had

become accustomed to a world in which the AWU exerted a strong influence over the government of the day, and saw no reason why this should not continue.

During this time, under the watchful and encouraging eye of Bukowski, the industrial groups were successful, with control within some, though not all significant Queensland unions moving from Communists to groupers.¹⁶ Industrial groups apart, other factors such as a prosperous economy and pervasive reports of Communist aggression and human rights violations in Russia and China contributed to an overall decline in the status of Communism and Communists in Australia.¹⁷ In 1954 one writer was confident enough to claim that much of the power that the Communists had obtained in Australian unions over the preceding twenty years had been wiped out in the last three.¹⁸

Despite the success of the industrial groups, their activities were questioned at the 1953 Queensland Labor Party convention. Frank Waters of the Amalgamated Postal Workers Union accused the groups of being financed by employers. Bukowski replied, somewhat unconvincingly, that some of the grouper funds came from pub raffles!¹⁹ Years later Joan Riordan, a financial administrator in the AWU office under Bukowski's direct supervision, testified that his fund raising methods, if not much more

sophisticated, were on a much larger scale. He would canvass business contacts whenever funds were required for a campaign, and all monies raised were kept in a black metal cash box for which only Riordan had a key.²⁰

On 5 October 1954 in Sydney, Federal Labor Party leader Dr H V Evatt made one of the most fateful speeches in Australian political history. Evatt blamed his recent electoral defeat on disloyal Victorians, epitomised by the 'Movement', a shadowy alignment within the party that, like the industrial groups, was anti-Communist, and considered by many to be getting too powerful. Evatt's speech did not mention the groups, but by early 1955 previous concerns about them had increased dramatically.

Bukowski sensed a shift in the wind. He did a complete U-turn on the groups, repudiating them in a remarkable speech to the annual delegate meeting of the Queensland AWU on 17 January, claiming his support for them was a pretence so he could get information on their activities. 'His switch from outright support for the Groups to outright opposition ... took exactly twenty-four hours', recalled B A Santamaria many years later.²¹ Bukowski pledged both the AWU and himself to support the anti-group forces in the southern states, and thus by implication to fight against anyone in the ALP in

Queensland with any grouper or Movement sympathies. Unfortunately for Bukowski's old sparring partner, Vince Gair, the Premier of Queensland, he demonstrably had an abundance of both.

The general events leading up to the Queensland Labor party split in 1957 have been comprehensively covered elsewhere,²² but it is herein necessary to highlight some instances where Bukowski's irrational behaviour and increasing paranoia played a part in making a difficult situation immeasurably worse. It was unfortunate for the Labor party that two individuals were in powerful positions where they needed to cooperate, but were so different in personality. Gair was pompous and one very much to stand on his dignity, while the bullying, crude, loutish and blustering Bukowski was low on the social graces. According to a prominent Liberal of the time, Thomas Hiley, Gair's:

pomposity made it physically impossible for him to take Joe Bukowski's rude and insulting approach without feeling mightily offended ... Joe was a respecter of nobody. Vince, on the other hand, would have been quite unforgiving of anything that affronted his dignity as premier. And the two were just oil and vinegar.²³

The 'oil and vinegar' clashed bitterly in the aftermath of the 1955 ALP

conference at Hobart, which Gair, Walsh and most of the Queensland delegation boycotted. Bukowski, incandescent, demanded that the boycotters return their expenses.²⁴ The QCE meeting of 22 March 1955 was ugly in the extreme, with Walsh reportedly threatening to punch Bukowski. It was at this juncture that Bukowski gave an indication that all was not well with his health. He claimed that Walsh would not have threatened him physically six months before and said to him: 'You now know of my illness and you want to fight a man who has a foot in the grave.'²⁵

Bukowski's mental health was also cause for concern. As early as 1952 Jack Egerton, secretary of the Boilermakers Society, had complained of Bukowski's unwarranted and unwanted interference in the Society and said '... a reminder that "those who the Gods destroy they first make mad" might not go amiss.'²⁶ Early in 1955 Bukowski himself revealed that he 'went berserk' at a meeting of the inner party executive.²⁷ In 1980 Denis Murphy would gently comment that Bukowski's 'behaviour between 1956 and 1958 [suggested] instability and a certain paranoia developing in his personality.'²⁸ Brian Costar later claimed that Murphy's descriptions of Bukowski's mental health problems 'err[ed] on the side of charity.'²⁹ The two aspects of his health problems, mental and physical, came together during the 1957 state election

campaign. Bukowski's doctor ordered him to rest. Opposition leader Frank Nicklin claimed Bukowski 'has been so distressed that he has become physically ill.'³⁰

It would have done Bukowski's mental condition no good when the QCE rejected a vote of no confidence in the premier 31-23, and the state parliamentary Labor party, in a grotesque compromise, supported the decisions of the Hobart conference but, bizarrely, also endorsed Gair's leadership.³¹ Bukowski had to continue to seethe for the time being. Late in March 1955 he revealed that he and Gair had agreed to discuss sectarianism in the party, but because of a 'remark' by Gair he had never been near him since.³² Gair was always capable of a snide remark, and there was never any indication that Bukowski was willing to quickly forgive even a minor verbal slight. It was no sort of a way for a working relationship to operate.

The two also clashed over the Industrial Court. Gair neglected for years to appoint anyone to replace W J Riordan, a former AWU secretary, when he retired from the Court in 1952. Queensland unions hoped that someone similarly sympathetic to the labour movement would be appointed. Finally, in February 1956 Gair appointed John McCracken, former Public Service Commissioner to the Court to ease the backlog. McCracken, never a friend to the unions and in poor health – he died

only seven months later – was not a popular appointment.

It was widely believed that Bukowski thought he should have the vacancy, but that Gair believed Bukowski to be totally unsuited for the job. Certainly there was no place for bullying and bluster in the overseeing of negotiations between employers and unions in the restrained and notionally impartial atmosphere of the Court. During the shearers' strike, Bukowski demonstrated many instances of an 'irrational and illogical approach to court behaviour and case presentation.'³³

Seeing that there was 'nothing doing' with regard to a Court appointment, Bukowski declared, probably with a disinterest that was feigned and certainly with an air of menace:

Personally, I'm not interested in any Court appointment. But if I were, and if, as has been suggested to me ... Mr Gair would never consent to me being appointed on personal lines, then something is wrong. Very.³⁴

The 1956 shearers' strike provided fertile ground for discord between the two men and formed a backdrop for another round of their long-running clash.³⁵ The end of the Korean War eliminated the need for the military stockpiling of wool. Wool prices fell, so the United Graziers Association, feeling the pinch, applied for a 15 per cent reduction in shearers' wages.

The Court granted a 10 per cent reduction from 1 January 1956. Many shearers refused to work at the new rates, but the UGA found scabs who were willing to do so. Unions refused to handle 'black' wool obtained under the new rate. There was a standoff for months, and the railway department experienced a serious loss of freight revenue. Gair remained calm. 'Wool is not perishable. We will move it if and when we can.'³⁶

It was several months before Gair acted, and then only with great reluctance. Millions of pounds in wool lay in warehouses in Queensland. It was only too easy for his enemies to condemn him but Gair had his wider duties to consider, and he did. He had no wish to interfere and did not fully believe he had a right to do so. He wrote in a private letter at the time:

I have tried my utmost to solve this dispute, even though it is one in which I should not really be interfering ... However, as Premier of this State I cannot sit idly by and see the economy of Queensland completely disrupted.³⁷

Although ever since it has been said that he approached an old adversary, federal Country Party leader Artie Fadden, for help in transporting wool, Gair initially communicated with the Australian Woolbuyers' Association, which then contacted Fadden.³⁸ Bukowski was little concerned with such details and saw conferring with

the class enemy in the matter of neutralising the effects of a strike as unforgivable. He said in a broadcast from the ALP radio station 4KQ: 'As a Labor Premier Mr Gair should understand that once a man steps across the line against the people within the Labor Movement, it is very, very hard to step back again.'³⁹

On several previous occasions during the strike it appeared very close to settlement, but deliberate provocation from Bukowski inflamed the situation again.⁴⁰ Jack Duggan, Gair's deputy premier, later confirmed that the government would have intervened much earlier had they not needed to consider the palpable antagonism between Gair and Bukowski.⁴¹ Anne McMurphy saw Bukowski's 'vendetta against the graziers' as 'a minor, but vital component in his plan to demonstrate to the Labor movement, and Premier Gair in particular, who the real "boss" of the ALP in Queensland was.' Bukowski held the AWU in such a grip that 'he was able to continue his tirades, containing always a proportion of half-truths and distortions ...'.⁴² Tom Hiley, Liberal politician of the day, had a similar view and saw the strike as 'irritation tactics against Gair.'⁴³

The strike was settled, and the outcome was a victory for the shearers, on whose side Gair ostensibly was. But the dispute strengthened, to Gair's detriment, the hitherto unlikely alliance between the conservative AWU and the left-

leaning Trades and Labour Council. After this development, Bukowski had little need to manipulate matters, as the circumstances that culminated in Gair's expulsion from the party on 24 April 1957 and subsequent electoral defeat on 3 August were well in motion.

