

'To fight against the horrible evil of Communism': Catholics, Community and the Movement in Rockhampton, 1943-1957

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During the 1940s and 1950s, Rockhampton had the reputation of being one of the foremost centres of organised anti-communist activity undertaken predominantly by the Catholic Church and its clandestine industrial organisation, the Movement. Historians have not explained this particular phenomenon nor have they undertaken much research into the post-World War II anti-communist hysteria in regional Australia in general. This article aims to redress this omission in Australian labour historiography by exploring the origin, organisation and operation of the Movement in Rockhampton. It locates the roots of Rockhampton's reputation as a 'hotbed' of Movement activity in the particular socio-economic, political, demographic and cultural characteristics of the city in general and of the Catholic community in particular. It demonstrates the role of 'community', both subjectively and structurally, in mobilising Catholics against communism and the significance of 'place' in the production of community identity and maintenance of authority.

On 3 October 1956, the front page of the *Morning Bulletin* informed the citizens of the Central Queensland city of Rockhampton:

Police were summoned to the Rockhampton Trades Hall last night when, marching in a body down the centre of the hall, left wing industrial union delegates took over control of a Trades and Labour Council meeting to climax the most amazing scenes in the council's history.¹

In the six months following that dramatic night in Trades Hall, the local union movement found itself in the absurd position of possessing two peak industrial bodies – the 'Old' Rockhampton Trades and Labour Council (RTLCL) which had originally formed in 1938 and the 'New' RTLCL. Both councils claimed to be the legitimate representative of local unions, both met in the main room at Trades Hall and both made regular but opposing press statements on a variety of political, civic and, occasionally, industrial issues. Like several short-lived predecessors, the RTLCL possessed little practical function or authority as an industrial organisation but, during the post-World War II anti-communist struggles, the council and the Trades Hall building in which it met assumed supreme symbolic significance as the defender and bastion, respectively, of Labor legitimacy and loyalty in Rockhampton. The battle between opposing factions in the local union movement which resulted in the *coup d'etat* and two rival councils reflected in microcosm the internal tensions and heightened sectarianism which split the Australian labour movement in the 1950s. In the Queensland context, the RTLCL upheaval presaged the disastrous 1957 rift in the state branch of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) that brought down the Labor government after nearly forty years of almost continuous office.²

The earliest and most concerted efforts to combat communism in post-war Australia came from the Catholic Church, both from the pulpit and the clandestine lay organisation, 'the Movement'. As Movement founder B.A. Santamaria has claimed, Catholics believed that members of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) had infiltrated unions to senior positions and had penetrated ALP branches during the Depression and war years. They believed the CPA's intention was to implement the

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Soviet Union's foreign policy and not simply to promote workers' interests as claimed. Catholics thus feared that communism imperilled the political, social and religious freedom of Australia.³ In line with this consternation, Movement activists in Rockhampton attacked both the small CPA physical presence in the city and its influence in local trade unions and ALP branches. Initially by their own efforts and later as the core of the ALP-sanctioned Industrial Groups, Movement members endeavoured to oust any existing communist union officials, replace them with loyal ALP supporters and prevent any subsequent communist influence in unions or the ALP. Working within the Industrial Group system, Movement members gained control of the RTLC, eventually provoking the left-wing takeover in 1956. Many were foundation members of the breakaway Queensland Labor Party, later the Democratic Labor Party (DLP) which won two of the three state seats in the Rockhampton region in 1957. In the battle against 'anti-democratic and atheistic communism', the Movement's cause became a holy war in which the defence of political freedom was inextricably linked with the defence of religious freedom and the Catholic Church.⁴ The ensuing crusade subjected local CPA members and sympathisers not only to public ridicule, verbal abuse and ostracism but, not infrequently, to physical assault as well. If, as Andrew Moore has observed of Albury, the 'chill winds of the Cold War blew most strenuously' in rural towns, in Rockhampton they alternated with the fiery breath of religious conviction.⁵

Historians have paid little attention to the anti-communist struggles at a local level. N.W. Saffin's account of the Left-Right contest in Bendigo and Shepparton in the late 1940s and the consequent splits in local TLCs provides a notable exception and strikes a common chord with anti-communism in post-war Rockhampton. However, the role of the Catholic hierarchy and lay organisation in Bendigo-Shepparton is merely 'sketched in' as background and the reader is left to assume their part in the TLC fights.⁶ There is no discussion of Movement activity at parish level, in the workplace, in individual unions or in ALP Industrial Groups which would have facilitated the assault by the Right on the TLCs. By contrast, works specifically about the Movement or its involvement in ALP Industrial Groups consider organisational aspects and industrial and political outcomes mainly at state or national level. Paul Ormonde's writing provides some valuable insights into its methods at parish level, however, as do those of Edmund Campion and John Cotter, but with the possible exception of the last, these are largely generic and disclose little about the local communities in which the Movement operated.⁷

For some time, Greg Patmore has advocated the value of a local perspective to better understand the Australian working-class experience. His work on Lithgow shows that working-class life was conditioned by specific regional and local experience. As Patmore points out, small-scale research can reveal knowledge which is often valuable in its own right and which also contributes to the broader understanding of historical processes and patterns in Australia by facilitating comparisons with other places. One particular point about Rockhampton that some historians have noted but failed to explain is that during the 1940s and 1950s the city was a key Movement centre in Queensland. Indeed, in the 1946 publication, *Catholic Action at Work*, Rockhampton was the only place in Australia besides Melbourne, Adelaide, Newcastle and some smaller Victorian towns to have its extensive Movement activities documented. Additionally, it was the only one of the four cities to have Movement involvement in local ALP sub-branches detailed. Patrick O'Farrell considers that Queensland was the 'most Catholic state' in terms of population, educational and social standing as well as political influence and representation but this does not explain why Rockhampton should have a high level of Movement organisation and activity when metropolitan Brisbane did not.⁸

Patmore also urges historians to employ the concept of 'community' to better understand the social dynamics of locality, not just in its strict geographical sense but also in a socio-cultural context of a perceived commonality of interests, affiliations or beliefs. Drawing on Lucy Taksa's ideas, communities are 'social webs of people' in which individuals have many identities or allegiances through a diversity of interests and needs. They can be part of several different, often overlapping and, at some historical junctures, conflicting communities with conflicting loyalties. Communities are formed by including those who share a common interest and conform to group pressures and by excluding those who do not. As well as the subjective element of identity and allegiance, communities have a structural dimension – institutions, forums and social practices – in which people share ideas, make communal decisions and undertake action. Furthermore, as Taksa illustrates in the symbolic significance of the Domain to Sydney's working class, particular sites can be integral to the production and maintenance of community identity and authority. Warwick Eather's work on Wagga Wagga reflects the community approach in portraying the successful efforts of combined conservative groups, including the Movement, to marginalise and thereby disempower left-wing activists who were perceived as threatening the democratic freedoms of the town community.⁹

Taking a narrower perspective than Eather, this paper focuses specifically on the Catholic Church and the Movement's role in the anti-communist struggle in Rockhampton. In discussing the Movement's local origins, organisation and operations, the paper attributes its strength and support not to any strong communist presence, because there was relatively little communist activity in the city, but to the particular socio-economic, political, demographic and cultural characteristics of the city in general and local Catholics in particular. The work demonstrates the usefulness of the concept of community in exploring social dynamics in a localised context. Specifically, it shows how the Church hierarchy and lay Movement leaders utilised the strong sense of Catholic community and manipulated the parish network to mobilise against communism, how those who did not conform to political and religious norms were alienated and how the larger, predominantly working-class and Labor-voting community of which Catholics constituted a significant part fractured under the weight of sectarianism. The discussion also illustrates the role of 'place' in the symbolic significance of Trades Hall for legitimising authority and maintaining power.

