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LOYALTY AND DISLOYALTY. SOCIAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT
IN QUEENSLAND DURING THE GREAT WAR

by

Raymond Evans M.A.

A thesis submitted to the
History Department of the
University of Queensland
for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy, October 1980
I, Raymond Leslie Evans, do hereby state that this thesis has not been submitted either in part or whole to this or any other University for the purpose of a higher degree. It is an original piece of research, based upon the sources listed in the bibliography. It is built upon primary materials, in the main, and except where otherwise acknowledged, all conclusions are my own. All sources, either primary or secondary, are acknowledged in footnotes, which to the best of my knowledge, are correct.

Raymond L. Evans M.A.
This homefront history of Queensland society during World War One concentrates upon themes of social and ideological conflict in the realms of class and ethnic relations. An attempt is made to show how the ordeal of total warfare exacerbates rather than creates such crises and confrontations by a wider examination of the era from 1900 to 1920. During the war itself, class struggle, ethnic tensions and ideological confrontations all intensify considerably in vehemence, despite initial appearances of social unanimity. Demands for loyalty and charges of disloyalty become explicit, as anti-radical and anti-alien scapegoating reaches new peaks. The role of the State becomes more expansive and intrusive, as normal hegemonic controls fall under increasing stress, and social agitation and resistance mounts.

The introduction to this thesis attempts to place the work within its Australian historiographical context, presents a detailed and thematically coherent content analysis of this dissertation (see pp.iv-vii) and discusses methodological approaches to the issues encompassed herein. In Chapter One, a precursive range of pre-war crises is investigated, revealing dominant patterns of social consciousness and behaviour in peace-time Queensland. Boer War involvement, racial invasion scares, internal ethnic antagonisms and anti-socialist campaigns are all examined to show the predominance of Imperial, militaristic, xenophobic and anti-radical sentiment in the society. In Chapter Two, the loyalist response to the outbreak of the Great War is reviewed, and its degree of unanimity questioned. The waning of war support before the first conscription referendum and the State's attempts to buttress this by such bureaucratic procedures as censorship and propaganda are revealed. Warfront realities and homefront misperceptions are constantly juxtaposed, as a dawning awareness of warfare's actualities nevertheless encourages gradual social disillusionment and alienation.
Chapter Three deals with the growth of anti-Germanism as a pervasive ideology of war support, with profound consequences for the large German minority in Queensland. Anti-Germanism adds a new dimension to ethnic exclusiveness in the society, and provides a base upon which renewed anti-alien and anti-radical campaigns can develop. Chapter Four examines socialist, syndicalist and pacifist responses to the war situation in the context of burgeoning working class discontent over socio-economic conditions, war-induced psychological suffering and bureaucratic encroachments. Loyalist reactions to anti-war activists are similarly detailed as social polarization increases prior to the first conscription plebiscite. Chapter Five deals in depth with the two conscription struggles in Queensland, with particular emphasis upon class, ethnic and ideological conflict. Invasion fears, and anti-radical, anti-alien alarms dominate each campaign, as social division, hysteria and violence become acute, and State and Federal governmental confrontation increases. Chapters Six and Seven return to the themes of alien and radical scapegoating, following the watershed of the two, failed conscription referenda. In Chapter Six, social and official loyalist responses to a number of non-British groups are highlighted; while, in Chapter Seven, loyalist mobilizations against an increasingly radical challenge in Queensland in the wake of the Russian Revolution are detailed. Antagonistic 'Stop the War' and 'Win the War' initiatives encourage an expanding rift between State and Federal regimes, as Queensland becomes widely regarded as 'the most disloyal State' in the Commonwealth.

Chapter Eight deals with the social and ideological crises accompanying the Armistice and the post-war reconstruction period. It demonstrates that anti-alien, anti-radical actions climax in a 'Bolshevik scare' period of 1918 to 1920, wherein loyalist/disloyalist conflict and violence once more become critical throughout many Queensland centres. Right-wing mass mobilizations of loyalist citizens, returned soldiers and the conservative
press combine with official initiatives by the Commonwealth government to put radical and revolutionary activists to rout and to repress and intimidate certain members of non-British ethnic groups, including Germans, Russians and Southern Europeans. In conclusion, the outcome of social crises and conflicts, intensified by the ordeal of total warfare is reviewed and the contention that Queensland society exhibited the most active disloyalty in Australia during the war years is scrutinized. It is suggested that, in Queensland, the precepts of Imperialistic nationalism, militarism and racism dominated social consciousness in this era, whilst minority affiliations with socialism, republicanism, pacifism and internationalism were curbed and depleted by the ferocity of mass loyalist assaults.

It has been thought desirable, because of the extent and fullness of footnoting, to present references in collected form at the end of chapters.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

No large research enterprise can be the product of the labour of only one person, and there are a number of people and institutions to thank. Firstly, I should like to express my appreciation to my supervisor Dr D.P. Crook for his interest, effort and close textual criticism of this dissertation. I am grateful also, to the respective staffs at a range of research institutions in Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne, Canberra and London. In Brisbane, librarians and archivists at the Parliamentary Library, the Oxley Memorial Library, the Australian Archives, Queensland repository, and, especially, the good people at the Fryer Memorial Library and the Queensland State Archives deserve my gratitude for their co-operation and guidance. In Sydney, staff members at the Mitchell Library; in Melbourne, at the Latrobe Library and the Australian Archives, Brighton repository; as well as, in Canberra, at the Australian National University's Archives of Business and Labour and at the Australian Archives itself all offered me considerable help and direction. In London, I visited a range of research establishments, whose staffs invariably combined efficiency with friendliness and support: the Public Records Office at Kew, the Royal Commonwealth Society, the British Library, the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, the School of Oriental and African Studies, the Institute of Historical Research and the Fawcett Library.

Among colleagues and friends, there are several I would like to mention personally for their continual encouragement and constructive criticisms. Carmel Shute, Susan Gardner, Elizabeth Boge, Jane-Ann Phillips, Ann McGrath, Marilyn Lake and Lyndall Ryan have, at various times, been extremely helpful and supportive. I would particularly like to mention Bill Thorpe and Kathryn Cronin in this regard. They have
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<td>A.I.N.A.</td>
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INTRODUCTION

Total war, as it runs its course, appears to loom forbiddingly behind all aspects of human existence. Yet the manner in which its actual impact, as crisis, impinges itself causatively upon the processes of everyday life is much harder to discern. As Robert Kee commented in 1971 upon writing 'a proper historical account' of wartime experiences:

No wonder the stuff slips away mercury-wise from proper historians. No wonder they have to erect rather artificial structures of one sort or another in its place. No wonder it is those artists who recreate life rather than try to recapture it who, in one way, prove the good historians in the end.¹

For its participants, warfare often appears as both monumental and ineffable, and its reconstruction in memory assumes no more definite a form than that of an impressionistic pastiche. Upon those who fight, its intimate mark is quietly - often mutely - incorporated; while, among those who remain behind, its background presence is only dimly seen and clumsily articulated, as the essence of both social being and consciousness is transformed. The world of 1919 looked very different from that of 1914, but the actual changes effected seemed indefinite and elusive. P.J. McDermott, Under-Secretary of the Queensland Premier's Department was asked in 1919 to contribute data towards the writing of an official 'Australian History of the War ... deal[ing] chiefly with events at home' which would provide 'a clear view of Queensland's war activities.' Despite the fact that he had overseen the bulk of governmental operations during this crucial period, McDermott found the request a perplexing one. A fortnight later, he lamely responded:

I regret very much that I have been able to find little printed matter likely to be useful ... What I have, I send, namely a War Pictorial of Brisbane manufacture, and a copy of a Queenslander, containing a Women’s War Work article on page 43 ...²
The Under-Secretary's primary research difficulties are compounded when the impact of the Great War upon society is examined in retrospect by Australian historians: for the immensity of the experience invariably seems to belittle the singular efforts of the researcher to recreate its magnitude and force. Criticisms of war historiography in Australia therefore tend to emphasize the truncated nature of such enterprises, after the epic span of C.E.W. Bean's official warfront volumes - 'Australia's Iliad or Odyssey' - has been duly recognized and applauded. For the rest, attempts made to understand the homefront are appraised for their lack of attention to synchronous warfront activities. Secondly, emphasis upon the war years per se is deprecated due to an absence of historical perspective upon preludes to and repercussions of the actual period of war involvement. Thus Lloyd Robson's The First A.I.F.: A Study of Its Recruitment 1914-18 has been criticized for concentrating 'attention too exclusively on Australia' and revealing 'far too little about the terrible conflict raging in Europe.' 'Unless the background is kept in mind,' comments L.C.F. Turner, 'the intensity of the political struggle in Australia is hard to comprehend.' Furthermore, historians from Sir Edward Scott to Marilyn Lane have been censured for dealing with World War One as a 'distinct entity' treated in isolation, rather than immersing it 'more fully in other broad streams of Australian experience.' Tony Hannan, for instance, attacks Lake for failing to analyze 'war issues in a wider perspective.' '[S]he does not sufficiently locate the whole war and the immediate post-war experience in the traditions of chronic doubts and conflicts over Australian identity and proper loyalties,' he writes, 'The war exposed existing divisions, that is, social segmentation by class, region, ethnic origin and religious affiliation.' Similarly, specialized studies of particular aspects - like military recruiting and
enlistment, the evolution of an Anzac mythology, the conscription debates or wartime industrial disputation - located within this insulated war experience seem doubly vulnerable for their narrower focus and more abbreviated concerns. Thus, analysing histories of the Australian conscription struggles, Malcolm McGregor notes an element of circularity in otherwise illuminating treatments of the main issues of the plebiscites. 'One could argue that there is no historical debate in its truest sense,' he concludes, '[I]n fact, there is an historiographical gap in that there is remarkably little material available on the crisis in proportion to its momentous significance in Australian history.'

If C.E.W. Bean's sweeping warfront accounts combine to produce 'a coherent paean of patriotism,' Sir Ernest Scott's official homefront history, *Australia During the War* may be seen as another fount of a tradition of empiricism which confidently 'linked nationhood with sacrifice.' Scott, originally an amateur historian interested in Australian exploration was very much a participant in, as well as an observer of the allegedly harmonious world he depicted in his wartime narrative. As Professor of History at Melbourne University during the war years, he reflected the pro-Imperial, Anglophile outlook of the staunch war supporter. As such, his writings reveal very little about the sheer human cost of the war, or about the bitter divisions engendered in Australian society. As a primarily 'establishment-orientated' work, his study leaves much to be desired upon such crucial themes as propaganda, censorship, anti-Germanism, industrial clashes and social conflict in general. As G.P. Shaw commented in 1966:

Scott's history needs desperately to be filled out. It is a view from the top down where, at the bottom, people began to appear simply as digits in a situation where numbers were the stock-in-trade of those at war.

Since Shaw wrote, the State-based studies of Marilyn Lake and Dan
Coward, concentrating upon Tasmania and New South Wales respectively have begun to challenge the consensual paradigm Scott constructed in the inter-war years. In Tasmania's case, Lake argues:

... the effect of the impact of war was not a 'welding together', but a disintegration, a fragmentation of the community. The forces that divided men had not lessened, but strengthened ... Class was set against class, creed against creed, district against district, soldier against civilian.

Similarly, Coward seeks to highlight 'divergent class experiences', 'conflicts of loyalty', and 'politics dominated by emotions'. Although these discordant patterns may have been blurred in August 1914, he argues, they rapidly became 'clearer during the following years.'

Thus, both Lake and Coward depict societies riven by class, ethnic and ideological divisions, rather than ones united by the forces of nationalism or imperialism, the necessity for war sacrifice or the will for victory.

The present study, which concentrates upon socio-cultural responses in Queensland towards the Great War is informed by a similar rejection of consensus-based historiography, which tends to view the society as a functional entity, unified by militaristic verve and a singular Imperial commitment. In place of an image of grand social harmony, jolted somewhat by two short, sharp conscription disturbances, it seeks to interpose the realities of ongoing crisis existence and experience - heightened social conflict, tribulation and bitterness, the tensions between powerful wartime impositions and the no less powerful resistances these provoked - which a close empirical survey of this era reveals. By examining the pre-war phase from 1900 to 1914, an attempt is made to impart a critically needed perspective to this time of crisis. For the preceding period reveals trials and struggles of its own which the war epoch did much to exacerbate and transform. Total war is clearly not the
only crisis to beset white settler, capitalist societies, and the exigencies of peace-time - class struggle, ethnic tension and ideological confrontation - blend, in a logical continuum, with the conflicts of war. Thus, a precursive range of social emergencies - the Boer War crisis, a prolonged panic over racial invasion from without and ethnic proliferation within, as well as an escalating class struggle - all provided occasions for the growth of militaristic, imperialist, racist and anti-socialist thought and action. To a lesser extent, these confrontations similarly provoked minority reactions of a pacifist, republican, internationalist and anti-capitalist nature, which amplified internal discord and provided a focus for antagonisms. The parameters of bourgeois discourse were thus already defined by stipulations of loyalty and forebodings of disloyalty before the test of war invested such rhetoric with renewed force and persuasiveness. Hegemonic systems of ideas defending colonial capitalism, the Empire and racial exclusiveness were buttressed by anti-radical, anti-alien alarms, which kept Queensland workers both ideologically dependent and ethnically fragmented.

The experiences of full-scale warfare therefore sharpened rather than created the social and ideological divisions which this study examines at length. War commitment - at least initially - tended to enhance military and Imperial propensities, while anti-Germanism provided a fresh impetus for an intensified form of alien and radical scapegoating. Yet war involvement also eventually encouraged militant, minority mobilizations by pacifists, socialists, syndicalists, republicans, 'bolsheviks' and others. Their opposition to Imperial warfare, it will be argued, provided both an ideological and organizational locus for growing working-class discontent, stirred by socio-economic hardships and the profound personal and psychological sufferings which the war experience induced. Thus, the social polarizations, which the conscription struggles
made explicit, rapidly became a marked feature of even the early war years, as alienation and disenchantment grew. The implementation of bureaucratic prescriptions - such as censorship, propaganda dissemination, surveillance, internment, the curtailment of liberties and the like - may be seen as a logical corollary to this corrosion of hegemonic controls, as the State responded forcefully to the problems of unifying commitment and repressing dissent. Events at the warfront must similarly be appreciated, if homefront tensions, disturbances and encroachments are to be understood. The sheer human cost of the struggle, the savage quarrels for and against an escalating war involvement, the creation of 'the cult of Anzac', the distortions of war's realities at the contrivance of propaganda and censorship, the nature and outlook of the returned soldier can only be properly fathomed if the terrible conflagrations upon the Western Front are kept constantly in mind. The impact of other great international disturbances, like the Irish Rebellion and the Russian Revolution upon decisive moments of local history must likewise be thoroughly considered and integrated.

The conscription crises of 1916-17 and the Bolshevik scare period of 1918-20 constitute sequential and convergent crests of social conflict and hysteria, where the rifts between 'loyalists' and 'disloyalists' yawned most widely. As class conflict became particularly overt, and largely defensive mobilizations among non-British minorities of local Irish, Germans, Russians and even Italians occurred, bourgeois responses correspondingly intensified and hardened. The consequent loyalist assault upon dissidents and foreigners, which co-ordinated activities of civilians, returned soldiers, the conservative press and the repressive apparatus of the Commonwealth Government reveals reactionary desperation and determination at its peak, especially after the sting of defeat in successive referendum campaigns had been bitterly absorbed. The combined
anti-radical, anti-alien onslaught so mounted, it will be shown, resulted in mass violence in Queensland upon an unprecedented scale between 1916 and 1920, and the eventual curtailment and suppression of an embryonic revolutionary spirit among a sector of the Queensland working class. The vitality of that spirit is, in itself, questionable, yet the conservative backlash which it provoked was definite and unrelenting in its direction and its aims. Initial, peacetime reconstruction involved a powerful re-assertion of traditional, hegemonic values and ideologies, as the concerns of racial purity, military sacrifice, Imperial commitment and national development were resounded, and socialist, pacifist, republican and internationalist tendencies were correspondingly stifled.

The study therefore asserts the significance of conflict - the imbrication of class, ethnic and ideological conflict - as a dominant vector in the social and historical process. It asserts too, the importance of bourgeois hegemony, exercised via the rostrum, the school, the church and the press, as both a control and impediment upon the emergence of a separate working class consciousness; but it reveals that, in periods of acute crisis, hegemonic power is not enough. Here, the 'State-as-force' begins to show its coercive hand, risking in the process the stimulation of militancy from below, rather than its intended repression. In pursuing the realities of social conflict and political suppression, the investigation moves its attention often to the streets in order to recreate incidents of disorder, violence and force which extant Australian historical accounts often exclude or pass rapidly by. It maintains that a consensual outlook upon this era can only be retained as long as gazes are so averted and the hard data of overt conflict which permeate the empirical record is overlooked.

As Connell and Irving have recently asserted about this myopic reaction to turbulence and protest within the Australian historical
In view of the 'smooth' account of Australian history often given by historians of both the Left and the Right, it is worth emphasizing the role of collective violence and mass demonstration in the period of working-class mobilization [1880-1930].

Robin Gollan similarly indicates how class conflict 'has, over the sixty odd years since 1910, kept raising its head', reaching high points in such periods as 1916-17. Yet labour historians 'have failed to look at Australian history from the point of view of revolutionaries.' In replying to John Rickard's conclusion that elements of class conflict 'remain surprisingly elusive' in Australia, Gollan suggests that traditional emphases upon 'stabilization ... institutionalized through the operation of political parties, arbitration courts and so on' may themselves be responsible for concealing 'the potential for conflict and of conflict as the condition of fundamental change.' In posing the question, 'Were the class relations of Australian capitalism consensual or antagonistic?', Stuart Macintyre also arrives at the conclusion that antagonism was 'perpetual but only sometimes overt.' Class conflict was most likely to be undisguised, he maintains, when, during a period of capitalist crisis, the working class seemed least fragmented or when 'a fair day's wage' appeared to be no longer forthcoming. Yet, signifying the want of precise knowledge upon 'conflict between the Australian working and capitalist classes,' Macintyre regrets the lack of 'research to support a satisfactory account.' 'We need to know more ... of all the various forms of industrial protest and struggle,' he concludes.

Raising yet another neglected theme of conflict and fragmentation with which this investigation attempts to deal, Ken Inglis comments upon how historians 'have given hardly any attention' to manifestations of returned soldier violence in Australia. Additionally, it might be argued that, apart from some observation of Irish protests during the
first conscription quarrel, ethnic conflict in this era has been the least researched and understood aspect of social division. Although Aboriginal/European relations, anti-Chinese agitations and Melanesian indentured labour debates in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have now been comparatively well reviewed, relatively little is known of ethnic disputes involving Germans, Russians and Southern Europeans during the First World War. In this respect, non-British groups have tended to appear only in minor and even serio-comic roles - such as that of the Maltese migrants who sail fleetingly by during the first conscription campaign, or of the Irish Brosnan brothers, who hurl ill-aimed eggs at the Prime Minister during the second. This study attempts to treat racial and ethnic questions as integral ones, both in terms of ideology and social behaviour, as invasion alarms, anti-German and anti-alien scapegoating, Sinn Fein and Bolshevik scares and the Italian conscription/deportation crisis of 1918 are analysed in some depth. The interfaces of class and ethnic struggle, as they impinge upon each other in a class-based society are carefully studied.

In deciding upon a methodological approach to this investigation, 'cliometric' and sociological procedures were examined and discounted, while an Althusserian theoretical model was found to be similarly inappropriate. To begin with, a 'scientific', quantitative methodology was rejected because the historical data available seemed 'insufficient and ill-adapted to genuine statistical manipulation.'\textsuperscript{17} As Lawrence Stone acknowledges:

... quantification has greatly improved the general quality of historical discourse by demanding the citation of precise numbers instead of the previous loose use of words. Historians can no longer get away with saying 'more', 'less', 'growing' and 'declining', all of which logically imply numerical comparisons, without ... ever stating explicitly the statistical basis for their assertions ...
Where numbers or percentages involving unemployment, prices and wages, enlistment rates, voting figures, sizes of ethnic minorities, the magnitude of demonstrations and so on are available, they have been thankfully used. Yet the limitations of a strictly 'cliometrical' approach have also to be realized. Although quantification contributes greatly towards systematization and any assessment of the representative nature of primary phenomena, it tends to overlook the fact that 'the variables are so numerous that at best only middle-range generalizations are possible in history.' Narrative and biographical procedures are largely dismissed, humanistic emphases are underplayed and interpretive procedures are devalued, as non-measurable categories, like culture, ideas, motivation, 'ideals, values, mind-sets and patterns of intimate personal behaviour' are all neglected. Tony Judt states:

The interest in numbers and their usage is clearly linked to the absence of any properly conceived historical questions. It is, of course, true that a genuinely worthy undertaking might be assisted by a piece of quantitative analysis, but it is interesting to note how very few of the truly original contributions to social history have been so assisted. All too frequent is the interest in numbers for their own sake.

Secondly, a sociological approach to the question of class-in-society, ranking groups of individuals objectively and hierarchically according to occupation, income, property and the like has been avoided in preference for a dynamic, functional and interactive interpretation of class relationships. Whereas sociology tends statically to categorize such defined groups, securing them in a virtually actionless manner upon fixed strata, historical necessity seems to require that classes be depicted in self-conscious formation, emerging in time, through struggle. As E.P. Thompson comments:

Sociologists who have stopped the time-machine and, with a good deal of conceptual huffing and puffing, have gone down to the engine-room to look tell us that nowhere at all have they been able to locate and classify a class. They find only a
multitude of people with different occupations, incomes, status-hierarchies and the rest. Of course, they are right, since class is not this or that part of the machine, but the way the machine works once it is set in motion - not this interest nor that interest, but the friction of interests - the movement itself, the heat, the thundering noise.

Through all this noise and heat and friction, we should also be able to perceive classes ranged in relation to the mode of production, as well as to each other. Here, wage-earners and capitalist employers interact within a social organization wherein producers are separated from the means of production, which are monopolized by a class of proprietors:

... commodities are produced for the market by the application of labour power to the alienated means; from the surplus generated, an exploitative rent is extracted by the capitalists, most of which is re-invested in an escalating process of capital accumulation.

Class conflict over the price of labour power and the levels of profit extracted is therefore fundamental in such a relationship, even though such conflict is constantly being 'mediated through a complex set of social institutions and practices.' Thus, the experience of class relationships, as they interact through time, cannot be categorically presented in the precise format of a sociological model. Class, as Connell and Irving suggest, is not like 'a layer in a layer cake.' Neither can it be determined, in frozen time, like a geological strata. Instead:

Class boundaries, where they become clear as divisions in the entire social structure, are constructed historically by processes of mobilization and struggle. They are normally 'blurred', uneven, incoherent; they should be expected to be ...

for their formulation and function, and the sense of identity and consciousness of those within them are never ideally clarified within the experience of real social existence. As Thompson states:
It is generally a fairly easy matter to locate opposing social poles around which class allegiances congregate: the rentier here, the industrial worker there. But in size and strength, these groups are always on the ascendant or the wane, their consciousness of class identity is incandescent or scarcely visible, their institutions are aggressive or merely kept up out of habit; while in between there are those amorphous, ever-changing social groups amongst whom the line of class is constantly drawn and redrawn with respect to their polarization this way or that and which fitfully become conscious of interests and identities of their own.\textsuperscript{26}

Class divisions are rarely clear-cut, therefore. Class awareness rarely crystallizes fully and class conflict rarely entails continuous, overt confrontation between 'two massive and fully class conscious combatants.' As Connell and Irving assert, 'Both major classes in capitalism are internally diverse - though both, in a crisis, may mobilize in a way that overrides these diversities.'\textsuperscript{25} When class boundaries become 'more sharply defined' and when 'sections of the working class do achieve, however imperfectly and imprecisely, a consciousness of their struggle as a class struggle,' then 'some kind of crisis is normally at hand.'\textsuperscript{26}

It is precisely this emphasis upon crisis, struggle and the interplay of consciousness and existence within the unfolding experience of living in a class-based society which engages attention in the present study. And it is this very accentuation of the specifics of conflict, social emergency and human experience which helps to distance the study most from the preoccupations of theoretical structuralism. In Louis Althusser's methodology, 'there is no category (or way of handling) "experience" and there are no adequate categories 'to explain contradiction or change - or class struggle.'\textsuperscript{27} As Tim Mason comments in \textit{History Workshop}, 'Every different brand of structuralism and economic determinism is at its weakest when it confronts revolutionary crisis' - or, indeed, any 'major crises of the political-economic order.'\textsuperscript{28} By its mechanistic attention to a given, ideal process, whereby economic base manipulates socio-cultural superstructure, structuralism seems to
explain the facts before it investigates them. Yet, even more problematical than its fumblings with historical movement or its basic economism is its rejection of empirical analysis as diversionary and mystifying. By viewing theoretical practice as self-perpetuating, working upon ideological constructs 'via scientific procedures, to produce new knowledge,' without any reference to empirical research, Althusser's model reveals itself as both idealistic and ahistorical. In resisting such implications, 'socialist-humanist' writers like E.P. Thompson attempt to stress the inter-dependence of the theoretical and empirical dimensions of historical research. In reference to Thompson, Simon Clarke writes:

... he insists above all that speculation (which is all there is to 'theory' when it comes down to it) must be constrained by the testimony of experience. This is not bourgeois empiricism; it is the fundamental tenet of historical materialism, for there is no higher testimony than that of experience.

The primacy of empirical research - as opposed to empiricism per se - is thus forcefully re-asserted. Empiricism remains suspect insofar as its unquestioned concepts and assumptions 'are those of the dominant intellectual tradition and the dominant ideology it expresses.' As Gavin Williams asserts:

We need to be empirical - that is, to take seriously the specific problems of establishing evidence and justifying interpretations. This is completely opposed to Empiricism, the nonsensical doctrine ... that the facts, or sources speak for themselves ...

Thus, the bland 'facts' of history, as surviving evidences of human behaviour and beliefs need constantly to be probed and coaxed, within 'a discipline of attentive disbelief', in order that they reveal not merely their surface impressions, but their inner realities and background motivations as well. Empiricism, in failing to do this, ignores the danger of 'the dominant ideology' invariably speaking through the facts,
under the thin guise of 'objectivity'. As Thompson recognizes, 'Any serious historian knows the "facts" are liars, that they carry their own ideological loads, that open-faced, innocent questions may be a mask for exterior attributions ...' What is required, therefore, is a radical application of the empirical method, wherein 'the real history' only begins to disclose itself after much hard questioning research, as previously received interpretations are tested against such new disclosures. To quote Thompson again:

> Historical practice is above all engaged in this kind of dialogue: with an argument between received, inadequate or ideologically informed concepts and hypotheses on the one hand, and fresh and inconvenient evidence on the other; with the elaboration of new hypotheses; with the testing of these hypotheses against the evidence, which may involve interrogating existing evidence in new ways, or renewed research to confirm or disprove the new notions.

This thesis is primarily concerned with such a radical application of the empirical mode to significant episodes, analysing crisis conditions and responses in Queensland society between 1900 and 1920. Total war involvement is as much a time for passionate articulation as it is for overt suppression, as minorities struggle to defend their positions and advance their causes, and the State moves more forcefully to contain their activities with 'varying combinations of violence and ideas.' War supporters grow more voluble in verse and song, in public exhortation and in letters written to the press and to and from the Front. War's opponents battle to deliver their unpopular messages in the face of social hostility and growing bureaucratic prohibitions. Though their voices may be muted as their press outlets are closed down and their organizations proscribed, surveillance of their movements and of their public meetings, official raids upon their headquarters and interception of their private correspondence conveniently brings to light essential evidence of the 'intense inner life' of formerly anonymous militant
organizations. Statements by soldiers at war or returning in disillusionment, by non-British minority members complaining against curtailment of their civil freedoms and by pacifists, socialists and syndicalists decrying war's necessity all enable us 'to hear and attend plebeian voices, however ragged the sources.' Similarly, in the immediate aftermath of war, as McQueen asserts, 'the attempts to put Australian capitalism back together again in 1919 laid bare features of the class struggle' for which ample, dramatic evidence may be discovered. Thus, by judicious use of State, Commonwealth and Colonial Office archives, private manuscripts and collections, the radical, labour and conservative press, the popular literature, as well as the booklet, pamphlet and leaflet outpourings of this era, forgotten episodes - such as the Brisbane free speech fight of 1913-15 and the Hughenden radical purge of 1918 - may be reconstructed. Fresh light may also be cast upon developments - like the Queensland conscription struggles and the Red Flag riots - about which only limited evidence is presently available in accessible secondary sources. As Inga Clendinnen asserts, 'It is not through the construction of broad generalizations or statistical averages but through the analysis of particular sequences of action in particular social contexts that the meanings of other men [and women] in other times is revealed to us.'

In reconstructing these experiences, the ideas and ideals of participants as well as their actions, their social and cultural as well as their economic circumstances are all considered, 'immersed in the nexus of relationship,' each to each. An integrative attempt is made, both ideologically and materially as well as empirically and interpretively to resuscitate experiences which, if not actually repressed, have been largely left unattended in extant conservative and liberal historiography. The fury and extremism of the voices of those caught up
in the turmoil of total warfare often chillingly reveal 'human kind's immense liability to error, folly and psychosis.' Yet the voices of all social actors so enmeshed should be attended, as far as possible, with awareness, balance and, indeed, compassion. For, as E.P. Thompson wrote of people in conflict in an earlier troubled time:

Their ... ideals may have been fantasies. Their ... conspiracies may have been foolhardy. But they lived through these times of acute social disturbance, and we do not. Their aspirations are valid in terms of their own experience; and, if they were casualties of history, they remain, condemned in their own lives, as casualties.
Introduction: Footnotes


2. W. Farmer Whyte, editor Daily Mail to P.J. McDermott, 7 August 1919 and reply. At this stage, T.W. Heney, late editor of the Sydney Morning Herald had been invited by the Federal Government to write the official home-front history. QSA PRE/A645, in-letter no. 13384 of 1919.


24. Thompson, op cit., p.86.


27. Thompson, *op. cit.* , p.196.


34. I. Clendinnen, 'Understanding the heathen at home: E.P. Thompson and his school', *Historical Studies*, vol. 18, no. 72, 1979, p.437.

35. McQueen, *op. cit.* , p.186.


37. Thompson, *op. cit.* , p.84.


The race that shrinks from pain dies; the race that rushes to pain with drumming pulses wins the true pleasures and has everlasting life.

- William Lane, 1901.

Lord Mayor: I have no doubt, sir, that when you entered this chamber, you were of opinion, seeing a large number of rifles in the vestibule, that we are not a peaceful community. I can assure you that we are. (Laughter) Those rifles from South Africa are not placed there for the purpose of the aldermen. (Renewed Laughter)

Kitchener: It is not a rifle club, then? (Renewed Laughter)

- Brisbane Town Hall Banquet for Lord Kitchener, 1910.

War is not the work of a demon. It is our own work, for which we prepare, wittingly or not, in the ways of peace. But most of us sit blindfold at the preparation.

- Charles A. Beard.

Viewed from one perspective, the outbreak of World War One was an event of startling uniqueness - a massive, unprecedented irruption in societies where the impact of total, industrialized warfare was still a virtually unimaginable phenomenon. The mood of innocence and naïveté in which men of all warring nations, including Australia, left cheerily to fight, expecting chivalric encounters, decisive, mobile campaigns and a short, energizing struggle was rudely shattered as they discovered instead that 'filthy, limb-strewn and most lonely world's end' of seemingly endless trench warfare stretching away before them. Caught within this unendurable labyrinth, the men who fought, as well as the populations of the combatant nations from which they came, undoubtedly experienced psychological anxieties, social stresses and structural challenges of hitherto unforeseen dimensions. Yet, despite its
magnitude, the Great War inflicted an ordeal upon homefront societies which tended to exacerbate a number of ongoing crises rather than to create an entirely novel set of social problems.

As Humphrey McQueen concludes:

Scholars who look at war to find causal explanations of a 'crisis mentality' are frequently puzzled on encountering ideas which fully articulated that mentality well before 1914 ... [These] 'precursors', like all alleged exceptions are the key with which to unlock a totally different problematic ... which gladly accepts that a 'crisis mentality' existed before the 1914 war ... The Great War did not cause the 'crisis mentality': both grew from within Imperialism and were not the exogenous shocks which apologists like to make them appear.8

Seeing 'the history of war' as essentially continuous with Australia's 'peacetime' history, war historian and Gallipoli veteran, C.E.W. Bean referred in 1931 to World War One as 'the great episode to which pre-war conditions led up and from which the conditions of today have resulted.'17 Looking back wearily over four years of conflict, the popular Australian magazine, The Lone Hand similarly concluded in 1919 that:

The war was nothing more than a precipitant of those troubles that had been gathering in the air above our heads [in the pre-war era.] Doubtless the great struggle added new factors ... and may have exaggerated some that already existed. But mainly, its function was that of a precipitant ...8

Wartime 'prejudices and ideologies' such as 'racism, imperialism, nationalism, ethnic jealousies and class consciousness' were not 'spontaneously generated.' Class, ethnic and ideological divisions, intensified by the trauma of total war involvement were not merely conceived out of the struggles of that era alone, but were 'natural growths from the pre-war years.'9 The interplay of conservative, liberal and radical concepts, the assertion of Anglo-Australian authority, both structurally and ideologically, over other ethnic minorities and the continual collision of working class forces and interests with those of
their capitalist employers - so marked during World War One - were all dominant features of pre-war Australian society as well. The stresses of war simply served to present these conflicts in sharper relief: heightening the extremism and emotionalism of political discourse, broadening the bases of ethnic antagonism and generally intensifying 'class conflict ... producing extraordinary measures on all sides.' Nowhere in Australia was this more apparent than in the State of Queensland.

The massive campaigns of Imperial war propaganda encapsulated within a general appeal to powerful ideals of 'loyalty' were built, in turn, upon commonly nurtured emotional and ideological suppositions which had long preceded the war itself. Strong commitments to the Crown, England and Empire, racial pre-eminence and the sanctity of the blood-bond were as firmly entrenched as were the ideals of obedience, duty, endurance and discipline which encouraged physical sacrifice for such ostensibly sacrosanct causes. These concepts found their most fervent expression among 'ruling class' members of society, factions of the bourgeoisie, as well as their ideologues and spokespersons - pastoralists, financiers, manufacturers, professional people, traders and retailers, newspaper proprietors, churchmen and senior civil servants. Reporting to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in mid-1904, Queensland's Governor Chermside noted 'an exceptionally close alliance of the landed, capitalistic and commercial interests, which has for the most part received the support of the professional classes' and which invested their ranks with 'a sentiment of solidarity, brotherhood and of sanguine hopefulness.' As a body, this élite expressed their faith in a system which effectively secured and maintained their own social elevation - a status quo which they endowed with profound qualities of justice, superiority and righteousness. Furthermore, British race chauvinism was
buttressed in Queensland by the fact that the leaders of society, as Ronald Lawson shows, were 'still predominantly British born', representing 63% of those holding 'positions of influence' in 1900.13

Yet the precepts of Imperial loyalty did not only invest the ranks of the well-to-do with a sense of identity and purpose. This dominant Weltanschauungen was also disseminated via the educational system, the political institutions, the press and the churches in order to establish ideological consensus and cultural conformity throughout the society. Imperialist and racial ideologies therefore made a hegemonic impact upon Australian society, projecting one 'particular way of seeing the world, human and social relationships' over all others.14 Such powerful and persuasive agencies of social control tended to ensure that, save in periods of acute socio-economic crisis or conflict, class consciousness ran a very poor second to racial and patriotic awareness. As Governor Chermside noted in 1908, 'socialistic' leanings among workers were being considerably modified under 'the actual system of State Education' which ensured that 'practically the whole of the youth of all classes for some years stud[ied] together' and, while still very impressionable, imbibed institutionally the teachings of 'an order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant.'15 Thus, although wage-laborers might be 'constituted as class subjects within economic relations', social conditioning and well-fostered emotional ties ensured that most were more likely to be moved by 'forms of ideology and politics' which addressed them 'as "citizens" or as a "people" or as members of the imperial race.'15 Once more, the British biases of this world view were heavily emphasized in Queensland. Not only were the vast majority of the population of British origin, but, according to the census of 1911, Queensland also possessed the lowest percentage (74.38%) of Australian-born residents. The immediate pre-war migration wave, bringing, in 1911
alone, over 4,000 persons of mainly English and Scottish origin into Queensland served to strengthen Anglophile impulses further within that society.\textsuperscript{17}

Such impulses received their keenest articulation in times of Imperial warfare. Prior to World War One, the martial demands of loyalists had already resounded when, between 1899 and 1902, the separate colonies and then the federated nation had responded with an apparent effusiveness to Imperial crisis on the South African veldt. Indeed, for many Australians in August 1914, unaware of the dimensions of the holocaust before them, the preceding dozen years must have appeared very much in the nature of an inter-war era - a brief interval of peace before battle was again enjoined 'round our Empire flag unfurled.'\textsuperscript{18} As Paul Fussell comments:

\begin{quote}
Every war is alike in the way its early stages replay elements of the preceding war. Everyone fighting a modern war tends to think of it in terms of the last one he knows anything about.\textsuperscript{13}
\end{quote}

Only some 5,000 Queenslanders fought in the Boer War\textsuperscript{20} in comparison with the 57,705 who enlisted during World War One, yet the social responses which accompanied the early stages of the Great War bear a remarkable similarity to 'the personal style appropriate for the earlier war.' In 1899, as in 1914, many Queensland citizens 'decorated the streets, organized feastings and exhorted their departing sons in a variety of flaming texts to go where glory waited them.' Sometimes it even seemed as though class differences had been forgotten as 'men in tall hats' fraternised with 'men in moleskins' over the relief of Kimberley in 1900.\textsuperscript{21} Dense crowds attended the departure of contingents 'with cheers and the most encouraging signs of approbation.'\textsuperscript{22} Foreshadowing the unreasoning hatred later to be directed against the Kaiser and the 'Hun', departing recruits aroused 'great laughter' at their farewell banquet when
they declared they were 'going to try to help exterminate the Boer.' One untried volunteer at a Rockhampton dinner 'informed the amused company "that if he caught Kruger he would feed him on corn"', while another simply asked for 'death or glory.' In March 1900, an audience at the Brisbane Theatre Royal, watching the hackneyed machinations of the 'villainous Hermann Lugg and his accomplice, Mr Hogg' against an equally stereotyped British hero, 'Harold Ponsonby' during a performance entitled 'The Soldiers of the Queen' were 'fired by a martial fervour' into frequent outbursts of cheering by 'the power of the mimic roar of battle.'

Yet, as in World War One, protesting voices were raised from the outset against this new militaristic adventure. Indeed, C.N. Connolly has recently suggested that the apparent spontaneity of colonials for Boer War involvement was perhaps as carefully stage-managed as the theatrical performance outlined above. Although Queensland became the first colony in the British Empire to offer troops on 11 July 1899, this precipitate move was loudly condemned in the Legislative Assembly by both Labor supporters and Liberal Remnant members, led by J.G. Drake. A censure motion against the Dickson Ministry was narrowly defeated along party lines, while Drake's liberal weekly, Progress accused the Government of cutting 'a ludicrous figure' by its actions. 'What occasion has Queensland to offer in this bloody work of extermination?' the paper demanded angrily. The majority of Labor party members adopted a pro-Boer stance, eventually contributing to 'the first split' in the party, when its pro-British leader, Thomas Glassey resigned his Bundaberg seat. The Brisbane Worker opposed the dispatch of troops and, in February 1900, Flashes Weekly, a local popular journal reported the formation of a Women's Peace Party in Brisbane. According to Connolly, vocal opponents of the war encompassed scattered minorities of socialists.
republicans, pacifists and 'spokesmen for religious and ethnic minorities', including Irish Catholics and Germans. As in World War One, these protesters seemed to comprise a 'curious, motley group', whose initial impact was circumscribed and muted. Yet, as Connolly demonstrates, the articulation of the 'ideology of the "new Imperialism"' was also very much the responsibility of another active minority - an 'élite of Anglo-Scottish descent ... [who] dominated the colony's economic and political life.'

Because the values espoused by this 'dominant section of the middle classes' had a hegemonic influence and were buttressed by 'the ethnocentrism common to all classes', its pro-war stance, resounding from the press, the pulpits and most political rostrums, exerted the major impact upon public opinion. This was especially so after the military reverses of 'Black Week', December 1899 and the euphoric response to the relief of Mafeking in May 1900. Following the Imperial defeats of December, for instance, Drake's *Progress* nimbly switched, in the space of a single issue, from pillorying British war aims to a position which would be precisely retaken by Andrew Fisher at Colac in 1914: 'We must stand by the Empire to our last man and our last shilling.' Such militaristic fervour was stoked by an 'intensity of Australian loyalty' towards everything British which was 'somewhat bordering on frenzy ... a passion unequalled in England herself.' The Empire's fate, cast in terms of either victorious unity or 'dismemberment' was henceforth believed to hang upon the outcome of this struggle, with Australia's military contribution spuriously seen as a crucial, deciding factor. A correspondent to *Progress* wrote:

There was a time when I thought Australia was advancing towards Republicanism, but since the outbreak of the war in South Africa I have become convinced that this Continent will never abandon the Old Country ... the bonds of unity will become stronger rather than weaker.
Boer War Responses I: The Imperial Connection Reaffirmed (24 March 1900).

PRIME MINISTER CHRISTENS THE BABY.
Flashes enthusiastically agreed that 'fighting to the death side by side' with other colonies for the Mother Country had given 'shape and form to the sentiment of our common nationality, which before was but a name.' Anticipating claims to be made about the Dardanelles campaign, fifteen years later, the paper predicted: 'from ... the landing of Australian troops on African soil will date the true birth of Australian nationality.' This offering, however, was not to herald the triumph of a local patriotism, provincial and anti-Imperial in tone, but rather to signify that 'the sentiment of love of country had taken a broader strain, and love of Australia has become identified with love of the British Empire.' Earlier talk of 'cutting the painter' had become a 'forgotten phrase, and we are "Soldiers of the Queen", every man among us.'

In this context of militaristic fervour, anti-war protesters, whether pacifists, 'pro-Boer' socialists or simply, non-British colonists were execrated as 'foreign liars and domestic traitors' - as they would be again, during World War One. Germans suspected of being anti-British were rioted against in Melbourne and Broken Hill, while, in Brisbane 'alien promoters of discord' were sternly warned to 'keep outside of Anglo-Saxondom.' As German settlers of the Logan district met in March 1900 to repudiate charges impugning their loyalty, Progress, in reviewing local election results where every non-British candidate had been rejected as a 'hostile alien', considered it necessary to remind 'lip loyalists' that 'every man of foreign extraction is not necessarily an enemy of Great Britain.' Yet, at such a time, the paper went on to warn, 'the person who is a real source of danger and wants wiping out is the revolutionary.' Between February and May 1900, this opinion was endorsed by a violent clash between loyalists and 'pro-Boer roughs' at Brisbane's Centennial Hall, the stoning of the business premises of a Rockhampton Quaker pacifist, E. Foreman by a 'large jeering crowd' and
the clamor excited by Labor politicians Mat Reid, David Bowman and William Kidston during anti-war meetings at Rockhampton and Charleville.\textsuperscript{38}

Outraged loyalty was particularly pronounced during February 1902, when 'the largest and most enthusiastic meeting ever held in Brisbane' assembled after a torchlight procession to Exhibition Hall to hear the Mayor, Alderman Corrie and the Premier, Robert Philp repel 'the foul slanders' being levelled internationally at the conduct of the war by British forces.\textsuperscript{39} Philp, who had just returned from the front assured his audience that the contest was proceeding according 'to the most humane principles' which an Empire, representing progress, prosperity, freedom and racial justice could invoke. He had himself 'seen persons in some of the concentration camps where the Boer women, children and men were brought to and he could safely say that the Boer concentration camps were better even than the British camps.' When Britishers were libelled in this way, it meant that 'our boys, their brothers, their friends' were equally maligned, for 'the very cream of Queensland went to South Africa.' The Mayor read telegrams from 'nearly every municipal district in Queensland', affirming that perhaps the only slight on British behaviour was 'over-leniency.' Even though 'to paraphrase Rudyard Kipling', Queenslanders 'might be a little people - albeit proved somewhat apt in the field', he vowed their strength lay in 'that Anglo-Saxon oneness of blood' which they shared. The men despatched to fight were truly such 'men of The Blood.' The Rev. Dr Nesbit, rising to second a motion to be sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies added that 'under the Southern Cross there was growing up a type of citizen of the Empire, blending all that was best in the old land with all that was best in the new.' Their great sacrifice for Britain was therefore 'one of those great things that made the lumps rise in their throats' as they realized that Australians 'lying in their lonely graves on the veldt had
Boer War Responses III: Denigration of the Enemy (8 September 1900).

WITH THE QUEENSLAND CONTINGENTS.
Boer War Responses IV: The Shirker attacked (14 April 1900).
AS THE WAR-CUR WOULD LIKE IT.

Our artist has excelled himself in the pictorial aspect of the war situation as the "War-cur" and other disloyal riff-raff would like it. Paul Kruger is exultant over his temporary defeat of the British lion, the Irish terrier sympathises and drops a tear over the situation, while the Australian kangaroo, though threatened by the Russian bear urged on by Johnny Crepaul, and attacked in the rear by the villainous cutthroat representing the "War-cur" and other pro-Boer organs has succeeded in giving Kruger a black eye. Meanwhile what would follow the degradation of the British flag is painted at in the background.

Boer War Responses V: The Worker and the Disloyalist attacked (The Street 4 August 1900).
given their lives as truly to defend Australia as if they had died in expelling a foreign invader.\textsuperscript{40}

Thus, the renunciation of a 'distinctly disloyal' minority provided the occasion for manifestations of British race patriotism, articulated with a fervency which only the 'exile and expatriate' could muster. In turn, this incensed expression of the 'blood brotherhood of Empire', coupled with a stern rejection of republicanism kept the 'nationalism of the battlefield' entrenched within compatible Imperial bounds.\textsuperscript{41} In the attack upon pacifist and pro-Boer, contradictions implicit in Australia's relationship to warfare and Empire could be conveniently overlooked. According to one prevailing strand of Social Darwinistic thought, nations 'sprang into existence, lived through and evolved out of struggle.'\textsuperscript{42} Yet, contrary to this evolution, the Boer war crucible was said to have forged closer Imperial linkages, undeniably at the expense of an independent nationalism. Caught between these two interpretations, the editor of \textit{Progress} could claim, on the one hand, that the infant Australia had received its 'baptism in blood' from its war casualties, while also concluding that this very blood sacrifice had ensured that 'Republicanism is as dead as Nero.'\textsuperscript{43} Minds that could grasp the symbolic logic of national life springing from physical death, it would seem, were also expected to accommodate the concept of a symbiotic rather than an estranged nationalism, where loyalties remained 'dual but not divided.'\textsuperscript{44} In this way, national dependence, grounded upon the skills of war was emphasized at the expense of national separatism. Thus the identification of Imperialism with loyalty and, hence, of republicanism with radicalism and disloyalty was continually proclaimed. The war had 'very considerably accentuated the fervency of Imperial sentiment', Governor Chermside noted with satisfaction in June 1902, while the 'leaven of republican and otherwise distinctive feeling'
had been markedly and 'very sensibly modified.'

Yet, although Imperial allegiances remained dominant, the closing stages of the Boer War, like those of the European campaigns ahead witnessed a notable degree of public disenchantment. During 1901, an Anti-War League was successfully launched as war-weariness grew and, at the same time, Chermside began to admit in his official despatches that volunteer recruitment was largely being sustained because of 'the great displacement of labour' occasioned by the 'unprecedented and long continued drought' throughout most of Queensland. Again, in the immediate aftermath of the war, he observed that 'a certain natural reaction from military enthusiasm' was apparent. Although the struggle had been 'full of heroic and pathetic incidents', the *Sydney Morning Herald and Progress* complained peevishly, it was 'not a great war.' The Anglican monthly, *The Carpentarian* editorialized sadly:

> We had a bitter undeceiving; we were found to be unprepared ... able only to resist doggedly, disaster after disaster. Our self-confidence is gone; we shall not rush into war now without a thought.

At a special 'Peace Jubilation', the Governor himself dwelt upon warfare as 'a horrible thing' and prayed that, although states might 'still be beyond measurable distance from universal arbitration', this should no longer be 'classed as a mere utopian dream.' His pacifist hopes, however, were interrupted by calls for 'Good iron!' from the audience, while Premier Philp, following him to the rostrum trusted that this would be 'the last war in South Africa' only insofar as that colony could in future join with Canada and Australia to 'rally round the old flag ... should a time come when their services are required.' It had been 'a good fight' and he maintained that the 'other Powers' had been taught an appropriate lesson: 'that, if they fight England, they will have to fight the British colonists all over the world (Applause)."
12.

Non-belligerent sentiments were therefore relatively short-lived as the crises of warfare merged into the precarious times of peace. Instead, premonitions of future warfare, invasion alarms and escalating defence preparations soon became dominant concerns. In short, 'crisis mentality' responses soon re-asserted themselves. "If a foreign army of 50,000 men landed at Moreton Bay, what could we do to prevent its march on Brisbane?" Progress had demanded helplessly in mid-1900. The solution seemed inescapable:

Our existence depends upon being prepared for war. If we are caught unprepared, we must become a subject race and aid in the maintenance of a foreign dominant army.\(^{52}\)

For a time, the character of the late war, with its sporadic guerilla skirmishes encouraged the cavalier attitude that, like Boer farmers, untrained mounted Australians, with 'a rifle and a pillow-case full of cartridges' would prove a match for 'an indefinite number of the best trained soldiers of any nation.' This myth died hard, with Bulletin correspondents still re-echoing it as late as 1910. 'Keen-eyed, bronzed, hardy sons of a big, hard country ... the kind of men who can gaze upon a pile of bleaching bones and laugh' would provide for the nation's salvation, it was confidently alleged:

... they're the boys who are going to do more to hold Australia than any other crowd. They'd ride like the Devil if they could ... get a saddle on him and they can shoot straight enough to blow the charity out of a wowser ... Let 5,000 of them get into the hills around the Gulf Country and I'll defy an army to dislodge them. Oh yes, they're rough all right! They'd just as soon fight as drink with you ... But they are men.\(^{54}\)

The literary devices which would later be employed to typify and eulogise the Anzac soldier were thus already in practical use.

The shock naval defeat of the Russian Baltic fleet by the Japanese in May 1905, however, provided vague speculations about Australian invasion and defence with a precision, urgency and velocity which had
previously been lacking. The earlier work of Grimshaw and Gordon and, particularly, the detailed studies of Sissons, Norris and Meaney have emphasized how the Battle of Tsushima on 27 May 1905 was a seminal event, inducing a persistent Pacific war scare and a consequent 'time of crisis' for the Commonwealth. Recently, Meaney has meticulously shown how it was not merely the peripherally ill-advised and hysterical who feared Japanese aggression against Australia. Instead, he reveals that it was the highest policy-makers like Deakin, Pearce, Cook, Fisher and Hughes who built Australian defence and foreign policy upon the foundation of this obsessive concern. Prior to the propagandist barrages of World War One, these men, with the aid of popular writers like Frank Fox of *The Lone Hand* mounted an earlier campaign, largely orchestrated but partly spontaneous, to shock Australians from a lull of complacency upon the issue of preparing for an imminent Asian invasion onto their soil. What plainly emerges from this research is the way in which official responses successfully magnified popular fears to provide public support for the establishment of an Australian navy, the beginnings of aerial defence and officer training and the initiation of compulsory military service.

Concentration upon the actuality of Japanese naval power after 1905 provides this pre-war siege mentality with an element of rationality which, in reality, it lacked. The fears were strategically erroneous, it is implied, yet understandable, given Japan's military successes and Australia's geographical vulnerability. This argument, which Meaney elucidates, fails to explain satisfactorily why China, internally divided and exploited and, hence, externally impotent, continued to feature almost as prominently as Japan in the conjectural scenarios of sudden conquest, promoted by politicians, journalists, poets, short-story writers and novelists. Meaney's sources themselves show how, as early as November 1904, Jim Page, Labor member for Maranoa had warned Commonwealth
Parliament that among 'the over-crowded races of the East', Japan was ready to strike and 'a few years may make the Chinese the same.' Again, in 1908, both Joseph Cook and J.C. Watson, from opposite ends of the parliamentary spectrum cautioned their colleagues not only about the menacing Japanese but also 'the prospect ... of the awakening of the sleeping giant - China.'

Similar perceptions of a dual Asian threat appeared in contemporary journals. In 1906, the National Defence League's paper, The Call claimed that, as well as Japan, 'China is now arousing herself to warlike organization'; while, in 1908, The Australian Magazine advised readers that, although Japan's desire for Australia composed 'one danger, China constitutes another.' Although she was not yet as aggressive:

Her army is becoming re-organized on Western models, with Japanese and Germans the main instructors ... Her sentiment of objection to 'the foreign devil' is being deepened into hatred of which the Boxer Rebellion was but a fugitive expression ... with 400 million ... each of them sublime-contemptuous of death ... China, if left to herself, could if she liked effectively smother Australia by sheer force of numbers.

Such threats of engulfment also featured strongly in the cartoons and columns of The Bulletin. In June 1910, an item indicating that Javanese, Japanese and Chinese were replacing indigenous labour in Papua closed with the anthropoid allusion that this territory was 'only six hours steam from Queensland ... Convenient beyond the necessity of comment, for the Monkey and the Orang.' Poets, too imagined how Chinese 'junks' would appear, 'stealing southward like buzzards low on the wing' as:

Ten million strong his legions come  
To the field of the White Man's slaughter.  
... Until next week, when we're all in bed  
and dreaming of peace and quiet  
His guns will speak 'neath the steep North Head  
Their thunder of Chinese Riot.

In 1911, at the fall of the Manchu dynasty, a Bulletin editorial seriously considered how the aggressive troops of a 'New China',
exhibiting 'a tendency to arson, massacre and crucification, and possessed of a wild ingenuity in matters of torture' would now turn upon Australia in earnest as the nearest, emptiest and least defended of countries, with 'a stupendous desire to get here.' Even the *Lone Hand*, whose articles from 1907 most persistently advanced the bloody images of Japanese attack, could still recognize in 1910 that 'China is another power that must find outlet on the Pacific ... this swiftly wakening nation ... is building for the future, and building, ominously enough, it is said, in Japan.' In November 1911, Arnold White, a London *Daily Express* journalist who was later to become a self-appointed scourge against alleged German spies in high places argued in the *Lone Hand* that 'white men should stand together against all combinations of coloured men', particularly those of China and Japan, which he erroneously coupled as 'the Mongol Powers.'

The insistent undertones of Chinese threat combined with a primary anti-Japanese anxiety therefore indicate that the critical events of 1905 should not be over-emphasized as the sole trigger to public alarm. The fears were far less localized in time and the propaganda more ritualized and far-reaching than this. Anglo-Australian racism, reaching a peak in the legislative and administrative restrictions imposed Federally against non-whites in 1901 carried with it an extended legacy of distrust and aversion towards non-European peoples. Thus, the Japanese naval emergence merely acted as a concrete precipitator of panic in minds long accustomed to over-reaction against Asia, as the presumed source of racial and military aggression. When Meaney argues that in the 1890s 'there was no fear of an invasion supported by the armed might of an enemy power', it should be understood that this nonchalance was mainly confined to official circles. In the wider social sphere, a colonial consciousness of insecurity in the face of potentially predatory nations was deeply entrenched. Robert Hyslop
has traced almost 200 distinct war and invasion scares in nineteenth century Australia, peaking numerically in the final decades.\textsuperscript{67}

Geographically, Queensland was seen as 'the key to Australia's defence', whilst the rampant racism of its muckraking and labour press, like The Street, the Worker, Eagle, Truth and Patriot carried xenophobic vituperation to a high level of fancifulness and invention.\textsuperscript{68}

In 1890, when the London-based Colonial Defence Committee published its conclusion that no British territory was 'so little liable to aggression as that of Australasia', it was promptly criticized by the Commandant of the Queensland Defence Force, Lt-Col. G.A. French, who could foresee 'no serious difficulty to an enemy landing 2,000 or 3,000 men on the coast of Queensland.'\textsuperscript{69} Though the Commandant concentrated upon the prospect of French troops leading communistic New Caledonian convicts, his suggestions also reflected deeper, traditional concerns. Since the 1870s, the prospect 'that at any time hordes of thousands or even millions of Chinese may be ... flung forth on ... the North Coast' of Queensland had gained wide currency. It was not only labour publications, like the Northern Miner which listened avidly for the clamour of 'the hooves of those barbarians.' Papers like the conservative Darling Downs Gazette also predicted a coming 'struggle and a slaughter such as the world has never yet witnessed', between white colonists and Chinese invaders.\textsuperscript{70} Such Spencerian premonitions reached an apogee with William Lane's serialized White or Yellow? A Story of Race War in A.D. 1908, in the Boomerang of 1887-8; while, in 1893, the eminent Victorian scholar, Charles H. Pearson promoted an image of future Chinese 'conquerors and devastators' in his National Life and Character.\textsuperscript{71} Similarly, in 1894, S.A. Rosa's The Coming Terror depicted the menace of a Chinese or Russian attack, in probable recollection of earlier bouts of Russophobia, such as the one which had affected Queensland in 1878.\textsuperscript{72} Then, in 1895, Kenneth Mackay's
The Yellow Wave: A Romance of the Asiatic Invasion of Australia, graphically portraying a Russian-led Chinese assault upon Queensland, carried the paranoia about racial onslaught to new nightmarish heights. J.A.K. Mackay, who was a member of the N.S.W. Legislative Assembly at this time claimed to have drawn upon an article about the strategic positioning of railways by Herbert Hardacre, Labor member for Leichhardt and to have consulted with historian Ernest Favenc in order to bring a sense of authenticity to his novel. The 435 page composition of slaughter, rapine and gore was dedicated, in turn, to George Ranken, former Queensland Commissioner of Crown Lands who had himself written some speculative pieces upon local defence. Mackay was therefore influentially placed, with friends in high office in a manner similar to that of the alarmist writer, Frank Fox, more than a decade later.

Mackay's concoction of racial terror therefore bears some examination, both as a source of potent racist imagery and as a precursor to similarly preoccupied studies such as C.H. Kirmess's The Australian Crisis, L. Neame's The Asiatic Danger in the Colonies, R.A. Kent's A Chinese Vengeance and F.R. Hopkins's Reaping the Whirlwind, as well as widely-read, imported works like Hepworth Dixon's The Mongolian Invasion and Jack London's The Yellow Peril. The work, in short is a case-study of the profound sense of vulnerability which beset white Australians in relation to many racial issues, particularly those emphasizing concepts of ethnic struggle and miscegenation. It serves also to re-emphasize the pervasive nature of fortress-mentality concepts which would be revitalized during World War One, both against the real enemy, Germany and the improvised enemy, Asia, especially during the conscription conflicts of 1916-17.

As well as displaying distinctly xenophobic and anti-Semitic strains, the novel concentrates in depth upon the horrors arising from 'The Coming
of the Mongols'. Those 'fiery-eyed monsters' with 'their cruel lips ... their broad yellow faces and coarse masses of hair', who, 'under the old banners of blood and fire' and armed with Maxim guns and automatic rifles would, in two successive waves capture Western Queensland from Normanton to Thargomindah and coastal towns from Thursday Island to Rockhampton, killing 'with the indiscriminate hate of wild beasts ... sworn to offer up womanly purity, prattling babyhood and helpless age on the altar of a blind, unreasoning revenge', as they advanced upon Brisbane. The 'whole fearful scene' at Hughenden railway station, with 'the screaming women pushed back by frantic foes; the children tossed from point to point in wanton devilry ...' was indicative of their general progress. White women were advised to 'carry a weapon and, besides, have poison upon them' for ultimate protection from fates worse than death, should they 'fall into the hands of these savages.' For the warrior descendents of 'fierce nomads who followed Genghis Khan', Mackay warned, were quite unlike 'the miserable market-gardener and the fossiker known to Australia' and would subject all to 'unspeakable barbarities.' Much like the way in which German settlers were later to be depicted as a dangerous fifth-column, coolies employed by white Queensland masters were shown to rise and join the invaders. White employers soon found themselves enslaved, their backs belaboured with 'bloody quirts' by their former servants.74

Such vivid imagery, providing 'a focus of the pervading fears of Asia' conditioned white Australians for subsequent terrors, made explicit in dialogue like: 'They're shooting us down! ... Jap infantry! ... It's all over, and the Japs are our masters ...'75 to be found in a later range of Bulletin and Lane Hand short stories and articles. The alarm was so persuasive, largely because it marked the culmination of long established reactions rather than the inauguration of a novel trend, whilst its very irrationality seemed to enhance its potency. In April
The Asian Invasion Scare, Satirized by the International Socialist.
1911, an outback correspondent to the *Bulletin*, having observed two black eagles feasting upon the carcase of a kangaroo felt moved to write, 'It seemed to me like a Hell-sent allegory of the colored agony dissecting Australia, which had been killed waiting for her kid soldiers to grow.' Under the impulse of such insistent emotionalism, Australians responded to the call to arm and prepare for 'the battle of her race', for, as future war historian, C.E.W. Bean averred in 1909, life lived 'as some Asiatic may think right is not worth living at all.' The historian is therefore presented with the fascinating irony of watching a nation preparing feverishly for the wrong catastrophe, while far away the real one inexorably unfolded itself. In this response, Australia behaved very much as other Western nations prior to 1914; for, as Marc Ferro shows, they were all equipping themselves to face 'hereditary' enemies in imaginary wars which never eventuated. Yet, as he observes, 'the war that failed to happen is as legitimate, historically, as the one that did', for the power of such illusions meant that the concept of imminent warfare 'had conquered men's minds before it even broke out.'

In Australia, there was clearly more worry about the potential for conflict embodied in the Anglo-Japanese treaty of alliance than in the bitterly realistic Anglo-German naval rivalries. Apart from the Dreadnought scare of early 1909, Australians responded with relative apathy to the prospect of German invasion in comparison to that of an Oriental one, even though German influence was as close as New Guinea. In August-September 1908, more than half a million citizens of both Sydney and Melbourne congregated on local foreshores to greet the American 'Great White Fleet', come 'to check ... the swarming, hungry Orient'; yet, only six months later, Australians would prove less than enthusiastic about contributing funds to purchase a Dreadnought, as a patriotic contribution towards the Empire's naval race with Germany.
were assessed in clearly racial terms. The domination of a European power was 'to be preferred to the rule of the Oriental', it was argued, for 'a white and generous foe', even in conquest would be compelled by common-sense 'to treat us exactly as England has learned to treat us.'

Randolph Bedford, the prolific nationalist writer reasoned in 1911:

The bogey to the Britisher of a German invasion is no bogey to Australia; for the German is a white man; and Germany has given many good citizens to the Commonwealth ... but a conquest by Japan would be a conquest unspeakable.

As Ferro states, the concept of Germany as an enemy of the English was 'not yet wholly assimilated into the national consciousness.' Additionally, in Australia, the fear of 'the yellow and the brown' and the concomitant 'sacred duty [of] ... breeding a pure race in a clean continent' overshadowed all other concerns. Germany became, at worst, 'our most treacherous friend,' with the ugliest prospect envisaged being that, if the British navy was preoccupied with the Germans in the North Sea, 'Japan can attend to us.'

Similarly, while Asians and other non-white migrants were being administratively excluded by a nation 'most determined' to be a bastion of Anglo-Saxon civilization, 'preserved forever against the coloured races of the earth', German citizens were still being assisted to enter the country. After 1901, the Queensland Government, with the aid of Lutheran ministers like Pastors Becker and Niemeyer was actively soliciting new waves of German migrants from the provinces of Pomerania, Posen, Silesia, East and West Prussia, Baden, Württemberg and Bavaria. Soon Queensland was surpassing South Australia as the State with the largest Germanic population. By 1911, German Lutheran residents formed the second largest migrant minority group in Queensland, subordinate in number only to the Irish Catholic population which totalled almost one-quarter of the State's inhabitants. The April 1911 census showed that Queensland
contained 11,979 German-born residents, or more than one-third of the 32,990 then living in Australia. From then until 1914, approximately 570 more assisted German migrants arrived. Yet even this aggregate of over 12,500 does not entirely represent the total identifiable German population. Approximately 86% of these settlers lived in easily discernible ethnic communities in rural areas like the Logan, Stanley, Wide Bay and Darling Downs regions and, as the Queensland statistician remarked in 1917, while those actually born in Germany and Austria-Hungary totalled 'roughly 5% of the State's population, 'the families of Germans are usually large, but what proportion of births in Queensland are those of German parentage has not been recorded.' The full number of residents of verifiable German descent is thus difficult to quantify, but in 1914, both the Nord Australische Zeitung and Pastor Niemeyer's Queensland Herald claimed that there were 'over 30,000' Germans by birth or parentage in the State. When, during the war years, these people were to become fearfully regarded as the largest proportion of 'enemy subjects' in any military district, it was officially calculated that 'although Queensland has only one-seventh of the Commonwealth's population, she has within her State nearly one-half of the German and German-Australian population.'

Yet, in the pre-war era, this large ethnic minority were mainly welcomed, although in certain respects somewhat guardedly. Their most positive image was related to their agrarian virtues: that, as 'first class colonists', dedicated to farming, diligent labour and stern discipline, they 'cleared the soil and made it laugh with bountiful harvests.' Whenever the Kaiser's purported intention to 'Germanize the earth by means of ... Dreadnoughts and Zeppelins' was mentioned, journals like the Bulletin were careful to distinguish between this aggressiveness and the favourable behaviour of the 'fairly cheerful crowd' of Germans.
Queenslanders! Behold your Boss—elected by Samuel Walker Griffith to rule over you.

Colonial Equivocation about German Migration and Settlement.
then settling regions like the Fitzroy River district and the Binjour Plateau. As *The Australian Magazine* summarized the position in 1908, 'we like individual Germans as fellow colonists, and hope we yet have thousands of them coming to live with us, but we do not want Germany as master.' There was more ambivalence, however, over the tendency of such colonists to form relatively closed cultural enclaves - 'whole settlements where one rarely heard a word of English' - as well as the tight ideological controls which Lutheran pastors, whether Evangelical or Apostolic appeared to hold over such communities. The German Consul-General to Australia, Dr Irmer, speaking at the Brisbane Turn-Verein in 1910, encouraged his audience to believe that:

> We have every right to retain in a foreign country our language and our German customs and be faithful to the old Father-land - because how can anybody who easily forgets and denies his old Fatherland become a faithful citizen of his new country ...

Yet there would have been few British-Australians who would have happily accepted this questionable proposal. As journalist, Ernest Low concluded, with a notable absence of sympathy for the cultural dilemmas faced by European migrants:

> The German ... is always a German ... - he mixes with his kind, continues to drink his lager beer, [and] rarely becomes really naturalized in the spirit, though for business reasons he may do so according to the strict letter of the law.

Even more alarming to certain British colonists was an observed tendency of various Germans, like those 'cigar-makers and others' who formed an International Socialist Club in Sydney in 1898 to make their doctrinaire left-wing leanings generally known. When, on May Day 1910, 100 German migrants arriving in Queensland on the *S.S. Osterley* held a Red Flag celebration, the conservative Brisbane press reacted with a full-blown anti-alien, anti-radical outburst, charging that these foreign 'anarchists' were 'armed to the teeth and carry not only knives but
revolvers, rifles and ammunition.'

Alarmist reactions against non-British minorities, emanating from a xenophobic distaste, closely akin to the racism which justified the exclusion of non-whites were both diverse and deeply ingrained. As race relations sociologist, R.A. Schermerhorn has noted, 'In most cases of voluntary migration, racial labels or assigned statuses are not imposed upon the newcomers.' Yet, he adds that, in societies with a history of exploitative racial interaction and colonization, 'with concomitant racial ideologies, these may carry over to color the perception of the immigrant who is then defined in racial terms.' Queensland's colonial history of harsh frontier violence, large scale indentured labour experiments, ethnic invasion scares as well as periodically intense inter-racial conflicts and competition provided the necessary backdrop for the persistence of an intense ethnocentrism. Furthermore, despite Melanesian repatriation and Asian restriction. Queensland retained the most diverse range of non-white residents among its population. A return of non-white aliens in Queensland, compiled in 1912 revealed the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage of Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>6,714</td>
<td>1.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polynesians</td>
<td>2,265</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>1,503</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians and Cingalese</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malays</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrians</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Javanese</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>12,097</td>
<td><strong>1.99</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As well, uncounted in any census, Queensland contained an estimated 20,000 surviving Aboriginal inhabitants, comprising some 3.3% of its
Thus, approximately 5.3% of Queenslanders were non-Europeans, providing the basis for an ethnic heterogeneity which was more apparent than in any other Australian State. Additionally, higher proportions of non-British, European migrants had been attracted to Queensland. As early as 1891, Continental migrants had composed 13.6% of the State's population and, by World War One, more Germans, Scandinavians and Russians had settled there than elsewhere in Australia. Marginally more Southern Europeans had gravitated to the coastal sugar-producing districts, while Queensland also accommodated a higher proportion of Irish than did the Southern States. Ethnocentric responses in Queensland were thus expressed within a comparative context of ethnic diversity and instability. Queensland's Anglo-Australian majority, with the lowest proportion of Australian-born amongst its members felt its vulnerability rather more keenly and therefore tended to display its ethnic prejudices more rigidly and emphatically. By the turn of the century, the interlinking of 'certain European groups' with those of non-Europeans for general attack had become common, 'indicating the pervasiveness of racist modes of thinking.'

Xenophobia, indeed, was quite marked throughout Australia, as the compelling theme of 'crimson threads of kinship' promoted exclusivist ideals of ethnic homogeneity and clannishness. Here, British race patriotism logically demanded that White Australia 'really means a British Australia', as Australian nativism remained consistent with British imperial biases. As the *Lone Hand* stated bluntly in 1911, 'The people already in Australia wish to keep it for themselves and their children ... They look ... with disfavor on most other white races', apart from the British. ' Inferior and immensely ... fertile foreigners' were opposed by *Bulletin* correspondents, who exclaimed, 'Australia for the white race? No good to me! "Australia for Australians" is my motto
now. A.J. Vogan, a former journalist and novelist who had fought against the Boers wrote of how the same outlook which stereotyped the Aborigine as a 'mere animal' also fed the 'British national prejudice against foreigners', dubbing all Germans as 'square-heads' and all 'Italians and Spaniards and dark-skinned Europeans as "Dagoes"'.

In 1913, a columnist for the *International Socialist* wrote scathingly of the unrelenting 'racial hatred' which Australians directed against foreigners. After expressing shame about the larrikin habit of stoning Chinese, the writer, 'Diogenes' continued:

... it is the custom to refer to Italians as dagoes, Japanese as monkey-men, Germans as squareheads etc. ad libitum. The fact of the people concerned being present doesn't matter in the least and they must not dare to resent such brutal vulgarity.

Yet European migrants were not all regarded with equal disdain by British-Australians. Germans, who were ethnically akin to the English were eminently preferred as settlers, as were other Northern Europeans - so long as they were not Jewish. Biosomatic differences, particularly those of skin pigmentation and physiognomy enhanced social distaste and rendered the Southern European, such as the Italian, Greek, Maltese and Portuguese the least desirable of migrants. An additional contrast was drawn between Northern Italians 'of the Alpine type' and swarthy 'Mediterranean' Southerners, allegedly 'less reliable and less clean in their habits, more volatile, and even having a strong tendency to form and join secret societies.' Thus, the *Bulletin* would include, among a list of least acceptable migrants, 'Russian Jews' and 'semi-savages from Southern Europe.' Greeks and Italians with their cafés, oyster-shops and fish-emporiums were under general attack in the *Bulletin* of 1910 as 'miserable Dagoes' who sat behind 'fly-spotted cash registers', amidst filthy surroundings and the smell of 'stinking garlic.' In 1913, a Queensland pamphleteer and Boer War veteran, Fred Elton similarly railed
against 'the dirty Dago in every fruit and fish shop in the country',
ending his diatribe with the derisive assertion that 'a Chinaman - to my
mind - is infinitely preferable.'\textsuperscript{113} A report from Tripoli, printed in
the \textit{Bulletin} during 1911 reads like a forerunner of later Australian
soldiers' letters home, with its references to filthy 'Dagoes -
Sicilians, Maltese and Portuguese ... Jews, Turks and niggers.' The
'unspeakable' Turk - the coming enemy - was singled out for particular
scrutiny as 'the same old futile Asiatic' - a demonic blight upon
humanity.\textsuperscript{114}

Significantly, the level of vituperation indicated here neither
conforms directly with the size of the minority in the local population
nor with any exclusively 'cheap labour' role which the group was
allegedly performing. Rather, ethnic minorities were negatively judged
in relation to the degree in which they diverged from the accepted
cultural norms and physical attributes of Anglo-Australians, and were
discriminated against accordingly. They were resented not only economi-
cally, whether as wage-labourers, self-employed persons or petty
capitalists, but socially, morally and sexually as well. Such
intolerance enhanced social conformity and cohesiveness in a directly
authoritarian way, narrowly prescribing the range of human behaviour,
thought and expression. Hence, when an alien was seen to subscribe to a
radical or a revolutionary ideology, his capacity for political menace
was believed to be enormously magnified 'on the mistaken conservative
theory that foreigners were more dangerously extreme' than the native
born.\textsuperscript{115}

William Preston Jr, studying similar developments in the United
States has shown how the dual fear of the foreigner and the dissenter
grew in intensity between the nineties and World War One, under the
impact of tension-producing social phenomena, like 'Yellow Peril' fears
on the American West Coast, as well as 'class conflict ... war or the threat of it'; and how such 'tensions and fears ... sought release in retaliation against the supposed enemy within, alien or radical.'

In Australia, and in Queensland particularly, a similar pattern is apparent. The main variable here was the way in which Australian nativism - apart from its weaker, republican strand - was channelled and fortified by its allegiance to British Imperialism, which intensified both its racial and conservative biases. In Queensland, as in the United States, it would be the tensions of total warfare after 1914 which carried the scape-goating of the foreigner and the dissenter to its peak. Yet, as we have seen, even prior to that war, Queensland experienced the pronounced impact of ethnic invasion fears, as well as direct war involvement and the certain expectation of future warfare. Further, particularly after 1910, a marked degree of overt class conflict became apparent. And, as in the United States, such crises were accompanied by a discernibly heightened level of anti-radical, anti-alien hysteria.

The intensified alarm induced by aliens and radicals during the Boer War crisis has already been noted above. Similarly, it was not merely coincidental that the Denham Government, riding high upon its reputation as the most zealously anti-Socialist regime in Australia should have begun restrictive moves against Russian migrants in Queensland in the immediate aftermath of the Brisbane General Strike of 1912. During this crisis, there were wild rumours of aliens spying or manufacturing bombs, and Russians arriving at the Immigration Barracks were held under suspicion. As it was believed that Russian 'secret meetings' were being held, a C.I.B. detective was assigned to photograph surreptitiously 'Russian suspects attending meetings in connection with the strike' - with admittedly meagre results. This early example of intelligence surveillance - soon to become commonplace during the war - was undoubtedly
prompted by earlier news from London that police were 'snap-shotting' socialist processions, to procure evidence against 'disturbers.'¹¹⁹

A close connection between extremism and undesirability was therefore indelibly drawn in relation to Queensland's Russian migrants. Prior to 1910, less than forty Russian individuals or families were resident in the State, attracting little attention. Yet, during that year, 249 full-paying Russian passengers arrived from Manchuria, upon steamers of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha line. In 1911, this number almost doubled, reaching 479 arrivals and causing even officials at the British Colonial Office to comment upon this sudden 'remarkable' influx.¹²⁰ As the head of Brisbane's C.I.B. noted in June 1913, after prolonged surveillance of these migrants, 'most ... produce a book of credentials ... only issued to Political offenders, who are allowed conditional liberty, subject to police supervision.'¹²¹ These former political detainees, it appeared, were 'mostly escapees from Russian penal establishments, principally Siberia' who had made their tortuous way across Russia, into China or Japanese Manchuria and on to Vladivostok or Harbin from where they travelled by Asian or Australian steamer to the Queensland coast. In mid-1914, Queensland Immigration Agent, J.O'N. Brennan summarized local reactions to their arrival. They were undesirable, he wrote, as few possessed the qualities of the 'genuine' Russian peasant, most appropriate 'for the colonization of Queensland in particular': that is, the attributes of 'a man who would go upon the land and remain there, because he knows of nothing else.' Furthermore, they represented a wide range of other 'objectionable characteristics.'¹²²

Even though Brennan admitted that 'a large percentage' seemed 'anxious and willing' to undertake railway construction and other navvying work, and were even prepared to accept unpopular gang-labouring duties, clearing scrub and prickly-pear, a strong social and political objection
was raised against their presence which outweighed their potential utilitarian worth. Firstly, the very nature of their arduous journey meant that many arrived 'practically destitute and very dirty.' In May 1912, for instance, the Immigration Agent described a batch of five men, three women and four children as 'penniless, with little or no clothing besides what is on their backs' and objected to their admission into the Government depot in this condition. As his complaint came in the wake of anti-alien alarms induced by the General Strike, the immediate executive reaction was to discern a major threat of contamination and dependency, and to proceed accordingly. Within a week, Premier Denham had telegraphed Prime Minister Fisher that previous experience of Russian subjects was not satisfactory and that Commonwealth action against these undesirables was necessary. Fisher replied that Quarantine authorities would make a 'careful investigation ... with a view of preventing admission of any Russian subjects coming under prohibition of the Immigration [Restriction] Act.' A still dissatisfied Denham then demanded an assurance that 'you direct your officers at Thursday Island to be most rigorous in testing their fitness', and this was subsequently given. In the meantime, the Russian Consul had also helpfully suggested, 'it would perhaps be well to send back by the vessel which brings them here' those escapees from Czarist persecution whom the Commonwealth found 'undesirable.'