With the death of Harry Boland in July 1956, Bukowski became president of the QCE, which, added to his AWU position, gave him almost unlimited power in the Queensland labour movement. No one could have been surprised when he voted, along with 34 others on the Queensland Central Executive of the party, to expel Gair, and it is easy to imagine his eyes, generally 'as expressively bleak as a crocodile's' lighting up, at least momentarily, at the humiliation of his *bête noire*. But the ALP was decimated at the state election in August. An embittered Gair suggested facetiously in Parliament later that year that 'The [Country-Liberal] government should build a monument to him as the founder of the only Tory government since 1929.'⁴⁴

After such a defeat, it was inevitable that others in the party would react to Bukowski's shortcomings. Bukowski was suspended as QCE President after an incident at a December 1958 Christmas party in which he was accused of insulting behaviour towards a woman – future Labor alderman Jean Howie. There was some talk of a set up, but Manfred

Cross, former Federal Labor member for Brisbane was present and recalled in 2007 that Bukowski was heavily intoxicated and slurring his words.

Bukowski's local ALP branch, Oxley in Brisbane, refused to renew his membership, and the last year of his life was a lonely one. He was found dead on the bathroom floor of his Annerley residence early on the morning of 19 January 1960. He probably died within five hundred metres of Gair, who lived just around the corner. No comment from Gair seems to have been recorded, but Premier Frank Nicklin paid tribute to Bukowski as someone who had worked very hard on behalf of the worker.⁴⁵

Gair's former Attorney General, Bill Power, a friend of Bukowski's before the split, made up his differences with him after the debacle of 1957, and came in for some criticism when he attended his funeral. In 1961 Power said darkly, mysteriously and unfortunately without elaboration: 'I'll say this, Joe Bukowski was honest. He didn't take any of the blood money that was being offered around at that time to help bring our government down.'⁴⁶ It could be argued, however, that Bukowski had cheerfully helped to destroy Gair's political career – at least temporarily – for free.

After Bukowski's death, a poignant and revealing article (albeit without a byline) appeared in the *Sunday Truth* of 24 January 1960 on the sudden

deterioration of his health which, according to the journalist, was accompanied by 'a clearly apparent deterioration, too, in his normal lifelong attitude of friendliness and goodwill towards people generally.' The article said that 'he became a man with whom it was easy, far too easy, to pick a quarrel', and claimed that when he died there were more writs for defamation and the like bearing his name than anyone else. 'Their existence could well be a reflection of the dreadful toll that ill health took of once-easygoing, tolerant, genial Joe Bukowski.' The article was a sad coda for a difficult, troubled man who would quickly be forgotten.

Endnotes

1. See, however, the entry by Harold Thornton on Bukowski in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.
2. *Who is this Bukowski?* ALP election pamphlet, Brisbane: ALP, 1957. Fryer Library Collection.
3. Frank Nolan, *You pass this way only once: reflections of a trade union leader*, ed D J Murphy, Stafford, Q: Colonial Press, 1974, p 14.
4. Thomas Hanger, *Sixty years in Queensland schools*, Sydney: Wentworth, 1963, p 2.
5. Anne McMurchy, 'The Queensland Shearer's Strike of 1956', Bachelor of Arts Honours Thesis, University of Queensland, 1977, p 29.
6. Brian Stevenson, 'Queensland's Cold Warrior: The Turbulent Days of Vincent Clair Gair, 1901-1980', Ph D Thesis Griffith University 2007, p 236.

7. Anne McMurphy, 'The Pastoral Strike, 1956', in D J Murphy, ed. *The big strikes: Queensland 1889-1965*, St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1983, p 257.
8. *Worker* 4 February 1952.
9. See Brian Stevenson, 'Queensland's Cold Warrior', *op cit*. For shorter accounts, see Brian Costar's entry on Gair in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, and his 'Vincent Clair Gair: Labor's Loser' in D J Murphy, et al, eds, *The premiers of Queensland*, 3rd ed, St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2003. The notes and drafts used for the doctoral thesis on Gair are at the Fryer Library, University of Queensland in an eponymous collection, reference number UQFL433. The material is listed fully on the library website.
10. Details of Bukowski's career to the late 1940s are from *Who is this Bukowski?*, *op cit*, except where indicated.
11. *Queensland Parliamentary Debates* 11 June 1957, p 41.
12. Ken Hardy, 'The Strong Man of the Anti-Red Camp', *Truth* clipping, no date, but 1951 from context – in Bukowski news clipping file, John Oxley Library.
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14. Mark Hearn and Harry Knowles, *One big union: a history of the Australian Workers Union 1886-1994*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p 250.
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16. Blackmur, 'The ALP Industrial Groups in Queensland', pp 99-100.
17. Robert Murray, 'Looking Back on Evatt and the Split', *Quadrant* October 2004.
18. H E Weiner, 'The Reduction of Communist Power in the Australian Trade Unions: A Case Study', *Political Science Quarterly* vol 69 no 2 June 1954.
19. *Labor-in-Politics Convention* 1953, pp 57-61.
20. Gavan Duffy, *Demons and democrats* p 48.
21. B A Santamaria, *Against the tide* p 100.
22. For the fullest treatment ever of the split, see chapters 6 and 7 of my Ph D thesis on Gair, *op cit*. See also Brian Costar, ' "For the Love of Christ, Mick, Don't Hit Him": The Split in Queensland', in Brian Costar, Peter Love and Paul Strangio, eds, *The great Labor schism: a retrospective* Melbourne: Scribe, 2005 and D J Murphy 'The 1957 Split: "A Drop in the Ocean in Political History"' in D J Murphy, R B Joyce and Colin A Hughes, *Labor in power: the Labor party and governments in Queensland 1915-57*, St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1980.
23. Thomas Hiley Interview 1:2/17. Suzanne Walker, National Library of Australia, 1974.
24. *Telegraph* 21 March 1955.
25. *Courier Mail* 23 March 1955. Walsh had previously resorted to physical violence in a political context, having provoked a fight and delivered the first blow in a clash with the independent member for Townsville, Tom Aikens, in 1944. (Ian Moles, *A majority of one: Tom Aikens and independent politics in Townsville* St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1979, p 138.) Walsh was a burly man, and reportedly had, at the age of twenty, 'arms like gumtrees [and] legs like church pillars.' *Truth* 17 January 1954.
26. Egerton to Schmella, 20 October 1952, Australian Labor Party. Queensland. Papers. Industrial Groups

File OM.CM/1/33, John Oxley Library.

27. *Courier Mail* 29 January 1955.

28. D J Murphy, 'The 1957 Split', op cit, p 507.

29. Brian Costar, 'Vincent Clair Gair: Labor's Loser', in D J Murphy, Roger Joyce, Margaret Cribb and Rae Wear, eds. *The premiers of Queensland*. 3rd ed. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2003, p 283.

30. *Courier Mail* 29, 30 July 1957.

31. *Courier Mail* 26, 31 March 1955.

32. *Telegraph* 28 March 1955.