Rockhampton Workers, Communism and Catholicism

In the mid-1940s, Rockhampton was the second city in Queensland with a population of 34,988. As well as being the administrative and commercial hub of Central Queensland, it was also the industrial heart. Rockhampton possessed a large export meat works, a major railway facility employing upwards of 1,300 men in the workshops alone, river and deep sea port facilities to export the mining and pastoral wealth of the Fitzroy River basin and western plains, and a range of small factories and wholesale distribution warehouses. With these economic activities, blue-collar unions dominated the labour movement and the ALP maintained a firm grip on political power. Overwhelmingly, it was Labor politics of the non-militant 'labourist' tradition whereby union affiliation with the ALP and active support for Labor politicians like Frank Forde, federal member for Capricornia from 1922, and James Larcombe who represented Rockhampton in state parliament almost continually from 1912, guaranteed industrial and social legislation to improve workers' lives. Reflecting the close link with the ALP, moderate policies with a distinct preference for arbitration over direct action and reform over radical change typified the local union movement. With two other state seats extending inside the city

boundary, Keppel and Fitzroy, both safely in Labor hands as well, Rockhampton was, in all respects, a heartland of Laborism.¹⁰

Conservatism marked Rockhampton workers socially and culturally as well as politically. Over the decades, there was little change or new experience in the city to broaden horizons. Demographic growth was steady but slow. There was only a comparatively small amount of seasonal labour to take workers in or out of the city temporarily while most workers spent their annual holidays either at home or the nearby seaside. Few read union journals or literature other than light fiction and the small quantity of overseas shipping transacted through isolated Port Alma minimised contact with foreign seamen who might import radical ideas. With limited experience and a narrow world view, most Rockhampton workers were content to improve rather than change their lives and the labourist orientation of ALP politics eminently suited this outlook. Most had shown no interest in earlier radical ideologies espoused by the Industrial Workers of the World or the Militant Minority Movement nor was there much local working-class interest in communism because of the CPA's avowed opposition to trade unions and Labor politics until the mid-1930s.¹¹

The moderate line of the CPA 'popular front' era from 1935 to 1946 gave the few communists in Rockhampton some influence in local unions, particularly after the Soviet Union joined the Allies in 1941. When a small CPA branch was established in that year, it issued circulars on industrial matters for the Australian Railways Union (ARU), Australasian Meat Industry Employees' Union (AMIEU) and Waterside Workers' Federation (WWF), while unions donated to CPA interests such as the Medical Aid for Russia Fund and helped organise a branch of the Australian-Soviet Friendship League. Between 1942 and 1945, CPA member Peter Parsons gained popularity and power as the Lakes Creek Meatworks Board of Control secretary, largely because of the concessions he won from management but also because the CPA's wartime 'popular front' line fostered better relations between communist activists and Labor-voting workers. Parsons also became secretary of the RTLC and, under his influence and with other militant AMIEU delegates, the council exhibited a marked communist bent. It attempted to establish an Industrial Youth Organisation and co-operative bakery, undertake social work and foster good community relations. Some of its successful ventures included creating an anti-profiteering committee, conducting an anti-venereal disease drive, urging the government to abandon proposed war-time meat rationing, and arranging the resumption of home bread deliveries. The RTLC also engaged in some minor industrial matters but, despite all its posturing, it really had little practical significance. It had little influence on local industrial relations and little power over the internal affairs of affiliated unions. As for communist control of individual unions, no senior official of any of the major unions in Rockhampton was among the 100 or so local CPA members.¹²

In reality, communism had comparatively little industrial or political impact on Rockhampton though its potential dangers were greatly magnified by events such as the Spanish Civil War, communist success in Eastern European states, its assaults on the Catholic Church and persecution of Catholics there and in the Soviet Union. Moreover, the fact that elsewhere in Australia CPA members had indeed captured leading union positions raised the spectre of a possible communist-led revolution in Australia.¹³ Unquestioningly accepting the propaganda of the Church as a matter of duty, Catholics in Rockhampton, as in many other places, believed that communism in the workplace, in local unions and in society in general had to be eradicated to prevent the possibility that, as *Campion* voices, 'Catholic churches and schools might one day become "atheist clubs and anti-God museums"'.¹⁴ By the late 1940s and early 1950s, the threat to Australia had also become externalised. The successful Soviet atomic bomb testing

suggested a looming World War III and the communist triumph in China, the Korean War and communist association with independence moves throughout colonial Asia brought the danger closer to Australian shores. These imminent threats created a crisis mentality among Catholics that time was rapidly running out to stem the tide of atheistic, totalitarian communism from overwhelming Australia; it was already 'five minutes to midnight'.¹⁵

Largely because of Irish ancestry, one in four people in Rockhampton was Catholic. Earlier in the century it had been as high as three in ten. The majority of these was working-class in occupation and association: manual workers in blue-collar unions and predominantly Labor voters who were, by population, over-represented on union executives and local ALP sub-branches. Catholics predominated among publicans and police officers while, in the younger better-educated generation, increasing numbers were teachers and public servants in white-collar unions. A comparatively small minority were doctors, dentists and solicitors. As Max Charlesworth points out, by the 1940s and 1950s, many of these educated Catholics were socially 'upwardly mobile' and, while many retained traditional Catholic-Labor affiliations, they no longer felt the same sentimental bonds as their parents. This group was keen to promote the ideals of the Church through politics and was particularly attracted to the Movement.¹⁶

Although Catholics were a minority by population, their distinctive beliefs, practices and particularly their institutions created a clearly definable religion-based community within the broader Labor-voting community in Rockhampton, both in their own eyes and in those of the rest of the population. With its focal point at St Joseph's Cathedral, the Catholic network spread to every corner of the city, extending from the numerous parishes with their churches, sodalities, primary and secondary schools, Hibernian Society, sporting and social clubs to an orphanage, hospital and home for the aged. Local Catholics could go from cradle to grave always under the vigilant eye and control of the Church. As did their counterparts elsewhere, Rockhampton's Catholics possessed a profound sense of religious and cultural difference, a strong allegiance to the Church and community solidarity, and a tradition of obedience. Under the influence of a powerful and persuasive clerical and lay leadership, the sizeable and cohesive Catholic community with its traditional Labor affiliations and conservative world view provided fertile ground for generating support for the Church's anti-communist crusade.¹⁷

The Movement in Rockhampton

Founded by then Assistant Director of the Australian National Secretariat of Catholic Action, B.A. Santamaria, and other young Catholic intellectuals in Melbourne in 1941, the Catholic Social Studies Movement or more simply the 'Movement' coordinated the anti-communist campaign in the labour movement by mobilising many working-class Catholics. Non-Catholics often referred to the Movement as 'Catholic Action' but the latter was an umbrella organisation which controlled several lay movements established at the time to increase non-clerical involvement in the Church's Christian mission.¹⁸ Even within the Church, as Bruce Duncan notes, there was confusion about the distinction between the Movement and Catholic Action because they shared chaplains, headquarters and staff. By 1945 the Movement had received the official blessing of Archbishop Mannix and most Catholic bishops. Many Catholics who supported the Church's anti-communist crusade were unaware of the existence of the Movement until the 1950s and even those who were active Movement members probably did not fully comprehend its founders' intellectual motivation. Patrick O'Farrell claims that the founding social militants believed any chance of implementing the Church's new

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program for social justice through reconstruction of capitalist-dominated society would be doomed if a communist government transpired in Australia. Others claim the Movement was, or soon became, a Catholic political attempt to dominate the ALP and thereby re-orientate its ideology and policies to the Church's social principles and programs.¹⁹ Confidential correspondence from the Bishop of Rockhampton, Dr Andrew Tynan, to diocesan clergy in late 1954 about 'the vital fight against Communism' appears to support O'Farrell's contention, and Santamaria's own claim, that the Movement's primary target was indeed communism and not the ALP itself. Moreover, with one third of Queensland Labor's cabinet and Premiers Ned Hanlon (1946-52) and Vince Gair (1952-57) being Catholic, the Church already had a sympathetic ear at state level at least. Irrespective of Santamaria's aims, the focus of this paper is the anti-communist organisation and tactics of Rockhampton Catholics and the divisive political and social outcomes they had.²⁰

Like other lay organisations, the Movement particularly attracted the devout and educated young through its dual emphasis on religious and temporal spheres. It provided an opportunity to strengthen religious convictions, develop Catholic social principles and apply them in the secular world.²¹ Communism brought both these spheres together because, as the bishop insisted, it was 'a menace to Australia and the Church'.²² Locally, lay leadership of the Movement came from just such men: young public servants and professional men who had both the education and piety to understand the battle as perhaps more than simply a holy war against communism. Movement members perceived their anti-communist struggle as one of religious mission, loyalty and courage, of 'doing Christ's work'.²³ As Ormonde comments, it was 'truly the stuff of martyrs', of selfless giving of time and finances, sacrificing family life and sometimes career prospects, and often risking health and physical well-being.²⁴ Without detracting from the sincerity of their religious devotion and personal sacrifice and despite the Movement's espousal of fighting communism 'Christ's way', the reality was that their methods often led to many 'ugly manifestations' throughout Australia.²⁵ This was often the case in Rockhampton.