When numbers landing continued to increase during 1912 and 1913, reaching a total of 904 arrivals in these two years, Agent Brennan renewed his protests. Refugees should be 'subjected to some sort of test before allowing them to land', he urged, 'unless they can produce a reasonable sum of money.' In this way, some check could be maintained upon their adoption of 'every move known to the mendicant.' In January 1913, Denham's response to this warning of parasitism was to restrict the stay of emigrés at the Immigration Barracks to a mere two days, while
Home Secretary Barnes demanded, 'Why receive them into [the] depot at all?' At the same time, an even greater threat than disease or destitution was noticed. 'There is a Russian Association here which is dominated by Russians of a doubtful character', Brennan reported; and the Home Secretary promptly responded, 'I think the Police should keep an eye on these people.' A subsequent report from Detective Sergeant O'Hara in February indeed revealed that 'about twelve months ago a Russian Political Socialistic Society was formed here', under the leadership of political activist, Tom Sergayeff, alias Artem, which was producing its own newspaper, *Echo, Australia.* Yet O'Hara's alarmist conclusion about the group, which reflected both the Social Democratic and Social Revolutionary ideals of its members was that it was actually composed of 'the worst class of criminals.' Contradicting other officially gathered evidence, O'Hara calculated that 'about 75% of those alleged Immigrants [sic] are of the criminal class' who had committed 'all class of crime to secure sufficient money to take them to this country.'

This effective inter-twining of the bogeys of criminality and subversion, already foreshadowed in *Bulletin* allusions to Russian proclivities for drinking, loafing, prostitution and rioting, as well as to a suspected plot by them 'to blow up the C.S.R. refineries' in Queensland and 'establish a Republic on the ashes' moved the Queensland Government to make a dramatic, final attempt at suppression. In March and May 1913, Denham requested Fisher once more to 'use whatever powers you possess to exclude such undesirable immigrants.' Upon receiving advice from the Russian Consul-General that all bona fide Russian travellers had to purchase a foreign passport, the Prime Minister's Department then ordered Customs Officials to examine all 'Russian emigrants from the East' for the same and to pass their findings on to Queensland State police. After seven Russians without passports were
detected among the twenty-four landing in late May from the S.S. *Eastern*, the Queensland Cabinet began inquiries through the Justice Department to determine whether 'the State has the power to send the immigrants back.' On 13 June, the Crown Solicitor concluded that the State did in fact possess 'power to exclude aliens', but that legislation was 'desirable' to effect this. Although the Government had no actual authority to compel ship-owners 'to carry the aliens back' and thus fully deport them, he reasoned, the fact that it could prohibit landing was enough to accomplish this; and the relevant shipping companies were duly informed.

When the Eastern and Australian Steamship Co. enquired 'under which State Act the prohibition is enforced', it was bluntly told that 'the prerogative right to exclude aliens' had been invoked and that, therefore, 'Statutory authority is not necessary.' Yet, on 7 August 1913, when the State water-police attempted to secure 'one Peter Velasoff' on board the *S.S. Eastern* and prevent his landing, officers from the Commonwealth's External Affairs Department intervened and frustrated the arrest. In the face of this direct confrontation between State and Federal authorities, and in the absence of supportive legislation, the Crown Solicitor urged that the matter should be left to the Commonwealth to settle; while an incensed Premier Denham complained of the precipitate intervention to the new Prime Minister, Joseph Cook. It was 'a matter of indifference' to him how these 'Asiatic Russians' - as he now began calling them - were to be excluded, Denham insisted, but 'the main thing is to shut them out.'

Meanwhile, a further appeal to New South Wales Premier, W.A. Holman for support brought the response that as the emigrés were 'not coloured persons', there would be some difficulty in persuading the Commonwealth to enforce the Immigration Restriction Act against them. When Cook finally replied to Denham in late November 1913, it indeed became clear that the refugees had been narrowly saved by the colour of their skin.
His Government would not exclude 'Russians who are of pure European race merely on the grounds of their not being possessed of passports', which were not dependable criteria for suitability, Cook wrote. Russians were already being selectively scrutinized under the Quarantine provisions of the Immigration Act with a view to restricting as many as possible, he reminded the Premier, and it was 'not the practice to apply the dictation test to persons of European race.' Here the matter ostensibly rested until fears of revolution after 1917 and the wartime expansion of official controls over aliens reviewed it once more. In 1914, more Russian refugees - a total of 571, or almost 12% of those migrating - entered Queensland than in any previous year.

The most significant inference to be drawn from this debacle is an appreciation of the point to which the State was prepared to proceed in attempting the exclusion of 'Asiatic Russians' who, by their sudden influx, their demeanour and, particularly, their socialistic beliefs had offended the mores and alarmed the officials of a predominantly Anglo-Saxon and capitalistic social order. Under the impact of this perceived alien threat, the Queensland Government had tried unilaterally to effect a crucial immigration policy initiative - the power to exclude and, by consequence, to deport - and had only been thwarted by forceful Commonwealth interference and its insistence upon the maintenance of established racial prerogatives. The State had moved more impulsively against these Russian refugees than against any other European sub-group specifically because of the dual cultural and political threat they posed, as both strangers and radicals.

The anti-socialist fears of an executive characterized as 'a government of merchants' had thus been at least as significant as ethnocentric distaste in activating this pre-war bout of Russophobia. For although socialism seemed to some a beckoning vision, albeit vaguely
defined, to others it appeared as a lurking menace - so much so that even 'the mild brand' advocated by the Labor party was damned and resented. A 'leaven of socialistic beliefs prevalent in the community' was therefore consistently invoked by conservatives as a bogey to stir public alarm and as a weapon to belabour the working class movement, both industrially and politically. On the one hand, the fierce class conflicts of the early nineties, between striking shearers and militant pastoralists, backed by the police and military powers of the State had entered the mythology of the labour movement as a gallant though doomed struggle, which had ultimately re-emphasized the importance of parliamentary representation. Yet it had also been interpreted, according to the disposition of the victors, as 'a pageant of scenes of inexplicable violence', organized by strikers 'to over-ride the reign of law and order.' It was to such a tradition that the conservative press adhered when, like the Brisbane 'society' paper The Queensland Figaro, it defined a socialist as one who 'is violent if he doesn't [get what he demands] and wants to exterminate all who oppose him.' In 1910, under the headline 'Shooting Socialists', this paper advocated the surgical operation of 'Phlebotomy' for strike leaders. The Brisbane Courier's warning in its 'eight-hour day' editorial of May 1910 that trade unionism was 'being dragged into the vortex of political socialism, obedient to the demands of ... professional agitators' was seen to be vindicated during the North Queensland sugar strike of June-August 1911, when the Courier, the Daily Mail and the Mackay Daily Mercury all chorussed, in tune with the sugar producers, that it was 'an agitators' strike, pure and simple.'

Since July 1905, when Prime Minister George Reid launched his 'Socialist Tiger' campaign, claiming expansively that Australian 'Labor Leagues' had become 'the active and avowed leaders of a Socialistic movement, whose objective is the destruction of private enterprise and
the control of all industry by ... the nationalization of the means of production, distribution and exchange', the Queensland Labor Party had been placed on the defensive in relation to the socialization objective it had boldly though temporarily adopted at the Labor-in-Politics convention of May. At the Federal and State elections of 1906 and 1907 respectively, it suffered a serious anti-Socialist electoral backlash, and was crippled in turn by the secession of the Kidstonites in March of the latter year. As the party struggled to re-organize upon the basis of its 'Industrial bedrock', it was further assailed by anti-socialist propaganda from the right. A socialist stereotype, 'with the visage of an ape' was promulgated by the anti-Labor parties and popularized by the conservative press during each successive election campaign. Before the 1912 State election, for instance, a local poet satirized the predictable unleashing of a socialist scare with the fanfare:

He comes, the Wicked Bogie, from the Anarchistic Den,
His Socialistic phizog has a nihilistic wen, ...
He'd like to blow the wealthy to the land of Kingdom Come,
His face is wild and hairy and his breath is full of rum ...
At ev'ry new election does he burst his old caboose,
And someone takes his muzzle off and turns the critter loose.

In the aftermath of the 1912 General Strike, with the Roman Catholic church in Queensland condemning Trade Union activism as 'the forerunner of Continental Socialism' and Premier Denham calling for 'a death blow to Syndicalism', it became electorally prudent for the Labor Party to assert that it aimed at 'no sudden revolution, no dramatic breaking down of existing conditions', but simply an end to industrial conflict and 'a gradual transformation of the evil features of our social system.'

Shorn of its revolutionary, anti-capitalist implications, socialism, as interpreted by the mainstream labour movement became less a specifically structured ideology and more a label upon a veritable grab-bag of
concepts and strategies, wherein 'every interest in Australia was represented except the interest of the parasitic classes.' While conservatives uncovered only horrors within this portmanteau, Laborites found there reformist practicalities with which to redress social inequalities and to attempt the gradual amelioration of glaring injustices. The socialism they accepted thus corresponded more with the traditional aims of British liberal radicalism - social democracy, social reform and social welfare - than it did with European socialist models - Syndicalism in France and Spain, Communism in Germany and Anarchism in Russia. Such 'alien' ideologies were considered inimical to the pragmatic and ostensibly non-doctrinaire approach of Labor, which made its appeal more to worker 'common sense' than to intellectual theory. Thus, in August 1904, the Catholic Freeman's Journal attempted to allay any fears that Australian Labor was 'treading the path of the European Socialist, that is, the socialist tainted with atheism and anarchism.' The Australian worker was a democrat who 'knows when he is well off', the editorial concluded, rather than a 'sans-culotte.' Similarly the journalist W.J. Sowden, of the Australian Natives Association assured the Royal Colonial Institute in London, during 1905 that Australian state socialism had nothing in common with 'what is usually connoted by Continental Socialism ... based on disloyalty or grounded in Anarchism.' The 'most dangerous of the Socialist extremists' in the country, he added pointedly, like the snails, sparrows and other pests were 'exportations into Australia from older lands, on this side of the ocean.' In opposing George Reid's 'Socialist Tiger' campaign, W.A. Holman was also careful to assure the Bankers' Institute that the 'modern Socialist does not propose to distribute wealth on any basis of equality.' Debating publicly with Reid in 1906, he affirmed that Labor's central objectives were to cultivate 'an Australian sentiment based upon the maintenance of racial purity'
and to secure 'the collective ownership of monopolies' only. He then concluded, in a firm negation of the aims of European socialism:

So far as that is socialism, so far are we socialists ... If socialism means more than that, as some have asserted, then we have nothing to do with it.145

The labour movement therefore proceeded in a moderate, meliorist way to propose residual welfare reforms146 rather than the redistribution of wealth, basic wage adjustments rather than workers' control of industry, the nationalization of certain monopolies rather than the certain overthrow of capitalism and a co-operative Commonwealth - with an emphasis upon employer/employee cooperation, guaranteed through arbitration - rather than a revolutionary, socialist republic. With its own liberal democratic ideology such an accepted part of conventional political 'reality', it rejected overly theoretical designs as being virtually un-Australian. Thus, Australian 'state socialism' repudiated the 'ideas of Continental socialists'147 - along with those individuals and organizations 'utopian' enough to support them - with an irritation only marginally less intense than the vehemence displayed by many conservatives in denouncing the 'extreme views' and 'dangerous associations' of this 'German fad.'148

The dismissal of doctrinaire socialism therefore assumed a xenophobic edge, as the ideas of suspect aliens were spurned, along with the presence of these aliens themselves.

Thus, for the parliamentary left, 'socialism' often became a term to be popularly defused rather than ideologically defended. And this approach marked that world of difference which lay between the grandiose assertion of Internationalist, Tom Mann that Australia was 'perfectly safe for socialism' in 1905 and the complacent claim by Labor leader, Andrew Fisher in 1908 that 'we are all Socialists now.'149 The concept was so vaguely conceived that Premier Kidston could claim that he was a
socialist 'of the Lord Salisbury type', while elevating the leader of Queensland's Anti-Socialist League to the Legislative Council.\textsuperscript{150} Lacking any substantial ideological moorings, the term could be made almost as mystifying as the word 'worker' had long been: Australians were seen as 'all Socialists', only in-so-far as they believed casually in State attempts to secure 'a fair go' for all, in the same fashion as they were 'all workers', in-so-far as they remained useful, productive members of society and did not become 'bludgers' or 'loafers'.\textsuperscript{151} Indeed, 'socialism' was so cast adrift as a definable concept that it could be easily accommodated by W.M. Hughes with 'the Law of the Survival of the Fittest' in 1909, as well as with all the compulsions explicit in Universal Military Service and, subsequently, even with conscription.\textsuperscript{152}

The small groups of migrant or native-born who subscribed unwaveringly to the doctrines of international socialism or syndicalism struggled in the face of such hostility and misrepresentation to make a political impact upon the working class mass movement which was something more than peripheral. For the most part, that struggle was in vain as the left-wing sects, agonizing over whether to influence the Labor Party and the trade unions from within, or whether to lead the socialist vanguard as separate, independent movements - and meeting little success with either tactic - toiled fitfully just to survive and to maintain some spark of revolutionary ardour. Their advocacy of anti-militarism, anti-imperialism, and, in some instances, anti-racism when confronting popular causes like defence preparation, universal military service, a united Empire and a white Australia only increased their alienation from the majority of workers.\textsuperscript{153} Only the skeletal outlines of their presence now seem traceable.

The Queensland Socialist League formed in Brisbane in the mid-nineties by agitators like Edward Holliday, R.S. Ross and Ernie Lane had,
by 1900, regrouped as the Social Democratic Vanguard (S.D.V.). Lane depicts this organization as a small, 'virile' group of zealous workers, concentrating upon propagandist activities, and absorbing a mixed band of socialists, communists and anarchists into its ranks. The very catholicity of its membership seems to have led to the movement's downfall, however, when it foundered in late 1903 over a motion to support the Kidston-Morgan coalition. Scattered attempts to revive the S.D.V. after 1905 allowed it to run a chequered course until 1909. In North Queensland, meanwhile, an I.W.W. club begun at Wild River, Herberton in January 1908 was still in contact with its parent body in Sydney at the close of that year. Subsequently, in Brisbane, a group calling itself the Socialist Propaganda Club - possibly a remnant of the old S.D.V. - transformed itself into an I.W.W. club also in August 1910. These clubs again operated mainly for the purposes of debate and propaganda, and actually expressed opposition to the methods of direct action which the later locals of the Industrial Workers of the World in Australia advocated and practised. The Brisbane General Strike of January-March 1912 provided a final spur to militancy, with the Russian Association emerging at this time and, by the end of that year, a Brisbane branch of the Australasian Socialist Party (A.S.P.) was also operating successfully. Dogged perseverance and an inflated optimism about their potential impact kept these organizations buoyant. For example, when a Rockhampton branch of the A.S.P. was begun in March 1913, the Brisbane body greeted its appearance with the resounding prophesy that 'Another nail has been driven in capitalism's coffin.' Yet, in the pre-war era, it was the particular fate of these revolutionary groups that they consistently loomed larger as a bête noire than as any real or consequential political force.

The failure of socialism in Queensland was based upon explicable socio-economic realities, rather than being merely a set of ideas
discounted in the course of political debate. As E.P. Thompson comments:

An ideology is constructed not only by those who work with ideas, but as those ideas are passed through the screens of economic interest and class power.  

Logically, a challenging ideology might be discarded in much the same way. Furthermore, the impeding 'screens' are not transparent, but substantive and verifiable both historically and structurally. Initially, the drive towards socialism had foundered when class conflict, economic depression and protracted drought had all but annihilated trade unionism in Queensland between 1890 and 1903. As the trade union movement began a slow recovery to 1906, it was once more scrutinized by conservative forces and employer groups for any supposedly 'socialistic' leanings it possessed. In mid-1903, the anti-socialist Governor Chermside noted an 'illogical sentiment of ill-will against all capital, of employed against employers' broadcast among 'the majority of railwaymen, wharfingers, stevedores, mill employees, mechanics, sheep-shearers, cattlemen, drovers, packers, meat work hands, some station hands and almost all working miners.' On his travels throughout the State in December, he found that a 'large preponderance of employees' held 'labour views' so fervently that it set them apart from the rest of the community, 'somewhat as religions do their respective followers in the near East.'

Yet, in effect, he was describing a situation in which trade union membership had only expanded to include 7,750 workers by the close of 1906. In sharp contrast to his inflated concern, Tom Mann bewailed the fact in May of that year that industrial organization in Queensland was at 'a very low ebb' and in a weaker state than in any other civilized country. The Crown's representative and the industrial militant undoubtedly viewed developments from quite different perspectives, as each read his own conservative qualms or radical expectations into what he saw. Yet even the worried Governor admitted that the 'socialistic
views' expressed were 'more individualistic than those of the Socialists of many other countries'; and that the solidarity exhibited among Queensland workers was essentially 'non-communistic' in spirit. In fact, class consciousness in Queensland was qualified by a strikingly low level of industrial development, with only 10% of workers engaged in secondary production in comparison with 38% involved in primary pursuits like agriculture, pastoralism and mining. Only 21,705 workers were employed in 1,563 manufacturing establishments throughout Queensland in 1905. Factories were usually small, catering to 'primary processing and sheltered industries', and conservative craft union structures tended to accommodate many industrial worker demands. More than two-thirds of those employed in manufacturing were concentrated in Brisbane, but this city, in turn acted as a weak economic and administrative centre and, in many respects, typified 'a large country town'. Some 60% of the State's population were urban dwellers, but the widely dispersed centres in which they lived 'tended to reflect the political bias of the countryside they served'. Working class consciousness therefore tended to exhibit marked rural characteristics in the main, emphasizing narrowly regional grievances rather than a spirit of internationalism and displaying a pragmatic, agrarian populism, antagonistic to intellectual thought and the theorizing of 'Continental Socialists'. In late 1909, for instance, Alfred Pain, an advocate of Syndicalism from Herberton was denounced as a 'traitor' in the pages of the Worker for advocating the absorption of workers of any 'creed, colour or politics' into the local union movement. Earlier that year, two Brisbane socialists, Hugo Kunze and Andy Anderson had been rapidly dismissed as 'Queen St. theorists' for their advocacy of Marxist strategies, instead of reformist parliamentary procedures.

Radicalism in Queensland, as Lewis notes, tended to remain 'real but exceptional' as 'an embattled but significant minority' kept its torch
alight. It caught flame among a wider following only in times of socio-
economic crisis, when it temporarily 'emerged to challenge the system'.
Yet, among conservative observers, its flickering shadow seemed ever-
present, as premonitions of crisis continually undermined their confident
presumptions of social consensus and tranquility. As early as September
1903, Governor Chermside observed that:

In view of former strikes of Shearers, the recent Victorian
Railway Strike and other analogous incidents, it is constantly
alleged that an acute, even violent crisis must supervene;
and when such able men as the late Minister for Mines and
Railways [John Murray M.L.C.] and many others in touch with
all sections of the Community hold such views they are
distinctly of importance.

Yet, in their persistent fear of an imminent socialist challenge, local
employer groups tended largely to reflect their own insecurities in a
State where big business was infrequently owned locally and 'entrepreneurs
rarely managed to become independent from outside control.' Their
vulnerability was such that, as Armstrong shows, the mere refusal by
workers 'to accept the economic status quo' and to advocate 'the
evolutionary reconstruction of society to ensure a more equitable system'
could be rapidly construed as 'a policy of militant unionism' damned by
conservative and liberal supporters, employers and even many craft
unionists themselves.

In such a profoundly conservative socio-political environment as
this, it was not usually the small groups of doctrinaire industrial
militants from the metropolis who led the workers' vanguard. Rather, it
was the pragmatic, rurally-orientated Amalgamated Workers' Association
(A.W.A.), paying 'little attention to abstract theories or overseas models'
and operating from the mining frontier of Northern Queensland which seized
the industrial initiative. Through a series of judiciously-waged, regional
strikes among miners and railway navvies between 1907 and 1910, the A.W.A.
built its support, so that by the sugar milling season of 1911, it was ready to test its strength against 'the big gun C.S.R.' in a practical struggle over wages, hours and working conditions.\(^{172}\) A strain of syndicalist influence was apparent during this successful strike, however, which took on 'the classic socialist pattern' of workers opposing a capitalist monopoly. At Mackay, where conflict was most intense, *The Pioneer* newspaper, advocating 'the value of industrial as opposed to sectional unionism' for all 'wage-slaves', and quoting the U.S. 'Wobbly' leader, William D. Haywood on the general strike as 'a fighting weapon and constructive force' provided the rhetoric for One Big Unionism.\(^{173}\) For the first time since the shearers' strikes of the nineties, there were several outbreaks of incendiarism recorded from the Ayr district, while the strength of the unionists' resolve was apparent during a series of riots at Bundaberg and Childers against strike breakers, introduced by the Denham government and guarded by its police. Union leaders like William McCormack openly encouraged the use of physical violence.\(^{174}\)

Yet such anarcho-syndicalist trappings were more polemical responses to the realities of confrontation rather than any indication that sugar workers were in the hands of revolutionary agitators. The same conclusion may be drawn from the events of the Brisbane General Strike which began less than six months after the massive sugar strike had successfully ended. Although McCormack again privately advocated 'a bit of revoluse'\(^{175}\) by the street mobs against the special constables, this in no way indicated that the General Strike had been tactically conceived as an insurrectionary, syndicalist weapon by the union leaders who called it. Indeed these men probably feared revolutionary developments more than they did the batons and broad swords of the police. In March 1909, the *Worker* had commenced serializing a prophetic novel entitled 'The Red League', detailing a general strike in Brisbane which erupted into
revolution when I.W.W. activists seized control. Such 'paths of peril' must be avoided, the Worker warned, or great harm would befall the labour movement. Thus, the adoption of a general strike strategy was less a premeditated, ideological tactic than an unplanned and confused response to the felt threat of industrial suppression. The repressive action of the Brisbane Tramways Company in locking out its employees for displaying their union badge, backed by the moral force of a Government predisposed to "capital" as against "labour" was a major precipitant of conflict. Locally, escalating industrial action among 'building labourers, plasterers, iron workers, gas workers [and] coal miners' over unsatisfactory conditions provided a back-drop to the struggle, while confidence was boosted by the recent sugar workers' victory and the general surge of trade union numbers to 44,768 by 1912. Both sides in the charged atmosphere of mounting disputation seemed convinced that:

... conflicting social forces are so equipoised that a push this way or that would suffice to precipitate a situation [where] ... the clash of interests might easily become the clash of arms.

A major industrial upheaval was therefore declared concurrently by forty-three unions on 28 January 1912 and was boldly proclaimed in the first Strike Bulletin three days later, as the 'First Simultaneous Strike in the World'. Yet, by 6 March, it had collapsed, with widespread worker victimization, largely because the logical repercussions of having 'adventured in syndicalism' were not understood by the strike leaders and their followers. Whatever the degree of rank and file élan among the 20,000 or more who struck work, the general strike was a most dangerous weapon to wield merely in the cause of bluff; for, unless revolt was seriously countenanced, it was most likely to prove counter-productive. As Ian Turner notes:
... once a common front of government and employers has decided that here is the point of no return, then, unless there is sufficient popular discontent beyond the ranks of organized labour to ensure the effective isolation of the anti-labour forces, or unless the unions are prepared to take their chance on an insurrection, the general strike must lose.\textsuperscript{181}

In 1912, a 'common front of government and employers' responded to the strike by themselves using all the rhetoric and much of the ammunition of class warfare. The verdict of the Brisbane Courier on 29 January that 'militant unionism has declared war on the community'\textsuperscript{182} was reflected by the Telegraph's editor, C. Hardie Buzacott, who believed that 'constructive sedition' had been committed.\textsuperscript{183} Similarly, on 3 February, Premier Denham described Brisbane as under 'a state of s-.ge - in a state of war'. Amplifying upon ingrained communal fears of invasion, he later alleged, 'If a hostile fleet had been blockading Brisbane, they could not have more effectively blocked the city.' The outcome was clearly 'barbarous and destructive.' Thousands had been brought 'to the verge of starvation' and the city 'would have been a prey to famine and riot, and would probably be in ruins today' if law and order had not been restored.\textsuperscript{184}

On the evening of 31 January, a hurried meeting of the Queensland Cabinet sanctioned the enrolment of 3000 special constables to augment the established police force in response to actions that day by mobs of several thousand strikers, who forced the closure of hotels, restaurants and business premises at the city centre and in Fortitude Valley. The worst violence occurred at the South Brisbane Butter Factory, where a large, angry crowd stoned its windows and at Beirne and Co.'s department store in the Valley, where the pressure of a mob who rushed its doors smashed in the plate glass shop front. While one large gathering were being restrained by police from acting out a threat to wreck the Light Street Tram Sheds, another riot erupted in Wickham Street, Fortitude Valley, where the windows of several commercial premises were again destroyed. In
the city centre, men who broke away from a parade of pickets marching to South Brisbane attacked and overturned a produce lorry at the entrance to Victoria Bridge. Mounted and foot police then assaulted the milling crowd, 'who retaliated with a volley of three-cornered [paving] blocks.' Several injuries and numerous arrests resulted. At Roma Street, a worse incident occurred when a beer lorry was overturned and mounted police rode into a menacing crowd of several thousand surrounding it. 'Stones and wood' were freely thrown, whilst, after a constable was 'injured seriously' and a revolver shot from the wild mêlée 'narrowly missed Sub-Inspector Carroll', Chief Inspector Urquhart ordered his car to be driven into the mass of people, and foot police began batonning and arresting them.185

Consequently, that evening, both the Strike Committee and the State Government appealed for Commonwealth military intervention. The former were rather gradiosely requesting that a Federal Labor Government assist them with its 'naval and military powers' against 'many serious and unprovoked assaults by police'. The latter, via the elderly Governor William McGregor, who fully believed 'the revolutionary leaders that sat in the Trades Hall ... under the red flag' intended 'the starving of Brisbane' by 'a reign of terror and intimidation', requested that the Governor-General immediately implement Section 119 of the Commonwealth Constitution Act and introduce troops on the side of the police to quell imminent 'riot and bloodshed'.186 Prime Minister Fisher, acting in accordance with a motion passed at the recent Hobart Labor Conference that 'under no circumstances should the military be employed in connection with such matters as strikes' declined both requests.188 During a Senate debate on the Defence Act later in 1912, Senator Rae (N.S.W.) claimed:

Only last year ... the Minister of Defence stated that it was inconceivable that there would ever be any necessity in Australia to call out Federal troops to suppress domestic violence. Yet within ... six months ... the Queensland Government actually attempted to obtain the use of troops for
that purpose ... one political party in this country condemned
the Ministry in unmeasured terms for having refused to grant
the military aid desired. ... If we had a Conservative
Government in power ... there might be a likelihood of that
being done which the Queensland Government demanded.\textsuperscript{189}

Although his last assertion was speculative, it did reflect accurately
upon the intensity of conservative concern and resolve. On 4 February,
the Governor informed the Secretary of State for the Colonies that he had
requested the landing of men from \textit{S.M.S. Condor}, arriving in Brisbane upon
the 12th instant, to meet the threat posed by the strike. The level of his
anxiety can be gauged firstly from the fact that this request had been made
to the Governor-General on the same day as the demand for Federal
intervention had been refused. Even more remarkable was the fact that the
\textit{Condor} was a German man-of-war. Yet the prospect of armed German sailors
quelling the excesses of 'red-ribboned' bands of Brisbane wage-earners
was officially seen as a possible tactic. As McGregor confided to Denham:

\textit{The question may not arise in practice as complete order may be
restored in Brisbane before the arrival here of the Condor, but
if this desirable result should not be obtained, then I shall
be prepared for such a course as may then be deemed necessary.}\textsuperscript{189}

Meanwhile, on 6 February, the Governor appealed again to the Colonial
Office to grant 'the moral support' of one of the Royal Navy's 'ships of
war on the Queensland coast' as he believed the strike was 'spreading to
coast and inland towns'. An initial suggestion that the matter be passed
on to the Admiralty for action was scotched, however, when Colonial
officials ruled that it would be 'out of the question' to intervene in 'a
purely Australian matter', where Federal and State governments were so
clearly 'not as one'.\textsuperscript{196}

By this time, the back-bone of the strike had been forcefully broken
in the Brisbane streets, and reinforcements from the land rather than the
sea were keeping it contained and increasingly ineffectual. In the late
evening of Thursday, 1 February, soon after the dual appeal for Common-
wealth troops had been made, David Bowman, parliamentary leader of the State Labor Party rang Major Geoffrey Cahill, the Commissioner of Police to request permission for the strikers to march from the Trades Hall into Queen Street, the following morning. Major Cahill, who regarded the conflict as 'a revolution and an insurrection' refused the request and, employing the words of the battlefield warned Bowman that he would prevent the procession 'to the last man'.

On the following day, the streets of Brisbane did closely resemble a battlefield as what most accurately can be described as a police riot of major proportions erupted upon the heads of the would-be demonstrators. Double lines of both mounted and foot police, armed with loaded carbines and fixed bayonets confronted a swelling assembly of up to 15,000, whom strike leaders requested in vain to disperse. When a large squad of special constables were provocatively added to the existing ranks and the crowd responded with heckling and some stone-throwing, the police, using their batons and the flats of their swords 'pretty freely' began a concerted move against the assembled workers. During the next hour, the broken ranks of strikers were bludgeoned in Albert Street, Turbot Street, at North Quay and within the Supreme Court grounds. In Queen Street, Commissioner Cahill himself led a baton charge upon the dispersing crowd, while in George Street, a procession of women, headed by the elderly labour battler, Emma Miller in an unsuccessful march to see the Premier were 'marshalled ... to the bayonet line' and effectively used hat pins upon the police horses and the legs of the mounted troopers. There is perhaps no more fitting a symbol of the unequal fighting strengths of the combatants on this 'Black Friday' of the labour movement than the bayonets of the constabulary confronting the hatpins of the mob.

According to the Official Strike Bulletin on the following day, 'The people were ridden down on the footpaths by armed police officers. As men,
women and children made to get away, they were chased and ridden at, or beaten with batons.'\textsuperscript{194} Mary Hall, an English woman visiting Brisbane at this time who believed that 'the maggot ... at the core' of the strike were socialist 'agitators from the south' adopted a lighter approach. 'The touch of humour which is often present at the grimmest moment', she wrote:

... was supplied on this occasion by the sight of hundreds of people, men, women and boys flying helter-skelter before the show of cold steel and ... tearing off their red ribbons as they fled. After the turn of the tide, the red emblem was much less in evidence. It is so nice to be on the winning side!\textsuperscript{194}

After this rout, the 'winning side' continued to consolidate its forces towards total victory. 'Loyalist' workers to man the trams, suburban 'citizen guards' and 'vigilance' groups to defy the officers of the Strike Committee, and white collar employees to patrol as special constables had already ensured that the anti-labour forces would not be socially isolated. The arrival of contingents of mounted bushmen from farming communities at Beaudesert, the Lockyer Valley and Esk between 3 and 5 February gave a final fillip to the morale of the anti-strike 'loyalists'. The appearance of these 'bronze-faced, sturdy sons of the soil', organized by Ernest Lord, a squatter of Eskdale station was greeted with the same rush of patriotic delight which had swept about the Boer War volunteers and would, in only two years time, help to send new recruits to wider fighting fronts. On 9 February, the Brisbane \textit{Telegraph} published Mabel Forrest's panegyric poem 'Special Constables' which celebrated how:

\begin{quote}
From far plains and river bank 
Sturdy, fearless, rank by rank ... 
North and south and east and west 
Bushland gives you of her best. 
Quick to help the right to win, 
Come the specials riding in. 
How the women's glad hearts beat, 
All along the cheering street.\textsuperscript{195}
\end{quote}
'A good many of them', Mary Hall wrote - in direct reference to former
Boer War campaigners - 'had loyally answered the call to guard the Empire's
honour some twelve years ago and thus possessed more than a passing
acquaintance with military training'. That they were 'itching for a
scrap' was considered laudable when this was interpreted as restoring 'law
and order' and ensuring that 'anarchy under the red flag' would not
prevail.196

The Strike Committee members, who never intended proceeding with an
uprising had no answer to this escalation of conflict but capitulation.
During the strike period, there were several dozen angry assaults recorded
upon strike-breakers and specials, and a similar number of sabotage
efforts upon running trams by attempted derailments and explosions with
dynamite and gelignite along many suburban lines. The strikers were
certainly not the quiescent victims later depicted in Labor mythology,
and the level of violence displayed by both sides was definitely more
intense than existing historical accounts allow.197 Yet the collapse of
the strike leadership before State and employer collusion and resource-
fulness exposed any alleged syndicalist intention as being perfunctory and
insubstantial. 'The imbecile General Strike'198 - as the Bulletin termed
it - brought only bitterness and hardship for Brisbane workers in its
train, ensured the Denham Ministry of at least a pyrrhic victory rather
than an anticipated defeat in a hastily called election in April,199 and,
in August, provided the occasion for draconic anti-strike legislation,
the Industrial Peace Act. When Judge Higgins's decision in favour of the
tram-way workers' right to wear their union badge was handed down on
27 February, this only served to condemn the strike further, rather than
to vindicate it. For the plaint had been lodged with the Supreme Court
in September 1911, months before hostilities had - needlessly it now
seemed - begun.200 Arbitration was therefore complimented and militancy
damned. The decision did nothing to reinstate wage-labourers dismissed and victimized for their part in the dispute. As the Bulletin commented laconically, Higgins's finding was 'like a suicide having a fortune left him, or a corpse getting a reprieve'. Adopting a conventional conservative response to the doctrinaire socialist, the paper concluded angrily, 'Every advocate of the General Strike lunacy, however sincere is at best merely a brainless imbecile, who ought to be put in an idiot asylum.'

Although some strike action continued between March 1912 and August 1914, and trade union numbers grew to 55,850, the Queensland working class turned emphatically away from the politics of the barricade towards the more tangible promises of a Labor victory at the polls. The 'prospect of cracked skulls' in the street became a decided deterrent to further militant action, a position plainly indicated by the report of the May Day procession, 1914 in the Daily Standard, a labour daily which evolved from the General Strike Bulletins. Among the 'peaceful army' of 10,000 marching workers the symbol of a badge on the Tramway Union's banner was the only reminder of what was extravagantly recalled as 'the greatest upheaval in Australian history.' For the remaining ranks, the title of the leading banner, 'United to protect, not to injure' was seen as more representative. In homage to the Labor politician's role of 'civilizing Capitalism', the Standard's editorial contended that, although 'ugly forms' of that system - slums, 'sweating' and general degradation - persisted in Australia, its 'worst features never really got a root' in Commonwealth soil. Australians enjoyed 'an economic system which may be termed Capitalism tempered by humanitarianism', the paper argued, and Labor's object must simply be to make this system even more tolerable by gradual, constitutional means.

Reporting upon the same procession in the International Socialist, local ASP member, Gordon Brown judged the spectacle from a rather different perspective. In comparison with a Socialist gathering that day in a South
Brisbane hall, where speeches were delivered in 'English, Russian, Lettish, Jewish, Italian, German and Finnish' by the respective ethnic bodies present and 'the real spirit of internationalism' was manifest, Brown found the feeble mottoes of the May Day banners most depressing:

Able and Willing.
We work to live and live to work.
We build a part, but He who buildeth All is God.

The 'one gleam' of militancy, Brown discovered:

... hopefully shining among the craft union darkness ... was the motto of the Painters - 'One Union, One Enemy and One Goal'. ... The militants had a great struggle to gain consent [for it] ... Previously it had been 'Love and Obedience' written in Latin because presumably they were ashamed to put it in English.

Writing from his own radical viewpoint, Brown felt that, overall, 'kind regards to the boss and Parliamentary worship' had emasculated the labour movement. 'Revolutionary industrial socialism is their only hope', he concluded grimly.²⁰⁴

Gordon Brown had more cause than detached ideological objections for attacking Labor in May 1914. Since mid-July 1913, he and other Brisbane socialists, as well as several IWW supporters and Russian Association members had been engaged upon a free speech struggle to secure the right of secular bodies, like themselves, to hold public assemblies upon Sundays, for which permits were denied by the Commissioner of Police. By May 1914, some twenty-seven socialists had served prison sentences of as much as two months' duration for defying the ban; several had begun hunger strikes while in gaol; and the first of these, George Campbell Thompson had been removed to Goodna Mental Asylum, after a self-imposed famine of nine days. Their respective 'martyrdoms' had greatly enhanced propaganda for the socialist cause in Queensland, yet the campaign had simultaneously displayed the socio-political isolation from the mass of
The Sunday Suppression of Political Street-Meetings, as seen by the International Socialist.
"Sir,—Referring to your application of the 11th. instant, I have the honor to inform you that the Commissioner of Police **Does Not Approve** of the **Issue of Permits** for the holding of open-air meetings on Sundays on roads within the Metropolitan Traffic District **For Other than Religious Purposes** by accredited representatives of religious bodies.

(Signed)

F. CARROLL,
Superintendent of Traffic."

The Arrest of Socialist Agitators in the Brisbane 'Free-Speech' Fight.
52.

workers. Even when Brown called a meeting of trade unionists in September 1913 to discuss united action, only three delegates from two unions attended. Even after nine more months of constant agitation, the socialists again failed to involve any of the trade unions in a planned mass civil disobedience rally of June 1914. The unions in turn were typified as being 'so intoxicated with brain destroying Parliamentary laborism that their doped state unfit them for consideration of any militant action.'

Although radical protesters called upon workers watching their demonstrations to 'rise in unvanquished numbers' to join them, as Brown later lamented, 'the "cows" would not rise'. Crowds of several thousand were attracted to a series of almost weekly 'stunts' by socialist speakers, where the latter employed colorful publicity methods pioneered by the British Suffragettes, only to be roughly arrested for their pains. Similar assemblages in major coastal towns from Ipswich to Cairns, and westward to Charters Towers heard of their struggle from travelling propagandists like William Jackson, a radical Brisbane optometrist. Yet it seemed undeniable that people came passively to be amused by a piece of street theatre rather than to participate actively in a serious struggle for civil liberties.

Editorials in the International Socialist attacked the 'apathy and somnolence' of the Brisbane crowds, who were condemned in vain as 'submissive, docile curiosity-mongers.' The public tended to view the performing socialists, not as supporting a cause which involved their own civil rights, but as a wildly aberrant bunch of agitators, strangely courting their own doom. The opinion expressed by the Superintendent of Goodna Asylum, Dr Ellerton upon the degree of sanity of G.C. Thompson was chillingly apposite. The man was insane, the Doctor claimed, because he was 'full of exaggerated ideas of his own importance and knowledge of all subjects.' When asked by a deputation, eighteen months after Thompson had
'William Mug' and the 'Free-Speech' Issue (International Socialist).

SYDNEY: JANUARY 10 1914

Registered at the General Post Office, Sydney, for transmission by post as a Newspaper.

PRICE, ONE PENNY.

He Believes We Have Free Speech, But—
been confined, if he thought 'the suffragettes are suffering from the same
disease,' Dr Ellerton answered in the affirmative. Some months later,
Head Warder Morris frankly told a Royal Commission into the operation of
the Asylum that he believed Thompson was 'sane except for one particular
point: he is a political agitator.' This activity was looked upon as
'evidence of insanity ... in the asylum and outside the asylum as well.'

The failure of the free speech struggle prior to the war indicated
that the right of dissent was not widely prized, and, after hostilities
began, would be readily surrendered. The extent of implicit ideological
conformity was already such that persons expressing new and unpopular
ideas were often regarded as having 'a tick', or as being demented.

As Adam McCay wrote proudly in 1913 about this local intolerance of
'philosophers': 'Among us Australians there are a few savage theorists,
but the perpetual comfort ... of our politics is the regularity with which
every Wild Man who "goes over the odds" is kicked into oblivion.'

Dissident philosophies were denigrated for being as foreign to the average
Anglo-Australian as were so many of the doubtful aliens who espoused those
ideas. The Russian residents of Brisbane, in November 1913, denounced the
authorities as 'Cossacks' and 'Bashi Bazouks of Russian Czardom' for
arresting their spokesmen in the free speech struggle. Yet, when Paul Gray,
the leader of the Russian Association and 'Comrade Rudolph' were being
sentenced for Sunday speaking, the bench reminded them that they were
foreigners and, as such, 'must be taught respect for Australia's
Constitution.'

The impact of total war was to affect dramatically the character and
tempo of the anti-radical, anti-alien tendencies already explicit in the
pre-war era. As early as 1905, the celebration of Empire Day in schools
and churches as well as secular public gatherings had been instituted by
the British Empire League in all States to advertise the heroic achievements
of the British race and thereby to enhance Imperial loyalty as a 'long-term counter' to the 'internal threat of socialism' and 'dissident republican nationalism.' The values inculcated upon this 'national day' were predominantly conservative, imperial and militaristic. The Bulletin denounced this 'official feast-day of St. Jingo', remarking in 1911 that 'once the cry "Disloyalty" is set going in earnest, thousands of usually sane citizens become demented.' Yet, if 'disloyalty' was to be identified and appropriately pilloried, it was essential that the parameters of loyalty were always properly defined and defended. The symbolic public celebration of Empire Day - which was to reach its apogee in 1915 - was a yearly re-emphasis of this didactic purpose.

On Empire Day 1913, organizations like the Royal Society of St. George, the Australian Natives Association, the Irish Association and the Caledonian Club all gathered in Brisbane to express their 'essential oneness' with all that concerned the progress and destiny of the British Empire. The pulpit of Protestant churches were draped with the Union Jack while, in the first Brisbane procession to mark the occasion, torches were lit as naval cadets and boy scouts marched through the city to the strains of military bands. As the youth paraded in the rain, a score of veterans from Imperial wars of the previous century - the Crimea, the Indian Mutiny, the Sudan and the Ashanti Campaign - were assembled for their annual celebratory dinner in a nearby hall, like a tattered array of the 'old race's' military emblems. Australia, 'never having known the horrors of war', it was said, still lacked such 'a roll of national heroes.' That evening, at the Exhibition Building, the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Arthur Morgan, who, as Premier had instituted Empire Day in Queensland, reminded an enthusiastic audience of the motto, 'One King, One Fleet, One Flag, One Empire' and of the virtues of 'loyalty, patriotism, courage, endurance, respect for and obedience to lawful authority ... duty and self-sacrifice' which were all watch-words of
the Imperial movement. The Brisbane Courier reported how 'the note of Imperialism was triumphantly sounded throughout the evening and an impressive moment was the "breaking of the flag" ... while "Rule Britannia" rang through the building.' Yet, with Imperial warfare a mere fifteen months distant, its presentiment was best captured during the climactic performance by Mr A. Palmer of the song, 'The Death of Nelson'.

For:

... as the historic words 'England expects every man this day to do his duty' were reached, the whole audience burst into one great cheer - a spontaneous ebullition of feeling that was as remarkable as it was unexpected.217

The crisis periods of war involvement and post-war turmoil were to witness the conversion of such annual, symbolic expressions into everyday, emotive truisms, as calls for a single-minded commitment to war, and unabashed loyalty to nation and Empire achieved the level of an ultimatum. Whenever hegemonic values appeared threatened, as the consensus for war involvement sagged, they were artificially invigorated by the bureaucratic mechanisms of propaganda, censorship, the curtailment of civil rights, surveillance, internment, imprisonment and deportation. As hatred for the enemy was progressively mobilized, so too were ingrained fears of the foreigner and the dissenter further activated. In this way, those dissident ideological and ethnic minorities who did not respond appropriately to the war effort were made to feel Armageddon's abrasive touch, nevertheless. In Queensland, the perceived threat of alien and subversive elements was to reach new extremities of virulence. Ethnic diversity would heighten the insecurity of British migrants and native-born during this crisis, as, in turn, the sizeable local minorities of Germans, Irish, Southern Europeans and Russians were contained and stigmatized. Furthermore, Queensland's small though tenacious radical sects, already isolated and scapegoated by an uneasy conservative establishment in the pre-war era had, by 1918, emerged as the most ominously
regarded revolutionary groups in Australia. For, far from simply becoming the passive victims of persecution, socialists, pacifists, 'Wobblies', Sinn Feiners and Bolsheviks all attempted to capitalize upon gathering home-front disillusionment to advance their respective aims and ideologies during the war period. As Frederic Hertz noted in 1944, 'War ... could be called the greatest instrument of national unification but for the fact that it fosters the growth of forces which often imply a new menace to national unity.'

The dialectical interplay of tendencies towards both social consensus and conflict therefore reproduced in wartime out of the unsolved contradictions of a society, while still ostensibly at 'peace'. In this respect, 'the membranes that separated peace from war were permeable': for those struggles which the Great War seemed to unleash were essentially contiguous with the struggles of peacetime, as the stream of human events assumed, temporarily, the dimensions of a torrent.
Chapter One: Footnotes

1. New Zealand Herald, 9 November 1901.


11. W.D. Rubinstein writes: 'There are several ways in which the term "ruling class" may be defined. At its strongest, it may be defined as a small group which organises and dominates all the elements of power, wealth and status in a society, forbidding competition from any rival group'. Although Rubenstein shows that 'on the face of it, there is a degree of homogeneity and unity among Australia's wealthy elite which would place this group closer to the "strong" ruling class concept than to others', he adds that 'recent sophisticated Marxists (or non-Marxists) writing in the wake of Gramsci' would prefer a more subtle analysis: 'To them, power and control are much more subtle matters, deriving from the nature and logic of the society itself'. Thus R.W. Connell argues that the 'ruling class is defined by the private ownership of productive resources', living off 'profits generated by property, provided it is recognized that this can take several forms - profits of personal entrepreneurship; dividends, rents and interest; and corporate profit appropriated as salaries'. Yet, he adds, 'the phrase "ruling class" does not imply
"rule" in the sense of executive control (no one, and no group
rules a capitalist society in that sense). What is implied is
a collective domination, the maintenance of an institutional
structure within which the class appropriates benefits, the choking
off of alternatives - the only sense in which a class can
intelligibly be said to rule.' See W.D. Rubinstein, 'Wealth in
Australia, Quadrant, June 1980, p.65; R.W. Connell, Ruling Class,
Ruling Culture: Studies of conflict, power and hegemony in

12. Governor Chermside to Sec. of State for the Colonies, 30 June &

13. R. Lawson, Brisbane in the 1890s. A Study of an Australian Urban
Society, University of Queensland Press, 1973, p.23; M.E. MacGinley,
'A Study of Irish Migration to and Settlement in Queensland 1885-

14. J. Joll, Gramsci, Fontana, 1977, pp.98-102; see also C. Boggs,

15. H. Chermside to Sec. of State for the Colonies, 30 September 1902,
PRO C0418/21 (1902), pp.357-358. As Joll comments, 'the
achievement and maintenance of hegemony is largely a matter of
education: Every relationship of 'hegemony' is necessarily a
pedagogic relationship'. Joll, op. cit., p.101; see also
E.P. Thompson, The Poverty of Theory and other Essays, Merlin Press,
1978, pp.73-74.

16. R. Johnson, 'Edward Thompson, Eugene Genovese and Socialist-


18. 'Colonial Volunteers' Poster, League of Empire file 14581 QSA,
Education Department records.

19. Fussell, op. cit., p.34.

20. Queensland's colonial contribution was 110 officers, 2,041 non-
commissioned officers and men and 2,471 horses. Yet Queensland's
contribution to Commonwealth troops of 147 officers, 2,756 of other
ranks and 3,085 horses must be added to this. Governor Chermside
to Sec. of State for the Colonies, June 1902, PRO C0418/21 (1902),
p.251; see also Official Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia
1901-1917, no. 11, G.H. Knibbs, 1918, p.1029 which provides the
conflicting figures of 149 officers, 2,739 of other ranks and
3,207 horses.


22. Flashes, 18 January 1900.

23. Progress, 28 October 1899.

24. Flashes, 22 February 1900.

25. C.N. Connolly, 'Manufacturing "Spontaneity": The Australian Offers
of Troops for the Boer War', Historical Studies, vol. 18, no. 70,

27. *Progress*, 19 August & 3 September 1899.


30. C.N. Connolly, 'Class, Birthplace, Loyalty: Australian Attitudes to the Boer War', *Historical Studies*, vol. 18, no. 71, 1978, pp.210-232. As S.W. Griffith remarked to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in March 1902, 'There is, no doubt, a minority here as elsewhere who are distinctly disloyal.' Yet he added that the majority seemed to be bearing 'the strain cast upon them by the South African war' and were remaining loyal. S.W. Griffith to Sec. of State for the Colonies, 21 March 1902, PRO CO418/21 (IV), p.252.


33. *Progress*, 13 January 1900.

34. Ibid., 3 March 1900. Similarly, in both June 1902 and December 1903, Governor Chermside reported favourably upon the decline of republican sentiments. Sympathies with republicanism were so 'completely [sub]merged under those of imperialism, evoked by the late war', he noted in 1903, that 'active republicanism is not at present a factor of practical politics' in Queensland. Governor Chermside to Sec. of State for the Colonies, 15 December 1903, PRO CO418/27, 1903 (II), p.560.

35. *Flashes*, 1 & 22 March 1900.


37. *Progress*, 17 February, 3 & 31 March 1900; at the same time, the paper published xenophobic articles claiming the Boers were 'a lazy, ignorant race' and declaiming against Boer 'dirt, immorality and cruelty'. 'Is Kruger Insane?' the paper asked in a lead article of 7 April 1900. This development of a forbidding enemy stereotype, replete with racial characteristics was reproduced in World War One, strongly affecting xenophobic attitudes throughout the society. See below: Chapter 4.

38. Ibid., 24 February, 10 & 24 March & 23 May 1900.

40. The Corporation of the City of Brisbane: Minute of the Right Worshipful, the Mayor, Brisbane, 1903, pp.95-98. It is estimated that some 32,000 - mostly women and children - died in the Boer concentration camps. See T. Pakenham, The Boer War, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1979. In relation to this indignation meeting, it might also be noted that, a week later, on 27 February 1902, Harry 'The Breaker' Morant, well known in the Queensland outback and a Bulletin bush-poet was executed for the murder of Boer prisoners-of-war. See Penny, op. cit., p.121.


43. Progress, 3 March & 15 December 1900.

44. Penny, 'Age of Empire', op. cit., p.41. My own emphasis.


47. Gov. Lamington to Sec. of State for Colonies, 27 March 1901, PRO CO418/12 (1901), IV, pp.322-323; Gov. Chermside to Sec. of State for Colonies, 30 June 1902, PRO CO418/21 (1902), IV, p.298, p.305.


49. Sydney Morning Herald, 3 June 1902; Penny, 'Australian Reactions to the Boer War', op. cit., p.118, p.126; Progress, 9 June 1900.

50. The Carpentarian, II, no. 7, 1 July 1902, p.56.

51. Evening Observer, 28 June 1902. In agreement with Philp, the Mayor of Brisbane added, 'our colonial and British brothers, and those brave men, our late enemies - these we believe will all ride together under the Union Jack when next - "The order moves the line/ And the lean-locked ranks go roaring down to die"'.

52. Progress, 21 April 1900.

53. R. Norris, The Emergent Commonwealth: Australian Federation: Expectations and Fulfilment 1889-1910, M.U.P., 1975, p.156; J.H.M. Abbott complained in June 1910, 'Ever since the South African War ... [m]any of us are, without exaggeration, quite ready to believe honestly that an Australian with a stockwhip would be quite equal to a German, or a Japanese, or a Russian with a magazine rifle having a clip loading arrangement'; The Lone Hand, 7 June 1910, p.91.


56. Meaney, *op. cit.*, pp.159-195. As well as being editor of *The Lone Hand* which consistently kept the issue of Asian invasion before the eyes of the Australian public, Fox also published *From an Old Dog* (1908), *The Australian Crisis* (1909) (under the pseudonym of C.H. Kirmess), *Problems of the Pacific* (1912) and, later, *Beneath an Ardent Sun* (1923), all calculated to promote 'an alarmist attitude in this matter of defence'. Meaney, *op. cit.*, pp.159-161.

57. As Meaney states (*ibid.*, p.10): '... the year 1905 brought about a sudden change. With the triumph of Japan over Russia and the withdrawal of British battle-cruisers from the Pacific to meet the German threat in Europe, the Australian government for the first time sensed the possibility of a primary threat to their territorial integrity and national security.' See also *ibid.*, pp.120-121.

58. *Ibid.*, p.124, p.163; similarly, in July 1903, Senator Staniforth Smith called for an Antipodean Monroe Doctrine because: 'The comatose millions of Asia ... are being galvanized into life and the PERIOD OF LETHARGY is being succeeded by a restless energy. Even the Rip Van Winkle sleep of China seems to have come to an end ... Fresh sinews are being supplied to the body in the shape of railway lines. Telegraph communication ... will ... enable the four hundred millions of China to act for the first time in simultaneous effort.' See Staniforth Smith, *British New Guinea, with a Preface on Australian Policy in the Pacific*, Melbourne, 1903, pp.3-6.


67. R. Hyslop, 'War Scares in Australia in the Nineteenth Century', The Victorian Historical Journal, vol. 47, no. 1, 1976, pp.23-44. Hyslop writes, 'Japan appears in the record from the 1870s onwards, and China not only because of the situation in which she was placed by the Western Powers and Japan as a possible area of trouble, but also as the focus of the pervading fears of Asia' (p.24).


70. Evans et al., op. cit., pp.256-257.


76. Bulletin, 6 April 1911, p.15.

77. Inglis, op. cit., p.9, p.11.


80. The Lone Hand, 1 June 1910, 1 December 1910, 1 August 1911.

81. Ibid., 1 July 1910.

82. Ferro, op. cit., p.18.

83. Evans et al., op. cit., pp.351-360.

84. Hyslop, op. cit., p.41; The Lone Hand, 1 June 1910.


86. Rev. E. Becker to Chief Secretary, 2 August 1906, QSA PRE/A481, in-letter no. 262 of 1914; Bulletin, 7 July 1910, 10 August 1911.

87. F. Watson, A Brief Analysis of Public Opinion in Australia during the Past Six Years, Sydney, 1918, p.10.

89. A. Fisher to D. Denham, 11 December 1914, QSA PRE/A482, in-letter no. 460 of 1914.

90. Walker, op. cit., p.27.

91. B. MacLeod, Government Statistician to T.J. Ryan, 6 September 1917, QSA PRE/A564, in-letter no. 10366 of 1917. The tendency to produce large numbers of children is also noted in a Bulletin item of 1910, which stated that thirty-eight new German families on the Binjour plateau totalled 260 offspring among them. Bulletin. 26 May 1910.


93. Governor MacGregor to Sec. of State for Colonies, 4 January 1910, PRO CO418/81 (1910), p.4.

94. Rev. E. Becker to Chief Sec., 2 August 1906, op. cit.; V.L. Gray, Brisbane to Editor, Nord Australische Zeitung, 31 August 1914, QSA PRE/A470, in-letter no. 8944 of 1914.


96. The Australian Magazine, 1 January 1908.


98. The Lone Hand, 1 October 1910.


102. 'Return of Number of Aliens in Queensland', 1912, PRO CO418/102 (1912), in-letter no. 6010.

103. Commonwealth Year Book, 1911, p.121.

104. The 1911 census enumerated 2,641 Danes and 1,054 Swedes in Queensland and almost 1,000 Italians. The European (including British-born) component in Queensland was 23.38%, compared to 13.79% in New South Wales, 12.9% in South Australia and 7.7% in Tasmania. Census of Commonwealth of Australia, 1911, II, pp.115-116.

106. Markus, op. cit., p.259; Evans et al., op. cit., pp.5-6, pp.355-358.


108. The Lone Hand, 1 May & 1 November 1911; Bulletin, 10 November 1910 & 9 February 1911.


113. F. Elton, Colonials as Cannibals, Brisbane 1913, p.18.


116. Ibid., pp.3-4, p.50.


120. Gov. MacGregor to Sec. of State for Colonies, 28 April 1910, PRO CO418/81 (1910), pp.118-119; MacGregor to Sec. of State for Colonies, 20 February 1911, PRO CO418/91 (1911), p.145; MacGregor to Sec. of State for Colonies, 26 March 1912, PRO CO418/102 (1912), p.143.


123. Brennan to Denham, 16 May 1912; Fisher to Denham, 23 May 1912; ibid.

124. Denham to Fisher, 22 May 1912, Australian Archives CA2 series, (1912), in-letter no. 1378; Russian Consul to Denham, 4 June 1912, QSA COL/A1097, in-letter no. 8658 of 1917.

125. Brennan to Denham, 13 January 26 April 1913; O'Hara to Commissioner of Police, 13 February 1913, QSA COL/A1097, in-letter no. 8658 of 1917.

126. T. Botham, 'The Red Flag Riots: Conservative Reactions', B.A. (Hons) (Hist.), A.N.U., 1975, pp.54-55; in September 1912, Echo Australia was reported to Queensland Authorities as a non-registered newspaper, and its proprietors were subsequently prosecuted by the Justice Department, QSA POL/J37, in-letter no. 19968 of 1912.

127. O'Hara to Commissioner of Police, 13 February 1913, op. cit.


129. Denham to Fisher, 19 March § 9 May 1913, and subsequent correspondence in QSA PRE/A639, in-letter no. 10583 of 1919.


131. In 1903, Governor Chermside remarked that the Queensland Government represented the interests of 'what in France would be called the "Bourgeois" party, comprising the wealthier members of the landed, commercial and professional classes and those of recognized social position.' Chermside to Sec. of State for the Colonies, 30 September 1903, C0418/27 (1903), vol. II, p.478; in September 1913, A.B. Keith of the Colonial Office similarly remarked, 'The Queensland Government is a government of merchants and they are not going to do anything to injure themselves'. Col. Office minute, 23 September 1913, PRO C0418/114 (V), 1913, ref. 33024.


135. The Queensland Figaro, 13 January, 10 & 17 February 1910.


137. Daily Mail, 14 & 29 May & 8 July 1911; Brisbane Courier, 30 July 1911; Mackay Daily Mercury, 18 July & 16 August 1911.
138. Prime Minister G.H. Reid to Senator J.G. Drake (Secret), 3 July 1905, J.G. Drake Papers.


141. Ibid., 25 April 1912; D. Bowman, Labour's Manifesto, 12 March 1912 quoted in MacGregor to Sec. of State for Colonies, 1 June 1912, PRO CO418/102 (1912), pp.191-192.


150. Armstrong, op. cit., p.46; Murphy, Labor in Politics, op. cit., p.172; The wide interpretive rift is also highlighted by the way in which George Appel, as Home Secretary for the anti-Socialist Denham ministry would try in 1913 to divert Socialist agitator, Gordon Brown from his intended advocacy of the rights of the unemployed by breezily telling him, 'after a few whiskies, "Gordon, we are all socialists these days. We all believe in the brotherhood of man."' See G. Brown, My Descent from Soapbox to Senate, Brisbane, 1953, pp.156-157.


154. E.H. Lane, Dawn to Dusk: Reminiscences of a Rebel, Brisbane, 1939, p.53, p.65. Lane also indicates that the Q.S.L. was preceded by a Bellamy society, founded by his brother, William in 1887 when Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward 2000-1887 was very much in vogue with 'advanced' local thinkers. 'We met regularly on the closed-in balcony of George Marchant's hop beer factory in Bowen Street, and there were about a dozen of us used to attend', Lane recalls (ibid., pp.12-13).


158. Daily Mail, 5 July 1912; International Socialist, 19 April 1913.

159. International Socialist, 19 April 1913.

160. Thompson, op. cit., p.25.

161. Governor Chermside to Sec. of State for Colonies, 30 June 1903. Chermside believed 'the rank and file who hold these opinions' to be 'of very limited intellectual outlook'. PRO C0418/27 (1903), vol. II, pp.414-415.

162. Chermside to Sec. of State for the Colonies, 15 December 1903. Yet Chermside added that this Labour creed could doubtlessly be diluted by the promotion 'of agricultural settlement on a large scale' for 'those on the land as owners or tenants (and also many Stockmen and Timber getters)' rarely advocated the Labour programme. PRO C0418/27 (1903), vol. II, pp.557-558.

163. Tom Mann in Worker, 27 May 1906, quoted in Armstrong, op. cit., pp.21-23.
Governor Chermside to Sec. of State for the Colonies, 31 March 1904. Chermside wrote: 'The average socialistic views of the party are on the whole more individualistic than those of the Socialists of many other countries, even those of the U.K., where the residue of conservative and traditional sentiment are still so powerful, and are comparatively reactionary compared to those of industrial classes living under as repressive a system as in Germany' (my emphasis), PRO CO418/32 (1904), vol. II, p.321.


Lewis, *op. cit.*, p.111, p.128; Yet, as Connell and Irving counsel: 'The fact that socialism failed as an electoral strategy when the socialists were excluded from, or moved outside of the labour parties and formed their own parties, should not mislead us about the key role of socialism as an ideology of working class mobilization ... Although there were few members of socialist organizations, the pervasiveness of socialist ideas was critical for working class mobilization.' R.W. Connell and T.H. Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History*, Melbourne, 1980, pp.197-198.


The *Pioneer* (Mackay), 15 & 29 July, 17 June 1911.

Incendiarism at Ayr occurred on 6 and 11 July and 15 August 1911. Five to six hundred tons of cane were fired. Townsville Police Reports, July-August 1911, QSA POL11/62; Riots occurred on 18, 24, 25 and 31 July and 12 August 1911.

Armstrong, *op. cit.*, p.144; McCormack wrote, '... we are unable to fight the powers that be unless we do a bit of revoluse; in fact I think the crowd should not have been restrained at all in Brisbane on Friday. If something extraordinary had been done and then followed up the next day I really believe we could have heard a different tale from Denham. The want of a real leader who was prepared to sacrifice himself and some followers was felt at the riot as I believe a start would have been followed up by the mob and then goodbye to the specials.'
176. Ibid., pp.69-70.


178. Armstrong, op. cit., p.70, p.75.


181. Turner, op. cit., p.44.

182. Brisbane Courier, 29 January 1912.

183. C.H. Buzacott, petition to Sir W. MacGregor, 4 February 1912. According to Buzacott, 'a State of anarchy' had been introduced. Anticipating repressive developments of 1918-19, Buzacott demanded that 'the wearing of the red badge, being the symbol of revolt against unlawful authority ... be forbidden in the public streets'. Strike leaders should be 'arrested and exemplarily punished by law.' PRO C0418/102 (1912), pp.121-122.


185. It has been considered necessary to include references to such incidents of crowd violence to counter the impression given by most writers upon the General Strike that 'the level of actual violence ... was limited.' (See Costar, op. cit., p.117.) The Queensland State Archives contains long lists of such clashes under headings of 'Threats', 'Occurrences', 'Explosives' and 'Outrages' which deal with dozens of incidents of this nature between 19 February and 30 March 1912. Few of these happenings have so far found their way into the historical record. QSA COL/A944, in-letter no. 14619 of 1912.

186. W. MacGregor to Sec. of State for Colonies, 24 February 1912, PRO C0418/102 (1912), p.100; Joyce, op. cit., pp.343-344.

187. MacGregor to Sec. of State for Colonies, ibid.

188. Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, 1 August 1912, pp.1551-1552.

189. MacGregor to Sec. of State for Colonies, 4 February 1912; MacGregor to Premier Denham, 5 February 1912, QSA GOV/68, p.576ff; MacGregor to Gov.-General, 4 February 1912. This telegram reveals that the question of landing men from the Condor was first raised on 2 February 1912. PRO C0418/102 (1912), p.53.

190. MacGregor to Sec. of State for Colonies, 6 February 1912, PRO C0418/102 (1912), p.54; MacGregor to Denham, 7 February 1912, QSA GOV/68, p.675ff.


197. See the listings of examples of violence under QSA COL/A994, in-letter no. 14619 of 1912; note also the case of Denis McCarthy, a youth sentenced to fifteen years' hard labour for striking an elderly unionist, causing his death. See D.J. Murphy, T.J. Ryan: A Political Biography, University of Queensland Press, 1975, p.557.


199. Gov. MacGregor to Sec. of State for Colonies, 7 September 1912. Although the Government had won 'a signal victory', MacGregor wrote, 'The Leader of the Labour Party rightly claims that at no previous election in Queensland has so large a number or proportion of votes been cast for Labour.' Labor recorded 99,034 votes, compared to the Government's 110,817. PRO CO418/102 (1912), p.245. Also, for the first time, Labor won 'six metropolitan seats and came very close to winning a further three.' Murphy, Labor in Politics, p.182.

200. Strachan, op. cit., p.42; MacGregor blamed W. Finlayson, Federal Labor member for Brisbane for causing confusion on this issue. The Governor wrote: 'Mr Finlayson was in a large measure, responsible for fanning the flame. The question of the right to wear the badge had already been submitted to the Federal Court for decision, but Mr Finlayson positively assured the public in a letter to the press that he had read the submission to the court, and that it did not include the question of the badge. It was included, and Mr Finlayson misled the public, probably unintentionally, but stupidly.' Gov. MacGregor to Sec. of State for the Colonies, 24 February 1912, PRO CO418/102 (1912), p.101.


202. International Socialist, 30 May 1914; In late 1913, MacGregor noted approvingly of the new Labor Party leader, T.J. Ryan that he had taken 'an attitude of moderation on all questions that presented themselves and he was remarkably successful in restraining his party from any excess in language or conduct ...' MacGregor to Sec. of State for Colonies, December 1913, PRO CO418/125, p.191.

204. International Socialist, 9 May 1914.

205. The startling developments of the Brisbane free speech fight are best followed in the weekly reports, detailing activities in the International Socialist, beginning on 12 July 1913. For the conservative viewpoint on these activities, see respective issues of the Brisbane Courier. For an account by one participant, see Brown, op. cit., pp.125-155.


207. Ibid., 9 & 30 May 1914.


212. Elton, op. cit., p.13; Conformist thinking was so pervasive that radical socialists themselves could express markedly repressive views in support of bourgeois morality. Commenting on the repeated arrests of sex reformer and eccentric, William Chidley, Eileen Bawn wrote in the International Socialist: '... Chidley is a public nuisance because he is a sex maniac and sex madness is the worst kind of madness ... I believe in the survival of the fittest. People want to be mentally, morally and physically fit to make their own way through this world, and if they are not they should be put where they can do no harm to their fellow creatures ... Chidley is not a Socialist; he is a sensualist ... trading upon the animal passions of a certain class ... Away with all quacks, specialists and sex maniacs and let us have wholesome, healthy men and women.' International Socialist, 4 April 1914.


215. M. French, "'One people, One Destiny' - A Question of Loyalty: the Origins of Empire Day in New South Wales 1900-1905', Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, vol. 61, no. 4, 1975, pp.243-245; Firth and Hoorn additionally show that the British Empire League was formed in Australia in 1901 specifically to oppose the Anti-War League. S. Firth and J. Hoorn, 'From Empire Day to Cracker Night' in P.S. Spearritt and D. Walker (eds), Australian Popular Culture, Sydney, 1979, pp.18-21. Gugenberger, however, shows that 'Empire Day was first set aside for celebration on 23 May 1899 [in Queensland], purely, it seems, on local incentive.' Queensland therefore vies with Hamilton, Ontario as the first place in the Empire where this celebration was observed. L. Gugenberger, 'The National and Imperial Image as Projected in the Teaching of History in Queensland State Primary Schools 1875 to 1975 with historical notes', M.A. (qual.) (Hist.), University of Queensland, 1975, p.94; French, op. cit., p.237.

217. Brisbane Courier, 26 May 1913.


219. Leed, op. cit., p.75.
Bullet and sword and sabre,  
Bayonet and pistol and shell.  
How we have heard thee, England,  
Victory alone will tell.  

- W.M. Fleming.¹

The patriot from his walls of brass  
Is singing loudly as I pass;  
With fearless heart and open eyes,  
He shouts the ancient battle cries;  
And, where I pause to hear him sing,  
A silent crowd is listening.  

- J. Le Gay Brereton.²

The compelling themes of race, nation and Empire were all propounded with a new urgency at the outbreak of World War One. Loyalist, militaristic responses initially overrode all contrary expressions as, throughout Australia, 'a more favourable...climate for conservative politics' was created.³ Yet this spirited mobilization for warfare carried within itself the embryo of intense public disillusionment. The highly mechanized, attritional warfare of the Western Front, people were eventually to learn, was not simply another reproduction of localized, colonial skirmishes, like the Boer War. As D. Durham, a sugar farmer at Mt. Obi would later recall, his three eldest sons, out cane-cutting when the news of war came, immediately 'threw down their knives and came to say goodbye'. Their father pointedly warned them:

... you are not going to South Africa - this war is to be worse than any war in history. They said, how do you know ... I said, well you will see before long if you are spared to do so .... They wrote after they went to the front and said what you said was true.⁴
Subsequently, the first son had been shot in the lung at Gallipoli and the second was made a prisoner-of-war in Germany. The third, a member of the Light Horse had been wounded four times before being killed in a bombing raid. By 1918, a fourth son had enlisted and he too had received four woundings before being sentenced in France to two years' military detention with hard labour for disobeying orders.

The ordeal of the Durham family may be seen as a representation, in microcosm, of the sufferings imposed by degrees on the entire nation. Soon, the social reverberations of what Durham would damn as 'this cursed war' began to disturb both animated Imperial commitments and the will for victory. Consequently, in order to maintain a sense of cohesive dedication, censorship and propaganda were officially employed, civil restrictions were continuously enforced and hatred of the enemy mobilized. Yet these devices, in turn, would produce their own unwelcome reactions, as opposition to such prescriptions mounted. Social conformity was thus at once being imposed from above, while being undermined from below by the expanding perceptions and experiences of total warfare. What began in the form of a crusade, therefore, soon assumed many of the aspects of a forced march, as public rancour and conflict spread.

Fervid loyalists never anticipated such an outcome, however, in the impetuous days of late 1914. Indeed, their prior expectations of warfare carried no hint that hostilities might threaten social unanimity in any way. Henry A. Ellis, a former Australian politician, told a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute in London in November 1914:

*We in Australia knew this war was coming on, and you here did not realize it. We knew even the year the war was supposed to come on ... we are not afraid to fight, but rather like it.*

Although his blunt statement overplayed the accuracy of Australia's anticipation of conflict, his words were not entirely misleading ones.
While the primacy of Australian strategic interests had dictated that a Pacific war against Asian powers was of foremost concern, the expectation of a German clash with Britain had also remained strong. War was 'inevitable', wrote a Lone Hand correspondent in 1910, for it was England's 'destiny ... to oppose Germany'. A short story in this journal came within an echo of the truth when it prophesied, 'Holland overrun; two German army corps across the French frontier ... in the year of our Lord 1913.\(^6\)

Little doubt was expressed anywhere about war's likelihood. As I.F. Clarke notes, 'Never again would so many writers describe the shape of wars to come with so much eagerness and ignorance.'\(^7\) C.A. Jeffries wrote in April 1911 that he 'knew instinctively' that he stood 'at the end of the era of peace and the beginning of the era of war.'\(^8\) Only the timing and occasion for hostilities remained speculative. 'How long have we? How many years/The battle lines to form?' the writer of 'The Next Test' asked anxiously in 1911; for, when war came, whether out of Asia or Europe, it would fall upon Australia 'like a thunderclap'. 'How long?' C.J. Dennis reiterated in 1913:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Shall this dear land we call our own} \\
\text{Be ours another year?} \\
\text{Mark how the drums have louder grown} \\
\text{The tramping feet draw near.}\end{align*}
\]

Noting the 'abundance of roar and preparation' for battle, Bulletin columnists predicted in both 1911 and 1912 that there was 'only one lap to go' before the fighting began. On 3 August 1911, with war exactly three years away, a Bulletin editorial pondered over Australia's fate 'When the Great War Comes'. Erring only slightly in the direction of caution, the writer argued:
The great peril which menaces the majority of the Australian States (apart altogether from the possibility of invasion) is the likelihood of England going to war within the next few years ... It may be that by 1917 England will have entered on its death-struggle with Germany. It is almost as certain as anything can be that the great trouble will come within the life of the present generation.¹⁰

Some left-wing sources like the Brisbane Worker fervently hoped that 'war will be conquered' and that 'the peace of the world is now assured', due to such influences as that of the German Socialist Party or of International Socialist Conferences, promoting the General Strike of workers against war.¹¹ Yet such expectations were always subordinate to a predominant anticipation of conflict which could even accurately envisage how: 'The nations, full of hate/To give their armies their release/Upon one bullet wait.'¹²

While these prospects of future carnage promoted some anxiety and pessimism, a certain school of militarist writers urged Australians to 'Cheer! For yer gun and naked bayonet/... An' be ready for the coming Blood-red Day!'¹³ The most prolific exponent of such battle anthems, the poet, Grant Madison Hervey does not now rate even a mention in general Australian literary histories. Yet, immediately prior to World War One, his poems, such as 'Make Ready Today for War', 'The Lone Land Calls', 'War!', 'Peace and War' and 'When the Shells Begin to Fall' relentlessly impressed the images of inescapable conflict upon his Australian readers.¹⁴ Days of peace must ever be a prelude to 'red ruin and war', he argued, for aggression was as innate in nations as it was in nature. Thus:

> How vain the babble of Peace-Time Seers! -
> lo! planet and moon and star
> Proclaim on high through the endless years
> Make Ready TODAY for War.

In 'Peace and War', Hervey's Social Darwinism appeared most explicitly. The 'primal force' engendering struggle and warfare surged through the
'stern phalanx' of mankind as much as through the protoplasm. He
maintained:

... Force surges still - and strength will have its fees
All things cry out: Prepare the fighting ranks
THERE IS NO PEACE!15

The Queensland poet, William Baylebridge amplified considerably
upon Hervey's militant themes. Baylebridge's writings consciously
reflect the philosophy of Henry Bergson in their concern for promoting
action and conflict, as a spur to the evolution of instinctual life forces
in man and nature and in their condemnation of the enervating torpor of
peace and contemplative calm. His 1910 anthology, The New Life,
recording 'the songs of Iron War ... coming' surpasses even the
militaristic excesses of Count Von Moltke, for whom war became 'an
institution of God'. The 'dull easy times' of peace are 'too secure' -
a 'stunk paradise of female' - Baylebridge wrote. Australian men needed
'wars that round the world shall take us' to rediscover their energy and
might. 'Let our present goal be - to be supplanted by something higher
when it shall have been attained - the over-running of the earth by
Australians, strong, hard, cruel, natural men', the poet contended, for:

Wealthy are we in blood,
And would put our wealth out to speculation.
New realms for lust to ravin, we demand.16

There were probably relatively few loyalists who would chorus,
without any reservations, Baylebridge's exultant appeal for 'rapine, war,
high folly, Red aggression'. Yet his 'strong impulses of instrumental
aggression' can best be placed at one extreme of a climate of opinion
emphasizing 'defensive aggression': that is, the protection of the
nation against invasion.17 This expressed itself in policies which more
than quadrupled defence expenditure in a decade and distinguished
Australia as the first English-speaking nation to introduce compulsory
All Australian Boys are now being trained for War.

Their Destination.

The *International Socialist* attacks Compulsory Military Training, and anticipates Warfare.
military training in peace-time. For warlike action, it was popularly believed, not only saved a nation, but also effectively made it one. The thesis of von Treitschke that 'it is war which turns a people into a nation' was accepted by many in the West. Indeed, there had developed a dominant viewpoint that 'exactly as the struggle of existence in nature leads to the survival of the fittest and strongest animals, so the struggle of existence among nations leads to the survival of the ablest and strongest' peoples, in mental and physical capacities. As the Australian essayist, Walter Murdoch wrote in 1912, 'The question will remain whether any collection of people has the right to call itself a nation until it has fought for, and won its nationhood.' Whilst many still hoped that Australia might be spared the 'harsh discipline of war - that 'stern pedagogue that teaches citizenship as nothing else can' - Murdoch concluded, 'It becomes increasingly clear that we may be called upon at any moment to play our part in the defence of the Empire on whose continuance our very existence depends.'

A strong anticipation of warfare, more buoyant than apprehensive had therefore preceded the actual declaration of hostilities by several years. Yet those loyal Australians who were likely to respond most positively to the poetic appeals of Hervey and Baylebridge were of much the same calibre as 'the jingo crowd' who went 'Mafficking' in the streets during the Boer War, came down with 'Fleetitis' at the American squadron's visit in 1908 and became 'Kitchener-mad' when that British military leader inspected local defences in 1910. In a very real sense, these people collectively displayed one extreme response to world events, which was at once uncritical, visceral and intoxicated. Yet it is invariably to these same wild demonstrations that historians turn in order to depict an ostensibly euphoric consensus which greeted war's outbreak. As Eric Leed remarks, the multitude is seen to become 'a moral presence, embodying the solidarity of the nation.'
The news that Great Britain had at last declared war, first received in Queensland by the Lieutenant-Governor in the form of an appropriately coded telegraphic message, 'Tipsified Germany', was broken to a waiting crowd of 'several hundred' outside the Courier building on the afternoon of 5 August. Even before this disclosure, an increasingly impatient number of them had 'surged into the Courier vestibule', cheering for 'Good old England' and waving a large Union Jack. By that evening, a concourse of 4-5000 - too large for the city hall to hold - had gathered at nearby Market Square in 'a great pitch of patriotic fervour' to hear speeches from the Mayor of Brisbane, W.J. Down and Colonel Flewell-Smith, a Boer War veteran. The Courier reported:

'Are we downhearted?' someone in the throng shouted and the answer came back in a roaring 'No'. 'The Germans are coming', somebody cried, and a storm of boohoos expressed the feelings of the crowd.