33. Anne McMurchy, 'The Queensland Shearers' Strike of 1956', op cit, pp 123-124.

34. *Worker* 31 December 1956.

35. Anne McMurchy, 'The Queensland Shearers' Strike of 1956', op cit: Anne McMurchy, 'The Pastoral Strike, 1956', op cit: B J Guyatt 'The Labor Government and the Queensland Shearers' Strike of 1956', *Labour History* no 33, November 1977.

36. *Telegraph* 21 March 1956.

37. Gair to Jack McGinley 27 September 1956. Gair Papers, Series 1 Correspondence Box 1 Folder 4, National Library of Australia.

38. *Western Star* (Roma) 12 October 1956.

39. *Worker* 10 September 1956.

40. This was the view of Jack Egerton, then secretary of the Boilermakers Society, but later secretary of the Trades and Labour Council. Anne McMurchy, 'The Queensland Shearers' Strike of 1956', p 88.

41. *Ibid*, p 63.

42. McMurchy, 'The Queensland Shearers' Strike of 1956', pp 75, 78.

43. Thomas Hiley Interview, op cit 1:2/18.

44. *Queensland Parliamentary Debates* 21 November 1957, p 1250.

45. *Courier Mail* 21 January 1960.

46. Bill Power, 'For Labor – Unity at all Costs!', *Sunday Truth* 23 April 1961.

* * * *

Remembering

The 1948 Queensland Rail Strike

Sixty years ago this March



**St Patrick's Day bloodbath: railworker Jack Grayson,
bashed by police.**

**Jack Grayson, (ARU Mayne Junction, later secretary of SPD
Brisbane) Edward Street near Central Station. St Patrick's Day, 1948**

Photo: Courtesy RTBU, John Oxley Library and *The courier-Mail*

For the Sixtieth Anniversary of The Queensland Railway Strike February – April 1948

by Ynes Sanz

1 Lessons from the past

'Those who do not learn from history are doomed to repeat it.' George Santayana.

The scapegoats trail after us as we look back
and sometimes it's right to feel fear
but some are just painted in red or in black
like bogeys to frighten a kid.
One person might look and be able to see,
another might never learn
sixty years down the track
the same issues still burn
but some of the young may have no idea
so this is one yarn they should hear.

There are those from those times,
though their ranks may be thin,
that remember it like yesterday,
the Names are the names of their loves and their mates,
the hard times were the times that they shared.
So for those who live on
and for those who are gone
– the big hearted men whose bodies gave in –
we assert once again: No-one struggled in vain
we're still learning, today, from back then.



Ted Englart arrested 16 March 1948
Photo: *Tribune*

2 The Fallacy of the Short Sharp Struggle

'There comes a time in the life of every man when he comes up against what he considers to be an injustice so grave that he cannot tolerate it, and he begins to kick. If he is in an organisation, he kicks in an organised way.' Fred Paterson, MLA, speaking in the Queensland Parliament.

We thought it'd be a short sharp struggle
but we found out how far we were wrong.
We thought that ALP stood for workers' rights
but Hanlon put the kibosh on that.
We thought we could discuss it man to man
but we didn't count on slave laws.
We thought it was all over bar the shouting
but Caucus wouldn't even listen to our voice.
We thought we'd see an end at the picket line
but Chifley told our members they could starve.
We thought we'd be alright with a lawyer in our ranks
but then we got the Paterson Bill.
We thought massed marches would crown it
Hanlon's bully boys knocked that one on the head.
We thought it couldn't last past the bashings
but we read in *The Courier* there were none.
We thought our solidarity would let us see the light
but then they forced Rowe into hiding for a while.
We thought our comrades' jailings would see the matter closed
but 'A Friend' paid up, and that unbarred the door.
We thought we'd secured an agreement,
but the Commissioner tried to renege.
We thought that the judgement would come through on time
but the Court said 'we'll just make 'em wait'.
We thought it'd be a short sharp struggle,
but experience showed we were wrong.
Every one of us learnt: To be in it to win it,
we were in for the long, long haul.



'The wharfies are on the march!'

Photo: Courtesy RTBU and *The Courier-Mail*

3 The Legal Notepad as Political Weapon

"I saw a plain clothes detective bashing into one of the members of the procession, with a baton. So I went over and called out to him to stop. He took no notice of me so I decided that I would take notes to refresh my memory. I had just lifted my pen to write on my legal brief which I had in my hand, when I was struck down by a policeman's baton, and taken unconscious to the ambulance". Fred Paterson.

Ladies and gentlemen of the jury!

Consider, if you will, the humble legal pad

(although the evidence on this point is not clear:

some say there was a legal brief, some mention a notepad

but in any case its purpose is not in dispute.)

Consider, I say, this yellow-striped, commonplace object,

(perhaps, you may think, not the only such object in this sorry affair)

whose mere presence on a street in our city

would seem to have inflamed the ire of government

and driven a police officer to strike down from behind

a man engaged in the lawful pursuit of observing a workers' march.

Now consider if you would what kind of man reacts like this

to the sight of the simple tools of the Law?

There can be only one response. (Here I quote a well-worn maxim:

'Acta exteriora indicant interiora secreta)

The man who commits such a craven attack must himself have much to fear
from the very presence of such a lowly symbol of the law.

'A dream defence' I hear you murmur ...

Ah, ladies and gentlemen, I'm inclined to agree,

but I know in my heart that is all it will ever be

I lie here instead in my hospital bed

and dream up the things that I might well have said

though I know they will never be heard.



Confrontation on St Patrick's Day 1948

Fred Paterson, on right of photo, takes notes as Jean O'Connor (Policeman) and Inspector Mahoney (Brisbane CIB) approach Jack Grayson

Photo: Courtesy John Oxley Library and *The Courier-Mail*

4 Helpful Hints for the Activist Housewife

'Well, we went in to see Mick in the goal, and it was rather horrific ... The visitors were in little cages, and so were the prisoners opposite, and there was a narrow passageway between and you could only communicate between the passageway with a guard walking in between ... However, whilst he was in goal I spoke ... at a public meeting that was held up in Wickham Park, you know, demanding that the Government should release the five prisoners from goal ...'
Connie Healy.

Women of Brisbane! Want to play your part in the struggle with confidence and style? Here are some handy hints as we march towards the brave new 1950s:

- 1** There's nothing like a nicely-ironed apron
to wear to a political rally
- 2** Remember the benefit and beauty of perfect posture
when leading a march beside a cardboard coffin
- 3** Nothing gives greater pleasure than a woman's well-modulated voice
when addressing a public meeting
- 4** Remember to keep your knees together and your ankles crossed
if you find yourself seated on an elevated stage
- 5** Always remember your womanly modesty of speech
when a policeman knocks you down and calls you names
- 6** Impeccable manners will go far
in negotiating a visit to your husband in jail
- 7** Never underestimate the gift of being able to make a perfect cup of tea
especially when your husband has just got out of hot water



**Brisbane Trades Hall welcome for Ted Englart Max Julius
and Mick Healy on release from Boggo Road Jail.**

Photo: Courtesy John Oxley Library and *The Courier-Mail*

5 'History repeats itself, first as tragedy, second as farce.' Karl Marx

'New South Wales police officers who took off their identification badges during APEC protests will escape punishment ... State Police Commissioner Andrew Scipione ordered an inquiry, which has found that officers had real concerns about the pins on badges being used against them. Mr Scipione has rejected the idea that officers were following instructions when they chose not to wear badges.' (ABC News Sep 18, 2007)

I was a London Bobby, 25 years at the game,
used my truncheon just the once, in Hitler's War,
to bash flat the end of a bombed out gas main.
Yes, I voted the Tories in year after year
then shipped out to Brisbane for a new life over here
a ten-pound-pommie with a hundred dollar dream
a middle-aged migrant in a fresh young State
where I read Frank Hardy when it wasn't too late
even I could see things weren't quite how they seemed.
These young coppers learn courage and skills from the best
and the tricks and 'the joke' from the worst
it's 'son you just watch me I'll show you round the neighbourhood'
don't they know that's not the meaning of the old term Brotherhood?
Then they fret about a pinprick when what they ought to fear
is the injury done to The Force around here
when the high-ups fail to protect its good name
they run a quick inquiry and turn the other way
– you can see it's a twist on the old number game
that some of them have always been a bit too keen to play.
Yet ever since the 40's cops have sat down to eat food
bought with wages that the workers won with boot leather and blood.
I'm an old bastard now but not too blind to look around
and see that truth is truth and lies are lies – wherever they are found.