Because of the clandestine nature of the Movement and the oath of secrecy taken on joining, its origins in Rockhampton cannot be accurately dated. It is clear that lay anti-communist activity had encouragement from Bishop Romuald Hayes at least two years before the Movement's official sanctioning by the Church in 1945. In 1943, one month after the initial publication of *Freedom*, the anti-communist paper emanating from Movement headquarters in Melbourne, Bishop Hayes circularised diocesan clergy with a copy. He urged his priests to encourage the paper's distribution 'indirectly' among parishioners and stressed that no mention of it was to be made from the pulpit nor sales made from the church door. He also directed his clergy to set up centres of Catholic Action in their parishes but whether they were for anti-communist purposes or other lay activities is unknown. Chamber of Commerce president Tom Bencke probably referred to Catholic involvement when he was reported in a communist publication in late 1946 as claiming that that 'a small body of determined unionists' had been successfully waging an anti-communist campaign in local unions over the previous three years. In early 1946, when vicar-general, Monsignor Rowan, wrote to Hayes' replacement, Dr Tynan, he inquired if the bishop-designate was familiar with an organisation 'known as the Industrial Movement' which was active in the diocese and for which Rowan had responsibility during the interregnum.²⁶

It is highly unlikely that Bishop Tynan was unaware of the Movement, having previously been a Catholic Action chaplain in Brisbane. During the intra-Church tensions over the Movement in 1957, Santamaria regarded him as among the Movement's 'old friends'.²⁷ According to the former director of Catholic Action in Rockhampton, Father

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(Fr) John Leahy, Bishop Tynan had great intellectual and personal admiration for Santamaria and, from his arrival, wholeheartedly encouraged Movement work in Rockhampton. At his official welcome, the new bishop vowed, 'It will also be my duty to fight against the horrible evil of Communism, because it is anti-God, anti-social and ... anti-democratic'.²⁸ He strengthened connections with Melbourne headquarters and established an official, coordinated structure in Rockhampton to facilitate the anti-communist crusade which he saw as a 'high priority'. Bishop Tynan expressly transferred Fr Leahy from Bundaberg to Rockhampton in 1948 as Catholic Action chaplain. The bishop founded a local branch of the Catholic Social Studies Institute to promote the study of political ideology and industrial relations among the laity and, in 1949, he invited Santamaria to address the clergy summer school on Catholic Action. Furthermore, he sanctioned the appointment of a full time Regional Officer of the Social Studies Movement in Rockhampton and gave 'unqualified support' to the 'programme set out by the Industrial Movement' nationally.²⁹ When former Queensland ALP Industrial Group Executive Committee member, Joe Bukowski, revealed that the Movement was at the heart of the Queensland Groups in 1955, he claimed that 'a man named Wassell' had been specially employed behind the scenes to coordinate industrial and political activities in Rockhampton on its behalf.³⁰ No doubt this was Bishop Tynan's 'Regional Officer'. When episcopal discord erupted over the Movement in 1956, Bishop Tynan penned a letter of support for its continuation to Pope Pius XII. Moreover, after the papal injunction for the Church to formally disassociate itself from the Movement in mid-1957, Dr Tynan remained in close contact with Santamaria and was among the first bishops to give permission for the diocese to affiliate with the organisation's successor, the Catholic Social Movement, later the National Civic Council.³¹

Bishop Tynan exploited his talent for oratory, his authoritative position as leader of the flock and every opportunity presented to him by the Catholic community and its organs to facilitate the recruitment and work of the Movement. Even if many Catholics did not know of the clandestine organisation's existence until the 1950s, they could not have failed to be aware that there was an active connection between the Church, anti-communism and unions. Congregations heard the bishop's pastorals from the pulpit and parishioners noted his and Archbishop Duhig's statements in the daily newspaper about doing their Catholic duty in the unions against 'the Red menace'.³² They attended rallies sponsored by the Church, read the virulent propaganda in 'The Industrial Front' column of the diocesan monthly, the *Review*, and could attend night courses in Industrial Relations at the Christian Brothers' College. Bishop Tynan even used the occasion of an ARU bursary presentation at the college to warn the boys of the 'terrible intolerance', 'dictators of the worst type' and 'horrors [which] could quite easily come to Australia' unless Catholic workers took preventive action in the unions. As much as his words that day were to taunt left-wing ARU secretary Frank Campbell who was also present, the bishop never failed to avail himself of the chance to indoctrinate his flock – in this case, future unionists.³³

The parish cell was the basis of Movement organisation and tactics, especially in working-class suburbs. Park Avenue parish where Fr Leahy was the priest from 1955 was a key centre of support. Recollections of the priest by former parishioners describe him as an 'autocratic leader ... powerfully persuasive ... a difficult man to oppose' and one whose 'skill in organising was his greatest talent'.³⁴ With these qualities and as Catholic Action chaplain, Fr Leahy achieved great success in mobilising Rockhampton Catholics against communism. When several Catholic Action chaplains pressed the national body to draw a distinction between their broader organisation and the Movement, Leahy voiced his formal dissent on the proposal. Fr Michael Greene's St Nicholas' church near Lakes Creek meatworks and St Mary's in Nobbs Street, North

Rockhampton, under Fr Denis Murtagh and later Fr John Daly, had similar reputations as Movement strongholds.³⁵

The Holy Name Society (HNS), a Catholic men's sodality instrumental in nurturing parish unity, provided the main source of Movement recruitment. The sodality commenced in Rockhampton during Bishop Hayes' episcopate, as did Catholic Action. In 1935, its members formed a separate Holy Name Club which received HNS 'moral support and guidance' and was restricted to its membership. The club maintained reading and recreation rooms in the cathedral precinct and it appears this venue was the planning centre for Movement activities. Prominent among its leaders was local medical practitioner, Dr Gordon.³⁶ The HNS invited Director of Catholic Social Studies in Sydney, Dr Paddy Ryan, to speak at its 1949 convention during his anti-communist public speaking tour and by 1955 it claimed a diocesan membership of over 2,000. Leading unionist members were Arthur Dunn, lauded in Park Avenue parish as being a leader in the fight against communism in the 1950s, and Pat Fitzgerald. Both were public servants and active in the right-wing white-collar Queensland State Service Union (QSSU).³⁷ In 1944, Fitzgerald wrote an article entitled 'Devitalising the Communist Party' in his union paper, *State Service*, in which he urged all Australians to 'join the hunt' to remove 'every Communist ... from every position of authority in every trade union'.³⁸ Fitzgerald had been recommended by Monsignor Tiernan to Monsignor Rowan as a suitable candidate for the proposed position of salaried secretary of the 'Industrial Movement' in late 1945 and Deputy Premier Vince Gair was approached to arrange leave-of-absence for him from the Public Service but, upon meeting Fitzgerald, Santamaria felt he was unsuitable. In Santamaria's opinion, he appeared to be 'a rather excitable type and not likely to be certain to give absolutely well-balanced advice on all occasions'. Additionally, Santamaria condemned a recent pamphlet Fitzgerald had written as being not in good judgment and 'calculated to damage our cause a great deal'.³⁹ Another likely member of the HNS and Movement was Ted Cook, a railway clerk who was in the ARU rather than the more usual Federated Clerks' Union (FCU). Cook extended a HNS invitation to the ARU to send an official union representative to an anti-communist address by Bishop Tynan. Dunn, Fitzgerald and Cook were also active in local Labor Party sub-branches and formed a powerful right-wing triumvirate in the RTALC from 1949 to 1956. Several other union leaders were HNS members, including long-time AMIEU secretary Len Haigh and WWF official Frank Dunn, the father of Arthur Dunn.⁴⁰