Cries of 'Good old mother!' greeted the Mayor's offers of unstinting aid for the Mother country, while his cautioning words '... be calm. You come from calm British stock ... We are not going to lose our heads' were met with the reassuring refrain, 'We are not going to.' Yet, after heads had been bared for the National Anthem, the Mayor, encouraged by renewed cheering for Lord Roberts, could not himself refrain from making a symbolic, euphoric gesture, and taking up the British flag, waved it aloft to the tempo of the crowd's answering 'Rule Britannia'. As the mass dispersed, they sang "Boys of the Old Brigade", laying hearty emphasis on the line "Then steadily and shoulder to shoulder", and, cheering Lord Kitchener, formed an impromptu procession down Queen Street, with 'a little lad in tartan borne aloft' at its head. Among the revellers, commented the Courier, a group of University students made themselves particularly conspicuous by 'their fervid singing of patriotic songs'. Small knots of loyalists continued such displays of bravado until long
It is this cheering and chanting multitude, along with the crowds of 'young men, quite innocent of war and its alarms' who besieged the enlistment centres, who normally provide the centre-piece for the now traditional historical impression of 'indescribable enthusiasm and entire unanimity throughout Australia' for the decision to fight. Historians from Ernest Scott to Lloyd Robson describe a 'response ... as near to unanimity as was humanly attainable' from a people 'ready and indeed terrifyingly willing to go to war'. Yet, as Marilyn Lake has written of the Tasmanian reaction, 'the unanimity of response and the degree of enthusiasm ... has often been exaggerated.' Dan Coward, in his recent study of the impact of the war on New South Wales society has also concluded that the 'lavish affirmations of loyalty' were essentially a 'middle class' response. Thus, when the focus of attention is adjusted away from that rejoicing nucle of several thousand in the city centre, and one begins to ask how all the tens of thousands who did not take to the streets on that evening were feeling, a more complicated pattern of responses emerges. Certainly, support for the war effort appears as the predominant mood, but even that support was expressed in a host of ways, only one of which was purely jubilant. And, in comparison with such massive support for the war effort, certainly the degree of publicly expressed opposition was 'minute', though none-the-less spirited. Even from the centre of the enthusiastic Brisbane meeting, a voice had loudly called, 'Put the capitalists to the front!' only to be drowned out by 'strong dissent'. Yet, between this singular cry of opposition and the roar of unqualified support lay a whole jumble of responses, ranging from grim and regretful commitment to gloom, worry and profound alarm. It was upon this array of disjointed emotions, among an ostensibly 'united people' that deep social divisions would be later established, as the
February 1915

Price 6d.

Enlistment for the Great War I: The Loyalist Image.
Enlistment for the Great War II: The Disloyalist Image (International Socialist).

SYDNEY: AUGUST 29, 1914
Registered at the General Post Office, Sydney, for transmission by post as a Newspaper.
PRICE, ONE PENNY.

The Adventures of William Mug.

1. "I've enlisted ill shake the Germans up."
2. "You can't join the army because you're mad."
3. "No, I never saw the blokes I'm going to shoot. They've done me no harm, and the fellers won't start the war don't fight."
4. "If I only got four bob a day for being shot at I'd let the men who start the wars do their own killing."
5. "There's something wrong some where."
6. "I'm going back to the asylum. I may be ratty but I'm not a William Mug."

He Meets an Inquisitive Person: Drawn by Zif Dunstan, 115 Goulburn-Str, Sydney.
'unforeseen, acute and often agonizing ordeals' that lay ahead were progressively experienced.

Positive elation for warfare itself was expressed by very few, and, as in the pre-war era, this bellicose few often fancied themselves as poets. In the Courier of 7 August, a poem from Stanthorpe's Oscar Meston fervently expressed his relief that:

Oh, the Berserk blood is within us still,  
And the fighting strain is true  
And when the ships go down and the trenches fill,  
Here's a hand to help her through.\(^{32}\)

The reference here to 'trenches' before the combatants had settled, by the close of 1914, into some 25,000 miles of trenches - 'a trench sufficient to circle the earth' - in the great stalemate of the Western front,\(^{33}\) is both ironic and perceptive, for young Meston was clearly referring to burial trenches, to be filled with the dead.

Most who expressed enthusiasm at this early, innocent stage, however, couched their responses in terms of Imperial loyalty rather than those of pure militarism. A youth, Basil Stubbs of Beenleigh wrote to the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Arthur Morgan, 'I should like to help ... the Empire. I am 15 years of age. To the front I want to go if I can ... Hurrah for old England.'\(^{34}\) Australians who were 'bone of Britain's bone, and blood of Britain's blood' had experienced 'the racial thrill' in answer to the Empire's 'drumbeat', it was said, and there were 'everywhere preparations for sacrifice'.\(^{35}\) Members of the Caledonian Society and the Scottish Union expressed their 'unswerving loyalty' to the Crown, while Archbishop Mannix, opening the Red Hill Catholic Church in Brisbane hoped that 'those who doubted the loyalty of Ireland ... would never doubt her again.'\(^{36}\) On 10 August, a correspondent to the Courier felt that although a Federal election was in progress, the competing parties should now forego their distinctive colours, in particular the red ribbon
associated with the 'insignia of the Anarchist and the Socialist' which Laborites wore, and wear instead 'the grand old Colours of the Empire - the Red, White and Blue'.

Speaking that same day to members of the Commercial Travellers' Association, T.J. Ryan, as leader of the State Labor opposition assured them that 'all parties are now welded into one with a common purpose ... We are Britishers first and politicians afterwards'. Ryan, after repeating this assertion on the following day in the Legislative Assembly, led his party in a strong attack upon the Liberals' manner of introducing their Meat Supply for Imperial Uses Bill. Referring to this little 'cross-firing', Gordon Brown complained in The International Socialist of how Labor members, while agreeing to differ, had vied with the Government in making the 'most delightful expressions of loyalty'. When Acting Premier, W.H. Barnes closed his address by displaying the Imperial feeling 'deep down' of 'One flag, one land, one heart, one hand, one nation' and Edward Theodore, Labor member for Chillagoe had pointedly asked him, 'What has that got to do with the Bill?' Barnes retorted menacingly, 'I hope there are no disloyalists on the other side.' An opposition outcry of dissent resulted, with David Bowman, Labor member for Fortitude Valley calling, '[We are] just as loyal as you'. John Adamson, Labor member for Rockhampton had already assured everyone that 'there is not a man on this side who would not be willing to shed the last drop of his blood for the Empire to which we belong.' Despite its earlier support for international Socialist action against war, the Brisbane Worker also concluded that, 'Australia is as much a part of the British Empire as England is', and that shrugging off the stern responsibilities which this implied would now be an unworthy abrogation.

Yet, while all manner of citizens unreservedly expressed 'what their
imperialism means to them', many qualified this with assertions of regret and concern over the war's occurrence. Thus, the residents of Chinchilla found themselves 'amidst much enthusiasm, regretting exceedingly' the war; and, from Barcaldine, James Cronin wrote that a local patriotic meeting, though loyal to the throne, had 'deeply deplore[d]' the necessity for hostilities. The Livingstone Shire Council promised that its rate-payers would 'strain to the last effort' to help even though they regretted 'the sad and terrible conflict'; and a conference in Brisbane of all Local Authorities expressed their sadness to the Governor about 'the appalling condition of European affairs'.

On the day that war was announced, the Governor, Sir Arthur Morgan had been giving an address to the Annual Meeting for the Prevention of Cruelty and had remarked that while 'dog and cock fighting' had now been largely overcome, 'unhappily, man-fighting - struggling millions of men - had not ended'. Premier Denham similarly responded to the news of war with a message of commitment, tempered 'with profound sorrow'; while in the Legislative Council, the Hon. F.T. Brentnall observed that this war, which was likely to be 'prolonged', threatened to be 'more or less disastrous in many ways', and particularly 'lamentable in its effects upon commercial life'.

Although Brentnall's final comment would not prove accurate in relation to the fate of the commercial groups closest to his heart, the Australian economy did experience a prolonged 'crisis of adaptation' towards the war, the brunt of which fell upon consumers and workers alike, as prices across the nation rose dramatically and unemployment nearly doubled. While average male wage rates in Queensland remained static at 53/4 - more than forty units below the Commonwealth average of 55/7 - until mid-1915, food and rent prices were to increase alarmingly. Calculated upon a 1911 base of 1,000 units, the consumer cost of a representative basket of basic groceries climbed in Queensland by
265 units, or almost 25% between the second quarters of 1914 and 1915 respectively, compared to a rise of 210 units, or almost 18% in the same period across the Commonwealth. While national unemployment leapt from 5.7% to 11.0% of the workforce in the latter half of 1914, the Queensland percentage more than quadrupled, soaring from 4.3% to 17.7% of its work-force.\textsuperscript{46} In many cases, notes John Armstrong, this enormous, sudden increase was caused by 'employers retrenching their staff in panic as they feared the war's effect on world trade.'\textsuperscript{47} There was also cold comfort for wage-labourers in Judge MacNaughton's warning, published in the \textit{Worker} of 13 August that the terms of industrial awards did not necessarily apply in times of crisis and violent change.\textsuperscript{48}

Ian Turner thus failed to discover any 'great round of cheering from the unions' at war's outbreak, only a prevailing tone of sadness and concern over its detrimental economic effects. 'While generally acquiescent', Edgar Ross agrees, 'the workers as a whole showed no great enthusiasm for the war, being mainly concerned about how it would effect their conditions'. Denis Murphy, writing specifically upon Queensland has detected a similar working class 'disquiet ... in the fields of prices and unemployment.'\textsuperscript{49} On 7 August, a correspondent to the Brisbane \textit{Courier} remarked perceptively that 'the seriousness of the position created by the War does not seem to be realized by the light-hearted crowd one sees in the street.' He warned readers instead to 'prepare for harder times and no work'. A second writer, in a 'prayer for peace' pictured 'the closing down of works and dismissal of men, the stagnation of trade and the general dislocation of business.' Former Prime Minister, Alfred Deakin, acting as Chairman of the Royal Commission on Food Supplies and on Trade and Industry during the War wrote to Premier Denham in early September of how 'the hampering hands of war' were clamped heavily upon manufacturing, trade and public works, threatening 'a serious loss of employment' and increased destitution.\textsuperscript{50}
'William Mug' and the Rigours of Warfare (International Socialist).

SYDNEY: SEPTEMBER 12, 1914

Registered at the General Post Office, Sydney, for transmission by post as a Newspaper.

PRICE, ONE PENNY.

The Adventures of William Mug.

1. "Ah, they're shaking the Kaiser up, but wait till the Australians get to Europe?"
2. "Dad, I wish you could get work and buy me a pair of shoes."
3. "My oath, them there Germans is getting shook up."
4. "There's no food in the house, you'd better go to the Patriotic Fund and get help. You're a Patriot Aint you?"
5. "Ah, we must all make sacrifices for the Empire. You shall be granted a Union Jack and a portrait of Kitchener. I'm a starved wife and famely and I'm out of work through the war and I'm patriotic."
6. "God save the King. There must be something wrong."

He Gets Present.
Humbler voices than Deakin's had been impressing this news upon the Queensland Government for more than a month. Already, by mid-1914, a contraction in the State mining industry due to a downward movement of prices on the world's metal markets had meant that some 500 unskilled workers had been dismissed by the Mount Morgan Gold Mining Co. between May and July.\textsuperscript{51} Similar reports of distress began arriving from the far north - from Chillagoe, where the copper and lead smelters had closed down, and from Stannery Hills, Koorboora and Herberton.\textsuperscript{52} On the day that war began and total disruption occurred as Australia's important trading links with Germany were broken, and pre-war refining contracts were terminated, the\textit{Courier} announced that a further 200 had been discharged at Mount Morgan, with more to follow. It was feared that the homes and families of the 13,000 residents, 'all dependent on the mine' might have to be 'broken up and dispersed'.\textsuperscript{53} At the Great Fitzroy mines of nearby Mount Chalmers, only five men remained employed against a previous average of 560 and the five local hotel licencees informed the Government that they too were closing shop. To the north, at Emerald and Clermont, miners arriving from the gem fields of Sapphire, Rubyvale and Anakie told of 'disastrous circumstances', while at Charters Towers, once the leading mining town in the State, hundreds had left due to the severe depression, with tradespeople anticipating losses of £1,000 per week.\textsuperscript{54}

From the Atherton Tableland, where the Irvinebank Coy had closed all its tin mines and works, L. MacFarlane, a hotel hand at Koorboora wrote to Edward Theodore that the large numbers of unemployed there were 'living from hand to mouth'. 'Before the men got home from work on the day they closed down,' he explained:
the stores and butchers had closed their books and would sell nothing only for cash. In some cases the men paid their current accounts and were then asked for cash, having only a few shillings left ... to buy the necessaries for their families. And further, the prices of flour and other commodities immediately rose about 20% ... things are very bad all round ... the men do not know where to turn to look for work as there is an army of unemployed around. \(^\text{55}\)

All across the Cairns hinterland, from the Tate tin mines to Herberton, stores had either closed or greatly inflated their prices and were offering no further credit to the 'tin scratchers and wolframoughers'. Reports of 'very great distress' and urgent requests for Government rations flowed in from surrounding centres like Einasleigh, Wolfram, Watsonville and Tumoulin. \(^\text{56}\) At Mungana and Stannery Hills, public meetings of residents aired grievances about their 'hard-pressed' plight in the 'prevailing depression'. Similarly, at Cloncurry in the far West, a public demonstration was staged concerning the 1,000 unemployed congregating there from surrounding mining districts - 'married men with families practically starving'. Here too, 'storekeepers, butchers and bakers' were refusing to supply any goods on credit, a situation which was still being described as 'most acute' in October. \(^\text{57}\)

In other centres, apart from those connected with mining, the pinch of hardship may also be discerned. Alex McGregor, in charge of the Government Relief Office wrote in March 1915 that:

Owing to the 'War' there has been and is still a great depression in trade, affecting not only the mineral industry, but also that of wool, tallow, hides, meat, the building trade and the manufacturies generally. There has been brought about a tightness in the money market, with the result that large contracts ... have been deferred or held in abeyance. \(^\text{58}\)

Although in Brisbane, local business remained in general 'brisk', the 'sudden and strange experience' of war had detrimentally affected housing and furnishing, the carrying trades, wool, hide and skin stores and the bootmaking factories, with the result that the Mayor petitioned the
Premier for Government relief works for the unemployed. Reports from Warwick, Maryborough, Bundaberg and Townsville revealed a similar socio-economic impact. At Toowoomba, the local Inspector of Shops and Factories indicated 'very slack' business conditions and sackings, whilst at Rockhampton, there was a generally depressed situation in all trades, and lay-offs occurring at the Lakes Creek Meat Works. A large number of men here were 'idle' and between sixty and seventy of them had applied for two short-term fencing jobs. The Rockhampton Daily Bulletin reported worried rumours circulating about food shortages, price rises and unemployment. From Thursday Island, the Government-Resident, W.M. Lee Bryce claimed that 'no district in Queensland has been so completely deprived of its chief earning power as the Torres Straits'. Pearl-shelling, which accounted for as much as three-quarters of the gross earnings from marine products had virtually ceased and the contracts of 760 indented workers had been terminated. Substantial declines in the sandalwood and bêche-de-mer trades had also resulted, rendering the economic position of the Torres Strait Islander communities a very precarious one indeed.

Thus, there was arguably as much cause for hand-wringing as flag-waving in Queensland in the final months of 1914, with masses of workers retrenched 'in almost all occupations and in almost all areas of the state'. Accompanying sackings and wage-freezings came sudden substantial price increases for essential commodities. Flour, for instance, had risen £1 per ton in Brisbane by 7 August, twice the increase reported from Melbourne. Again, prices rose in Queensland much faster than elsewhere, increasing by 10.5% between July and December 1914, more than twice the Commonwealth average of 4.1%. Panic-buying of foodstuffs resulted and Theodore again asked angry questions about the prevailing exploitation in the Legislative Assembly. As the newly-formed Brisbane Industrial Council at Trades Hall also protested against further 'projected'
increases, an explanatory circular from Burns Philp & Co. upon the local merchants' position revealed how particularly farsighted these commercial gentlemen had been. Not only were they compensating, by their price rises, for escalating marine insurance and expected increases in the cost of imports; they were also laying in store for possible 'serious losses' from imported stock on hand 'when the war is over'.65 This cautious application of 'business as usual' principles was also pursued with a vengeance by local meat company representatives from Swifts and the Queensland Meat Export Co. After Premier Denham had asked them to co-operate in providing cheaper meat for British requirements and heard their self-interested replies, he confided to his Agent-General in London, '... there was no disposition to help in the least degree; on the contrary ... they were all out to make money ... and score the fullest thing they could under the circumstances.'65

These clashes of interest between the call for Imperial sacrifice and the needs of private enterprise again took a particularly heavy toll in western and northern centres. An 'indignation meeting' on 10 August at Many Peaks, inland from Gladstone called upon the State Government to halt the unnecessary price advance. In Townsville, a gathering of 'unionists and citizens' on 25 August considered the actions of those responsible for the 'unwarranted and scandalous' increases 'worse than the demands of the European Brigand in Belgium.' Local Authorities at Cairns, Atherton and Herberton filed equally strong protests against the 'extortions'. A group of Mungana residents petitioned that 'our retail merchants have advanced the prices of the largest proportion of lines of stock previous to or bought since the present crisis has arisen,' causing 'extra privations' in a community virtually without any employment.66

Many wage-labourers in Queensland, even when not retrenched or placed on shorter rates, therefore soon found themselves in circumstances at least
as depressing as those of J. Breingan, a railway porter at Emerald. Upon
an average wage of 8/- per day, plus a three-pence allowance for distance,
he and his work-mates were paying:

1/10 per lb. for butter, 6d. per 2 lb. loaf of bread and the
cheapest meat we can get reasonable for eating is 6d. per lb.
... We have to pay 2/6 per dozen for eggs and on everything
else pertaining to the keeping of the body together, there has
been great advance in prices.  87

It may well have been, as Ian Turner argues, that dissatisfaction with
the economic effects of the war took some time to spread to a widening
animosity against the war itself;  68 and that those expressing an
ideological opposition to the conflict spoke, at this juncture, only
very narrowly for and to themselves. Yet it can be argued that these
substantial privations would have significantly qualified any initial
enthusiasm among workers and reduced it to a tone of mere acquiescence,
even as widespread unemployment and rising living costs ironically drove
men to the recruiting depots and an assured 6/- a day billet.

The Denham Government's half-hearted responses to this crisis only
exacerbated matters and helped to seal its coming electoral doom. When,
in early September, the Secretary of the Bowen Chamber of Commerce
requested that the Government begin local railway construction work to
offset large scale dismissals at the meatworks, Denham replied that this
reflected 'nothing abnormal at present', and no action was contemplated.  69
In early December, when asked by Prime Minister Fisher for a brief
statement upon existing conditions, the Premier replied assuringly - and
contrary to all available evidence - that 'excluding wool, which brings
only greatly reduced prices, outlook in Queensland not seriously darkened
by war.'  70 Either Denham was brazening it out with an election only
months away or he was displaying a genuine disregard for the plight of
those in the lower social ranks while the battle raged. In September,
boards established to regulate the price of meat and flour under the Control of Trade Act proved less than satisfactory, with only businessmen and travelling salesmen being chosen to preside upon them and prices usually being 'fixed' above rather than below the inflated level where they presently stood. As one of the special pamphlets issued by the Labor Party in its successful bid for power in May 1915 pointed out, the operation of the prices boards had been a 'farce', with the cost of living rising twice as fast in Queensland as in the nearest comparable State, Victoria. T.J. Ryan, in his victory speech on 22 May, the night of the voting landslide in which even Denham was unseated, could only promise 'a few moonbeams' of reform 'to those of you who want the moon'. Yet a swing to the left of 5.37% in the voting pattern since the election of 1912, with twenty-one new seats won for Labor, indicated that, in the light of continuing distress, perhaps the Liberals' patriotic 'moonshine', by itself, was simply not enough.

Initial overt opposition against the war, based firmly upon either secular or religious ideological principles, however, was isolated and scattered. In a series of statements more memorable for their historical resonance than for any major contemporary impact, Direct Action, the press organ of the Australian I.W.W. warned any workers willing to stop and listen to resist 'the microbe of patriotism' infesting the politicians and churchmen. 'Remember the South African War', the paper cautioned, where the 'warmongers' had previously gullied and afterwards betrayed those workers 'foolish enough to be their dupes'. Tom Barker, the movement's most ebullient spokesman wrote, 'Australian workers had no quarrel with the Boers, nor with German workers ... Don't be fooled by jingoism.' 'Let those who own Australia do the fighting!' and 'Insurrection not War!', therefore, became his eager, unheeded cries. In a similar vein, the journal of the A.S.P., the International Socialist headlined 'WAR ONCE MORE!'
WHAT FOR?' and told how it was the sons of workers who were 'being called upon, as per usual, to do the fighting, bleeding, butchering and dying'. After the war was over, the article ghoulishly predicted:

The sick and wounded will be picked up and huddled together in heaps; the dead will be covered with earth and lime ... and ... the nation will call for tenders for the supply of artificial limbs so that the maimed workers will not look so shocking ...''*.

In Brisbane, local socialists called upon working men to avoid the 'mutual lead-plugging and bowel-slitting' proceeding in Europe; and, at the tiny centre of Jardine, inland from Rockhampton a public meeting, reflecting an international working class solidarity which in Europe had promptly collapsed, carried a motion which:

... strongly protests against the action of the so-called Labor party in giving support to a capitalistic war now raging in Europe; and further affirms the solidarity of the working class and the brotherhood of all the races and nations of the world; we also consider that the workers of Australia should take concerted action with their follow workers all over the world in order to bring this capitalistic war to an end ...

The clarion call for a general strike from this isolated outpost of international socialism was, however, easily lost amidst 'the parading, flag-waving and trumpet-blaring' of the patriotic demonstrators.75

Similarly, a message of 'abhorrence' against warfare and 'the suspension of so many moral restraints' which it involved, from the tiny sect of the Queensland Society of Friends at Brisbane, Toowoomba, Rockhampton and Charters Towers76 was dwarfed and overwhelmed by the reactions of the larger Christian churches. While Anglicans, Methodists and Catholics alike prayed 'for the preservation of peace'77 before hostilities commenced, the Protestants at least were quick to express their loyal co-operation once the fighting began. The Roman Catholic reaction was more acquiescent than fervent, qualified by the fact that the Catholic laity of Queensland, representing 23.35% of that State's
population was predominantly working class and of Irish origin, as opposed to the Protestant groups, largely of English, Scottish and Welsh background and of a more pronounced 'middle-class' orientation. Thus, as Patrick O'Farrell concludes, Australian Catholics were to display little 'rabid patriotic enthusiasm'. Rather, 'sorrow, misgivings as to Australia's involvement, then a hardening acceptance of unpleasant duty' was their more general response.\(^7\) On the other hand, the Anglican Churches' pro-British reaction was spirited enough for them to be eventually denounced by anti-war advocates as the most 'Imperialistic, jingo-istic [and] militaristic' of all the religious denominations.\(^7\) Hundreds of worshippers were turned away from an overflowing patriotic meeting at the Albert Street Methodist Church as hostilities commenced; while, from Sydney, Henry Boote's wife, Mary Lloyd wrote to her brother Will in Brisbane, 'the pulpits are full of war-lords, even the Methodist Depot has war pictures in the window.'\(^8\) In October 1914, the Annual Conference of the Baptist Association of Queensland, although deploring 'the stern necessity' for conflict, promised 'to vie with those throughout the Empire in readiness to take up their share of the heavy burden' as they offered 'prayer to Almighty God for the success of our arms'. Similarly, other Evangelical groups gathered together at the Ithaca Presbyterian Church, Brisbane on 31 October hoped in unison that 'Divine wisdom may direct the operation of the allied forces and reward them with success.'\(^9\)

Yet, in Brisbane, another voice besides that of the Quakers, questioning the identity of this 'God of Battles' to whom the Churches now prayed, belonged to the Modernist Association of Queensland and was expressed in the journals, *The Modernist* and *The Forerunner*, as well as in the public speeches of its chief spokesman, Douglas Price. This movement, which strove 'to interpret religion in the light of modern thought' and to overcome bigotry and sectarian intolerance claimed also to stand for 'rational
thought, for eugenic reform, for international brotherhood, for world­
wide goodwill ... free discussion, open investigation and the unity of
all creeds'. In its attempts to reconcile spirituality with rationalism
and science, it attracted into its ranks, upon the jocular admission of
its President, Dr A. Jefferis Turner, 'Christians and Theosophists,
Spiritualists and Rationalists, Sceptics, Agnostics and queer sorts of
Dogmatists; and cranks of all sorts.' Speaking eloquently for this
coterie of disaffected thinkers, Douglas Price, in his weekly lectures at
the Brisbane School of Arts or the Lyceum Theatre asked:

Who is this God of Battles who is pro-British or pro-German
according to our point of view ... If there be any god who
planned this outbreak of modern savagery and who will give
the victory to those who pester him most, surely he must be a
savage or a devil to whom it would be a degradation to pray
at all. 

In a talk entitled simply 'The War', delivered on the Sunday after its
outbreak, Price expressed the alarm of many who saw their Meliorist faith
in Western 'progress' shattered by the prospect of a holocaust. 'It is
so insane, so huge, so inconceivably wasteful', Price brooded:

that one is almost ashamed of being a man ... Is all our
progress merely a veneer, and our commerce but a means of
supplying sinews of war? War can benefit none save the
armament maker, the newspaper proprietor, and the officer
who seeks promotion. Yet in a few days, Europe slips into it
as though it were the best of sports.

Referring to the militarism of the past decade, Price recalled, how 'they
told us to ensure peace we must prepare for war', and so European
society, like Doctor Frankenstein had unleashed the present military
monstrosity. 'In one way or another we shall all have to suffer,' he
predicted ominously, 'Many will suffer untold anxiety, and the loss of
those dear to them'. Others would fall in battle or suffer financial
privations. Warfare, finally, stood condemned as a eugenic evil which
'kills off the fit and leaves the feeble to propagate the next
generation'. In its impact upon the homefront, it would arouse 'evil passions', and just as 'violence evokes violence, prejudice is echoed by prejudice, hatred calls to hatred and military despotism tends to make us slaves.'

Though Price spoke mainly to the converted, his grim jeremiad did strike a chord of social response somewhat wider than that of the Modernist ranks. On 11 August, the Brisbane Courier published a letter from one D. Patching of Paddington, calling for 'a big rally' where prayers for peace could be offered. Even that staunch Imperialist, the Hon. W.H. Barnes remarked feelingly in Parliament on the same day that, 'War ... brings sorrow and death to many a home, and brings in its wake a very great deal that is to be regretted. It is very trying to read about the slaughter of human beings, whatever their nationality is.'

'Vesta', the anonymous female writer of the Courier's 'Home Circle' column for women, who was soon to become a consistent advocate of the stoically sacrificial wife and mother, initially emphasized, however, women's supposed biological opposition to the man's game of warfare. 'We are feeling blue today', she wrote on 5 August, 'We are reading the horrors of war ... We are just women united ... in one common voice of prayer for peace ... [Woman's] ultimatum would always be - peace.' On 3 October, assessing the spectators' reactions at the march past of the first Queensland Expeditionary Force in Brisbane, 'Vesta' noted, 'For once a Queensland crowd was silent, moved to the centre with thought too big for outward expression. We could not cheer; we could only pray in united motherhood: Be strong - quit yourselves like men - and return to us.'

The Reverend A.B. Rofe, a presbyterian minister from Rockhampton later recalled a similar personal response as he watched the first contingent parade by:
... as an eyewitness, he could not cheer. Looking at those splendid men, so many of them young, and full of enthusiasm, he said to himself, 'I wonder how many will return' and a lump rose in his throat and, man as he was, tears came to his eyes ...\(^{36}\)

On the surface of events, it may have looked as though the excited clamour of the loyalists in the early months of the war had swept all before it. Yet that seemingly smooth surface of unanimity reveals, upon closer inspection, many irregularities. The most fervent British-Australian loyalists, often of Protestant and 'middle class' allegiances, whose jubilation echoed longest in the streets represented only one very substantial minority response, just as the dedicated opponents of the war, more often of working class background or of socialist or pacifist affiliations, exemplified another much more restricted minority reaction. Between these uneven poles of elation and resistance, the majority of Australians remained, much quieter and more confused, less certain of possible outcomes and quite concerned about the realities or the intimations of economic and emotional suffering which war involvement had initiated. A deeply-ingrained affection for the Empire and an innocence of war's harrowing impact encouraged most to lean more readily towards the assertions of war's promoters rather than its opponents, but the bravado of many was seriously tempered by qualms of regret, anxiety and bewilderment. Wage-labourers in particular responded with more acquiescence than exuberance, for even the most enthusiastically Anglophile workers could not have ignored the unwanted economic effects of the conflagration at their workplaces and in their homes.

The manner in which earlier mental expectations of an Asian War of invasion interacted with the actuality of the European conflict contributed further to social confusion and alarm. In April 1914, the *Daily Standard*, under a headline 'The Yellow Menace' was still warning readers of 'the wily Celestial' and cautioning them that 'the 'Yellow
Peril" is not a bogey. The Bulletin, too remained adamant in July that likely aggression from the 'teeming colored north' should be of more importance to Australians than news of incipient troubles in Ireland. Conservative press organs carried a similar message. In May and June 1914, the Rockhampton Morning Bulletin ran a series of editorials warning its readers against the Asian peril and the Brisbane Courier on 11 July also featured 'the reality of a Japanese or pan-Asiatic menace in the Pacific'. Even after war against Germany had begun, John Fihelly, the Labor member for Paddington was to lecture a doubting audience of Brisbane socialists in September upon the need for defence against the dangers of a Japanese rather than a German invasion.

The tenacity of this siege mentality was apparent in the alarm expressed on 4 August that Japanese as well as German cruisers were probably in the vicinity of Thursday Island. Four days later, the Courier reported:

The number of rumours in circulation in the streets yesterday were legion ... quite a wave of excitement was caused when word was passed from one to the other ... that there was a seafight in progress in Moreton Bay ... and that 'British New Guinea' had been seized by a German warship.

Reflecting this outlook, a degree of Queensland's early mobilization was likewise centred upon precautionary measures against invasion. Here, the defence of Thursday Island was seen as 'a matter of urgency to be attended to without the slightest delay' and the citizen forces of the Kennedy Regiment from Charters Towers and Townsville were rapidly conveyed and garrisoned there to meet any expected onslaught, leaving Townsville on 8 August aboard the Kanowna after a tumultuous sendoff from 6,000 people. On 24 August, the Government Resident on the Island requested that all public offices and banks be closed at noon, to release employees to complete the construction of bomb shelters 'for
women and children to protect them from shellfire.' These shelters were never to be used, however, and the troops' main role, before again being shipped to Port Moresby, was to exercise their spending power in temporarily staving off the financial collapse of local storekeepers in the impending economic depression upon the Island.93

Yet public attention remained intent upon the Pacific arena due to the successful Australian invasion of German-held islands and German New Guinea in September, and the destruction of the German warship Emden by H.M.A.S. Sydney in early November.94 When in September, the Bundaberg Patriotic Committee asked Denham if they should form a Town Guard for local defence, he encouraged them to 'do everything within [your] power to guard your city' from attack by sea.95 By December, the expectation of a 'hideous contingency', worse than the alleged Belgian atrocities 'should German troops ever set foot on ... Australian soil' had become an established theme, in the colorful tradition of many prior invasion alarms.96 Further, despite the ironic convergence of the Japanese battle cruiser Ibuki with Australian troopships carrying the first A.I.F. convoys to Aden, to protect them from German attack, public alertness against visits 'by Asians - on the loot' persisted.97 The potency of these contending images of German and Asian invasion was to be duly tested in the conscription debates ahead, with deeply divisive results.

Closely akin to this wide array of home-front reactions to Imperial warfare, a complex tangle of motives emerges among the thousands eagerly enlisting for combat. Although Bill Gammage has firmly concluded from his examination of the letters and diaries of Australian soldiers that 'most of that early avalanche of volunteers was [sic] roused by a sense of adventure',98 an overall assessment of early Queensland recruits
reveals their motives as more elusive and imprecise. Among the 6,150 Queenslanders accepted into the A.I.F. in the final months of 1914, very few have left any record expressing directly why they responded with such alacrity. Indeed, among the Australian soldiers' letters, diaries, magazines and reminiscences examined by the present writer, clear and self-conscious statements of initial motivation have proved to be rare finds. Only tentative conclusions may be based upon them. Often soldiers refer simply to an 'unexplained urge' or the 'inner promptings' of 'some unseen power' which carried them to the recruiting depot. Eric Leed refers to this 'blind acceptance of the immediate future' as a 'flow' state of motivation, wherein 'action follows action, according to an internal logic that seems to need no conscious intervention by the actor.' Thus, in the initial social atmosphere of 'WAR fever', enlistment was often an impulsive act, accompanied by no more articulation than a simple 'I've got to go' or 'Everybody's doin' it'. In certain cases, this sudden impulse subsequently failed to sustain the enlistee and carry him all the way to the front. Late in 1917, the Minister of Defence admitted that enlistment figures had been inflated by some 21,000, because 'perhaps 20 or even 50 out of every 100 had frequently, during the early stages of the war, failed to turn up' for embarkation.

Often soldiers simply seem to have left speculation about their motives to the less dependable pen of the literary interpreter. That apostle of warfare, William Baylebridge in his epic Anzac Muster mused that 'knight-errantry' to save brave Belgium impelled most, buttressed by a variety of other impulses, including love of adventure, 'greater love of country', honour towards the Empire as well as outrage over 'the ungenerous deeds of the foe.' Similarly, C.J. Dennis has 'Ginger Mick' responding to 'the call uv stouch and jooty' - a call where earthy
and idealistic motives remain hopelessly entangled. The same imprecision is encountered in the writings of soldier poets, whenever reasons for enlisting are mooted. In 'The Dinki Di Soldier', Queensland recruit Norman Campbell, a Daily Mail journalist has his hero donning khaki 'with some more o' the mob', despite the opposition of his doubting 'cobber' and his 'tabby', or girl-friend, simply because a recruiting sergeant urges him to do so. 'I knows it's me job,' he concludes, as he tells his sweetheart 'to nark it.'

This same unquestioning sense of duty appears again in digger assertions that they had been 'conscripted by our consciences ... and but for the compelling sense of duty would never have enlisted.' Adding the push-factors of war propaganda and peer-group pressure to this motive, F.E. Westbrook asserted in the poem 'Why?':

> Perhaps 'twas some writer or speaker I'd heard  
> The blood of my ancestors weakened and stirred  
> And flung to my brain an appeal to my breed.  
> Mayhap I followed some other chap's lead ...

And, mixed with this spontaneous response to the urgings of others, the writer speculates that perhaps the honour of 'mother and maid', 'the natural love of a scrap', or even vague 'Destiny' may have induced him to go; but he frustratingly concludes:

> Why did I go to the wars? "Dunno" ...  
> I dunno, though I've fought and I've been through the mill,  
> What makes me a soldier's a mystery still.  
> ... For I know (for I've been) that war is just hell,  
> Where death lurks with vermin and noise and foul smell,  
> But all things considered, I'd go out once more,  
> Though I'll never know rightly what takes me to war.

For some, expressions of aggressiveness, serving as conventional indices of masculinity were to answer as sufficient reason for involvement - as in the newspaper story 'Through the Furnace he Emerged a Man', where Andy, the young dairy farmer itches 'to hold a rifle and kill'
with 'the hot breath of the enemy' on his cheek. Bayonet charges are the acme of sensation,' wrote private Allen Waters from Gallipoli, 'Murder flows in your veins. Your eyes are bulging with it for days afterwards.' Lots 'as come away, yer know, like us blokes did - fer gore,' admitted Queensland digger poet, C. Douglas in Aussie magazine. For war was depicted as a test of manhood as much as nationhood, and the chauvinism attached to both was seen in many ways as complementary. The novelist and biographer, Christopher Isherwood, referring here to English compatriots seems to be speaking equally for Australian young men when he admits:

Like most of my generation, I was obsessed by a complex of terrors and longings connected with the idea "War". "War" in this purely neurotic sense meant The Test. The test of your courage, your maturity, of your sexual prowess. "Are you really a Man?" ... Thus, a readiness to enlist was often regarded as that certain characteristic which distinguished the 'real' men from the others - those receivers of white feathers from disgusted females, the 'slackers' whose supposedly 'laudable reason[s]' for not fighting, wrote Light Horseman J.L. Gray, were 'only a veil'. The real reason, plainly, was 'lack of guts'.

The 'spirit of adventure' which Gammage places above the 'test of manhood' and the 'call of duty' in significance clearly motivated many 'brought up on tales of Crecy and Agincourt, Trafalgar, Waterloo, the Indian Mutiny and the Crimean, Afghan, Zulu and other British wars'. The romanticism in such embellished stories merged with the grandiose fiction of writers like G.A. Henty, Rider Haggard and Rudyard Kipling, filling the minds of some - along with the high drama of the Arthurian poems of Tennyson or the dashing improbabilities of the 'blood and thunder' serials they may have once read in the Boy's Own Paper, Marvel and Union Jack - with images of grandeur and daring. The 'hazy idea' of themselves
actually participating in 'a 'ell of a scrap' awakened 'a sort of
daredevil' within these men, long nurtured by such gallant literature,
which strained impatiently against the monotonity of their everyday
existences. Erich Fromm writes of this compelling psychological
motivation:

Considering that the life of the average person is boring,
routinized and lacking in adventure, the readiness to go to war,
must be understood as a desire to put an end to the boring
routine of daily life - and to throw oneself into an adventure,
the only adventure, in fact, the average person may expect to
have ... 114

Yet those of such rash innocence who were activated by 'the keen allure
of things uncertain/Travel, adventure and the chance for fame' were
undoubtedly to feel the shock of disillusion in the front-line trenches
more keenly than any other soldiers. Late in the war, a versifier with the
pen-name of 'KOIK' pointedly asked other battle-weary Anzac cs:

When in '14, you hungered to be in it
And high of hope prepared yourself to go
Did you conjecture for a single minute
One half the evils you were soon to know? 115

A medical orderly, Peter Hall, who saw some of the worst results of the
Gallipoli landing, while attending shattered men aboard the troopship
Seang Choon wrote poignantly from Lemnos Island in mid-1915 of this cruel
awakening:

In recalling the feeling which prompted me ... to join as a
soldier I remember it was being faced with the ordinary,
never changing things of life. Tomorrow meant nothing more
than just another day. I wanted something to happen to stir
the stagnant pool in which I was living. I wanted the thrill
this expedition promised; but I never realized what the
excitement I was seeking really meant. Now I would forfeit
all the enjoyment I have had in the last few months, if only
it were possible to erase ... the last week. I got the thrill
and stir, but at what expense to others? ... I am sure one
could never realize what war means until he sees the actual
sufferings of those who have to take part in it. The smashed-
up limbs, the gaping wounds and the running blood. It is a
horror only to be understood when witnessed. 116
Men who enlisted primarily in answer to 'the Empire's call' might often commit themselves to the struggle just as precipitously; as if in reply to 'an unspoken, yet irresistible summons'. Yet, when Imperial 'duty called them in', that motive was essentially a more sustaining one in the face of war's horrors, for it carried an expectation not so much of romantic glory, which was rapidly shattered, but of unstinting sacrifice, whatever the hardships which were subsequently encountered. A Queensland soldier, Frederick Culverhouse later wrote that even as he joined up, he 'could not keep back the thought "What are we all doing this for?"', for he knew of the sufferings of 'other wars', about which he had read. 'I realized "too much"', he admitted 'and perhaps I would have been much happier and braver had I been ignorant of a good many things.' Nevertheless, he added, 'I found myself saying "I'll go"', for the fact remained that "my country, right or wrong" has a drawing power and so I enlisted voluntarily to fight in the big brawl'. Writing from Mena Camp, Egypt in January 1915, another soldier E.R. Larkin commented that although 'no-one deplores war more than I', he still hoped his 'little chaps will grow up with a strong sense of patriotism.' The most popular martial song of the war, sung by Australians at troop embarkations, patriotic concerts and recruiting rallies, and even by the soldiers themselves before combat duties turned their voices to more irreverent lyrics, stated the basic commitment both stridently and prosaically:

Rally round the banner of your country,
Take the field with brothers o'er the foam;
... England home and beauty have no cause to fear
Should Auld acquaintance be forgot,
No! No! No! No! No! No! Australia will be there,
Australia will be there.  

Although these fighting Australians often seemed self-consciously averse to expressing their Imperial commitment to 'the good old Flag' more openly or at greater length, their answer to 'our Mother's call' was
both spontaneous and visceral, for as 'little chaps' themselves, in the decade before the war, they had been literally schooled in those sentiments which would encourage such automatic emotional surrender. Among the subjects taught in their school curricula, Queensland pupils had learned 'lessons in patriotism ... duties of citizens to State and Empire ... united defence, expansion of the Empire and Federation'. Queensland teachers wrote happily of the 'power for good in teaching patriotism'. On King Edward's birthday, in 1906, a travelling teacher at an isolated outback school, listening to the children singing the National Anthem to the accompaniment of a student's harmonica, commented:

... there was to me, something very significant, though almost pathetic in the sight of the old flag flying in such a lonely place and in hearing the fresh young voices accompanied by such a humble (though well played) instrument in what may truly be called 'an outpost of the Empire'.

School texts, reflecting one prevailing emphasis of colonial ideology always subsumed loyalty towards Australia within a wider devotion to the Empire, and the two patriotisms were taught as being complementary rather than competing pledges. As a father lectures his son upon their duty to England in the poem, 'Why Should We Fight?':

... some may pass her by, lad, and some may scorn her hand But we must be forever part of that fair land ... Oh yes, we're owned by England, but we own England too As you are part of me, son, and I am part of you.

'Cement of our Empire is a beautiful phrase', commented the popular magazine, Splashes Weekly delightedly in 1911, as it described the Brisbane Children's Coronation Pageant, 'including peers and peeresses, and princes and princesses ... very gorgeous and correct in every detail.' Portraits of the new Royal couple were received by forty-five schools throughout Queensland with expressions of 'loyal homage and devotion' towards the Crown, and with the added promise that the pupils would keep them 'clean and unsullied'. Children were taught of a glorious heritage
as 'part of the British people' rather than as a separate society. Therefore Australian history, when taught at all, was presented as 'only a small part of British history, dealing with one very late phase of Imperial activity'. History texts were chosen, not so much for their intellectual standard as for their ethical lesson, wrote R.H. Roe, the Inspector-General of Queensland schools, which 'stirs our patriotism by recounting the heroic deeds of our forefathers'.

Reading-books and school papers carried the same message for impressionable minds to absorb, constructing a world of certainty, about an array of topics:

... the British Empire, British military might, pride of race, honour, duty, self-sacrifice, the Victoria Cross, God, General Gordon, hard work, the flag, wattle, the poor savages, Shakespeare, noble deeds, adventure, exploration, heroes and, in the end, World War I.

In May 1905, a poem in the Commonwealth School Paper forecast 'that the Motherland's sons would soon "war for England's Own"'; while in another Empire Day school magazine of May 1909, 'Children of the Empire' were exhorted to 'strike with arm of might/For justice and for freedom's sake, for country, king and right'. At each Empire Day celebration, where children sang 'A Song to the Flag' or 'We are Britons all' and recited the Empire Day Catechism; or, in the Empire Day Essay Competition, where they expounded upon topics like 'In What Sense Can An Empire Prove Itself to be Great?'; or, at the Empire Day Rifle Shoot, where boys displayed their marksmanship in rigorous competition, the overall message was compellingly the same. Rudyard Kipling wrote it out in a verse for all pupils to recite:

Teach us to rule ourselves alway
Controlled and cleanly night and day
That we may bring, if need arise,
No maimed or worthless sacrifice.
'We do not pretend to produce University graduates under this system [of bush teaching],' J.D. Story, the Under-Secretary of the Department of Public Instruction admitted in 1914, 'but ... what a tower of strength the lads will be in the defence of their country. They can ride well, shoot straight ... and they know not fear.'

The discipline of compulsory military training begun in July 1911 for all males between twelve and twenty years carried an additional infusion of 'implicit obedience' as the 'spirit of patriotism' to nation and Empire was continually paraded before cadets as the ultimate expression of good citizenship. Later, soldiers would recall being 'thoroughly brainwashed about the glorious Empire' as the precepts of loyalty were 'bred in our bones', both at school and at home. Thus, a training in call and response had been deeply inculcated, implanted within a range of hegemonic, Imperial values which contributed to such training its driving rationale. Whenever the Motherland called, it was fully anticipated that her colonial children, almost as a reflex action would answer that cry:

We come - we are ready for Britain
To fight and, if needs be, to die.

Other motives, either more mundane or more immediate intersected with the complex of responses outlined above. Philip Aylward, for instance, joined up to escape the responsibility of supporting an illegitimate child he had fathered. Darby Buchanan had also 'cleared out' for the military barracks, leaving his intended bride waiting at a Rockhampton church. E.A. Ryan enlisted while drunk and 'after discovering what a mistake I had made' tried to obtain a discharge, before finally deserting. Yet wider social and economic pressures, particularly unemployment were also effective goads. Direct Action complained that 'the shreik of jingoes' and 'the cold whip of want' equally drove many to the recruiting halls. 'Many forms of economic ostracisation [sic] and other forms of conscription were
deliberately practised upon the young men at that time', Private Culverhouse candidly recalled.\textsuperscript{133} Dalgety's Review, a trading journal demanded in January 1915 that all women put aside their 'soft influences' and 'urge their sons or lovers, brothers or husbands to take arms in this most high and holy cause.' Young women should be ashamed to be seen publicly with any 'able-bodied young man ... not dressing in the King's uniform,' a Courier correspondent wrote. Another, rejected as unfit, complained of how 'some stupid girl' had posted a white feather to his business address with 'a hole ... carefully punched in the envelope' so that one end of the feather projected from it. 'The time is coming when all men of military age will be loathed by girls and soldiers if they are not in khaki', he glumly predicted. Late in 1915, a Bundaberg resident disclosed that 'private employers' were 'freely offering inducements' to encourage male staff members to remove themselves to the firing line.\textsuperscript{134} Earlier, the same sort of encouragement had been directed at the unemployed. In January, the Queenslander asked men retrenched by the war, 'Is it not better to draw the pay of a soldier than eat the tardy bread of idleness?' Home Secretary Barnes delivered a similar speech to a deputation of the unemployed who visited him in March. As Direct Action satirically summarized his remarks, 'He told them that the Empire needed them at the front where there was plenty of work.'\textsuperscript{135}

The destitution imposed upon between ten and twenty per cent of the Queensland workforce by unemployment, however, often served as an eloquent enough incentive. In mid-1915, the new Governor, Hamilton Goold-Adams explained enlistment discrepancies between the city and the country by observing:

... that, owing to the recent severe drought more of them [i.e. rural-workers] were thrown out of occupation and were free to join, whereas in the towns employment was still plentiful and men enlisting would have to relinquish their positions ...\textsuperscript{136}
In April, Arthur Douglas of Charleville enlisted with his sole possessions being the clothes he stood in. He had pawned the rest for rent and when that money had gone, he had left town for the Enoggera military camp without paying the balance of his board. A. Landon had been in 'financial difficulties' for six weeks, with only the Salvation Army Home standing between himself and starvation when he appeared at the recruiting depot in June 1915. Later in the war years, Edgar McDermott, a destitute wheat farmer, living at Nudgee wrote to Premier Ryan of how his son was a 'conscript by poverty ... under shell fire' at the Western Front. McDermott described himself as penniless 'with pauperized kids', dependent upon his soldier son's pay for survival.

As the war dragged on and hints of its sobering realities intruded, such external inducements, whether socio-economic or psychological were to become more insistent and organized, as the most committed and influential of loyalists confronted an increasingly disenchanted population. The soldier poet 'KOIK' wrote that whereas, initially 'the easy winning of a splendid game' may have impelled men to 'barge into the desolation', the later recruits:

... who join you now have no illusion,
No dreams, no hopes. For two long years and more
They watched the horror and the stark confusion
The gaunt and grey monotony of war.

On Christmas day, 1917, a Dutch settler wrote to his mother in Holland of the dramatic transformations he had witnessed in Australian attitudes since the war began:

In the beginning [he wrote] they thought like in the Boer War they were sent on a picnic to Germany and a good time in Berlin. Further they were going to see and fight all over the much talked of Europe at 6/- a day. Now the news come[s] that they're still far from Berlin, and that Europe hasn't turned into a picnic, but mostly muddy trenches, rats etc. News come[s] of dead, missing, wounded and prisoners. Not much picnic about all that. They're beginning here to ask what are we fighting for?
By September 1916, when the first conscription referendum campaign began, civilian morale, particularly among Australian workers, had undergone changes of seismic proportion. Initial, unorchestrated enthusiasm for the Imperial commitment to war seems to have been of remarkably short duration. As such, it must be distinguished from any ongoing motivation to continue fighting, which needed to be buttressed and manipulated by censorship and propaganda as well as by organized inducements from private patriotic groups, as it was assailed, in turn, by chilling suggestions of what war sacrifice really meant. As early as November 1914, the *Queenslander* considered it necessary to warn any who were inclined to exhibit war-weariness that 'there must be no repetition of the phrases "I am tired of the War" or "What are they fighting for?"'. In that month, there had been a sudden decline in Queensland's enlistment figures from 1,556 in September and 1,386 in October to a low of 673. A partial recovery in December to 1,054 recruits and a new enlistment maximum of 1,937 in January encouraged a revitalized sense of official satisfaction; but, from this early peak, numbers again began to fall rapidly, until by April 1915, the month of the Gallipoli landings, they had once more slumped to a total of 772. The question we have to ask ourselves is whether we are not taking things a good deal too lightly', suggested Archibald T. Strong of Melbourne University in December 1914, as he detected 'in some quarters a certain apathy regarding this war'. A deliberate mobilization of opinion and activity 'by every Australian writer and speaker to help create in this country today that intensity of national feeling without which no nation can possibly be brought to make the last sacrifice' would be necessary to meet this alarming challenge, he concluded. Simultaneously, official recruitment drives to overcome any slackening in enlistment quotas, increased public solicitation, to bolster voluntary financial contributions and determined activity by
patriotic organizations and Governmental agencies to detect and counteract strains of disaffection and disloyalty were all regarded as essential strategic pressures to keep the will for aggression alive.

In the early months of 1915, distance from the war front and an absence of direct Australian involvement in the fighting were blamed for an apparent lack of proper appreciation by Australians about the seriousness of the conflict. 'Queensland is far away and the war is not so real,' explained the Queenslander on the day prior to the Allied assault on the Dardanelles. In the previous month, Attorney-General, W.M. Hughes had similarly complained that Australians lacked imagination and hence sufficient concern for the battles in Belgium, France and Poland. Frederic Eggleston, Melbourne barrister and Imperial publicist echoed this concern in mid-1915 when he alleged:

We are still unable to realize its meaning - our life goes on the same, our energies are not stimulated, our sacrifices personal and financial are trifling and we try to make the war as small a part of ourselves as we possibly can ... I wish we had heard less of our calm and our dignity during the last six months. Calm is not a virtue when women and children are being butchered.

Yet the mobilization of enthusiasm for war and its corollary of manufactured hatred against the enemy depended precisely upon such initial ingenuousness, properly manoeuvred; and Eggleston's final sentence is an essential key towards understanding this. Censorship and propaganda were tools to manipulate collective passions into responding towards the enemy as a monstrous presence and the war as the singular justifiable means of obliterating this scourge. Here, Germany and not the war itself represented the ultimate barbarity - the butcherer of women and children. The war, waged courageously and sportingly by the Allies 'to a clean finish' would alone put a stop to such atrocities. Mass naivete, as much about modern technological warfare as about Germans was thus an essential mental prerequisite, if such stereotypes were to
grip social consciousnesses with the compelling appeal of authenticity.

A small red-covered booklet entitled "What I know about the War" by an Australian, with eight blank pages inside was a starkly sardonic comment upon the prevailing ignorance about trench warfare. Instructions in the Australian Women's magazine, Everylady's Journal, showing 'How to Make the ANZAC cushion cover: Your Own Soldier Boy in Crochet' was another telling illustration of social innocence. In November 1914, the Queenslander reported upon how a group of bushwomen had brought down to Brisbane, '11 dozen beautifully made pillow cases', each with 'a kindly thought' like 'Simply Trusting' or 'Get Well, see it through' embroidered upon it, 'worked in scroll design in washing coloured thread' for the 'soldier boys' to use at the Front. 'I would be a proud woman to get my pillow case brought back by the man who uses it safe and sound,' said Mrs Watson, 'I would frame it'. The account concluded with the suggestion that people sending any clothes to the front lines should 'sew a happy little wish or joke in some unexpected little corner that will not interfere with the comfort of the wearer'.

In the poem, 'Our Picnic at the Front', published in W.H. Stephens's Imperial Camp Songs ... of 1914 the male reader is enticed:

If you want a jolly outing at this season of the year,
Just put on a Khaki outfit, leave your trunks and come out here.

Even after the sobering nine months' experience of Gallipoli, and the publication of the 137th casualty list, the versifier Arthur Waghorne could still write with homely satisfaction to an imaginary trooper:

Toil in the trenches all day long
Fending the pain with a smile and a song
Turned in at night under sheets of flame
Resting assured you have played the game.

In March 1916, P.F. Collins, with comparable artlessness, also announced,
Chivalric Images of Warfare (May 1915).
'Australia's boys are now in France/Where bright swords glitter and war horses prance ...'\textsuperscript{146} Hundreds of ordinary citizens who might never have attempted any other kind of literary creation turned their hands to the production of such optimistic, militant verse. Thus, as Cate Haste notes, 'poets played an important part in propaganda'\textsuperscript{147} as their patriotic poems, trivializing the horrors and generally glamorizing or sentimentalizing warfare were reproduced in the popular press and in many widely read anthologies. Their particular propagandist impact rested heavily upon the fact that, as simplistic rhyming statements, their stanzas could be memorized and repeated easily in a supportive and self-validating manner. Yet in order that such reassuring impressions retained their validity, it was essential that the incomprehension they cultivated should remain unassailed by the truth. Bureaucratic censorship was essential in maintaining this void. As A.G. Marquis comments, 'The orgy of killing on the battlefield took place against the backdrop of an orgy of loaded words, and the silences were equally deadly, for they often masked the truth.'\textsuperscript{148}

The implementation of censorship machinery by the Commonwealth Government had been one of the first steps taken by the Defence Department, in anticipating a state of war. On 3 August, official censorship had covered all cables and wireless information and had been extended to blanket virtually all communication channels by 1.50 p.m. the following day. A Deputy Chief Censor in London, in charge of the Australian censorship staff effectively locked the Australian system into the Imperial war machine as, throughout the war, soldiers controlling much of this machinery decided upon the nature of the information to be disseminated to civilians. In preventing the publication of 'statements likely to prejudice the recruiting', any matter 'calculated to be subversive to military discipline', discussions 'of the health or conduct
of troops' or 'illustrations of gruesome effects of warfare' in the 1,843 regular Australian newspapers and periodicals, the censorship attempted to ensure a monopoly of opinion for the military outlook, while it frustrated the emergence of a realistic appraisal of the conflict.149

By so restricting essential information, 'censorship worked as a form of "negative propaganda"', providing the foundations upon which the formulations of active propaganda - the newspaper victories, the neglected reverses, the manufactured German atrocities and the horrendous enemy stereotypes - could be successfully structured.

Commonwealth censorship was not ratified until an Order-in-Council on 24 September retrospectively approved all former activity in this regard. Then, on 29 October 1914, the War Precautions Act further legitimized and developed its procedures. This Act, which was refined and amended twice in 1915 and once more in 1916 has been described by constitutional historian Geoffrey Sawer as 'the main instrument of wartime government' in Australia. Under its 'regulations and orders' which the Governor-General was thereby empowered to make, censorship provisions, among numerous other restrictions, were expanded in a pervasive though ad hoc manner to serve as a devastatingly effective form of ideological restraint upon all viewpoints, in any degree critical of the war effort or the righteousness of the Allied cause. 'John Citizen was hardly able to lift a finger,' Solicitor-General Sir Robert Garran was later to recall, 'without coming under the penumbra of some technical offence against the War Precautions Regulations.'150

As early as mid-August 1914, the press was beginning to chafe under the surveillance, as articles opposing the fighting, in the Bulletin, the Navvy and the Australian Worker, as well as Will Dyson's anti-war cartoons were systematically suppressed.151 Pro-war sources were also quick to
complain, arguing that the repression of news encouraged either false
optimism or 'the growth of rumour', both inimical to a 'responsible'
commitment to the war effort. As the Rockhampton Daily Bulletin
suggested in October 1914, 'It is a much sounder policy to give the people
bad news as well as the good' for reversals only encouraged stronger
dedication from those of British stock. In mid-1915, Brownlie-Henderson
of the Queensland University War Committee 'felt certain that if the
censors would only allow the public to see how very serious the position
still was', then their involvement would be greatly stimulated. Yet,
as the appalling slaughter grew, along with the attrition calculations of
the military leaders, the basic challenge and response equation in this
latter thesis became an increasingly tenuous one. On Christmas Day,
1915, a Queensland woman, Mavis Henderson wrote from Los Angeles to
Betsy Matthias, the socialist editor of The Voice:

In Yankeeland the Censor is not keen on blotting out the
European News, so of course both sides of the question are
blazoned before us. Sometimes I wish I were back in Sunny
Australia, where the Censor uses his discretion (?) and tells
us not all the news ... it hurts so to know of this diabolic
killing ...

Virtually all war news published in Australia had already been
vetted by the Official Press Bureau in London, while its local tone of
optimism was assured by official censors in each Australian military
district. The index to Ernest Scott's Australia During the War carries
only two references to propaganda, one of which merely deals with the
censor's suppression of any 'propaganda with a definite appeal to
disloyal sentiments'. The second reference is to the establishment of a
Directorate of War Propaganda by the Commonwealth Defence Department late
in the war period, which had 'barely been launched when the Armistice was
signed'. Again, neither Jauncey, Robson nor Gammage in their
respective historical accounts makes any specific thematic reference to
propaganda in Australia per se. Yet any conclusion that Australian society enjoyed a respite from organized pro-war propaganda, which these omissions suggest, should be strongly resisted. On the contrary, Australians were continually prey to the selective and repetitive play of propagandist techniques largely because, in conjunction with a constant barrage of indoctrination from local private and official sources, they received the bulk of their propagandist material tailor-made from British producers.

A few weeks after the outbreak of war, Charles Masterman's Propaganda Bureau at Wellington House, London had already begun to disseminate a wide array of appropriate articles, interviews, cartoons and photographs for insertion in the newspapers and magazines of Allied nations, emphasizing the righteousness of Britain's cause and Germany's duplicity, as well as 'films, maps, diagrams, posters, lantern slides, lectures, picture postcards and all other means of miscellaneous propaganda.' This activity was first co-ordinated with propaganda and censorship work by the War Office, the Admiralty, the Home Office and Foreign Office and later subsumed, during January 1917, by Lloyd George's new Department of Information under the consecutive directorships of the Tory imperialist, Col. John Buchan and the militant Ulster unionist, Sir Edward Carson. After February 1918, the press barons, Lord Beaverbrook and Lord Northcliffe were in control of a reorganized Ministry of Information, with Rudyard Kipling, who saw 'only two divisions in the world today - human beings and Germans' in charge of propaganda dissemination to colonial countries. Thus, from the emotional campaign in aid of 'Brave Little Belgium' in 1914-15 to that of 'Hang the Kaiser' in 1918-19, Australia was promptly served with the latest Allied propaganda initiatives, either by direct official communication or by the cable services which fed news items into the local daily press. Late in
1918 McDonald, editor of the Brisbane Daily Standard wrote of how, throughout the war, the Labor press had been frustrated in presenting accurate reportage by its reliance upon the major cable services, Australian Combine and United-Reuter-Times, both of which largely disseminated the concoctions of the Northcliffe newspapers. The news interpretation of these services, 'owned and controlled by the capitalistic jingo press' were again filtered through the surveillance system of Commonwealth military censorship, at the galley-proof level, before reaching the eyes of Australian readers, who singularly relied upon newspapers to inform them directly of world events. Thus, the extent of information available to press and public in Australia and the narrow interpretation permitted upon it, seem to have been more rigorously restricted than in Britain. Neither did McDonald's letter of protest travel far. It was intercepted by the local censor and his staff at the Brisbane G.P.O.

Whereas newspapers remained the main potential source of war information - or misinformation - the censorship of war films also precluded this newest and most graphic of mediums from conveying the immediate impression of trench life to homefront audiences. In March 1915, the film columnist for the Lone Hand, L.H. Beer complained:

So far the war pictures shown have been a few stray scraps that have escaped the censorship ... In Sydney, over a million feet of war pictures have been ordered to be destroyed.

By May 1916, this intervention had been formalized under a provision of the War Precautions Act, granting Federal authorities power of prohibition over the importation of all war films. The eight film exporting companies in the Commonwealth had each agreed to submit for censorship all war films or cartoons as well as any 'topical picture' considered offensive by people of allied or neutral nations. After
January 1917, this form of censorship was broadened once more to include all imported film on any subject, after T.J. Ryan had presented a successful motion to the Premiers' Conference, calling for effective 'uniformity throughout the Commonwealth' in the 'censorship of picture films'.

The logical outcome of such intervention was that film, like the printed media would be utilized as a mode of manipulation rather than for the enlightenment of the Australian public, though its full potency as a propaganda medium was still only dimly appreciated. By March 1915, there were 151 'Picture Palaces' scattered liberally throughout all the major Queensland urban centres, from Southport, near the New South Wales border to Thursday Island, and as far west as Cloncurry, which boasted three cinemas. Travelling film shows, exhibiting in tents, hotels, school of arts and Oddfellows' Halls in dozens of smaller settlements carried the flickering wonders of cinematography to the remotest areas of the State.

Late in 1914, the Fraser Film Co. released The Day for potential distribution across this host of outlets, with its alleged Belgian atrocities actually filmed - revealed Direct Action - near the Sydney Gas Works. Before the end of this year Australia's Response to the Empire's Call, Off to the Front, It's a Long Way to Tipperary and Seadogs of Australia were likewise in full production. In October 1915, The Lone Hand remarked upon how the films Will They Never Come?, its sequel The Hero of the Dardanelles, Deeds That Won Gallipoli [sic] and The Fate of the Emden were proving of exceptional value for recruiting purposes; and these were to be followed by a host of other persuasive silents such as Australia Prepared, The Martyrdom of Nurse Cavill, Murphy of Anzac, Australia's Peril and If the Huns Come to Melbourne, all locally produced in 1916 and 1917. These were further augmented by a series of pro-war films from Britain and later from the United States. Early in 1916, for
instance, Andrew Bonar Law, the British Conservative leader wrote to the
Governor of Queensland, Henry Goold-Adams to secure a major release for
the British propaganda movie *Britain Prepared*, constructed by Charles
Masterman's group from 'film lent by Vickers Maxim'. 'The film should
in the first instance be shown at a gala performance at which the Viceroy
should be present', instructed Bonar Law, 'giving a proper sendoff to
the enterprise.' Accordingly, after much publicity, *Britain Prepared*
premiered in Queensland at West's Olympia Theatre, Brisbane with the
Governor as well as leading political, military and business figures in
attendance.164

The censoring of soldiers' correspondence, imposed ostensibly 'for
their own safety', was a final obstacle to the direct, personal
communication of warfront actualities from participants to distant
observers and loved ones. Soldiers regarded the military censor as
'our natural enemy' and trench magazines like *The Och-Pip* depicted him
as a devil whom it was impossible to dodge.165 In January 1915,
E.R. Larkin wrote from Egypt to a Sydney friend in a letter 'sneaked
through' by a Sergeant returning to Australia:

... this may never reach you. It is simply annoying to think
that one cannot be sure of his letters being delivered ...
Some thousands of letters have been burnt and ... about three
hundred thousand are detained in Melbourne, perhaps never to
be sent out.166

Whether Larkin wrote from mere hearsay or from precise 'inside'
knowledge, his frustrations, like those of many other soldiers, were real
enough. The censor's restraining hand consistently ensured the existence
of two quite unattuned fighting fronts - the agonizingly real world of
the combatants and, an intangible world away, the unenlightened,
imaginary construct of the fighting in the minds of the home-front
innocents.
In the early months of the war, before they had themselves witnessed any action, recruits continued to share with civilians the same naïve images of warfare as high adventure, a sporting contest or a picnic. On 14 February 1915, George Miller, a Queensland soldier in Egypt wrote home of being 'brown and hardy ... and ... looking forward to the spring and a good scrap with the Huns.' Another Queenslander, Sergeant T.M. Scott waited impatiently for some 'sport, Turkey roasting', whilst a third, Private G.W. Parkinson added elatedly:

Three cheers for the boys of Bananaland!  
We will all be there when they want us.

The stock expression among Queensland soldiers in Egypt by mid-February was 'wait till we get into action', wrote the Queenslander's correspondent camped with them, as they anticipated, 'with a curious yearning ... the time when we will be at death-grips with the enemy'. Sergeant Major W.B. Schaeffer, who would be killed in action in May, informed his mother:

We all are anxious to have a scrap and so break the monotony and get some of the fat off ... When we were told by the Colonel [to prepare for battle] we made the Pyramids shake and tremble with our cheers ... Say Mother dear, when we get into action ... I hope I do my duty and soldier well and not turn my back on the enemy ...

It was often not until many had reached the cold beaches and cliffs of Anzac Cove and Ari Burnu that their preconceptions of warfare were altered dramatically and irrevocably. Private Henry Hird of the 7th Battalion was prevented from landing with the first wave of troops at 4.30 a.m. in the Sunday dawn of 25 April by a painful abscess in his right ear. As he wrote in his last letter from Imbros Island on the 29th:

I was never so disappointed in my life ... we watched the others going ashore tugged by steam pinnaces and they might have been going to a picnic to all appearances. Everything looked so peaceful on that beautiful Sunday morning. I don't think anyone seemed to realize what war was ...
Hird himself began to realize 'a bit more that there was a war on somewhere' about 8.00 a.m. when a boatload of fifty wounded were returned on board his troopship. 'Two of the poor fellows died shortly afterwards and were buried over the side', he wrote, '[the rest] ... were soon transferred to a hospital ship and a good thing for them too as the ship's doctor couldn't do a thing for them.' Hird was scribbling this out in a letter to 'Eva' as he waited himself to disembark with another landing party. The narrative trails off in mid-sentence and then there is a hurried addendum 'Goodbye, we are fast going ashore. H. Hird.' Several hours later, H. Hird too was dead.\(^{16}\)

The aforementioned medical orderly aboard the *Seang Choon*, Peter Hall similarly watched the Australians depart for battle:

... as school boys going to a football match. Everybody was in the best of moods 'slinging off' at one another and singing ... One chap I remember, as we got nearer to the scene of strife set everyone singing by thumping out 'Everybody's doing it', and as the rattle of the machine guns began to be heard there was great cheering aboard as it was naturally supposed that our boys were giving the Turks hell. But little did they think that the little white puffs of smoke bursting in every direction was not our shell, but that of the enemy's shrapnel cutting our boys to pieces.

Witnessing the invasion from the *Seang Choon*'s deck, his fellow orderlies were in a position somewhat akin to Australian newspaper readers a fortnight later, for they 'began to look upon the scene as one might at some great drama, not realizing its meaning'. Yet these men were about to experience modern warfare's grosser intimacies with an immediacy from which most newspaper readers would be perpetually delivered. At 5.00 a.m., a tug with three barges in tow, full of wounded men had appeared and soon the three doctors and fifteen attendants were vainly trying to comfort the 640 injured. 'Nothing that I could write could ever enlarge upon the horror of this period,' the orderly recalled:
Before morning every available bit of space had been used. They were lying on top and underneath mess tables; in fact it was difficult to walk so closely were they packed. There were no mattresses for them. They lay on the bare boards with hard cork life belts for pillows, with arms and legs all smashed up, squeezed against others, with their faces half blown away... There were hundreds in just the same plight... There were young chaps with nothing left of their hands but one or two fingers which hung onto their wrists by bits of skin... Many died that night with bullets through their lungs, some... in great agony. We buried 18 off this boat... Many fellows lay on the hard deck for five days with broken limbs and gaping shrapnel wounds without better attention than such as myself was able to give them. Yet... there was never a complaint. In fact, you could almost say they were cheerful. They cracked jokes and sang little ditties, not just to keep up their hearts but because there was nothing else to do that was worthwhile... I shall never get the smell of blood out of my nostrils. The place simply flowed with it. I fancy I can still feel the warm claggy stuff running up my arms... It would appear that [those responsible]... forgot that there would be any wounded, so little proper arrangements were made for them...

It is in scenes such as this that the oppressive experience of Gallipoli fails to merge neatly with the reiterated, legendary images of 'Anzac'. Reality counteracts myth, as the appalling conception of young men 'bleeding to death' grates against the gratifying symbolic emblems of blood sacrifice and blood baptism 'in the font of the Dardanelles'; and the man stepping out onto the corpse-strewn beach parts company with the citizen who cheered to send him there. Private N. Plomley had his 'first taste... of the horrors of war' as he waded ashore and noticed that the man beside him had had half his face shot away. Near the beach front, A.R. Perry of the 10th Battalion saw comrades who had just previously been 'laughing and joking as though picnicking' fall moaning with their 'life blood soaking down into the red clay and sand'. By evening, he too was one of the wounded being loaded aboard the Seang Choon. 'How we longed for nightfall! How we prayed for this ghastly day to end!' wrote one of the first soldiers to land. Lieutenant-Colonel R.E. Courtney, the Commandant of the 14th Battalion, corresponded with his brother, a Brigadier-General from a hospital in Malta, where he
had been placed after suffering a nervous 'breakup' from 'three days of awe, of death and of hardships that never ceased for a moment'. He remembered himself 'mostly crawling around, feverish, weary, anxious, dirty, unshaven, caring for nothing but those two posts [Courtney's and Quinn's] and doing everything to feed and comfort the men'. This 'first introduction to real war' had left only eleven of his thirty-three fellow officers alive. He recalled seeing one of his 'pals ... tied up and almost bereft of his senses' from the impact of the ordeal; whilst another, a favorite officer with the men had been 'found ... in the trench shot through the mouth, three chambers of his revolver empty'. 'The anxiety is truly very great,' Courtney confessed:

Oh God only knows the strain we bear ... The terrible effort to 'lie' to one's pals and oneself by keeping calm and unmoved, to steady one's fingers when lighting the comforting but deceiving fag. I dimly remember ... wondering how long I COULD keep this up ...

As Lieutenant Clem Walsh wrote home to Newcastle in early June, 'Numbers have been sent back with their minds unhinged through the strain.'

In Australia, however, the business of keeping minds attuned to sending 'thought-waves of victory' out to these men - caught in the Gallipoli 'trap' - had fully engaged the national press. Initial tension and confusion concerning a true account of the landing had caused the *Daily Standard*, on 30 April to report worriedly upon conflicting statements arriving from the Dardanelles, particularly Turkish claims of an Allied disaster there. This uneasiness may in part be blamed upon a censorship blackout of all reportage about the assault. Eventually, however, 'public anxiety' was allayed by accounts of the exceptional 'pluck and dash' of the Australians, graphically displayed in the famous despatch printed on 8 May from Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett of the London *Daily Telegraph* and followed, on the 14th, by the soberer and more accurate reportage from Australian war correspondent, C.E.W. Bean. On this latter
date, Prime Minister Fisher wrote to the Queensland Premier suggesting that the former account be read by headmasters to school children throughout the Commonwealth. On 19 May, J.D. Story replied from the Department of Public Instruction that the narrative was to be published in the Education Office Gazette, along with 'a direction to teachers to read the extract to their pupils and to make suitable comments.' At the same time, both Ashmead-Bartlett's and Bean's pieces were reprinted in a special booklet, Australia at the Dardanelles so that senior students could read for themselves of the splendid, heroic performances of the landing parties and the later spectacle, 'along the sunny shore', of 'hundreds of men bathing together' in the shrapnel-flecked sea, 'diving, splashing and enjoying sunbaths'.

Given an established tone of unchallenged optimism in all press reports upon the war, it was fully to be expected that the especial heroism displayed by the troops would be emphasized, as much as the terrible suffering, fear and torments they experienced were to be underplayed. Indeed, a near-holiday atmosphere was imparted by repeated allusions to sport, picnics and sea-bathing. 'The beach looked almost like that at Manly,' ran one press account, whilst another decided that 'the funniest thing of the whole show' had been the antics of many troopship sailors, sneaking ashore, simply to be 'up in the trenches, enjoying the fun.' Yet another newspaper presented the reassuring information that:

... the boys were the same light-hearted, devil-may-care, but determined Australians at the end of the first day's fighting as they have always been ... The wounded are cheerful and are being well looked after and are only too eager to get back and see a bit more of the fun ...

A Lone Hand article carried an impression of the landing as a three day picnic feast of 'Turkish delight'. Australian journalist, Keith Murdoch,
visiting the peninsula in early September also described it initially as 'a bush picnic', although he was soon to change his opinion dramatically. 'Snipers: Sport of Anzac' was the published headline to a report from C.E.W. Bean on 25 August; while a newspaper poem, 'Wounded' conveyed the extended metaphor of a war casualty as a batsman's dismissal in a cricket match, after a 'glorious innings':

They sent Australia in to make a score.  
I played the game; right through played decent cricket  
Played for my side until they got my balls.  
I'm out! I wish I could have kept my wicket  
And sent a few more 'over the rails' ...

Descriptions of hospital ships with 'beautiful light swing cots' for the wounded, in wards 'where men went softly and hands moved deftly' and there was 'never a cry of pain', only the 'glorious light of heroism kindled in humble bodies' provided more palatable journalistic fare than honest recounts of the bloody chaos on board the Seang Choon or of the 'frightful' days Sister Alice Kitchen described in her diary, tending to hundreds of the dirty, hungry and ragged wounded upon a number of other insufficiently equipped hospital ships.

'R's the report of the latest success(strictly compiled for the use of the press,' scornfully remarked soldier poet, J.W. Henderson in his 'Anzac Alphabet'; and Chaplain Colonel E.N. Merrington of Brisbane was later to remember hearing the peals of laughter, arising from the dugouts, as the men read the concocted letters, purporting to come from their own trenches, in the newspapers they received. Some of this merriment no doubt carried a bitter strain of disillusionment, as the workings of propaganda were clearly exposed to these soldiers under fire for perhaps the first time. Private R.A. Marrott wrote:

... we have since learned a terrible lot from the Sydney papers of various things that were supposed to have happened such as the Light Horseman who threw Turks over his head ... you should have heard the roar of derision ...
Homefront Images of Gallipoli.
Gilbert Anschan, in the trenches at Sari Bair wrote to a friend, 'Newspaper reports we take not the slightest notice of. We who are behind the scenes know better, oh too well...' Such awareness of the false images of battle, structured by censorship and propaganda, caused other soldiers to speculate, 'Not until a few shells land from an enemy in Sydney or Melbourne will some people realize what we are up against.'

Yet, even had there been less curtailment and improvisation of news, a major communications hurdle would still have remained between the soldier and the private citizen. For the soldier was continually assailed, through all his senses, by 'a world rolled back into ... primordial chaos' and invariably lacked the linguistic skill to convey its terrible novelty, just as the non-combatant lacked both the imagination and the fortitude to understand it. Indeed, in the context of the persistent euphemisms by which warfare was conventionally typified and made acceptable, any new idiom, attempting to convey its utter frightfulness could make little headway. 'The war would have been simply unbelievable', comments Paul Fussell, 'From the very beginning a fissure was opening between the Army and civilians.' Private R.P. Brett wrote to his mother from Heliopolis in July 1915, 'You could never realize the thing that I have seen and what is more I could not describe it fully to you.' In another letter, however, he tried to convey his experience and reactions with his own meagre verbal skill:

... we fixed bayonets, loaded our rifles and then the next thing was charge (oh mummer) ... I felt like something that had been in a cage with a few playful lions and tigers for a year or two dinkum.

Despite such understandable incoherency, it is nevertheless possible to discern that some faint impressions of the real carnage, however abridged in their impact, were beginning to penetrate the veneer of homefront optimism by late 1915. One can only speculate upon the impact
of letters, such as the one written by Private Francis Clune to his mother and sent home 'by a mate so the censor won't see it', describing the Lone Pine assault on 9 August in which 2,300 Australians were killed or wounded. 'All around could be heard the groans of men ...', Clune wrote:

All along the route were men lying dead and wounded and occasionally one would fall over a dead body. At one place ... there were thirty or forty brave fellows lying, and one doctor was attending them by the light of a hurricane lamp. I saw him dressing one poor chap who had half his side blown away and his face looked ghastly in the dim light ... a bomb came whizzing over and blew the face off a Ghurka a yard away ... and spattered me with his brains and blood ...