Opposite page: **Strikers 'fight amongst themselves'**
Photos courtesy John Oxley Library and *The Courier-Mail*



Acknowledgements

Grateful thanks to Connie Healy for permission to use her interview and to Takver for allowing me to mine his site at www.takver.com for facts. For details on sources and further reading see below.

I would like to acknowledge the contributions of all the old comrades and departed decent cops, including my late father, PC Henry Foster of the London Metropolitan Police.

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Marching from Brisbane Trades Hall St Patrick's Day 1948 a few seconds before police started to use batons, fists and boots.

Photo: Olive pamphlet

Better Conditions Outside



Dear Old Soul: "Dearie me! Now what can be the cause of this leakage?"

Cartoon appearing in *The Advocate*, 23 February 1948. Courtesy of RTBU



Eight Hour Day demonstration, Brisbane, 1908
Photo courtesy State Library of Queensland (image number 39507)

The Eight Hour Day in Queensland

Led by the Operative Stonemasons Society in the eastern colonies, an Eight Hour Day was gained for stonemasons working on major, mostly government projects, in New South Wales from 1 October 1855, Victoria from 21 April 1856, Queensland from 1 March 1858 and South Australia in 1873.

The shipwrights of Hobart achieved the Eight Hour Day on 26 February 1890 and finally unions in the mining industry of Western Australia obtained the Eight Hour Day in 1896.

This is not to say that the Eight Hour

Day became universal or wide spread because economic circumstances saw the concession withdrawn, or never gained, until the shorter working week was enacted by parliament.

Given the hot summers in sub-tropical Brisbane, it is not surprising the first union formed, in what became Queensland at the end of 1859, was the Operative Stonemasons Union formed on 18 January 1858. Negotiations with John Petrie and Joshua Jeays, constructing a new gaol at what became Petrie Terrace, achieved an Eight Hour Day from 1 March 1858.

Probably the Eight Hour Day continued in the construction of the

Normal School 1860-1862, Government House 1860-1862 and Parliament House 1864-1866 and railway workers at Ipswich workshops 1866; but the bank collapse of 1866 and depression in the building industry saw the concession withdrawn. On 16 March 1861, The Brisbane Eight Hour Day Anniversary Union was formed by a meeting in the North Australian Hotel.

With minor name changes, the EHD Union continued to be the focus of unity in the trade union movement until 12 April 1922 when the Queensland Trades and Labour Council was formed.

Celebration of the Eight Hour Day on 1 March commenced in 1862 and the two following years, followed in 1865 by the first EHD procession in Brisbane.

Members of six unions: painters, carpenters, stonemasons, bricklayers, plasterers and mechanics, assembled at the Foresters Arms Hotel in Ann Street, Fortitude Valley and, carrying their distinctive banners, marched to Queen Street and by George and Mary Streets to the Australasian Steam Navigation Company's wharf at Eagle Street where they embarked on the *Settler* for a picnic at Eagle Farm Flats. They were accompanied by a band, and after lunch a sports programme commenced, followed by a cricket match. The day's activities concluded with a fruit-and-wine

soiree and ball.

1865 set the pattern for following years but there were no processions between 1868 and 1874, due to the depressed economy. Processions resumed from 1875 to 1878 and lapsed again from 1879 to 1881.

Better economic conditions in the 1880s saw a resurgence of trade-union activity with the procession and sports programme resumed in 1882 and events held for the first time at the Exhibition Grounds in 1883.

In 1874, an Eight Hour Day Bill was introduced in the parliament by C H Buzacott – MLA for Rockhampton, compositor and newspaper proprietor. The Bill was given a first reading only.

Two years later, in 1876, Buzacott introduced a Statute Day for Labour Bill, which reached the committee stage and lapsed in the 1884–1884 session. Sir Thomas McIlwraith – MLA for Mulgrave, civil engineer and entrepreneur, a former premier, then in opposition – introduced an Eight Hour Day Bill, which also only received a first reading.

September 1885 saw the formation of the first Brisbane Trades and Labour Council and the achievement of an Eight Hour Day by members of the Queensland Typographical Association for the printing industry. In 1886, the Trade Unions Act was introduced by Samuel Walker Griffith

– MLA for North Brisbane, barrister and Chief Secretary. Trade Unions had previously registered as Friendly Societies. In 1888, Thomas Glassey – MLA for Bundamba and coal miner; elected as a supporter of Griffith but recognised as the first Trade Union member of the Queensland Parliament – unsuccessfully moved an Eight Hour Day amendment to the Address in Reply. S W Griffith returned to the fray in 1889, introducing an Eight Hour Day Bill, which passed the Assembly but was rejected by the Legislative Council by 14 votes to four on the second reading. Reintroduced in 1890, the Bill met with the same fate.

1889 to 1891 saw the demise of the Trades and Labour Council and the formation of the Australian Labour Federation whose General Council in March 1891 at Barcaldine endorsed an Electoral Platform which included a statutory Eight Hour Day where practicable. First May 1891 saw Eight Hour Day celebrations held at Ipswich, Barcaldine and Charleville.

The Eight Hour Day continued to be celebrated in Brisbane on 1 March 1891 and 1892, but inclement weather in those years and major floods in February 1893 saw the EHD transferred to 1 May. Eighth February 1894 saw the first Trades Hall opened in Turbot Street: the scene of many EHD banquets.

We turn to the Queensland Parliament for the closing years of the century

with Horace Tozer – MLA for Wide Bay, barrister and Colonial Secretary in 1895 – introducing the Shops Early Closing Bill, which passed the assembly and was deferred for six months in the Legislative Council.

In 1896 Tozer introduced a Factories and Shops Bill which passed the Parliament and limited the working week in shops to 52 hours.

In the following year, Frank McDonnell – MLA for Fortitude Valley, draper – introduced a Shops Early Closing Bill, which reached the committee stage. Real progress was made in 1900 when Justin Fox Greenlaw Foxton – MLA for Carnarvon, solicitor and Home Secretary – introduced the Factories and Shop Bill, which passed both houses. It fixed the closing hour for most shops at 6pm on the first four days of the week, 10pm on Friday and 1pm on Saturday and provided that females and persons under 16 were not able to work more than 52 hours a week.

From 1901 the EHD celebration took place on the first Monday in May. A notable victory occurred on 14 August 1911 in the Sugar Industry strike when the Amalgamated Workers Association, led by Theodore and McCormack and supported by the Waterside Workers, and Seamen and Transport Workers, secured better conditions for sugar workers including the Eight Hour Day.

The Holidays Act of 1912 saw a name change from EHD to Labour Day. On 22 May 1915, the first majority Labour Government in Queensland was elected with T J Ryan – MLA for Barcoo, barrister – as leader.

In 1916, the Industrial Arbitration Act passed the parliament. Drafted by E G Theodore – MLA for Chillagoe, miner, union official, Treasurer and Secretary for Public Works – together with T D McCawley – Crown Solicitor – the Act established a Court of Industrial Arbitration, provided for an Eight Hour Day, a 48-hour week and a basic wage.

On 1 March 1921, the Basic Wage took effect at £4/5/- for male workers. The long quest for an effective Trades and Labour Council was achieved on 12 April 1922 with the Eight Hour Celebrations Committee merging into the TLC.

A week later, unions occupied the new Trades Hall near Upper Edward Street. On 30 October 1924, the Industrial Arbitration Act was amended to provide for a 44-hour week.

Six months before the Wall Street crash – which marks the on-set of the Great Depression – and following considerable industrial trauma, the Country-National Government was elected on 21 May 1929, led by A E Moore – MLA for Aubigny, farmer and dairy factory proprietor – and set

about removing working conditions achieved from the Labour Governments of 14 years.

The Industrial Arbitration Act of 1929 restored a 48-hour week, abolished the Eight Hour Day, and the statutory basic wage.