The secrecy of the Movement and reticence of those involved to discuss it even today maintains a cloud of obscurity over meetings in Rockhampton. Almost certainly they would have adopted the format revealed elsewhere: prayer and discussion of Catholic social policy, papal encyclicals, the gospel and politics as well as the prime business of gathering of information on the attitudes and activities of other parishioners, fellow unionists, work colleagues and neighbours in relation to communism. Cash collections provided large monetary reserves for the success of the strategies planned in these meetings. According to the bishop, campaign funds were always 'readily forthcoming' in Rockhampton by direct giving at meetings and numerous raffles in the parishes. As well as donations by wealthier Catholics, money came from the many working-class parishioners who, apparently, felt 'privileged to help such a cause'.⁴¹

Movement activists conducted a concerted campaign to persecute and alienate communists and to discourage any 'fellow travellers' in Rockhampton. Suspected communists and even union leaders who did not take an overt anti-communist stand found themselves subject to personal vilification and condemnatory letters to the local newspaper. Anti-communist leaflets circulated at the meatworks, railway and wharves and some found their way into public toilets around the city. Those suspected of

sympathising with communists sometimes had their names included in the Movement's national paper, *News Weekly*, together with details of their supposed illegal activities and immoral affiliations. Their wives received anonymous letters and malicious telephone calls insinuating their husbands were indulging in extra-marital affairs when out on union business at night. The Movement also utilised the services of Catholic youths to whom the temporal aspects of the battle were probably the main attraction.⁴²

9 On one occasion in March 1949, several young men linked to the Movement incited some 1,500 people to disrupt a CPA street rally for the forthcoming federal election. In the ensuing melee which made the front page of Brisbane's *Courier Mail*, the crowd hurled fruit, vegetables, eggs, flour and stink bombs and even wooden crates at the speakers. Political candidate Ted Robertson's daughter, Patricia, received a kick in the stomach after being knocked into the gutter. Later that night, a mob ransacked the CPA office and bookshop, destroyed the printing press and burned records and literature. Coordinator of these strong-arm tactics was often Fr Greene, as several former meatworkers recall. Greene also had a personal reputation for fisticuffs. In a letter sent by Fr Daly to a local unionist who owed him money, the priest threatened to have meted out to him 'the form of treatment for which you may remember my friend Fr Greene was well known'. He added that unfortunate recipients of Greene's treatment could expect 'to attend the Ambulance Unit at least or maybe spend a week in a hospital'.⁴³ One victim hospitalised in 1948 with a fractured jaw and other injuries pressed assault charges against the pugilistic priest. Bishop Tynan publicly complained about the 'incessant lies, smears and bashings perpetrated' against anti-communist activists but, as one unionist retorted in the daily paper, it was more a case of CPA members being 'on the receiving end of the boot' in Rockhampton.⁴⁴

Movement activity gained support from the police force, many of whom were also Catholics. In the case of Fr Greene's victim, police 'managed to persuade' him to withdraw the charge, even though the bishop privately admitted in correspondence to Monsignor Rowan that Greene 'probably did it'.⁴⁵ Similarly in the 1949 rally disturbance, police officers did little to protect the communists from the crowd despite their having a permit to assemble. Officers neither investigated the subsequent break-in nor laid any charges against the assailants and denied having received a telephone call from the communists begging protection against the mob. They did, however, arrest three battered CPA members for disorderly conduct. At the same time, Catholics who protested that it was not in the Church's best interests to meddle in political affairs or that secular bodies should be free of religious interference, found themselves branded disloyal Catholics and suffered criticism and ostracism within the Catholic community. Even a Protestant unionist with a practicing Catholic wife found himself the target of physical abuse for not actively opposing left-wingers in his union. He was assaulted by the Christian Brothers' College cleaner outside Trades Hall one night. Criticism and division occurred within Catholic families as well. In the Seery household, Patsy and 'Blue' rarely completed the obligatory Sunday family dinner without an argument over the Church's interference in politics.⁴⁶

With a common vested interest in stamping out communism, though not with a shared intention of preserving the health of the ALP, the Movement, in the name of the HNS, sought the co-operation of other organisations such as the Returned Servicemen's League (RSL) and Chamber of Commerce. At the huge 'Anti-Red Rally' conducted by Dr Paddy Ryan on behalf of the sodality, official guests included representatives of the RSL and the Rockhampton Chamber of Commerce. Others on the dais were Pat Fitzgerald and Arthur Dunn from the RTLC, a Catholic Labor alderman, Dr Gordon, three other prominent doctors and a dentist. Reciprocally, when the RSL organised an anti-communist rally at the football grounds three months later, speakers included

Dunn, Fitzgerald and Fr Leahy.⁴⁷ On that occasion, the priest vehemently criticised the lack of co-operation between employers, unions and the government in trying to eradicate communism 'because of class consciousness'. He considered they should bring the actions of three parties together and coordinate them.⁴⁸ However, while Movement men openly participated in the public anti-communist campaign as HNS members, their role in removing communist influence from the labour movement was their primary focus and the pinnacle of clandestine Movement operations.

Movement Activity in Labour Movement

Catholic Action at Work revealed that by 1946 the Movement had determined that five Rockhampton unions (QSSU, Transport Workers' Union, Blacksmiths, Builders' Labourers, and Storemen and Packers' Unions) were safely under what was termed 'genuine control'. Seven (including the AMIEU, WWF and Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU)) were 'in balance' as the result of Movement activities but five others (the ARU, Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (ASC&J), Federated Engine Drivers and Firemen's Association, Vehicle Builders and FCU) were supposedly under 'communist control'. Patricia Robertson was elected to the FCU executive but the union quickly dumped her when her communist associations became known. Some Movement men were already active unionists and Labor Party members or had grown up with strong labour movement connections. Arthur Dunn's father Frank's strong involvement in the WWF and Lower East Street ALP sub-branch, for example, provided an invaluable apprenticeship for the younger Dunn. Other Movement recruits had little previous experience or interest in unionism and politics even though they consistently voted Labor. The only necessary criteria were being a practising Catholic and a committed anti-communist but, because of the clandestine nature of the Movement, one had to be invited to join.⁴⁹

After the introduction of ALP Industrial Groups in 1948, Movement members became key personnel – 'the brain and the backbone' as Dr Evatt later denounced them.⁵⁰ Bishop Tynan always evaded accusations of a Movement-ALP Industrial Group connection but two years after the formation of the ALP groups he privately commented that he was 'fairly well satisfied with the development of our Industrial Groups'.⁵¹ Official ALP endorsement attracted an outer guard of loyal Labor supporters who were keen to defend their union and the ALP from a communist takeover but who were oblivious to the role of Movement members within. Some of these new recruits were also Catholics but others were Protestants, sometimes members of the RSL and masonic lodges. Women had their use in the anti-communist campaign too. Some in the FCU told Patricia Robertson years later that they had been organised to attend union meetings specifically to 'get' her. They heckled, refused to let her speak on subjects she raised and consistently voted against her.⁵²