Clune was then himself hit in both legs and was writing from the mockingly named 'Luna Park Hospital' in Egypt. 'They are nearly all cripples here you know,' he concluded buoyantly, '... Some of us with arms off, legs off; some with only one eye and some without any but we are all happy'.

Such uncensored accounts immediately affected only a very restricted audience, but the disquiet engendered privately by such letters was nevertheless a continual corrosive upon public complacency, bolstered by the repetitively bland and adulatory press reports. Columns of listed war dead and wounded in these same newspapers served as another corrective to the unvarily optimistic tone of the daily headlines. 'The casualty lists continue and continue and continue, bringing the war close home to us,' commented 'Vesta' in the Queenslander in late May 1915. Initially, this newspaper proudly carried several black-bordered pages of photographs of Queensland casualties weekly, but, by mid-1915, it was complaining of 'unwarranted rumours' circulating 'that a whole battalion had been wiped out', and that Australian troops were 'mowed down completely'. In July, the Lone Hand noted despondently, 'The casualty list has become a familiar feature of our newspapers and has brought the war home to the Australian people with poignant emphasis. The proportion of wounded and killed seems
very high.' By the close of the Gallipoli campaign in December 1915, Australia had suffered 26,094 casualties, including 7,600 killed in action and the 'Rolls of Honour' were appearing in the daily press with a daunting regularity. And so they were to continue as Western Front casualties, beginning with a German raid on Australian trenches in May 1916 soon made the terrible Gallipoli losses spread across seven bitter months, seem comparatively tolerable. In the fighting of the Somme campaign - or 'The Great Fuck-up' as the troops perceptively christened it - Australia lost 32,262 men. At Fromelles, on 19 July, 5,533 Australians fell for no perceptible territorial gain, while at Pozières, by 23 July, 22,826 became casualties in six weeks for the reward of less than a mile of muddy ground. As Bill Gammage concludes, Pozières was 'a monstrous sacrifice which tumbled the romances and grand illusions of the past into the dust [from] whence they rarely rose again.'

Attrition warfare in the trenches thus invoked an increasingly commiserative echo of trauma upon the homefront, despite the blandishments of the press. Henry Gyles Turner, an Australian Social Darwinist reflected in 1916:

At the beginning of last year, it was a matter of aroused interest in the strategy ... of contending armies of which we had little knowledge. Today those cables strike a keen individual note of weal and woe into a thousand Australian homes. The vastness of the issues benumb our mental capacity ... for we have no standard of comparison. Even our sense of the horror of it is blunted by its unreasonable magnitude ... the wholesale destruction that our men are facing so gallantly has no concentrated point ... Consoling phrases in letters to grieving relatives that 'he suffered no pain, being killed by an exploding shell', that death was 'instantaneous', 'he did not feel it' or 'his face was unmarked' were only of minimal recompense. The monotony of mass casualty statistics was punctuated constantly by the benumbing individual loss and enlivened
by the constant expectation of it, as a growing aggregate of distress
touched all who had someone missing from their sides in action,
'somewhere' in France or Egypt. 'When I feel inclined to worry', wrote
one unidentified 'mother', with four sons in the A.I.F., 'I turn my
thoughts to some pleasant happening and live it over again. There is
always something we can think of that will turn our thoughts in another
direction.' Another 'bereaved mother' found compensation in knitting
comforts for the 'dear boys' in the trenches. 'There was a pile of socks
on a table near her,' the *Queenslander* reported, 'She has already knitted
147 pair'. Others found the sublimation of 'a grief that is intolerable
constantly to face' rather more difficult to control. A Mount Morgan
resident, whose only son was missing in action wrote desperately to
Premier Ryan, 'I really do not know how to act. The suspense is more than
I can bear. My health is completely broken.' Another vowed, 'I hope ere
this year closes it will close this cruel war ... I cannot again meet
sixteen of my relatives for their graves are on foreign shores.' The
year 1916 closed with 68,278 Australians dead, wounded, missing, sick
or prisoners of war, and the worst was yet to come.

The re-appearance of soldiers from the war front in a maimed and
distracted condition by the later months of 1915 gave a flesh-and-blood
actuality to the casualty statistics, which even the most unimaginative
could no longer avoid. A soldier predicted hopefully in June 1915 that
all 'will realize it when the first ship arrives home' bearing the
initial batch of the 'thousands and thousands' of wounded to come.
Subsequently, Brisbane citizens registered dismay and alarm at seeing
'wounded soldiers ... on crutches' or 'obviously ill', or shell-shock
victims, 'lost and pitifully weeping' in the streets. 'The maimed,
the halt, the blind - very familiar figures have they become to us of late
months. They are in our homes, in our streets,' observed Henrietta
Sergeant in *Everylady's Journal*. Freda Sternberg, writing for the same periodical in August 1916 concluded:

Perhaps nothing has brought to the people of Australia a deeper realization of the horrors or warfare ... than the return of the wounded soldiers who have endured hardships too terrible to contemplate.

Another columnist, trying desperately to see a brighter side to the grim picture described Private Butterworth who had 'lost his right arm, the sight of one eye, two fingers from his left hand and he has 130 wounds in his body as souvenirs from Gallipoli'. Yet, the writer added encouragingly:

He has, however, still retained his sense of humour. He is also thoroughly imbued with a military spirit ... At first I could only see his maimed hand, his glass eye, his wooden arm. It seemed terrible that a young, well-built boy should be so maimed. Then I saw him smile. It reflected his courage and optimistic outlook. I knew then he had long since ceased to worry about his wounds ...

A Queensland nurse, Alice E. Williams, who had embarked on the *Orsova* with the untried troops and 239 other army nurses in July 1915 saw the transformation in the returning men from another perspective. 'When I remember how well and strong our boys were then - the fittest and best of Australia's manhood, how full of hope and cheer ... I am sad,' she confessed, 'for I also remember how we brought them home again on the *Kanourna* - maimed, wounded, gassed, crippled for life, and some did not return.' An equivalent sense of this sobering realization is caught in the descriptions given of spectators' reactions to the sight of the returned men in the first Brisbane Anzac Day procession in April 1916. Initially, a hearty 'outburst of cheering' greeted their arrival but this fell away suddenly to a quiet hush as the 'pathetic figures' of wounded soldiers, who could not walk were carried from motor cars onto the saluting platform. 'A great many' of the 50,000 who watched the 6,434 uniformed men parade past at this first such march to be officially
held in Australia were dressed in mourning, noted the *Daily Standard* and 'displayed some cherished relic ... associated with one or another of those sleeping in Gallipoli'.

The initial social reception of the Anzac legend can most accurately be plotted within this psychological context of loss, suffering and a fierce demand for the compensation of failure. 'Who shall say men fell for naught?' asked the poet 'Oriel' with angry pride in the *Argus*:

> If triumph can be in defeat, our failure is our fame -
> We lost a strip of foeman's soil; we gained a deathless name.

Queensland led the way in the celebration of the anniversary of the Gallipoli landings, but this Anzac Day movement seems to have been more directly prompted by the evacuation than by the invasion of the Peninsula. This retreat - ironically 'the only part of the operation to be a total success' - began on 18 December 1915 and was completed by 8 January 1916. On 12 January, a meeting was called by the Mayor of Brisbane at the Exhibition Hall and was attended by the Governor, the Premier, the Inspector-General of the Commonwealth forces, as well as other leading military, religious and social figures after a suggestion had been made by a Mr T.A. Ryan to Colonel A.J. Thynne, Chairman of the State Recruiting Committee, that the landing date should now be suitably commemorated. At this gathering, motions demanding that 'the heroic conduct of our gallant Queensland troops' should receive 'undying fame' and that other Australian States be invited to respond similarly were passed. Subsequently, meetings of an organizing committee at the Premier's office composed of educationalists, Empire loyalists from the leading British-Australian organizations, military and political leaders and, eventually, representatives from the Chamber of Commerce and the Employers' Federation - a staunchly middle class body of men - made the appropriate arrangements, including complementary ceremonies to be held at Westminster Abbey and elsewhere in London.
T.J. Ryan himself was initially the Chairman of this body and, as H.J. Diddams noted in 1921, all subsequent meetings had been held at that office, indicating the Labor party's identification, from the outset with the ceremonial and ideological aspects of Anzac commemorations.  

The shock of withdrawal after the immense suffering and sacrifice expended to hold on to the Peninsula was 'a heartbreaking disappointment' to many, both in the trenches and at home. R.A.L. McDonald wrote from Alexandria, 'I could not believe it ... The thin red line kept getting thinner and thinner'. 'It was pretty hard leaving after all that had been done', another concluded. Many soldiers found the final abandonment of slaughtered mates the most unbearable aspect of the retreat. As the poet 'Argent' expressed it:

That's where it gets me twisted. The rest of it I don't mind  
But it don't seem right for me to be off, and to leave old  
Jim behind ...  

Brigadier-General Ryrie, speaking later at a troop concert in Egypt recalled that the saddest moment came as 'the men under me ... looked back and saw the thousands of crosses of so many young Australians who had fought and died for the Empire in vain.' C.E.W. Bean reported, 'When the General finished, you could have heard a pin drop, and many men were so overcome that they left the hall.' Yet soldiers who had experienced the disease, dysentery and freezing misery of those final months on the Peninsula could not have been entirely unhappy to turn their backs upon it. As Lieutenant Clem Walsh concluded, 'the bitter pill of having to leave what had cost so much' had at least been sugared by the 'extraordinary success' of the evacuation and the consolation that 'everyone ... seems to agree that it was not worth hanging on.'  

The combatants' reaction of 'Oh damn it all. That's done ...' was not so easily accommodated at home, however, where expectations had
been artificially sustained by falsely optimistic reportage. One common response to the shock was the adamant denial that retreat actually meant failure. The Courier, for instance, strongly rejected the notion that the campaign had been 'so much waste', as it publicized a new recruiting song, 'Coo-ee, Coo-ee, You're Wanted at the Dardanelles'. A correspondent, 'Anglo-Australian' angrily scorned the suggestion that the Anzacs had failed with the rhetorical question, 'Is "Balaclava" to a Britisher synonymous with failure?' A fervid intention to quell the pain of defeat and to avenge the humility of withdrawal is reflected in the recruiting total for January 1916 - in Queensland, a peak of 3,886, the highest monthly aggregate of the war. Such a response to the news of retreat was indeed far more immediate than the enlistment reaction following the landings of April-May 1915. The May 1915 Queensland total of 1,069 recruits had been a considerable advance upon the low aggregate of 772 enlisting in April, but it was not until August that a figure of 3,013 had been achieved. The peak aggregate of January 1916, which dramatically doubled the total of 1,943 for the previous month can also be related to anticipations of conscription, heightened by the distribution of the War Census military questionnaire to eligible males from late November 1915. Yet the gradual rise in enlistment during the Gallipoli occupation can similarly be explained by high unemployment percentages, the impact of organized recruiting drives from mid-1915 and the furious public reaction to the disclosures of the Bryce report on German 'atrocities' in May of that year. The determined doubling of an already high recruiting aggregate at the beginning of 1916, however, was clearly achieved, not simply by official pressure and by continuing unemployment, but also by a psychological impetus for retribution, which sought to assuage any sense of military defeat and to counteract the trauma of widespread personal loss.

Other, darker signs of disquiet were revealed, as shall be seen, in
an intensified pursuit of social scapegoats. Violent anti-German agitation reached new heights of virulence in the early months of 1916, and there was a corresponding intensification of wider anti-alien activity. Similarly, in January 1916, Prime Minister Hughes launched a sustained attack against I.W.W. radicals and others 'who babble about peace'; and, in this and the following month, there were widespread reports of soldier discontent or rioting at Brisbane, Toowoomba, Lismore, Casula, Liverpool, Sydney, the Hawkesbury, Melbourne and Perth. The loss of Gallipoli, in both personal and national terms had opened a deep social and psychological wound which required urgent repair. It is worth speculating whether the Anzac legend would have become so readily institutionalized as an annual celebration had the invasion met with success rather than defeat.

As a compensatory legend, the Anzac story filled an important function in the immediate expression of Australian war propaganda by keeping open 'the realm of purpose and meaning with which many entered the war.' As Eric Leed states, myths help 'mediate unpalatable cultural contradictions' and, in this sense, the lessons of Gallipoli reasserted the transcendence of loyalist ideals over intolerable warfront realities. The Anzac legend therefore emphasized the masculine concept of heroism, held consonant with national fitness, in a world where, in reality, men were reduced in scale and made 'recognizable only by their smallness and abjectness' in an overpowering technological wasteland of exhaustion, terror and destruction. Thus, the process of myth-making associated with the Dardanelles campaign tended to shift the focus of attention from the bungling, slaughter and failure towards the symbolic recompense of masculine virtues, blood sacrifice and national achievement displayed there. This development of 'mythophoeia' is always difficult to deal with historically, for the evolving myth gains much of its potency in inspirational or didactic terms by being constantly at odds with history.
Anzac Imagery I: Apotheosis of the Fighting Man.
This design has been approved for a certificate to be issued by the Anzac Workers' Committee to each of those who have so unselfishly laboured each week-end in the erection of cottages for the widows of soldiers and for returned soldiers.
and its critical, investigative intentions. As the sociologist, E.K. Francis writes, 'The social myth ... has its roots in a religious interpretation of human existence, in a "philosophy", a social doctrine, a political creed that is considered to be self-evident'. Over time, the myth becomes fully ritualized into a 'sequence of radically unchangeable gestures', held to be sacred and hence, impervious to critical examination. And while it still serves the function of fulfilling some compelling psychological needs in a population, the myth will remain sacrosanct. The Anzac legend has been rendered inviolable largely because of its vital role of psychologically repaying the Australian people for an immense social loss, for which there could be no direct resolution or concrete compensation. Though writers such as Bernard Smith may refer boldly to the historian's professional activity as 'Jack the myth-killer,' hunting myth out and destroying it if he can, the historical treatment of the Anzac experience has remained mainly reverential or, at most, gingerly critical, as if too much probing of the therapeutic myth which sustains it might reopen a terrible wound.

And so it might. Yet, in examining the legend dispassionately, there is no need to debunk in any way the formidable endurance of the participants or the 'remarkable atmosphere' of 'a deep brotherhood' which arose among them as a result of this terrible, shared experience. Upon this issue, the letters, diaries and recollections of the combatants themselves form an eloquent enough testimony. As Eric Fromm concludes:

War encourages deep-seated human impulses, such as altruism and solidarity to be expressed - impulses that are stunted by the principles of egotism and competition that peacetime life engenders in modern man. Class differences, if not absent, disappear to a considerable extent ... The Australian forces in action demonstrated such characteristics in full
measure; yet they were also the first to decry the mythical significance being extracted from their military performances. Light Horseman, Harry McCann wrote in the Anzac Book:

Oh! I've snarled to hear the phrases that the writers coined for us -
"Deathless heroes - lasting glory" and the other foolish fuss;
For we're simple sinful soldiers, and we're often rude and rough,
And our characters ain't altered since we donned the khaki stuff.

R.A. McDonald, writing from Romani in August 1916 claimed that even the word 'Anzac' was being rejected by the fighting men as it was 'a favorite term being used by the cold-footed brigade who pose in front of cameras as happy Anzacs'.

As Paul Fussell shows, the entire war experience, revisited across space and time tends to create 'a world of reinvigorated myth.' He argues:

War experience and its recall take the form of the deepest, most universal kind of allegory. Movement up the line, battle and recovery become emblems of quest, death and rebirth... In one sense the movement was towards myth, towards a revival of the cultic, the mystical, the sacrificial, the prophetic, the sacramental and the universally significant. In short, towards fiction.

Just as the soldier-at-arms cynically rejected the propaganda of the newspapers' war, he perhaps also saw and felt the front-line horrors with too much intimacy to appreciate the mythical significance of literary reconstructions like 'All was beautiful in that gladness of men about to die', composed by John Masefield and other apologist writers. It was only later, when selective memories had muted the worst of the ordeal and emphasized its finer moments that the returned soldier, in search of social re-acceptance, also fell under the thrall of this elevating legend.
The central claim of the legend that 'a New Australia' was born out of the travail upon Turkish shores is the most difficult aspect of it to support historically. Despite the physical superiority of the Australian over the other Allied troops and their better adaptability to forbidding conditions, their experience fails to sustain the emergence of any sense of a separate nationalism. As Neville Meaney bluntly concludes, the Australians 'in a British cause and under British leadership' had amply demonstrated their spirited involvement with the Imperial war effort. In so doing, they had tested their soldierly qualities 'in the sight of the whole world' and, by their perseverance, had won for their country 'the unabashed enjoyment of acclaim'. Yet national recognition hardly meant national independence. As in the Boer War, the so-called 'blood baptism' was again performed upon a still-born.²⁰⁸

The rhetoric of Anzac was once more pervaded by the transcendent imagery of national blood-letting: for instance, that the Anzacs had 'carved Australia's name with dripping bayonets upon the Orient's Gate'; 'With precious life-blood brimmed each letter deep' as it equally hallowed the soil below 'which drank it in'.²⁰⁹ Yet this blood was again shed in the spirit of sacrifice to the Empire rather than in any defiance of its controls. The conflict for an independent Irish nationalism, which had again erupted a year after the Gallipoli landings, clearly demonstrates this important distinction. For this struggle, too, was ideologically sustained by assertions similar to those found in the hagiography of Anzac. Padriac Pearse, the Irish rebel leader wrote in 1913, 'Nationhood is not achieved otherwise than in arms; ... bloodshed is a cleansing and sanctifying thing and the nation which regards it as the final horror has lost its manhood.' In 1916, the Irish socialist James Connolly added, in agreement with this 'blood-sacrifice ideal': 'Without the shedding of blood there is no redemption.' Yet, whilst the
Irish Nationalists depicted themselves rising 'in bloody protest for a glorious thing' - their national independence - for the British-Australians, pouring out their lives 'in a crimson flood', the 'glorious thing' would remain the British Empire itself. The *Lone Hand* stated in February 1916, 'The Australasian baptism of blood ... has helped to cement the Empire, and their splendid heroism has ennobled Australia and New Zealand in the eyes of the world.'

1915 had been 'one of the most depressing years in British history' and the Gallipoli debacle was crowned 'the most conspicuous failure in a war of many disillusionments.' Yet the heroism of the soldiers involved had saved it from utter opprobrium. The landings had occurred between the British warfront tragedies of Neuve Chapelle on 10 March and Festubert on 15 May. Though the Dardanelles campaign was to become a third tragedy, botched and seemingly doomed from the outset, the initial performance of the Australians and New Zealanders, like that of the Canadians at Ypres on 26 April, was both face-saving and exonerative. As the prospect of defeat became unavoidable, the campaign was exalted for its alleged attributes of moral triumph within impending military disaster. As Barbara Tuchman has acidly remarked upon this peculiarly 'British' process of transfiguration:

> Whatever the fiasco, aplomb is unbroken. Mistakes, failures, stupidities or other causes of disaster mysteriously vanish. Disasters are recorded with care and pride and become transmuted into things of beauty ...

It is possible that a flourishing separatist mood in Australia might have been built upon a combined response of both resentment and pride which a full recognition of British ineptitude at the Dardanelles, contrasted starkly against Anzac fortitude could have locally induced. War censorship, however, effectively prevented this. Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, whose earlier pangiic had earned him the title of Australia's
new 'discoverer' was so disenchanted by the disastrous consequences of the occupation by September 1915 that he had entrusted an uncensored despatch upon the real situation at Gallipoli to Keith Murdoch, war correspondent for the Melbourne Herald. Murdoch, however, was apprehended by a British military escort at Marsailles and the document was confiscated. Murdoch's subsequent letter of 23 September to Prime Minister Fisher, based largely upon Ashmead-Bartlett's disclosures and detailing 'the continuous and ghastly bungling' of the British General Staff upon the Peninsula became a state paper in Britain, circulated among members of the Dardanelles Committee, where it substantially influenced their decision to end the mistaken campaign. Yet it was allowed virtually no press coverage. 'I could pour into your ears so much truth about the grandeur of our Australian army,' Murdoch wrote, 'that your Australianism would become a more powerful sentiment than before.' Australian readers were not to receive this particular nationalistic fillip, however, until the letter was released through the Public Records Office and published in the Sydney Morning Herald in November 1968.216

Furthermore, when it became known in early February 1916 that Ashmead-Bartlett - whose glowing report of the landings became an annual liturgy in Australian schools - was to tour the Commonwealth, lecturing upon the war, George Foster Pearce, the Minister for Defence wrote in a 'strictly confidential' letter to all the State Premiers:

In view of the attitude Mr Bartlett is taking in connection with the war I am of opinion that his lectures, if on the same lines as that he has hitherto followed would have a very detrimental effect on recruiting at the present juncture and I am submitting for your consideration that it is inadvisable that he should be in any way recognised by either the Commonwealth or State Governments.

His despatches 'in regard to the Gallipoli campaign', Pearce added, had
been 'of a very disconcerting nature' and his subsequent public talks in the United States had done 'considerable injury to the allied cause there.' New Zealand was presently taking 'strict precautions to ensure that his lectures and publications thereof are strictly censored' and the Commonwealth Government intended to follow suit. Premier Ryan replied that the Queensland Government would likewise 'give no official recognition to that gentleman should he visit this State.' As Ernest Scott shows, Bartlett's lecture tour was only allowed to proceed in Australia after his texts had been thoroughly perused by the censorship for offensive matter and he had been warned 'that he must not deviate from the lines laid down ... or his entertainment would be at once stopped and himself removed from the platform.' Statements which might receive attention in the British press would never be published here, Pearce told him.\(^\text{215}\)

Thus, while English newspapers like the London *Spectator* openly branded Gallipoli as a 'bloody fiasco', the brunt of which the Anzacs had borne, the most that was publicly admitted in Australia was that 'somebody's bungled the job' - and the Imperial connection was in no serious way threatened or besmirched.\(^\text{216}\) 'Blunders ... admittedly have been made' was all that the Brisbane *Courier* was prepared to say.\(^\text{217}\) When, in early September 1916, Labor minister John Fihelly openly stated at a Queensland Irish Association dinner that 'thousands of good Australians lost their lives through the bungling and ineptitude of British military chieftains', this statement was simply taken as another regrettable facet of a speech which made the word 'Fihellyism' consonant with the worst kinds of disloyalty.\(^\text{218}\)

Instead, the main thrust of the Anzac message of 25 April was that 'on the day of testing, Australia became fully one with the Empire.' If the spirit of Anzac had created 'a new Australia', then that 'new
Australianism' was once again a loyal part of a grander 'new Imperialism'. Acting-Premier, E.G. Theodore reaffirmed this position on the evening of the first Anzac Day commemoration when he stated, 'When the Empire was called upon to protect the weak against the oppressor ... the overseas dominions would not hesitate for one moment in springing to arms to protect the motherland.' The King's message that day confirmed that the Anzacs had 'shed fresh lustre on the British arms' and, in so doing, had 'drawn our peoples more closely together and added strength and glory to the Empire.' A month later, on Empire Day itself, the Courier remarked that the annual gathering of Imperial war veterans showed 'the spirit of Empire and race - the spirit which we now call Anzac'; while the Governor, Goold-Adams averred that Empire Day was 'even a greater day' than Anzac Day itself. Every day should now be Empire Day, the Courier's editorial suggested, 'wherever the Imperial flag waves', for the Empire had 'come to mean everything ... and, unless fatal mistakes are made, the firm foundations of its greatness can never be undermined.' The Sydney journal, The Land warned readers against any revival of the "cut the painter" twaddle', with the prophesy that 'Australia ... as a sovereign republic couldn't live five minutes as the times go'. A prize essay, 'The British Empire: Australia as a Factor in its Development' by Mr T.J. Doran of Booval was featured in two long instalments in the Queensland Times of late April 1916. 'The future of the world was not with petty States but with mighty Empires,' Doran predicted, and therefore 'a finer cry and a better one than "Australia for the Australians" ... will be - the Empire for its people'. The essay culminated in the beseeching climax:

Mother of the Empire! Hear our cry - hasten the day, grant us our Imperial heritage and so make Australia Felix in deed as in name - The Perfect State ... O Motherland! We await the call; to make an Empire such as the world has never seen, almost beyond the conception of man. We have fought under the old flag with a heroism unsurpassed by your own sons. The blood we have shed must cement our Imperial destiny.
The Imperial bases of Australian loyalty therefore remained unaffected by any rumblings of republicanism which a bitterly realistic assessment of the Gallipoli experience might have induced. Instead, the Anzac sacrifice was utilized to redeem the British military reputation. It is small wonder, then, that the *National Leader*, an aggressive new soldiers' newspaper begun in Brisbane in September 1916 was forced to admit in December that 'the spirit of Anzac' had 'failed to inculcate in the minds of the Australian people' the 'Big Australia sentiment'. This would, however, 'be drilled into them when the boys come back', the journal promised. Yet, at the second Anzac celebration in April 1917, it seemed clear that combined loyalties towards Empire, nation and war were all flagging considerably in the local community. Only 1,998 men, or less than a third of the 6,434 parading in 1916, actually marched and, of these, only 364, including twenty car-loads of co-opted injured were returned men, although substantially more than 2,000 were home by this time. The *National Leader* commented disconsolately:

The crowd in [Albert Square] ... was not over-enthusiastic when the returned men marched past in column ... nor was much enthusiasm displayed as the troops marched down Queen St. The procession was not as long as last year, and the considerable paucity of members was a serious reflection on the attitude of a certain section of the people towards recruiting.

By this time, expressions of unshaken loyalty had become very much the product of officially organized days of crowded ritual, like Empire Day, Anzac Day, the Anniversary of War's Outbreak and, less demonstratively than previously, the occasions of troop embarkation. All earlier signs of euphoria had long since evaporated. 'The glamor of war has gone,' an editorial in the *Lone Hand* recognized in September 1915, 'and only featherheads are likely to be carried off their feet by violent flag-flapping or feverish appeals.' Instead, war's deadening impact was responsible for an increasingly bewildered sense of public dismay, apathy
and tension. In August 1916, the Reverend James Heaton, a Methodist minister at Mount Morgan, one of those settlements almost ruined by war's outbreak, wrote to Premier Ryan, 'Our town has given 800 or 900 men to the war - the very picked manhood of the town ... Our only return so far is the daily news of wounds and death.'

Widespread exhaustion and disenchantment were reflected in the enlistment totals, which plummetted from the 3,886 peak of January 1916, month by month, to a mere 744, recruited after great difficulty in August 1916, on the eve of the first conscription campaign. The search for 'the last shilling' had faltered earlier still. At the outset, all social groups, from wealthy graziers to institutionalized Aborigines at Barambah reserve had given unstintingly, in an emotional response to the plight of the Belgians. 'Will you let them die?' the Courier asked in February 1915, 'shot down like ravenous dogs in the street', when the 'impelling anguish of hunger' caused them to rise desperately against their hated invaders. Yet, by March 1915, public disquiet was mounting about the constant demands to 'discharge your part/And Pay, Pay, Pay' and, by May, subscriptions had 'fallen away' to a large extent. In August, public calls began for State control over the dozens of proliferating funds, including a Sock and Comfort Fund, a Sandbag League and a War Horses Fund, from which 'all sorts and conditions of people were soliciting money in the public thoroughfares, at private houses and in workshops.' The Queensland Auditor-General reported confidentially to the Premier on 27 August about the 'many signs that the public are getting wearied of the incessant and perpetual calls upon their patriotism', with the result that, by the end of January 1916, the Labor Government had legislated for control over all forms of voluntary giving, despite outraged protests from Sir Alfred Cowley, President of the Queensland Patriotic Funds Committee.
By late 1915, also, the established Churches’ conception of ‘our soldiers’ as ‘servants of the great God’ and of the war as an expression of either His inscrutable will or divine providence were being widely questioned. This growing mistrust was first noticeable among the soldiers themselves. On the troopship *Benella* in November 1915, the Reverend William Shannon had preached upon ‘The Unavoidable Presence of God’ to gatherings of several hundred soldiers; but, by December after they had experienced Gallipoli at first hand, his numbers had dropped away to twenty-five. Even on Good Friday 1916, Shannon found, to his confusion and dismay:

> The services were poorly attended and indeed the men generally take little interest in things religious. Neither the war nor their wounds seem to make any impression on them spiritually. I spent a very idle day. Went down town at night and saw a good number of our soldiers fairly drunk. It is a great pity.

On the homefront, the radical *Ross’s Magazine* asked the Christian Churches in January 1916 to decide whether the war was an expression of holy righteousness or of divine wrath, as they seemed to be simultaneously and contradictorily claiming; and whether they supported ‘a God of Battles, Bloodiness and Bestiality’ or ‘a God of Peace, Love and Mercy’. At the same time, the results of an essay competition, conducted by the *Lone Hand* upon the subject ‘The Effect of the War on Religion’ appeared even more disconcerting. When these were published in February, they revealed that, of the 100 competitors, ‘only two or three ... believed that the churches would permanently benefit, and their essays unfortunately were not well written’. The rest of the entries either supported rationalism or maintained that the churches would suffer a declining influence, due to their war support. As one essayist concluded:
Christ, as the Prince of Peace attacks prevailing Social Evils.
Christianity and Warfare under Attack.
The failure of religion to prevent the outbreak of bloodshed and bitterness, and to be a moral guide in the problems of life compels one to conclude that the world must abandon the churches and seek elsewhere for a creed of humanity."^4

As if in recognition of these manifold signs of social disillusionment, Acting Premier Theodore informed the South Australian leader, Crawford Vaughan in June 1916 that his government did 'not contemplate any arrangements to commemorate the second anniversary of the war.' As it eventuated, however, State public servants were granted thirty minutes extra lunch-time leave to attend a patriotic meeting on that day and Theodore himself released a press statement promising that, 'There are manifest signs that the Germans will shortly be expiating in a terrible manner the crimes against civilization of which they have been guilty.'^35 Theodore's expectations were suffused with a grim irony, for, as he wrote, Australian divisions were undergoing destructive bombardments on Pozières Heights, in the midst of the futile Somme campaign. Yet his sustaining theme of German guilt and frightfulness could still be expected to evoke a spirited public response. For, as war-weariness had mounted and loyalties had fallen under excessive strain, Anti-Germanism had advanced, in its rancour and extremism, to burnish the hollowed shell of older and ostensibly grander ideals.
Chapter Two: Footnotes


5. H.A. Ellis, 'The Expansion of Britain's Imperial Relations with the Oversea Dominions Resulting from the War', *United Empire*, VI, no. 1, 1915, p.67.


13. J.B. 'Fall In!' in *ibid*, 29 December 1910. See also Will Lawson, 'Every Mother's Son', *Bulletin*, 3 February 1910; James Wattle, 'An Open Letter', *The Lone Hand*, 1 April 1911, p.444.

14. A selection of Hervey's militaristic verse may be found in the *Bulletin*, 7 July 1910, 15 September 1910, 20 October 1910, 5 July 1911; *The Lone Hand*, 1 April 1912, 1 June 1912.


29. I. Turner, Industrial Labour and Politics: The Dynamics of the Labour Movement in Eastern Australia 1800-1921, A.N.U., 1965, p.178. In this respect, Dan Coward points out: 'The relative absence of protest is not necessarily evidence of majority willingness to engage in war. Critics may have been inhibited for several reasons: caution in the face of intimidatory behaviour from the champions of the war; the prohibition put on criticism and enforced by the War Precautions Act and regulations; censorship imposed on newspaper reports of criticism of the war; ignorance of European affairs and the rapidity with which the news of war burst on unsuspecting Australians.' Coward, op. cit., p.34.

30. Brisbane Courier, 6 August 1914.


32. O. Meston, 'The Helping Hand', Brisbane Courier, 11 August 1914. Oscar Meston was the younger son of Archibald Meston, the architect of the Queensland Aboriginal Protection legislation of 1897. His father, too, later wrote strong pro-war poetry for the Bulletin and attempted to organize an Aboriginal contingent for the Front. See Brisbane Courier, 29 June 1915; Telegraph, 28 June 1915.


34. B. Stubbs, Beenleigh to Lieut.-Gov. Morgan, 19 September 1914, QSA GOVA67, in-letter no. 3512 of 1914.

35. Brisbane Courier, 3, 6 & 12 August 1914.

37. Brisbane Courier, 11 August 1914.

38. Ibid., 10 August 1914; Queensland Parliamentary Debates, CXVII, p.571.


42. T. Evans, Chinchilla to Premier Denham, 7 August 1914, QSA PRE/20, in-letter no. 12386 of 1914; J. Cronin, Barcaldine to Lieut.-Gov., 28 August 1914; W. Morse, Conference of Local Authorities Association to Lieut.-Gov., 24 August 1914, QSA GOV/A69, in-letter no. 3773 of 1914; Brisbane Courier, 5 August 1914.

43. Brisbane Courier, 5 August 1914; Premier Denham to Prime Minister Cook, 5 August 1914, QSA PRE/19 in-letter no. 9719 of 1914; Queensland Parliamentary Debates, CXVII, p.515.


46. Ibid., no. 6, pp.16-18, p.365; Turner, op. cit., pp.72-73.


48. Brisbane Worker, 13 August 1914.


52. Relief to Mining Centres File, August-September 1914, QSA COL/A985, in-letter no. 9904 of 1914; Minister of Works, Memo. on Chillagoe, 4 August 1914, QSA PRE/A505, in-letter no. 12452 of 1914.

53. Brisbane Courier, 4 August 1914; J. Crawford to Acting Chief Sec., 15 August 1914, QSA PRE/19, in-letter no. 9395 of 1914.
54. Petition, Mount Chalmers to Home Sec., 21 September 1914, QSA COL/A979, in-letter no. 7970 of 1914; Relief at Mining Centres, August-September 1914 op. cit.; J. Carmody, Charters Towers Report, 3 September 1914, QSA PRE/19, in-letter no. 9438 of 1914.

55. L. MacFarlane, Koorboora to E.G. Theodore, 12 August 1914, QSA COL/155, in-letter no. 732 of 1914.

56. Relief at Mining Centres, August-September 1914 op. cit.

57. Mungana Petition to Premier Denham, 24 August 1914, QSA PRE/19, in-letter no. 9583 of 1914; J. Birch, Stannery Hills Progress Association to Premier Denham, 13 August 1914, QSA PRE/19, in-letter no. 8471 of 1914; J. Lobston, Chamber of Commerce, Cloncurry to Premier Denham, 26 August 1914, QSA PRE/20, in-letter no. 9930 of 1914.


63. T.J. Foat, Brisbane Industrial Council to Premier Denham, 6 August 1914, QSA PRE/19, in-letter no. 9583 of 1914; Brisbane Courier, 5 August 1914; Queensland Parliamentary Debates, CXVII, p.526.

64. Burns Philp & Co., Circular 22 August 1914, QSA PRE/19, in-letter no. 8272 of 1914.

65. Murphy, op. cit., p.95; Memo. on Meat Supply for Imperial Uses Act, PRO C0418/125, in letter no. 3695 of 1914.

66. File on Price Rises, August-September 1914, QSA PRE/19, in-letter no. 9583 of 1914.


68. Turner, op. cit., p.87.

69. Bennett, Chamber of Commerce, Bowen to Denham and reply, 8 September 1914, QSA PRE/19, in letter no. 9930 of 1914.

70. Fisher to Denham and reply, 2 December 1914, QSA PRE/19, in-letter no. 12132 of 1914.
71. Lieut.-Gov. Morgan, Affairs Report, December 1914; Morgan commented that the boards had been generally condemned and had only proved 'of distinct value in protecting retail buyers'; PRO C0418/125, in-letter no. 48224 of 1914; Memo. on The Control of Trade Act, 1914 in QSA PRE/19, in-letter no. 9583 of 1914; Dear Living and Low Wages, Queensland A.L.P. Election Leaflets, 1913-1915, Mitchell Library Ms. Q329.34; International Socialist, 19 September 1914.

72. The Lone Hand, August 1915; Governor Goold-Adams noted in October 1915 that Labor had won the election because of 'general economic problems: the relation of capital and labour viz. higher wages, cheap food, increasing powers to Trade Unions, workers' dwellings, State Insurance, etc' all offered to voters in 'the most profligate manner'. Goold Adams Affairs Report, 14 October 1915, PRO C0418/137 in-letter no. 55125 of 1915; see also Murphy op. cit., pp.92-106.

73. Direct Action, 10 & 22 August 1914.

74. International Socialist, 8 & 15 August 1914.

75. Ibid., 12 September 1914; Direct Action, 10 August 1914.


77. Brisbane Courier, 3 August 1914.


80. Brisbane Courier, 5 August 1914; M. Lloyd, Sidelights on Two Referenda, Worker print p.25.

81. E. Barnett, Baptist Association of Queensland to Denham, 12 October 1914; Minister's Association, Presbyterian Church resolutions, 31 October 1914, QSA PRE/19 in-letters no. 10390 and 11017 respectively, of 1914.

82. The Forerunner, May 1915. Price added: 'If we would establish a permanent peace, we must make a crusade for sane ideas, outgrow race prejudice, work for the abolition of national armaments and the federation of the world.'


84. Brisbane Courier, 11 August 1914; Queensland Parliamentary Debates, CXVII, p.578.


86. H.J. Diddams (ed.), Anzac Day 1921-3- A Brief History of the Movement: Sermons and Addresses delivered throughout Queensland, Brisbane, 1930, p.112.
87. Daily Standard, 2 April 1914.
90. International Socialist, 3 October 1914.
91. Brisbane Courier, 4 August 1914.
94. A.W. Rakton, Private papers, October-November 1914, Oxley Library Ms. Set 220.
95. Bundaberg Patriotic Committee to Premier Denham, 5 September 1914, QSA PRE/19, in-letter no. 9639 of 1914.
96. A.T. Strong, Australia and the War, Melbourne, 1915, p.56; Souter, op. cit., p.216.
100. Leeds, op. cit., p.51.
105. N. Campbell, Wynnum to T.J. Ryan, 5 December 1917. Campbell had also been Nellie Stewart's stage manager. QSA PRE/A577, in-letter no. 15424 of 1917.


111. C. Isherwood, *Lions and Shadows: An Education in the Twenties* (1938), quoted in Fussell, *op. cit.*, p.110. As one Australian ex-recruit commented: 'I had feelings that life as a Soldier would indeed be all that I could ask for to elevate me to a Complete and Satisfying Manhood'. Dawes and Robson, *op. cit.*, p.5.

112. D. Black (J.L. Gray), *Red Dust: An Australian Trooper in Palestine*, London, 1931, quoted in Laird, *op. cit.*, p.111; Private A.A. Brunton wrote in April 1916: 'At Flinders St., we received an ovation from the hundreds of girls going to work, but the young men looked sheepish as the boisterous spirits among us taunted them about their courage and cast doubts upon their ancestry'. A.A. Brunton, Diaries 1916, Latrobe Ms.


115. *Aussie*, 4 April & 4 December 1918.


120. Memo. on Teaching Australian History, 25 March 1914, Department of Public Education file QSA EDU/A176, in-letter no. 7264 of 1914.

122. 'Why Should We Fight?' in papers of Colonel Annand, Oxley Ms.


129. R. Kipling, 'The Children's Song', Empire Day Movement Leaflet no. 5, QSA, League of Empire file 1911-12, Education Department Records; *Education Office Gazette*, no. 10, October 1914, p.442.


131. Dorothy Heron, 'A Greeting from the Motherland', *The Victoria League*, June 1911, QSA League of Empire file 1911-12, Education Department Records.


136. Gov. H. Goold-Adams to Sec. of State for the Colonies, 9 July 1915, PRO CO417/137 (VI), 1915, p.95.

138. Aussie, 4 April 1918, p.9.


140. The Queenslander, 21 November 1914 & 30 January 1915; Scott, op. cit., p.871.


142. The Queenslander, 25 April 1915; The Lone Hand, March and October 1915.


144. Strong, op. cit., p.8; Leed, op. cit., p.105.


149. Censorship instructions, P.M. to Minister of Defence, 4 August 1914, Australian Archives, CP 78/21; Scott, op. cit., p.65; Coward, op. cit., p.77.


153. The Voice of Australasian Democracy, April 1916, p.43.
156. Sir George Riddell of the War Office and Admiralty first co-ordinated this activity. The Department of Information was subsequently launched in December 1916 under the control of C.H. Montgomery of the Foreign Office; see Marquis, *op. cit.*, pp.472-474.
158. J. MacDonald, *Daily Standard*, to Sec., Townsville Industrial Council, 19 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence Report, 30 October 1918, QF2206.
161. G.F. Pearce to W.A. Holman, 19 May 1916, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, CRS M2, Item 10/3737; W.A. Holman to W.M. Hughes, 15 January 1917, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, CRS A457, Item 553/1.
162. Memo. on Cinematograph Shows throughout the State, 31 March 1915, QSA COL/A992, in-letter no. 1375 of 1915.
166. E.R. Larkin, Egypt to J. Stanton, Sydney, 15 January 1915, Letters Written on Active Service, I, Mitchell Library Ms. AL.
168. H. Hird, Imbros to Eva, 29 April 1915, Ms. in possession of Author.

171. R.E. Courtney, Malta to T. Courtney, 15 June 1915, Letters Written on Active Service I, Mitchell Ms. AL; C. Walsh, Gallipoli to Dr Dunlop, Newcastle, 6 June 1915, ibid. II.

172. The Queenslander, 15 May 1915; Ferro, op. cit., p.66.

173. Daily Standard, 30 April 1915; uneasiness might also be traced to deeper intimations of failure which lay ambiguously near to the core of all expectations of success. Immediately following the landings, some presentiment of doubt concerning the behaviour of Australian troops under fire may have briefly held the upper hand. On 1 May, Governor Goold-Adams informed Acting P.M. Barnes of the press' reception, the previous day, of 'an alarming telegram referring to an alleged reverse to our troops' and how he had promptly sought to counteract this with a message from the Governor-General, emphasizing 'splendid gallantry and magnificent achievement ... in the successful progress of the operations.' H. Goold-Adams to W.H. Barnes, M.L.A., 1 May 1915, QSA GOV/A70, in-letter no. 313 of 1915; see also P.M. Office to Sec. of State for Colonies, 6 May 1915, Australian Archives CP78/21.


175. Press Cuttings on Gallipoli (unidentified), Hayes Cutting Book on World War I, vol. 81, Fryer Ms.


180. As Eric Leed comments, 'The experience of war ... is primarily a non-verbal, concrete, multichannel learning experience that can never adequately be reproduced in mere words ... What men learned in the war set them irrevocably apart from those who stood outside of it', Leed, op. cit., p.74; Fussell, op. cit., p.87.

181. R.P. Brett, Heliopolis to Mother, 31 July 1915, Letters Written on Active Service I, Mitchell Ms. AL.

182. F. Clune, Egypt to G. Clune, Redfern, 20 August 1915, in ibid.


185. C.E.W. Bean, *The Story of Anzac: From 4 May 1915 to the Evacuation of the Gallipoli Peninsula*, Sydney, 1940, p. 909; Gammage, *op. cit.*, p. 110; during January 1916, for instance, the Brisbane Courier carried the following:

- 5 Jan. 1916: 129th Casualty List: 66 Queenslanders
- 7 Jan. 1916: 130th Casualty List: 29 Queenslanders
- 11 Jan. 1916: 131st Casualty List: 37 Queenslanders
- 13 Jan. 1916: 132nd Casualty List: 82 Queenslanders
- 17 Jan. 1916: 133rd Casualty List: 88 Queenslanders
- 21 Jan. 1916: 134th Casualty List: 81 Queenslanders
- 22 Jan. 1916: 135th Casualty List: 20 Queenslanders


Captain Walter Boys wrote to his mother in Maryborough from Pozières: 'My men fell around me like flies, but on we went as if in a dream while the smell of powder and the din of guns and bombs etc. nearly turned my head... I lost 75% of my men and out of 13 officers who were in charge, 2 officers returned, of which I am one.' W.G. Boys, Pozières to Mother, Maryborough, 2 August 1916, Letters Written on Active Service I, Mitchell Ms. AL.


188. J.N. Nunn to Mrs Burrows, 12 November 1916; A.E. Askham to J. Drewette, 27 November 1917; Pte Kerwin to Mrs Fletcher, 17 September 1917 etc, Letters Written on Active Service I, Mitchell Ms. AL.


191. E. Linehan to Mr Garling, Sydney, 7 June 1915, Letters Written on Active Service II, Mitchell Ms. AL; Brisbane Courier, 18 January 1916; The National Leader, 15 February, 1918; *Everylady's Journal*, November 1916, p. 682.


193. E.A. Williams, 'Echoes', Typescript, n.d., p. 6, Oxley Ms.


197. Bean, op. cit., p.881; G. King to G. Robertson, Sydney, 19 January 1916; R. MacDonald to E. MacDonald, 26 December 1915, Letters Written on Active Service I and II, Mitchell Ms. AL; 'Anzac' by 'Argent', press clipping, Fryer Ms.


204. Fromm, op. cit., p.289.

205. The Anzac Book, p.151; R. MacDonald, Romani to Mr Harris, 3 August 1916, Letters Written on Active Service II, Mitchell Ms. AL.


211. The Lone Hand, February 1916, p.143.


228. R.S. Whiting and Sir Rupert T.H. Clarke to Premier, 2 September 1914, QSA PRE/19, in-letter no. 9038 of 1914; Barambah Patriotic Appeal, September 1914, QSA COL/A977, in-letter no. 7748 of 1914.


231. Brigadier A. Harris, Salvation Army to T.J. Ryan, 13 September 1915, QSA PRE/A500, in-letter no. 10448 of 1915.


235. E.G. Theodore to Myers, Editor of 'Mirror', Sydney, 3 August 1916, QSA PRE/A596, in-letter no. 8480 of 1916.
CHAPTER THREE

'THE CLUTCHES OF THE FIENDS'.

ANTI-GERMANISM IN QUEENSLAND 1914-16

We have all read to nauseation of the infamous crimes committed.
- Octavius Beale.

Do we wish our country to come beneath the Prussian heel so that our children may be driven crazy with hatred and despair?

Did some brave Hun
Kill you, my little son?
- Peter Austen.

Your mate, your German mate - you
know the one,
Fair-haired, tender and true -
Your best-beloved came, his lesson
done,
Last night and mourned for you.

Zora Cross, a Brisbane journalist wrote this to her brother, killed in action, in her Elegy of an Australian Schoolboy, published in 1921. By then, the intensity of war hatreds had abated sufficiently to allow for such a sympathetic treatment of a German resident - as an individualized being rather than a collective malignancy - to be once more presented.

Yet, even three years after the war had ended, Cross's consoling words marked a rare enough unbending of the truculent war-time majority mood. This transformation in the dominant attitudes towards Queensland's Germans - from their traditional 'Teutonic' image as 'good, sturdy, plodding, self-reliant settlers' into the stereotyped form of sordid enemy aliens - was one of the most rapid and dramatic mental adjustments made in the early months of the war. 'How often did I hear you, soon or late/Speak eagerly his praise', Zora Cross recalled to her lost brother,
"Humming a German folk-song of a mate/One had in other days." Her sentimental recollection, however, serves to mask the fact that Anglo-Australians, generally had tended to admire German settlers from a distance for their agricultural prowess rather than unequivocally accept them as neighbours. Yet, after August 1914, even the remotest sense of admiration had been rapidly quelled.

There were, however, a number of early calls for local restraint to be exercised. On 6 August, the Brisbane Courier reminded readers that German colonists had been 'honest, loyal and honoured' and that 'our war is ... between nations not individuals'. The following day, Home Secretary John Appel, himself of German parentage, pleaded that 'no rancour be exhibited' against naturalized Germans 'who have assisted us to build up our State'. The Rockhampton Daily Record asked that all loyal Germans be received tolerantly and, at Warwick, Alderman Connelly urged a patriotic gathering of 700 'to in no way molest or insult German residents in their midst'. The previous day, a German old-age pensioner had been fined there for drunkenness, 'singing "Watch on the Rhine" and uttering curses against Great Britain'. The local magistrate had gently admonished him that 'there was no reason why friendly relations with German residents should be disturbed because of the war'. In much the same magnanimous spirit, the Head of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Queensland offered 'full assurance of our loyalty' to the Governor on 10 August. 'We are prepared, in every way, to stand by our country's cause and would gladly offer our property and lives for the welfare of England and Australia, our home,' his petition solemnly pledged.

Yet such harmonious statements were already disguising a vitally damaged consensus. On the evening of the announcement of hostilities, when the more bellicose of Brisbane's citizens had taken to the streets, a mob of several hundred, described by the Courier as 'larrikins' had
gathered outside the German Turn Verein in Vulture Street, scuffling with police and breaking some of its windows. In Melbourne, worse riots had occurred where police had been injured and the mob, after sacking the German club had turned instinctively upon an older 'enemy', smashing the windows of all the Chinese premises in Little Bourke Street. On the same day that the Courier reported the Lutherans' loyalty pledge, it carried its first reports of 'German outrages': of Belgian villages destroyed and rural inhabitants 'illtreated or shot'. Soon, headlines like 'The Baby Killers', 'Rape and Murder Too Horrible to Detail', 'Hands, Ears and Noses cut off: What an Australian Saw' and 'Germany's Hate: Like a Screaming Woman' had become daily fare throughout the Australian press, as it faithfully reported the distorted Reuter cables.

Harold Lasswell wrote in 1927, 'A handy rule for arousing hate is, if at first they do not enrage, use an atrocity. It has been employed with unvarying success in every conflict known to man.' Such propaganda, depicting all Germans as 'atrociously cruel and degenerate' rapidly united the vital ingredient of hatred for the foe with the zeal for war and, as a direct consequence, exposed the local German population as an 'accessible target of revenge'. V.L. Gray, a Britisher living in Brisbane wrote to the Nord Australische Zeitung on 31 August of how the titanic struggle had touched Queensland's Germans 'in a most unpleasant form'. 'Consciously or unconsciously, there exists throughout the State a resentment against all things German', he observed, '... not directed against the individual, but against the race.' 'Prejudice, ignorance and misunderstanding' were responsible for this 'unwarranted antipathy', he concluded. Sympathies aroused for Belgium's condition, with 'the Prussian ... Super-Beast clanking across your peaceful, dimpled fields' brought many to the conclusion that formerly welcomed German settlers had simply been a vanguard of 'peaceful penetration' and that even 'while
enjoying our hospitality and protection, they were plotting against us.\textsuperscript{15} In September 1914, Otto Schafer of Brisbane wrote to his mother in Germany:

\begin{quote}
It's no joke for us Germans here in the enemy's country. The English treat us shabbily and I couldn't stay on in an English house ... You can hardly imagine how Germany and the Kaiser are abused here. We Germans have to report to the Police every week ... Many are out of work ... people imagine that the Germans in Australia are all spies ... one simply cannot read the lies that are written about the war every day. It's all English and French victories, and the Germans are squashed like flies. We here can't believe it ...\textsuperscript{16}
\end{quote}

Ernest Scott, writing upon 'The Enemy Within the Gates' in his official homefront history of the Great War blames a spontaneous eruption of passion, hysteria and malice, evoked by the immediate outbreak of hostilities for the subsequent prevalence of anti-German prejudice in Australia.\textsuperscript{17} In so doing, he tends to overlook the fact that, at war's commencement, some partial attempt had at least been made to spare local Germans from the bellicose attitudes being expressed against their homeland. Although the element of spontaneity in the development of hostility towards the German minority should not be under-rated, it is misleading to dismiss this phenomenon as simply an unfortunate by-product of initial war hysteria. Anti-Germanism actually grew in vehemence as enthusiasm for warfare was \underline{intentionally} mobilized. Painstakingly contrived propaganda, inducing hatred against the enemy was a vital element in that mobilization. Robin Bennett, studying anti-German attitudes and official policy in Queensland has additionally argued that 'indiscriminate anti-German passions swayed only a minority of citizens' whom she views as amongst the worst informed and least influential of Queenslanders. 'For most of the war', she contends, 'the majority ... managed to retain their common sense, their realism, their concern for justice, their sense of humour.'\textsuperscript{18} Bennett, however, fails to provide precise evidence to detail these allegedly dominant, good-humoured traits. Instead, the bulk of her
material upon the widespread nature of both social and official anti-German activity tends to lead the reader towards an opposite conclusion. Contrary to her argument, it is possible to show that anti-Germanism pervaded virtually all ranks of Queensland society and, indeed, often took its lead from the expressions of influential opinion-makers in politics, the professions and the press.

In December 1914, A.T. Strong of Melbourne University deprecated those who 'in the first weeks of the war' had displayed sentiments of undue leniency towards 'the foemen in our midst'. In Strong's opinion, all Germans had become a 'hideous Teutonic menace' - a 'race of devils who have just been perpetrating unnameable atrocities upon Belgian boys and women'. News of these outrages had since induced 'a wave of earnest feeling' in Australia, he added, so that 'things are considerably better now'. By September 1914, the Brisbane Courier was printing daily a host of anti-German letters and was soon advocating 'a smack in the eye' for anyone daring to express a pro-German viewpoint. Reacting to heavily embroidered press accounts of a German bombardment of Louvain on 25 August, the Royal Society of Queensland attempted to protest directly to the Imperial German government that its action represented 'a violence ... unparalleled in European history since the Thirty Years War'. Running to more brutal extremes, a story entitled 'The Climax' in The Queenslander of December 1914 contained the general instruction to 'run ... [the German] down, chase him to earth, treat him as you would a dingo, clout him over the head, ... show him no quarter'. Several months of newspaper exaggeration and abuse of this nature was sufficient, in the heated atmosphere of war, to reduce the Germans' reputation from that of model colonists to 'human devils' and 'dirty beasts'. All Germans were widely disliked, concluded The Lone Hand in December 1914, because they were 'aggressive, self-assertive, loud ... petty, pompous
Federal and State surveillance of and precautions against German military reservists, consular representatives and unnaturalized German-born residents were both a logical and understandable outcome of the struggle against German arms. On 8 August, Prime Minister Cook informed Premier Denham about the instructions issued by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to 'arrest or detain all German officers or army reservists as prisoners of war' and to place any Austrians of similar capacity under surveillance. The following day, an order to discharge Consular representatives of unfriendly powers was received and, on the 10th, a proclamation demanding that all German subjects report, at the nearest Police station, their names, place and changes of residence and occupations - 'and such other matters as such police officer thinks fit to require' - was issued. On 14 August, Denham ordered that any unnaturalized Germans should be kept under police surveillance and, if necessary, be arrested 'if any movement appears suspicious.' This command eventually received Imperial and Federal blessing in October, after the British Home Office demanded 'the arrest of all unnaturalized male Germans, Austrians and Hungarians of military age' and the Commonwealth instructed that 'all enemy subjects whose conduct ... was unsatisfactory' be interned. Early Queensland internees were first placed in a 'foreign reservists camp', hastily constructed in the Brisbane Exhibition showground and later removed to an internment camp established at Enoggera.

Although it was initially emphasized that administrative action be taken with 'great discretion', there was a noticeable tendency for Government officials, themselves affected by the aggravated mood of suspicion and alarm, to move rapidly towards extremes. In early September 1914, Albert Behrend complained to the Home Secretary that even
though he was a naturalized British subject, his enquiries to local
city police regarding his rights had led to his being 'hunted after by a
constable at his private address and office' and being told to report
each Saturday to the Brisbane C.I.B. He objected angrily:

It is not only the indignity imposed upon us citizens of
German origin which I protest, but also the absurdity of
allowing people full civil rights in all other aspects and
then to force them on account of their extraction to report
themselves like criminals of the worst character.\textsuperscript{27}

Similar complaints from the Rockhampton hinterland met with a reply from
the Police Commissioner's office that while those naturalized need only
report any change of address for the present, 'it should not be taken for
granted that because a German or Austrian has become naturalized, he is
therefore a loyal subject of the British Empire.'\textsuperscript{28} The discrimination
drawn between naturalized and unnaturalized residents of German origin
was increasingly viewed as artificial, as all persons of German extraction
fell progressively under doubt. A naturalization certificate was only 'a
scrap of paper' in any case, the \textit{Courier} noted sarcastically.\textsuperscript{29}
Disclosures about the German Delbrück law, which 'enabled a man under
certain circumstances to retain his Germany nationality though
naturalized abroad' provided the ultimate confirmation of all suspicions.\textsuperscript{30}
'It is, I think, a fact that all German-born subjects are in sympathy with
Germany in the present war', the Commissioner of Police was openly
concluding by mid-1915.\textsuperscript{31}

By emphasizing such phenomena as the Delbrück law, as potentially
indicative of divided loyalties among German citizens, Bennett's study
assumes that their presence actually did pose 'a very real menace'. The
abuse levelled at Germans, Bennett writes, was based upon 'a solid core
of truth: There did exist a very real threat to Australian security.'
Scott makes similar intimations, though he dwells rather more
sympathetically upon the Germans' 'predicament of having to discriminate between the allegiance which they owed to the British Crown and nation ... and the feeling ... of affection for the *Vaterland* of their ancestors, whence came to them their literature, language and religion.' Yet both writers fail to distinguish between mere advocacy, or the simple expression of an opinion and the actual commission of dangerous or subversive actions. It is indeed possible to detect some outspoken pro-German statements like: 'If I were at home I should have to go [to fight] and would gladly do so ... The Australian troops ... will get their noses tweaked.' Yet, as Scott himself has to admit:

In the strict sense, it is not known that there were any German or Austrian spies in Australia notwithstanding the prevalence of rumours to the contrary effect ... no ships, wharves or buildings were blown up, burnt or destroyed within the Commonwealth during the war in circumstances indicating enemy activity ... The writer, however, concludes that the absence of 'outrages' can be sufficiently explained by the presence of vigilant official surveillance from Commonwealth censorship and intelligence staff, carefully preventing those 'who may have wished to further the war aims of their fatherland' from causing any serious harm. Yet this inference of malicious intent on the part of 'enemy subjects' is again presumed rather than proven. Acting always upon the principle that 'no risks should be taken in doubtful instances', State police or Defence Department officials constantly tended to over-react in the pursuit of what must now seem largely a phantom threat. Towards the end of the war, Captain J.J. Stable, a Queensland University academic and Censor for the First Military District from January 1917 reported that 'the enemy agent' had somehow managed to fuse together an 'unholy alliance' between 'the revolutionary ... the anarchist, the pacifist, the society of friends, a section of the Roman Catholic church etc. etc. ...' to oppose the war and to foster
'industrial trouble and social unrest'. The actual identity of this 'enemy agent', however, had remained tantalizingly elusive, for, as Stable went on to admit, 'The censorship has for some considerable time been aware of this form of enemy offensive, but the individuals responsible for it escape us.'

Wartime insistence upon total loyalty and cultural conformity could easily furnish the harmless activity of suspect groups with the most sinister overtones, therefore, and politicians and administrators were not immune to the persuasiveness of such mass delusion. A public preoccupation with spying and subversion, for instance, assumed the proportions of a mania in the early months of the war, rapidly spreading into official ranks. On 14 August, H. Venn King, a member of the prestigious Queensland Club alleged to Premier Denham that young Germans 'near Jondaryan and above Lowood' were 'practicing drilling and rifle-shooting and boasting of what part they will play here in the event of Germany winning'. Rapid police action 'to nip the movement in the bud', however, failed to uncover any such plotting. Similarly, in October, J.H. McDonald, a teacher at the Gurgeena State School, Gayndah wrote a panic-stricken letter to his mother claiming that fully 1,000 Germans on the Binjour Plateau, at Baffle Creek, Eidsvold and Malmoe - 'most of them ... armed by the Australian Government [sic]' - were planning an uprising which would 'turn Queensland upside down'. 'My nerves are slowly conquering me', McDonald confessed:

The Germans here are slowly and slyly arming ... I got all my information through giving a series of lessons on great fights for the Flag ... They are out to boss us but we will have none of it. I would rather die first than let these Germans rule me ... The people in Gayndah are expecting trouble here any moment. Dr Holmes says that there is stirring times ahead ... The only thing to do is to wait and trust in God.

The 'English section' of the town had already held a meeting and decided
'not to recognize Germans in any fashion'. An anonymous letter from Gayndah, appearing in the *Daily Standard* at this time amplified further upon this theme of general alarm. Germans of the Binjour settlement were depicted as 'absolutely filthy' and diseased. 'Some ... were not farmers in Germany', the writer disclosed, but 'the scum of the industrial dens of Essen and Dusseldorf ... [N]early all of them have defects ... Some lack fingers; others are almost blind'. Local Britons were maintaining 'their traditional watchfulness alongside our other bulldog qualities', but matters were becoming unbearable:

They strive to drive down our throats the intolerable lie that Germany is going to win ... If you had lived for three years here, the animalism displayed at Brussels and Louvain would have caused you no surprise.38

The mounting paranoia about a German rising peaked in a letter from one G.W. Gibson of Fortitude Valley, Brisbane, which claimed that 'if Paris falls', nine local German leaders had planned to raise 9,000 of their countrymen in centres from Marburg to Tweed Heads, armed with thousands of rifles as well as bombs and 'cartridges for blowing up railways and bridges.'39

Although police enquiries again failed to discover any substance to these allegations, by late October, Commonwealth military authorities had begun searching private dwellings 'to track out [sic] persons guilty of any seditious actions or utterances'. When Premier Denham was informed of this, he replied to the Queensland military commandant, Colonel George Lee, suggesting that it might also be wise 'to call in all arms and ammunition now held by Germans ... of whom there is the slightest suspicion'. Brisbane was 'full of rumours', most of which were probably baseless, Denham noted, 'still ... it may be well that you treat such rumours seriously.' A 'secret service' might fruitfully be established in districts with a large German population, he suggested.40 Wartime
intelligence activities had already been instituted by a section of the General Staff under Major E.L. Piesse, however, and, in November, a Commonwealth proclamation called upon all enemy subjects to surrender any arms they possessed to the police. German citizens once more found cause to protest against such actions of search and seizure. In December, P. Sinnell, a naturalized German trapper of Kynuna complained of a night raid by police upon his camp, overhauling his belongings and confiscating his rifles. His livelihood was thereby jeopardized whilst other employment seemed unlikely, due to the fact that it had now become 'very unpleasant for Germans to be working alongside English' labourers. 'Can I at least not keep a pea-rifle?' Sinnell begged.

During December, a body of soldiers similarly conducted a night raid upon the home of W.A. Schwarz, a naturalized British subject, living in the Brisbane seaside suburb of Manly. As Schwarz later recounted the incident in a sworn statement, he was awakened at 11.30 p.m. by heavy knocking and the call to 'Open in the name of the King'. 'I saw about ten or twelve soldiers all armed with automatic revolvers', he stated, and an officer-in-charge who informed him that 'he had orders to search ... my place for any wireless plant, documents etc.' Entering the premises, the soldiers roused Schwarz's frightened wife at gunpoint and began confiscating the couple's papers, which were mostly love-letters the two had exchanged before their marriage. 'My wife ... was very much scared and ... asked, clinging to me if they were going to take me away,' Schwarz recalled, 'I had to do my utmost to quieten her.' Finally, the woman collapsed in fear, injuring herself seriously during her fall when her forehead struck a carpenter's adze. Dr Ross, who was summoned from Fort Lytton to attend the woman protested pointedly to the military officer, 'He was getting really sick of this ... He had [had] too much of this sort of business lately.'
Ernest Scott tends to treat misplaced public alarm over hidden wireless equipment and other supposed spying apparatus as a humorous by-product of war jitters - the stuff of anonymous letters and 'unsubstantiated or even absurd surmise'. Yet he fails to add that social concern over 'spying wireless telegraph stations' was begun by Prime Minister Andrew Fisher himself. On 28 September, Fisher instructed Denham to order his police to search out such wireless operators in 'unfrequented places', where their 'masts would probably be erected during the night and taken down during the day, lest they should be seen'. No vigilance must be spared to apprehend these alien spies, the Prime Minister warned:

The presence of individuals in a district with no convincing reason for remaining there should be regarded with suspicion; the individuals should be carefully watched and plans made for their capture and search if found in possession of a Wireless Telegraph Station.

Even 'travellers or strangers, possibly with motor cars, whose movements may be regarded as suspicious' should be reported. Port Office officials, land surveyors, station owners and managers were all instructed to be on their guard. The prospect of enemy sabotage had already received strict attention. On 27 August, the then Prime Minister Joseph Cook had ordered that railway workers, 'employees of public water services' and police be utilized as guards on main railway lines and at public works to prevent attempts by 'men of enemy nationality' at inflicting damage there. Several days later, the Secretary of the Brisbane Metropolitan Water and Sewage Board alerted the Military Commandant that 'emissaries of the enemy or other evilly disposed persons' were planning to sabotage the city's water supply by tampering with machinery at the Mount Crosby Reservoir. In December, the Townsville Municipal Council expressed similar alarm about local water resources, while a detachment of Light Horsemen guarded the local wireless station.
at Victoria Park. Later, in mid-1915, a rumour that Melbourne's water supply was to be poisoned by Germans led Prime Minister Fisher to renew his call for vigilance to State authorities throughout Australia. Yet, unlike Great Britain where, by 1917, eighteen convicted spies had received the death sentence, enemy agents, saboteurs and traitors failed to materialize in Australia, despite exhaustive efforts to flush them out.48

Surveillance of 'suspect' aliens - usually Japanese or Germans - had long preceded war's outbreak. Richard Hall recounts a farcical German spy scare begun at Sydney by Captain G.A. Taylor of the Australian Intelligence Corps in October 1912. At the same time, in Queensland, police were closely observing the movements of a certain Dr Mjoberg, a visiting naturalist collecting specimens from the Cairns hinterland. Although Swedish, Mjoberg was suspected of holding 'pro-German' views. Two other visitors to North Queensland named Cox and Kidston were simultaneously causing much alarm because of the scientific 'instruments' they carried. Suspicion about them still lingered even after they had presented papers showing themselves to be accredited representatives of the Carnegie Institute, taking magnetic observations at various coastal locations.49 War involvement predictably intensified these suspicions appreciably. Naturalized Germans and Government Medical Officers like the eighty year old Dr Von Lossberg of Ipswich and Dr Kortum of Cooktown - a Queensland resident for forty years - would find themselves under close scrutiny for writing to German relatives such basic information as 'The Australians are sending 20,000 soldiers; so is Canada ...',50 During the evening of 16 September 1914, Frederick J. Pearce, an English plantation manager from Papua and Albert V. Stehr, a British subject of mixed German/English parentage from Tonga were arrested by Cairns police for 'espionage' while on a fishing expedition to
Leper Bay, on the grounds that they possessed papers 'disclosing Port Moresby defences'. This incriminating evidence was discovered in a paragraph of an unposted 'chatty letter' Stehr had written to a friend in Java, mentioning 'excitement re possible German warship's appearance and ... the authorities ... placing sandbags, trenches and entanglements around the wireless station.' As Pearce later wrote to the Minister of Defence, 'All this was common knowledge throughout the Port and no details were mentioned in his letter ... the so-called "unlawful information" ... [was] open for observation by anyone passing along the road'. As a result of this letter, however, Stehr and Pearce were imprisoned as spies for ninety-four days at Cairns before being released on 19 December - 'no true Bill having been filed in their cases'.

Similarly, a Russian, A.R. Kesche wrote to Premier Denham in January 1915 from the 'Foreign Reservists' Camp' where he was being 'kept under guard day and night'. Kesche claimed that he had enlisted in the A.I.F., but had been arrested while in camp 'on some charge of espionage of which I wasn't guilty'. The charge was soon dropped, but Kesche was nevertheless retained in custody, explained Major Brown, until his papers arrived from Russia, with proof 'that he is not a German'.

Detection of 'suspect' Germans was zealously undertaken by private residents as a public duty, sometimes with leading political figures taking up positions at the forefront of the hunt. In late August 1914, for instance, E.T. Beli, pastoralist M.L.A. for Passifern, representing the Queensland Farmers' Union reported the Reverend C.W. Seybold, a Lutheran clergyman of Dugandin to the Premier upon the basis of a rumour that Seybold was 'preaching Treason'. The pastor was alleged to have asked his congregation 'to pray for the success of German arms' and to have told them 'that, in his opinion, England had no justifiable grounds for declaring war'. A consequent police report upon Seybold concluded
somewhat ambiguously that he had 'not done or said anything treasonable, but if he keeps on, he will most likely render himself liable to prosecution for sedition. In December 1914, former Labor leader, David Bowman similarly reported the alleged disloyalty of W.G. Grieshiemer, an Australian-born dairy farmer of German parentage from Leyburn, and a Justice of the Peace. The local constable, however found the man to be 'very loyal' and the charge to be unsubstantiated. Grieshiemer had apparently argued with a British farmer at the local cheese factory after making the innocent comment that: 'it is a pity England has gone to war with Germany ... I am afraid England will have a rough time of it.'

Germans found in higher places than the Leyburn cheese factory were also harassed. In October 1914, Thomas Welsby, a Liberal M.L.A. and well-known local historian petitioned the Governor against the former German Consul, Dr Eugen Hirschfeld's retaining the seat to which he had recently been appointed in the Queensland Legislative Council. As Welsby and Robert Williams, the Liberal member for Charters Towers badgered Premier Denham upon Hirschfeld's appointment with a series of questions in the House of Representatives from September to November 1914, the daily press provoked 'popular anger' against the doctor by intimating that he was a hostile 'secret agent'. Welsby's argument that Hirschfeld was 'not a natural born subject of Her Majesty', according to the 1867 Constitution Act and thus 'should not be lawfully summoned to the Council' induced the ex-Consul to tender his resignation to the Governor on 2 November. At the same time, Hirschfeld was also forced to surrender his position upon the University Senate and, during 1915, the long saga of his internment was to begin. Although Ernest Scott brands Hirschfeld as 'the most zealous promoter of what was called "Germanism"' with 'a larger number of enemies than probably ... any other individual German in Australia', the letter which Denham sent to Hirschfeld upon his removal from office
hardly seems to reflect this. Had it not been for the outbreak of hostilities, the Premier wrote:

no person whose opinion you value would have cavilled [at your appointment]. I should not have the slightest fear that, in consequence of the War, you would say or do anything unbecoming a loyal British subject.

Denham finally expressed his admiration of Hirschfeld's choice of 'the most honourable and dignified action which could have been adopted, in view of the criticism your retention of the seat was bound to excite.' Scott makes no specific reference to this debacle in his extended treatment of the Hirschfeld case. He merely notes that: 'He made at least one effort to become a member of Parliament, but was unsuccessful in his ambition'.

Anti-German propaganda found ready receptivity in a war-prone society, which was already inured to the acceptance of racist and xenophobic thinking as respectable ideological premises. Its effects permeated the outlook of most groups, not simply the lowly and more easily deluded. In so far as the antipathy engendered was more an emotional than a rational response, its well-springs might be seen as spontaneous. Yet that response was purposefully motivated by fervent Imperial and local propagandists in politics, administration, education, commerce and the press. Alarmist images like that invoked by Attorney-General, W.M. Hughes when he spoke to Federal parliament on 28 October 1914, in reference to Germans, of having his 'throat cut by people ... masquerading as peaceful citizens' carried with them the power of acute suggestion for impressionable minds. Two days later, the Charters Towers Chamber of Commerce petitioned the Premier to remove all aliens from 'responsible Government offices' and replace them with 'approved loyal Britishers'. The resolution was supported by other commercial groups at Cairns, Townsville, Ravenswood, Hughenden and Rockhampton as
A week earlier, a Longreach firm of stock salesmen, Gavin and Sons lectured the Brisbane business house of Carl Zoeller and Co., when settling their account:

You have lived long enough in [sic] British Soil to know the temper of the English mind ... if the Public appear to doubt your bona fide English sympathies, with so much dire hypocrisy coming to light of the doings of your countrymen on the other side ... do not please blame the British public ... The German Empire believes that MIGHT IS RIGHT ... but we British believe that RIGHT IS RIGHT and can never be wrong. We are pleased to shake you by the hand as a Britton [sic] but woe betide you if you have a dagger in it as the poison of your weapon will rebound to your everlasting injury.

On 23 October 1914, the day that J.A. Gavin penned this unconventional business letter, the Commonwealth's first Trading with the Enemy Act became effective. All such commercial dealings with German and Austrian firms were thereby terminated. On 17 November, a small item in The Queenslander indicated that a military force, accompanied by C.I.B. detectives had raided three business places conducted by Germans in Brisbane, 'as well as the private houses of the principals'. A week later, Carl Zoeller and Co. became the first firm in Australia to be convicted under the new legislation. It was subsequently learned that the firm's director had been interned. During March 1915, a secret Imperial despatch concerning enemy traders controlling wharfage in Australian ports was answered in a detailed report from Robert Philp, a founder of Burns Philp and Co. Philp, after reviewing possible connections between rival Brisbane shipping firms and German steamship companies concluded that neither Germans nor Austrians now possessed any direct control over Queensland wharves and that it would be 'a long time before any British community will do any business with either ...' As all commercial relations with German businesses were effectively severed, so too were worker boycotts begun against fellow German employees. On 20 October 1914, for instance, wharf labourers meeting in
Townsville declined by a large majority to work alongside 'enemies of the Empire' in the future with the result that German workers were dismissed. As Scott succinctly indicates, during 1915, this anti-Germanism intensified as 'miners, artisans, sailors, labourers, foundrymen, clerks, shop assistants, postal electricians [and] coal lumpers all refused to work with men of German nationality'.\(^{61}\) A later official document indicates that May 1915 marked the real beginnings of a controversy in Queensland union circles over 'the question of employment of Germans and Foreigners' which raged until July.\(^{62}\) Yet the radicals who supported 'the cause of the foreigner' in these interchanges tended to fare the worst. In May 1915, Queensland coal lumpers declined to work with Germans, Austrians or Turks, whilst meatworkers at Ross River, near Townsville similarly ceased operations, pelting rubbish at a militant Union official who disagreed with their actions and forcing him to resign. William Jackson, lecturing in Townsville for the I.W.W. at this time harangued the meatworkers in the columns of *Direct Action*:

> You thought it wise to ... openly wreak your vengeance on these fellow workers who have to sell their labouring energy as you do ... You persecuted your fellow German workers in Townsville in a most ferocious manner, deprived them of the right to obtain work, the wherewithal to live. You cowards ...\(^{63}\)

Yet his class-conscious outburst was, for the present, to little avail, as the proponents of Imperialist pro-war sentiments firmly retained the upper hand. Between May and July 1915, the militant Brisbane Industrial Council opposed the actions of both the Seamen's Union and the Federal Government in preventing the employment of 'enemy' nationals and 'foreigners' generally upon Australian vessels. Yet the ban effectively stood.

The propagandist impact of a series of incidents, at home and at war, during 1915 progressively amplified the anti-German clamour. The
earliest reverberations occurred after the New Year's Day massacre at Broken Hill, when two Mohammedan camel-drivers, Gool Mohamet, an Afghan and Mullah Abdullah, an elderly Indian, flying the Turkish flag fired upon 1,000 picnickers travelling to Silverton upon a crowded ore-train. There were thirteen casualties, five of them fatal, including the deaths of the two snipers, shot after a running gun battle with police, military and rifle club members. Although no Germans were involved, an enraged mob that evening raided the local Deutscher Verein, looting and burning it down. Only the combined efforts of police and infantry prevented the subsequent destruction of the camel teamsters' camp, inhabited by Indians and Afghans. Thwarted in this attempt, small groups then turned to the harassment of individual Austrians and Germans. As L.C.F. Turner comments, these were 'lucky to escape lynching'. A "round-up of aliens" followed, writes Edgar Ross, 'including the only Turk who could be found', accompanied by job-dismissals and internments. 

On 16 January, The Queenslander carried photographs of the 'Broken Hill Sensation', including one of the gutted German Club with an Australian flag flying above it. Two films of the 'Broken Hill Tragedy' were subsequently made, dramatising a growing alarm about 'the enemy within'.

Following the Broken Hill incident, there was a noticeable rise during the early months of 1915 in local anxieties and the reporting of allegedly 'disaffected' Germans to the authorities. On 15 January, for example, W. Buchanan, a Scotsman of Brigelow reported Ernst Beutel, a local J.P. for disloyal utterances. A police investigation, however, discovered that Buchanan had been abusing Beutel at the local hotel, proclaiming drunkenly that Germans 'should not be allowed in the country'. A week later, a Captain Saunders of Marburg complained officially that Christian Martens Sr 'did cause disaffection and alarm' by claiming the whole English race was 'no good'. When Martens was fined £15 plus a £50
bond in March 1915, he became the first Queenslander to be successfully prosecuted under the War Precautions Act for 'disloyal utterances'.

Yet, throughout the war, reports of unsubstantiated suspicions would significantly outnumber actual convictions, as the tense social atmosphere provided a ready climate in which individual bigotry could flourish. During March 1915, for instance, H.M. King of Toowong reported Captain Wagner of the local rifle club for being 'secretly' a German. Upon investigation, Wagner was found to have Polish and Irish parents and to be the headmaster at Ironsides State School, St. Lucia.