By 21 May 1931, the basic wage fell to its lowest level at £3/14/- for adult males and £1/19/- for a female.

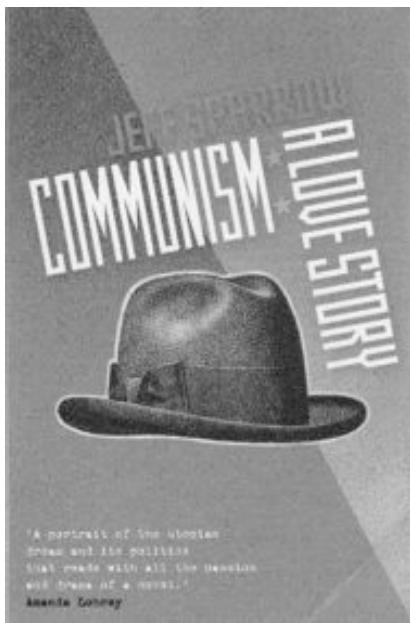
Every government in Australia was swept from office in the early years of the Great Depression.

On 11 June 1932, a Labor government won office led by William Forgan Smith – MLA for Mackay, house painter.

The Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act of 1932 restored the 44-hour from 1 July 1933, the Eight Hour Day and the basic wage. In September 1947 the Commonwealth Arbitration Court agreed to a 40-hour week to take effect from 1 January 1948.

In 1983, the National Wage Case gained a 38-hour week.

Manfred Cross



Review of
**Communism –
A Love Story**

By Jeff Sparrow

Melbourne University Press
Melbourne, 2007

\$24.95, paperback, 330pp.

ISBN: 978 0 552 85347 6

‘Communism - A Love Story’???
Well? Yes!

Sparrow’s book is a study of Guido Baracchi (1887-1975) and his relationship with Communism. That is the ‘Love Story’; with the normal vicissitudes of any love story.

As the ‘blurb’ on the back cover of the book says: ‘Meet Guido Baracchi, the playboy communist who lived a life as vivid as any soap opera.’

Baracchi’s love affair with communism incorporated the complete period of the effective influence of the Communist Party of Australia: an organisation that, with a small group of fellow radicals in the socialist movement of the time, he was involved in establishing – and from which he was expelled twice; such expulsion (of a leading figure in the Party) being a far from unique experience.

And Baracchi’s background? As Sparrow tells it: ‘His father ... a Florentine gentleman, professional astronomer ... The young Baracchi played in his father’s observatory, studied at Melbourne Church of England Grammar School, read law at the University of Melbourne ...’
*(p5)

No. Certainly not your typical communist. And, if not actually surprising, certainly an unusual character to be in love with communism. But, of course, that’s

one of the attractions of Sparrow's book!

The rest of the above quote?: '... and then went to gaol for inciting unrest in the civil population.' And that was actually earlier than his affair with communism; in the period when (Sparrow reports) he was influenced by the writing of H G Wells (and others) to be committed to 'guild socialism' and was active in the anti-war movement (World War I – he was later involved in similar movements around World War II).

But, intertwined with his political activity, each influencing the other, is the story of Baracchi's affairs with the numerous women in his life, and which takes up much of Sparrow's book.

The book claims that it was one of Baracchi's earliest women (Lesbia Keogh) who introduced him to communism; as he introduced some of his later conquests, in particular Katherine Susannah Prichard, who then became, for many decades, the Communist Party's leading literary figure.

As Sparrow says: 'He [Guido] was never an average party member ...' (p6). In fact '...he remained as unlike the stereotypical communist as one could imagine, a gentle Marxist as *au fait* with poetry as proletarian dictatorship and an activist who interspersed his political obligations with a series of complicated

romances. ASIO classified him as "a person of bad moral character and violent and unstable political views"; some of his colleagues secretly agreed.' (p6) One, at least, described him as a 'dilettante'. #

However, the book quotes radical playwright Betty Roland as claiming that 'Guido was not a seducer, at least not in any conventional sense. His charm ... lay in his "gift of being able to efface himself, to put aside his masculine aggressiveness and become the listener, the sympathetic, gentle, understanding recipient of confidences".' (p64) 'When Guido looked at you with that rapt expression, so peculiarly his, he made you feel you were the only person of importance in the world'. (p75)

But '... throughout Guido's life, affection and fidelity remained quite different matters, ...' (p65) '... when a new infatuation struck Guido 'everything that's happened is forgotten and he's oblivious of anything but his irresistible desire to be with the new beloved favourite. And it must be all or nothing.' (p85)

You will probably have built a picture of Guido Baracchi by now, so may be as surprised as I was by the quote (from Betty Roland again – she did write many memoirs!): 'On first acquaintance [Guido] left me unimpressed. Not at all good looking, of middle height and rather mild in manner, nothing like the flamboyant figure I had expected him to be ...

I had expected to meet a fiery-eyed swarthy Italian and not the sandy headed, blue-eyed Australian with a diffident manner and somewhat halting speech.’ (p166).

But how successful did I find Sparrow’s book? In general, quite successful.

It certainly has some interesting aspects. Even some quite trivial, like the chapter headings, that each includes a quote from within the Chapter (eg ‘3, World War I: ‘You don’t want to be disloyal, do you?’) – to intrigue the reader?

Sparrow moves back and forward in time, but in a quite successful manner.

In the book the author, understandably, is relying on his own interpretation of events and is quite explicitly (in the overarching ‘Introduction: “such a passionate hope ...”.’) drawing lessons for our society today. But, of course, you may not always agree completely with his line; I certainly didn’t at all times (Jeff Sparrow, whom I don’t think I’ve met, might well respond – when he sees my name: ‘well you wouldn’t would you’). Throughout, Sparrow treats his attitude as the obviously correct one. That may or may not annoy you. Again, in general it didn’t worry me much.

But my main problem with the book is that it seems to require the reader to

be familiar, at least at some level, with the names of the various characters referred to. In particular the various leading figures in the CPA, as well as elsewhere.

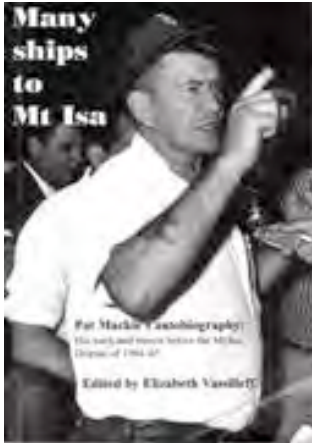
With my background this wasn’t a problem for me, but I can see that it might be for some potential readers.

Bob Ross

* all quotations, except the one marked # are from the book itself

personal communication, Edgar Ross – no doubt a view influenced by the interaction between his father (Bob Ross) and Baracchi, referred to in the book.

* * * *



Review of

**Many Ships to Mt Isa:
Pat Mackie's
autobiography:
His work and travels
before the Mt Isa Dispute
of 1964-65**

**Pat Mackie with
Elizabeth Vassilieff**

Seaview Press, South Australia,
2002

\$45 paperback, 386 pp.
ISBN: 1740081811

He (Pat Mackie) sees his own needs very simply, voices them fearlessly and becomes a phenomenally effective workers' spokesman and trade union organiser, a power to be

reckoned with in the industrial world. His strength lies in his formidable combination of his magnetic personality with high abilities in three functions of leadership: in clearly analysing the workers' situations: in democratising their organization: and in brilliant powers of oratory, enabling him to unite the rank and file and fire them with unshakeable loyalty. He becomes the object of punishing hostility from all the forces of the establishment, union bureaucrats as well as employers, who feel their interests threatened by his existence.

The above quotation, written by Elizabeth Vassilieff in the Preface to the book, is an excellent description of Pat Mackie's attributes. In the mid-1990s some close friends and I had the privilege of spending several hours in a Sydney pub with Pat. During this time we heard many stories of his most interesting and turbulent life. Prior to this I had only known Pat as the main union leader in the 1964-65 Mt Isa strike and as Australia's only self-declared wobbly (member of the Industrial Workers of the World). The stories we heard that afternoon were a small sample of the ones that are recalled in his autobiography leading up to the Mt Isa dispute: *Many Ships to Mt Isa*. This book was published in 2002, and is essentially a condensed version of a series of tapes, recorded in 1967, that were edited by his long-term partner Elizabeth Vassilieff.