Industrial Groups turned hitherto quiet union meetings into rowdy forums for political propaganda and arenas of divisive activity especially in the two largest unions, the AMIEU and ARU. Even for the normally apathetic rank and file, it was virtually impossible to stay neutral, particularly at union election time. In the AMIEU where the Industrial Group system was best organised, Groupers mounted a concerted campaign in the 1949 union elections when a record 90 per cent of the 2,000 members turned out to cast their vote either 'for communists' or 'against communists', according to Grouper propaganda. In the ARU there was no official ALP Industrial Group because the union had disaffiliated from the ALP after a dispute in 1926. Nevertheless, Frank Campbell recalls that Groupers never failed to use ARU meetings as ALP forums or to encourage union support at elections. Ted Cook led the Grouper advance, opposing motions in

meetings and actually proposing that employers oversee secret strike ballots in the lead-up to the 1948 railway strike. On several occasions, Cook voted against ARU directions in the RTLC but whenever the union tried to dump him as a delegate, Cook managed to garner enough support until his following dramatically waned with the public exposure of the Movement-Industrial Group connection. The Queensland Rail Traffic Employees' Union (QRTEU) was one union which particularly suffered at the hands of the Movement. In 1951, Newcastle Grouper Harry Hurrell established a branch of the by-then right-wing Federated Ironworkers' Association (FIA) during his Movement-funded northern tour. The new FIA robbed the QRTEU of about 70 members. Some ALP members began to question the real purpose of Industrial Groups and their source of funding after this blatant piracy because the QRTEU was already affiliated with the ALP and was also staunchly right-wing.⁵³

The existence of Industrial Groups proved divisive not only in unions but also in the ALP. Balmoral sub-branch secretary and ARU official Jack Ryan complained that the system was proving 'a very contentious matter' among party members, especially where 'private individuals' had set up Groups without ALP approval.⁵⁴ While he did not specify to whom he referred, it was probably Hurrell. At the next triennial ALP convention in 1953, coincidentally held in Rockhampton, there were calls to abandon the Industrial Groups and the FIA-QRTEA case cited as a pressing reason. In defending their continuation, president of the Rockhampton Industrial Groups Committee Robert Brown retorted that anyone who criticised the Groups was 'identifying himself with anti-Labor forces or [was] trying to wreck the labour movement'.⁵⁵ When the Movement-Industrial Group connection became public in late 1954, rather than instruct the Movement to cease its activities in Rockhampton, Bishop Tynan advised his priests in a confidential circular to step up their efforts:

In the present critical situation facing both the Church and the Nation as it concerns the vital fight against atheistic Communism our course is clear. Our organised opposition to this heresy ... must be intensified in anticipation of greater difficulties. Aware that a Communist cell exists in every town in this Diocese it is my anxiety that Movement Groups match these everywhere.⁵⁶

When Labor subsequently disendorsed Industrial Groups in early 1955, Bishop Tynan publicly condemned the move. He also denounced the accusation that a letter of protest to Dr Evatt from 300 St Mary's parishioners was orchestrated by the Movement as 'a sinister campaign against the Church' by the ALP.⁵⁷ Leading Movement men in local unions reacted passionately also. Arthur Dunn protested that Industrial Groups would be 'practically useless' without ALP sanctioning and that the inevitable return of communists would destroy much of the good work of the previous ten years. Nevertheless, the Movement members unofficially continued to exert pressure on communists in local unions and also tightened the hold they had achieved over the RTLC.⁵⁸

The ascendancy of militant unions which characterised the RTLC in the war years waned rapidly from late 1945 as Groupers like Fitzgerald, Dunn and Cook and their supporters manoeuvred into delegate and then executive positions until they had control by 1949. The increasingly reactionary RTLC angered the major blue-collar unions by either offering no moral support or issuing anti-union statements during the 1946 meat strike and the 1948 railway strike and by trying to exclude any delegates who had the remotest of communist sympathies. Because disgruntled unions disaffiliated and the ARU, AMIEU and WWF delegates included several Groupers, the Movement-dominated QSSU and FCU consolidated their power on the RTLC. The

council denounced left-wing and moderate union leaders alike as 'traitorous officials who used their executive positions in trade unions as a shield for their fifth column activities', even those who were active ALP members.⁵⁹ After the revelation of the Movement-Grouper connection, the ARU, AMIEU and WWF dropped their Grouper delegates but leadership remained in right-wing hands. However, the 1956 shearers' strike, provoked by the Queensland Industrial Court's handing down of an award with reduced rates of pay, proved the catalyst for the overthrow of the reactionaries. When the executive betrayed fellow unionists in the Australian Workers' Union by siding with the United Graziers' Association in calling for a return to Court, 22 moderate and left-wing delegates believed they finally had both good reason and the power to reclaim the council. To simplify the very complex and dramatic proceedings of the September 1956 meeting in Trades Hall, the president refused to chair the meeting with opposition delegates present so those unionists, who were in the majority, passed a motion of no confidence in the executive and set about conducting their own meeting amid the shouting. Denouncing each other as 'Santamaria dominated groupers' and 'red puppets' respectively, the two councils carried on their battle until the old council withered away some six months later.⁶⁰ The death knell for the Movement-dominated body was not simply the lack of union support or public recognition or even the fact that the Queensland Trades and Labour Council officially recognised the new council. With the Papal proscription on the Church's interference in politics and ALP disendorsement of Industrial Groups, the Movement no longer had official sanctioning nor served any purpose by trying to cling to power at Trades Hall.

The 1956 split in the RTLC foreshadowed the disastrous split in the Queensland ALP the following year. As *Catholic Action at Work* revealed, the Movement had been active in Rockhampton ALP sub-branches since 1946. Just as in the unions, the organisation recruited from the many Catholics already prominent in the ALP but also attracted others with little former interest in politics. The Movement claimed to have 'representatives' in some sub-branches, to control others and to have specifically set up a new one at suburban Wandal. Trades Hall ALP was another sub-branch purposefully created during the 1948 railway strike. By establishing new groups, Movement men accessed electorate executives as did Trades Hall ALP secretary and ARU activist Ted Cook in 1948 and 1950. Trades Hall ALP consistently pushed the Church's anti-communist line under Cook's influence. In 1950, it opposed unions contributing funds to fight the High Court appeal against the Communist Party Dissolution Act and demanded that if the ALP was returned to office in the following election, it too would 'outlaw the evil' of communism.⁶¹ To balance this right-wing power, non-Grouper ALP members set up other sub-branches. Because of the strength of Movement support in sub-branches, the ALP 'No' committee in the 1951 anti-communist referendum left the battle almost single-handed to the similar committee set up by left-wing and moderate unionists. Nor did the Grouper-controlled RTLC play an active role, reluctantly agreeing to assist the ALP campaign only one week before the referendum and devoting more time to discussing the forthcoming St Vincent de Paul Queen of Charity appeal.⁶²

In the 1957 split in the Queensland ALP, triggered by other issues but fuelled by escalating sectarianism, Movement-dominated sub-branches and individuals aligned themselves with Premier Vince Gair by abandoning the ALP for the breakaway Queensland Labor Party (QLP). Of the three local Labor politicians, Catholics Harold 'Mick' Gardner and Viv Cooper sided with Gair while the only Protestant, Jim Clark, remained with the ALP rump. Dunn, Fitzgerald, Cook and other Movement men also joined the QLP. As Santamaria has claimed, Catholics had lost faith with federal Labor's foreign and defence policies to protect Australia against communism from without as well as with its domestic economic and social policies. And, in Queensland,

the state ALP had expelled their political champion, Premier Vince Gair. Their answer was to form a separate party and through it to work for the re-unification of Labor on what they considered 'acceptable principles'.⁶³

In the months between the Labor split and the election, the *Review* consistently published articles on the plight of the Catholic Church under the evil of communism in Eastern Europe and China. Looking for a permissible way of attacking the ALP and encouraging Catholic support for the QLP, the *Review* targeted Labor's new education policy which reversed an earlier promise by Gair to introduce state aid to private schools if re-elected. The article claimed:

Those Catholics who have loyally supported the Labour [sic] Party for many years have been dismayed to learn that they can no longer hope to receive justice from their own party.⁶⁴