By early 1915, as German reservists still on parole were being re-arrested for internment, Critchley Parker's Australian Statesman and Mining Standard, which served as a local equivalent of the English 'Germ-Hun' hating journal, John Bull, was accelerating its campaign for the removal of all Germans from public office and their wholesale incarceration. Naturalized Germans who were 'at heart traitors' were still to be seen 'walking about the streets, unhampered and unquestioned', Parker protested, free to abuse the Empire and 'to pursue their machinations undisturbed'. Even the ubiquitous German band caused an outcry in January when the London Daily Mirror, under the headline 'Bringing "Kultur" to Australia' published a picture of such a group, supposedly 'playing undisturbed in the streets of Brisbane ever since the declaration of war'. A protest by Queenslanders in London against this slur upon 'the loyalty of the people of Brisbane' led to the retraction, 'A Happier Australia' several days later, which announced that 'a great "round-up"' of the bandsmen had now occurred so that in future they might only play to audiences of their fellow prisoners.

Yet it was the contingency of several horrific events in April and May - the first use of chlorine gas by the Germans at Ypres on 22 April,
the sinking of the liner, *Lusitania* on 7 May and the publication of the Bryce Report, *The Evidence and Documents ... on Alleged German Outrages* a week later - which converted anti-Germanism into a fully sustained, vitriolic influence.\(^7\) The fact that these developments coincided with the news of the first major assault by Australians at the Dardanelles and the publication of the earliest casualty lists tended to heighten substantially the atmosphere of tension and agitation.

By May, the almost daily reportage of atrocities had already fashioned public receptivity for the worst of disclosures about the culpability of the enemy. In January, for instance, Mr Charles Brookes, an Australian who had just returned from England was reported in the Brisbane *Courier* as saying:

> I have stood outside Waterloo Station and witnessed the victims of German mutilation arriving in Britain and heard their pitiful groans and cries. I have seen literally hundreds of men, women and children whose right forefingers have been hacked off by the Germans.

On the same page, a second item added: ""Crushed the Lot to Pulp": Atrocities in France. A Peasant Woman's Pathetic Letter: "I have no longer my children"."\(^7\) Yet the onslaught of indoctrination after April-May vastly outweighed anything which had preceded it. The frightful novelty of poison gas was as alarming in its potential as the torpedoing of the *Lusitania* was outrageous in its seeming callousness and audacity. The massively authoritative Bryce Report, containing depositions from some 1,200 Belgian refugees, detailing mass rape, torture and massacre crowned all the terrible disclosures with a barrage of authoritative propaganda. By its very comprehensiveness, this 'magnum opus' of atrocities seemed to defy any future hint of scepticism about the totality of German 'frightfulness'.

Local anti-German reactions to this cavalcade of enormities were
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rapid and decisive. On 15 May, the Courier reported anti-alien rioting in London and Johannesburg, while The Queenslander described agitations closer to home. In Sydney, a deputation to the City Council urged the closure of the German Club as a protest against the Lusitania incident and, at Newcastle, an angry mob had attacked a German restaurant, smashing its windows. Although the Rockhampton Daily Record suggested lynching as an answer to the sinking, The Queenslander noted with satisfaction that more aliens were now interned proportionately throughout the Commonwealth than in Great Britain and warned Queenslanders that 'smashing windows and looting shops' run by Germans would mainly damage British insurance companies.\textsuperscript{73} Nevertheless, the threat of 'right royal riots' at the Brisbane Turn Verein and the appearance of a group of loyalists there, armed with revolvers induced military authorities to close the club on 15 May. Fears had also been expressed that the concrete floor of this building might be utilized for a gun emplacement.\textsuperscript{74}

At Rosewood, an altercation about the Lusitania occurred between Frederick Sinai, a naturalized German and Matthew Toohey, a local farmer. When Sinai protested that the ship had been carrying arms, Toohey replied that he wished he had the power to starve the entire German army. According to police, an incensed Sinai had then stamped his foot and cried, 'I am proud of the German [sic] soldiers ... and proud of the country I came from.' For such outspokenness, Sinai's name was removed from the Justice of the Peace list by the Premier in June.\textsuperscript{75} Similar disputes occurred in many other centres. At Mount Larcom, a brawl between William Jones and Emile Finke again led to the latter's disqualification as a J.P. 'Disloyal' German J.P.s refusing to rise for the National Anthem and applauding the sight of a German cruiser upon the screen at the local cinema were reported from Southport.\textsuperscript{77} Allegations from Eidsvold that Germans were holding pro-Kaiser celebrations in the guise of
prayer-meetings were paralleled by warnings from Pittsworth that a German uprising was about to commence there. A mass of complaints about dangerous or suspicious Germans were likewise received from citizens at Toowoomba, Mount Tambourine, Biggenden, Cambooya, Dalby, Mount Morgan and Duchess in the far west. A resident of Dulacca, near Roma claimed there was 'no doubt in any sane man's mind' that the poison gas killing British soldiers had been tested and perfected in experiments upon prickly-pear cactus on the local property of Oliver Cromwell Roberts, an allegedly pro-German American. The writer especially feared that the 'large and hostile German community' would seize control of the poison gas plant and obtain arms from 'America's German sympathizers ... through the Dutch Indies'. A symbolic peak to this mounting witchhunt was perhaps reached when English leprosy patients at the Peel Island lazaret in Moreton Bay complained to Truth newspaper of their having to mix with German lepers there.

This spate of extremism from particular citizens was accompanied by a heightening of official surveillance and control. On 27 May, the Aliens Restriction Order formalized all existing proscriptions upon the movement of 'alien enemies' and prevented their carrying firearms and explosives, or owning inflammable liquids exceeding three gallons, signalling apparatus, codes and ciphers, homing pigeons, motor vehicles, telephones or cameras. German language newspapers were also suppressed. Any person contravening the Order, aiding or harbouring anyone who did, or any 'alien enemy ... reasonably suspected of having so acted, or being about to act' could be taken into custody without a warrant by any customs or police officer. The alien enemy could be immediately interned by 'a competent naval or military authority' and the Minister was granted power, in individual cases to extend such provisions 'to other aliens or naturalized subjects'. Disquiet expressed by the Governor-General in
July over possible 'incendiarism' by enemy agents on ships and wharves led to tighter provisions under the War Precautions Act. More military guards and police were posted at rivers and waterfronts while stevedores and coal workers were instructed to watch for 'undesirable characters' and to devise 'some badge' for the identification of workmates 'above suspicion'. Action taken by the new Queensland Labor Government reflected this growing Federal concern. Acting upon suggestions that German schools in Australia were 'expressly training their pupils intellectually, if not physically for service in the German army', the Department of Public Instruction on 18 June 1915 terminated tuition in German language, religion and culture provided by Lutheran pastors upon one day weekly to students at more than a score of special parish schools or Gemeindeschulen at various centres throughout the State. Legal proceedings were instituted in August against German parents who attempted to have the teaching continued in their homes.

During September, alarm raised by a Boonah resident concerning local Germans' 'hoarding up and buying all the gold and silver they can possibly obtain' prompted the Federal Treasury to order a rapid investigation. Although the inquiry found the allegations to have 'no foundation in fact', insinuations about 'German gold' persisted. In mid-November, Premier Ryan telegraphed Hughes that it was freely being rumoured that:

... German residents in this and other States collecting gold for fund established by them to assist prosecution of war against the Empire: Such money from time to time being sent to America by trusted Countrymen, thence to Germany.

As a remedy to this, Ryan suggested that German residents' 'unrestricted power to sell, mortgage or dispose of property' should be curbed and that further restrictions upon the 'freedom of aliens' should be considered. Although Ryan was not alone in making such suggestions, the War
Precautions (Land Transfer) Regulations 1916, obstructing the sale or mortgage of land to both enemy subjects and naturalized Germans and the War Precautions (Enemy Shareholders) Regulations 1916, securing the transfer of all German shareholdings to the public trustee were to have their origins in considerations of this kind.  

Reception of the Bryce Report also gave enormous stimulus to the expanding anti-German propaganda industry within Australia. In July, Critchley Parker wrote to Ryan of how the report, now reproduced 'in handy-sized book form' had already sold 30,000 copies in Victoria alone and was proving 'the best recruiting agent there is'. Parker warned: 'Don't forget that we have 30,000 Germans in our country and that they are MOSTLY GERMANS FIRST and Australians after.' Archibald Strong of Melbourne University lectured in June upon how treatment of 'the innocents of Belgium' was enough to make a strong man physically sick. 'For details, I recommend you to the French, Belgian, Russian and British official accounts', he added helpfully. Strong believed that the Bryce Report merely revealed 'the first stage of horror which would succeed the conquest of Australia' and that such knowledge should do 'more good than a thousand recruiting speeches'. Other academics, emboldened by the apparently authentic nature of the Report were now encouraged to lower the veil of objectivity. Their public lectures were distributed in pamphlet form throughout Australia. Professor T.G. Tucker speaking on 'British and German Ideals' in Melbourne on 15 June 1915 began his talk by asserting, 'I do not come here tonight to decry all things German or to glorify all things British. Such a proceeding would be ... unworthy of my profession'. Yet, by the end of his account, he had decided that:

In the present war, we are fighting for the reign of sanity and fair play ... for decent human standards of international morality. The Germans are fighting for the triumph of a system of spiritual enslavement, of harsh repression, and a more immoral standard of international conduct than has ever disgraced the world since Christianity first dawned upon it.  

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Speaking to the Sydney University Union in mid-May 1915, Professor Mungo W. MacCallum also contrasted the Allied 'champions of a holy cause' with the 'singular inhumanity, ... slavery and destruction' of the enemy. 'Horrors that a year ago we should have thought inconceivable in the civilized world' had now become routine for 'the Scarborough baby-killers', MacCallum alleged. He urged students to enlist against 'a Thug Empire under a Thug Emperor' and to 'make no terms with the powers of darkness' until total victory was achieved.88

Aspiring amateur poets further embellished upon these crude dichotomies. Sybil Heydon, a daughter of Mr Justice Heydon of the Arbitration Court, directed at Germans her 'Chant of Scorn':

... clean war we wage
We spare the conquered and help the weak
But you glut on both your foul eagle's beak.89

Many verses and songs, such as 'All the Empire's Calling on the Kaiser', 'William the Despot' and 'His New Satanic Majesty' concentrated their antagonism upon the person of the German Emperor himself.90 As Lasswell observes:

It is always difficult for many simple minds inside a nation to attach personal traits to so dispersed an entity as a whole nation. They need to have some individual on whom to pin their hate.91

The theme of Satanism directing the German war effort was pursued in J.A. Ross's The Awakening, where the Devil is revealed as the Kaiser's own soul. In a dialogue with Wilhelm, the 'Prince of Darkness' cries insatiably:

Line up the dark robed priestly saints,
the aged men, the women, young and old;
shoot, ravage, murder, mutilate the young ...
Rheims, Malines, Antwerp; more churches,
more innocent blood!
... Drink! Drink! Drink!
I thirst, I thirst for blood!92
The German Armageddon: Ballads of the Kaiser’s War was written by Cornelius Moynihan, Assistant Librarian at the Queensland Parliamentary Library and provided with an introduction by ex-Premier, Sir Robert Philp. The poems portrayed the Kaiser as the 'Antichrist', worse than 'an almond-eyed Chinese assassin', a lunatic or a mad dog. In September 1915, when Moynihan offered 'his little work' to T.J. Ryan for recruiting purposes or for selective inclusion in the Queensland School Paper, the Premier politely congratulated him upon 'a seasonable and effective bit of work for the Empire'. As such verses circulated - principally, Dan Coward suggests, among 'the literary-conscious middle classes' - caged effigies of the Kaiser sometimes guarded by Mephistopheles were making their appearance in Brisbane's patriotic street demonstrations.

The emphases of popular periodicals once more reflected and reinforced these social and literary trends. The British fought with 'Marquis of Queensbury' rules, The Lone Hand believed, while the German enemy behaved as 'a mad, blood-lusting giant'. Such 'frightfulness' was consistent with German history and character, for 'no race' was 'so clotted with iniquity' as they. Further, it was noticeable that 'with few exceptions, the German residents of Australia have made no sign of disapproval of Germany's conduct.' By October 1915, such reticence had brought the magazine's editor to the realization that 'we were fighting not merely the military caste, but the whole German people.' Originally, Germans in Australia had been seen as 'peaceable folk', but it was no longer possible to dissociate them from their kinsmen in Germany. 'It is known the German emigrants all over the world have been secretly organized by German agents to act whenever necessary in the interests of the Fatherland', the editorial charged. Australian Germans were thus 'not to be considered as ordinary human beings. There is something diabolical about all their methods which puts them beyond the pale.'
remedy for this was to eschew 'flabby sentiment' and to intern them all 'even if a certain amount of hardship is inflicted'.

Demonization of Germany's leaders and the progressive dehumanization of the German people generally indicated a hostile reaction of an increasingly racist kind from mid-1915 onwards. The Germans were 'a half-civilized people', claimed Sir John McCall, the Agent-General for Tasmania in June 1915. They exhibited 'a kind of lowest common denominator of racial passions and prejudice', added the writer, E.B. Osborn. 'No negro, however debased was ever guilty of a more inhuman crime than the war lords of Germany', alleged the Rockhampton Daily Record; while its local rival The Morning Bulletin explained this by discerning, beneath a 'veneer of white skin and fair "Kultur"' a telling 'streak of black and red' which had 'run through' the German race since the earliest times. Being so indelibly tainted, local Germans would 'finish up ... doing the same thing here as Prussian troops had in Belgium'. Octavius Beale, author of the influential eugenic study, Racial Decay related German infamies to the historical record of 'blood-lust' exhibited by Germanic tribesmen, 'as cruel and carnal as the Mongol hordes'. Not every reader was convinced by this racial sophistry, however. In December 1915, a certain John Hills protested in the socialist Ross's Magazine that 'all this talk of an innate cruelty', as 'something originally, intrinsically and peculiarly German' was simply 'humbug', perpetrated by 'misleading newspapers'. 'It is mere Hunnishness we are now told', Hills scoffed:

... the German blood is bad by nature; savages at heart they always have been and always will be ... Now, those who speak so forget that if the Teuton blood possesses more cruelty microbes or atrocity golliwogs than the normal, then we British must be a tainted, abandoned lot; since the English part of us are sprung from the Jutes, Angles and Saxons, who were also Teutons; and we have a King who is 95% Teuton ... The atrocities are the outcome, not of national nature, but of military nurture.
A Traditional German Stereotype, Pre-War.

THAT "HANS" AGAIN—OUR COMING RULERS.

HANS (to Sam): "Look 'ere, young veller, if you don't pood me in die eleven, I joost smash up der blooming club—didn't I vote for you be captain?"

SAM (to Hans): "Dear Hans, I'll take good care that next match you've a prominent position. We're always so devoted to your interests! and your
The Cost of a Beaver Board Ceiling.

Take an average-sized living-room. Here's the cost to Beaver Board the ceiling in an artistically effective manner:

- Beaver Board 120
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The fixing and painting of the Beaver Board is so simple that any one who can use a hammer and paint brush can do the work. Consider this scheme or improving your walls and ceilings in your spare time. Estimates given for walls and ceilings of any dimensions. Call and see us about it.

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The German Stereotype transformed by the War Experience.
Yet Hills reasoned persuasively for very few, for it was the Hun stereotype - the 'hideous Teutonic menace' depicted graphically as 'sub-human and brutish' in the cartoons and posters of Norman Lindsay and David Low, and subsequently in the officially-circulated work of Dutch cartoonist, Louis Raemaekers - which dominated the public consciousness. Allegations of racial contamination and disease which had previously justified the isolation of resident Asians, Melanesians and Aborigines were now employed to condemn Germans and encourage their internment. In September 1915, the Australian magazine *Life* published a purported conversation with a German chemist about the release of 'cholera bacilli' among civilians. Critchley Parker's pamphlet, *The Enemy in Australia* added the insinuation that '... all is not well with regard to those mysterious diseases that are cropping up here'.

Sir Joseph Carruthers, a former New South Wales Premier carried these suspicions to the ultimate extreme. 'Strange and comparatively new diseases' were being purposefully disseminated by Germans in Australia, he claimed:

> There are sufficient of them engaged in purveying food and drink ... to poison the whole community with germs ... I will not willingly permit ... even a naturalized German to dispense medicines for our people and soldiers ... or to sell beer.

Animal analogies and metaphors tended to complete the derogation of the Germans' status to a sub-human level. References to 'digging out the rats' and panic about their being 'as thick as ants' in various districts conveyed the impression of Germans as a pestilence to be eradicated. 'Exterminate the breed', demanded a Queensland doctor, R.M. Allen in a letter home from the Western Front in September 1915: 'The Hun has ceased to be regarded as a man - he is simply a beast to be exterminated.' Allusions were made to 'porcine Germans' and 'Westphalian hogs'; whilst a correspondent to the Townsville *Daily Bulletin* claimed extravagantly that
naturalizing a German was like 'trying to naturalize a snake frog'. Yet the canine characteristics of wolves, 'spy hounds' or 'Germ-dogs' were the most common zoological metaphors utilized. The poet W.H. Stephens, in 1915, depicted an enemy assault as the rush of:

... a red-dog pack
With the lust of slaughter ablaze in their eyes;
They scented the blood that lay in their track
And the madness of hate yelped out in their cries.

Thus, portrayals of degeneracy, satanism, pollution and animalism were all utilized in the evolving anti-German stereotype to provide racial explanations for the putative behaviour of 'an enemy who would not hesitate to resort to any devilish device' or a people who gloriéd 'in retaliation of the worst kind' against other Australians. The central irony of this obsessive stereotyping was the fact that, since the early nineteenth century, English racial theorists had been at pains to draw connective links between Anglo-Saxons and Teutons, as producers of 'the strongest and most creative European nations'. Under the pressures of total war, these carefully forged linkages had to be rapidly severed, as propagandists adopted and embroidered upon an explanation first advanced by the Frenchman, Armand de Quatrefages de Breau at the time of the Franco-German War - that 'Prussians' were not descended from 'blond Aryans' but rather from some 'dark Mongoloid race'. At its extreme, this form of racist analysis would call upon pseudo-scientific theories for intellectual support. An article in the widely read Brisbane Truth entitled 'Are We Cousins to the Hun?' quoted the findings of Arthur Keith M.D., a prominent English Social Darwinist upon the differences between British and German skull types. Here the long-headed skull of Lord Stamfordham was favorably compared with the flatter cranium of von Hindenberg. A later article in the Brisbane soldier magazine, the National Leader also circulated the conclusions of Lieutenant-Colonel L.A. Waddell B.A., 'ethnologist, philologist and author' to provide a
refreshing relief 'to British people who have always resented the insolent, disgusting claim of the most uncouth people of Europe to "cousinship" with us'. The Prussians' round or short heads, it was argued, meant that they were 'not racially Aryans at all', like the long-headed British and Scandinavian types. They were not even Europeans, but were more affiliated with Turanians 'from Central Asia, and of the same stock as Huns and Turks'. Waddell's 'new and positive evidence' connected 'these Teutonic Turanians with the prehistoric "Wolf Tribe"', the article argued:

They are a race alone and apart; interlopers and squatters in Europe. They are the "Wolf Tribe" ... The very name "Ger-man" or "Alle-man" means "Wolf-man" ... invented by Germans to inspire terror ("Frightfulness") ... even the German eagle is not an eagle. He is a carrion, corpse-feeding raven or vulture ... The Hun love for inhuman atrocities has been fostered by this savage "wolf cult" ... the tribal cult of the wolf and the carrion raven ... ¹¹⁰

Hence, the activities of the 'German mad-dog' betrayed the pedigree of the 'resusitated Währ-Wolf', wrote the pamphleteer D.H. Newman in 1916: a 'lust-inflamed monster ... trying to hack his way through human bowels during two of the longest years in history'.¹¹¹

Such Australian films as 'Within our Gates', 'If the Hun Came to Melbourne', 'Australia's Peril' and 'The Enemy Within', all depicting 'German intrigue and cunning' either from a fifth column of plotting settlers or an invading force allowed audiences actually to 'picture those nearest and dearest to you at the mercy of the Hun'. After the much publicized executions of Captain Fryatt and Nurse Cavell by the German military command in July and October 1915, several melodramatic screenplays recreated the incidents, reinforcing the theme of enemy ruthlessness and barbarity. A steady stream of British and American films, such as 'The Man Who Stayed at Home' and 'Kaiser-Beast of Berlin' complemented these Australian productions.¹¹² Sensational printed
German Perfidy Dramatized: The Martyrdom of Nurse Cav II 1915.
exposés of 'German perfidy', including Peaceful Penetration by Australian journalist A.D. McLaren, The German Peril by New South Wales politician, Dr J. Mildred Creed and The New Pacific by C.B. Fletcher, a former Queensland newspaper editor joined the series of Critchley Parker publications, The Barbarian and his Methods, War in the Pacific and Through Australian Eyes in concocting virulent anti-German scenarios. These were supported by a host of titles circulated in Australia by the Times Book Club, like The Unspeakable Prussian, The Kaiser and His Barbarians and Arnold White's Is the Kaiser Insane?^113

Australian pulp novels, such as W. Gordon Henderson's Foiled! The Enemy in Our Land and A. Wright's The Hate of the Hun skilfully exploited the major themes of local insecurity and alarm.^115 Henderson's fiction, published in 1915 argued that there were 'over 3,000 German spies scattered through the States' of Australia in all walks of life:

... in every government office, in the postal, telegraphic and telephone departments, in the railway and tramway services, as waitresses in the big hotels, as commercial travellers, as wool merchants and buyers, as manufacturers, as miners, as wharf labourers, as doctors, as tramps ...^115

This well-established German Secret Service, it was argued, would sell Australians 'bound hand and foot, with thongs of our own providing, as victims from the torture chamber of the master HUN' unless the spies were detected and executed. Like Chinese and Japanese invasion scare literature produced prior to the war, aspects of sado-sexual exploitation infuse these works. For instance, The Hate of the Hun, within the first ten pages, has Sheila, the wife of the hero, Mervyn Goulder 'struggling weakly' in the arms of the German villain, Carl Presch, 'her hands pressed against the would-be ravisher's livid face, striving to keep his grinning lips from her'. The novel reveals how the German inhabitants of the rural district of 'Yeddon', while seemingly 'genial, inoffensive,
hard-working settlers’ are in reality a community of traitors and spies, plotting to destroy the entire ‘wool-clip and wheat crop; and to sabotage Australian trains and troopships, as they laugh ‘their guttural laugh and gaily work ... their farms’. These Germans reason:

If England vin; vell, ve are all ride, is id nod so? Ve still our property haf. If Yermany vin, youst der same; ve haf our farms, and der farm of some Australian fool as vell.

Mervyn Goulder, as leader of a local anti-German league, however, overcomes capture by enemy agents and an attempted inoculation with poisonous germs to thwart a German uprising. The story closes as Jack Gordon, the Anglo-Australian admirer of Goulder’s daughter addresses the assembled British residents:

We’d like to see these bally Huns around us safe behind the barbed wire before we leave our sweethearts and wives at their mercy ... We must continue to agitate to demand the internment of the subjects of an enemy country that yearns to lay waste, to slaughter and outrage, in England and Australia, as it did in Belgium.¹¹⁶

The cumulative impact of this welter of propaganda, in print and celluloid upon Australian public opinion is difficult to gauge accurately. Although some doubters remained, as the strains of war and the amassing grief of personal loss became acute, so too was its effectiveness intensified. The sense of public shock and injury following upon the Gallipoli retreat of December 1915-January 1916 represents a significant climax to this escalating social outrage. This may be traced, for instance, in the letter columns of the daily press. In early 1916, the Brisbane Courier printed a spate of angry letters daily upon the general topic of ‘Eliminating Germans’. One writer, employing the conventional canine stereotype reasoned:

The Huns here are the breed of those disporting in Europe; a dachshund does not become an Australian terrier by being nourished in Australia; a German boarhound is not converted into an English mastiff by being bred in England.
'Patriot', on 29 January was worried about how slow Queenslanders had been 'to grasp the secret organization of the enemy in our midst and we seem to have no idea of the secret stores of munitions they possess.' Others, however, appeared privy to more precise information. 'Inkerman' was certain that from the Enoggera military camp gates, 'and taking every corner, right out to the Logan Village, there was stationed in some convenient spot, a German or enemy spy'. 'A Colonist Since 1852' was equally sure that there was 'scarcely a creek, river, bay or harbour in the Commonwealth of which they have not sent to Germany charts and plans.' The relationship of general social anguish and bereavement to this outburst of mass paranoia is well captured in the poem 'Two Farmers', by E.S. Emerson, a former Courier sub-editor and a descendent of the American writer, Ralph Waldo Emerson. 'How Long Shall We Who Suffer/Our vengeant hand withhold?' the poet bitterly demanded: 

The nation's heart is bleeding, the nation's heart has bled; How long shall living Germans feast on our holy dead?

Echoing this sentiment, a correspondent, 'Disgusted' wrote of his becoming 'wild with rage' upon seeing Germans, 'with an arrogant smile so typical of the Hun' walking in Brisbane's streets as he journeyed to the city with his two enlisted sons:

The time is now ripe to drive these people out of this fair land of ours. I, as a father of two soldier sons demand it. Should one of my boys, or both fall on the field of battle, must I walk about and see smiling Hunnish faces around me?

Further examples of such anxiety displacement and consequent demands that German residents be held responsible for damage and distress caused by the vicissitudes of war came in letters advocating putting them all to some 'crucial test', placing them 'on the chain', 'behind the entanglements' or 'packing them back to their fatherland as fast as they could be sent' with 'every inch of land and property confiscated'. Whatever was
done to remove 'the spirit of hatred', wrote 'Double Lens', it should follow soon, for:

Unless steps are taken ... bloodshed will follow. One can hear the threat while standing at the street corners; one can hear it while resting in the public gardens; and one can hear it in the suburban railway carriage ...

By the time this letter appeared on 5 February 1916, however, anti-German scapegoating had already erupted into violence in numerous centres across Australia. During August 1915, such rioting had destroyed shops and residences in Fremantle. At the same time, anti-German leagues were forming in several Sydney suburbs and, in November, approximately 3,000 soldiers and civilians stormed German recreational and business premises there, in a widespread mêlée which led to thirty-five arrests.

In Queensland, a Charters Towers mob attacked the local Lutheran church in August, smashing its windows and threatening to throw the minister, Pastor Schafhirt 'on his head'. On Christmas Eve, 1915, a large number of Queensland soldiers from Enoggera, on leave in Lismore, either precipitated or indulged in an anti-German riot involving 200 residents, during which four shops and a picture theatre were wrecked. A dozen arrests were made.

During January 1916, the general trend towards mass violence had accelerated considerably. Savage New Year's Eve riots in Perth involving destruction of premises occupied by citizens of foreign nationality or name, widespread looting and fighting between rioters wielding fence-pickets and military guards who seemed 'powerless to arrest the course of the disturbance' continued until the early hours of the following morning. At Lismore, there were further intimations of violence and a curfew was imposed upon the citizenry by patrolling police. From 12 January, two days of mounting 'Germanophobia' and sporadic assaults on German premises in Prahran, Melbourne culminated, on the evening of
24 January in a major riot involving 'thousands of persons' which raged for several hours. 'The military and civil police strove to maintain order', the Brisbane *Courier* reported:

... but even ordinary quiet women became termagants and tried to bite and kick the police. At every arrest, the crowd hooted and yelled and before peace was restored over 40 people had been arrested.

Over the next two days, there were further riots in various Melbourne suburbs involving considerable property damage, personal injury and almost seventy further arrests. Four days later, renewed rioting in Perth led to more casualties when police baton-charged large mobs attacking cafés, fruit-stalls and a wine saloon of German proprietorship, only to be driven back by 'showers of stones'.

The streets of Brisbane were not marred by comparable scenes of anti-German violence at this time, largely because less than 14% of the State's widespread German population resided in the metropolis. Furthermore, after the closure of the Vulture Street *Turn-Verein* in May 1915, mob activity lacked a focus upon which to vent its rage. Nevertheless, on New Year's Eve, a jeering crowd of several hundred burnt the Kaiser's effigy 'in the vicinity of Gregory Terrace' and acts of personal violence were also recorded. For instance, five days later, a Brisbane soldier was arraigned on a charge of having attacked a German labourer with a broken bottle. Local military authorities, alerted by the rioting in other States were also quick to pre-empt possible mob activity. On 11 January, the *Courier* reported that, after threats were received from soldiers that they would 'parade the streets and carry out reprisals of their own account' against well-known Germans, all military leave was cancelled and seven unnaturalized Germans in the city's environs were rapidly interned. Deprived of this target, a group of soldiers several days later nevertheless led a mob of 100 in an attack upon a number of
foreign-owned shops in Fortitude Valley, principally run by Greeks.\textsuperscript{124}

Heightened agitation was also apparent in several of Queensland's provincial centres. At Bundaberg, a large body of residents, motivated by their 'fear of hundreds of aliens in the district' met on 21 January to form 'a citizen force'. In February, a major public furore erupted in Townsville, centred upon the appointment of a German, Dr Anton Brienl, an expert upon tropical medicine to the local hospital, while at Ingham, German employees were 'hunted' from the meatworks.\textsuperscript{125} Several physical clashes and rioting occurred between Britishers and Germans in the German-dominated rural districts of Brigelow, Warra and Goombungee.\textsuperscript{126} During March 1916, a major report upon the German population from Lieutenant J.J. Stable confirmed the 'disquietening rapidity' of the trend towards greater tension, bitterness and violence in local British-German relations over the previous six months. There had been a fresh spate of reports of allegedly incipient German revolts from centres such as Moggill, Ipswich and Gatton, yet Stable concluded that 'a German rising is not at all likely'. He could not discount the possibility, however, that:

\begin{quote}
...should the Allies suffer several defeats, such centres as Marburg, Engelsburg, Mundubbera etc. might very well become dangerous. Active disloyalty does exist in the German towns and given any hope of success, it would rapidly develop into armed disloyalty.
\end{quote}

Yet he believed there was far more likelihood of British-German rioting arising at 'Gatton, Laidley, Maryborough, Esk, etc. etc.' These 'semi-German towns', Stable contended:

\begin{quote}
...are to my mind in danger at any time of more or less serious disturbances that may develop into ugly riots. The present state of public feeling is such that very little would be sufficient to start the trouble, and once these riots begin, they will spread rapidly. The British population will take "the law into its own hands", so to speak, and the German will not be slow in defending itself.
\end{quote}

As a deterrent, Stable suggested strengthening the various 'sinews
of war' further to circumscribe the rights, liberties and job opportunities of German residents in order to give the 'British population of Queensland ... the support and protection it imagines it requires'. To begin with, Commonwealth military officers were asked to provide more men to investigate complaints, act as 'travelling censors' and 'visit the German centres with powers to raid etc.'. The State Commandant should also be granted additional powers to make 'provisional' arrests of 'naturalized enemy aliens', while the State Government should remove all Germans from responsible positions upon local authorities, either as council members or as J.P.s 'if the slightest suspicion of disloyalty be attached to their name'. Germans were to be prevented from filling 'positions rendered vacant by Britishers volunteering for the front' and German policemen, railway employees and postal officers were to be removed from districts where 'the German element' was pronounced. These prescriptions, Lieutenant Stable urged, should be applied indiscriminately to all German subjects, for:

The naturalized German is, as a rule, as disloyal as the unnaturalized; more so, in fact, for he knows that he is immune from immediate arrest and can travel from town to town without having to report to the police.127

During February 1916, Senator Pearce, the Minister of Defence had already recommended to State Authorities that they should 'intern all Germans, whether naturalized or not, who were thought to be dangerous'. This was soon to be formalized by War Precautions regulations nos. 55 and 56 which additionally authorised 'the internment of natural-born British subjects of enemy descent who showed themselves disloyal and persons of hostile origin and association.'128 The increased surveillance which Lieutenant Stable advocated had also been set in train. On 14 January 1916, Prime Minister Hughes notified Premier Ryan that a Counter-Espionage Bureau had now been established in Australia, upon the recommendation of a 'most secret memo' from the Imperial Government in
August 1915. This Bureau was to act in co-operation with a British agency of the same name. Major George Steward, the official secretary to the Governor-General had been appointed as officer-in-charge, Hughes advised Ryan, and a conference to explain the workings of the organization to State Commissioners of Police had been arranged for 4 February. At this meeting, the scope of the Bureau was explained as maintaining:

... a secret control over the traffic to and from overseas, with a view to examining the credentials of persons whom there is [sic] reasons to suspect of being hostile secret service agents, and to keep under constant observation all aliens resident within the Commonwealth who are suspected of being under hostile enemy influence or of acting in any way on the behalf of the enemies of the Empire.  

Throughout 1916, this secret organization co-ordinated its efforts from Government House, Melbourne with the Intelligence section of the General Staff, which became a Directorate in March, the Investigation Branch of the Attorney General's Department and the Censorship, eventually establishing 'authority over the whole counter espionage area'. It developed a system for both the 'tracing and recording of the personal histories of alien enemy agents and suspects' and the circulation of 'warnings and descriptions' of them with the 'cordial co-operation' of State police nationally and the collaboration of the British Central Bureau internationally. 'For the first time in the history of the Commonwealth,' Hughes declared proudly in early 1917, 'there is now established a means of dealing with espionage and activity of Foreign Secret Service agents on a comprehensive scale'. Although, for undisclosed reasons, Queensland's Police Commissioner, Major Cahill was unable to attend the first conference in February 1916, he was present at the second a year later. Following this, and despite the differences which had arisen between State and Commonwealth over the first conscription referendum, Ryan informed Hughes that his Government would
continue to co-operate, via its Police Department with the Bureau so long as he, as Premier was 'regularly appraised' of its proceedings.  

The Ryan Government, after a Cabinet decision taken on 19 January 1916 had also moved rapidly to deny further employment in 'any State department to persons of German or Austrian birth while Britishers willing to be employed are available.' This policy, which was not simply confined to future appointments, led to widespread dismissals. On 17 January, the Public Service Board had supplied Premier Ryan, upon his direction with a rather 'incomplete' list of 144 Government employees of 'enemy' nationality, detected in the Departments of Chief Secretary, Home Secretary, Public Works, Justice, Treasury, Public Lands, Agriculture and Stock, Public Instruction and Mines. Further listings of Germans employed in the Police force and of 193 others working for Railways were soon added. As no exact record of nationality had previously been kept, concern was expressed that not all 'enemy' nationals had been culled from the ranks and in April, Lieutenant Stable indicated a further batch of forty-four employees who may originally have been overlooked, using information contained in Police reports. Whether all of those so listed were dismissed is difficult to determine. Yet this was the ultimate intention of the exercise and the policy of retrenchment seems to have been applied exactingly. Among those discharged from the Railways, for instance, was one man of fifty years, born in Australia with ten offspring, two of whom were at the front and a third who had fought in the Boer War.

This purge of State servants seems to have been immediately activated by an allegedly 'glaring case' of disloyalty which had been detected in the Immigration Office in October 1915. Directly prior to this, Ryan had informed Premier Holman of New South Wales that Queensland intended taking no action against enemy aliens in Government employ.
Yet charges laid against Karl Arthur Schulz of expediting reimbursements of passage money to pre-war German migrants, before proper authority had been granted to do so, led, by 13 January, not only to Schulz’s dismissal but to the general witch-hunt throughout the State Public Service, authorized by Cabinet one week later. Schulz had been suspected of disloyalty since making predictions that 'the Germans would get into Paris' early in the war. A tendency to converse in German with fellow countrymen at the Immigration Office and to send official letters written in that language to German farmers continued to damn him thereafter. It would indeed seem from available correspondence that it was more for such indiscretions as these than for the technical misdemeanour upon which he was charged that Schulz was investigated, dismissed and subsequently interned. He had been incarcerated, Schulz later wrote to Ryan:

... as a consequence of your Government’s extraordinary action in dismissing me ... the result of the panicky conditions then prevailing ... to satisfy possibly highly inflamed public or individual eager desires, opinions and sentiments.

The degree of anti-German sentiment in State Cabinet at this time is again difficult to ascertain. Every minister with eligible sons had his boys fighting at the front while most, by their statements, showed themselves to be staunch British patriots. Herbert Hardacre, Minister for Public Instruction would draw clear comparisons between the Germans' present 'barbaric inhumanity' and 'similar actions of the Huns and Vandals of more than a thousand years ago'; but the most virulent exponent of anti-Germanism was John Adamson, Minister for Railways who drew fire from radical leftists for his repeated public assertions that he would rather be 'a dead Britisher than a live German'. In late February, George Barber, Secretary of the P.L.P. was to complain that despite Cabinet directives some Departments had still not dismissed all their 'enemy'
employees; whilst even the normally phlegmatic T.J. Ryan warned publicly in this period about the necessity of keeping 'eyes skinned' for disloyalty.\textsuperscript{136} Important pressures from outside sources also contributed significantly towards this rigorous trend. On 24 January, Colonel A.J. Thynne, Chairman of the Queensland Recruiting Executive complained that men were refusing to enlist because the State Government was giving 'undue consideration' to the employment of Germans, particularly upon the Railways. The following month, the Chancellor at Queensland University informed the Premier of his Senate's decision to waive the granting of three Government University scholarships to 'children of alien parentage', including Dr Hirschfeld's son. The University Senate also called upon State and Federal authorities to tighten both electoral and naturalization laws against potentially disloyal persons of enemy origin or descent.\textsuperscript{137}

In the meantime, the Commonwealth Government had also moved to prevent 'enemy nationals' from filling any vacancies in its Federal Departments. State Government compliance with Commonwealth directives is here strongly suggested. On 14 February, Senator Pearce expressed his concern to Acting Premier, William Lennon over the situation in country districts where Germans were 'predominant and conspicuous', keeping alive the German 'language, institutions and spirit' in large numbers and failing 'to become assimilated by their British surroundings'. Lennon responded by issuing a general departmental directive that appointments or transfers to such districts be confined solely to persons of British birth and of 'undoubted loyalty'.\textsuperscript{138} When an anonymous correspondent from Cooktown complained of how he and other Britishers had had 'to sit back and grind our teeth' at the presence of 'a German Doctor, German State School Master [and] a German Sergeant of Police' in the town, he succeeded in having the teacher and the sergeant promptly transferred, despite an investigation confirming their utmost loyalty.\textsuperscript{139}
A second memo regarding local government bodies with a numerical predominance of 'enemy' nationals and the difficulties these posed for recruiters was received from Pearce on 22 February. This seems to have precipitated a general movement by local councils, beginning at Murgon on 28 February to call for the dismissal of German council members and the disfranchisement of German electors until some time after the war had ended. Town and shire councils in centres as widespread as Bundaberg, Southport, Isis, Maleny, Johnstone, Bungil, Springsure, Waggamba, Childers, Croydon and Thursday Island all joined in the outcry. During May, the Auburn Shire Recruiting Committee at Mundubbera complained of 'the domination and rule of enemies', owing to their local numerical predominance. In July, the Rockhampton City Council dismissed all its 'alien' employees as a protest against 'the violent and dirty machinations of the Hunnish crowd'. Electors in the Aubigny Shire conveyed their fears of the 'howling Dervish-like representatives from Kaiser-land' in their midst to the Courier on 12 July; whilst, in August, the Goodna War Council threatened 'resignation en masse' over the reinstatement of two warders of German origin at the local mental hospital. At Lowood, earlier complaints that seven out of nine Shire Councillors were of German origin and that every Council employee was also German culminated in demands by the local War Council in March that 'the place should be closed up until the conclusion of the war'. Finally, after recommendations from Lieutenant Stable, an 'extravagant use' was made of the Local Authorities Act to alter shire boundaries. Lowood was divided between its neighbouring shires of Esk and Rosewood and the redundant Council was disbanded. One of the leading Councillors, Ernst Beutel was interned in June, allegedly for a disloyal statement uttered 'a day or two before the war was declared. Beutel's position as an influential community leader, 'keeping up
the esprit de corps' of Lowood Germans was a significant factor in his official disfavour. While the compact rural German settlements of Queensland continued to provide a self-supportive milieu for their members against the burgeoning assault upon their freedoms and livelihood by Anglo-Australians, they also composed en bloc an easily identifiable target against which charges of disloyalty could be continually levelled. As the historian, Eugene Kamenka has commented in another context: '... while minorities organized as communities can be subjects, modern history has shown that it is very difficult for them to be citizens.' The suspicious pre-occupations of a society at war could only intensify such social distance and ethnic reserve. Britishers increasingly regarded the enclaves of this staunchly unified minority as detested 'pariah' groups in its midst, while the Germans looked defensively out upon a hostile society with something approaching a 'ghetto mentality'. The antagonism and disaffection so engendered both lent credence to the panicky interpretation that Germans were persistently plotting a civil revolt.

The central role of the Lutheran pastors, as preservers not only of doctrinal purity but also of cultural exclusiveness singled them out for special attention as potential leaders of insurrection. In February 1916, for instance, Lieutenant Stable became particularly alarmed about the reported transmission of Stead's Review, an Australian journal mildly critical of the war, by Lutheran pastors among their congregations - and the possible repercussions of this. Throughout the war period, German clergy and community leaders, such as Pastors Niemeyer, Schafhirt, Lohde, Frank, Treuz, Fisher and Millat were progressively interned, principally to deter any incipient spirit of resistance among the German minority. Serious allegations of internal insurgency nevertheless continued to emanate from influential sources. In February 1916, for
instance, J.M. Myers of *Mirror* Newspapers, Sydney informed Ryan that he had reasons to believe that 'German organizations' in Australia had made 'elaborate preparations' to commit a series of incendiary acts. Although he had 'no desire to be an alarmist', Myers demanded immediate internment of any German 'about whom there is the slightest suspicion'. National security must always outweigh civil rights in wartime, Myers concluded, so that:

If a few, or even a large number of persons suffer some injustice by such action, this would be of little account compared with the importance of preventing a public calamity. At a time when the enemy is using every dastardly method to achieve his ends, it is not unreasonable for us to adopt cautious methods, even though they inflict temporary hardship upon a few individuals.146

Queensland faced the greatest danger of such attacks, the *Daily Mail* noted in July 1916, for it contained 'the largest proportion in the Commonwealth of enemy subjects'. Although the Censorship was now forbidding any 'press agitation' upon the matter - on the grounds that it hampered recruiting - the press release indicated that a series of public meetings had been arranged to dissuade the authorities from 'pampering Germans' and to encourage more widespread internments.147

By the time of the first Conscription referendum in late 1916, the Commissioner of Police reported that 'approximately 340 alien subjects', chiefly adult males of German nationality had been interned from Queensland at Liverpool, New South Wales. This number would grow to 568 by the end of the war. Additionally, 986 were 'on parole' in Queensland in December 1916, rising to 1,466 by November 1918.148

Ernest Scott's account of the experience of detainees at the Liverpool Concentration Camp tends to emphasize the pleasanter side of life there - the German bands, the *Liedertafel*, the plays and the camp newspaper - while overlooking the discomforts and constraints of the closed
institutional system. Amidst such diversions, in quarters which were idyllic 'when compared with the terrible life of their compatriots and enemies in the trenches of Flanders,' Scott contends, 'the Germans at Liverpool fared exceedingly well.' Complaints by inmates against their 'temporary and unappreciated home', he writes, were merely the result of 'bitterness ... rudeness, irritability and truculence' displayed by naturally 'adept grumblers, ... perpetually sour-tempered and resentful', who enjoyed playing the martyr and for whom 'nothing was ever right.' A reluctance to admit to any failings by the Australian authorities as well as a notable anti-German bias combine to make Scott's treatment of the internment process one of the least satisfactory sections of his massive study.

A fuller and less prejudiced examination of the Australian internment system will be necessary before its total impact upon Germans and others who experienced it can be gauged. Yet it seems indisputable that the process did inflict considerable hardship and suffering upon those constrained to undergo its rigours. Basis Goener, a Queensland German who has written of his experiences in an Australian internment camp during World War Two has perceptively compared the ordeal to that of the mental hospital inmate, whom he had observed at close quarters while working as a warder at the Goodna asylum. He comments:

What is the difference between a mental hospital - an asylum - and an internment camp? Barbed wire everywhere! That gave me food for thought and many questions came to mind, such as, are human beings going insane outside, or are we inside? ...

The experience had 'its sunny as well as its dark sides', he readily admits, but - when placed in the balance - despondency far outweighed hope. 'Settled business[men] and townspeople' tended to worry so much that 'their mental outlook became one of indifference'; and, for all involved, 'the suppression of the sexual instinct' proved the greatest
... this is purely a mental disease caused by environment. The confined space, with its crowded population, the unbroachable barbed wire entanglement encircling this small space, all have a terrible reaction on the minds and bodies of most of the internees ...

The constant longing for freedom, the uncertainty about when it would come and an increasing sense of embitterment and pessimism all conspired to give inmates the feeling of being 'cut off like animals from the outside world', an encroaching hopelessness and self-loathing. This resulted in 'arguments, rows and at last fights' of daily occurrence which brought the law of 'survival of the fittest' to the forefront in all social relationships. Although Goener is writing here of internment in another war at Gaythorne, Queensland and Tatura, Victoria, his remarks upon life in a closed institution are, in the widest sense, ahistorical ones and may be applied, with equal validity, one suggests, in World War One. Scott too refers to Liverpool inmates' commenting that 'hatred, envy, fighting, insults of every kind and theft are the order of the day here ...' and that 'I never thought such a thing possible among Germans'. He also reveals the climax of such frustrations in escape attempts and other developments like the violent, internecine riot of 19 April 1916 in which one man was killed and at least five others seriously injured. In June 1917, forty-two Queensland detainees at Liverpool asked Premier Ryan to use his influence to secure either their release or return to their home State for internment. Their petition outlined similar reactions to those depicted in Goener's account. The dozen farmers among them were apprehensive about their properties' 'going to wreck and ruin', whilst all complained:

The long separation from our families and the continuous thought of what may happen to them in case of illness or death without any chance of seeing them in time is sufficient to drive anybody insane. As a matter of fact, 30 internees from the different States have been sent already to the Gladesville Lunatic Asylum ... Many hearts are broken ...
German Internees at Liverpool Internment Camp, mid-War.
The petitioners were all naturalized and expected 'British fair play', but Ryan's appeal to Hughes upon their behalf proved unsuccessful. Their release was out of the question, Hughes wrote and separate State confinement would be far too expensive.\(^{152}\)

Little sympathy might have been expected from the Prime Minister in any such case. Hughes had consistently regarded the German minority presence throughout the war as a 'cancer' to be 'extirpated, root, branch and seed'. His xenophobic attacks grew in passion as the war progressed. 'No German can be trusted,' he stated categorically in Federal Parliament on 9 September 1916, as the first conscription campaign opened. They were all potential spies and traitors, 'coarse and brutal' by nature. Ten days later, he explained in a written introduction to C.B. Fletcher's *The New Pacific* how 'the work of freeing Australia from Germany's grip has been like operating at a dentist's chair, or rather like cutting the tentacles of an octopus with blows from an axe, always to find that while life lasts the creature can cling.' Such promethean labours had been nowhere more necessary than in Queensland, Hughes averred, for this area had been 'a special hunting ground for Germans spying out the land; and the gospel of *Deutschland über Alles* has been preached there even to men in editorial sanctums.'\(^{153}\)

In Queensland itself, the circulation of conspiracy theories and scapegoating demands continued unabated as the conscription battle loomed. In July 1916, the Queensland Censor and the Chairman of the Queensland Recruiting Executive were both blaming 'German gold' for the rapid decline in enlistment.\(^{154}\) At the same time, Acting Premier Theodore was attributing incendiary fires in the sugar fields near Cairns to German perpetrators. No more Germans were to be appointed as Justices of the Peace. A German uprising was feared at Mundah. A citizens' meeting at Kedron demanded that 'a special tax' be levied against all
Germans, whilst the State Recruiting Committee called for the resumption of German farms as gifts for returned soldiers. The Queensland Chamber of Commerce urged that 'no separate education' be given German children and Peter Airey, the former Kidstonite Treasurer called for the disfranchisement of all Germans. At Lowood, Germans working on the railway gang were being retrenched, as the Maranoa W.P.O. petitioned for the dismissal of others employed at the local building works. Waterside workers at Cairns voted to turn a naturalized German with four children off the wharves, leaving him in destitute circumstances.

Patterns of anti-German paranoia and persecution had become more deeply entrenched, intense and self-perpetuating through every level of the society as the trauma of war involvement grew more unbearable and other propagandist exhortations lost fire. 'The desire for revenge is a natural one,' maintained The Lone Hand, as the journal United Empire urged German repentence in 'sackcloth and ashes' for all they had made the British suffer. 'Until the German has tasted of that utter humiliation which alone can purge him of his uncleanness, there is no safety for woman and no rest for an honest man,' stated conscriptionist pamphleteer, D.H. Newman in September 1916:

Until again we can look on the German features without feeling something of that creepy loathing that we get from looking on a snake; until the sound of the German voice no longer calls to the mind the cries of drowning civilians and of soldiers writhing in the death agonies from liquid fire and gas ... until the retention of a single German, naturalized or other, in government employ has ceased to be an offence against decency, and a political disgrace, our battle cry must be the grim slogan of 1789, "It shall go on", "It shall go on".

The reactions of local Germans to this grimly mounting tide of repression can be gauged from the sentiments of bitterness and alarm which increasingly infuse their correspondence, protesting against curtailment of rights, loss of shares and property, social harassment
and official internment.\textsuperscript{159} The Reverend John Herbert Leopold Zillman, born at Nundah on 30 December 1841 was the son of one of the German Moravian Ministers brought to Moreton Bay in 1838 and was consequently one of the earliest free-born Europeans in the region which was to become Queensland. Later in life, he had married the sister of Australian poet, Henry Kendall and had himself written five books of verses and hymns. At different times, he had served as Rector of St. Paul's Anglican Church, Ipswich and as editor of the \textit{Darling Downs Gazette}.\textsuperscript{160} Subsequently, he had travelled widely in England, Canada and the United States as an Australian publicist, advertising the country's virtues to potential immigrants in innumerable articles and public speeches. Yet, by 1915, he was living in the slum district of Redfern, Sydney in a state of 'absolute poverty and want.' In a series of letters written to the Queensland Premier between 1915 and 1919, he displayed his rising disenchantment and, ultimately his melancholy resignation to his treatment in war-torn Australia.

His tone in 1915 was stoical as he applied for some pecuniary assistance and offered his services 'health permitting, to defend my native Australia'.\textsuperscript{161} By December 1917, however, his sorry treatment at the hands of Australian statesmen had embittered him considerably. His recent disenfranchisement by the Hughes Government had induced his letter and he demanded of Ryan, with wounded pride:

\begin{quote}
Has a new chum Welshman power to inflict this sore injury on a native born Australian, a British subject who has never broken any law of his country [and] who has done more to advertise Australia than any paid lecturer?
\end{quote}

He had been both 'a personal and political friend of Mr Hughes', he claimed, 'but how can I respect a man who has turned completely round on himself. It is all farcical to pretend a danger which does not exist.' Zillman had called to see Frank Tudor, the Federal Labor leader about
his disfranchisement, but had been treated as 'a loafer and intruder.' By the Governor-General, Munro-Ferguson, he had been rather more 'courteously and kindly ... repulsed.' The press ignored his letters. 'The treatment of me as an enemy is (if it were possible) enough to turn me into [an] enemy,' he complained:

But with all their insults and attempts to do this, they cannot succeed. It is with me Australia First. Had it not been for my Irish friends, I would not have been able to walk down the street. Old friends have entirely forsaken me and though I have been in the throes of death - or seemed to be - from a serious attack of nervous breakdown, few have cared to come near me. Our Anzacs were brave, but I meet with men every­day who have the stupidity of a very inferior breed of mortal ...

Touching upon the relationship between the mobilization of hatred from above and the furious emotions unleashed below, Zillman concluded:

... if we think we can win a war by becoming more tyrannical than German Kaiserism and Prussianism is now or ever has been, then Germany will beat us ... When the public has passed through its phase of insane hatred, our public men may cease their furious talk and wild harangues.

In my early days in Queensland, I have had to do with mobs of wild cattle and I find now crowds of mad human beings are as dangerous.  

There is no record of Premier Ryan's having attempted a reply to this extended indictment, but finally, in June 1919, Zillman wrote again - a quieter letter, outlining his past history, mentioning the persecution of his son Kendall and asking for 'a small dole' as recognition of his former services to Queensland. 'I am trying to live on the old age pension,' he joked feebly, 'but like the Irishman who tried getting used to living without eating, just as he got used to it he died.' A curt 'no action' is appended to this last letter and, three months later, on 28 September 1919, this early Queensland pioneer himself was dead.  

By mid-war, the growth of anti-Germanism throughout Australia - and particularly in Queensland where the largest German minority existed -
had contributed a new dimension to established patterns of pre-war xenophobia. The campaign of vilification conducted was as intense in its application as the massive anti-Chinese agitations of the late 1880s had been. Through the mechanism of unrelenting propaganda, given credibility by an emotionally receptive society, the tainted image of the 'evil Hun' was starkly contrasted against the shining example of the 'noble Britisher', as a primary justification for the continued prosecution of total warfare. As these two stereotypes were locked into battle in print and in mind, the rights, freedoms and securities of local Germans were progressively usurped as part of the spoils of war. As the supposedly immutable traits of the 'Hun' stereotype were articulated by leading opinion-makers, and pseudo-intellectual theories were suggested as explanation for them, antagonism against all Germans attained fully racist proportions.

To the extent that anti-Germanism was employed to enhance conformity with the war effort and thereby to impose urgent demands for widespread social cohesiveness, its repercussions also extended far beyond its immediate target group. For this reason, the social and ideological impact of this major outburst of pathological ethnic anxiety upon existing strands of anti-alien and anti-radical sentiment was to be a profound one. The remarkable new infusion of pro-British, anti-German cohesion toughened such strands considerably, as the foreigner and the radical, by virtue of their obvious divergence from either British ethnicity and culture or Imperial aims and ideology became closely identified with a pro-German threat to national survival. These 'strangers and heretics' were thereby isolated as auxiliaries to the suspected manipulations of the 'enemy within'. Their composite 'disloyalty' was consequently to be met with those same modes of social and official control, erected to keep the 'ruthless Prussian spirit' cowed and restrained.
Chapter Three: Footnotes


4. Z. Cross, *Elegy of an Australian Schoolboy*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1921, p.12. The edition was limited to 140 copies, signed and distributed by the author.


9. Petition, Evangelical Lutheran Synod, Queensland to Lieut. Gov., 10 August 1914, QSA PRE/20, in-letter no. 12386 of 1914. See also Address to Governor-General quoted in E. Scott, *Australia During the War*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1940, p.155.


16. O. Schafer, Brisbane to E. Schafer, Darmsttatt, 26 September 1914, Intelligence Report, Commonwealth Military Forces: First Military District, Q.180, Australian Archives.


20. *Brisbane Courier*, 12 January 1915; Bennett, *op. cit.*, p.27: Germans were branded 'demons', 'savages' and even 'white South Sea Islanders'.

21. Petition, Royal Society of Queensland to German Imperial Government, undated, QSA GOV/A69, in-letter no. 3809 of 1914. Only about one-eighth of Louvain suffered although the British Press Bureau of 29 August 1914 reported the town as being 'no more than a heap of ashes'. See Marquis, *op. cit.*, p.487.


24. J. Cook to D. Denham, 10 August 1914, QSA COL/155, in-letter no. 8918 of 1914; PRE/19 in-letter no. 8028 of 1914; for proclamation upon Turkish residents, see Cook to Denham, 12 November 1914, QSA COL/155, in-letter no. 7175 of 1914; see also Scott, *op. cit.*, p.109.


27. W. Gall, Under Home Sec., Circular 11 August 1914; A. Behrand, Brisbane to J.G. Appel, 8 September 1914, QSA COL/155, in-letter no. 8918 of 1914.


29. *Brisbane Courier*, 5 November 1914.


33. O. Schafer, Brisbane, 26 September 1914, *op. cit.*

34. Scott, *op. cit.*, pp.141-144.
35. Jeremiah Joseph Stable, born South Australia 14 May 1883, was educated at Geneva and Cambridge. In 1912, he was appointed lecturer in English, French and German at the University of Queensland. In 1977, Stable's son, Dr Grantley Stable informed J.A. Phillips that prior to World War One, Stable had been at Heidelberg University, but was 'asked to leave' Germany following charges of espionage on behalf of the British Government. See J.A. Phillips, 'The Townsville Meatworkers Strike: A Perspective on Social Conflict in Queensland 1918-19', B.A. (Hons) (Hist.), University of Queensland, 1977, p.16.

36. Captain J.J. Stable, Censor to Deputy Chief Censor, Melbourne, 21 September 1918, Australian Archives CP447/3, item SC5[1].

37. H. Venn King, Queensland Club to D. Denham, 14 August 1914, QSA PRE/19, in-letter no. 8175 of 1914.

38. J.H. McDonald, Gayndah to 'Mother', October 1914; 'Scotsman' to Daily Standard, 28 October 1914, QSA PRE/A474, in-letter no. 10832 of 1914.

39. G.W. Gibson, Brisbane to Home Sec., 2 September 1914; also A. Winstone, Binjour Plateau to Home Sec., 17 November 1914, QSA COL/155, in-letter no. 7175 of 1914.


42. Major Brown, Proclamation, 24 November 1914, QSA COL/155, in-letter no. 7175 of 1914; P. Sinnell, Kynuna to Denham, 22 December 1914, QSA PRE/36, in-letter no. 642 of 1915.

43. W.A. Schwarz, Sworn Statement, 7 December 1914, QSA PRE/A640, in-letter no. 11009 of 1919.


46. J. Cook, Secret to D. Denham, 27 August 1914, QSA PRE/20, in-letter no. 10536 of 1914.

47. G. Johnson, Secretary, Metropolitan Water & Sewage Board to Military Command, 31 August 1914, QSA PRE/A514, in-letter no. 1026 of 1916.


49. Hall, op. cit., p.12; see series of cases, 1906-1913 in QSA PRE/A673, in-letter no. 9140 of 1920. See also German cases, 1912, in QSA POL/J35; for case of Ronald Grahame Gordon, see Scott, op. cit., pp.157-159.
50. Sub. Inspector T. Wyer, Cairns to Police Commissioner, 8 April 1916, QSA PRE/35, in-letter no. 5551 of 1916; Dr Kortum, Cooktown to sister, 24 August 1914, QSA PRE/19, in-letter no. 9493 of 1914; Commissioner of Police to D. Denham, 12 September 1914, QSA PRE/19, in-letter no. 9426 of 1914; see also case of J. Christensen, Bundaberg, QSA PRE/36, in-letter no. 1029 of 1914.

51. Inspector McGrath, Cairns to Police Commissioner, 17 September 1914, QSA PRE/A673, in-letter no. 9140 of 1920; F.J. Pearce to Minister of Defence, 19 January 1915, Australian Archives MP729/5, File 175/1/3520.


53. Sergeant E. Conway, Boonah to Commissioner of Police, 30 August 1914, QSA PRE/19, in-letter no. 8810 of 1914.

54. Constable J. Reed, Leyburn to Commissioner of Police, 16 December 1914, QSA PRE/A480, in-letter no. 12801 of 1914.

55. Queensland Governor, Affairs Report, October 1914 to Sec. of State for the Colonies; Governor's special report to Sec. of State for the Colonies, 10 November 1914, Public Records Office, Kew, London, CO418/125, file nos 48224 and 52022; E. Hirschfeld, Resignation, 2 November 1914, QSA PRE/A486, in-letter no. 2472 of 1914; T. Welsby Petition, 28 October 1914, QSA GOV/A70, in-letter no. 166 of 1915; D. Denham to E. Hirschfeld, 10 November 1914, QSA PRE/A486, in-letter no. 2472 of 1914; Bennett, op. cit., p.102; Scott, op. cit., pp.156-157.

56. C.P. D., 28 October 1914, p.376, quoted in Bennett, op. cit., p.160.

57. Charters Towers Chamber of Commerce resolution, to Denham, 30 October 1914. Supporting resolutions, Cairns (14 November), Ravenswood (17 November), Rockhampton and Townsville (23 November), Lakes Creek W.P.O. (2 December) and Hughenden (19 February 1915), QSA PRE/36, in-letter no. 1854 of 1915.


59. Scott, op. cit., p.137; The Queenslander, 7 November 1914; Australian Statesman and Mining Standard, 21 June 1917.

60. R. Philp, Private and Confidential to Denham, 7 July 1915, QSA PRE/37, in-letter no. 8011 of 1915.

61. Bennett, op. cit., p.113; Douman, op. cit., p.20; Scott, op. cit., p.112.


63. Douman, op. cit., p.20; Direct Action, 1 June 1915.

64. 'Summary of ... Disloyal Associations', op. cit.


68. H.M. King, Toowong to Ryan, 10 March 1915, QSA PRE/A486, in-letter no. 3019 of 1915.


70. Daily Mirror, 5 & 12 January 1915; T.J. Whittington to Agent-General, London, 18 January 1915, QSA PRE/A484, in-letter no. 2100 of 1915. Bennett also quotes another extreme incident in April 1915, when Queensland country bakers refused to make Easter hot cross buns because of the similarity in design to the German Iron Cross. Brisbane Courier, 3 April 1915 in Bennett, op. cit., p.34.


72. Brisbane Courier, 7 January 1915; see also Courier, 8 January 1915, 4 & 5 May 1915 for further examples.

73. Brisbane Courier, 15 May 1915; The Queenslander, 29 May 1915; The Daily Record, 10 May 1915; see also D. Coward, 'The Impact of War on New South Wales: Some Aspects of Social and Political History 1914-17', Ph.D., A.N.U., 1974, pp.124-127. Coward shows that a police guard was posted outside Sydney's two German clubs on 8 May. The premises were closed eight days later.


76. Constable White, Mount Larcom to Inspector Sweetman, Rockhampton, 10 July 1915, QSA PRE/A496, in-letter no. 7617 of 1915.

77. Captain C. Parker, Southport to Ryan, 22 June 1915, QSA PRE/A494, in-letter no. 6914 of 1915.

79. J. O'Rourke, Dulacca to Ryan, 5 August 1915, QSA PRE/34, in-letter no. 10750 of 1915.

80. Truth, 8 August 1915.


82. Gov.-General Circular to Chief Sec., 3 July 1915, QSA PRE/A491, in-letter no. 6594 of 1915; Col. Lee to Department of Harbours and Rivers, 30 September 1915, QSA PRE/A537, in-letter no. 15082 of 1916; Commissioner of Police to Home Sec., 1 October 1915, QSA COL/A1031, in-letter no. 11299 of 1915.


84. T.J. Ryan to W.M. Hughes, 18 November 1915, QSA PRE/A516, in-letter no. 1731 of 1916; Scott, op. cit., p.110.

85. C. Parker, Melbourne to T.J. Ryan, 14 July 1915, QSA PRE/37, in-letter no. 7510 of 1915; see also Coward, op. cit., pp.120-124.

86. Strong, op. cit., p.155; Berry and Strong, op. cit., p.54.

87. Professor T.G. Tucker, 'British and German Ideals', in Berry and Strong, op. cit., pp.1-41.


89. S. Heydon, To Our Heroes, pamphlet in C. Bertie, 'Collection on the War 1914-18', vol. 1, Mitchell Library Ms.


91. Lasswell, op. cit., p.89.


94. Coward, *op. cit.*, p.120; The Queenslander, 29 May 1915.

95. The Lone Hand, June 1915 & October 1915.


98. O.C. Beale, *Our Duty, During and After the War*, Sydney, Marchant & Co., 1916, pp.1-2. Similarly an anonymous correspondent wrote to the Brisbane Courier: 'It is said that it takes twenty generations to breed out a black streak in a family; and I take it, it will take more than a generation to breed out the sauerkraut.' Courier, 4 February 1916.


110. Truth, 30 January 1916; National Leader, 3 August 1917.


116. Wright, *op. cit.*, p.10, pp.26-27, pp.57-58, pp.73-78; p.105. The novel also contains the character, Darby Dillon, an I.W.W. supporter who mocks recruiting and the war effort (p.37). He is later revealed to have a German mother (p.52).


120. Ibid., 25 August 1915; Coward, op. cit., p.132; Brisbane Courier, 29 November 1915.


122. Brisbane Courier, 1, 15, 17, 18, 21 January 1916.


125. Ibid., 22 January 1916; Douman, op. cit., p.20; W. Burnett to President, War Council, Ingham, 10 February 1916, QSA PRE/A521, in-letter no. 3473 of 1916.


130. Scott, op. cit., p.106; Hall, op. cit., p.14; Ryan to Hughes, 10 July 1917, QSA PRE/A559, in-letter no. 7514 of 1917.


132. Ryan to Holman, 15 September 1915, QSA PRE/A552, in-letter no. 3716 of 1916.


134. K. Schulz, Liverpool Concentration Camp to Ryan, 21 August 1917, QSA PRE/A585, in-letter no. 3951 of 1918.


139. 'Disgusted', Cooktown to Minister of Defence, 22 February 1916, QSA PRE/35, in-letter no. 5551 of 1916.


145. British Foreign Office note to Gov.-General, April 1915, Australian Archives: Accession CP78/25, Item 14/89/88; The Queenslander, 24 January 1916; Brisbane Courier, 50 October 1916; Bennett, op. cit., pp.63-64.

146. J.M. Myers, Sydney to Ryan, 7 February 1916; Ryan replied thanking Myers for his 'patriotic action' and promising the matter would receive 'most careful consideration'. QSA PRE/34, in-letter no. 1657 of 1916.


148. Police Commissioner Urquhart to Ryan, 1 November 1916 & 30 August 1919, QSA PRE/A674, in-letter no. 9140 of 1920; also Bennett, op. cit., Appendix. Bennett is incorrect, however, in assessing that only 137 were interned from Queensland.

150. B. Goener, 'My Experiences in an Australian Internment Camp', Fryer Ms. F.288 passim.

151. Scott, op. cit., p.124, p.128. He tends to blame these developments upon aspects of the German character however.

152. Liverpool Concentration Camp, Petition to T.J. Ryan, 19 June 1917, QSA PRE/A585, in-letter no. 3951 of 1918.

153. Haste, op. cit., p.109; Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, LXXIX, p.6892; Bennett, op. cit., p.27; Fletcher, op. cit., XXII.

154. Intelligence Report, First Military District, 26 August 1916, Q532, Australian Archives; Brisbane Courier, 12 July 1916.


159. See, for instance, C. Esser, Goodna to Home Sec., 9 May 1916, QSA COL/A1059, in-letter no. 6466 of 1916; E. Heinriks, Nambour to Home Sec., 18 October 1916, QSA COL/A1067, in-letter no. 9756 of 1916; M.A. Zimitat, Gin Gin to Premier, 4 November 1916, QSA PRE/A541, in-letter no. 17502 of 1916; C.F. Siller, Liverpool Concentration Camp to Premier, 10 February 1917, QSA PRE/A556, in-letter no. 5968 of 1917; H. Carl, Liverpool to Ryan, 28 September 1917, QSA PRE/A573, in-letter no. 14291 of 1917; C. Reese, Brisbane to Ryan, 11 December 1917, QSA PRE/A579, in-letter no. 503 of 1918; B. Monzel, Brisbane to Premier, 19 January 1917, QSA PRE/38, in-letter no. 1090 of 1917; Late in 1915, a certain Mr Muller, head teacher at the Marian State School, Mackay committed suicide on account of continual 'sneers at his nationality'. Brisbane Courier, 1 November 1915.

160. Hornibrook, op. cit., p.82.


164. Evans et al., op. cit., pp. 314-316.

165. See also Coward, op. cit., p. 109.
... the Industrial Workers of the World within our gates ... a swarm of Huns on the Ninety Mile Beach ... 

- D.H. Newman.¹

"You must be a Socialist," said Jack. It was the only explanation of this strange talk that he could think of. "I am," the Enemy cheerfully asserted. "I am one of those who believe that the only war worthwhile is that which is waged to liberate the working class from the exploiting class. That is a war which binds the workers together instead of sundering them."

- H.E. Boote.²

... in all countries, opposers of the war came fumblingly together.

- M. Ferro.³

The loyalist clamour against an allegedly collusive cadre of disloyalist conspirators did not reach its zenith until the first conscription furore of September and October 1916. Yet a heightened suspicion of most radicals and aliens, grounded upon a firm substratum of anti-Germanism had manifested itself long before this time. Indeed, anti-war pronouncements and activities by radical and revolutionary socialists as well as by religious and secular pacifists had placed these small groups clearly within the ambit of the enemy camp from the early war period. Foreigners and radicals together compounded the intensity of loyalist unease, sweeping it continually towards harsh extremes.

In August 1915, for instance, a mass meeting of underground workers employed by the Mount Morgan Gold Mining Co. agreed to refuse labouring alongside 'Germans, Austrians or any others holding enemy sympathies.' As a result, some twenty-nine employees were rapidly dismissed by the
Company. The matter did not rest there, however, for both the Mines management and the Mayor of Mount Morgan next became alarmed that the dismissed men, of 'strong pro-German sympathies' would undertake reprisals by destroying the local reservoir or otherwise halting 'production of copper and munitions'. On 19 August, therefore, Commissioner Cahill ordered that the mine be guarded and, following a directive from Major Wallace-Brown of General Staff that the unnaturalized among those retrenched should be interned, a police investigation of the supposedly threatening group began.

The enquiry found that eleven of the suspects were German subjects, six of whom were reservists. Another dozen were either naturalized or Australian-born citizens of German background. Of the remainder, three were Austrians - one of whom was naturalized - one was Danish and two were British members of the I.W.W. Yet after exhaustive probing, police were 'unable to ascertain anything of a concrete nature against any of these men.' The two 'Wobblies', Walsh and McInerney were alleged to have made 'derogatory statements against those who advocated enlisting, but no evidence of same could be got.' Even vaguer claims were circulating against the 'unnaturalized enemy subjects' of 'statements made in the bar of an hotel, but they did not know who used them or any person who heard them.' The fourteen enemy nationals were found instead to be 'very law abiding people' by police and all were already upon parole. The panic at Mount Morgan, it was concluded, had been engendered largely by 'rumours, which as they were passed along became exaggerated, so that most of the workers ... believed them to be facts.' It is unclear from available State Government documents whether any or all of this mixed bag of suspect aliens and radicals were subsequently interned to provide a catharsis for popular alarm, but it seems certain that none was re-instated. Sixty employees continued to aid police in guarding the
Loyalists had been placed on their guard against revolutionary socialists throughout Queensland well before the Mount Morgan scare. Whether as members of the A.S.P. or as individuals affiliated with the I.W.W. - which in late 1914 had yet to form its first, Brisbane local - these radicals seemed to confirm every loyal foreboding of sedition by their stance of international working-class solidarity and their opposition to capitalist warfare. These tiny minorities were also conspicuous in their isolated support for local German workers, once the early calls to avoid persecuting them had been popularly ignored. In September 1914, the Brisbane A.S.P. publicised that it had been addressed by 'a German comrade' upon 'The Labor Movement in Germany'; while, in November, a Sunday socialist picnic, attended by 100 'English, Germans, Russians, Finns, Poles and French comrades' was said to give 'the lie to those who sneeringly proclaim that the war has destroyed all internationalism.' Other symbolic gestures, noted by the International Socialist came from a Jardine group of socialists, a number of whom were German, re-asserting 'the brotherhood of all the races and nations of the World' as well as from another branch at Mount Larcom, near Gladstone which, in welcoming a new 'comrade from the German party' passed a motion warning workers against 'Military Maniacs' and Labor parliamentarians who collaborated with them.°

A further sign of socialist solidarity with non-British workers - which was to create unprecedented trouble later in the war period - was the A.S.P.'s co-operative endeavours with the local Russian community. The Brisbane A.S.P. were joint tenants with the revolutionary Russian Workers' Association in their Russell Street Hall, and their members helped with the circulation of the local Russian paper, Issvestia which
reached 500 before it was suppressed by Federal censorship during 1915.\textsuperscript{6} Socialists attended joint functions arranged by the Russian, Jewish and Polish associations and invited Tom Sergaef, founder of the Russian Workers' Association and editor of \textit{Iszvestia} to address them on several occasions. Upon returning to Russia in August 1917, Sergaef, alias Artem, was to become one of the fifteen members of the Bolshevik Central Committee of the Soviets, and Minister for Mines.\textsuperscript{7} Sergaef, who is said to have had personal contacts with Lenin presented a Sunday lecture to the A.S.P. on 'Life in Russia' in October 1914, and though 'handicapped a little by his enunciation' spoke to a large assembly on 'Socialists and the War' in early April 1915.\textsuperscript{8}

The Brisbane branch of the A.S.P. had reacted to war's outbreak with bold resolutions of opposition and a series of lectures, including 'The Economic Causes of the War' and 'The War and After: Are the Workers Ready?' by Andy Anderson, 'Butchery in Europe' by Jack Hall, 'War and the Workers' by Percy Mandeno and 'War - Is it Necessary?' by A.E. Brown. A subsequent general debate upon 'The War - What For?' involved all members.\textsuperscript{9} Yet neither this activity nor their fervent singing of 'The Red Flag', with rousing calls of 'three cheers for peace' could mask the fact that the onslaught of warfare, accompanied by the capitulation of the German Social Democrats and the collapse of the Second Internationale had left them in a state of shocked disarray.\textsuperscript{10} Like the Victorian Socialist Party and the rival Sydney sects, the Brisbane A.S.P. had identified itself with the workers' 'war against war' resolution of Edouard Vaillant and Kier Hardie. Faced with the mass desertion by European socialists from this principle, they were left initially confused and even faltering upon what their future ideological stance should be.\textsuperscript{11} Their unsteady moment came one Sunday in early December 1914 when 'Comrade Welsby' demonstrated to them that:
... under British rule, our movement would have greater liberty to grow and develop. Prussian rule had absorbed the individual in a gigantic military machine, Germans were compelled to fight... Englishmen were called to volunteer...

Gordon Brown, commenting upon the impact of this talk admitted, 'The lecturer left us in doubt as to what our attitude should be.' Although this vacillation was momentary, it was nevertheless indicative of their isolated, uncertain position in a society where a fevered pro-Imperial, pro-war mood predominated.

Pacifists too suffered a major initial setback when the Australian Freedom League, whose 55,000 members had fought so tenaciously against compulsory military training from April 1912 onwards suspended its operations upon the outbreak of war. Yet the hiatus was again only temporary. On 7 August 1914, the Women's Political Association issued a strong statement against warfare, advocating 'that International disputes shall be adjusted by arbitration', and in September, Vida Goldstein, its president became chairperson of the newly formed Australian Peace Alliance in Melbourne. At the same time, in Queensland, pacifist activities were begun - albeit in a desultory fashion - by local Quakers at Brisbane, Toowoomba and Rockhampton as well as among rationalists and eugenicists of the Queensland Modernist Association, calling for an 'end of Militarism'. Like the Victorian pacifist organizations, these small groups found 'not much scope for speech or action' against the war, amongst an intolerant populace. For instance, after local Quakers had re-affirmed their position 'that all war (and preparation for war) is at variance with our conception of a loving merciful All Father', they were forced in Toowoomba to withdraw from the local Bible Society. On 10 August, F. Lister Hopkins, as spokesperson for the Toowoomba Society of Friends wrote to the Department of Public Instruction, asking that excerpts from a book entitled How the Nations Help One Another be included in the Queensland School Paper; but his suggestions were
rejected as undesirable. The 'new Patriotic' song, 'Keep the Navy Moving, Moving' was considered more appropriate.\textsuperscript{17} Germany had 'seized the moment to forward her own colossal schemes', Legislative Councillor, Edwin Fowles informed Queensland State school children, and 'as if by black magic', war had burst upon Europe. 'From the beginning war has been and will be to the end of time,' a \textit{Courier} correspondent noted fatalistically, 'A handful of Quakers will not alter things.'\textsuperscript{18}

Criticism of pacifists and socialists tended to intensify, as they were made scapegoats for any slackening in enlistments or hint of public war-weariness. In late 1914, A.T. Strong attacked the 'effeminacy and cant' of the 'half-hearted and half-sexed,' whose 'false sentimentalism' led them to oppose the war.\textsuperscript{19} In March 1915, \textit{The Queenslander} published a refusal by Mrs D.C. McConnel, wife of a leading Queensland pastoralist to support a British peace organization on the grounds that squeamish cries for 'peace, peace, where there is no peace' were futile, especially 'when it had been asserted that Australia may be asked, as war indemnity for a German colony.'\textsuperscript{20} Mary Lloyd, wife of H.E. Boote wrote to her brother in Brisbane of how the Jingo feeling was 'running high' and how a Sydney associate had been 'suddenly knocked down and kicked' when trying to begin a debate about the war with some men, while sheltering from the rain.\textsuperscript{21} Early in September 1914, Brisbane socialists also read of how a score of A.S.P. and I.W.W. members, demonstrating against a troop send-off at Broken Hill had been swept from their anti-war platform by a hostile crowd and, upon retreating into the Socialist Hall had fought off four successive attacks upon the premises by an 'infuriated horde of jingoes' wielding 'bottles and chairlegs,' before police intervened.\textsuperscript{22} In Brisbane, public antagonism was somewhat less dramatic than at Broken Hill; but the bi-weekly socialist meetings held in Market Square were continually interrupted by 'beer-primed patriots'. In early December 1914, soldiers threatened speakers with 'a little blood-
spilling'; while, the following March, loyalists forcefully prevented one meeting from beginning for several hours. The altercation attracted the largest crowd to a socialist gathering since the pre-war 'free speech' fight.\textsuperscript{23}

The free speech agitation itself stumbled lamely onwards into 1915, largely in the form of a 'Release of G.C. Thompson' Committee, to secure that man's discharge from Goodna Mental Hospital. Yet the spirited technique of 'clogging the gaols', which proved successful at Port Pirie on the eve of the war and which led to thirty more arrests at Newcastle in February 1915 was no longer utilized.\textsuperscript{24} Disenchanted by trade union unresponsiveness and the lack of public involvement in the campaign, Gordon Brown concluded:

... we come down to the one basic fact viz., without an intelligent and understanding proletariat, all kinds of action will result in the expenditure of maximum energy for the achievement of a minimum effect.