After reading this book, I have formed the view that the Mt Isa dispute was a simple 'walk in the park' for Pat, after his union involvement aboard many ships that travelled the world and his rank and file activism and full-time organisational work in North America. After spending many years at sea, Pat settled in Vancouver prior to World War II and got married. He was an active unionist in the British Columbia Seamen's Union, which had a significant victory in winning union hire coverage from the powerful Canadian Pacific Railway. After working in the shipyards for some time, Pat took on the role of a full-time organiser with the aim of 'organising the unorganised'. However World War II took Pat to sea once more; this time transporting war materials to Europe.

In this short review it is difficult to do justice to Pat's life. Pat was born in New Zealand, but his father was Australian. Pat went to sea very early in his life, mainly because he wanted to get to America. However, from 1934 to 1949, the many difficulties he encountered along the way took him to numerous places: back to New Zealand, Australia, Panama, Tahiti, Hamburg, London, Antwerp, Mexico, Vancouver, Montreal and New York. During these times he not only threw himself into intense union activity, but married, fell in love a number of times and wrestled professionally. One of Pat's most notable achievements was, in 1946, to be the

Captain of Picket Captains on the New York waterfront during a lengthy strike. The pickets encountered police on horses trained to rear up at them and the police viciously swung batons at the picketers. Armed gangsters were paid to go in to the picket line to start fights. The unionists threw marbles under the legs of the poor horses in order to counter these gruesome charges and the pickets held their own against the thugs and gangsters.

In many parts of the world Pat had various differences with the police which led him to spend time in jail on numerous occasions. His final year in North America was spent in a number of Montreal prisons on charges indirectly related to his union activities. Pat was deported back to New Zealand but in 1949 ended up in Sydney. He heard there was money to be made from mining at Mt Isa and he decided to work his way up from Sydney. He stopped off in Brisbane and worked as a painter for a few weeks after obtaining the job through the union which was based at the Brisbane Trades Hall. An incident with the Brisbane police triggered his early departure to Bundaberg. In Bundaberg he observed police pushing around and arresting an Aboriginal man. When he followed the police to their station to complain to the sergeant of the brutality handed out to the Aborigine, he was threatened with arrest. Pat claims that it was the most brutal act towards a fellow human being that he had ever

encountered despite having been the subject of arrest from a number of the world's police forces. This is an interesting observation of racism in Queensland in the post-war years.

Pat arrived in Mt Isa in 1950 and worked for the Company (Mount Isa Mines) but was soon labelled a trouble-maker and decided to go out of the town and mine independently. He did this for over ten years and despite having various ups and downs was able to make a reasonable living for himself. His dream was to save up enough money to build a Tahiti Ketch, a small boat that would take him sailing around the world. Pat would often visit Mt Isa to pick up supplies and became a local identity. Another interesting aspect to this period of Pat's life was his name actually becoming Pat Mackie. He was originally a Murphy, became Eugene Markey, Pat Markey and eventually Pat Mackie. The reasons for all these changes are too involved to go into here, but a lot had to do with misspelling of his names on pay slips, and the way he entered a number of countries.

This is indeed a most interesting and important book. It not only chronicles the life of one of Australia's most famous trade union figures, but contrasts the styles of union activism and organising in Australia and North America. As Pat says when discussing some of the tactics used in disputes in New York, which included pouring excess soap into

washing machines in a laundry where cheap labour was employed, so that the next morning the whole building was covered in soap suds:

I had to live and work there, especially on the east coast and New York, to grasp the fierce reality of the class struggle and to know how ruthless the employers are, constantly on the attack against workers' conditions and wages, and the need for the never ending day to day fight with no holds barred, for workers to maintain what standards they achieve.

This book is also important from an ideological perspective. Pat mentions the influence of the Industrial Workers of the World a number of times in the book and it is evident that his style of union activism and organisation was in line with the wobbly tradition. He was a unionist first and foremost. He worked with communists, at one stage nearly joining the Canadian party. He maintained a position against forces that tried to eradicate communists from the union movement. However when confronted as to his ideological position, he would clearly define himself as a wobbly, working tirelessly to improve the working and living conditions of the rank and file. His second book, *Mount Isa, The Story of Dispute*, chronicles this struggle in Mt Isa in 1964-65.

Greg Mallory



Review of

**The Third Metropolis:
Imagining Brisbane
through Art and
Literature, 1940-1970**

By William Hatherell

University of Queensland
Press,
St. Lucia, 2007.

\$45, paperback, 320 pp.
ISBN:9789792235436

The title, and the big-city picture of an older Brisbane on the cover of this book, led me to hope for an extension into cultural themes of other recent books on Queensland social history such as *Radical Brisbane* (edited by Ferrier and Evans) and Raymond Evans' own *A History of Queensland*. These join other recent studies of radical art in Brisbane such as Connie Healy's history of the New Theatre in Brisbane, *Defiance*. What is more, the same publisher, University of Queensland Press, has also just released a comprehensive work on Queensland literature, *By the Book: A Literary History of Queensland*, edited by Patrick Buckridge and Belinda Jane McKay.

Unfortunately, the purpose of Hatherell's book is more limited than the exhilarating task of a major work of history. He claims that he has studied 'cultural institutions' and 'cultural production' and produced a work of 'cultural history' – all words from the lexicon of watered-down French 'cultural theory'. I was in no mood to take these claims seriously, having just re-read *The Poverty of Theory*, E P Thompson's devastating critique of Althusserian 'Marxism'.

True enough, Hatherell discusses creative social circles – notably when painters, not writers, are concerned. He covers old ground with his discussion of the Barjai art group but also gives a good view of the groups around individual painters such as Ian

Fairweather and John Molvig. He also tries to make some suggestive ideas about cultural effects of the political context. He notes, for example, that while early modernism and early urbanism went hand-in-hand elsewhere, in Brisbane the ‘moderns’ tended to have an anti-capitalist edge that saw urbanisation as the tool of philistines.

But his real aim – and achievement – is centred on a series of insightful expositions of some major Brisbane literary works, including ones by Gwen Harwood and Judith Rodriguez as well as works at the more famous end of high culture such as those by David Malouf (including *Johnno*, of course), Peter Porter, Thea Astley and Judith Wright. His ‘readings’ of these works owe more to formal literary criticism than to any cultural studies thesis.

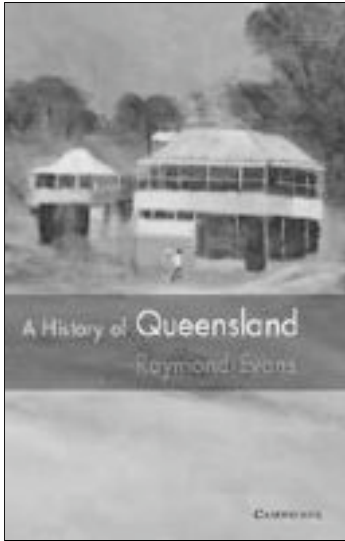
Although readers of *The Queensland Journal of Labour History* will be interested in the chapters on radical and bohemian art, these reveal only occasional sidelights on published labour-oriented histories and cultural histories such as those mentioned above. However, Hatherell gives careful attention to the work and life of John Manifold, the famous Communist bard and resident of Wynnum North (*not* ‘North Wynnum, as Hatherell maddeningly calls it). For a change, Hatherell’s sure touch as an old-fashioned student of ‘English Literature’ means that he can give an excellent perspective on the

controversies that have surrounded Manifold in literary circles.

Although this book bears the marks of its birth as a PhD thesis (note the careful narrowing-down of subject matter in the book’s sub-titles!) Hatherell writes well and, more to the point, with that under-rated and hard-to-master ability to understand and explain a piece of serious literary art. Much as I, for one, admire that part of the book, I chafe at the flimsy and bogus ‘theoretical’ claims. In fact, by concentrating on high art, and by doing so as a literary critic, Hatherell cannot show how it felt and feels to live in Brisbane for the majority of us Brisbanites. For that, he would need to have another look at the project mapped out by British cultural historians such as E P Thompson and Raymond Williams. In the meantime, the literary history by Patrick Buckridge and Belinda McKay will deliver most of the promises of broad views made but broken by Hatherell’s book.