While the article did specify justice in education, it implied that Catholics could no longer trust and should no longer support the party to which most of them had been traditionally bound and with which many had been intimately associated for two or three generations. While a significant minority of Catholics did remain loyal to the ALP, the majority followed the example of Bishop Tynan and Archbishop Duhig and threw their allegiance behind the QLP. There was an additional motivation for Rockhampton Catholics to support Vince Gair and the QLP. Born and raised in Rockhampton and educated at the Christian Brothers' College, Gair held a special place in the hearts of the local Catholic community. He was one of them by flesh and blood as well as by faith. For most Labor-voting Protestants, however, there was really never any question of defecting to what was commonly seen as a Catholic political party. In the August state election, even though the ALP narrowly won the peripheral seats of Keppel and Fitzroy, it lost approximately 2,000 and 1,200 votes respectively, mostly to QLP candidates. The QLP's candidate for Rockhampton, sitting member Mick Gardner, topped the poll with electoral support from both former ALP and Liberal Country Party Catholics.⁶⁵

The Movement and Catholic Community in Rockhampton

In a working-class city where traditional Labor politics reigned supreme, Rockhampton's sizeable population of Catholics with their conservative world view provided fertile ground for the crusade against the 'horrible evil of communism' which confronted the ALP and Labor governments in the 1940s and 1950s. With more than fifty years experience of ardent Laborism, Rockhampton Catholics' ready response in defending the labour movement, democracy and freedom was an understandable reaction. These characteristics explain in part the strength of local Movement following which gave the city the distinction of being the leading site of Movement operations in Queensland. Yet the main reason why the Movement proved so active locally was because of the strength of Catholic community, both structural and subjective, conscious and unconscious. The Movement utilised the close parish network to spread and reinforce its anti-communist dogma. It particularly used the Holy Name Society to recruit, inculcate its social principles, plan labour movement strategies and coordinate activities in the city; it cemented membership solidarity and secrecy in the privacy and intimacy of the Holy Name Club rooms in the cathedral precinct; and it disseminated its propaganda in the diocesan monthly, the *Review*. These community structures which embraced not only religious life but also most aspects of secular life – education, fellowship, recreation and physical care – simultaneously fostered a common identity

among Catholics and a marked sense of difference from the diverse range of Protestant religions. As Paul Ormonde has aptly expressed, Catholics possessed powerful 'tribal loyalties' which were often indistinguishable from their religious loyalties.⁶⁶ Thus, in the anti-communist struggle, those Catholics who did not follow the Church's line on political intervention or resisted pressure to conform to 'tribal' pressures found themselves marginalised in the Church community by both priests and parishioners.

But the Catholic community was not an egalitarian one; it was hierarchical and authoritarian, a community of ordained and lay leaders and the led. Although Bishop Hayes initially encouraged the Movement's formation in Rockhampton and sanctioned its activities, it is to his successor, Bishop Tynan, that much of the organisation's strength and accomplishments must be attributed. Indeed, the diocese's centenary publication records him as 'gifted with a will of steel ... a promoter and defender of Catholic Action, and a staunch supporter of the Church's role in society'. At only 38 on his appointment in Rockhampton, he was a young dynamic man and accomplished public speaker, experienced in religious propaganda work and youth chaplaincy and an inspiration to his flock. In contrast, Archbishop Duhig's advanced age, disinterest in modern social issues and disapproval of the Movement's intrusion into politics restricted its appeal and organisation in Brisbane. Following Bishop Tynan's example, with his sanctioning and under his direction, forceful priests such as Fr Leahy and committed lay leaders, both inside and outside the labour movement, mobilised.⁶⁷

Because the Movement functioned with the official approval and active encouragement of the Church in Rockhampton, it had a captive congregation in which to disseminate its anti-communist propaganda. And to Catholics at the time, the Church held far more authority and control than any civil institution.⁶⁸ Obligatory attendance at Sunday Mass and even at school ensured a large and receptive audience to whom the battle against communism was presented in religious rather than simply political terms – as a fight between 'Communism and Christian democracy, between Stalin and Christ' in which Catholics must do their Christian duty to protect their faith.⁶⁹ Religious fears, duty and traditional obedience to the Church provided the Movement with a powerful combination of Catholic attributes to exploit. At the same time, Bishop Tynan's deep admiration of Santamaria and his vigorous promotion of the Church's involvement in social justice issues presented Rockhampton's educated professional and public servant Catholics with a more intellectual motive for ensuring communists did not gain political control of state and federal governments. Facilitated by Catholic community structures and attributes, its existence and operations condoned by bishop and clergy, and its lay leadership inspired by deeper religious and social goals, the Movement's organisational success in Rockhampton was virtually assured from the outset.

For most of Rockhampton's Catholics, there was no initial conflict of loyalty between religion and politics in taking up the anti-communist cause because both the Church and the ALP wanted to protect the labour movement from communist infiltration and domination. To that end, Rockhampton's Labor-voting community, whether Catholic or Protestant, remained united even if the former was more impassioned, more active and more strident in its efforts to marginalise and disempower communists and their sympathisers in Rockhampton. As Movement activists progressed from persecuting communists to attacking loyal ALP members and union leaders who did not actively join the fight against communism or who did not advocate the work of ALP Industrial Groups, strains began to appear in Rockhampton's Labor unity. And as the ALP appeared less committed to defeating communism, Catholics in general and the Movement in particular took the weight of the battle against 'evil' on their own shoulders. When, in the Church's opinion, the ALP abandoned the policies and practices Catholics expected of the political party they supported, they withdrew their allegiance

and, with Catholics elsewhere, created their own party. Thus, once the bastion of ALP politics, Rockhampton's working-class and Labor-voting community fractured under sectarian tension from which it did not recover until the 1970s.

In the struggle between the Movement and communists, between good and evil, the RTALC held supreme strategic and symbolic significance even though its industrial significance was minimal. The council was an invaluable platform for propaganda first by left-wing elements and then by Movement members determined to espouse their anti-communist views. During the Grouper regime, control of the RTALC empowered right-wing interests through access to funds for its ideological campaign and endowed them with moral authority which came with public recognition as the peak union body in Central Queensland. More importantly, even if control of the material fabric of Trades Hall lay with a separate and immutable board, operating out of that venerable building established and confirmed the Movement-backed council's identity as the legitimate voice and defender of political, civil and religious freedom. This significance of place would almost certainly have inspired the establishment of the right-wing Trades Hall ALP in 1948 when all other sub-branches met in humble school rooms. Thus when the moderate and left-wing unions which subsequently comprised the new RTALC dramatically captured power in 1956, their victory did not simply mean defeat for the old right-wing council but also the destruction of their identity as the guardians of working-class interests.

With a half-century's hindsight, the communist threat in Australia in general and in Rockhampton in particular during the 1940s and 1950s was certainly not what the Catholic Church portrayed. The fear which motivated the Movement's anti-communist crusade now appears irrational and the reaction 'overblown'.⁷⁰ Robert Murray has claimed that it was a case of making the facts fit the Church's ideology, rather than the ideology reflecting the reality of the times.⁷¹ But to Catholics in that era, the facts pointed to communism overtaking Australia. The danger was imminent and it was tangible. While the consequences were tragically divisive, and the tactics of the Movement were unpleasant, Catholic workers believed their actions were both justified by the holy nature of the anti-communist war and sanctioned by the highest authority, the Church. While we might readily condemn them for their prejudices and actions, at least they had – as did the communists they fought – the courage of their convictions. And, as E.P. Thompson cautioned: 'But they lived through these times of acute social disturbance, and we did not'.⁷²

Endnotes

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- * I wish to thank Dr Steve Mullins, Central Queensland University, and the anonymous referees for their constructive criticism of this article.
 - 1. *Morning Bulletin*, 3 October 1956, p. 1.
 - 2. B. Webster, 'The Rockhampton Trades and Labour Council and its Predecessors: Formation, Function and Fates', in P. Griffiths and R. Webb (eds), *Work, Organisation, Struggle: Papers from the Seventh National Labour History Conference held at the Australian National University, Canberra, April 19-21, 2001*, refereed stream, ASSLH Canberra Region Branch, Canberra, 2001, pp. 238-244.
 - 3. B.A. Santamaria, *Against the Tide*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1981, pp. 61-62, 80.
 - 4. Fr T. Punzell, Diocesan Archivist, Rockhampton. Personal discussion, 28 July 1998.
 - 5. A. Moore, 'The tyranny of a small town', *Australia Studies* [Geelong], no. 17, April, 1992, pp. 28-29.
 - 6. N.W. Saffin, *Left and Right in Bendigo and Shepparton, 1947-51*, Lowden Publishing, Kilmore, 1974, p. 2.
 - 7. P. Ormonde, *The Movement*, Thomas Nelson, Melbourne, 1972, pp. 36-39; P. Ormonde, 'The Movement: Politics by Remote Control' in P. Ormonde (ed.), *Santamaria: The Politics of Fear*,