Stung by working class susceptibility to war appeals, the A.S.P. typified the loyalist worker as 'William Mug', who promptly became Australia's first identifiable comic strip character, appearing regularly on the front page of the \textit{International Socialist}. Like the American I.W.W.'s caricature 'Mr Block', 'William Mug', drawn by 'Zif' Dunstan was involved in a series of misadventures, illustrating the alleged gullibility and lack of class consciousness of the average Australian wage-labourer. 'Verily, O worker, thy name is Mug,' wrote Gordon Brown in October 1914, as he described 'Queensland's quota for the human slaughter-house', parading the city 'to stir up the war spirit within the breast of those who remained.' In May 1915, socialists once more bewailed the Imperialistic emphases of the workers' 'Eight Hour Day' procession. As bands played 'Sons of the Sea' and 'Rule Britannia', their report observed, 'the spirit of "the World for the World's Workers" was not in the boat; it was drowned in a sea of patriotism.' The
'slaves' marched by, advertising the 'bosses' goods', while 'the bosses [stood] on the balconies of the large stores, laughing at the mugs parading the streets in the rain.'

The cynicism which anti-war radicals expressed about their supposed comrades and potential converts is indicative of the impotence they felt at this time about counteracting the general impact of Imperial and militaristic propaganda and stirring class consciousness. 'We have a hard task before us,' Gordon Brown admitted in October 1914, 'but mutual aid will give us the necessary power.' Despite his qualified optimism, the A.S.P. could point to few advances in this period, save for the appearance of some 'new faces' at their Market Square gatherings and a successful open-air meeting at Mackay. Indeed, revolutionary élan had been at such a low ebb in early August that it was suggested that A.S.P. members should now swing their support fully behind the Labour party. Although it was a 'petit-bourgeois' organization, some members argued, it had the capacity to produce 'the real goods'. The following week, however, when E.G. Theodore addressed the group, he tended to dispel much of this accommodatory intent when he 'failed miserably to make a case for a smooth working.' Labor's effusions of pro-war loyalty also served to confirm ongoing A.S.P. disaffection with the aims of the parliamentary party.

Instead, a renewed interest was ultimately manifested by the disenchanted radicals in the anarcho-syndicalist philosophy and methods of the I.W.W., with Percy Mandeno speaking to A.S.P. members on 'Industrial Sabotage' and Claude Anlezark, one of the 'physical force' originators of the Sydney 'local' in 1913, lecturing on 'Industrial Socialism' and 'The I.W.W. and Direct Action.' On New Year's Day, 1915, the Brisbane I.W.W. local was finally established with Anlezark, a self-proclaimed Danish anarchist as its secretary and treasurer. Its
first members' meeting was held on 11 January, while its open-air gatherings began at the Brisbane Domain twelve days later. Lacking a solid industrial basis in the northern capital upon which to grow, its Brisbane membership was never large and possibly at no time surpassed a score of card-carrying adherents. Yet, with morale high and its nature militant, it would make a provocative impact upon local wage-labourers far beyond the limited confines of its numbers. In March 1915, its Brisbane correspondent to Direct Action, J.J. Burke depicted the small group as 'battling against the tide' but nevertheless 'making a headway'. Like the A.S.P., the I.W.W. was continually appalled at the deferential attitudes of Brisbane workers and felt it would 'take something drastic to shake the cobwebs from the thinking-boxes of the slaves here.' Yet, as Turner notes, 'the smaller the sect, the more grandiosely optimistic its propaganda usually was' and the I.W.W. took heart at a 'fair amount of success' experienced at its own bi-weekly public meetings and at the sale of its literature which, it claimed, went 'like wildfire'. In April 1915, when a branch office was opened at Milton, Burke recorded cheerfully:

> One by one, class conscious workers are coming in, and each recruit means that the propaganda is carried farther afield. We are getting the literature off in fine style and when the slaves are interested so far as to read and study the position for themselves - well, they are on the mark and getting set for the plunge into the fighting ranks of the O.B.U. [One Big Union].

The new organization registered its major success within the trade union movement the following September when it secured control of the Australian Building Industrial Employees' Union (A.B.I.E.U.) from within the Brisbane Industrial Council (B.I.C.) and was to influence this latter body generally in relation to its aggressive stance of anti-militarism, anti-conscription and closer industrial unity.
In May 1915, William Jackson recommenced propaganda activities for the O.B.U. in Townsville and reported in *Direct Action*, that as police had refused him a street permit, he would address his audiences from the beach. He was soon describing 'bumper meetings' and calling for hundreds of copies of the paper and of I.W.W. pamphlets to sell. In Brisbane, I.W.W.-ites joined the 'Release of G.C. Thompson Committee', forming deputations and circulating a petition in April for his liberation from the asylum. On 8 May 1915, upon the verge of the State election campaign, Thompson was released after more than eighteen months' incarceration. At the socialists' May Day celebration, he spoke of the 'hell upon earth' he had endured in 'the Goodna Madhouse', providing a forum for a wider debate upon 'The Liberty of the Subject', particularly in relation to wartime restrictions upon civil rights. In conjunction with the A.S.P., the I.W.W. also led deputations of the newly unemployed to meet Home Secretary Barnes, although its newsletter scorningly dismissed these men as 'gutless' types.

The continuing outlook for the unemployed in 1915 was certainly grim, for, in the first quarter of that year, unemployment reached 17.9% of the Queensland work force - the highest total for the war years and almost 6% above the Commonwealth average. Nor did the advent of a Labor Government from 1 June provide much immediate relief. Although the percentage of those without work fell promisingly to 9.6% in the second quarter of 1915, it rose again to 15.6% between July and September and still stood at 10% by the close of that year. Labor in power seemed more sympathetic towards the plight of the unemployed than the Liberals had been, with Premier Ryan himself going up to Trades Hall to placate angry, retrenched meatworkes who were threatening a march on his office. Yet his government was unable to bring the unemployment figure down to pre-war levels by a public works programme and its new Labour Exchanges Act until the second quarter of 1916. At this point, unemployment in
Queensland had fallen to 4.9%, 0.5% below the Commonwealth average. The relief was only temporary, however, for by January 1917, due to shipping disruptions, sugar industry disputes and rural drought, it had risen to 10.6% once more.\(^{38}\)

Though this continuing problem increased social misery and discontent, its surface effect was, ironically, to present an appearance of heightened war involvement, by both dampening industrial disputation and encouraging enlistment. Yet the underlying strain of deprivation and distress was real enough in its unsettling social and psychological effects. District General Nurse Davis reported in later 1915 that she had made 1,056 visits to different destitute families in Brisbane since the war began. In an appeal for increased charitable relief, she concluded, 'The war will not lessen poverty nor relieve pain. Rather it increases the one and intensifies the other.'\(^{39}\) The Relief and Distress Committee organized by the Queensland Patriotic Fund noted in August 1915 that it was dealing with between five and six hundred needy cases weekly, while the Brisbane Charity Organization Society (C.O.S.) found 1915 to be 'the most taxing period of all the society's history.' Unemployment had become 'too big and complex a problem' for voluntary effort to deal with alone, the C.O.S. concluded, as it called for greater governmental co-operation.\(^{40}\)

In mid-1915, the Government Relief Office reported providing long term aid to 389 families, as well as temporary assistance to eighty-six other families and 150 needy individuals - a 75% increase upon figures of the previous year. This trend continued into the 1915-16 period, when 540 able-bodied adults and 1,093 families in the metropolis were rationed.\(^{51}\)

Armstrong reveals how a major impetus behind the formation of the Brisbane Industrial Council, which attempted to amalgamate all metropolitan craft unions in November 1914 was a pragmatic, defensive
reaction against the twin onslaughts of unemployment and diminishing purchasing power.\(^2\) During August 1914, a Combined Unions Committee had already been formed at Trades Hall, with P.L.P., support to meet the crisis and this was subsequently converted by the B.I.C. into a Workers' Distress Committee for the disbursement of relief funds.\(^3\) On 26 August 1915, its directors, Messrs Lawson and Foat reported that 'distress was becoming acute' once more, and that, on the previous afternoon alone, they had seen seventy-three cases of need, 'including 189 children.'\(^3\) The direct experience of such suffering helped to harden Trades Hall officials against perpetual 'middle-class' demands for unstinting loyalty and sacrifice. In early April 1916, for instance, T.J. Foat of the Workers' Distress Committee refused to rise for the Royal toast at an Ipswich dinner, thus earning for himself the execration of 'miserable toad' from committed loyalists.\(^6\) Yet Foat had witnessed the homefront miseries of war involvement at first hand and his truculence was simply one small protest in the cause of its victims - and, ultimately, in a gathering storm.

The growing disenchantment was exacerbated by further erosions to the wage-earner's socio-economic position. Despite Labor's repeal of the draconic Industrial Peace Act and its introduction of an industrial arbitration system emphasizing conciliation, the average male wage-rate in Queensland did not draw level with the Commonwealth average until mid-1917, when it stood at 62/4 - an increase of 9/- per week upon the rate at war's commencement. Wages for women remained at less than half this figure, being 27/2 per week in mid-1915 and 27/9 by mid-1917. The bulk of the male workers' increase did not occur until the strike wave of 1916, however, when the majority of disputes would be fought over wages. In the quieter industrial year of 1915, Queensland workers gained an advance of only 1/- upon the September 1914 average. In terms of real wages,
however, all these amounts represented a significant drop in purchasing power, for price inflation during 1915 had run a rampant course. Calculated upon a base of 1,000 units for 1911, food and grocery prices rose alarmingly from 1,070 in the first quarter of 1914 to 1,572 by the first quarter of 1916 - an increase of almost 50%. Rents rose proportionately - if more erratically - and the increases were higher in country districts. By December 1915, the Queensland price index was still moving some thirteen points ahead of the Commonwealth figure, when the impact of cheaper meat prices began to take effect. This was directly attributable to Labor's gradual introduction of State-run butcher shops from October 1915 and, due to certain other price controls introduced under the War Precautions Act during 1916, local prices fell to a somewhat more tolerable 1,364 units by the first quarter of 1917. From this time, wage increases tended to complement price rises more equably. Yet, by war's end, wages had still only risen by 303 units since mid-1914 while food prices had advanced 507 units in the corresponding period.\textsuperscript{45}

Although the Ryan Government had met certain electoral demands through sweeping reforms, like the hard-fought Workers Compensation Act (1916) and the implementation of a range of State enterprises,\textsuperscript{46} it nevertheless courted deep disillusionment in another important area. For it had been upon Ryan's suggestion that plans for a Federal Prices Referendum, asking electors to confer full price control powers upon the Commonwealth were peremptorily shelved on 5 October 1915. Ryan's alternative scheme to have each State directly surrender such powers by legislation was predictably thwarted by a hostile Legislative Council. As this veto should clearly have been anticipated, the abandonment of the Prices Referendum represents a major tactical blunder on Ryan's part, which carried important repercussions for anti-war activists throughout Australia.\textsuperscript{47} As Marc Ferro notes, in Europe 'the price rise was a first impulse to
militancy'; and a similar claim might be made for Australia. Rumours that the Prices Referendum would be jettisoned became common from August 1915. The consequent disillusionment was profound for, as Turner notes, the referendum had been 'a measure which had aroused more enthusiasm than any other act of the wartime Federal Labor Government.' Ryan's aborted strategy had inadvertently led to an uproar, from which radical groups could only hope to profit. With talk of military conscription also becoming more general following the Commonwealth War Census in July, the latter months of 1915 therefore witnessed an escalation in anti-war activism and a perceptible increase in working-class receptivity towards such a movement.

When in January 1915, the B.I.C. had finally managed to overcome A.W.U. opposition to its closer unity scheme and amalgamated more than a score of Brisbane's craft unions into its organization, this move was denounced by the Brisbane Courier as an adventure into 'dangerous syndicalism'. Although this combination was primarily defensive, it did lead to a strengthened metropolitan union structure at a time when alarm at the social effects of the war was being transformed, in the minds of some unionists, into a detectable animus against war prosecution itself. Thus, in July 1915, the B.I.C. became the first labour body of any significance in Australia to condemn the prospect of conscription, when it denounced the Federal War Census Act as a 'preliminary' to enforced military service. Then, on 5 August, following the first anniversary of the war, Ernest Fredlein of the Engineers' Union notified the Council that an Anti-conscription and Anti-militarist League was to be formed at Trades Hall. Fredlein, whom the Queensland Censor believed to be 'of German extraction' was also secretary of the Brisbane A.S.P. at this time. On 21 August, he informed the International Socialist that a successful and largely attended inaugural meeting of the League had been
In the meantime, on 12 August, B.I.C. representatives had confronted a trio of Australian academics who had come to 'advocate a thorough organization of the Country's resources for the purpose of the war'. It was to be an auspicious visit. The academic trio was composed of Major A.J. Gibson, Professor of Engineering at Queensland University, Brisbane Censor between January and April 1915 and subsequently, a member of the Ministry of Munitions, London;^54 Elton Mayo, a lecturer in Psychology and Ethics at Queensland University, an opponent of State intervention and even arbitration, who would later become a leading western theorician upon 'industrial psychology'; and Meredith Atkinson, an English tutor at Sydney University who had been appointed director of tutorial classes for the Workers' Education Association of N.S.W. in 1913. Atkinson, a prolific advocate of consensus and efficiency in worker/employer relations was soon to join the Universal Service League and advocate military conscription at least as ardently. The three men were each articulate exponents of bourgeois interests and loyalist war sentiments. Yet the barrage of criticism they encountered from the Brisbane union leaders dramatically revealed the open opposition which now existed to their confident claims. As the dialogue unfolded, it almost seemed as if two distinct, antagonistic world-views were in the process of collision.

After Meredith Atkinson had pleaded for union co-operation in the manufacture of munitions, the delegate from the Engineers' Union, A. Hildreth, a recently arrived English migrant and alleged 'friend of the I.W.W.' retorted that he was 'in opposition to the stand taken respecting the economic position of the war.' Workers were continually asked to 'make sacrifices', he asserted, while being branded 'drunkards and skulkards' when they refused to enlist. Clayton Kier, representing
the A.M.I.E.U. then sardonically informed the academics that they had 'come into the enemy's camp' and were now facing 'the leaders of one side of the class war.' The intellectuals were the 'ambassadors of the other side', he continued, come 'to ask us to join forces with the capitalistic ...' Here, Professor Gibson interrupted with a remonstrative 'Oh, no!', but Kier pushed relentlessly on:

... you are asking us, as workers to link forces with the capitalistic camp in order to pursue the present European war to a successful issue, so far as the capitalistic class is concerned ... I have not heard anything offered! ... if you gentlemen were able to come along and say this would guarantee maintenance and the essentials of life, there would be some justification for your mission ... (Applause) ... You are asking us to manufacture munitions to shoot down workers whose interests are on a par with our own ... The Industrial Council was brought into being to oppose such proposals ... and I do not think we can ask the men to do these things unless they are guaranteed the essentials of life - that they shall have a stake in the country and that the country will be theirs. (Applause)

Replying to Kier's qualified internationalism, Elton Mayo tendered some placatory comments against 'unscrupulous individuals' making undue war profits; but the unionists' anger continued to rise. W.J. Wallace of the Printers' Union observed that 'war had always been against the workers who - despite all their democracy - had never had a say in the promotion of any war: neither had he any say in the terms of settlement, and yet he had to fight, bleed and starve and to make all the sacrifices.' The I.W.W. secretary, Claude Anlezark, representing the A.B.I.E.U. added contemptuously, 'I have a brother ... who has gone to the war; there is generally a mug in every family (Laughter).'</quote>

Alfred James, another delegate for the Progressive Carpenters then related details of an alleged Australian war atrocity practised upon some Turks to counter Atkinson's stern reminders about the ramifications of the Bryce report. James concluded, 'As far as I can see ... we have nothing more to fear from German Capitalism than from Australian and British Capitalism.'
W. McCosker of the Typographical Union asserted that the war had not been caused by German perfidy but by 'the clashing of commercial interests,' while George Gavin, secretary of the B.I.C. quoted Bernard Shaw to demonstrate that Great Britain was partially responsible for its outbreak.

E. Hanson, speaking on behalf of the Plumbers then admonished the 'University men' that they should 'direct their efforts to something that would benefit the community as a whole, much more than the advocacy of making munitions.'

In the face of this onslaught, the distinguished visitors withdrew in disarray, after Atkinson had proffered some closing remarks about however 'rotten' conditions were in Australia and England, they were 'infinitely worse in Germany'. This debate, which the loyalist intellectuals had clearly lost reveals the remarkable vitality of anti-war sentiment among certain leading Brisbane trade unionists only one year after the fighting had begun. Aspects of socialist, pacifist and anarchist invective peppered their fiery speeches. How long these men had ascribed to such views and how representative these now were of rank and file opinion must remain problematical. Following the meeting, L. English, secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners - the craft union rival of the A.B.I.E.U. - protested to the Brisbane Courier against the 'traitorous sentiments' of the B.I.C. speakers. No doubt many other craft union leaders, Labor politicians and ordinary unionists would have endorsed his remarks. Nevertheless, the assertive anti-war mood among the B.I.C. delegates as well as those who joined the Anti-Conscription and Anti-Militarist League several days later provided a definite organizational base for the future reception of radical and pacifist ideologies.

In late September 1915, the B.I.C. resolved to support the Australian Peace Alliance (A.P.A.) which subsequently formed a branch
office in Brisbane. By November, it was distributing copies of J.B. Howie's *Australia and the Coming Peace: A Constructive Policy* which accurately detected a small but growing public 'revulsion against war's horrors and pity for its victims ... strengthened in many cases by immediate personal loss.' Pacifists must capitalize upon this disenchanted, Howie argued, and not allow it simply 'to dissipate itself in vain expressions of horror or of helplessness at the vastness of the catastrophe.' Although the cataclysm seemed insuperable, citizens should adopt an optimistic demeanour as they pressed for an end to warfare and secret diplomacy, as well as the introduction of international arbitration. In July 1915, the Women's Peace Army (W.P.A.) had been launched in Melbourne as an offshoot of the Women's Political Association. By November, Adela Pankhurst (of the famous British suffragette family) along with Cecilia John had arrived in Brisbane to establish a local branch for the W.P.A. On 27 November, the *International Socialist* reported that the women were 'organizing very effectively the peace movement' in Queensland, 'telling the story right and running the risk of arrest'. Adela Pankhurst's recently published anti-war tract, *Put up the Sword* argued for a Hobsonian interpretation of capitalist imperialism, leading inexorably towards warfare and traced the development of the modern armaments race. Her work depicted the disastrous social effects of international warfare, 'promoted entirely by commercial interests.' In Queensland, Pankhurst and John contacted the daughter of a Quaker medical practitioner, Margaret Thorp, who was already active in religious pacifist work within the State. Local Quakers had earlier established contact with their own national body, when M. Turner of Toowoomba was appointed as Queensland representative to the Australian Friends Peace Board in April 1915. Yet, when Margaret Thorp became local honorary secretary to the W.P.A., her appointment represented an important inter-
linking of the religious and secular pacifist movements.  

The Queensland branch was thereby affiliated with the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace which stood for 'opposition to every phase of militarism' and 'equality of rights and opportunities for men and women of all nations.' The effective strength of the Queensland W.P.A. is not known. Like the I.W.W., its membership remained small but outspoken. It contained such effective propagandists as Emma Miller, the elderly Labor activist, the sisters Kate and Kathleen Sauer, close associates of Margaret Thorp, Margaret Hotson, dubbed by Federal Authorities as the 'South Australian Firebrand' and, later, Jennie Scott Griffiths, an impressive socialist journalist and speaker from Sydney. Perhaps the clearest indication that the pin-pricks made by the anti-war movement were beginning to hurt is denoted by the way in which loyalist forces began to strike more vigorously at the movement from mid-1915 onwards. The growing need to organize recruiting drives, a dawning realization of the futile Gallipoli stalemate and the revelation of the Commonwealth War Census in September that 600,000 male eligibles had still not enlisted all contributed greatly to the zeal and fury of the loyalists' outcries. To them, the anti-war agitator seemed like a subversive worm at the nation's core, destroying its will to fight.

During July, Premier Ryan issued a major recruiting message 'TO THE WORKERS' which was reproduced on 5,000, 3' x 4' posters and distributed throughout the State on special trains. In this urgent appeal, Ryan stated:

The Empire is in serious danger, but that is largely because every citizen who is fit to serve in the battle line is not enlisting. Queensland has sent her thousands to the front and nobly they have acquitted themselves against ten-fold odds. But dauntless valor cannot always prevail against greatly superior numbers and OUR HEROIC LADS SORELY NEED REINFORCEMENTS. Therefore I urge every man who is qualified for service . . . to enlist at once. One recruit today is worth two tomorrow.
Among replies received to his solicitation was a letter from one A.J. Nagal of Brisbane, attacking the 'lazy lot of shirking loafers in our midst, wasting their time in billiard rooms and parading Queen St., utterly regardless of how our poor brothers-in-arms are faring' and trusting that 'conscription may follow.' Ryan politely replied that he had read Nagal's opinions with 'great interest and sympathy', although he was to react more guardedly to press questions about conscription by October.  

Although enlistment numbers were really at their healthiest in 1915 - averaging more than 2,500 per month in Queensland between July and December - the attacks upon 'shirkers', 'slackers' and 'cold-footed peace mongers' increased markedly in virulence. 'Delicate pacifists' were equated with traitors in the Lone Hand, while Sybil Heydon wrote:

I felt that extra graves would have to be dug because dreamers - like myself - had prated peace instead of helping to make our nation secure ... My peace doctrines went out like straw before a flame ... and that is how I became a man of war.  

Grieving relatives and friends of the war dead were particularly susceptible to this form of persuasion, for they were amongst those least prepared to accept that the sacrifice of loved ones had occurred for the bankrupt cause which pacifists and others were claiming warfare to be.
The animosity of war-front soldiers towards men who stayed behind was also becoming a prominent theme in letters written home. R.M. Allen, a Queenslander at the Western Front stated, 'I wish the slackers at home could only see how our blood is being poured out here for them ... If they could only see the barbed wire thick with corpses ... perhaps then they would come out and help us.' P.R. Brett, hospitalized in England due to war wounds appealed angrily to his mother, 'If the stay-at-homes could only realize what we are up against ... in fact, the heads ought to brand them, so they will always be known.' Indeed, the fighting soldier and the anti-war advocate seemed now in uneasy agreement over the horrors of war. Yet their fundamental opposition lay in their evaluation of the necessity for it.

By late 1915, with wounded soldiers returning home in increasing numbers, these antagonisms were finding expression in violent outbursts within Australia. In Melbourne during early November, for instance, returned soldiers joined with new recruits in accosting male civilians and a riot finally erupted. On 19 December, soldiers invaded a meeting arranged by Pankhurst and John upon the subject of 'Shall men enlist?', forcing its closure. The Mirror felt that the soldiers had done 'rightly' in taking possession of the stage. One of the disruptionists, Corporal Hewitt warned that 'everytime there is a meeting like that ... the soldiers will break it up.' The pacifists involved were labelled 'pro-Germans, socialists and parasites' and it was again suggested that 'Adela Pankhurst ought to be ... put into prison until she promises to behave properly.' Two days later, the Melbourne Secretary of the Federated Clerks' Union, F. Katz, a man of German parentage was tarred and feathered by returned soldiers for his opposition to the Commonwealth War Census.

Simultaneously, overt social conflict was rising in Queensland. Following Ryan's victory in May 1915, Brisbane socialists renewed appeals
for a Sunday forum and by July, their deputations had succeeded in encouraging Home Secretary David Bowman's reversal of the Police Commissioner's earlier permit refusal. Sunday public meetings were thus commenced, after more than two years of agitation, at the juncture of Ann Street and North Quay, near the Brisbane river and subsequently upon waste land, glorified by the title of 'The Domain' behind Parliament House and the University. Further demands for more 'free speech areas' and the entire abolition of the permit system, however, proved unsuccessful. Socialists took immediate advantage of their modest victory and, on 18 July, at the first, legal political street-meeting to be held on the Sabbath, 'Comrade Smith' spoke of 'War and Christian Failure,' grandiosely advocating 'an entire annihilation of the Christian Church' to a small crowd of some fifty listeners. Yet this new-found freedom of expression proved dangerously illusory, for the Commonwealth War Precautions Act was now able to muzzle dissident opinion far more effectively than the Sunday ban had ever done. Irate loyalists had already been complaining to military authorities of the 'out and out Huns' expressing their 'vile views' at the Albert Square Socialist meetings and had predicted 'glorious bloodshed' if such speakers were not silenced. At the first Sunday forum, therefore, Captain J.W. Weaver overhead Percy Mandeno of the I.W.W. exclaiming, 'To hell with the Kaiser and all monarchy, which is the figurehead of capital' and duly reported him to the Federal Authorities. For this, and a further statement that he had returned from the Boer War 'footsore and lousy', Mandeno was arrested and tried on 2 September 1915 for having prejudiced recruiting, under Section 28(D) of the War Precautions Act. After a trial lasting three days, Mandeno was convicted and sentenced to a fine of £25 plus £4/11/- costs, or three months' imprisonment. Mandeno, who had already served three previous prison terms during the free speech struggle, chose gaol. His
incarceration provided a focus of discontent for the Anti-conscription and Anti-militarist movement which, during October, collected 500 signatures upon a petition calling for Mandeno's release and forwarded it to Attorney-General Hughes. The B.I.C. also lobbied Premier Ryan and the Assistant Minister for Justice, John Fihelly to this end, but Ryan failed to influence Hughes in having Mandeno's sentence repealed.  

In the meantime, another Brisbane-based socialist, James Quinton, who had opened the Brisbane free speech fight with Gordon Brown and participated in some of its more outrageous stunts was finding himself in a similar predicament to Mandeno in Sydney. There he had joined with fellow-worker, Charles Jackson, speaking against the war at venues within inner-city suburbs. At Leichhardt, Sydney in early August, the International Socialist reported that Jackson had been set upon by a mob of 'some hundreds', urged on by a 'Christian' street-speaker and badly beaten. Several days later, at Sydney Domain, both Jackson and Quinton were arrested for making statements prejudicial to recruiting. According to the Brisbane Courier, Jackson was gaolied for six months for saying, 'The Capitalist party is urging workers to enlist and kill their fellow workers. They call men who have gone to the Dardanelles heroes. I call them murderers.' Upon a charge of urging soldiers - somewhat less flagrantly - 'not to go to the Front,' Quinton, like Mandeno was imprisoned for three months. The trials of Jackson, Quinton and Mandeno immediately preceded the conviction of Tom Barker of the Sydney I.W.W. for his infamous 'To ARMS!! Capitalists, Parsons, Politicians' poster in early September. Accompanied by a tightening of War Precautions Act provisions, allowing the Minister of Defence 'to detain any person in military custody ... for securing the public safety,' these official moves seem to indicate a recognition that anti-war protesters were obtaining a wider public appreciation of their propaganda and thus required restraining.
Upon his release from Long Bay in late November 1915, James Quinton returned to Brisbane and found 'the various elements of progressive thought allied together under the banners of anti-conscription and peace.' As a militant socialist, he discerned a number of disconcerting features in the local political scene. 'Clear and unadulterated' socialist propaganda was 'somewhat at a discount', he found, while Labor politicians were behaving like 'crack recruiting sergeants' in their advocacy of the war effort. Although the free speech fight had been an arduous one, with men going to gaol 'for an aggregate period of 5½ years, with fines paid for 7½ years,' the battle had not really been won. Under Labor rule, Quinton claimed, 'the pernicious system of granting or refusing permits is still as aggravating as ever.' Although dissidents were allowed some public exposure, their mid-week meetings were 'converted into a Bedlam by jingoes and drunks' against whom watching police rarely intervened. Their Sunday evening platform at North Quay, strategically situated 'immediately outside the police court and lockup' left speakers expressing their thoughts to 'a few or none, way back from where the people collect or pass.'

In North Queensland, the situation seemed more promising, particularly for the I.W.W. By October 1915, William Jackson had joined with northern propagandists George Henry and T. Healy in organizing sugar workers in the Cairns and Innisfail region. *Direct Action* reported that 'a bunch' of I.W.W. men were also 'making headway' at Hambledon plantation, while, in December, Jackson and Henry were lecturing at Goondi mill. Subsequently, these men helped in founding an all-Russian I.W.W. local at Cairns, with W. Yudaiff as its Secretary. In the wake of the August anti-radical/anti-alien panic at Mount Morgan, another I.W.W. local was established in that town by January 1916. Itinerant agitators among the sugar workers, wharf labourers and miners, and later, among meatworkers and shearers were thus
beginning to 'stir the boneheads' and help articulate the grievances which would activate the strike wave of 1916. 79

Meanwhile, in Brisbane, the anti-war movement struggled gamely on. On 12 December, a meeting called by the Anti-Conscription and Anti-Militarist League to celebrate Mandeno's release from prison received an order from local military authorities that the singing or recitation of Cecelia John's much publicized rallying song 'I Didn't Raise my Son To Be a Soldier' had been banned. A member of the audience angrily retorted:

... his children repeatedly sang the song, and if the military authorities so desired, they could prosecute his children and himself too, for they would not stop singing it! It was at least of a higher moral tone than songs that cried out for the blood of fellow workers of a different nationality.

Taking their cue from these remarks, the entire assembly then rose and loudly sang the song as a direct protest against 'the iron heel of militarism ... pressing more heavily than ever' upon them.83 Several days later, 1,000 persons in the Brisbane Centennial Hall, led by Cecelia John herself repeated the offence, defying police and military authorities present to arrest them 'en masse.'80

These brash songsters were not merely protesting against a bureaucratic 'iron heel' pressing upon their vocal cords. In their estimation, that particular suppression was merely symptomatic of far more serious encroachments by executive government in the cause of military mobilization. For, on 25 November, the Federal Parliamentary War Committee had announced that, in co-operation with State War Councils, it would now approach the 600,000 'fit', eligible males revealed by the War Census, asking them bluntly if they were prepared to enlist now or later. Those who answered 'now' would be given a fortnight's notice before being called up. Those postponing their enlistment were asked to 'name the date' when they would be ready to fight. Those unprepared to enlist were
Mr. Justice Higgins made a stirring speech in Melbourne in which he said that the spirit of persecution still lived in regard to the suppression of free speech.

—News Item.

THE JUDGE: "That's an honest man. He's not a liar or a hypocrite, neither is he a criminal. Take off those bonds."

—Queensland "Worker"
required to 'state the reasons why.' Although in Queensland, the P.L.P. co-operated with the distribution of this candid questionnaire, the B.I.C. adopted two significant resolutions of opposition against it. The first was a direct motion of non-compliance, instructing associated unions:

... not to fill in the military question papers; also to request the unions as soon as possible to carry a resolution condemnatory of the conscription proposals of the Prime Minister.

A B.I.C. deputation confronted Hughes at the Gresham Hotel, Brisbane on 8 December, and local 'Wobbly' leader, Claude Anlezark closely quizzed him upon whether failure to complete the cards would lead to civil prosecution. The Prime Minister's equivocation spoke volumes and seemed to override his prior assurances that no 'inquisitorial methods' were contemplated and that 'no circumstances will compel the adoption of conscription'. After the cards had been surrendered, it was discovered in early 1916 that 120,000 'eligibles' had refused to enlist, either now or later, and that a further 180,000 had preferred total non-co-operation by declining even to return their cards.

The second B.I.C. resolution carried more ominous political overtones, for it brought the Council into direct confrontation with the State Labor Government. Andrew Fisher's resignation as Prime Minister on 26 October to become Australian High Commissioner in London had left his Wide Bay seat vacant and a by-election had been called to fill it on 11 December. The B.I.C. pledged that:

... in the event of Mr Hughes's replies not being deemed satisfactory ... wires be immediately despatched to the various centres and press of the Wide Bay electorate, recommending that all workers abstain from supporting the Labour candidate.

The Prime Minister's refusal to alter 'the objectionable clauses in the recruiting scheme' on 8 December was therefore sufficient for the B.I.C.
to withdraw their endorsement from the candidate. Despite pleas by an alarmed Premier Ryan for the Council to alter its stance, the ban was not removed. On 11 December, a seat which had been easily held by Labor since Federation was lost to a Liberal candidate. Other factors, such as Fisher's personal following and an anti-Labor farming vote no doubt affected this outcome, but the B.I.C. had nevertheless demonstrated to the Labor Party that its anti-militarism could now strike a definite chord of response within the electorate. Its 'victory' as such was a strangely Pyrrhic one, but it was still a demonstration of power in the political arena which the parliamentary party was required to heed.

Growing strains between the political and industrial wings of the labour movement upon the question of war involvement were beginning to show in other instances. While the Ryan government continued energetically to aid recruiting, for example, the B.I.C. supported the Australian Peace Alliance and entertained officials of the W.P.A. A deputation of women from the Anti-Militarist League upon the question of 'veiled conscription' made little impact upon Home Secretary Bowman in December, whilst A.S.P. endeavours to obtain a permit for Sunday 'peace' meetings in Market Square were refused. In January 1916, as the B.I.C. passed a resolution against 'the recruiting methods of the Federal Government, regarding same as being only a step from conscription,' Premier Ryan was urging citizens to keep 'eyes skinned for disloyalty' and, as Chairman of the Queensland War Council, was calling upon all to invest in the second Commonwealth War Loan for the overthrow of 'Prussian despotism and aggression.' It was probably only a broad basis of agreement upon other socio-economic matters, coupled with Ryan's normally diplomatic handling of the industrial sector which kept this fundamental estrangement from developing into a serious organizational rift in the early months of 1916. That basis was cemented, in turn, by the moderate approach now adopted by
the formerly militant A.W.U., which shared offices in the Worker building with the C.P.E. and had secured five delegates upon that Executive. Its pro-parliamentary, reformist stance, as Kennedy shows, was in marked contrast to the trend of 'revolutionary socialism championed by the Brisbane Industrial Council leaders' and probably prevented any severing of the ties between political and industrial sectors at this stage.\textsuperscript{65} Decisions about to be taken upon the issue of military conscription would test this alliance further and ensure a drift leftward of the entire Queensland labour movement in the months ahead.

The loyalist cacophony of indignation which burst upon aliens and dissidents alike following the Gallipoli withdrawal in early 1916 threatened to confound anti-war radicals as much as it overwhelmed local Germans. The Courier printed a spate of letters attacking the 'mean chicken-hearted men' who refused to fight. These cowards should be 'netted or yarded up', wrote J.B. Shackleton, 'I will not call them men.' 'A Soldier's Father' added heatedly:

If the old-time unionist does not rise up in his wrath soon and clean the Trades Hall of the suckers who now subsist on the parent-stem, there is going to be trouble when the boys come back, mark my words.\textsuperscript{66}

As in Southern capitals, soldier antagonism against male civilians became increasingly apparent. On 19 January, the Courier reported two such clashes in Brisbane and Toowoomba, involving street fighting with bottles and stones, in which several persons were injured. Ten days later, soldiers and civilians again fought in Albert Street, Brisbane. 'For a while a riot proceeded,' the Courier report laconically remarked.\textsuperscript{87} Soldiers were increasingly 'wax[ing] wrathful' at the Market Square socialist meetings, noted the International Socialist and, in March, it reported the 'attempted silencing' of James Quinton there by 'a military figure.'\textsuperscript{88} The Courier also campaigned strongly to 'free' the city of
these 'noxious stump agitators.' Legal rights were being abused by orators 'who deftly weave into their political harangues sentiments opposed to the recruiting campaign that cannot fail to affect the plastic minds of many who compose their audiences,' its editorials argued. Attacking their doctrines of 'class warfare,' the Anglican Church Chronicle maintained that these 'Trades Hall peace advocates ... cannot urge us to love the Germans and at the same time ... hate the capitalists.' Much of this outburst seems to have taken its lead from the 'flurry of denunciations' which Hughes unleashed against 'people who babble about peace' and those who 'call themselves Syndicalists, I.W.W. men and by a hundred names', as he prepared for his departure for London. I.W.W. members were singled out in particular as 'foul parasites [who] have attached themselves to the vitals of labour.' 'You have to go for them with the ferocity of a Bengal tiger,' Hughes fumed, 'They have no nationality; they have no religion. There is only one thing they understand and that is force.'

Yet anti-war advocates seem to have been in no way intimidated by these verbal and physical assaults. Unlike the alienated, vulnerable German minority, the militants had successfully overcome their earlier isolation and attached themselves both ideologically and organizationally to an enlivened left wing of the labour movement. An increasing concern about military conscription among workers generally was to ensure that they would not now be so easily dislodged. After noting a slight lull in radical activities in the early weeks of January 1916, Gordon Brown reported that 'a period of coma is now passed ... and the members are awakening to the necessity for constant propaganda.' 'Democracy versus Militarism' was a theme certain to gather converts. The War Census, the formation of a Universal Service League for ardent conscriptionists in Sydney in August 1915 and in Brisbane the following month,
Disillusion grows, as Casualties rise and Recruitment slackens.
Mrs. Toorak: "What a blessing it's a boy! He can work and fight for us."

[With acknowledgments to "Labor Call."]

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War Sacrifice Questioned.
compulsory enlistment cards of December, the Prime Minister's departure for the Imperial War Cabinet and the British adoption of universal service in January 1916 all cast a forbiddingly lengthening shadow of conscription over Australian society. Loyalist calls for 'the jettisoning of the folly called Pacifism' were to be increasingly countered by warnings that conscription, 'the last word in militarism' was the greater danger faced by the Australian masses. And whatever the latter argument lacked in press coverage, and however vulnerable it became to censorship attack, the pressure of events was nevertheless to invest it with an increasingly persuasive tone.

Conscription was both 'a product of militarism' and 'a cause of it' argued *Ross's Magazine* in December 1915. When had it ever been used 'on Labor's side?':

> Eureka Stockade, the French Transport Strike, the Barcelona Railway Strike, the "Fire low and lay them out" affair, and a hundred similar occasions where military force has been used against the worker crowd upon our memory. But never an instance where militarism was used to crush out Capital.

Minority support for such an interpretation may still have been small, but it was definitely growing. The moderate *Review of Reviews* stated, with some sarcasm, in April 1916:

> We now talk less and less about Prussian militarism ... We are now told that to destroy Prussianism we must copy the methods of the Germans. We have had a rude awakening. Prussianism, we see more and more, is spelled "efficiency" ...

English journalist Philip Gibbs's influential tome, *The Soul of the War* was also receiving considerable comment in Australia in the early months of 1916. A carefully devised anti-German stance seems to have saved it from suppression, while its real purpose seems to have been to rescue its readers from 'the narcotics of old phrases about "the ennobling influence of war"' by shocking them with descriptions of 'the stark reality of this
crime in which all humanity is involved.' Gibbs's call for 'a great cry of rage and horror if the spirit of militarism raises its head again' was echoed by Margaret Thorp, writing in the socialist journal, The Voice in April 1916. 'Diseased germs of militarism' retarded 'all true progress and internationalism,' she argued:

The greatest defeat to our liberties has already taken place by the introduction of conscription into Great Britain ... If militarism becomes the basis of our national policy, democratic theories will fly to the winds and we shall be in a continual state of war scare and fever.  

Thus, while Hughes from London attacked the world peace movement as 'pallid ... spineless ... [and] anaemic,' Queensland Quakers calmly expressed their 'entire opposition to conscription ... as entrenching more deeply the militarism from which we desire the world to be freed.'  

The first inter-State peace conference was convened in Melbourne at Easter, attended by eight delegates from four States. Margaret Thorp and Emma Miller represented Queensland pacifists there. This conference, which alienated its N.S.W. delegates by emphasizing international working class mobilization to combat warfare, was instrumental in sending Vida Goldstein, Cecelia John and Eleanor Moore to Zurich in May to form - with representatives from fourteen other nations - the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom.  

At home, socialist activity within the Trade Union movement was having a much more tangible impact than previously upon working class attitudes. After the Queensland A.W.U. conference had endorsed a motion strongly condemning conscription on 18 January 1916, the annual convention of the A.W.U., ten days later, 'unanimously supported an anti-conscription motion introduced by the radicals from Queensland and Western New South Wales.' This unequivocal commitment to anti-conscription by the moderate flank of the Queensland union movement persuasively pointed the way for the parliamentary Labor party to follow. A month later, at the
Anti-War Activists begin to mobilize Nationally.
eighth Labor-in-Politics Convention at Rockhampton, a motion expressing condemnation of warfare and secret diplomacy was enthusiastically carried. Premier Ryan, seemingly sensing the escalating mood of restiveness within the ranks spoke feelingly to a standing ovation upon the need for 'international arbitration' once the war was over, 'when swords shall be beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks.' Yet, upon the verge of his own departure for England, he continued to advocate the ideals of troop recruiter and 'total victory' proponent. Quoting U.S. President Garfield, he stated:

A Nation is not worthy to be saved, if in the hour of its fate, it will not gather up all the jewels of its manhood and life and go down into the conflict, however bloody and doubtful, resolved on measureless ruin or complete success.

It was only by fighting to such a 'successful issue,' he informed the delegates, 'that the streams of blood that were at present flowing in Europe would not have flown in vain.' For, he concluded, with a nod to both right and left, only 'complete victory' could ensure 'the emancipation of the world from Prussian Militarism and the bondage of Capitalism.' Ryan thus departed for the United States and Britain, leaving the delegates upon their feet, though still in doubt as to what his own or his Government's position would be upon the question of conscription.

The industrial movement, however, had rapidly abandoned any such displays of equivocation or ambiguity. As Queensland delegates prepared to attend the Interstate Trade Union Congress in May 1916, an increasingly radical Daily Standard predicted that the labour movement would be 'right up against it' in the coming Conscription battle. 'Probably the biggest fight that has ever faced organised workers of Australia is at hand,' it forecast ominously, 'The conspiracy to Prussianise this nation is no longer a secret one.' At this congress, attended by delegates from five
labour councils and ninety-seven unions - representing 280,000 Australian trade unionists - only 753 votes were cast against a motion declaring 'uncompromising hostility to conscription of life and labour.' On the other hand, 247,015 votes were registered in favour of conscripting wealth and placing 'a first lien upon one-fifth of all property and assets in Australia over £300 in value.' A proposal to declare a general strike throughout Australia if conscription was simply imposed by Act of Parliament or regulation was only narrowly defeated. Yet the sharp contrast remaining between anti-conscriptionists and anti-war advocates was clearly revealed when 199,384 votes were cast in favour of effectively continuing with voluntary military service. Nevertheless, almost 41,000 votes - or approximately fifteen per cent of the trade union representation - were polled against this, indicating the already considerable minority strength of 'the hard core anti-war group.' Support for this group was to grow, as the gap between them and the anti-compulsionists narrowed in the conscription struggles looming ahead.

The Conservative press once more reacted to this escalating rank-and-file disquiet by repeating its conventional thesis that dangerous agitators were the root cause of all the trouble. In April, the Brisbane Courier editorialized that the I.W.W. had successfully infiltrated the Queensland union movement to oppose 'the prosecution of the war in an efficient way.' 'Disloyal undercurrents' and 'German gold' completed the scenario of intrigue. There was 'no sound argument' against conscription, the Lone Hand maintained. Australians opposing it in 'the Labor Leagues' were 'just plain, selfish cowards.' Its only opponents were a few union officials, I.W.W. members and 'extreme peace faddists,' the Daily Mail concluded in August. This resort to conspiracy theories as an explanation for widening social disaffection carried with it mixed reactions for both comfort and alarm for its proponents. If opposition
was seen to come only from easily labelled minority groups, it could be reassuringly argued that most citizens remained constant in the intensity of their war support. Yet the very concentration of this discontent into an area of fringe rebelliousness seemed to invest radicals with a sinister propensity for exerting extraordinary influence, once war-weariness began to be publicly recognized. Conservative media coverage of their activities therefore fluctuated wildly from a contemptuous disregard for their puny efforts in the early stages of the war to a sudden realization of their monumentally invicious impact.

The extremes of loyalist alarm about this radical 'bogey' were matched only by the radicals' inflated conception of their own social and ideological importance. The small I.W.W. movement was a classic example of this process. The movement had done 'more to alter the psychological outlook of the workers towards the present system of society than all the class war theorists have done in ten years,' estimated Tom Glynn in Direct Action during January 1916. The following month, Norman Rancie boastfully agreed that 'the I.W.W. is too large a show for the master class to obstruct; it is too young and strong for them to kill. We are here to stay ...' Tom Barker, writing on 'The IWW and the War' in Ross's Magazine, less than a month before his re-arrest in March 1916, added:

Today in Australia we have white, black and brown men in our organization. We are on the eve of launching a Russian IWW paper. Many of our pamphlets have been translated into Chinese and distributed along the Asiatic seaboard. Wherever there are masters and slaves, the IWW is making its appearance ... Thousands of returned soldiers will flock to the banner of the One Big Union ... The IWW will organize the women workers into the union of their class. We will continue to carry on an unremitting warfare against capitalism, war and the war-makers until the revolutionary flag flies from every plant of production and every parliamentary institution has been destroyed ... we have been successful beyond our wildest dreams.
in Queensland, which both a number of informants and historians seem to agree was never great. Though it will be subsequently argued that the movement had a more substantial and prolonged influence in that State than has hitherto been appreciated, its effect is best seen as providing a catalyst, rather than serving as a single cause for increasing rank and file discontent in this period.

Unemployment, underemployment, inflation, stagnant wage rates and executive encroachments upon civil liberties had all contributed to this restiveness; though, while unemployment remained high, the prospect of successful industrial action was considerably diminished. Initial worker acquiescence to the war effort and their faith in the returns which a Labor victory at the polls offered must also have contributed to the comparative industrial tranquility of 1915. In late July 1914 a major railway strike in North Queensland, begun in the workshops at Townsville, Hughenden, Charters Towers and Cloncurry and spreading to include guards, shunters and porters by early August faced collapse once war was declared. Though there were unruly scenes at Selwyn against 'scab' workers manning the trains, strikers elsewhere returned rapidly to work. And so they should, the Courier had lectured, 'when the rest of the community is standing as one man to meet a common foe.' The railwaymen had been 'puppets in the hands of labour agitators, to dance as they pulled the strings,' the paper claimed so they must now 'face the music and get back to their billets as best they may.' Militant Queensland Railway Union (Q.R.U.) officials, George Rymer and Ernie Sampson later recalled:

... we were out about six or eight days when the war broke out. We all went back ... those that the Department chose to take back ... There was quite a bit of victimization but it was the outbreak of the war ... that stopped the spread of the '14 strike.
Isolated, futile calls for a general strike against war were ignored as trade unionists, impelled either by patriotism or retrenchment approached the recruiting depots. Between August 1914 and January 1915, an estimated 6.77% of Australian male unionists of military age had enlisted as compared with 4% of non-unionists.\textsuperscript{110} The only notable strike action in this period occurred on 7 September 1914 when fireman aboard the \textit{S.S. Kanourna}, carrying troops to Thursday Island and Port Moresby rebelled and refused to allow the ship to leave Australian waters. She had been included in a convoy which was to rendezvous east of the Louisiades, prior to the Australian assault upon Rabaul. In this first instance of anti-war action undertaken by Australian workers, the striking firemen caused the \textit{Kanourna} to fall back and hoist the 'Lost Control!' signal. Troops on board were then forced to stoke her back to Townsville. In October, Prime Minister Fisher notified Premier Denham that an official enquiry was to be held into the mutiny and complaints laid by the workers, regarding their treatment on board the troopship.\textsuperscript{111}

Yet strike activity in Queensland during 1914-15 registered a fall from eighteen to seventeen disputes and a decline from 25,703 to 19,934 working days lost, since the previous year. A proportion of this industrial action additionally involved loyalist workers protesting against labouring alongside Germans and other aliens. In June 1915, another strike was called by white sugar workers at Innisfail, opposing exemptions granted under the Sugar Cultivation Act for the employment of 1,659 Chinese, Melanesian, Japanese, Indian, Javanese, Malayan and Aboriginal labourers.\textsuperscript{113} The conservative press strongly denounced strike activity during war-time as 'the worst investment' workers could 'take shares in'. Leslie Smith, Secretary of the Central Council of Employers of Australia wrote to Premier Ryan in June that 'all willing workers' should have equal 'right' to partake in the manufacturing of 'war
materials ... for the undoing of the enemy.' During war, 'the differences between capital and labour, employer and employee and political strife should cease,' Smith decreed. Attempting to guarantee this, E.F. Lord, the Eskdale squatter who had organized country 'specials' for deployment against Brisbane strikers in 1912, had once more recruited a similar body called the Frontiersmen who might be offered to governments 'in any emergency' and were to be used, warned R.F. Duncan of Kilcoy, for 'menacing strikers in industrial centres.'

War emergency was proffered as the reason why maximum industrial efficiency should be maintained, whatever its cost to workers, when an enquiry into the operations of the Queensland Woollen Co.'s Mill, outside Ipswich was opened in May 1915. S. Blackwell Crowther, Chief Inspector of Factories and Shops investigated complaints from female employees - a number of whom were aged between 14 and 17 years - concerning their excessive hours of work and the setting aside of their weekly half-holiday. The Chief Inspector reported that as the entire mill output was utilized for soldiers' uniforms, the Minister of Defence had directed, 'that all State restrictions must at this critical time be set aside ... if they were likely to curtail the output of the mill in any way whatever.'

The sweated working conditions continued. In November, members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (A.S.E.) confronted John Adamson, Secretary for Railways over the appointment of non-unionists to munitions manufacture at Ipswich and Rockhampton. 'The great majority of them were ... employees who had been special constables in 1912,' the deputation complained, and a number were continuing to refuse to join the union. Adamson, an ardent war advocate reacted tolerantly. The engineers should 'make another effort' to convert these men rather than permanently antagonizing them, he lectured for: 'Unions should have a right to criticize but they must not become a tyranny. The moment Unionism
becomes a tyranny, then it fails.' By January 1916, however, it was clear that such sweet reasonableness had not prevailed. One of the new appointees, an Inspector named Gray was causing 'unceasing irritation' among the munition workers due to an over-bearing manner and a 'bitter hatred of Unionism,' which he was unable to conceal. On 19 January, therefore, the Secretary of the A.S.E. informed Ryan that 'if satisfactory proof of viewer Gray's membership of an approved union be not forthcoming before February the seventh, all work in connection with munitions will be suspended indefinitely.' Representations to the Minister for Defence by both Ryan and Theodore failed to have the intractable Inspector relieved of his duties. He was merely instructed to behave with more 'discretion and tact' in future. Due to such crises as these, munitions production in the Queensland railway workshops limped farcically onwards, until the British Government, in exasperation cancelled its contract for 50,000 shells in mid-1916.\(^\text{117}\)

Industrial discontent in areas of war-centred production began to spread to other sectors of the workforce by the latter months of 1915. Prompted mainly by inflation and the failure of the Prices Referendum, localized disputes began upon the waterfront and in the coal-mining, sugar and building industries.\(^\text{118}\) After trouble upon the Mackay wharves over award wages and the employment of non-unionists, a backlash against waterside workers generally was delivered by the loyalist daily press. A. Hill, a Brisbane stevedore complained bitterly to Acting Premier, John Hunter:

Such terms as the press use: Wharf Rats etc. are not conducive to industrial peace ... The number of wharf labourers in Brisbane was about 1,100 but I believe nearly 200 have enlisted and ... the majority of those remaining regularly subscribe to a fund organized by themselves to help those who return from the War ... As a body, these men are far from disloyal and ... will always work well and willingly when given a fair deal.\(^\text{119}\)
Yet it was precisely this question of 'a fair deal' which was souring workers' attitudes towards the war and promoting greater industrial militancy. In September 1915, 2,000 miners at Blackheath colliery near Ipswich struck work for a 20% wage increase, as did coal workers in Brisbane in January 1916. Builders' labourers and carpenters at Townsville and Brisbane followed suit. Canecutters at Mossman, South Johnston and Mourilyan, after visits from I.W.W. activists 'succeeded by direct action in gaining an increase in wages and other concessions' in a strike called without the sanction of A.W.U. officials between August and October 1915.

The I.W.W.'s advocacy of direct action was again responsible for harnessing the massive discontent over wage rates which spread through the shearing industry of Central and Western Queensland and Northern New South Wales from April 1916 onwards. In February, moderates at the A.W.U. Convention had forestalled an I.W.W.-inspired motion that the union should abandon arbitration procedures in favour of direct negotiation. Yet rank and file agitation by shearers and roustabouts in turn confounded the moderates and put direct action squarely to the test. Acting against the advice of A.W.U. district secretary, R. Bow, workers at Longreach refused to shear at the award rate of 24/- per hundred, demanding 32/6 instead. Roustabouts, receiving 37/6 per week plus rations struck work for 50/-, stating 'that they did not care for the union and were standing out on their own.' I.W.W. activist, J. Lonsdale, secretary for the Carriers' Union at Charleville advised 200 men there 'to stand firm.' Fifteen hundred men across Central Queensland were already on strike, he continued and, in a few weeks, all workers connected with shearing would be 'out'. At Blackall, Lonsdale told another eighty men that 'if they kept together, no power on earth could make them work.' With Labor in power, the squatters could not get 'the
military and special constables to assist them now.' He then travelled on, making similar addresses to 200 strikers at Longreach and 120 at Hughenden.

In early May, Michael Kelly, an I.W.W. member who had resigned a position as A.W.U. organizer carried a message from the men at Hughenden to those at Longreach that they would 'eat grass [on] Hughenden Common before submitting to present working conditions'. By mid-May, the Hughenden shearers had formed their own strike camp. Sixty men at Winton joined the strike, to be followed by a similar number at Richmond and Prairie. Eighty men at Barcaldine, refusing A.W.U. representation had in the meantime elected their own executive. With the entire wool clip threatened and the caustic I.W.W. slogan, 'Give the warm weather and blow-flies a chance!' appearing in western towns and shearing camps, pastoralists reacted with predictable alarm. 'Immediate action must be taken or the electric fire will get beyond bounds', one of their number wrote to Acting Premier Hunter in late April:

Those who are anxious to work are in an allegorical position to a block of buildings, one end of which has been set on fire. About, all those who are interested sit down and see the whole block demolished without trying to put out the fire. You have the power to put the fire out.123

Yet the Labor minister was not prepared to answer this employers' distress call with the same alacrity as previous liberal-conservative administrations had done. On 8 May, Hunter refused an urgent demand from John Adamson, then touring the West that Cabinet be called together to deal with the strike. Following this, he reprimanded Police Commissioner Cahill for sending armed constables into the Longreach district without his approval. After A.W.U. officials complained of police harassment, he demanded the latter's withdrawal. 'The matter will be settled amicably,' Hunter predicted on 24 May, 'Send the Constables away.' As he
wrote, the anxious pastoralists were promising roustabouts the full pay increase demanded and offering shearsers 27/- per 100 - a proposal which was ultimately accepted. The success of this 'wild cat' strike left I.W.W. members jubilant. As one of them wrote from Cloncurry to Direct Action, shearsers had abandoned the temporizing methods of the A.W.U. and by directly taking matters into their own hands had won for themselves 'the best wage paid in the industry in Australia.'

As these western strikes ended, industrial trouble next erupted in the meat industry of North Queensland over wages and conditions. As Turner shows, the Meat Industry Employees' Union (A.M.I.E.U.), 'under syndicalist influence' had agreed, in early 1916 to bypass arbitration for direct action. On 23 May, butchers and freezer-workers at Ross River, near Townsville ceased operations, while the 700 men at nearby Alligator Creek gave the management twenty-four hours' notice to offer pay increases. When their five elected delegates were instead dismissed, they too joined the strike. Like the pastoralists, the meat company representatives were caught in a vulnerable position, with 2,000 tons of cattle arriving for slaughter. G. Colman, General Manager of the Queensland Meat Export Co. wrote uneasily to Hunter of the 'unreasonableness and injustice' of a strike 'in the middle of the busiest part of the killing season.' He complained:

The result has been the whole dislocation of the slaughtering and treating of cattle in the North and, as the importance of the industry is so great, we ask your immediate intervention to cause work to be recommenced.

Simultaneously, Hunter was informed that due to this industrial trouble, the Imperial Government was considering diverting its shipping to New Zealand ports. He urged both management and men to co-operate at a compulsory conference, and asked the workers to resume operations pending its outcome. Thus, on 1 June, a mass meeting of over 1,000 meatworkers
voted to return to work. Facing the threatened diversion of Imperial steamers to New Zealand if more trouble occurred, the Queensland Meat Company and Swifts proved happy to negotiate a 10% wage rise, with the increase retrospective to the date of re-opening the works.\textsuperscript{126}

The hand of the I.W.W. in this dispute is difficult to prove directly, though the nature of the strike's development - direct negotiations with management, election of delegates from the shop floor and extravagant demands for 40-70% pay increases - strongly implies the I.W.W.'s touch. Furthermore, on 2 June, Hyman Barcan, one of the delegates elected to represent the workers at Alligator Creek was arrested by Townsville police as 'a German ... a paid official of the I.W.W. and an enemy alien.' Barcan was accused of being a 'spy', fomenting all the trouble and sabotaging the loading of meat for the troops. His papers were confiscated and he was cross-examined for three hours. Upon his release, he was directed to report daily to police, even though he was a British-born subject. Subsequent correspondence reveals that Barcan, a Jewish migrant, was a strong O.B.U. advocate, though there is no evidence that he was a 'paid' agitator, much less a German spy. Indeed, he had recently been an A.I.F. instructor at Enoggera Camp and had enlisted in the Queensland Tropical Forces. His arrest seems another example of a conspiratorial approach to worker unrest as well as a further manifestation of dual anti-radical/anti-alien alarm, directed against any industrial militant of noticeably foreign demeanour. As A.W.U. official, John Dash complained of Barcan's scapegoating:

If we allow the Officers of the Police to attack a man because he happens to be a militant unionist, there is no telling where it is going to end. We can come to no other conclusion than to allege that the Company's Officials are using the Police Department to harass unionists.\textsuperscript{127}

Strike activity continued to escalate as the first conscription referendum approached. The number of disputes for 1916 leapt from the
seventeen of the previous year to sixty-four, involving 252 establishments and 20,318 workers. Forty of these disputes occurred in the second half of the year.\textsuperscript{128}

In August and September, for instance, waterside stoppages at Mackay and Rockhampton led to alarming food shortages in these towns. When the dispute began to affect the financial position of the Mackay sugar refineries, Prime Minister Hughes threatened to force a settlement using the War Precautions Act, but the matter was ultimately referred to the Arbitration Court.\textsuperscript{129} On 22 August, the Dickson Award, granting a 50% wage increase plus substantially improved conditions and rations to sugar industry workers met with immediate resistance from both growers and millers.\textsuperscript{130} Canecutters, millhands and mechanics responded promptly to this obstructionism with direct action of their own. Beginning at Mossman on 18 September, field hands struck work, but as all activities within the industry had gradually been suspended, with growers refusing to harvest and millers refusing to crush, the strike in itself had little effect. Hence, the sabotage technique of canefield incendiarism, last utilized in 1911, was again employed. On 26 and 30 September, incendiary fires at Proserpine destroyed 200 tons of cane. On 28 September, six separate fires at Mossman burned out a similar amount. Four days later, a week of cane fires, involving 'disastrous loss' was reported from Mackay, while four other serious blazes had occurred at Babinda and Gordonvale by 9 October. 'Quite a number of further fires' were lit near Cairns, Townsville and Mulgrave and extra police were despatched to the troubled areas. These widespread conflagrations again suggest I.W.W. activity, but it must be remembered that desperate men, feeling deprived of what seemed rightfully theirs, did not necessarily require any organizational lead to resort to this dramatic tactic. The Commissioner of Police reported, 'Bad feeling ... between farmers and strikers existed generally, and, as negotiations between State and Federal authorities over
sugar pricing reached 'an all-round impasse' by the end of 1916, the
dispute continued to rankle, with millhands and mechanics at Cairns,
Gordonvale, Babinda and Miara striking in a determined attempt to force
the payment of new award rates.131

Middle-class loyalists regarded such serious dislocations in the
main primary industries of wool, meat and sugar, as well as in other vital
areas of transport and mining as being a direct and calculated assault
upon the allied war effort. Their traditional antipathy towards any use
of the strike weapon was intensified by the knowledge that industries,
where a smooth operation seemed essential in 'winning the war' were being
hampered and threatened by militant unionism. The bout of 'strike mania',
as it was termed was conventionally described as 'a poisonous dagger
thrust into the very vitals of our national life.'132 The patriotic
poet, F.E. Westbrook accurately expressed the rising loyalist hatred of
'the men who strike' when he wrote, anticipating conscription, in August
1916 that the trenches were 'the place for the ones who slack/Strikers
and all of their clan ...':

They'll do their bit when it's steel on steel
And death for the weakest man.

He argued that Australians should feel nothing but pride for:

... our workers that toil at the lathes
The men at the bench and wheel,
Moulding the lash that would tame the foe
And summon the Hun to heel.

Such willing workers, acting in co-operation with their employers were
'welding an Empire's might', the poet contended:

... People who finance and people who save
Rank them whatever you like,
Pride in them all that are doing their bit
But! What of the men who Strike!
... What for them? Ask the men "out there",
(This from them one and all):
A firing party, an open grave,
The traitor against the wall.133
The 'rogues gallery' of Australian 'disloyalists' was thus already becoming crammed with forbidding portraits as the first conscription battle approached. Massed images of striking workers joined those of 'slackers' and 'shirkers', anti-conscriptionists and 'the enemy within' as the pace of war involvement faltered and disenchantment grew. To the increasingly embattled loyalist, it seemed as though a spreading miasma of disaffection was rising about the pillars of Imperial fidelity and war allegiance. As Armageddon ground onwards, the house no longer seemed so united and the pillars were beginning to tremble. Working at the foundations, the pacifist and the revolutionary were clearly detected, advancing the enemy cause. To the pro-war advocate, they were obviously in league with some unknown number of German agents and other threatening aliens, intent upon imperilling the entire social edifice. Yet those who struck work for higher wages or who decided against fighting in the trenches understandably did not see themselves as the 'traitors' so depicted by many an outraged loyalist. As they saw it, in the battle of life, in an unequal society, they were merely adopting the best strategies for self-defence and survival. Even the war's most fervent ideological opponents found the 'disloyalty' tag an outrageous appellation, for pacifists and revolutionary socialists believed themselves to be tenaciously loyal to their consciences and/or to their class - an allegiance which they placed far above any commitment to a 'sordid' war or the 'unjust capitalist system' which had fomented it.

So the ranks began roughly to divide even before the conscription struggle made that polarization explicit by providing it with its most passionate articulations. Particularly since the abandonment of the Prices Referendum, workers staring at destitution had found little comfort in bourgeois admonishments to save, to be thrifty and partake of equal sacrifice. Figures published during 1916 from the findings of the
1915 War Census on wealth had additionally shown them how very unequal that sacrifice really was. For, even though the fears of increased taxation and of conscripting wealth which dogged this enquiry probably caused some - especially among the more wealthy - to understate their assets, this thorough survey had revealed 'very substantial inequality' in private income and property ownership among the wartorn Australian population. Approximately, the wealthiest 0.5% of Australians held almost 10% of the private wealth while 'only about 1% of all income earners reported a net income higher than £700 pa.' Half of the wealth was owned by less than 3% of the population, whilst fully two-thirds of it was enjoyed by the top 5%. As the economist, L. Soltow notes succinctly, 'One is left with the fact that the vast majority, 80 to 90% of individuals had little wealth.' Indeed, almost 80% of the respondents recorded net incomes below £149 pa and the majority of these, many of them women workers received incomes of approximately £50 pa only.\textsuperscript{135}

When knowledge of these statistics is related to the fact that declining unemployment, which had dropped to 4.2% in Queensland for the third quarter of 1916 made the prospect of successful strike activity a brighter one, the reasons behind the wave of industrial unrest are not difficult to understand. Revelations about the distribution of wealth also help explain the anti-conscriptionists' radical insistence that wealth instead of manpower ought to be conscripted. Lampooning Fisher's famous war-pledge, Jennie Scott-Griffiths commented 'apparently the last shilling is going to be held on to very much longer than the last man.' 'All emphasis is laid upon the man and the shilling is shoved away into the corner of the pocket,' added the Worker sarcastically.\textsuperscript{136} The raising of the first three War Loans in 1915-16 merely exacerbated the tension and distaste. Those with capital gambled upon a successful outcome of the war, for a 4\% return upon their investments, it was argued, while the less fortunate were maimed and killed to ensure the
attainment of that profit. As 'thousands die on battlefields [and] thousands come home armless, legless, broken in health,' war loan investors would earn nine million pounds annually without suffering a scratch, wrote radical Labor M.H.R., Frank Anstey angrily:

Money comes back fatter than it went, loaded with coupons, buttered with a perpetual lien upon the toil of ... [the families] of the men who died that the nation might live.

Instead, Anstey claimed, wealth ought to be 'conscripted, fluidised and made a subject of national service' in order that 'the productive forces of the nation' could be liberated from 'the burden of perpetual interest.'

Conspiracy theories and xenophobic fears among anti-conscriptionists, however, hindered a more accurate analysis of the social inequalities then existing in Australia. Anstey's influential pamphlet *The Kingdom of Shylock: The War Loan and the War Tax*, for instance, employed a crude anti-semitic stereotype to explain a major source of socio-economic exploitation. The cover of this publication introduced a cartooned, hook-nosed exaggeration, very similar to illustrations later to be featured in German National Socialist propaganda, exclaiming in glee, 'Mine Verd! Mine Verd! Much shentage on me[in in]vestments and no Vor Tax on mein income.' 'Awful is the price that workers must pay so that Shylock may get his bloody "shentage",' Anstey warned, 'He will draw blood from sweating brows and hungry mothers all the days that God gives them life.' Jews were thus depicted as being foremost among the 'human blood-suckers who ... wax fat on Armageddon.' While capitalism was quite 'observable and understandable,' Anstey claimed, this form of tainted 'money power' lurked insidiously 'in vaults and banking chambers, masquerading its operations in language that mystifies and dazzles.' By stimulating ethnic prejudice rather than soberly analysing economic developments in a capitalist society at war, it was Anstey's rhetoric, however, which mystified and dazzled its readers the most.
Anti-Semitism and the Anti-War Campaign.
While Anstey unfolded a Judaist conspiracy involving 'something more than capitalism,' other social critics upon the left were concentrating their attention upon something rather less: 'Unscrupulous' actions by 'the cornerers of food supplies', 'rent exploiters', 'middle men' and other 'monopolists of the necessities of life' were here singularly blamed for the rising cost of living. The shoddy groups of extortionists were held responsible, by many Laborites, for prevalent economic dislocations and inequalities, and were depicted as making an excessive imposition upon the profit levels attained through the 'normal' functioning of Australian capitalism. The evils of inflation and unemployment could thus be personalized and sheeted home, in a populist manner, to an undefined, though sinister body of miscreants - 'a tiny handful of enemies,' extraneous to the body politic. He would 'sooner shoot some of the food exploiters of Australia than ... shoot at the heart of a Turk whom [he] should not afterwards see,' Queensland's anti-war Labor senator, Myles Ferricks exclaimed stoutly in mid-1916. That statement, however was not seen as being akin to one advocating the destruction of capitalists. While the capitalist press called strikers 'unpatriotic', observed the Lone Hand in August 1916, the labour movement responded by pointing accusingly at war 'profiteers' as the cause of the nation's troubles. This 'Profiteer' bogey was soon destined to take its place beside that of the 'Hun' and the 'Wobbly', with an equal capacity for mischief and deception.¹⁴⁰

Thus, during the conscription debates, both pro- and anti-conscription advocates would utilize the fear potential implicit in conspiratorial and racist arguments to the full. Anti-conscriptionist images of the fat profiteer, sometimes in the outline of the 'Jew capitalist', anxious to replace conscripted male workers with 'coloured', alien labour contended with their 'disloyalist' counterparts, the
purveyors of destructive foreign ideologies or the dupes of enemy agents who pervaded the conscriptionists' hypotheses. Divergent public audiences, observing this shadow play reacted to it according to their own social and psychological responses to Imperial warfare. Those supporting an escalating war commitment hoped that conscription would now emerge from the wings to relieve the boys at the front and win the war. These staunch loyalists, largely of middle class background, therefore damned anyone who would oppose conscription's 'necessary' appearance. Yet those whose war support was either qualified, wavering or absent viewed the position very differently. Such persons of mainly working class background, who had experienced marked deteriorations in their living standards since 1914, saw conscription only as a final, intolerable encumbrance, and they, in turn, hissed the 'Would-to-Godders' and the 'profiteers' who now summoned it forth.

Anti-war advocates, those pacifists and revolutionary socialists whose ideological position upon the conflict had not shifted since August 1914 logically ranged themselves alongside the anti-conscriptionists in the coming contest. In doing so, they helped to radicalise the active opponents of compulsion, but not necessarily of warfare itself, as they utilized the propaganda campaigns in an attempt to convince more workers of the validity of either their anti-militarist or class warfare arguments. Their involvement in these campaigns was, in short, merely an acceleration of the steady path they had taken towards greater influence within the labour movement generally since the war had begun. The expedient, working alliance of moderates and radicals so established under the anti-conscription banner, however, only served to convince the advocates of conscription that the only worthwhile loyalty was their own and that the tangled mesh of disloyalty, particularly in Queensland, was of hitherto undreamed-of proportions.
Chapter Four: Footnotes


4. L. Halberstater, Mayor, Mount Morgan to Ryan, 19 August 1915, and subsequent correspondence, QSA PRE/34, in-letter no. 9962 of 1915.

5. *International Socialist*, 14 September, 4 November 1914 and 20 February 1915.


17. F. Lister Hopkins, Toowoomba to Under Sec., Department of Public Instruction, 10 August 1914, QSA Edu/A176, in-letter no. 26871 of 1914; L. Vernon to D. Denham, 16 August 1914, QSA PRE/A483, in-letter no. 10278 of 1914.


31. *Direct Action*, 15 March & 15 April 1915. Meetings were held in Tank Street, the City and at Burns Monument, near Fortitude Valley.


40. C. Jenkinson, Relief of Distress Committee to Ryan, 4 August 1915, QSA PRE/37, in-letter no. 8959 of 1915; Brazier, op. cit., p.134, p.137.

41. Govt Relief Office report, 1915, QSA COL/A1020, in-letter no. 8723 of 1915; Brazier, op. cit., p.139; Metropolitan Relief Report 1914-1918, QSA COL/A1123, in-letter no. 7306 of 1918.

42. Armstrong, op. cit., pp.194-196; The Brisbane Industrial Council, formed from the amalgamation of 20 metropolitan unions by the end of 1914 tended to fill an organizational gap caused by the disintegration of the Brisbane District Council of the Australian Labour Federation, which had declined after the failure of the 1912 General Strike.

43. Ibid., p.197; 'Summary of Ryan's Disloyal Associations', op. cit.; Lawson and Foat, Workers' Relief Committee to Premier, 26 August 1915, QSA PRE/35, in-letter no. 7456 of 1915.

44. The Mirror, 7 April 1916, p.11; 'Summary of Ryan's Disloyal Associations', op. cit.; Foat was also General Secretary of the Federated Clerks' Union.

45. Knibbs, op. cit., 1915-1918; M.H. Ellis, A Handbook for Nationalists, Brisbane 1918, pp.103-104. Ellis claims that by 1917, Queensland workers were 4/11 per week worse off than they were in 1914; see also T. Rowse, Australian Liberalism and National Character, Melbourne, Kibble Books, 1978, p.226; Rowse's table, reproduced from D.B. Copland (1933) shows that price rises in Queensland between July 1914 and March 1916 equalled 44%, 4.5% ahead of Victoria and 9.5% ahead of New South Wales. Western Australia at 13.5% and South Australia at 18.5% registered the lowest rises.


54. E. Scott, *Australia during the War*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1940, p.276.


57. Murphy, Ryan, *op. cit.*, p.152; J.B. Howie, *Australia and the Coming Peace: A Constructive Policy*, Melbourne, Peace Alliance Print, 1915, pp.18-19; Jauncey, *op. cit.*, p.120.

58. C. Shute, *op. cit.*, p.11; The W.P.A. was formed on 7 July 1915.

59. *International Socialist*, 27 November 1915; E. Lane, *Dawn to Dusk: Reminiscences of a Rebel*, Brisbane, W. Brooks, 1939, p.166. Lane writes: 'Adela's first lecture was called "Down with Germany". The Centennial Hall was packed as the reputation of the lecturer as an irreconcilable opponent of the war was well known. It was at first doubtful if Miss Pankhurst would get a hearing, so bitter was the popular feeling against Germany. But her determination and sincerity carried her through, and her passionate denouncement of the war mongers and plea for peace stirred many in the audience.'


66. For an interesting sample of bereavement letters, see QSA PRE/38, in-letter no. 9328 of 1915. For instance, M.G. Haymen wrote on 11 May 1915: 'The Consolation in our time of grief is that our Son heard the Empire's call and died a glorious death, fighting for his King and Country, helping to rid the world of a monstrous German military despotism.'


68. P.R. Brett, Birmingham War Hospital to Mother, Sydney, 29 September 1915; also, F. Clune, Egypt, to Mrs G. Clune, Redfern, 20 August 1915: 'If all the wasters and shirkers and cold feet brigade were to enlist and come and do their bit, it would lighten the burden on our shoulders.' Letters written on Active Service, European War 1914-18, Mitchell Library Ms.


70. Scott, op. cit., pp.312-313; Robson, op. cit., p.65.

71. Deputation to D. Bowman by Messrs Anlezark, Fox, Read and Fredlien, 10 July 1915 and subsequent correspondence, QSA PRE/A618, in-letter no. 2888 of 1919. Commissioner Cahill had refused permits in May and July on the grounds that the utterances of anti-war advocates had been 'blasphemous, seditious and obscene.'

72. International Socialist, 7 August 1915: 'A great deal of discussion took place on the question of the White Australia Policy which was shown ... would cause a war in the continent between some of the coloured races and Australians.'


74. Brisbane Courier, 3 September 1915.


76. International Socialist, 14 August 1915; Brisbane Courier, 14 August & 15 September 1915.

78. *International Socialist*, 27 November 1915.

79. *Direct Action*, 1 & 23 October, 11 December 1915 & 15 January 1916. The all-Russian local was formed 26 December 1915. The printing of 'an organ in Russian' was decided upon. The Mount Morgan local was formed 15 January 1916. See also Armstrong, *op. cit.*, p.212.


87. Ibid., 19 January & 1 February 1916.


92. S.D. Tozer and J.J. Walsh, Queensland Provisional Committee of the Universal Service League, Town Hall Chambers, Brisbane, Manifesto and Deputation 20 and 22 September 1915. This middle-class movement pledged itself to organize the community, both males and females, to 'voluntarily adopt the principle of compulsory and universal war service.' The U.S.L. would also 'provide the service that wealth can supply.' QSA COL/A1020, in-letter no. 8970 of 1915; see also Coward, *op. cit.*, pp.229-255. Coward shows that in New South Wales, a social elite dominated the League and that 'the professional, business and political occupations were over-represented.'


Review of Reviews, 16 March 1916.


Turner, *op. cit.*, p.170; *The Australian Highway*, vol. I, no. 10, 
p.13; see also Hardach, pp.214-216; and K. Robbins, *The Abolition 
of War: The 'Peace Movement' in Britain 1914-1919*, Cardiff, 

99. *Brisbane Courier*, 18 January 1916; Turner, *op. cit.*, p.101; Coward, 

100. Murphy, Ryan, *op. cit.*, p.153; 'Summary of Ryan's Disloyal 
Associations', *op. cit.*

p.151; 'Congress of Trade Unions of Australia on Conscription', 
May 1916, F.J. Riley Collection: World War One: Australian 
Social Conditions, Labrobe Library MSS.


104. *Daily Mail*, Press Messages to H. Mahon, External Affairs Department, 
Melbourne, 8 August 1916, QSA PRE/A539, in-letter no. 15760 of 1916.

105. *Direct Action*, 8 January & 2 February 1916; see also Turner, 
*op. cit.*, p.93.


107. See Beatson, *op. cit.*, p.2, p.20; D.J. Murphy (ed.), *Labor in 
Politics: The State Labor Parties in Australia 1890-1920*, 
University of Queensland Press, 1975, p.210; P.J. Rushton, 'The 
Revolutionary Ideology of the Industrial Workers of the World in 
Australia', *Historical Studies*, vol. XV, no. 59, pp.424-426; 
Armstrong, *op. cit.*, pp.212-215; 'An Interview with G. Rymer & 
E. Sampson (August 1967)', Fryer Ms. F.686; Bill Beattie, 
William Jackson, Tom Barker, Vere Gordon Childe and Norman 
Jeffrey claim a larger I.W.W. following, however. See: B. Beattie, 
'Memoirs of the IWW', *Labour History*, 13, p.39; Armstrong, 
Governs: A Study of Worker's Representation in Australia, 
M.U.P., 1923, pp.131-150; L.C. Churchward, 'The American Influence 
on the Australian Labour Movement', *Historical Studies*, V, 
November 1952, p.268.