Allan Gardiner

* * * * *



*A state of emergency,
extraction and extremism*

Review of

**A History of Queensland
By Raymond Evans**

Cambridge University Press
Port Melbourne, 2007.
\$29.99, paperback, 328 pp.
ISBN-13: 9780521545396

‘The tradition of the oppressed teaches us that the “state of emergency” in which we live is not the exception but the rule.’ Walter Benjamin’s thesis resonates throughout Raymond Evans’ compelling narrative history, not simply because it demonstrates that

the declaration of draconian State of Emergency powers by Queensland’s political rulers has been unexceptional, but also as the relatively recent political construction called ‘Queensland’ is shown existing in an apparently permanent state of crisis, ‘everything befitting living *in extremis*’. ‘Queensland’s is indeed a history of extremes, as the thrust of evidence in this volume discloses’, and ‘Extremism itself aspired to become commonplace’ under Bjelke-Petersen’s kleptocracy.

Some statements seem to smack of Queensland’s exceptionalism: ‘Its capitalism was largely extractive and foreign’, as if extraction (of natural resources and, vampire-like, labour-power), along with alienation and dispossession, were not the very essence of capital and the commodity economy everywhere. That economy has never functioned on any other basis; whenever it progresses, alienation, exploitation and, unsustainably, resource extraction must need likewise progress. However, Evans undercuts any sense of Queensland being a world apart by recognising ‘its historical totality’ and development as inseparable from a world system and ‘the extractive requirements of global capitalism’, ie its structural vampirism (eg ‘the London loan market continued pumping out Queensland’s life-blood’ from the colonial period to years after Federation). He reveals ‘extraction’ and ‘development’ as grotesque euphemisms for practices like

‘Parliamentary robbery’ (Marx, *Capital* vol. 1) and the rapacity of the Eldorado Exploring Expedition (Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*). The puzzle outlined in the conclusion arises from the fetishism of the commodity form: ‘A continuing fetish for balanced budgets and endless growth poses a conundrum that perplexes energy, water, transport and health services.’ Tom O’Lincoln has recently stated, ‘the growth fetish (understood as a drive to accumulate) is inherent in the system’ (*Overland* Summer 2007). The alternatives, in the classic formulation, are socialism or barbarism: the struggle for classless society and transcendence of the fetishistic forms that govern us, or the common ruin of all classes and ecological oblivion.

Evocative descriptions of Queensland’s ancient geology, geography and environment and of Indigenous civilisation before invasion open this arresting volume. ‘A truly proportional telling of even the human story of this place would grant [British, European and Asian colonists] only a small concluding paragraph.’ Evans convinces that, from Dutch raiding parties following the orders of Batavian authorities to kidnap ‘full grown persons, or better still ... boys and girls’ to the Beattie regime’s declaration of a State of Emergency on Palm Island, featuring dawn raids by Tactical Response Group commandos (‘Old ways, new technology’), violent states of

emergency, extraction and extreme prejudice have constituted Queensland’s race relations. ‘Stolen land, stolen wages, stolen children form persistent themes in Queensland’s legacy.’ So do Indigenous resistance to and remembrance of these thefts. Gainsaying genocide deniers and whitewashers, as did Roderick Flanagan writing about ‘The “Rising” of 1842–4’ in *The Aborigines of Australia* (1853–54), Evans observes that Aboriginal retaliation against pastoral invaders in the 1840s ‘assumed the contours of something approaching systematic frontier warfare’, while ‘Editorials at times openly advocated genocidal action’. In 1920 one official minuted, ‘the process of extermination seems likely to continue’.

Extermination figures here in other forms too. The Lindsays, for instance, indirectly influenced the ‘ecological backlash’ that saved Queensland’s koalas from extinction. Despite the ‘routinised slaughter’ of the ‘fauna war’ in the first decades of the last century,

‘environmental activism was also on the rise, boosted by a sentimental attachment to the koala as a national icon, popularised in the “Billy Bluegum” illustrations of Norman and Lionel Lindsay, and an expanding local children’s literature’.

These were the same brothers whose

drawings abetted routinised slaughter during the Great War, vindicated what Vere Gordon Childe called ‘Red Flag Riots and Pogrom by Soldiers’ in Brisbane on 24 March 1919 (see Evans’ *The Red Flag Riots*) and envisioned the extermination of Communists and their fellow ‘Jewish’ conspiracy-mongers (‘unmitigated Jew’ is usually bowdlerised from reprints of *The Magic Pudding*). In 1920 Norman’s ‘Billy Bluegum’s Christmas Tree’ portrayed the lynch law that many respectable Queenslanders and other Australians wished fulfilled: beaming Billy Bluegum almost gosesteps from a tree decorated with strange fruit including a Bolshevik, striker, feminist and ‘Ikey Mo’. ‘And the soul of Bill Bluegum atones, one may say, / For the souls of the rest he has taken away,’ cartoonist David Low pardoned Lindsay in another context.

The Lindsays’ lethal sentiments have many forebears. Vigilantism, Evans proves, has stalked Queensland’s history. Extra-judicial terror and killings, especially sanctioned or practised by the representatives of ‘law and order’, were calculated to eradicate Aboriginal ‘vermin’ from the land and to contract and control the hands whose slavery, unpaid and waged, transplanted the economic revolutions of the bourgeoisie to Queensland. As Marx realised of the genesis of the industrial capitalist, ‘revolutions are not made with laws’.

The epithets and alternative names by

which Queensland has been known in popular and official discourses indicate its cornucopia of social passions, pathologies and ideologies. Although John Dunmore Lang (keen onomatologist himself) had declared that ‘Chartism ... communism and socialism stemmed from the Word of God’, George Lansbury and William Lane found the colony ‘the very hell of competition’; Governor Musgrave’s aide-de-camp, William Shand, agreed it was more employers’ Arcadia than workers’ paradise. Conservatives amidst and after the Great War saw it as ‘the most disloyal State’. Townsville was transformed from ‘the Gibraltar of Toryism’ to ‘Strikesville’ (decades later, Fred Paterson became Australia’s only Communist parliamentarian after serving in Townsville’s Council) as ‘Queer Queensland’ became a ‘Bolshevik corner of the British Empire’ and, given Labor’s *Unemployed Workers Insurance Act*, a ‘Loafers’ Paradise’. Other appellations – ‘Mongrelia’, ‘Piebald-Land’, ‘slave state’, ‘coolie colony’, ‘Police State’, ‘Sunshine State’, ‘Smart State’ – also signal deep-seated fears, fantasies and formations that have comprised and reflected ways of life, struggle and death in Queensland. Evans has historicised these with great *élan*, insight and sensitivity based on decades of acute research and reconstruction.

Jayson Althofer

Joe Harris Papers in Heritage Collection John Oxley Library State Library of Queensland

According to the dust jacket of *Bitter Fight*, Joe Harris (1922–2002) was a carpenter by trade, a militant socialist by nature, and an active trade unionist by calling. He was also a member of the Labor History Society, forever on the lookout for pamphlets, leaflets, documents, posters, newspaper cuttings, and photographs of anything remotely pertaining to the working class movement in this country. It had always been his ambition to rescue the documents of Australia's working class and trade union history from their forgotten corners in union offices and basements. In this pursuit, he was eminently successful.

Recently acquired by the John Oxley Library, this collection of 50 boxes contains: family papers; personal papers; personal photographs; papers re union involvement; papers re the Australian Labor Party; research notes; drafts and master copies of unpublished and published works authored by Harris; personal correspondence with various organisations; photographs of protest demonstrations and processions; ephemera such as flyers regarding



Joe Harris (on the right) during Aldermaston Peace March 1965 – Ipswich to Brisbane
Photo Grahame Garner, Fryer Library

Queensland strike movements, elections and left wing lobby groups and movements; political badges, bottles, ribbons from May Day celebrations; poster collection of 1912 general strike, civil liberties, gerrymander, peace and anti-nuclear protests; news clippings and cutting books; slides; and a large range of subject files documenting local, national and international issues.