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- Spectrum Publications, Richmond, 2000; E. Campion, 'A Question of Loyalties' and J. Cotter, 'A Rank-and-File View', both in P. Ormonde (ed.), *50 Years of the Santamaria Movement, a conference held at the State Library of NSW, 2 May 1992*, Jesuit Publications, Melbourne, 1993.
 8. G. Patmore, 'Australian Labour History: A Review of the Literature, 1981-1990', *Labour and Industry*, vol. 5, nos 1&2, March-June 1993, pp. 36, 41; G. Patmore, 'Working Lives in Regional Australia', *Labour History*, no. 78, May 2000, pp. 2-3; D. Blackmur, 'The ALP Industrial Groups in Queensland', *Labour History*, no. 46, May 1984, p. 88; Communist Party of Australia (CPA), *Catholic Action at Work*, Newsletter Printery, Forest Lodge, 1946. As Santamaria admits, this publication was based on secret documents a bishop inadvertently left in a train. He claims, however, that it was 'greatly embellished' by the CPA. Santamaria, *Against the Tide*, p. 86; P. O'Farrell, *Catholic Church and Community: An Australian History*, UNSW Press, Kensington, 1985, pp. 306-308; R. Murray, *The Split: Australian Labor in the 1950s*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1970, p. 51.
 9. Patmore, 'Working Lives in Regional Australia', pp. 3-5; L. Taksa, 'Like a Bicycle, forever teetering between Individualism and Collectivism: Considering Community in Relation to Labour History', *Labour History*, no. 78, May 2000, pp. 12, 13, 19, 20, 27; W. Eather, 'Hysteria in the Bush: Wagga Wagga and the "Anti-Communist Frenzy"', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 43, no. 3, 1997, pp. 331-343.
 10. R. Neil Massey, 'A Century of Laborism, 1891-1993: An Historical Interpretation', *Labour History*, no. 66, May 1994, p. 51; B. Webster, "'A Bunch of Weakies?' Region and the Making of the Trade Union Movement in Rockhampton to the 1950s', in W. Mules and H. Miller (eds), *Mapping Regional Cultures*, Central Queensland University Press, Rockhampton, 1997, pp. 112-122.
 11. J. Treacy, interviewed by B. Webster, 29 June 1995 (all interviews for this article were conducted by the author, B. Webster); Lakes Creek School of Arts Annual Report, *Daily Record*, 28 January 1911, p. 4; B. Webster, *Fighting in the Grand Cause: A History of the Trade Union Movement in Rockhampton, 1907-1957*, PhD Thesis, Central Queensland University, Rockhampton 1999, ch. 5.
 12. *Morning Bulletin*, 20 September 1937, p. 5; Australian Railways Union (ARU) State Council Minutes, 3 July 1942. Public Transport Union (PTU), Brisbane; Transport Workers Union (TWU), Rockhampton Sub-branch Minutes, 8 September 1941. Capricornia Central Queensland Collection, Central Queensland University (CCQC P16/1954, 1); Colin Maxwell, interviewed 26 June 1996 and Ewart Maxwell, interviewed 20 November 1995; AMIEU Rockhampton Sub-branch Minutes, 4 September 1944 and 4 December 1944 (CCQC J19/941, 4); TWU Minutes, 22 March 1943, 16 April 1943, 14 March 1944, 10 March 1945, 9 April 1945 (CCQC P16/1954, 1); Rockhampton Trades Hall Board of Management (THBM) Minutes, 15 February 1944 (CCQC U14/2063, 4); D. Menghetti, *The Red North: The Popular Front in North Queensland*, James Cook University of North Queensland Press, Townsville, 1981, p. 109; Patricia Pastourel née Robertson, interviewed 21 May 1996.
 13. Santamaria, *Against the Tide*, pp. 38, 67, 80, 81; Campion, 'A Question of Loyalties', p. 12; Ormonde, *The Movement*, pp. 1-2.
 14. Campion, 'A Question of Loyalties', p. 8
 15. Ormonde, 'Politics by remote control', p.166.
 16. M. Charlesworth, 'Foreword: Santamaria's House of Theory', in Ormonde (ed.), *Santamaria*, p. 5.
 17. E. Campion, *Australian Catholics*, Viking, Ringwood, 1987, p. 147. Sodalties were religious devotional associations established by the Catholic Church to encourage lay participation in Church activities. The Holy Name Society was a prominent sodality in Rockhampton.
 18. Including, for example, the Catholic Rural Movement, Catholic Girls' Movement and Young Catholic Workers.
 19. B. Duncan, *Crusade or Conspiracy? Catholics and the Anti-Communist Struggle in Australia*, UNSW Press, Kensington, 2001, p. 199; Santamaria, *Against the Tide*, p. 76; Cotter, 'A Rank-and-File View', p. 22; Fr Punzell discussion; O'Farrell, *Catholic Church and Community*, pp. 392-394; Editorial, *Voice*, March 1955, p. 3; B.A. Santamaria, 'Review Article: "The Split"', *Australian Quarterly*, vol. 43, no. 2, June 1971, pp. 99-100; P. Ormonde, 'How Evatt Scuppered Santamaria's Religious Vision', *Overland*, no. 142, 1996, p. 63; Campion, *Australian Catholics*, pp. 166-167.
 20. Bishop Tynan's Circulars to Priests, 20 December 1954, Catholic Archives, Rockhampton (hereafter CA); Santamaria, 'Review Article', p. 101.
 21. Naomi Turner, *Catholics in Australia: A Social History*, vol. 2, Collins Dove, North Blackburn, 1992, pp. 161,162, 166, 167.
 22. Bishop Tynan to Fr Quinn, Mackay, 9 May 1950, CA.
 23. Campion, 'A Question of Loyalties', p. 11.
 24. Ormonde, 'Politics by Remote Control', p. 175.