109. 'Interview with G. Rymer & E. Sampson (August 1967)', Fryer Ms. 
F.686.

110. Estimate by G.H. Knibbs, Commonwealth Statistician, in *Sydney 
111. Fisher to Denham, 14 October 1914, QSA PRE/A482, in-letter no. 729 of 1915; A.W. Jose, *The Royal Australian Navy 1914-18*, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1941, pp.75-78. The trouble began with the Kanowna's firemen striking over their water allowance.


118. Mayor Fay, Mackay to Ryan, 4 June 1915, QSA PRE/A492, in-letter no. 5949 of 1915; Marryatt, Mackay to Forgan Smith, 7 January 1916, QSA PRE/A512, in-letter no. 409 of 1916; Inspector McGrath Townsville to Commissioner of Police, 8 May 1916, QSA PRE/A523, in-letter no. 5544 of 1916; *Brisbane Courier*, 6 September 1915, 8 January 1916; Turner, *op. cit.*, p.84.

119. A. Hill, New Farm to J. Hunter, 2 July 1916, QSA PRE/A528, in-letter no. 8457 of 1916.


125. Direct Action, 7 October 1916.


129. Daily Mail press messages to Mahon, 17 August 1916, QSA PRE/A539, in-letter no. 15760 of 1916; Attorney-General to P.M. Department, 16 September 1916, Australian Archives, CA/A2 Series, 1916/3673(IV).


CHAPTER FIVE

'UNLESS WE CONFESSION OURSELVES DEGENERATE ...'

CONSCRIPTION AND SOCIAL CONFLICT IN QUEENSLAND 1916-17

The fight on this issue is going to be the biggest, most momentous and most bitter fight in the history of the Labor movement ... Show the master class, despite what other countries may do, that the workers of Australia refuse to be crushed by the juggernaut of MILITARISM.

- Brisbane Trades Hall Congress (August 1916).¹

I will keep law and order in this country. Whether you belong to the Sinn Fein or the IWW ... just you say one word and I will have you ... Just you open your mouth ...

- W.M. Hughes (November 1917).²

Conscription was political dynamite in the home, office or factory and it is difficult to convey this these days by writing or speech.

- H.M. Hall.³

The conscription campaigns of September-October 1916 and November-December 1917 resemble precise fields of battle upon which the opposing forces of 'YES' and 'NO' matched strategies, clashed and were bloodied - then fell back to prepare for fresh combat. Many manoeuvres upon the issue of war support had already preceded these closely contested forays, however, and - as we have seen - the contending parties had been marshalling their numbers and their arguments for some time previously. Unlike the Somme and Passchendaele - those terrible, stalemated campaigns in the real war - which consecutively preceded each conscription contest, the latter campaigns were fought through to narrow, though decisive victories. Those anti-conscriptionist victories, however, neither solved the problem of war commitment nor resolved any of the social and ideological divisions which the conscription issue itself made explicit. To the contrary, conflict was heightened by the outcome, as the two opposing ranks fell more bitterly asunder.
It is impossible to divide these ranks precisely along lines of class, religion, sex, age or ethnicity for the voting even split families, altered deep political commitments and terminated friendships. It is only possible to indicate general voting tendencies and to suggest that a complex set of reasons usually guided these. For people were either swayed or galvanized in their decision by an intricate blend of social and political allegiances, economic considerations, as well as philosophical, emotional and psychological appeals which are difficult to unravel. It seems clear, however, that the ideological opponents of Imperial warfare became heavily committed to the anti-conscription movement, while the most ardent and Anglophile of the pro-war loyalists led the compulsionists. Furthermore, protestant, middle-class individuals were as prone to favour conscription as Roman Catholics and wage-labourers were to oppose it. Similarly, an English or Scottish background might influence a 'YES' vote as strongly as Irish or German origins might encourage a firm 'NO'. More tentatively, it might be suggested that those too old to be personally affected might bend more towards compulsion. Yet emotional and blood ties with the young men directly threatened - and, thus, largely voting negatively - might again have induced many elderly non-eligibles to vote 'NO'. Women too were not to be conscripted by their own voting decisions, but again, this hardly implies any wholesale tendency on their part to force men into battle. Indeed, it is difficult to conclude how even a majority of females voted, socialized as they were into behaving publicly as the accessories or domestic supports of men, despite the outspokenness of certain female activists.

The propaganda of the conscription debates, like much of the war propaganda which surrounded it was misleading, partial, irrational and vitriolic. The barrage of this indoctrination which fell upon women from both sides was all this and more: for both pro- and anti-conscriptionists
Anti-Conscription Propaganda and the Female Vote.
tended to view that sex as an 'undifferentiated, homogeneous mass', particularly prone to fear and sentimentality. Two streams of coldly-calculated, though emotively-charged appeals were therefore directed towards the entire female gender, concentrating upon the matter of either saving sons or stoically surrendering menfolk to their ultimate test. The extent to which either appeal affected large numbers of women exclusively remains problematical. It is likely, however, that a cluster of wider political, racial and moral issues raised by the campaigns had as substantial and as divisive an impact upon women as upon men. For women, too, were motivated by class and religious backgrounds, age and ethnic affiliations in reaching their often agonizing decisions upon this daunting issue.

The central irony of these debates was that people were asked to ballot upon military requirements for a war about which they were being consistently and purposefully misled. A growing realization of this might have conceivably contributed to the atmosphere of confusion, distrust and mounting paranoia which surrounded each campaign. Conspiracies to destroy Australia either by burning cities or swamping them with 'coloured' workers; by combining with deadly enemies or planning industrial despotism; by nurturing active treachery or rampant militarism were each elaborated and denounced. Fears of aliens and dissidents once more dominated each conflict. Ethnic divisions, in turn, sharpened the sectarian animosities involved. Conscriptionists adamantly projected a fresh choice between loyalty and disloyalty as the fundamental issue of each campaign. Yet their opponents found that they could make at least as provocative an appeal to Australians on the grounds of national and personal self-preservation. To many, such self-preservation now logically seemed a wiser alternative to compulsory sacrifice. For the pressing necessity for compulsory sacrifice had been diminished, in many
minds, by the very campaign of optimistic war journalism, originally calculated to maximize war support. The tangled themes of war commitment, war optimism and war weariness all interacted upon social perceptions about conscription, as the entire nation, in exhaustively debating the need for military compulsion came, eventually, to confront that originally radical question, 'War - What For?' as well.

Just as many trade-unionists had begun to query the loyalty demands of 'purse patriots' before conscription became a significant issue, so too had many Irish Catholics in Australia - the majority of whom were working class themselves - begun to question the war effort even before the Dublin rebellion of April 1916. Like many other wage labourers, Catholic workers had been little more than acquiescent towards the war from the outset. This luke-warm commitment had declined further under the impact of socio-economic privation, bourgeois demands for incessant sacrifice and protestant sectarian jibes. 'Oliver Cromwell is not dead, only sleeping,' a Brisbane protestant minister had warned on the eve of war. Several months later, the Governor of Queensland, Sir Arthur Morgan gave the Lord Protector a definite nudge by refusing to attend the St. Patrick's Day luncheon where a toast to 'the Pope and the King' was to be offered. As Michael McKernan argues:

The lay Catholic view depended much more on political, economic and sectarian divisions that had emerged in Australia since the outbreak of the war than it did to [sic] events in Ireland. The Catholic response was a class response much more than a religious or national one.

Yet the executions, imprisonments and deportations resulting from the Dublin rising had significantly altered the tone of this response, nevertheless, investing it with a newly emphatic strain of ethnic bitterness. Dublin-born William Lennon, Queensland Secretary for Agriculture and Stock, confessed to shedding tears when he read of the British treatment of Irish citizens in April. Archbishop Daniel Mannix had also wept upon
Mr. Redmond, M.P., presents his compliments.

A Traditional Anti-Irish Stereotype (Queensland Figaro, 1880s)
seeing the press accounts of the summary execution of republican leaders. At a meeting of the Queensland Hibernian Society on 14 May, Archbishop James Duhig of Brisbane expressed his 'unqualified condemnation of the wholesale executions' which he predicted would create a new set of Irish martyrs.¹⁹

Though many leading Catholics and moderate supporters of Home Rule had initially castigated the Sinn Fein insurgents, this was soon tempered by a surge of local sympathy for the martyred rebels. As British repressions in Ireland continued, pity was gradually transformed into a defiant admiration as well as a mounting support for the republicans and their cause. Bishop Shiel of Rockhampton, a friend of Mannix since their Maynooth College days initially condemned the rebellion as a 'mad and criminal scheme'. By September 1916, however, he was encouraging all friends of Ireland to show they were 'disgusted' with the way England was treating his homeland. 'The sooner the English government realised it could not continue to tinker with the Irish question,' he warned, 'the better for her as well as for her Empire.'¹¹ By mid-1916, the Catholic Advocate which had deplored the hasty executions in an editorial headed 'Outdoing Cromwell' was attacking Home Rule as 'a thing of shreds and patches' and, as A.D. Gilbert shows, was gradually 'adopting the language of Sinn Fein radicalism.'¹² This deepening alienation of Irish citizens from the Imperial cause was to have a direct impact upon the already subsiding level of war commitment. The conscription debates, in turn were to provide many Irish with a chance to articulate that disaffection as firm antagonists of the Referendum proposals.

This escalation of anti-British feeling was partly encouraged by a rather callous response to the plight of Ireland from protestant imperialists and a corresponding outburst of anti-Irish sentiments from their ranks. 'Ireland has had its rebellion,' remarked the United Empire
tartly and it had 'met with but little response. The measures taken to suppress the outbreak had the merit of thoroughness.' The troubles were simply the work of 'a few misguided fanatics,' argued the *Review of Reviews*: 'The adoption of harsher measures' was therefore understandable. The court martials would attract 'little pity', the *Argus* predicted, while the Anglican *Church Chronicle* failed to understand why 'exceptional clemency' should be expected for rebels in the first place. 

Private A.A. Brunton read of the uprising in a newspaper purchased en route to the Western Front and wrote in his diary: 'What rotters the Irish are to choose this time to take up arms. Thank heaven I have no Irish blood in me.' In Brisbane, a certain C. Russell, compiling a newspaper scrapbook of war events penned in the margin beside an article on the rebellion:

> My experience of Irish is that they are simply shamming, truly difficult, unreliable, jealous, revengeful and murderous in Ireland ... "No Irish may apply" for me. 

The 'Sectarian Devil' had been turned loose in the north, wrote Catherine Moloney from Townsville in June 1916:

> This outburst has been fanned by the Sectarian Literature of the Critchley Parker stamp, notably the Mining Standard which has been sent broadcast here. Can it be stopped against Catholics? 

Sectarianism manifested itself in Brisbane, once more, when protestants packed the University of Queensland Senate elections in July to prevent Archbishop Duhig receiving an expected seat there. Similarly, when Duhig opened the Diocesan Dublin Relief Fund in the same month, the Brisbane press, with the notable exception of the labour *Daily Standard* refused any publicity or co-operation. Instead, the *Daily Mail* began a venomous anti-Irish campaign, inviting readers to participate. 

Protestant loyalists, organized within such bodies as the Royal Society of St. George, the Overseas Club, the Protestant Alliance
Friendly Society, the Orange lodges and the various denominational churches tended, with some justification, to view most of Queensland's 137,000 Catholics as being fervently pro-Irish. Eventually, this would lead to the latter's equation with Sinn Fein supporters and, therefore, dangerous disloyalists as well. In the 'most Catholic' State in the Commonwealth, the Ryan Government was also implicated for 'collaborating' with such subversives, by the votes it received from Catholic workers, the support given to it by the Roman Catholic Church on particular issues and by the Irish, Catholic backgrounds of some of its prominent Cabinet members. The detested image of a monolithic papist presence, however, masked a far more complicated socio-political reality. No consensual Catholic viewpoint existed either upon Australian conscription or the Irish troubles. In his open advocacy of anti-conscription, Dr Mannix was really an anomaly, for the bulk of Catholic priests remained publicly neutral upon the issue. Others, like Dr Duhig even tacitly supported conscription for a time. The majority of the Catholic laity seem to have opposed conscription, but this did not arise from any clear and outspoken commitment to Irish republicanism. Many Catholics continued to support Redmond and Home Rule, although their numbers were waning. Ryan, who was soon to emerge as Australia's only anti-conscriptionist Premier continued to be a staunch advocate of the Redmondites. At a London dinner given in Ryan's honour by Irish parliamentarians, he presented a message of support to Redmond from the Queensland Irish Association and delivered an 'electrifying' speech to the despondent Home Rulers, which they resolved to circulate throughout Ireland 'to counter the anti-loyal influences.' Ryan's photograph appeared in the English Sunday Herald, appearing with wounded Irish from the war-front, under the caption, 'An Imperial Greeting for Loyal Irishmen.'

In Queensland, though the republican cause gradually gained
adherents, more Irish Catholics were affected by a general Anglophobia than by a stridently Sinn Fein outlook. Nevertheless, Warwick was represented as having 'hundreds of enthusiastic young Irishmen' among its citizens; while, from August 1916, Brisbane began to experience the impact of another militant, republican organization. Early in September, this small group, calling itself the Austral-Irish National Association issued its own anti-conscription manifesto, emphatically protesting against 'any attempts being made to apply conscription to Australian workers and particularly to Irishmen and their sons, having regard to the fact that English conscription laws do not apply to Irishmen.' The group affirmed its loyalty to the Australian Commonwealth but added dramatically: 'we are prepared to sacrifice our lives if necessary rather than be compelled to assist England in any way.' As this was one of the most vehement anti-conscription resolutions to be issued in Queensland, it is important that the origins of this organization should be properly traced.

The wartime phase of Irish republican activity in Australia seems to have begun in Victoria with two men, Maurice Dalton, an elderly member of the Fenian brotherhood who had taken part in the Irish rebellion of 1867, and Sean Doran, an Irish American citizen and a prominent member of the Shipwrights' Union. By mid-1916, they had established in Melbourne a secret section of the revolutionary Irish Republican Brotherhood (I.R.B.). Both men were already active in Irish nationalist circles. Dalton, whose perspective on Irish affairs was similar to that of Thomas J. Clarke, the veteran Fenian and Easter martyr, was an old age pensioner in his seventies. Like Clarke, this grey-bearded rebel 'endeavoured to inoculate all the young Irishmen' with whom he came into contact with his militant views. He was eventually to become President of the Irish National Association of Victoria, which forcefully promoted the republican cause.
Doran was prominent in the Victorian Gaelic League, from which a small number of young recruits were drawn for the revolutionary Brotherhood. 'That I would see perfidious Albion humbled in the dust,' Dalton passionately declared in June 1916, in a letter of introduction he prepared for Doran to carry to John Devoy, a leading member of the radical Clan-na-Gael in the United States. Doran was equally committed to Britain's downfall. As he wrote from America to his sister in Ireland in November 1916:

I hope ... to make drill and "Preparedness" the first order of the day ... Is it as nice around Castlemaine and Fieries as around Forkhill? I hope to see it some day, preferably in company with thousands more exiles, returning to wield a sword of vengeance, and pray the opportunity may come soon ...

On 11 July 1916, Doran arrived in Sydney from Melbourne en route to the U.S.A. Due to some trouble securing a passage from Australia, he was to remain in Sydney for two months, during which time he established at least two more sub-circles of the I.R.B., through contacts he made with 'leading young Irishmen' connected with the Irish National Association (I.N.A.) of New South Wales. Stimulated by recent events in Ireland, its numbers had risen from 211 in December 1915 to 286 in June 1916. By December 1916, they would stand at 600. The Sydney I.N.A., like its Melbourne counterpart, was a body dedicated to fostering the 'Irish spirit through the Irish portion of the community' by means of cultural, intellectual and recreational activities. As such, it had displayed a militant commitment to Irish separatism even before the Easter uprising. Its first half-yearly report, presented in December 1915 had prophetically elaborated:

... the grand theme, the goal for which above all others we strive ... Irish nationality and its emancipation ... We are witnesses to the wave of Anglicisation [sic] submerging the wreck and ruin of a great nation. The impending blow of Fate can be parried by one means - organized effort, illuminated by the light of our great past and the determination to assert our
just rights, be the consequences what they may. Ireland, a free and independent nation is our ultimate goal; to strive for any less exalted object is treason ... From out of desolation and destruction wrought by the foreigner we may yet erect an Ireland, not merely in travesty, but in deed and in truth, a "Nation Once Again."

The events of Easter 1916 merely seemed to substantiate the validity of this commitment. As in Brisbane, an Irish Relief Fund was organized 'to ameliorate the destitution occasioned chiefly by British barbarism in laying the Irish capital in ruins,' while by December, the I.N.A. report was to conclude:

... all true hearted Irish patriots yearn to see Erin removed from a position of degradation and slavery beneath the vile, cruel and tyrannical hand of a power we hate - England (and our hatred we regard as a virtue) - to her rightful position among the free nations of the earth.  

Aided by the I.N.A.'s honorary secretary, Albert T. Dryer, a graduate of Sydney University, Sean Doran therefore found fertile ground here for disseminating the physical force methods of the I.R.B. By August, the two new sections of the movement's 'Australian Division', comprising twenty members had been formed. Several of these men were also members of the Executive and Committee of the I.N.A. Three of them - Edmund McSweeney, William McGuinness and James Brennan - were additionally described as 'old members of Irish circles'. In a letter written to Dalton in Melbourne on 4 August, Dalton revealed that connections had now been established with Queensland republicans. 'I am ... in touch with G. McK., Brisbane,' he wrote:

... and have arranged for him to interview a business gentleman there, whom I have heard of from one of "ours" here, and who may be of great assistance in working up the northern State. If we only had a man like McK. in each state, able to talk and demonstrate where desirable we would soon have the country behind us.  

Later Commonwealth investigations would disclose that 'G. McK.' was probably G. McKitterick, although no more was heard of him in this
regard. The 'business gentleman' proved to be Thomas Fitzgerald, a middle-aged bookseller of Melbourne Street, South Brisbane. Another republican later commented of him, 'He is a thinker, not a talker.' Although he was said to possess 'a perfect grip of Irish affairs', he was believed to lack 'facility of expression.' McKitterick had evidently contacted Fitzgerald by mid-August for, on the 27th, a meeting 'to form an Irish National Association where they could discuss matters of national importance' was called at the latter's bookshop. Their minute book records that only eight individuals were present at this initial gathering and that W.J. Fegan was elected as Secretary. Subsequently, the name Austral-Irish Association of Queensland was adopted. It is difficult to know whether the organization continued to function simply at this level or whether it too existed as a front for a further I.R.B. sub-circle in Brisbane. In a letter written by Doran on 16 August, indicating the imminent establishment of a third sub-circle in Sydney, he mentions in a postscript that he had 'just got word' that Fitzgerald had 'taken shares in the company and is doing his best to establish a strong branch in Queensland.' A week later, he informed John Devoy of the Clan-na-Gael, 'The IRB has been on foot here for some time in Melbourne. A start has been made in Sydney and Brisbane and the young Irishmen ... are flocking to the banner in a very gratifying manner.' When Commonwealth Police seized the Queensland Association's minutes book in March 1918, it was discovered that two pages dealing with a meeting held on 1 October 1916 were missing from it, whether by accident or deliberate deletion. Apart from this circumstantial evidence, however, there is no further information linking the Queensland nationalists with the secret formation of I.R.B. cells. This should not entirely eliminate the possibility of Republican Brotherhood activity in the northern State, however, for after the internment of secretary, W.J. Fegan in October 1917, the Austral-Irish Association, fearing further arrests and raids at any time, began destroying 'incriminating letters'.
Whatever the case, the militancy displayed by this small group of Irish republicans in Queensland establishes them as a significant force in their own right in the struggle against conscription. Their forthright anti-conscription statement was forwarded to the Prime Minister, the Queensland Premier and leading Federal and State politicians on 10 September. The following day, Tom Cashin, one of the founding members wrote to the editor of the *Kilkenny People* in Ireland that their 'strong resolution' against conscription would be 'carried out to the last extremity if necessary.' Cashin claimed that his position upon the Organizing Committee was bringing him daily 'into touch with a very great number of Irishmen' and that there was 'no mistaking their feelings and their determination'. He requested that Irish readers be told:

... that we are with them to the last in their great fight and that we have absolutely resolved to give no aid whatever to our treacherous and tyrannical enemy, England in this war. Yes! Rather death a thousand times than strengthen our inexorable foe. Needless to say we have ... thrown over Redmond and his policy of cringing, crawling servility. No more Redmond. No more Parliamentary recruiting sergeants for us. We only say, "Long live the Rebels! God save Ireland!"

He went on to castigate the Queensland Irish Association for a cable of support it had sent to Redmond, claiming this had only encouraged 'tyrannical treatment' of the insurgents. England was 'as barbaric and rotten as ever she had been', Cashin believed, inventing Hun atrocity stories as a cover for her own suppressive activities. The stridency of Cashin's assertions, however, should not distract the historian from reading between the lines of his rhetoric. Although he claimed to express 'the feeling of the overwhelming majority of Irishmen here today', his association's minute book reveals only twenty-five different names connected mainly with executive activities, before the date of the first Referendum vote. Yet it is probable that Cashin's Anglophobia received an increasingly sympathetic hearing among many of Queensland's
Irish population, who were otherwise unprepared to engage in overt republican activism. That sympathy, in turn, would have been sufficient to heighten the appeal of anti-conscription arguments and perhaps even win new converts to the anti-Imperial cause. In this way, Irish republicanism acted as a two-edged stimulus to anti-war radicalism, bringing dissident Irish Australians into contact with other militants and adding a fresh resistance theme to the rhetoric of the left.

Late in September 1916, Captain G. Ainsworth of Military Intelligence investigated a range of virulent anti-conscription dodgers and stickers appearing around Brisbane, issued by an anonymous and misleadingly-named 'Anti-Hun Society'. Neil Gow has commented upon the 'violence and the opinion of total opposition to conscription' which these publications reveal, but, in connecting them directly with 'leaders of the labour movement', Gow seems in some confusion over their probable source. Some of the expressions clearly bear the stamp of I.W.W. authorship: for instance, the 'silent agitator' reading: 'Too late - Too Late: Once in Uniform, You're Done. Kick NOW - KICK HARD.' Also, the rhetoric of the Wobblies is caught upon the pamphlet arguing:

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Workers, the Empire is in danger! ... Is it YOUR EMPIRE? DO YOU DRAW BIG SHIPPING PROFITS? ... Let Hughes and his bloody Hunnish friends go to blazes before YOU put on the soldier's uniform ... THE LAST DITCH IS BEFORE US; IF WE FAIL TO TAKE THAT THEN AS SURE AS THE CENSOR WILL TURN GREEN WHEN HE READS THIS, HUGHES WILL GET US AND IT WILL BE OUR LAST FIGHT.
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Much of the propaganda also emphasizes the Irish question, however. One sticker appearing 'on telegraph poles, in railway cars and on walls' around the city stated: 'IRISHMEN - Remember the MURDERS in DUBLIN - Send HUGHES & Co. to HELL'. Another of the pamphlets demanded:

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REMEMBER IRELAND: THE TOILERS IN IRELAND DIED WITH ENGLISH BULLETS IN THEIR BRAINS ON YOUR BEHALF: LET HUGHES AND HIS BLOODTHIRSTY MOB GO TO HELL BEFORE YOU BETRAY YOUR CLASS.
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The actual origin of these assertions remains obscure, but it seems significant that when the headquarters of the Austral-Irish Association were raided in March 1918, Commonwealth police seized a large quantity of the anti-conscription literature issued by the 'Anti-Hun Society, Brisbane'. The possibility that the republicans were responsible for the propaganda or that co-operative links had been forged between Irish nationalists and revolutionists in the cause of anti-conscription cannot therefore be dismissed. The literature's appeal:

Comrades! Stand by us and we will not fail you. Hughes must be beaten and if necessary the FLAG OF THE AUSTRALIAN REPUBLIC MUST BE RAISED ...

would have had equal relevance to the aspirations of both groups.

The Governor-General's proclamation of 29 September, mobilizing all men 'liable for service in the Citizen Forces' for enlistment after 2 October - and, ostensibly 'for the continuance of the present war' - had been the immediate spur to the production of this offending literature. The outlawed pamphlets warned:

You must unitedly REFUSE to go up. IF YOU ARE ARRESTED, REFUSE TO TAKE THE OATH ... or drill. If you do not HELP YOURSELF NOW you will not have a chance afterwards. Thousands of your mates will refuse. DO NOT SCAB ON THEM! REFUSE ALSO. 29

These subversive entreaties coincided with the appearance of a Universal Freedom League (U.F.L.) at the Brisbane Trades Hall, organized under the auspices of the Anti-Conscription Campaign Committee (A.C.C.C.) which had developed in turn out of the Anti-Conscription and Anti-Militarist League, formed in August 1915. The purpose of the U.F.L. was to band together eligible males refusing to register for the October mobilization. According to Commonwealth Intelligence sources, both the A.C.C.C. and the U.F.L. were strongly influenced by militant pacifists and radicals. Twelve of the twenty-two A.C.C.C. members were described as 'disloyalists', eight of whom were allegedly 'members or admirers of the IWW'. Four of
the remaining ten delegates were also believed to be 'of doubtful loyalty.' The U.F.L. was allegedly even more 'tainted', with 'all its principal officers' being 'associated with the IWW'. Whatever the accuracy of these claims, the conscription debate certainly seems to have greatly magnified the influence of the anti-war advocate. By August, public peace rallies had begun in Brisbane and Rockhampton, calling for 'a return to brotherhood' with Germany and the activities of Adela Pankhurst in Queensland were obtaining equal exposure in the popular press to the attention which T.J. Ryan received upon his return from Great Britain.\(^{30}\) On 26 and 27 August, delegates of more than fifty unions meeting for the Brisbane Trades Hall Congress resolved with 'unanimity and determination' to adopt the syndicalist tactic of 'the GENERAL STRIKE' if this proved necessary to defeat conscription - 'the greatest weapon Capitalism has devised for the subjugation of industrial unionism.'\(^{31}\)

The radical U.F.L., in turn, seems to have stiffened local resistance to the mobilization proclamation, uniting young men of a range of political persuasions in their opposition to repressive war measures. Throughout the Commonwealth, only 190,869 of the estimated 600,000 eligibles responded, and, of the 110,863 who were declared medically fit, 88,516 had lodged exemption claims. Only 21,313 men had been processed into camp by November 1916.\(^ {32}\) Local Irish republican, Tom Cashin wrote to his cousin:

> The conscription business has put everything out of gear and I am a bit afraid about the final result yet. This reporting to the Military for examination prior to being passed into camp for Home Service has proved a regular farce so far as Brisbane is concerned. There are thousands and many of them Irish who have not reported themselves and I'm sure you will be surprised to hear, knowing how much I love poor England that I am one of those "disloyal" fellows ... so far they have not interfered with me. If they waited till Doomsday they would not get some of those Sinn Fein Irishmen to report.\(^ {33}\)

Even among the more compliant eligibles who entered military camp, a
strong element of defiance was apparent. According to H.M. Hall, one of the Brisbane draftees, the Chermside 'Conscript Camp' held between 2,000 and 3,000 men at maximum occupancy in October. After being ordered, upon arrival to 'Spring to it, there! ... You are soldiers for the remainder of your lives - most of you,' Hall's fellow inmates expressed their reaction to this prediction in the names they affixed to their tents:

Curse O'Hughes; Vote Noes; Shirkers' Retreat; Driven from Home; Soon-be-deads; The Fed-ups; Annie's Room; Anti-cons; Hell No!; Anti-fighters; Slackersville; Misery; Dante's Inferno; Caged ... and so on ...

'So far as those inside were concerned it was the ballot or the bullet', Hall remembers. Among the diverse group of grocers, farmers and wage-labourers who comprised his tent-mates, he found that 'the latecomers were always the bitterest.' He recalls sardonically:

The most disgruntled occupant came from Toowong - having spoken at a debating society in favour of conscription, now he was a conscript - and at least one sister should have been influenced to vote "NO".

As referendum day, 28 October approached, Hall shows how tension mounted in the camp and how, when a 'NO' victory seemed clear, 'cheering broke out all over [as] ... individuals and sections of the camp band played "Home, Sweet Home"'. An incident angrily reported in the pro-conscriptionist soldier's journal, The National Leader further attests to the comradeship cemented among eligibles against the imposition of this 'call-up'. During a parade of draftees through the city two days before the poll, nine young men who had refused to attest stood prominently upon the balcony of the Queensland Catholic Club, calling to the marchers below, 'How are you going to vote?' They received in reply a roar of 'NO!' from the reluctant troops.  

The significance of such cries from the street, however, has been somewhat obscured by the historical emphases placed upon the first
conscription campaign in the works of both Shaw and Murphy. Shaw has focused upon official and journalistic reactions by the established churches to the issue, while Murphy's investigation centres largely around the impact of the debate upon the parliamentary Labor party. Although both writers make some attempt to relate these preoccupations to a wider social and ideological context, the combined mainstream religious and political emphases in such accounts have led to a logical concentration upon the John Fihelly 'disloyalty' incident as the pivotal conflict of the campaign. Shaw has analyzed its sectarian implications and Murphy has traced potential strains of political divisiveness arising from the debacle during September-October 1916. The protestant loyalist outcry over 'Fihellyism' was certainly important and the ensuing political struggle was clearly one of the central conflicts of that period. Yet most of the political advantage gained in this struggle fell to the conscriptionists. The publicity extracted from Fihelly's indiscreet public remarks indeed provided a bountiful 'godsend' of propaganda for ardent loyalists and compulsionists. It hardly helps explain, however, why, when the votes were counted, the conscriptionists were clearly the losers. Rather, the Fihelly incident must be seen as one significantly divisive issue among many which arose during the conscription debates. A careful examination of other 'grass-roots' developments in the halls, public squares and thoroughfares of the State helps to accommodate it within a more severely confrontational perspective than has hitherto been recognized.

Fihelly's speech, delivered on 2 September at a dinner given by the Queensland Irish Association to raise funds for the Dublin refugees did not begin to be openly exploited by conscriptionists until a fortnight later. In the meantime, the Queensland C.P.E. condemned Hughes and his conscription referendum statement on 4 September and the P.L.P., after two tense and prolonged caucus meetings on 4 and 11 September
finally declared its opposition to conscription as well. This brought it into line with the general trade union movement, sections of which had been vehemently opposing conscription for more than a year. This alliance was confirmed by the establishment of the A.C.C.C. on 14 September, comprising delegates from the C.P.E., the P.I.P., the Labour press, the A.W.U., the B.I.C. and the A.M.I.E.U. The following morning, the former Liberal Treasurer, W.H. Barnes, a leading Methodist and Empire loyalist complained in a letter printed by the Brisbane Courier that a Queensland Minister of the Crown had made 'disloyal' statements. On 18 September, the Courier named both Fihelly, Minister without Portfolio and William Lennon, Secretary for Agriculture and Stock as the alleged disloyalists. Yet it was the Daily Mail the next morning which unleashed all the loyalist furies by reprinting the speeches, delivered seventeen days earlier, in their entirety. This press outcry was joined, in turn, by a parliamentary furore, erupting into an acrimonious 'no confidence' debate on 21 September, led by opposition leader and Ulsterman, E.H. Macartney. This attack was inept and badly focused, however, and seemed condemned to failure by the very extravagance of its claims. Yet it did arouse a fractious Legislative Council to direct its President to petition the Governor that 'the Cabinet was no longer a fit body to govern one of His Majesty's States.'

The reaction of the Governor, Henry Goold-Adams - an Anglo-Irishman himself - was both cautious and unconventional. His refusal to attend Executive Council gatherings when Fihelly was present kept the latter from three successive meetings. When Fihelly did ultimately appear on 13 October, after having publicly dissociated his official position from his views as a private citizen in a speech delivered three days previously, the Governor himself withdrew, thus terminating the meeting. Premier Ryan's powers of mediation, however, saved Fihelly his cabinet
position at the cost of a letter written by the ebullient Irishman, confirming once more that his controversial statements of almost seven weeks previously were not a reflection of Government policy. On 20 October, Goold-Adams, Fihelly and Lennon all attended a full Executive Council Meeting in icy harmony, and a potential constitutional crisis or cabinet reshuffle was thereby averted.

The conscriptionists' seemingly erratic sense of timing in exploiting the issue can perhaps be best explained by their conviction that the Ryan government had made only a tenuous commitment to anti-conscription. A substantive accusation of disloyalty, delivered as the forces of anti-conscription were attempting to consolidate themselves might well be expected to drive a wedge into Cabinet ranks, disrupt the Government and injure the labour movement's campaign at its weakest point - the parliamentary party. Anti-Laborite conscriptionists knew that a number of Labor politicians dissented privately from the new party line and that most still supported the need for maximum enlistment and a vigorous prosecution of the war. Ryan himself had returned from England in mid-August, stating apologetically that British conscription had been adopted as a 'temporary arrangement to win the war ... [rather] than as a principle of social reform.' Although a section of the British people were totally opposed to it, Ryan contended, 'another large section' were prepared to accept it if there was 'contemporaneously ... conscription of wealth.' Ryan continued to be publicly non-committal upon Australian conscription until after Caucus's arduous decision of 11 September. Even then, he did not begin to adopt a stridently anti-conscriptionist stance until Hughes's Manifesto of 18 September had confirmed that there would be no conscripting of wealth. Treasurer Theodore had seemed equally equivocal. Speaking at an Official Luncheon held at the Brisbane Exhibition on 16 August, he had maintained:
We realize that all our energies must be placed at the disposal of the Empire if she needs them. We realize that the highest form of patriotism dictates that we must place our whole resources, the services of the whole of our people and resources at the disposal of the Empire. The duty of the Government is quite clear. It has been made clear by the speeches of the leading Statesmen in England. We must subordinate everything to enable the Allies to realize a greater victory.

Although not specifically mentioning conscription, his statement appeared to condone it and might have been made at this time by Hughes, Pearce or Irvine without any alteration to its message. Even more significantly, as Murphy indicates, two cabinet ministers and five other caucus members favoured conscription openly. They might well have had their faith in the Imperial goodwill of their party shaken if 'rank disloyalty' on the part of two other Cabinet ministers could be successfully demonstrated.

As it eventuated, however, only John Adamson, the Minister for Railways was alienated from the Government. This, too, was more the result of this Presbyterian clergyman's unshakeable commitment to conscription, demonstrated by his Vice-Presidency of the Queensland branch of the Universal Service League (U.S.L.) than by his expressed abhorrence at Fihelly's and Lennon's remarks. According to the diary of W.J. Gall, the Under-Secretary of the Home Secretary's Department and, admittedly no friend of the Ryan Government, Adamson had stated in Cabinet immediately following upon the first publication of parts of the 'disloyal' speeches in the Catholic Advocate on 7 September, 'that the man who raised the Irish question at the present time was a criminal and ought to be shot.' No other minister possessed 'the moral courage to interfere,' Gall contends. Yet Adamson's outburst, at this early stage owed nothing to any special promptings by anti-Laborites and was merely another step along a predestined path towards conscriptionist and eventually Nationalist ranks. Already, at a prior Caucus meeting on 4 September, Adamson had been presented with the option of resigning his
Vice-Presidency of the U.S.L. or vacating his Cabinet seat. His failure to resign and his subsequent acceptance from Hughes of the Presidency of the Queensland Branch of the National Referendum Council - the organizational centre of the 'Yes' campaign in the State - were the real factors which sealed his fate. Thus, after Caucus had discussed Adamson's position on 29 September, he withdrew from the Ministry on Ryan's request upon 2 October.¹¹

With Adamson gone, the scattered anti-Labor outcry over Fihelly merely served to reaffirm party solidarity, grounded upon determined trade union support, and no serious political rift was engendered. The degree of harm inflicted upon the anti-conscription campaign by this loyalist outcry was possibly only minor. Fihelly's speech, made to pro-Redmond Q.I.A. members was indeed a mild rebuke against English military excesses in Ireland when compared with the unrelenting Anglophobia of local Irish nationalists' statements at this time. Although attacking 'the mailed fisted policy of Prussianism operating in Ireland' and criticizing Redmond, Fihelly was careful to reveal no support for the Sinn Fein, describing it as a misguided movement. Lennon's remarks were even more cautious. Although he agreed that the Irish should not allow their country to remain 'the doormat of England forever', he carefully dissociated himself from Fihelly's comments against Redmond.¹² While such statements might be calculated to enrage Anglophile conscriptionists, it is doubtful whether they would have encouraged many 'no' supporters to switch allegiances, or even have recruited many vacillating voters for the conscriptionist ranks. The Ministers were merely voicing a moderately antagonistic position upon Anglo-Irish affairs to which the vast majority of Irish citizens in Queensland would already have subscribed. Other Queenslanders might have reflected thoughtfully upon Fihelly's remarks that British 'bungling and
ineptitude' had been responsible for many Australian deaths at Gallipoli. While the conscriptionist press was excessively condemnatory, the labour newspapers staunchly defended the remarks. Thus, for every letter condemning the 'two traitors in [the] war cabinet', there was another supporting 'Ministers Fihelly and Lennon ... for having the courage of their convictions and speaking the Truth.' Predictably, the B.I.C., as well as various A.W.U. branches and W.P.O.s across Queensland endorsed their stand while the Queensland Protestant Alliance, representing 9,000-10,000 members, as well as a number of Methodist congregations were quick to condemn it. Such motions, however, all represented deeply entrenched positions rather than indicating any notable shifts of support upon the conscription issue. Fihelly may have been outspoken, but he was certainly not politically naïve, and his later reference to England as 'a wet little island' at an anti-conscription meeting in his Paddington electorate on 11 October clearly indicates that, at this stage, the anti-English jibe could be as crowd-pleasing for some as it was undoubtedly infuriating for others.

Fihelly's 'indiscreet outspoken utterances' were therefore more the reflection of prevailing social divisions rather than instigators of fresh disaffection. The Minister had hardly fanned 'the flame of Irish discontent to its fiercest heat', as Adamson angrily claimed in the Brisbane Telegraph, even though his speech had allowed protestant loyalists the further opportunity of aggravating prevailing sectarian and ethnic animosities. The controversy over 'Fihellyism' must be seen within a wider context of social and ideological confrontation if the vehemence and divisiveness of the conscription debates are to be understood. Shaw's interpretation, however, has tended to diminish the significance of such conflicts. Prior to the first campaign, he claims, there was 'an almost total absence' of any organized universal service or
anti-conscription leagues, peace corps or militant anti-war organizations in Brisbane. This omission, he continues, had freed Queensland from the 'physical violence, street warfare and penal repressions' occurring in other States. On the basis of evidence already presented above, such an interpretation surely requires substantial revision. Shaw deals only in a cursory way with overt conflicts during the first campaign, in a short account containing a number of factual inaccuracies. This, in turn, does not alter his assessment that Queensland was 'almost totally free from physical public disturbances,' remaining 'subdued because it was confused.' Continuing in the tradition of L.C. Jauncey, who argues that 'no violence of any sort' accompanied 'the heat of the two referenda,' Shaw finds 'little more than verbal exchanges' occurring at the various referendum rallies. Murphy too has omitted any details of overt physical conflict, although he makes passing references to the emotionalism of the campaigns and the bitterness they engendered.

Similarly, both historians deal only peripherally with the complex ideological clashes implicit in these debates. Concentrating upon the issue of parliamentary 'disloyalty', Murphy argues:

... a new word 'fiihellyism' was coined to mean pro-Germanism, IWVism and Sinn Feinism all wrapped together. When Adamson left ... the conscription issue henceforth was made to appear simple: on one side were the loyalists, Protestant, British conscriptionists and John Adamson, on the other were the disloyalists, Catholic, Irish, anti-conscriptionists and John Fiilelly.

Yet, if this is the only 'crude division' of electoral opinion which may be drawn, one wonders again how anti-conscriptionists could possibly have triumphed in the ensuing struggle. Shaw believes that it is hard to escape the conclusion that 'issues as put forward in Queensland by campaigners were of little significance in helping to determine the referendum.' Thus, the relationship between propaganda and voting
behaviour is largely negated and the vital importance which seems to have been placed, contemporaneously, upon the interplay of ideas and viewpoints is left unexplained. Arguments outside the sectarian range remain largely unexplored. Shaw mentions in passing the Maltese labourers scare, but then tends to deny the impact of racial opinions in Queensland when he discovers 'a total absence of any concern about the Japanese scare' there. Neither of the major historical treatments of conscription in Queensland, therefore has seriously confronted the assertion that '[b]oth sides exploited Australian racial fears and prejudice' and that this ideological struggle substantially affected the outcome of both referenda.

Ethnic animosities extending well beyond English/Irish opposition infused the conscription debates, encouraging considerable outbursts of public rage. At Townsville's Theatre Royal, on 21 September, for instance, a pro-conscription meeting was forcefully disrupted by men yelling that 'niggers' were to be used to replace white workers sent to the front. Fighting was general throughout the hall and pandemonium 'seldom if ever equalled in Townsville' prevailed. Seven days later, another Townsville gathering addressed by W.H. Barnes met with a similar fate and was again described by the Capricornian as 'the rowdiest political meeting ever held there.' If Barnes here attempted to discuss the Fihelly affair, he was not heard. Racial fears were once more aired as the chanting audience stood on their chairs and 'yells, catcalls, chorus-singing and counting-out were incessant during the speaker's efforts.' Free fights once more erupted and women present took refuge from the 'wild scene' upon the stage, remaining there throughout the violent encounter. While deep-seated resentments against non-whites stirred these anti-conscriptionists to action, anti-Germanism of a more recent vintage was invoked by conscriptionists in order to arouse their own supporters. Conscription
must be 'the watchword of every man and woman who wants to see Germany licked,' claimed the ultra-loyalist National Leader in its first issue of 15 September 1916. This journal was the press organ of the recently formed Returned Soldiers and Patriots National League (R.S. & P.N.L.), a patriotic, conscriptionist body of 1,000 members 'out on the track of the German element' and attempting to organize returned soldiers along political lines. At a Toowoomba rally, where sixty men formed a local branch of this League, Mr A. Mayes exclaimed, to much applause that 'he was a conscriptionist ever since August 1914 and he thought that any anti-conscriptionist was a pro-German.' Robert Wells, organizing secretary for the R.S. & P.N.L. stated that every person of enemy origin should be 'rounded up as soon as possible' and employed at gang-labour, clearing land and building roads for returned soldier settlements.\(^5^4\) A conscription meeting called for returned soldiers in Brisbane by Major R.H. Walsh on 3 October attacked the Railway Department for continuing to employ Germans. Recommendations were passed demanding deportation or forced labour for enemy aliens, either in 'remote shires' or at the war front. The soldiers voted that all 'alien enemy residents' be disenfranchised before the poll and have all their property confiscated.\(^5^5\)

At Kingaroy, anti-German hatreds exploded into violence when a 'conscription row' spread from a local hotel to the nearby barber shop of Adolf Hoffman. Hoffman, a naturalized German active in the local anti-conscription campaign was attacked by a group of men as a traitor and an enemy spy. In the ensuing brawl, the editor of the Kingaroy Herald was seriously injured, and later died from the wounds he had received.\(^5^6\)

Contending images of alien conspiracy and intrusion therefore made potent calls upon voter allegiances. While 'YES' supporters urged conscription to help the Empire defeat an imminent Teutonic menace, their opponents invoked longstanding impulses against 'coloured' labour and Asian invasion to support the retention of white males in their jobs and
homes in Australia. Ironically, the very themes employed in the pre-war era to advance the necessity for compulsory military training were now being utilized by anti-conscriptionists to defeat military compulsion in a European war. Although anti-Germanism received the limelight after August 1914, fears of Asian intrusion, as we have seen, also survived the outbreak of the war. Racial propaganda, in the form of pamphlets entitled *Black and Brindle Australia: Sensational Exposure of Tory Designs* and *The Great Black Peril: White Australia in Danger* had served the Queensland Labor Party well in the election campaign of 1915.  

Controversial developments concerning the employment of Indian and Japanese indents in the Queensland sugar industry subsequently kept the coloured labour issue very much before the Queensland public.

In mid-1915, white sugar workers at Innisfail had called upon the Ryan government to 'oust' non-whites from the industry. By August, the Sugar Acquisition Act was being administered to discriminate against Indian workers by offering a substantially lower price for cane harvested or crushed by their labour.  

'Indians Barred, But Germans May Work', the Brisbane *Courier* editorialized on 30 August. A prolonged campaign led by Cleveland farmer, Pooran Dabee Singh who acted as spokesman for the Queensland Indian community carried the Indian sugar workers' protests to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and extended the controversy into the months immediately preceding the first referendum campaign.  

In the meantime, members of the Queensland Employers' Federation and the United Cane Growers' Association, in a disavowal of their earlier promotion of cheap labour, actually began to echo the European workers' advocacy of 'the principle of keeping the industry white'. There never was such a need as now for peopling the Northern coastline with those 'of British descent', the United Cane Growers argued in April 1916.  

Whether this reversal was prompted by a general upswing in British ethno-
centric attitudes associated with war involvement or was more expediently induced by the bounty now paid for white grown sugar, it nevertheless reflected the widespread nature of social opposition to non-white labour at this time. Again, in mid-1916, when the Japanese Consul-General twice appealed to Theodore to make 'some special arrangement' for the inclusion of 150 destitute Japanese at Cairns into the sugar industry, the Acting Premier refused. Not only would this upset existing Commonwealth arrangements, Theodore argued, but it would also turn the Australian public against the industry and endanger the protective duty it enjoyed. Similar objections were expressed against the continued employment of non-whites in the pearling and *beche-de-mer* industries of Torres Strait. In September 1916, the Government-Resident there expressed his alarm that a Federal Royal Commission investigating the fishing industries was about to recommend against those industries being supported in the future solely by white labour. To counteract this, he suggested that Asian and Papuan indents should at least be replaced by mainland Aborigines. Japanese workers represented the greatest danger in the industry, he maintained, for they had practically 'controlled it for many years.' Fearful of the very propensity of Japanese indents to bargain for better wages and conditions, the Government-Resident wrote:

... they come here nominally as the servants of boat owners, but by banding together they on more than one occasion proved so strong that their requests had to be complied with. They are the only reliable skilled labour obtainable at present and know their own value.

The ideal solution to the social, economic and moral problems posed by these aggressive non-whites, the Report concluded, lay in encouraging more whites to settle in 'the outlying parts of the Commonwealth.' Racial controversy about non-European labour therefore remained a potent issue in Queensland, as did the deep-seated fear of Asian invasion. Contrary to Shaw's suggestions, explicit debate upon such
matters, as the conscription struggle approached was not so much
insignificant as suppressed by the requirements of Commonwealth censor­
ship. In mid-April 1916, the Deputy Chief Censor ordered Australian
newspapers and journals 'not to publish any matter likely to cause
trouble with the Japanese Government.' Queensland publications were
singled out for special attention and the coloured labour issue generally
was included in the ban, owing to the sensitive nature of such matters in
the Northern State. Thus, the Censor in Brisbane was specifically
notified:

Particular care should be taken to prevent the publication of
statements in connection with the colored labor question during
the progress of the War. As this instruction is especially
applicable to your district, it would be advisable for you to
personally interview the Editors of the Brisbane papers and
discuss with them the great disadvantages likely to accrue from
embarrassing the Government during the present grave juncture
in our National History.6

As a direct consequence of this policy, the Brisbane Courier's
editor, John Macgregor complained late in June 1916 of 'a very grave
abuse of the powers of censorship' by the deletion from page-proofs of
his newspaper of 'a considerable quantity of matter' by the Brisbane
Censor. During the 1915 election campaign, Macgregor argued, Labor
candidates had been permitted 'to make the question of the employment of
coloured men in the sugar fields and factories' an acute political one
and 'the capital they made out of the matter assisted in the return of
the party to power.' Since then, the Ryan government had been
continuing its attack on Asian workers, causing 'serious international
complications.' The Federal Government, Macgregor claimed, seemed to
be using its 'power to order matters so that our good relations with
our Eastern allies shall not thus be imperilled' in a manner which
prevented the opponents of Labor from having equal right of reply. 'If
it is not so in reality, an explanation is due, at least privately,'
Macgregor demanded, 'Without it, there is only a very ugly name for the sort of thing that is going on.' The Deputy Chief Censor concluded in early July that as Macgregor's complaint consisted 'almost entirely of a political indictment,' a detailed reply would only provoke 'a controversy' interminable and unsatisfactory ... which ... particularly at the present critical period of our history, it would be well to avoid.' Macgregor therefore received no satisfactory response. Yet, however much this major conscriptionist newspaper may have felt disadvantaged in June, ultimately, the various organs of anti-conscription were to suffer most from this censorship decision.

As McQueen has shown, the Labor member for Cook, J.H. Catts was motivated into resigning his official recruiting position to direct the 'NO' campaign in New South Wales because he 'feared an imminent Japanese invasion.' Earlier in 1916, Catts had advocated that Australia should retain a standing army of 500,000 'as it was at the close of the war that her great problem was to begin.' Commenting upon this in The Land in March, journalist Frank Morton argued that although 'talk about a White Australia' gave Australians 'a comforting feeling that they were defying all races that are black ... brown and yellow,' this was merely 'empty talk in an empty country' so long as Australia lacked population and particularly the manpower to enforce her exclusionist policies. After the censorship decision of 15 April, Catts' alarm about a Pacific race war had actually intensified. In a May report to the New South Wales War Council entitled 'Australia's Peril and Australia's Need', he outlined the spectre of an advancing 'Japanese Menace' and called for universal compulsory training, not for the Western Front, but for home defence. In June, the Australian Worker received a communication from Catts about 'this Japanese scare' but before Henry Boote could publish it he was reminded by the Censor of the ban against anti-Japanese material. Boote
retorted that 'he would sooner have the Kaiser here than the Mikado.' In September, Frank Anstey also warned of this Japanese menace to the 'White Destiny of Australia.'

Although censorship restrictions kept press columns free from such explicit views, they were nevertheless disseminated by anti-conscription leaflets, aired at public meetings and generally enlivened by the power of rumour. Such racial antipathies were indeed so deeply ingrained in the minds of many Australians that they could be successfully exploited without the need for detailed commentary. This appeared clear on 20 October 1916, when the Queensland A.C.C.C. reported to English Independent Labour Party member, Philip Snowden that the main thrust of their opposition to conscription was based on:

... a well grounded belief that those most clamorous for conscription hope to weaken the power of the Unions and pave the way for cheap labour in the Commonwealth. The withdrawal of the virile man of Australia from industrial pursuits would lead to the destruction of militant unionism ... Under conscription, our primary industries will suffer considerably unless, as is feared by the Unions, coloured labour is brought in to take the place of the conscripted white man ...

Although the Brisbane Censor ensured that Snowden never received this message, its implication of 'well grounded' racial fears lying at the heart of local anti-conscriptionists' objections is clearly communicated.

Periodic letters to the Premier's Department complaining of 'cute Chinkies' and 'yellow degenerates' similarly reveal that Asian peril concepts remained compelling ones. One colourful example is provided in correspondence from J. Biggs of Kulara, North Queensland complaining against 'Jap cooks in pubs,' debauching 'decent white girls' and acting as 'Alien Spies' in preparation for the time 'when war comes between us.' A crude drawing of a Japanese soldier with a baby impaled upon his bayonet, captioned 'The Yellow One's Victory' accompanied his letter.
During December 1915, rumours were prevalent in North Queensland that Chinese farmers in the Atherton District were purposely withholding their corn from sale to hamper the war effort. The Herberton W.P.O. called upon Ryan to commandeer the Chinese maize crops and prevent the leasing of land to coloured aliens. Police investigations, however found that the panic was groundless. Further concern about Asian labour was voiced by the Warwick Examiner and Times of 17 July 1916 when it alleged that 'about 100 Chinamen' were being brought into the district to harvest maize 'because the sons of the farmers have gone to the front.' Commenting upon this account in parliament on 29 September, Charles Collins, the Labor member for Bowen charged conscriptionists with 'wanting to empty Australia so that you can fill it up with Chinamen."

At the same time, industrial disputation in the sugar industry over the Dickson Award also served to increase public sensitivity to the 'coloured labour' issue. Even the use of Aboriginal labour in the cane fields was curtailed by the Government after the Cairns Post alleged that Aborigines were being used by sugar farmers as 'strike breakers'. One white cane cutter wrote angrily to Ryan on 11 September that he should ask growers' delegates to a Brisbane conference upon the Award: 'What Blacks, Japs, Bulgarians, Germans, Hindoo, Malays and child labor' they employed. 'I can see white children not too well fed,' the writer concluded '... yet hundreds of Chinamen are getting rich out of the sugar industry.' Another correspondent queried the Premier upon 'the large number of Hindoos' he claimed he had seen entering the Rockhampton to Brisbane train in late August. 'At one station ... about 30 of them came into our carriage,' he wrote, 'but were told by the porter to get into a special carriage which was put on for them.' The Railway Department denied any knowledge of such passengers, adding that 'at no time has there been noticed more than 2 or 3 Hindoos on the platform or travelling
Such suspicions about the employment and mysterious movement of non-whites, however, fed popular alarms concerning the ethnic and industrial repercussions of conscription. Although press commentary upon such matters was muted, a sub-stratum of racist rumour nevertheless persisted, within which coloured invasion themes could be suggested and anti-conscriptionist ploys like the Maltese labourers scare could eventually receive animated endorsement.

Despite the censorship, anti-conscription literature attempted to exploit racial themes wherever possible. 'Maintain Australia and its industries for the white race,' one 'NO' pamphlet stated: 'COMPULSORY DEPORTATION OF OUR MANHOOD OVERSEAS MEANS RACE SUICIDE.' J.H. Catts concurred: 'OUR NATIONAL POLICY: MAINTAIN WHITE AUSTRALIA. This cannot be done if our manhood is deported. VOTE NO! VOTE NO!! VOTE NO!!!' Henry Boote's supplement, The Protest warned, 'REWAROE of the Colored Ocean: IT WILL SWAMP US IF WE DO NOT STOP THE FORCIBLE DEPORTATION OF OUR MEN, WHO ARE THE WHITE WALLS OF AUSTRALIA. Yet the most outspoken warnings of Asian military invasion appeared in pamphlets issued by the Literature Committee of the Queensland A.C.C.C. If conscription were carried 'COULD WE THEN MAINTAIN OUR WHITE AUSTRALIA AND INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY?' the first of these circulars asked: 'By sending our last eligible men away, we do not help Britain but assist in her downfall by leaving this vast continent a prey to the nearby Asiatic races.' Another of these leaflets argued:

If you are in favour of sending all our fighting men to Europe, do you realize you are in favour of leaving your mothers, wives and children to the mercy of any coloured or enemy race that might attack Australia? VOTE NO AND DEFEND YOUR OWN COUNTRY.

A third pamphlet, entitled 'CONSCRIPTION AND OUR FUTURE: A THOUGHTFUL SURVEY' summarised the overall outlook thus:
Australia occupies the unique position of an Island Continent inhabited by a virile, homogeneous white race, with all the materials at hand for the erection of a noble and original social, political and economic structure ... You are implored to analyse the position, to brush aside the superficial aspects, and act in the best interests of your wives and families and future generations.

VOTE NO!

and keep Australia for future Australians - PURE, FREE, UNFETTERED AND PEOPLED WITH OUR OWN RACE AND BLOOD.

Thus, without directly mentioning Japan, the traditional 'yellow menace' theme had been powerfully invoked in the cause against conscription for overseas service.76

The 'cheap coloured labour' conspiracy was more openly discussed. The President of the Sydney Wharf Labourers' Union, T.W. McCristal, a veteran of both the Boer War and Gallipoli warned that conscription was 'a devious move to introduce cheap colored labor into Australia and reduce us to the level of Cairo.' Support for anti-conscription would, conversely, 'let us ... guard against ... a future enemy who might come rapping at our White Australia door.'77 Socialist journalist, Jennie Scott Griffiths called upon her Fijian experiences to warn Australian workers in the International Socialist of the repercussions of introducing Indian 'coolies' 'while the white men are soldiering.' Noting among other horrors that 'most of the atrocious murders for which Indians are hung in batches every year in Fiji are caused by sex complications,' she predicted ominously:

The people of Australia should remember that, even if they believe that the white people can absorb the black and that ultimately a piebald race will people this land, it will take hundreds of years to accomplish and during the transition stage the British race will find that every ideal of truth, purity and freedom our people have held dear trampled, ignored and rendered futile by the invading hordes of Eastern people.78

Conscription was 'the easiest goal of the black laborite and the sweater,' the Queensland A.C.C.C. maintained, while Boote's Protest,
cleverly exploiting the headline 'Hordes of indentured Chinese' forecast what would happen if this 'cataclysm of color' descended upon Australia as it apparently had upon France and Britain. When 'two hundred thousand of the strongest and best workers have been torn from fields and factories, from mills and mines, from shops and sheds,' who else but 'coolies' would do the work? the paper demanded rhetorically: 'The women and children and the old men CAN'T, though doubtless their strength will be sapped to the last ounce ...'.

This effective racist assault was historically consistent with mainstream labour attitudes towards non-white migration, employment and the threat of invasion. Yet it also revealed the equivocal position of revolutionary socialists, syndicalists and pacifists associated with the anti-conscription movement upon the same issues. Each of these anti-war groups had their representatives upon the Queensland A.C.C.C. and yet there is no record available of any of these having opposed the racist emphases of that movement's propaganda. Indeed, statements such as those by Jennie Scott Griffiths and, several months later, by the pacifist Adela Pankhurst intimating that 'coloured labor' would introduce 'scenes and deeds as would make us wish we had never been born' show that some self-proclaimed 'internationalists' fully endorsed the stand adopted by more conservative labour elements upon racial policy. In doing so, they seriously impugned the validity of their own ideological critique. While promoting a class-conscious assault upon the 'gross iniquities' of Australian capitalism for the most part, such writers seemed to see no contradiction involved in proclaiming the 'truth, purity and freedom' of the same system whenever racial threats were invoked. Other radicals, perhaps impressed by the necessity of maintaining a united front against conscription seemed ready to compromise themselves upon the matter and tacitly support such propaganda. Again, by so doing, they demonstrated
how easily 'notions of ... the world-wide solidarity of the working class' could be qualified by exceptions of skin pigmentation and, consequently, how pervasive the grip of racism was upon the Australian consciousness. Furthermore, after having supported local European minorities against loyalist prejudice, their racial ambivalence was about to involve them in the scapegoating of a small, bewildered group of Southern Europeans - all in the cause of anti-conscription. As anti-conscriptionists exploited the 'Maltese labourers scare' to win 'NO' voters, the radicals' silence merely emphasized their complicity and demonstrated the very elastic nature of their 'bonds of brotherhood.'

The untimely arrival of ninety-eight Maltese migrants aboard the P. & O. mailboat Arabia in late September seemed to provide anti-conscription publicists with the dramatic example they required to convince Australian workers that a 'cheap labour' conspiracy had been already set in motion. Yet none of the migrants were contract workers. The Europeans were mostly farm hands and manual labourers who had each paid their own passage money aboard the steamer. Some were joining their families in Australia and others were returning southward after a visit to their homeland. Nevertheless, anti-conscriptionists heralded the appearance of the Arabia off Fremantle on 21 September as an early fulfilment of their terrible prophesies. 'COLOURED LABOUR IS ALREADY BEING BROUGHT IN,' thundered The Protest as front-page cartoons in the Brisbane Worker depicted the Maltese as sullen, dark skinned intruders with Negroid features and as turbanned coolies flooding across the land. An anti-conscription leaflet charged:

An attempt to sneak in Maltese labor has been discovered and exposed. This was hushed up (like many other important matters) till the workers in the shipping industry spread the news broadcast. ARE YOU SURE YOU KNOW ALL THAT IS GOING ON? PAUSE and THINK!

Down the Conscription Monster.
The panicky reaction of the Commonwealth Government to the outcry only served to exacerbate matters. On 3 October, Hughes worriedly wired the Secretary of State for the Colonies that, as well as the Arabia contingent, it was 'reported about 300 others on way and more likely to follow ... they will take places men who have gone to front ... likely create strong feeling dissatisfaction here.' Yet official press censorship simply enhanced the persuasiveness of rumour and exaggeration upon the issue. One anti-conscriptionist speaker, Cecil Last told an audience at Inverell that 4,000 Maltese had already landed, under arrangements secretly made by Hughes while in England. Many more would follow, augmented by 'black labor' from the Pacific as soon as conscription became law. This wild prophesy was given substance by news, leaked to anti-conscriptionists by public servants in the Department of External Affairs and the Telegraph Office that a French steamer, the Gange was approaching Australia with 214 more Maltese on board. A desperate Commonwealth Government, fearing that this second landing would 'kill the referendum' thereupon began to explore the possibility of preventing their arrival.

Hughes had hoped at first that, as the Maltese were male British subjects of military age, they could be prevented by Imperial Authorities from leaving Malta. Yet, although the Secretary of State for the Colonies ordered that no more passports be issued, information about the Gange reached him too late for preventative action to be taken. Hughes was therefore informed:

As the Gange does not arrive in Sydney till 31 October after Referendum, I hope that it will not be too serious. I can see no way in which it is now possible for us to prevent their arrival, but in case of necessity it is of course open to your Government to deal with them under Immigration [Restriction] Act ...
British Authorities were suggesting that a pro-conscriptionist administration deal with the Maltese as if they were the 'colored laborers' so depicted by the anti-conscriptionists: that is, by using bureaucratic procedures normally reserved for the exclusion of intending non-European migrants.

Although the *Gange* might not dock in Sydney until after polling day, it was due to arrive at Fremantle much earlier and it was feared that the 'dictation test' might therefore have to be applied to its passengers. On 14 October, however, the Governor-General suggested in a personal telegram to Hughes a more acceptable solution. 'If failing action by Imperial Government,' Munro-Ferguson proposed, 'ship could be expediently diverted by wireless telegraph to Port Darwin or even Fiji or Samoa if practicable.' By 17 October, therefore, it had been arranged for the *Gange* to remain 'outside Fremantle without communication with shore.' The Captain was then 'advised and directed to declare his destiny Noumea direct.' Coaling facilities were arranged at Albany and the shipping company was promised indemnity against loss. Thus, for the present, the 214 hapless Maltese migrants did not land in Australia, and the *Gange*, after anchoring off Fremantle on 19 October eventually sailed on into the Pacific. Confusion over arrangements in the Department of External Affairs, however, caused its Secretary, Atlee Hunt to anticipate four days later that the ship might still dock in Melbourne. Should this occur, he advised the Prime Minister's Secretary, 'I take it ... Mr Hughes desires the dictation test applied. That, I think, is the only legal method of preventing them landing.' The *Gange*, however, sailed straight to Noumea where the Maltese were given a temporary sojourn. Early in 1917, they were returned to Sydney aboard the *St Louis*, whereupon they were sequestered 'in a hulk' in the Harbour while their repatriation was arranged with Maltese authorities, who protested
strongly against the ill-treatment and rejection of their fellow-countrymen. 

Anti-conscriptionists nevertheless continued to make 'considerable political capital' out of the Gange incident, as Hughes was later to admit. The furtiveness of the Commonwealth Government's moves only heightened suspicions that more 'cheap, non-English speaking, voiceless and easily oppressed alien wage slaves' were coming. In an attempt to stifle the 'false insinuations,' the Prime Minister finally called for a reversal of existing censorship restrictions upon the matter. 'I want ... [the press] to say anything they wish to say,' he informed the Defence Department on 24 October, in an eleventh-hour gesture of desperate generosity. Yet the harm had already been done. Public rumour had thrived upon the official suppression of fact, increasing rather than quelling opposition. A telegram received by the Censor from Northern New South Wales on 17 October, for instance, had stated: 'Citizens manifesting acute revolt against rigidity of censorship anent Maltese - feeling will find expression some form of revolution perhaps unconstitutional.'

In Queensland, the 'Maltese bogey' helped to stimulate not only 'coloured labour' fears but other alien labour fears as well. In July 1916, an open air meeting of Cairns citizens had already protested that the presence of Italian workers in the district was having a detrimental effect upon recruiting. Ablebodied men of 'other than British nationality' should become naturalized and present themselves for enlistment, the meeting urged, or 'be deported from this country.' Anti-alien fears were revived at the North Queensland mining centre of Friezland in mid-October after 'about one hundred eligibles' had answered the compulsory call-up. 'Representative' meetings of citizens protested that local Greeks, along with 'an influx of foreigners from sugar districts' would fill the places of 'Britishers' if conscription were carried. Despite
The Maltese Labour Bogey, as depicted by The Worker.
GOOD-BYE DEMOCRACY.

Racial Threats and the 'No' Vote.
personal assurances from the Prime Minister on 23 October that 'foreigners' would not be allowed to usurp the jobs of 'Australians', local residents desperately called upon State police to 'remove all Greeks from here at once ... position becoming serious.'

Public turbulence over the question of coloured and alien labour, apparent in the 'nigger' cries during the Townsville conscription disturbances erupted again among the overflow audience of 4,000-6,000 outside the Brisbane Exhibition Hall on 4 October, as Hughes gave his first Queensland conscription speech within. Cuthbert Butler, Parliamentary librarian and prominent anti-conscriptionist mounted a makeshift platform and called upon the crowd to give three cheers for 'White Australia and No Conscription.' As a result, he was immediately rushed by between thirty and fifty men in khaki yelling, 'Keep your eyes on Germany,' who pulled him from the stand. When he tried to recommence his speech he was again forcefully silenced. In the ensuing mêlée, other anti-conscriptionists were put to flight and several soldiers, 'their faces smarting with pain' complained of having 'some kind of burning liquid', believed to be vitriol thrown over them. Speaking at a conscription rally in his own electorate of Rockhampton on 8 October, John Adamson was assailed by cries of 'You Labor Rat' from a hooting, fighting audience. Yet there was at least as much commotion provoked that evening upon the issue of cheap labour. As he attempted to refute the likelihood of a 'colored influx' occurring, Adamson was challenged by angry cries of 'What about the Maltese? Perhaps you'd like to see your daughter married to a Chinaman!' Incessant stamping and jeering twice forced Adamson away from the rostrum and he left the hall without completing his speech.

The persistent unrest caused conscriptionists to place 'cheap labour' at the head of the list of the 'Bogeys' they believed they must refute. Australia was not to be 'flooded with black men' if conscription was
introduced, Robert Wells of the R.S. & P.N.L. assured a meeting at Albion, only to be contradicted by the derisive interjection, 'You have them here now!' As an effective counter to this racial outcry, therefore, conscriptionists employed prevailing themes of anti-German xenophobia. For instance, the pro-conscriptionist Capricornian, on 14 October reminded its readers of the 'huge proportion of aliens, especially enemy aliens who are in our midst.' There were at least twice as many Germans as there were Chinese, the paper warned:

Before the war broke out, it was the 'Asiatic peril' which we dreaded; yet all the Asiatics in Queensland combined were much less numerous and infinitely less dangerous than the Germans who were carrying out their policy of 'peaceful penetration' ...

while local Britishers had mistakenly 'coddled and petted' them.

' Australians are fighting in France in order that they may not have to fight in Australia,' conscription leaflets argued, as the possibility of German invasion itself was raised. The Anzacs were 'facing German shells, German gas, German bullets, German bombs, German bayonets and German "frightfullness" of all kinds' to spare Australia from a subsequent Hunnish invasion, it was claimed:

The Anzacs are calling their mates for help
- they need it sorely - Will you desert them now?

Vote:
YES! YES! YES! YES!
A million times YES!^{101}

A sensational pamphlet entitled 'A Socialist Case for Conscription', written by D.H. Newman, a member of the Federated Clerks' Union provided a thorough exposition of this argument. Conscription alone would prevent the 'unconditional surrender of our country to the German beast,' Newman argued. Australian conscription would therefore be not so much a form of militarism as 'a temporary compulsion ... to compel a man, if necessary to stand up to the invader.' The Australian male had to choose either
'Australian conscription, conceived in Australian minds to fit the Australian temper and lasting for a few months or German conscription for life' which would follow when 'a destroying horde of barbarians overruns his country, seeking his life and the violation of his women.'102

Teutonic invasion scenarios, however failed to convey as much plausibility as Asian ones. As Jennie Scott Griffiths retorted in the Australian Worker of 26 October: 'Weakened by a three years' war and with her navy bottled up, how could Germany by any process of imagination be thought of as threatening Australia today?' Furthermore, local invasion scares only served to enhance the primacy of Australian security interests over wider Imperial ones. 'IF WE ARE IN DANGER FROM ANOTHER POWER WE NEED OUR MEN HERE,' Scott Griffiths logically concluded:

> With conscription, within a year Australia will be stripped of all her adult males and ONLY THE WOMEN AND THE CHILDREN, THE OLD, THE HALT, THE LAME AND THE BLIND WILL BE LEFT TO GUARD THE HEART OF AUSTRALIA.103

Although conscriptionists would argue in turn that if the Empire was not fully defended then Australia must surely fall, they were still confronted by the difficulty of establishing the perilous state of Imperial need, which alone might make the imposition of conscription seem justifiable. For it was upon this crucial equation of necessity and sacrifice that they now found themselves to be the unwitting victims of earlier pro-war propaganda.

The constant stream of optimistic war news, heralding remarkable Allied victories had, by mid-1916, persuaded even some of the most ardent war advocates that victory was imminent. According to the Brisbane Courier in April, it was widely believed that 'the war is progressing with wonderful success and ... no further effort is needed.'104 In August, Everylady's Journal felt sure that its female readers would be 'glad to accept the assurance of the authorities that the tide of the
war has at last turned and that there is every ground for confidence in
the triumph of the Allies' cause.' During the previous month, Senator
Pearce had been requested by exasperated State recruiting authorities to
explain the meaning of his remark that 'Australia has been doing well' in
relation to enlistment and that 'we have got all we wanted.' In
consequence, The Atherton News and Barron Valley Advocate had needed, on
29 July, to denounce 'a dangerous lie' in circulation 'that no further
recruits are wanted and ... that probably no more transports will leave
Australia.' In countering war-weariness, the excesses of pro-war
propaganda had therefore imposed a greater dilemma upon conscriptionists;
and enthusiastic loyalists now found themselves uncomfortably 'hoist with
their own petard.' For, in advocating conscription, they were faced with
not only a problem of war-induced disillusionment but also with one of
artificially sustained war optimism as well.

Conscriptionist arguments were therefore beset by a series of
contradictions. Although themes of Imperial loyalty and war commitment
were theirs to exploit to the hilt, their impact had been blunted by
overstatement since the war began and tended merely to rally those already
heavily committed. Paper victories to keep the war spirit thriving only
beggared the necessity for greater involvement, while long casualty lists
hardly enhanced the appeal of compulsory sacrifice. Even dramatising the
issue with Teutonic invasion threats simply aroused the instinct for self-
preservation on the homefront rather than Imperial involvement overseas.
Finally, while attempting to make such arguments convincing,
conscriptionists faced the daunting task of persuading a majority of
voters in a majority of States to submit themselves voluntarily to
coercion. As many staunch conscriptionists would complain, the fact that
a conscription decision rested upon referendum procedures had presented
them with what virtually seemed a tactical impasse.
Thus, although conscriptionists commanded most press outlets, political forums and pulpits throughout Australia and could frustrate by censorship the effectiveness of their opponents' polemic, the substantive case for conscription undoubtedly seemed the weaker one. In Queensland, where State Government support lent considerable respectability to the 'NO' forces and a well-established labour press could daily contest conservative newspapers, the conscriptionists' margin of propaganda control was still further reduced. With a fervency tinged with desperation, they therefore identified loyalty exclusively with forcible sacrifice, branding all opponents of this proposition as the united advocates of treachery. The process of inflexibly dividing individuals into the stereotyped categories of ally or enemy, which war experience itself had promoted was therefore adopted once more. Voluntarists were depicted as fellow-travellers with both war's opponents and the Empire's ethnic adversaries. The consequent vilification of the anti-conscriptionists thereby filled a dual purpose. First, it extended the process of 'gross dichotomizing' between friend and foe which characterized the nature of war propaganda. Secondly, it compensated conscriptionist propaganda for the internal deficiencies of its own arguments. Conscription might yet seem the nobler choice if its opponents could be thoroughly identified with the forces of darkness and defeat.

The identification of anti-conscription with enemy designs was made explicit in pamphlets demanding 'How Would the Kaiser Vote?' The network of disloyalty was then traced outwards from this insidious source. Prime Minister Hughes opened his campaign on 18 September by warning citizens that anti-conscriptionists might include 'the agents of our enemies, of that treacherous Germany who has her mouth in every ear and her finger in every open palm.' By 27 October, when final appeals
THE NEW "BULLOCKY."

Listen, Free-born Australians! Do you wish to be SLAVES, chained like cattle to the Cart of Capitalism, toiling under the worst conditions, driven on by the lash of Militarism? As no sane man or woman wishes that,

VOTE NO on December 20, and retain your LIBERTY!

Osbert Garland

A Composite of Threats in the 'No' Campaign.
Don't be a Pontius Pilate

You know what Pilate did to make his name. He wouldn't take on his shoulders the responsibility that was his. He wouldn't face his duty—so Christ was crucified.

YOU will have a responsibility to shoulder on 20th December.

You will have to face a duty.

You will have to say whether you want the Commonwealth Government to support the men at the front or desert them.

The issue is simple:
SUPPORT or DESERTION -- the responsibility rests on YOU.

Don't earn the name that Pilate earned——

VOTE YES

A Typical Pro-Conscription Leaflet (1917 Campaign).
were made to voters, he had been joined by every Premier, excluding T.J. Ryan, as well as every Leader of the Opposition in asserting that:

You know who are voting 'NO'. The advocates of the 'NO' vote include every enemy of Britain open and secret in our midst. They include the violent and the lawless, the criminals who would wreck society and ruin prosperity. Will you dishonour Australia by joining their company?\[109\]

German connections with the Dublin rising were emphasized to imply that Irish Catholics against conscription were 'as likely as not ... Sinn Feiners in German pay.' Pacifists and conscientious objectors against the October call-up were likewise recognized, beneath their 'sickly sentimental international disguise', as none other than 'our old friend, the German colonist and his half-breed spawn.'\[118\]

Most dramatically, a combined radical/alien threat was revitalized by the arrests of the I.W.W. twelve upon an original charge of treason for conspiring 'to burn down and destroy buildings and shops in Sydney and elsewhere.' As Ian Turner shows, the New South Wales police attempted 'to establish firm links between the IWW and the German government' while the conscriptionist press, largely at Hughes's instigation did their best to defame anti-conscriptionists generally 'with IWW criminality'.\[111\]

The Wobblies, like the Germans were 'a parasitic enemy', charged the Lone Hand in October who 'believed in industrial frightfulness as a means of weakening their opponents. Their methods are not merely immoral. They are beastly.'\[114\] The unfolding spectacle of syndicalist disloyalty followed a timetable which corresponded closely to the Referendum campaign itself. The arrests began on 23 September, the morning following the opening of the anti-conscription campaign in New South Wales and were not completed until J.B. King was charged on 6 October. The saga of conspiracy, arson and sabotage was then revived by press accounts of the committal proceedings, beginning four days later, during which the alleged 'plot' to raze Sydney was sensationnally unravelled. On 14 October,
two other I.W.W. members were arrested at Lockhart in central New South Wales on a charge of wheat stack incendiarism and, two days later, a trial began in Bathurst of another two Wobblies, one of whom was of German background, accused of killing a police constable at Tottenham on 26 September. Then, from 19 October, a further dozen I.W.W. men were arrested for seditious conspiracy in several centres across Western Australia; while on 23 October, a forgery case involving, among others, several Wobblies opened in Sydney. This lasted until 26 October, providing fresh press copy until the eve of Referendum polling day.\textsuperscript{114}

The conscriptionist press in Brisbane reported these developments in great detail, with the \textit{Telegraph} allotting more than two full columns daily to such coverage. The \textit{Courier} carried additional items about alleged sabotage in Perth and Hobart, blaming this upon the I.W.W.\textsuperscript{115} In its 'Referendum Notes' column, the traitorous Wobblies were linked with all trade unionists and Labor politicians opposing conscription. It was illogically noted on 16 October, for instance that:

\begin{quote}
Some of the more moderate of the "Abandon-your-mates" party are seeking to deny that they are in league with the IWW, pro-German and anti-Britishers. "Ye shall know them by their fruits" so the denials are worthy of consideration. The IWW, pro-German, anti-Britishers are openly hostile to Britain and will vote 'NO'. Consequently those who vote no are supporting this German element.\textsuperscript{116}
\end{quote}

The depiction of the State Government as 'bosom friends of the IWW' and of the Queensland trade union movement as having 'fallen into the[ir] hands' blurred any meaningful distinction between voluntarists and anti-war advocates in loyalists' eyes.\textsuperscript{117} Furthermore, reports of canefield incendiarism at Proserpine, Mossman, Mackay, Babinda, Gordonvale, Cairns, Mulgrave and Townsville, beginning in late September provided a striking local equivalent to the sabotage accounts flowing in from other States.\textsuperscript{118} Strikers, shirkers, enemy aliens and saboteurs thus tended to merge into one threatening mass, grouped beneath a banner depicting a brazen 'NO'.

\textsuperscript{114} The Referendum polling day.