Topics covered include union matters, the labour movement, Australian Labor Party, Vietnam Moratorium, Apartheid, East Timor, South African Springbok tour, political prisoners, environmental issues, human rights, civil liberties, nuclear disarmament and socialist, communist, and peace movement activities.

I hope this valuable collection is as useful to other people interested in our past as it has been to me.

Dale Jacobsen

CONTRIBUTORS

Dale Lorna Jacobsen is a freelance writer living in the mountains of Maleny in south-east Queensland, prior to which she was an environmental scientist at Griffith University and a luthier. Dale is Secretary of the Brisbane Labour History Association.

Greg Mallory Greg Mallory is an Adjunct Lecturer in the Department of Industrial Relations at Griffith University. His book, *Uncharted Waters: Social Responsibility in Australian Trade Unions*, was published in 2005. He has co-authored *The Coalminers of Queensland, Vol 2: The Pete Thomas Essays* with Pete Thomas, published in December 2007. Greg is currently working on a book which is a series of oral histories of some of the leading identities in the Brisbane Rugby League competition. It is to be launched in May 2009. He is also working on a book on leadership in left-wing trade unions.

Manfred Cross was a former Labor member for Brisbane in the House of Representatives from 1961 until 1990, serving on many committees of the Parliament and acting as Chairperson of the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade and the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs. Manfred has been prominently involved in

Queensland affairs and in the Labor Party organisation in this state. He is a committee member of the Brisbane Labour History Association.

Ynes Sanz was a member of the student left at UQ in the early sixties when she was Gail Foster. A poet with an enduring interest in the political, her *Quandamooka Suite*, reflecting on Brisbane past and present, won the 2005 Val Vallis Award. Her latest unpublished collection *Fanny the Flying housewife* celebrates the lives of mad and magnificent women.

Allan Gardiner works in the Queensland Studies Authority and is a QPSU member. He completed a UQ doctorate in 1995 on Australian Communist literary activities. Allan is an ex-secretary of the Brisbane Labour History Association.

Jayson Althofer teaches English Literature at the University of Southern Queensland and is a member of the Public Memory Research Centre, under the auspices of which he recently began a doctorate on the cultural politics of Lionel and Norman Lindsay. He also works as coordinator of the Lionel Lindsay Gallery and Library Collection at Toowoomba Regional Art Gallery.

Brian Stevenson is a librarian, researcher and writer, and is currently the Liaison Librarian for the Faculty of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island

Studies at the Tropical North Queensland TAFE. He is the author of several commissioned organisational histories, and edited Peter Beattie's first book of memoirs, *In the arena* (1990). He has written sixteen entries for the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. In 2007 he was awarded a Ph D from Griffith University for his biography of Vince Gair.

He considers his most important claim to be that of father to a CUC chorister.

* * * *

Emeritus Professor Bob Ross, retired academic, Hon. Life Member NTEUnion. Only his most trivial academic qualification relates in any way to the title. Now living up the hill from Nimbin thereby fulfilling his colleague/staff member's description of him, over many years, as a hippie.

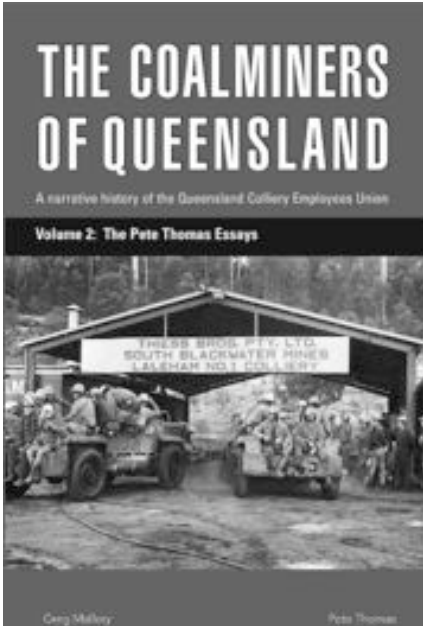
Noticeboard

Do you remember Paul Robeson's visit to Australia in 1960?

Ann Curthoys would like to contact anyone who remembers Paul Robeson's visit to Australia in 1960, as she is writing a history of the visit.

She is interested in hearing from those involved in the organising, or who met either Paul or Eslanda Robeson, or who attended concerts, speeches, meetings, and other events.

Ann can be contacted at:
Ann.Curthoys@anu.edu.au
11 Boobialla Street,
O'Connor, ACT 2602.



*The Coalminers of Queensland,
Volume 2:
A narrative history of the
Queensland Colliery Employees
Union: The Pete Thomas Essays*
By Pete Thomas and Greg Mallory

This book has been a long time in the making. **Greg Mallory** has brought together essays that Pete Thomas had written over a two-year period prior to his death to provide the basis for this book, which also includes an essay on Pete's work in 'left' politics and the labour movement.

Enquiries:

Greg Mallory 0407 692 377
gmallory@vtown.com.au

**LAUNCH OF DVD –
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This film traces the vibrant and turbulent history of Queensland's oldest union, the CFMEU.

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SATURDAY 5 APRIL 2PM

Laurie Carmichael Room, Union House, 366 Upper Roma St., Brisbane

Contact: Jason Stein 3236 2355 or
Greg Mallory 0407 692 377 gmallory@vtown.com.au



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Labour History (ISSN: 0023 6942) is an internationally recognised journal and part of the prestigious History Co-operative of the University of Illinois. It is published twice a year, in November and May, by the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History – a non-profit organisation to which the Brisbane Labour History Association is affiliated.

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A series of articles on Co-operation and the Politics of Consumption appeared in the November 2006 issue of *Labour History* contributing to our understanding of co-operatives and their role in past and present Australian society. These authors include Patmore and Balnave, Cutcher and Kerr, and Darnell. Also in November: *A Look at the Right and the ALP between 1917 and the Early 1930s* (Kirk); a piece on John Bernard Sweeney QC (Shaw); *Workplace Activism in the NSW Branch of the FEDFA* (Westcott); the *Teaching Service (Married Women) Act 1956* (Dwyer), and more.

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The Brisbane Labour History Association

The Brisbane Labour History Association was formed in 1990 to encourage and promote the study, teaching, research and publication of labour history and the preservation of labour archives. There are no limits on the study of labour history and the diverse membership reflects many different areas of concern.

The Association is affiliated with the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History. The Association organises seminars, lectures, meetings, conferences and publications on themes of labour history. Membership is open to all individuals and organisations who subscribe to the Association's objectives.

Editorial Policy

The Queensland Journal of Labour History is a journal of labour and social history with a particular emphasis on Queensland history. The history of labour, the classic social movement, is central to our concerns, as are the histories of newer social movements. This journal is committed to the view that history has a social purpose. It publishes articles which, in Ian Turner's words, engage our sympathies, affect present circumstances and suggest answers to present problems. In the words of the Association's slogan, 'The Past is Always with Us'. Material published herein does not necessarily reflect the views of the Association or the Editors. The Journal's Editorial Board is the Committee of the BLHA, chaired by the President.

Notes for Contributors

The *Journal* is published in March and September. Articles of up to 4000 words may be accepted; shorter contributions are encouraged. First person accounts of labour history are particularly welcome. Reports on exhibitions, seminars and research projects are sought, as are book reviews and photo essays. Obtain a copy of the Editorial Guidelines before submission.

Contributions should be made in hard copy to the Society's post office box and (if possible) digital format via email, to the Secretary's email address (see inside front cover). Hard copies should be typed, double-spaced, on single-sided A4 bond paper, with a margin of at least 3 cm. Please number the pages. Two (2) copies of each manuscript are required. Please ensure all contact details are given, including phone numbers and an email address.

Please advise if you have ideas for graphics (photographs, maps, drawings, cartoons, etc) that might accompany your article if accepted for publication.

The Queensland Journal Of Labour History

No. 6, March 2008
ISSN 1832-9926

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