25. *Ibid.*
26. Circular, 29 October 1943, Bishop Hayes' Circulars to Priests, CA; R.J. Manning (ed.), *Spanning a Century, 1882-1982: Centenary of the Diocese of Rockhampton*, Catholic Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton, 1982, p. 35; *Guardian*, 28 February 1947, p. 3. Monsignor Rowan to Bishop Tynan, Brisbane, 1 April 1946. Bishop Tynan's Correspondence, CA.
27. Manning, *Spanning a Century*, p. 49; Santamaria, *Against the Tide*, p. 216.
28. Cited in K. Duivenvoorden, Andrew G. Tynan DD, Sixth Bishop of Rockhampton, 1946-1960, undergraduate research paper, Capricornia Institute of Advanced Education, Central Queensland University, 1978, p. 12; *Central Queensland Herald*, 4 July 1946.
29. Circular, 20 December 1954, Bishop Tynan's correspondence, CA; Bishop Tynan's Circulars to Priests CA; Bishop's Office files on deceased priests, CA; *Review*, vol. 15, no. 5, May 1949, p. 14 and *Review*, vol. 15, no. 10, October 1949, p. 7; Bishop Tynan to Monsignor Rowan, 9 May 1950. Bishop Tynan's correspondence, CA; Circular, 20 December 1954, Bishop Tynan's Circulars to Priests, CA.
30. *Morning Bulletin*, 29 January 1955; D. Hamill, Industrial Group Activity in Queensland: A Case Study of the Electrical Trades Union, BA Thesis, University of Queensland, Brisbane, 1978, p. 56.
31. Murray, *The Split*, p. 484; Duivenvoorden, Andrew G. Tynan, p. 21. Duivenvoorden's assessment is based on personal discussion with Fr Leahy in 1978; Bishop Tynan to Pope Pius XII, NCC file, CA.
32. See, for example, J. Duhig, 'The Church and the Unions: Menace of Communism', *Morning Bulletin*, 3 October 1947; A. Tynan, 'ALP Groups and the Church', *ibid.*, 30 March 1955, p. 5; and A. Tynan, 'Bishop's Warning', *ibid.*, 15 November 1955, p. 6.
33. *Review*, vol. 15, no. 3, March 1949; Frank Campbell, interviewed 1 July 1995.
34. Park Avenue Parish Golden Jubilee Committee, Our First Fifty Years, 1942-1992, Youth Services Press, Rockhampton, 1992, pp. 9-10.
35. Duncan, *Crusade or Conspiracy?* p. 199; *Morning Bulletin*, 30 March 1955.
36. Manning, *Spanning a Century*, p. 68; Holy Name Club, *Our Club: Commemorating the 5th Anniversary of the Holy Name Club, Rockhampton*, Catholic Diocese of Rockhampton, Rockhampton, 1940.
37. *Review*, May 1949, p. 3. Dr Ryan also toured the following year and held another well attended meeting in Rockhampton on 2 May 1950; *Review*, June 1955, p. 8; *Morning Bulletin*, 11 November 1948; Fr Punzell discussion.
38. *State Service*, May 1945, quoted in Jim Beatson, Communism and Public Opinion in Queensland, 1939-1951: An Explanation of Queensland's Vote in the 1951 Anti-Communist Referendum, BA Thesis, University of Queensland, Brisbane, 1974, p. 33; Park Ave Parish, *Our First Fifty Years*, p. 43.
39. Santamaria to Monsignor Rowan, 12 December 1945; Rowan to Santamaria, 19 December 1945; Santamaria to Rowan 4 January 1946, NCC file, CA.
40. T. Cook, interviewed 10 May 1996. Cook maintains he joined the ARU because he believed in 'all grade' unionism and not sectional unionism as in the Federated Clerks' Union. ARU left-wing secretary Frank Campbell claims Cook was in the ARU specifically to promote Movement interests. Campbell, interview 1995; *Morning Bulletin*, 16 November 1948, 5 March 1949, p. 7, 22 April 1949. The ARU rejected the invitation; *Review*, vol. 15, no. 6, June 1949, p. 1. Several names of Movement members have been confirmed by the late Fr Punzell who was a young priest in Rockhampton during the 1950s. Fr Punzell discussion.
41. Campion 'A Question of Loyalties', p. 11; Cotter, 'A Rank-and-File View', pp. 25-27; Bishop Tynan to Fr Quinn, Mackay, 9 May 1950, CA.
42. *News Weekly* replaced *Freedom* in 1947; E. Maxwell interview 1995; Campbell interview 1995; R. Cole, interviewed 28 April 1995, E. Schwarten, interviewed 10 May 1996; C. Maxwell interview 1996.
43. *Courier Mail*, 30 March 1949; Pastourel interview 1996; *Morning Bulletin*, 29 March 1949; C. Maxwell interview 1996; J. Underdown, interviewed 7 June 1996; A. Reynolds, interviewed 6 June 1996; Fr J. Daly to 'Jim', Miscellaneous records, AMIEU Office, Rockhampton.
44. *Morning Bulletin*, 30 March 1955 and 31 March 1955; Bishop Tynan to Monsignor Rowan, 7 February 1948, CA.
45. *Ibid.* In earlier correspondence, Rowan suggested that the problem priest be given 'a one way ticket to Ireland'. Rowan to Tynan, 6 March 1947, CA.
46. Pastourel interview 1996; *Morning Bulletin*, 29 March 1949, p. 1; 1 April 1949, p. 4; *Guardian*, 31 March 1949, p. 1; 13 April 1949, p. 3; Schwarten interview 1996; M. Rowling née Seery, personal communication 4 July 1997.

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47. *Review*, vol. 15, no. 6, June 1949; Minutes of Meeting of Anti-Communist Sub-Committee, RSL, Rockhampton Sub-branch, 17 August 1949, RSL Rockhampton.
 48. *Morning Bulletin*, 3 September 1949.
 49. CPA, *Catholic Action at Work*, Newsletter Printery, Forest Lodge, 1946, unpaginated appendix; Pastourel interview 1996; Ormonde, *The Movement*, p. 3; Campion, 'A Question of Loyalties', p. 9.
 50. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 October 1954, quoted in Turner, *Catholics in Australia*, p. 171.
 51. Bishop Tynan to Fr Quinn, 9 May 1950, CA.
 52. Treacy, interview 1995; Pastourel interview 1996.
 53. Campbell interview 1995; *Morning Bulletin*, 26 August 1949 and 6 May 1955; Minutes of Special Meeting of ARU with AMIEU, WWF and BWIU representatives, 8 December 1947, Rail, Tram and Bus Union Archives, Brisbane; S. Short, *Laurie Short: A Political Life*, Allen and Unwin/Lloyd Ross Forum, North Sydney, 1992, p. 132; *Morning Bulletin*, 26 March 1953.
 54. J.D. Ryan to S.J. Bryan, Secretary QCE, 16 November 1951 and 24 May 1952, ALP Industrial Group reports and correspondence, John Oxley Library (hereafter JOL) Brisbane OMEQ/60/1,1.
 55. *Morning Bulletin*, 26 March 1953; ALP, *Official Record of the Twenty-First Labor-in-Politics Convention held at Rockhampton, 23rd to 27th March 1953*, Worker Newspaper, Brisbane, 1953, pp. 51-77.
 56. Circular, 20 December 1954. Bishop Tynan's Circulars to Priests, CA.
 57. *Morning Bulletin*, 30 March 1955;
 58. *Review*, vol. 21, no. 4, April 1955; *Morning Bulletin*, 23 August 1955; C. Maxwell interview 1996; Campbell interview 1995
 59. *Morning Bulletin*, 8 March 1951.
 60. Schwarten interview 1996; C. Maxwell interview 1996; *Morning Bulletin*, 13 and 29 October 1956. Trades Hall was owned and operated by a separate Board of Management comprised of the major blue-collar unions.
 61. CPA, *Catholic Action at Work*, p. 36; ALP Trades Hall Sub-branch minutes 10 March 1948 and 11 August 1948 and 12 December 1950, JOL OMEQ/25/8/6.
 62. Balmoral and Koongal sub-branches were established by anti-Groupers. Schwarten interview 1996; C. Maxwell interview 1996; F. Campbell to M. Healy, Queensland Trades and Labour Council (QTL), 8 September 1951, QTL Referendum File, University of Queensland Fryer Library (UQFL) 118 Box 143; *Morning Bulletin*, 19 September 1951.
 63. Santamaria, *Against the Tide*, p. 244. Gair was expelled for defying the 1956 ALP Convention on the introduction of three weeks leave, for breaking his party pledge and for threatening to form his own party unless he could govern without interference from the party structure.
 64. *Review*, April, 1957, p. 12.
 65. Duivenvoorden, Andrew G. Tynan, p. 17; *Morning Bulletin*, 25 May 1956, p. 4, 9 August 1957, p. 2; 10 August 1957, p. 2.
 66. Ormonde, *The Movement*, p. 16.
 67. Manning, *Spanning a Century*, p. 49. Bishop Tynan was the youngest member of the Australian hierarchy in 1946.
 68. Ormonde, 'Politics by Remote Control', p. 165.
 69. *Review*, vol. 17, no. 10, Oct. 1951.
 70. W. Eather, "'Exterminate the Traitors': the Wagga Wagga and District Trades and Labor Council, Trade Unionism and the Wagga Wagga Community, 1943-60", *Labour History*, no. 72, May 1997, p. 112.
 71. R. Murray, 'One Minute to Midnight', *Dissent*, no. 14, Winter 1965, p. 51.
 72. E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, Penguin Books, London, 1991, p. 12.