\textsuperscript{115} The additional items about alleged sabotage in Perth and Hobart, blaming this upon the I.W.W.

\textsuperscript{116} Some of the more moderate of the "Abandon-your-mates" party are seeking to deny that they are in league with the IWW, pro-German and anti-Britishers. "Ye shall know them by their fruits" so the denials are worthy of consideration. The IWW, pro-German, anti-Britishers are openly hostile to Britain and will vote 'NO'. Consequently those who vote no are supporting this German element.

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For some, this image provided sufficient reason for viewing anti-conscriptionists as a prime target for organized physical attack.

Soldier-led loyalist riots against both anti-conscriptionists generally and I.W.W. members in particular had already assumed serious proportions in Sydney and Broken Hill by July and August 1916. Such clashes led to the formation of a Labor Volunteer Army at Broken Hill to protect 'NO' meetings and in Sydney, culminated in a pitched battle of 5,000 soldiers and ex-servicemen with foot, mounted and military police, lasting for several hours outside the I.W.W. headquarters on 8 October. On the same afternoon, in Brisbane, a serious riot between soldiers and anti-conscriptionists had occurred at The Domain, the open common behind the University grounds. Although the prelude to this violent encounter was not as spectacular as the situation across the southern border, it may be viewed as a logical outcome of the harassment of radical meetings which had been proceeding since late 1914. As the conscription battle approached, so too had the climate of intolerance intensified. Returned soldier organizations were of comparatively recent growth, springing from informal gatherings at a soldiers' residential club where the foundation stone had only been laid, appropriately enough, upon Empire Day 1916. Between 11 and 16 September, Brisbane had hosted the first Federal Congress of the Returned Soldiers and Sailors Imperial League of Australia (R.S.S.I.L.A.) and, during the same week, its rival, the R.S. & P.N.L. had launched its weekly journal, The National Leader. Although the two organizations competed for membership and advocated different political tactics, they both strongly articulated a pro-British, conscriptionist position and contained members who were prepared, if necessary, to support this stance with force. New recruits and ex-servicemen, both trained in the 'legitimate ... use of violence' tended to take a leading role in organized loyalist attacks on shirkers and,
more concertedly, against anti-conscriptionist meetings.\textsuperscript{120}

In August 1916, for instance, Lieutenant-Colonel Whiton reported how soldiers had made 'an organized attempt to attack a resident of Wynnnum who was alleged to be guilty of disloyalty.'\textsuperscript{121} At the same time, James Quinton and an associate named Comrie were prevented from addressing Ipswich railway workers upon conscription after they had been denounced as men of 'rabid socialistic ideas' and 'fanatical disquisitionists' to the Queensland Recruiting Committee by a Methodist military chaplain. On 9 September, it was recommended that the two radicals be barred from further public speaking.\textsuperscript{122} On the same evening, in Hughenden, the Mayor, O.V. Williams appeared at an anti-conscription meeting held by A.W.U. representative, John Durkin and urged the crowd of 100 soldiers and civilians to overturn the platform and throw the speaker into the river.\textsuperscript{123} Yet the organized disruption of such meetings by soldiers does not appear to have begun in earnest until almost three weeks later when, at the Brisbane Exhibition Hall, a group of uniformed men singing patriotic songs invaded the Ladies Gallery as Premier Ryan commenced his first anti-conscription speech. Police were called in to restore order as prolonged heckling first prevented the Premier from beginning his talk and then caused him to shout hoarsely above the continuing disruption.\textsuperscript{124} Several nights later, physical violence occurred as soldiers routed an open-air anti-conscription gathering outside Exhibition Hall, while Hughes held forth inside. Labour press headlines of 'Hoodlums in Khaki' received added substance two days later when, on 5 October, sixty soldiers attacked a Market Square gathering addressed by Federal anti-conscriptionist, William Finlayson. 'Old men, women and girls were brutally knocked down and trampled upon as ... [the soldiers] advanced,' the \emph{Daily Standard} reported. One youth, accused of being 'a shirker' was set upon and beaten, while his female companion, in
attempting to intervene was struck with a riding crop.\textsuperscript{125}

The Domain riot of Sunday, 8 October represented a further escalation of such co-ordinated violence. Although military pickets were present to prevent intrusion, between fifty and 100 uniformed men entered the grounds via the Botanical Gardens in an 'organized rush' and immediately 'came to blows' with some of the 2,000 people attending the 'NO' rally. As soldiers charged the speakers' stand, the \textit{Daily Standard} reported:

\begin{quote}
a general pell mell and stampede took place, soldiers and men in mufti, punching and kicking and rolling one another over on the sward. During the skirmish, the noise of yelling and hooting was so great that it was impossible to hear what the man on the platform was saying, and the meeting relapsed into a free fight of knuckles and boots, riding whips and curses.
\end{quote}

During this affray, one of the military pickets, a Lieutenant Mackay was shot in the right side of the chest by an unknown assailant. The \textit{Courier} depicted Mackay as attempting to restore order when he was hit, but other eyewitnesses claimed that he had been indiscriminately striking civilians with his cane before they saw him 'reel and fall'. The University Registrar, F.W. Cumbrae-Stewart was informed by an anxious janitor, 'that an officer had been shot and that the soldiers and civilians had torn up the fence between The Domain and the University area and were fighting with the palings.' At the campus, the Registrar found that 'the wounded officer ... had been placed upon the verandah of the University and thence removed to the Military Hospital.' Fearing further rioting and 'loss of life and property,' Cumbrae-Stewart demanded police protection for 'valuable libraries and laboratories ... wholly unprotected against hostile attack.'\textsuperscript{126}

Following the shooting, each side claimed the other as the culprit. A Trades Hall deputation waited upon Brigadier-General Lee to protest against the lack of control over unruly soldiers and to suggest that one
of these was responsible, as the shots had come from their direction. The *Courier*, however claimed that the assailant was a mysterious figure 'in a grey suit and a Panama hat.' In Parliament, Dalby solicitor W.J. Vowles completed the picture of intrigue by charging that the offender was an I.W.W. gunman and that the Labor Government was protecting him. Both sides complained of a lack of police protection at their meetings, but a consequent memo from the Home Secretary to the Commissioner of Police upon this matter received the disconcerting response that 'in the event of any serious disturbance arising ... the number of Police at my command will not be sufficient to deal with the situation.' The A.C.C.C. thereupon established its own vigilance body, entitled the Labour Volunteer Army (L.V.A.), modelled upon the Broken Hill organization of the same name. Its purpose was to prevent the forcible disruption of anti-conscription gatherings by those employing 'the military tactics they had but lately learned.'

Already, on the evening prior to The Domain clash, several speakers at a Trades Hall meeting had condemned police inactivity and stated their intention 'to use force to prevent interruption.' According to Ernie Lane, some anti-conscriptionists, anticipating trouble had been carrying 'concealed weapons in the shape of iron piping or wooden batons' to meetings, since a combined anti-conscription and 'peace by negotiation' rally at the Lyceum Theatre on 3 August. Other evidence suggests that a number of anti-conscription organizers had also begun carrying revolvers for their personal protection. On 12 October, the *Worker* summarized their embattled outlook in these words:

... apparently the opposition of "the men in khaki" is very well organized, because almost every meeting since [the clash of 4 October] has been attacked by some irresponsible hoodlums ... Meeting after meeting held in different parts of the city had been attacked and one at least was nearly the scene of a grave tragedy. Last weekend, meetings held at Market Square, Byrnes [sic] Monument and other places were molested but the climax was reached on Sunday afternoon ... in the Domain ...
The decision to undertake vigilante action was made at a Trades Hall meeting on 10 October, attended by 400-500 workers. A.E. Gabriel, Treasurer of the Theatrical Union, was elected as the L.V.A.'s 'President and Captain.' Later Intelligence Department notes would describe him as 'a warm admirer of the IWW'. The atmosphere of tension in which these para-military ranks were enlisted was exemplified by the discovery of an alleged conscriptionist 'spy' at the meeting and a threat from an overwrought Joseph Silver Collings, State organizer of the C.P.E. to have the man shot. The 'red-ribboned' L.V.A. made its first public appearance at a rally the following evening held in the South Brisbane Technical College where T.J. Ryan and Margaret Thorp spoke. There were no violent incidents. Two nights later, however, the L.V.A. guard clashed repeatedly with rioting soldiers in an evening of 'wild disorder', marking the culmination of this referendum's street violence in the State's capital.

'From the early evening it was evident that riots would develop. They did,' commented the Worker tersely. Between 200 and 300 soldiers, many in civilian clothes 'got completely out of hand', the Courier admitted and made several organized assaults upon a large Market Square anti-conscription meeting, only to be repulsed each time. Finally a massed charge by the conscriptionists was met by a counter-assault from 'a few dozen' L.V.A. members, 'in conjunction with the civilian police' and a wild mêlée fought its way back out of the Square. 'Result', stated the Worker, 'several soldiers knocked out, many others with black eyes and bleeding noses, and a general evacuation of the Square by the military.' Retreating into Adelaide Street, the disorderly mob next raised a cry of 'Smash up the Standard' and descended upon the newspaper office of the Labour daily in Edward Street. 'With exultant yells', they then began 'a vigorous bombardment' of the premises with rocks and bullets.
After demolishing all the street level windows, the 300 rioters were in the process of breaking down the door when several revolver shots fired from an upper-storey window caused them to scatter. More stones were hurled as a squad of mounted police and some of the L.V.A. guard arrived to defend the building. The soldiers, in disarray, finally withdrew singing, 'Australia Will Be There' and 'Till the Boys Come Home'. Fresh calls were made to march on Trades Hall as they retreated, but a further altercation in Ann Street, where another soldier was hit with 'some corrosive liquid' finally caused the dwindling group to disperse.\(^{139}\)

As a result of these disturbances, 150 police were posted at The Domain that Sunday while, on 20 October, rival public meetings to be held in Market Square were prohibited. A *Daily Standard* editorial expressed the hope that the 'wild disorder' outside its premises represented the limits of 'khaki attempts to control Brisbane and bludgeon public opinion.' Rumours persisted, however, that a further raid would be attempted and an armed guard was posted nightly at the newspaper office. Ernie Lane recalled:

One day we were discussing what would happen if the soldiers carried out their threat and burst in the street door and rushed up the stairs. Some said they would fire at their legs. A Russian sitting across a chair with a rifle on his lap protested: "NO! ... Fire at their heads, we might as well kill them as the Germans."\(^{131}\)

Yet, although further minor skirmishes between rival factions occurred at Fortitude Valley, South Brisbane, Thompson's Estate and Sandgate before the poll, there was no further resort to firearms.\(^{132}\) Despite the superficial damage inflicted on the *Standard* offices, the soldiers had clearly been worsted in the clashes of 3 October. Increased police surveillance and the presence of L.V.A. members at anti-conscription gatherings thereafter scotched any further campaigns of assault.

Clearly these street conflicts were merely the most overt signs of
the serious social polarization which the conscription debate had aggravated. The Daily Standard maintained, for instance, that the soldier violence was merely the outcome of the 'jingoistic screaming, grossly insulting slurs on anti-conscriptionists and [the] harrowingly sentimental appeals' of the conscriptionist press, urging the troops towards extremism. That appeal, in turn was seen as the product of essentially class-based antagonisms. As Eric Collings, Advertising Manager at the Standard subsequently informed the Home Secretary:

Certain business firms are systematically boycotting our advertising columns because of the fight we are waging ... They cut us deliberately out and openly proclaim the fact that they are doing so because of our principles ... If bitter business opponents can hamper and ultimately beat the paper, they can injure the Party in the most vulnerable spot ...

Listing twenty-four major business firms located in Brisbane who were conducting this boycott, Collings called upon the State Government to retaliate by withholding all contracts from them. 'In every instance, these firms treat our advertising representatives to tirades of abuse either violently or sarcastically administered,' he complained, '[that is], abuse pertaining to Labor and [they] openly admit their determination to refuse our columns a share of their advertising.' Meanwhile, the newspaper encountered opposition from yet another quarter. On the Monday following the soldiers' assault, the Federal Government began Court proceedings against the Standard for a report it had printed - in defiance of the censorship - of the Trade Union Congress against Conscription held in May, under the headline, 'Press Freedom Stopped'. Eric Collings lamented:

... in the present, most critical juncture of the working class fight [we have] made a magnificent and courageous stand against the reactionary forces ranged behind the demand for conscription of human life. For this, the paper is and will be made to suffer. Not only were our premises made the subject of a hostile military attack, resulting in actual damage, but we
are now being prosecuted in the court by the Military Authorities - and are threatened with a formidable list of further cases should they prove successful in those already instituted ... 135

While anti-conscriptionists anticipated military conspiracy from above, leading conscriptionists feared the potential of a class assault from protesting workers below. Their hysteria over I.W.W. 'arsonists and gunmen' was only one manifestation of this. On 28 September, for instance, Major Piesse of Commonwealth Intelligence notified Victoria Barracks that not only were 'strikes imminent at Brisbane' over conscription, but that 'many union members' had also recently enlisted there with the express intention of making 'trouble at the camp', if troops had to be called out to suppress worker agitations. 136 When only a one-day stoppage on 4 October occurred, instead of the 'General Strike' threatened earlier by the Brisbane Trade Union Congress, the Brisbane Courier prominently featured the conclusion of a handful of 'blackleg' railway workers, that they would 'sooner be scabs than traitors.' Subsequently, the paper attacked the L.V.A. as a 'ridiculous ... aping of power.' It foreshadowed a revival of the methods of the 1912 strike if the L.V.A. were not disbanded. 137 Worried speculations made by Colonel A.J. Thynne, the conscriptionist Chairman of the Queensland Recruiting Committee that 'certain parties intended using firearms in impending disturbances of the peace' also resulted in a military raid on Trades Hall, apparently in search of rifles. 'They must have thought rifles were being stored for a general strike,' Mary Lloyd jeered, 'but they found nothing.' 138

The degree of overt confrontation apparent in the capital was more pronounced than at any time since the General Strike of 1912. This was complemented, in turn, by serious antagonisms exhibited in other urban centres across the State. Probably at no time since the early 1890s had
there been so much widespread turmoil evident throughout Queensland society. Apart from the friction already evidenced at Townsville, Rockhampton, Hughenden and Kingaroy, there were at least a dozen further occasions where conscription brawls erupted during October 1916. At another unruly gathering held at Townsville on 16 October by Federal Labor conscriptionist, Bamford, for instance, a rowdy mob attempted to storm the stage while another group outside stoned the roof. Bamford's pious declarations of 'Thank God I am an Australian Britisher. I do not stab the Old Country in the back' were drowned out by young men sarcastically singing 'Nearer My God To Thee' and 'Onward Christian Soldiers'. Indeed, as soon as Bamford had alighted from his train that day, he had been harassed by a group of women and some 300 meatworkers who allegedly 'gave him hell'. Police seemed unable to quell the disturbances.139

Similarly, at Bundaberg on 9 October, conscriptionists had vigorously disrupted a meeting held by W. Finlayson and W. Forgan-Smith, hurling rotten eggs and other missiles at the speakers.140 The following evening, however, it was John Adamson and Mat Reid, arriving in Bundaberg after their stormy encounter in Rockhampton two nights previously, who had to contend with a chaotic reception. First, the wild interruptions of 100 young anti-conscriptionists forced the abandonment of their scheduled meeting at Queen's Theatre. When the Mayor attempted to reconvene the rally at the Council Chambers, it was again broken up by 'rowdies said to be led by two Germans.' By the time the thwarted speakers had left the Town Hall Chambers, an angry crowd outside had grown to almost 1,000 strong. Men and youths in this disorderly throng were hurling stones as well as abuse at the Labor 'renegades' and, according to Constable Ferguson began 'rushing, jostling, roaring at the top of their voices and trying to get up with the Mayor, Mr Adamson and Mr Reid,' as they hurried off down the street. Ferguson and Sergeant
Castwell placed themselves on either side of Adamson 'because the mob were attempting to strike him.' Nevertheless he was first hit from behind by a missile and then attacked by a young man, William Cowan who struck him with clenched fists on the back of the neck. As the police turned to arrest Cowan, Adamson was hit in the face by a stone which split his cheek and knocked him senseless. Cowan was sentenced to two months' gaol with hard labour for his assault upon the former Railway Minister. 'It was not an action that we would expect from a Britisher,' the Bundaberg police magistrate commented at his trial, 'but from a member of some other race.'

Following this riot - which Adamson was to claim had endangered his life - he went on to face two more disorderly meetings at Gladstone and Ipswich, blaming the outbursts he encountered upon 'sectarianism, Pihellyism, Germanism and hooliganism.'

Anti-conscriptionists led a number of other reported assaults upon 'Yes' meetings held Statewide. On 10 October, at Cairns, for instance, they were denounced from the podium as 'miscreants ... shirkers, cowards, curs and disloyalists' as fights broke out through the audience and arrests were made. The entire Cairns police force were, however, unable to control the mêlée and further open-air meetings there were subsequently banned. Five days later, at Blackall, the Courier reported that 'pandemonium reigned for nearly an hour as a conscriptionist speaker was harangued, threatened and pelted with eggs and other objects.' At Tambo, Emerald and Kalbar, 'No' supporters were successful in terminating pro-conscription meetings by their disorderly demonstrations. On the other hand, at Longreach on 15 October, conscription advocates disrupted a gathering of 700 listening to Labor M.L.A. John Payne and local A.W.U. secretary, R. Bow, converting it into the rowdiest meeting ever held there. 'During the whole time the meeting was in progress,' reported the Courier succinctly, 'fights of a more or
less serious nature were taking place ... The unsettled feeling culminated in a serious outbreak ... Pandemonium reigned.\textsuperscript{146} The threat of violence at Bowen was so marked that police cancelled conscriptionist meetings. Business premises and the Presbyterian Church were subsequently daubed with 'anti' slogans, written with coal tar. At Gympie, anti-conscriptionists were quietly thwarted when local aldermen denied Adela Pankhurst and Margaret Thorp the use of either local halls or the town reserve for public speaking. When members of the U.F.L. attempted gathering there, they were twice broken up by police. Archie Eastcrabb, secretary of the U.F.L. and an avowed 'Wobbly' retaliated in a vitriolic letter to the local council, proclaiming:

\begin{quote}
Aldermen, you belong to a class known as the 'Cockroach Business Group' - a group whose sense of justice is of a much lower order than your exploiters, the International Financiers, Trusts and Combines ... Gentlemen ... I would warn you that in Gympie, as in other parts of Australia, the workers are organizing their forces ...\textsuperscript{147}
\end{quote}

The abrasive discourse, the mutual intolerance, anger, suspicion and violence displayed in the streets and halls of Brisbane, as well as in many other Queensland towns revealed a society deeply and perhaps irrevocably divided upon the method of future war prosecution. The apparent consensus, which had concealed all traces of dissidence and alarm in late 1914 and had begun to fracture as the war dragged on, now hung in tatters, torn roughly apart by the ethnic, class and sectarian hatreds which the referendum campaign had unleashed and strengthened. Henceforth, those who spoke wearily of a reunified war effort were overwhelmed by opposing cries of 'warmonger' and 'disloyalist', as the struggle within the nation itself distracted attention from the grim battlefields of Europe.

The almost even division of the referendum ballot emphasized social polarization. The Queensland 'NO' majority of 13,851 votes was a narrow
one, but, for many conscriptionists, it represented a staggering exposé. These loyal compulsionists had previously assumed that, apart from various nests of enemy aliens and 'a handful of selfish shirkers, influenced by a viperish brood of anarchists,' the vast majority of citizens had remained steadfast in their war commitment, with an unspoken loyalty which would not baulk at the extra sacrifice demanded. In a day of voting, however, this majority had indicated that their involvement had its distinct limitations and that the present level of waning recruitment was at least considered a sufficient one. Conscriptionists' assessments of their defeat were therefore infused with a bitter realization of the 'shocking proof', provided by the ballot, of 'how many anti-British there were among us, plotting for our national dishonour.' Hughes was later to blame 'the unworthy, the selfish, the anti-British in our midst' for the loss, while the Lone Hand summarized it all as 'a triumph for ignorance and selfishness for the IWW and the syndicalists.' Throughout the nation the conscriptionist press angrily drew attention to alleged jubilations in Germany over the negative Australian results.

Writing in the National Leader in November 1916, John Adamson blamed 'thoughtlessness, ignorance and cowardice' for greatly influencing the voting, but he nevertheless attempted a calmer analysis of the outcome. A quarter of the voting on either side had resulted from 'conscientious convictions,' he estimated, while 'a fairly heavy party vote' had also been recorded. For instance, he believed that two-thirds of all industrial unionists had voted 'No', although the middle-class vote for 'Yes' had been eroded by 'many businessmen, manufacturers and farmers', failing to support conscription for fear of incurring a manpower shortage. Yet, as Shaw has demonstrated, wheat, dairy and sugar farmers in Queensland did not, in any majority, oppose conscription
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Mr. Ryan's Message to Queensland Soldiers.

The Premier (Mr. T. J. Ryan) has sent the following message to the Queensland soldiers on active service:

"I call upon the soldiers of the Commonwealth, and the people of Queensland, to assist in the relief of the soldiers of the Commonwealth. We shall always be grateful to the soldiers of the Commonwealth for their services to the country."

Mr. Ryan (to his satellites):
"Just you wait a minute, till I get this message away to the Soldiers."

T. J. Ryan's Loyalty under Attack.
for reasons of sectional economic interest, as Turner has claimed for their counterparts in other States. Rather, on the Darling Downs and in 'the key sugar districts around Mackay, Ayr, Ingham, Cardwell and south towards Bundaberg' farmers seemed to have voted predominantly 'Yes', due to anti-Labor rural grievances, combined with traditional class and ideological allegiances.\(^1\) Neither did many businessmen nor manufacturers seem to have deserted their Imperial loyalties by voting 'No', as Adamson claimed. Although the Labor seat of Brisbane recorded a 'No' majority, other urban electorates such as Lilley and Oxley, containing a number of middle class suburbs had endorsed conscription. Indeed, immediate economic interests alone form a very unsatisfactory base upon which to explain voting patterns for, as Shaw comments, 'voting went in different directions in many areas facing the same [economic] problems.'\(^2\) Decisions were influenced by a range of perceptual, ideological and psychological inducements as well as by personal, religious, ethnic, class and political commitments. Individuals were swayed in either direction by a variety of impulses and even a marked working class or middle class perspective upon the referendum did not necessarily predetermine what a man's or woman's voting preference might be. There were workers who voted 'Yes' out of dogged loyalty just as there were middle class people who conscientiously voted 'No' because of libertarian scruples, or because they too had sacrificed enough. Choices were confused by a jumble of provocations, as the emotionalism of the propaganda war waged by both sides stimulated irrationality and extremism. Adamson, the fervent conscriptionist concluded that 'racial hatred and sectarian bitterness' had both played 'a great part' in influencing the outcome. 'There can be no doubt,' he wrote, 'that selfishness, materialism and racialism, in one form or another were the predominating causes.'\(^3\)
Spencer Brodney, an ardent anti-conscriptionist provided slightly different emphases in his analysis of the 'No' victory, published in *Current History* during December. In his estimation, this had been 'chiefly the work of the organized labour movement, particularly in NSW and Queensland'. The farmers' vote, the Irish situation and the Maltese scare had all played their part, he maintained, but the former two had perhaps been over-emphasized. His stress, once more, was upon the active role taken by labour militants in the campaign and the persuasiveness of propaganda appealing to ingrained racial fears. Conscriptionists likewise blamed the Maltese 'bogey' for panicking many voters and for creating rumours that 'thousands of coolies were on their way here'. Writing in this vein, the *National Leader* complained in December:

> The antis reckoned that Australia would be flooded with Maltese, or Chows, or Japs, or Javanese, or something ... It was on the harmless - and not by any means cheap - Maltese that the anti-leaders based their fool argument that Australia would be given over to black men if conscription were carried ...  

The 'fool argument' no doubt rankled this returned soldiers' journal because of the powerful impact these racial threats were believed to have made upon Australian recruits. In early 1917, it reproduced a letter written by a Queenslander, Private J. Lynch from the Western Front, claiming that the reason why so many soldiers had voted 'NO' was because:

> ... we are told that Australia has sent the largest percentage of men already and that there will be more Greeks and Germans in Australia than our own, and they are bringing Maltese and Chinese out to Australia now to take our places ...  

The socio-sexual implications of these ethnic scares, although only darkly hinted at during the campaign had not been lost upon the soldiers. Private thoughts upon this taboo subject might also be assumed to have influenced the voting choice of many males, as well as females upon the homefront. Despite the welter of propaganda directed specifically at
women, Spencer Brodney claimed that 'the percentage of females who voted 'No' was only a shade higher than the men.' Opposing this calculated guess, however, some disgruntled conscriptionists seemed anxious to project the reason for their defeat principally upon women voters. 'Our private opinion is that women were the deciding factor,' the National Leader stipulated in June 1917. Most of them had 'voted "NO"' with a capital 'N', because of emotional appeals made by 'blood curdling pamphlets and lurid cartoons' disseminated by the 'Antis'. At the beginning of the second campaign, Sir William Irvine stated that he too would like to ban this 'sentimental' women's vote. This kind of sexist scapegoating, however, tended to mask the fact that both sides had appealed emotively for female support. Such campaigns, already well described by Shute had tended to counteract each other, although the appeal of anti-conscription seems to have held an advantage over contrary claims. Its message to women that 'conscription voters are blood voters', captured by the enormously successful Winspear 'Blood Vote' leaflets seems to have exerted more psychological pressure than outdated invitations from conscriptionists to avenge the outraged women of Belgium - 'your sisters now in chains' - or to save soldiers' lives by committing more men to combat and, possibly, destruction. This was buttressed by the antis' prediction that conscription would mean industrial subjugation for women as surely as it 'yokes women and mules together in ploughing fields in Europe.' This exploitation, it was argued, would occur alongside the employment of the 'cheap and insanitary coloured labour' which was about to be introduced. The moral threat posed by this influx of 'Coolies' and 'subject races' was exacerbated, in turn, by the warning that, under conscription, the 'white slave traffic' in young women for sexual purposes would also flourish. 'Stain not Australia,' the anti-conscriptionist poet, M. Browne had demanded of the 'Mothers of men': 'Conscription is pollution.'
The conscriptionists' appreciation of their opponents' seemingly successful manipulation of ethnic invasion refrains and women voters' sentiments led them to re-emphasize such themes strongly in the second campaign of November-December 1917. As shown above, invasion arguments tended to be self-defeating ones for conscriptionists. Yet, upon this second occasion, 'Yes' proponents nevertheless attempted to stampede voters in their direction by emphasizing the sado-sexual aspects of an impending 'Hunnish' invasion. The resurrection of this phobia was based upon a statement from Pearce, the Minister for Defence earlier in 1917 that the Commonwealth now possessed documentary evidence 'that the German Government had made plans to seize Australia.' Thus, prior to the second campaign, journals like the National Leader and the Lone Hand had made much of an imminent German naval or aerial attack upon the nation, coordinated with a rising by 'the enemy in our midst.' In August, the National Leader wildly claimed:

The Kaiser has hinted that Queen Victoria promised him Queensland and he means to have it by fair means or foul ... Australia ... is really the pearl of the South Pacific and Germany's greedy eyes are gloating over her. The moment England loses her mastery of the seas, Australia will be invaded by the Hun ...

Australian reinforcements would help the Empire ensure 'that our race may live: that our women and children may be protected from the brutality and lust of the Germans', the Lone Hand added.\(^{161}\)

Conscriptionist literature therefore took its lead from Prime Minister Hughes as he argued, 'Germany is out to conquer Australia and make it one of her own colonies ... If Britain is conquered, then Australia is doomed.' Australians were asked to contemplate life 'under the whip of the Hun' as their womenfolk were subjected to 'a thousand ... unspeakable outrages.' 'The Germans have established a slave trade ... among the inhabitants of the conquered countries,' voters were informed:
'Women and young girls are outraged, mutilated and murdered ... There is nothing that has happened in Europe that may not happen to us if Germany wins this war.' 'We hear lots about the danger of military slavery', the National Leader charged:

... [But] what of the slavery of Australian women which a German conquest would bring? The anti-conscriptionists say, "Yes, have it here, have the torture of young girls, the mutilation of children - anything as long as my skin is safe."

'Vote Yes for the Safety of Your Womenfolk,' the Wide Bay and Burnett News pleaded, as its columns speculated upon the forbidding results of German 'Frightfulness in Australia.'

Even though a tangible cause célèbre like the Maltese issue did not present itself to anti-conscriptionists in 1917, the 'perfidy' of 'William Maltese Hughes' was not forgotten, as they confidently reasserted their earlier racist claims. 'Coloured Labour is the corollary of CONSCRIPTION,' was Frank Anstey's slogan as a newly formed Returned Soldiers' No-Conscription League forecast that, under conscription, 'we see clearly the danger of our White Australia policy going to the winds. We want Australia for the White Race.' Although compuls ionists scoffed at the 'antis' again raising the 'weary howl' against coloured labour, it had clearly lost none of its potency, particularly in North Queensland. At a conscription meeting in Herberton, for instance, Senators Foll and Crawford were attacked as 'black labor' advocates by an unruly audience several days after it had been predicted at a 'NO' rally in the town that 'black, brown or brindle' men were to be introduced as 'husbands for their daughters.'

The Rockhampton Morning Bulletin carried a series of editorials in December 1917 about the horrors of coloured labour, while the Wild River Times urged its readers to protect their families from coloured aliens who would 'poison Australianism at its very source.' Summarizing the impression left by
this combined sexual and industrial menace, a Mundindi resident wrote to Premier Ryan that anti-conscription was:

... a just cause ... for the protection of the morals of our Australian Girls that they may have the happiness ... of marrying White British husbands, whereas conscription would be the cause of forcing across the sea the white men, perhaps never to return, except as cripples and unfit. ... Any right thinking person knows that the Government would be inclined to bring in cheap Alien labour, thereby endangering the future of our Mothers, Wives, Sisters and sweethearts. ¹⁶⁵

Racial fears therefore maintained a powerful momentum throughout the second campaign, as socialists once more colluded with others in the presentation of race purity propaganda. ¹⁶⁶ At one level of the debate 'Hun' raiders grappled for public attention with Chinese or 'Kanaka' intruders, while upon another, ethnic animosities were invigorated by a further intensification of Anglo-Irish antagonisms. J.H. Catts specifically warned that Hughes had dropped 'the IWW bogey' from his 'Punch and Judy' show in the second campaign in order to raise a Sectarian spectre in its stead, for the Prime Minister had opened his attack by warning that 'that other sinister and disloyal movement ... Sinn Fein is here in our midst.' ¹⁶⁷ Sectarian bitterness, emanating from the first campaign had remained intense in Queensland during 1917. It had revealed itself, for instance, in the formation of the Protestant, Loyalist League for the Maintenance of Civil and Religious Rights in January to counter an alleged 'menace' of Catholic influences in Queensland politics. During this crusade, Archbishop Duhig had clashed publicly with Anglican Bishop Le Fanu over the State appointment of Catholics to office and the latter's accusations that Irish-Australians were disloyal to the war effort. The 'black hand of the Sectarian devil' had been raised again during the Federal election campaign of May. In Rockhampton, for instance, the circulation of anti-Irish pamphlets written by Critchley Parker caused a major row, culminating in a tumultuous election meeting of 3 May which all but erupted into riot.
Writing in the Innisfail Democrat, Randolph Bedford commented, 'We need a law to make the production of such filth at election time a criminal offence.'

Although loyalists, like the Governor-General and the Prime Minister continued to link the Ryan regime with Catholicism, and Catholicism with the Sinn Fein, Irish nationalists in Australia argued forcefully that sectarianism must be avoided in order to teach Irish Australians of all denominations 'that their blood is Irish' and so 'weld the Irish race together inside and outside Ireland' against 'the enemy', Great Britain and its Empire. For republicans, therefore, the matter was ethnic and political, rather than religious. Albert Dryer wrote to Maurice Dalton in October 1917:

I don't like to see Irish nationalism so intimately associated with Catholicism. The average Britisher thinks 'Irish' is synonymous with 'Catholic' and vice versa. We must dispel that idea.

Thus, Sinn Fein supporters were not so much opposed to non-Catholics, as they were to 'pro-British ... Irishmen,' as William J. Fegan noted in June 1917. The republicans therefore shared little common ground with Imperial supporters like Ryan, Lennon and Fihelly, even though their respective positions upon conscription were roughly similar ones.

Yet a conspiratorial, sectarian formula remained uppermost, as the Prime Minister vowed to strike at such rebels, 'root and branch' in the latter months of 1917. For his assertion that the Austral-Irish National Association had 'no time for Pro-British ... Irishmen' nor 'any sympathy with men of Irish birth who get killed in the service of Ireland's enemy,' William J. Fegan was fined under the War Precautions Act in August 1917 and interned in October, a fortnight before the second conscription campaign was launched. Reports of 'the really phenomenal success' of the A.I.N.A. in Queensland, showing that more than 200 members were attending
meetings by mid-1917 had apparently alarmed Federal authorities.\textsuperscript{171} Fegan's detainment on 24 October occurred one week after he had been chosen as Queensland's representative to speak from the same platform as Archbishop Mannix at a huge Melbourne rally of 5 November. His military arrest, 'without any charge whatever being laid against him and with six weeks of his bond to run' was seen as a grossly provocative act by Irish and labour groups alike. While labour organizations protested against Fegan's callous removal from his wife and seven children, Irish nationalists remonstrated that he was simply being persecuted 'for speaking the truth.'\textsuperscript{172} Albert Dryer wrote passionately from Sydney:

I was at the station to see him but could not speak to him as he was in charge of two big burly khaki British swine ... Fitzgerald, the Secretary in Brisbane says he thinks his turn will come soon. The enemy is very active and we shall have to remain solidly together ... Irish patriotism has been amply demonstrated to thrive on persecution and if they are going to adopt it here, I hope they do so in a wholesale fashion. I hope this hellish limb of the Brit-hun's government persecutes the people of this land so that they will rise up and annihilate them.\textsuperscript{173}

Frank McKeown, a Melbourne republican added that Fegan had only 'spoken like a true Irishman and if we see the passing of conscription, he will ... have thousands of comrades.'\textsuperscript{174}

Due to such encroachments as this, as well as the drastic steps recently taken by the Commonwealth in supporting the New South Wales general strike, anti-conscriptionists felt themselves to be somewhat under seige even before the prohibition of Hansard No. 37 and Hughes's barnstorming circuit through South-Eastern Queensland in late November. The A.C.C.C. had reconvened as early as June to discuss the probability of a second referendum and once more members of the U.F.L., the Peace Alliance and the Women's Peace Army were represented upon its newly elected committee. The presence of anti-war militants like Percy Mandeno, A.E. Eastcrabb, Margaret Thorp, Cuthbert Butler, Ernie Lane, A. Hildreth,
W. Wallace, George Gavin and Joseph Silver Collings as delegates to this body indicates the continuing commitment of local radicals and pacifists to the anti-conscription cause. Although Ernie Lane believed 'the militant anti-war section had a small but solid majority on the new committee,' their involvement hardly meant that the labour movement was now 'clearly dominated by pacifists - and even enemies of the Empire,' as loyalists like Percy Deane of the Prime Minister's Department contended. Consensus among the anti-conscription ranks was more apparent than real, as revealed in an attempt earlier in 1917, by 'the pro-war section of the committee' to prevent A.C.C.C. delegates from attending a Melbourne 'peace conference' and by the A.W.U.'s removal of the militant Ernie Lane as one of its three representatives upon the second A.C.C.C. The Federal Government seemed intent, however, upon spreading a slur of disloyalty across the entire anti-conscription movement. In Queensland, the involvement of the State Government once more with that movement meant that it too must bear the stigma of subversion and betrayal.

The censorship assault upon Queensland publications beginning in late November must be understood in this context. On 20 and 21 November, the Brisbane Censor, J.J. Stable first ordered vital portions of Premier Ryan's opening anti-conscription speech to be deleted from the *Daily Standard*. He then suppressed a 'no-conscription' pamphlet to be delivered to every elector in Queensland by the A.C.C.C., even though it reproduced information already allowed in the *Worker* of 15 November. Thirdly, he installed two military officers upon the *Daily Standard* premises to supervise all its activities. The consequent attempt by Theodore and Ryan to publicize the suppressed material by having it read into the parliamentary record on 22 November was as much an exercise in desperation as in audacity. For, even to these moderates, it now seemed
"FAIR PLAY"

I AM GOING TO BE FAIR TO BOTH SIDES!

No Comment Necessary

Censorship and the Anti-Conscriptionist's Plight.
as if *Hansard* was the only medium still free from extravagant censorship action.\(^{178}\) It was therefore through no mere sense of theatrics that Lewis McDonald and Cuthbert Butler of the A.C.C.C. first discussed adopting this procedure with the Premier and Treasurer and then, as the Assembly speeches were being delivered, attempted to co-ordinate all State W.P.O.s for *Hansard* distribution in a circular posted from the *Worker* office - the A.C.C.C.'s headquarters. The crowning assertion of this communication, that 'the last vestige of our freedom has been taken from us' seemed vindicated when not only these leaflets, but the *Hansard* copies themselves were intercepted and confiscated, 'under instructions from the Prime Minister.' 'No more tyrannical form of Government has ever been practised,' the circular had dramatically claimed, '... and unless we at once assert our authority, the great authority of the people, we shall be crushed and beaten as people have been in other countries.'\(^{179}\)

During the second referendum, therefore, as 'bitterness ... stalked up and down the main street, nude to the heels'\(^{180}\) throughout Australia, social and ideological conflict was most intense in Queensland. For only here did State and Federal authorities adopt positions of overt physical confrontation and careen dangerously towards revolt. First, some 950 copies of *Hansard* were seized at the Brisbane G.P.O. on 23 November, after Colonel McColl, the Deputy Chief Censor had reversed an opinion recorded only the previous day, that Commonwealth censorship had 'no control over *Hansard*.'\(^{181}\) Early the following morning, after consulting with the local representative of the Federal Crown Solicitor, Captain Stable prohibited the Government Printer, A.J. Cumming from publishing any further copies of the offending document. Stable indicated the seriousness of the confrontation when he reported to McColl:
I have to state that Mr Cummings [sic] has given me every assistance in his power and all the information I required of him. He informed me that he had received definite instructions from the Premier to ignore the censorship instructions and further he told me that if the Military attempted to seize the type in the Government Printing Office, the Police would be instructed to offer every assistance in their power. An attempt will undoubtedly be made to reproduce the copy of Hansard in question in large quantities. Is there any way of preventing this other than by armed force?\textsuperscript{182}

A collision course seemed fixed by 26 November, when Stable again learned from Cumming himself that a special pink-covered Hansard was now being 'reprinted in large numbers ... showing in large type deletions made in various speeches.' Upon reporting this to Melbourne, Stable was duly instructed to consult with the Crown Solicitor's representative, the local Military Commandant, Brigadier-General Irving and the Prime Minister himself, who was arriving in Brisbane that evening to lead a conscription rally at Centennial Hall. The following morning, Stable conveyed the outcome to McColl:

... the Commandant instructed me to meet him at the [Railway] Station last night together with the Representative of the Crown Solicitor, and the matter was put before the Prime Minister. At first he was inclined to allow the pamphlet to pass, but, on reading through some of the paragraphs, he instructed General Irving to stop them. Accordingly, the Government Printing Office was raided by General Irving in person, last night, and many thousands of the pamphlet were seized together with a number of proof sheets. A small parcel of the pamphlets (about 800) had been delivered earlier in the day to the Anti-Conscription League in the Worker building. These I seized at 8 o'clock this morning, under instructions from General Irving.\textsuperscript{183}

What Stable neglected to mention was that the Prime Minister, without actually entering the State Government office himself, had directed the military raid in person. Some 3,300 copies of 'the pamphlet', as Stable preferred to call the parliamentary record were seized, but, as the Censor subsequently learned:

... about 1,500 copies had been despatched ... before the raid took place and these were circulated before their whereabouts could be ascertained ... [The] Government had employed several

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Motor cars which were sent through the suburbs after 10 p.m., the copies being thrown over the fences into the gardens.

The serious repercussions of Commonwealth military action became apparent the following day when a special meeting of Ryan's cabinet agreed upon a policy of 'direct confrontation.' Hansard 37 was replaced upon the Government presses by a four page Government Gazette Extraordinary, outlining in detail the incursions of 'a system of censorship which has become intolerable.' As 50,000 copies were prepared, uniformed police bearing side arms were stationed in the lobby and passageways of the building, while a double patrol covered 'the beats where the Government offices were situated.' A police guard was mounted outside Ryan's home in nearby George Street, while a police escort was provided to accompany the Premier upon his public rounds. Although the Gazette and the Daily Standard that afternoon called upon citizens to 'maintain the strictest order,' a special executive meeting of the B.I.C. that same night discussed some alarming contingencies.

According to a detailed statement made in a later legal brief by one of the nine B.I.C. delegates, Talbot H. Sewell, John Fihelly had emerged from the extraordinary cabinet session and called for an urgent discussion with George Gavin, secretary of the B.I.C. Here, Fihelly had placed 'the Government's intentions' before Gavin and called for full Trade Union co-operation.

Fihelly allegedly 'explained that the position had become desperate throughout Australia, and if the suppression of freedom of the press and speech were continued, conscription would without doubt be carried.' 'Desperate' measures therefore seemed necessary. The police guard over the printing of the Gazette were to show 'armed resistance' if the military again invaded that office. 'If the Military used force against the police acting under State Authority,' Gavin was sombrely warned, 'it
was to be considered a declaration of civil war.' A precise scenario of armed conflict was then unfolded before him. As Gavin informed the B.I.C. executive that evening, if the State Government were forced 'to maintain law and order by armed force':

The Executive B.I.C. were to get about 2000 tried and trusted unionists to go straight to Parliament House where the Police Magistrates would be located to swear them in as special constables. Railway communications were to be severed, the G.P.O. seized so as to get full control of mail, telegraphic and telephonic communications. It was estimated that there were 600 soldiers in Queensland but, of these, less than 400 would be loyal to the Commonwealth ... There were sufficient guns etc. to arm over a thousand all told, and an immense quantity of small arms and ammunition belonging to the State ...

According to Sewell's brief, the meeting then discussed ways of blocking the navigation channel and of utilizing the 400-500 members of the State Police. 'A proposal to seize Hughes and put him across the border without further ado' was only narrowly defeated. 'At this stage the proposal seems to me moonshine,' Sewell admitted to his solicitors some six months later:

... but I was the only one who did not take it seriously at the meeting. At the time, the people's minds were aflame and my own opinion is that it only required a lead and the crowd would have gladly rushed to arms.¹⁸⁶

The possibility that such an escalation towards armed violence might have occurred must be judged within a context where many men and women, facing the likelihood of military conscription in an interminable war were becoming somewhat unhinged mentally. Confronted by the burgeoning irrationality of the situation, however, 'a rational - or at least a clear-sighted historiography'¹⁸⁷ baulks at facing the plausibility of a 'battle of Brisbane' in December 1917. The accuracy of Sewell's recollections needs to be gauged against the fact that they were outlined as part of a brief in a libel case against W.J. Riordan, former Vice-President of the A.C.C.C. who, several days after the above meeting
accused Sewell of being a military spy. As this had caused Sewell's expulsion from the A.C.C.C. and the B.I.C. and placed him under a cloud of suspicion thereafter, he clearly had an axe to grind against certain anti-conscriptionists and this may have led him into making some unfounded accusations. Yet, on the other hand, it does seem unlikely that Sewell should risk prejudicing the success of his libel action against Riordan with wild exaggerations or by fabricating the entire episode. Other observers also suggest that discussion of extreme measures had occurred in the Cabinet and at Trades Hall. Randolph Bedford later recalled suggestions made by 'Ryan's political associates' to seize Hughes 'on suspicion of being of an unsound mind.' A.E. Eastcrabb of the U.F.L. stated under oath:

That it was common talk among the labor crowd that they were going to form a voluntary labor army, and in the event of any interference by the Federal Party, they would protect the State.

M.H. Ellis, a Nationalist journalist who was later to co-operate with Commonwealth Intelligence accepted the substance of Sewell's allegations, adding that he too had been informed 'by a reliable authority in the Chief Secretary's Office that, upon the 27th November, a force of Special Police were sent to Stanthorpe under sealed orders and remained there until Mr Hughes had left the State.' Murphy comments that both E.H. Macartney, who became State Opposition Leader in 1918, and Munro Ferguson, the Governor-General believed that Queensland might take secessionist action at this time, though little credence is placed upon these suspicions. Yet such ideas do provide context for Hughes's own extravagant actions at this time. As he later informed a political confidant, immediately following his return south from Queensland, he authorized the despatch of 'some rifles hidden in piano cases and machine guns in big cases marked "Furniture"' to trusted loyalists in Brisbane.
'to prepare for eventualities' after receiving word that the metropolis was 'ripe for revolution,' with co-ordinated left-wing groups 'preparing to seize that city.'

Elements of intense suspicion and hysteria, bluff and rumour all infuse these reckless developments, contributing to them, in retrospect, an aura of unreality. Yet it must be remembered that these same elements were the direct product of the tensions of prolonged war involvement and of escalating conflict within the society itself. Each contributed powerfully to the development of a polarized political environment, wherein the consequences of irrationality seemed all the more likely to prevail. Although wiser counsels may ultimately have been heeded, the prospect of a Brisbane rising being set in train seems at this point to have hinged upon a second Military raid upon the State Government Printery. Though Hughes was careful enough to order Captain Stable 'that no steps be taken to interfere' with the printing of the Gazette, he was unable to resist the provocative move of sending the Censor, accompanied by his own private secretary, to the doors of the Government Printery once more, just after midnight on 28 November. Stable later reported officially that:

At 11 30 p.m. [on 27 November], the Prime Minister instructed me to report to him in plain clothes. I was ordered to proceed to the Government Printing Office alone and to demand admittance. This I did at about 12.30 a.m.: after being refused admittance by the Police, the Government Printer opened the gate and allowed me to enter. I inspected the building and ascertained that no further copies of "Hansard" No. 37 had been printed.

The outcome of this intrusion seems anti-climactic, but, as Stable stood, blocked at the Printery gate by a dozen police, the trend of subsequent events was clearly balanced upon a knife edge. Had it not been for the continuing collusion of State public servant, A.J. Cumming with the Commonwealth Authorities, the Censor, having been denied admission by police may well have returned with a military escort,
provoking a physical confrontation and an escalation of armed conflict.

The general mood within the city was edgy and unstable. On 29 November, the Police Commissioner reported worriedly upon 'a big demand for revolvers at the Australian Hardware Co.'s premises' as well as at a number of Brisbane pawnshops by members of 'the general public.' Information that numbers of 'anti-conscription supporters attend both Conscription and Anti-Conscription meetings with loaded revolvers in their possession' caused him to fear the probability of a serious outbreak of violence at any time. Yet, although feelings remained volatile, the central conflict between State and Commonwealth politicians moved more into the realm of verbal threat and mutual litigation from the evening of 27 November onwards. Hughes's challenge that night to 'have' either Ryan or Theodore if they publicly repeated their *Hansard* statements was accepted with great flourish by 'Defiance' meetings at Centennial Hall and Market Square the following evening. Ryan was driven from Parliament to the Hall in a vehicle guarded by seven policemen and duly delivered his speech to the cheering thousands packed inside.

M.H. Ellis later recalled:

I was present at Mr Ryan's meeting and left when he left. It is worthy to note, that on walking out of the hall, he entered a motor car with Mr Cuthbert Butler and seven policemen arranged themselves on the car, three on each footboard and one in the front seat, and the Premier was then driven slowly and impressively to where Mr Theodore was delivering his speech in the Market Square, at a spot not much more than 50 yards away.

Despite this show of bravado, however, neither Ryan nor Theodore repeated in full the statements they had made in the Assembly. Though, to the listening crowd, they seemed to score a moral victory, the tactical advantage remained with the Prime Minister and the Censor. *Hansard* No. 37 continued to be a banned publication and, the following morning, the Censor again excised significant portions of the 'Defiance' speeches from the press. The same day, summonses were served upon Ryan for

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breaching the War Precautions Act and upon the Premier, Theodore, Butler and McDonald in unison for conspiracy. An answering writ, issued by Ryan on 1 December against the Commonwealth Government, the Military Commandant and the Deputy Chief Censor ensured that a prolonged legal battle lay ahead.¹⁹¹

Meanwhile, Hughes, in a series of speeches given at Ipswich, Toowoomba, Warwick and Stanthorpe continued to develop the theme of Labor and Roman Catholicism united in a bond of common treachery with resident Germans, Sinn Fein rebels and the I.W.W. His words were eagerly received by loyalist audiences and by representatives of the national press, now avidly focusing attention upon the Queensland situation. Events at Toowoomba and Warwick during his meetings there on 28 and 29 November merely seemed to provide conclusive support to his warnings that anti-conscriptionists had become a national danger in 'the State which is disloyal'.¹⁹² As the 'Defiance' meetings were proceeding in Brisbane, persons attending an open air anti-conscription gathering in Toowoomba clashed with conscriptionists leaving Hughes's rally in the local Town Hall. Fireworks and eggs were hurled, and several of the latter struck women and returned soldiers as they emerged from the building. Hughes had already exited by a side door, avoiding any confrontation, although the Brisbane Courier claimed that upon his arrival he had been:

... subjected to the most violent demonstration of opposition that has been made against him. It required the assistance of police to secure him a passage through the howling mob that thronged the footpath and strove hard to jostle him.¹⁹⁴

The Darling Downs Gazette reported that several hundred 'young eligibles' had directed 'a perfect fusillade of rotten eggs' at females in a cowardly manner, while the Toowoomba Chronicle warned that such incidents might provoke 'loyal and law abiding citizens to provide for
their own defence.

Matters reached a much-publicized climax the following afternoon at the Warwick railway station when eggs were directed, not at Hughes's audience, but at the Prime Minister himself. Reconstructing this episode from contradictory statements provided by on-duty police and civilian by-standers is difficult; but, upon balance, it seems that three eggs were thrown, two by Barth Brosnan and one by his brother, Paddy. One fell wide of the mark, bursting against a fence post; a second brushed past Hughes's hat, hitting a woman upon the shoulder and a third broke against the hat on the left side, dislodging it from the Prime Minister's head. To this point, the most notable feature of the assault was the target, for the hurling of eggs and other missiles had become a common enough feature at Referendum, and indeed, earlier political gatherings.

Constable Tong and another policeman immediately took hold of Paddy Brosnan, forcing him to empty three more eggs from his pockets. Simultaneously Barth Brosnan was set upon by some men in the crowd and soon his 'face and nose were cut and bleeding.' S.K. Cooper, a railway employee stated that he saw Constable Power holding Brosnan, while Alex Rule, a returned soldier, repeatedly punched him in the face.

Yet the most surprising reaction came from the Prime Minister himself who, upon being struck on the hat band, turned and rushed excitedly through the crowd in Barth Brosnan's direction. A witness, L. Clemens, a bank auditor stated:

The Prime Minister broke away from the men who were with him and in a wild, excited manner made for the man who had the blood on his face. I thought he was going to strike the man but what he did was to gesticulate with his arms and call out loudly, 'I want that man's name.' He repeated that two or three times ... I was so much surprised and attracted by Mr Hughes's wildly infuriated manner that my eyes never left him ...

As Hughes advanced upon Brosnan, Senior Sergeant Kenny, in plain
clothes attempted to restrain the Prime Minister by catching his arms. He was grabbed, in turn by Charles Edward McDougall, a grazier and Vice-President of the Reinforcements Campaign Committee upon the Downs, who had just officially welcomed Hughes. McDougall informed Kenny that he would only 'unhand' him when he released the Prime Minister. As a bleeding Barth Brosnan left the platform, Kenny called for order, 'British fair-play' and a proper hearing for 'the Honourable, the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth.'

A still ruffled Hughes then approached the speaker's dias at the end of the platform overlooking Grafton Street, with the 300 persons present in a state of agitation and confusion. A reporter for the *Warwick Argus* wrote:

> So many things were happening all at once and the crowd was surging back and forth over the platform in a condition of intense excitement ... The reporters' seats were overrun and while Mr Hughes was speaking, about a score of others were talking and arguing all the time just beside him making the Prime Minister almost inaudible except to those immediately in front of him.

The Prime Minister had only uttered two sentences, however, when Patrick Brosnan surfaced in the street gathering, making some obscure interjection about the city of Adelaide. Apparently recognizing him, the Prime Minister called abruptly to Sergeant Huston, 'Arrest that man or I'll give you in charge' - and, as he did so, himself leapt from the dias into the amazed crowd in the street below, cutting his hand in the plunge. As Hughes struggled into the audience, Brosnan was arrested by Sergeant Huston for disorderly behaviour and led away. Hughes then returned to the platform and began a wild harangue against those 'deadly enemies of Australia' who opposed conscription. Some thirteen minutes after his memorable arrival, he was back in his railway carriage, threatening Senior Sergeant Kenny through the window with Commonwealth action for failing to arrest Barth Brosnan, while a group of anti-
conscriptionists 'mustered in front of his carriage ... hooted with all the vigour of their lungs.'

The Prime Minister's bizarre demonstration is another telling example of the hysteria pervading both ranks in the conscription struggle by late 1917. Like the anti-conscriptionist leaders, preparing for some terrible showdown in Brisbane, Hughes's behaviour at Warwick was an unbalanced display of abandonment and over-reaction. Those observing his movements that afternoon admitted uneasily that he seemed to have 'lost his head.' Constable Dufficy reported that the Prime Minister had 'behaved in a most peculiar manner, his attitude being that of a man who had completely lost control of himself.' Thus, as he thundered on about the Sinn Fein, the I.W.W. and 'those men who are playing the dirty work of Germany in our midst,' his speech represented something more than a carefully contrived propaganda exercise to win 'Yes' voters. Hughes, like so many of his listeners seemed to believe fervently in the shocking truth of his own assertions.

Ignoring the evidence of the Prime Minister's erratic actions, however, the conscriptionist press immediately adopted his cry that the Queensland police, 'apparently acting under instruction from a Government which is entirely opposed to the principles on which Australia and the Empire stand' had 'connived' at his assault, in 'a scene which is unparalleled in the history of this country.' The Brisbane Courier and the Melbourne Argus directed these feverish disloyalty charges at the Queensland Government, while the Toowoomba Chronicle depicted 'the Socialist Premier of this State' as the sinister force behind the egg-throwing. The Darling Downs Gazette described the incident as being 'in accordance with the organized plans of the I.W.W. and Sinn Fein elements.' Warwick, it maintained, was in the grip of 'something akin to a reign of terror' similar to that established by 'the notorious bands of Italian
criminals known as the Camorra and the Mafia. The Border Post even went so far as to fabricate a second scene of anti-conscription rowdyism against Hughes on the Wallangarra railway platform when, in reality, the Prime Minister 'did not attempt to address anyone; there was not a murmur from the crowd; he did not even receive a Greeting.'

Irate conscriptionists in the Queensland National Service League expressed their 'utmost indignation and abhorrence' at 'the dastardly and wicked attack ... on the Prime Minister' and called for a Federal Royal Commission into the matter.

As both sides exploited the Brisbane and Warwick incidents to the limit, violent and disruptive clashes occurred in many other urban centres in the State. Several more collisions between 'No' supporters and returned soldiers occurred at Toowoomba, while, in Brisbane itself, a 'dangerous' situation, requiring police intervention had developed when ex-servicemen of opposing positions confronted each other in Albert Square on 24 November. A week later, returned men again attacked anti-conscriptionists meeting in Market Square. Turbulent meetings were reported from as wide afield as Maryborough, Mackay, Pittsworth, Beenleigh, Pialba, Herberton, Atherton, Townsville and Longreach. At Gordonvale, near Cairns on 9 December, the Chairman at a wild conscription rally held by Nationalist Senators was 'simply a mass of eggs' by its conclusion. The worst violence, however, occurred during a series of clashes at Rockhampton, beginning with a stormy meeting held for Senator Millen on 5 December. Following some provocative comments he made against Dr Mannix, the full complement of Rockhampton police present found that the audience had become 'practically beyond control.' Outside the hall, an irate crowd mobbed Millen's car and 'it was only by the united efforts of the Police that some assault was not committed upon him.' Two nights later, John Adamson was once more reduced to silence.
there by interjectors and assailed by eggs as he left the hall. During this rally, a local anti-conscriptionist Baptist minister, the Reverend Dr Hughes caused a sensation by remaining seated during a chorus of the National Anthem. Dr Hughes was later dealt with by his foot-stamping parishioners who gave him three months' notice to quit their church. Adamson was again made the target of egg-throwers at Lakes Creek Meatworks on 10 December, while, that evening a serious riot developed out of a conscription meeting held by William Webster, the Postmaster-General. Trouble began here when W. Robinson, Secretary of the Local Reinforcements Referendum Council left the stage to silence men and women interjecting from the School of Arts balcony. Patrick Cummings was struck by Robinson and then ejected by police. Several women retaliated against the Secretary and, in the mêlée, one woman fainted, subsequently claiming that Robinson had knocked her down. An excited crowd therefore mobbed him as he left the hall and, as police intervened, 'a shower of blue metal' was hurled at his departing car. This angry assembly, which quickly grew to 1,000-2,000, next turned its attention upon Webster who was attempting to leave on foot from a back exit. The Postmaster-General was indecorously chased down one of the main streets by the mob, hurling 'eggs and other missiles' until he was obliged to take refuge in O'Reilly's Hotel. Police finally drew their batons to disperse the 'seething mass' in the street outside and so relieve the Minister.

As in the first campaign, such violent displays were merely a more dramatic index of deeper social divisions and of worsening ethnic, sectarian and class antagonisms throughout Queensland. When ballots were counted after 20 December 1917, conscriptionists found, to their renewed alarm that the Queensland 'No' majority had increased by more than 22,000 votes, while even the 'Yes' majority of those on active service had fallen from 1,556 to 942. On 22 December, Premier Ryan asked
his Agent-General in London to assure the British public that Australia's second rejection of conscription did not imply 'any lessening of her zeal for the honour and safety of the Empire ... [against] the armed despotism of Central Europe.' Yet both campaigns had served to provide Australians with a more candid impression of war's realities. Loyal conscriptionists had conveyed a new message of desperation from the Front, while their opponents had urged voters to save their young men from the carnage. Thus, as war-wearyness mounted, there was no telling how many citizens were quietly using their 'No' votes to make a small anti-war statement as well. As one correspondent noted in the Brisbane Courier in January 1918, 'People pray for peace; they wish the war was over; they care little apparently which side wins.' One such person gave an insight into this sickness of the heart which now afflicted many when she wrote to the Premier in February 1918:

... I voted against conscription. We have enough broken-hearted people already and, to be just, I think we have given enough of the flower of our land - I mean, a good percentage - a fair thing and oh, such awful deaths - if they were shot through the heart and died instantly it wouldn't be so terrible - but the lingering awful pain ... Genevieve Macalister said, 'Mustn't Heaven be full Aunty just now?' but I said, 'I think Hell must be overflowing' - the hellish deeds that have been committed in this frightful war ...

As recruiting numbers fell away to 169 in Queensland for March 1918 - the lowest monthly average of the war - conscriptionists responded to the hopeless situation with their own displays of ungovernable resentment. Anti-conscriptionists had painted 'a yellow streak across white Australia,' they retorted and their cowardly actions would not be forgotten when the 'boys' returned from the Front. By March, some loyalists were once more calling for conscription. So single-minded had 'a section of the Brisbane press' become upon the issue, Ryan complained to Donald MacKinnon, the Director-General of Recruiting, that they were actually discouraging 'efforts now being put forward at public meetings...
to secure reinforcements' voluntarily.²¹³

Radical socialists and pacifists active in the anti-conscription struggle had been somewhat diverted from their central aims of either fighting the class war or advocating peace on earth by being subsumed within a movement promoting the virtues of voluntarism over military compulsion. Yet their involvement had helped politicize and radicalize many workers caught up in the conflict, as they encouraged a leftward drift within labour ranks, away from the militaristic policies of the Nationalists. To outraged loyalists, observing this accelerating trend by the Queensland Labor Government itself, it seemed as if the 'noxious' anti-war radical had been projected from the periphery of homefront concern to a commanding position at centre-stage. They failed to believe that this leftward momentum could be only a temporary deviation, influenced by the pressures of resisting repressive measures.²¹⁴ Instead they looked inflexibly upon the loose alliance of voluntarists, pacifists, trade unionists and socialists who had co-operated expediently to fight conscription as a nest of conspiring traitors who needed eradicating. And, by late 1917, loyalists were quick to observe how, in that nest, a new egg lay hatching. The increased 'No' majority, the Lone Hand noted in December, as well as revealing the influence of 'plain, ordinary cowards' and their womenfolk, 'the Sinn Feiners and the IWW, the pro-German and the anti-British,' had also 'put us on a level with the ignorant and selfish Bolsheviks of Russia.'²¹⁵ Soon hatred for the Bolshevik would even outweigh fear of the Hun in many minds as another ethnic community within Queensland became an immediate focus not merely of xenophobic attack, but of anti-alien and anti-radical resentments combined. Ironically, the same radical groups who had helped foster ethnic hatreds by using pragmatic, racist strategies during both
referenda were eventually to be overwhelmed by comparable displays of these pathological anxieties, directed against their own Russian 'comrades'. 
Chapter Five: Footnotes


6. 'No Conscription' leaflet, *op. cit*.


22. S. Doran to R. Doran, 29 November 1916 in ibid.

23. S. Doran to R. Doran, 18 December 1916; S. Doran to J. Devoy, 22 August 1916; Constitution of the Irish National Association of New South Wales, pp.2-3 in ibid.


25. S. Doran to M. Dalton, 4 August 1916; Constitution of Irish National Association of New South Wales; James Brennan had also belonged to the Clan-na-Gael in the United States of America in ibid.


27. S. Doran to J. Devoy, 22 August 1916; A.T. Dryer to T. Fitzgerald, 1 November 1917 in ibid.

28. T. Cashin to Editor, Kilkenny People, 11 September 1916 in ibid.

29. C. Ainsworth, Intelligence, Brisbane to Director of Military Intelligence, 29 September 1916, Australian Archives Defence Access. B197 File 2021/1/40; N. Gow, 'Anti-Conscription Documents, Brisbane, 1916', Labour History, 26, pp.87-91.


31. 'No Conscription' leaflet, op. cit.


34. Hall, op. cit. passim.; National Leader, 27 October 1916.

36. The A.C.C.C. had E.G. Theodore of the P.L.P. as its Chairman, R.J. Mulvey of the B.I.C. as its Vice-Chairman and Lewis MacDonald of the C.P.E. as its Secretary.


41. W.J. Gall Diary for 1916, Fryer Ms.

42. *Catholic Advocate*, 7 September 1916.


44. File on Reactions to Fihelly's Statements, October-November 1916, QSA PRE/A543, in-letter no. 664 of 1917.


46. Fihelly kept up his anti-English baiting in the second conscription campaign during a 'series of violent attacks ... on General Birdwood'. See 'Summary of T.J. Ryan's Disloyal Associations', *op. cit.*


48. Shaw, *op. cit.*, p.38, pp.52-53; Shaw displays factual inaccuracy on pp.240-241 where he deals with a number of clashes in Brisbane, Rockhampton and Bundaberg. Incidents are wrongly dated.


50. Murphy, *op. cit.*, p.156.


55. *Daily Standard*, 4 October 1916.
56. W. Scott, Kingaroy, to T.J. Ryan, 5 December 1916, QSA PRE/A540, in-letter no. 16792 of 1916; Brisbane Courier, 3 November 1916.


58. 'Indians in the Queensland Sugar Industry 1915', file in QSA GOV/A77, in-letter no. 572 of 1915; H. Goold-Adams to Sec. of State for the Colonies, 14 October 1915, PRO CO418/137, VI (1915), p.301.


61. P. Dunworth, United Cane Growers, Mackay to Hughes, 1 April 1916, QSA PRE/A522, in-letter no. 4388 of 1916.


64. Deputy Chief Censor to Censor, Brisbane, 15 April 1916, QSA PRE/A523, in-letter no. 5427 of 1916.


70. Senior Sergeant H.B. Kenny, Cairns to Commissioner of Police, 2 February 1916, QSA PRE/A516, in-letter no. 1472 of 1916.

71. Queensland Parliamentary Debates, 29 September 1916, p.976; Warwick Examiner and Times, 17 July 1916; Subsequently, renewed concern over Chinese in the furniture industry of Queensland was expressed. An Act to Amend the Factories and Shops Act of 1900-1914, passed in early 1917 made it compulsory that all furniture should be stamped 'European labour only' or 'Chinese labour', PRO CO418/161 (1971), pp.50-51.

72. Cairns Post, 7 November 1916.


75. The Protest, 12 October 1916.

76. Anti-Conscription Leaflets, Queensland, 1916, in QSA COL/A1067, in-letter no. 993 of 1916. The Literature Committee was composed of J.A. Fihelly, J. MacDonald, J.S. Collings, J. Hanlon and T.H. Sewell with E.H. Lane as Chairman and Cuthbert Butler as Secretary. Lane contends that most of the literature was prepared by himself and Butler. E.H. Lane, Dawn to Dusk: Reminiscences of a Rebel, Brisbane, 1939, pp.164-165.


78. International Socialist, October 1916, in J.S. Griffiths's 'Clipping Book on Women', Fryer Ms. Original in possession of Mr Don Griffiths, Brisbane.

79. Anti-Conscription Leaflets, Queensland, 1916, op. cit.; The Protest, 12 October 1916; W. McCormack of the P.L.P. similarly warned: 'the black men would come here if they sent the white men away.' Townsville Daily Bulletin, 25 October 1916; see also 'Goodbye, White Australia!', The Worker, 12 October 1916.
Attitudes to Maltese in Australia were already fairly fixed and unequivocal prior to this time. In January 1916, for instance, the Brisbane Courier published an article entitled, 'Greeks, Maltese and Egyptians: Their Value as Workers', wherein the Maltese were depicted as 'men of stunted growth, tough and hairy, ill-clad and for the most part, ill-visaged fellows.' They were 'idlers', 'chattering, cigarette-smoking nondescripts' and 'expert pilferers', 'jabbering, jostling, gesticulating ... but not working.' 'How one itched for a hunting crop', the writer confided, 'just to go round the gangs and use a little gentle "moral suasion".'

In February 1918, in complaining several precipitate Executive actions by P.M. Hughes, the Governor-General noted: 'On other occasions in the Governor-General's absence from the seat of Government, important action has also been taken without Executive sanction and without the Governor-General's knowledge; as, for example, when 200 Maltese were excluded from Australia and despatched to New Caledonia - an act which the Prime Minister did not pretend to defend, except on the plea of electoral necessity.' R. Munro-Ferguson Memo to Sec. of State for the Colonies, 18 February 1918, PRO C0418/169 (1918) I, p.168.

Eventually, however, most were forcibly repatriated. As Fitzhardinge states: 'They were not wanted in New Caledonia; New Zealand, Canada and South Africa all refused to take them; and they themselves rejected a preferred passage to Samoa. In the end, they were returned to Malta, except a few who had previously settled in Australia and were allowed to return.' Fitzhardinge, op. cit., p.200.
90. W.M. Hughes to Governor General, 17 July 1917, Australian Archives CRS/A458, G.156/2.


92. Hughes to Trumble, 24 October 1916, Australian Archives CP103/11, Item 502/4. Scott somewhat misleadingly asserts that Hughes released the information because of his commitment to 'complete freedom of speech' during the campaign. Scott, *op. cit.*, p.354.


94. C.A. Murton, Queensland War Council to T.J. Ryan, 8 July 1916, QSA PRE/A540, in-letter no. 16961 of 1916.


100. *The Capricornian*, 14 October 1916. 'The problem of foreign immigration has a peculiar interest for Queenslanders,' stated the article, 'for we have a much larger proportion than any other state.'


103. *Australian Worker*, 26 October 1916.


108. 'How Would the Kaiser Vote?' Leaflet, in Bertie, *op. cit.*, vol. I.


113. The *Lone Hand*, October 1916.


117. Ibid., 19 October 1916.


121. Lt.-Col. Whiton to Under-Sec., Home Sec. Department, 4 August 1916, QSA COL/A1062, in-letter no. 8248 of 1916.


128. Lane, op. cit., p.168; F. Cumbræ-Stewart to T.J. Ryan, 9 October 1916, op. cit.; Inspector Sullivan to Commissioner of Police, ibid.; The Worker, 12 October 1916.


135. 'Congress of T. Unions of Australia on Conscription': Suppressed by Censor in F.J. Riley Collection, Latrobe Ms; Jauncey, op. cit., p.151, p.139; 'Summary of Ryan's Disloyal Associations', op. cit.; Lloyd, op. cit., p.52; Collings to Ryan, 9 November 1916, op. cit.

136. Major Piesse, Military Intelligence to Victoria Barracks, Brisbane, 28 October 1916, Australian Archives Defence File 2021/1/40.

137. Brisbane Courier, 5 & 16 October 1916.


140. Brisbane Courier, 10 October 1916; Jauncey, op. cit., p.199.

141. Brisbane Courier, 11 October 1916; Worker, 12 October 1916; The Capricornian, 14 & 21 October 1916; J. Adamson to Brisbane Courier, 9 November 1916.


144. Brisbane Courier, 16 October 1916.


149. Ibid., 16 March 1917; W.M. Hughes, 'Why the People must decide', 1917 in Bertie, op. cit., vol. II; Murphy, Ryan, op. cit., p.167; Lone Hand, December 1916, p.9.

150. National Leader, 10 November 1916.

151. Turner, op. cit., pp.113-116; Shaw, op. cit., pp.214-215; Shaw, 'Private War', op. cit., pp.174-175; Hunt also opposes Turner's findings in the Herbert electorate, but also shows that some of Shaw's conclusions are based on 'misleading evidence'; Hunt, op. cit., pp.51-59.

152. Shaw, op. cit., p.216.

153. National Leader, 10 November 1916. The very early usage of the word 'racialism' should be noted here.


155. Lone Hand, December 1916, pp.9-10; National Leader, 1 December 1916.

156. National Leader, 23 March 1917.

157. Ibid., 29 June 1917; Sir W. Irvine, unidentified press clipping in All Loyal League file, QSA PRE/A571, in-letter no. 13563 of 1917.


159. Lane, op. cit., pp.169-170; 'To the Women of Australia!' Leaflets in Bertie, op. cit.

160. 'Thirty-Nine Articles of a No-Conscription Faith' leaflet in Bertie, op. cit.; The Protest, 19 October 1916; A. Golding, 'A Woman's View' leaflet in Riley, op. cit.; M. Browne, 'Oh Mothers of Men' in Bertie, op. cit.; J. Stopford (H.L.A.) also stated, 'If conscription is introduced there would be no sugar strikes as the women would have to go out and work in the canefields', presumably alongside Coolies. Bowen Independent, 17 October 1916, quoted in Hunt, op. cit., p.47.
161. Scott, op. cit., p.158; National Leader, 15 June & 3 August 1917; The Lone Hand, August 1917.


163. 'Returned Soldiers' No-Conscription League', 1917 in Riley, op. cit.; Anti-Conscription, issued by The Daily Herald, 8 December 1917.

164. The Wild River Times, 5 December 1917; Turner, op. cit., p.163.


166. See Osborne, op. cit., p.123; Jennie Baines, 'Preserve the White Race'; 'Australia, Be Warned!', Riley, op. cit.


169. A.T. Dryer to M. Dalton, 21 August 1917, Australian Archives Attorney-General's Department, Accession CP406/1; Murphy, Ryan, op. cit., p.248.


173. A.T. Dryer to M. Dalton, 1 November 1917, Australian Archives Attorney-General's Department, Accession CP406/1.

174. F. McKeown to A.T. Dryer (?), 26 November 1917 in ibid.


177. Lane, *op. cit.*, pp.176-181. This tension between moderates and radicals was very marked. Indeed, in summarizing the Queensland Labor Party's role in the conscription campaigns, the Governor, Henry Goold-Adams went so far as to suggest, in December 1917, that its commitment to anti-conscription arose not out of concern about 'Australia being bled white' or 'sanctity of human life' principles but because it feared the strength of the militant factions within the labour movement: i.e. that if conscription were adopted 'extremists of the IWW and revolutionary classes ... would, by acts of violence and sabotage upset the whole social and industrial life of Australia.' Gov. H. Goold-Adams to Sec. of State for the Colonies, 17 December 1917, PRO C0418/161, pp.151-152.

178. 'Summary of Ryan's Disloyal Associations', *op. cit.*

179. L. McDonald and C. Butler, 'Worker' to G. Johnson, Valley 22 November 1917, Australian Archives Intelligence Report, First Military District, Q2526; L. McDonald and C. Butler to C. Schache, Gladstone, 22 November 1917, Australian Archives Defence, Accession B197 File 2021/1/154.


181. McColl, it would seem was prevailed upon by Senator Pearce to alter this decision; Government Printer to School of Arts, Maida Hill, via Dalby, 22 November 1917, Australian Archives Intelligence Report, First Military District, Q2525; Deputy Chief Censor to Censor Brisbane, 22 November 1917 (Telegram); Acting Secretary, Department of Defence to McColl, 23 November 1917; Interchange, McColl and Pearce, 23 November 1917, Australian Archives, Defence Accession B197 File 2021/1/256.

182. J.J. Stable, Censor to Deputy Chief Censor, 24 November 1917, Australian Archives Defence B197, File 2021/1/154. My emphasis.

183. J.J. Stable, Censor to Deputy Chief Censor, 27 November 1917; Stable to McColl, 'Brief Summary of Events', Australian Archives Defence B197, File 2021/1/256. My emphasis.


185. McDonald and Butler to Schache, 27 November 1917, *ibid.*; 'Summary of Ryan's Disloyal Associations', *op. cit.*


188. Murphy, Ryan, op. cit., p.325, p.566; A.E. Eastcrabb, quoted in 'Summary of Ryan's Disloyal Associations', op. cit.; T. Botham, 'The Red Flag Riots: conservative Reactions', B.A. (Hons) (Hist.), A.N.U., 1975, p.43; H. McQueen, 'Shoot the Bolshevik! Hang the Profitier! Restructuring Australian Capitalism 1918-21' in E.L. Wheelwright and K. Buckley (eds), Essays in the Political Economy of Australian Capitalism, vol. II, A.N.Z., 1978, p.203; W. Webster, the Post-Master General had written an alarmist letter to Hughes from Toowoomba on 16 December claiming '... there is hardly a German home that is not well supplied with guns and ammunition in the Ipswich sub-division ... They have been buying guns and ammunition freely'. See W. Webster to Hughes, 16 December 1917, Hughes Papers, NLA; J. Hume Cook, Note of conversation with Hughes, 14 January 1929, Hume Cook Papers, Ser. III (7) 26, NLA quoted in Fitzhardinge, op. cit., pp.295-296.

189. J.J. Stable to Deputy Chief Censor, 2 December 1917, Australian Archives Defence B197 File 2021/1/256. My emphasis. Though Stable claims he went 'alone', Percy Deane, Hughes's private secretary discloses that he accompanied Stable on this second visit: 'We got word that more Hansards were to be "run" off ... and round about midnight I strolled down to the printing office with the censor - who had orders to look things over. A bang on the gate brought a dozen Fenian heads into view - with the query 'Phwats the matter'? ...' in Murray-Smith, op. cit., p.100.

190. Commissioner Urquhart to Under Sec, Home Sec. Department, 29 November 1917, QSA COL/A1103, in-letter no. 10785 of 1917.


192. Darling Downs Gazette, 6 December 1917.

193. Senior Sergeant J. Murray to Commissioner of Police, 14 December 1917, QSA COL/A1104, in-letter no. 11291 of 1917.

194. Brisbane Courier, 29 November 1917.

195. Darling Downs Gazette, 6 December 1917; Toowoomba Chronicle, 6 December 1917.

196. Warwick riot file, Batch of Sworn Statements, 3 December 1917. (Hughes caught his dislodged hat as it fell.) QSA PRE/A576, in-letter no. 15010 of 1917.

197. Even during anti-Federation meetings in Brisbane in 1899, a campaign of egg-throwing at public speakers had been launched. 'Progress, 19 August 1899 wrote encouragingly, 'When a speaker's inconclusive/When his statements look delusive/When the most important point he seems to beg/When he shies from all his fences/You can bring him to his senses/With the logic of a well directed egg.' In 1910, the Bulletin noted sarcastically, 'the growing practice of throwing rabbits at [election] candidates ... it is good that it should get out of the old, imported egg custom, and strike out for itself. Eggs ... have been ... thrown at people in the pillory, witches, heretics, tax-gatherers and such like. Therefore, the egg-candidate habit is not distinctively Australian ... But Australia as a country that throws rabbits at politicians
has struck out on a line for itself ...', Bulletin, 17 March 1910, p.6. Commissioner Urquhart stated in December 1917 that he regarded egg-throwing at public speakers as one of the 'semi-humorous concomitants of public oratory.' Darling Downs Gazette, 6 December 1917.

198. Sworn Statements from W.D. Summers (Contractor), John Murdock (Stock and Station Agent) and S.K. Cooper (Railway Employee), QSA PRE/A576, in-letter no. 15010 of 1917.

199. Sworn Statements from L. Clemens (Bank Auditor), Charles Edward McDougall (Grazier) and H.B. Kenny to Inspector of Police, Toowoomba, 1 December 1917, ibid.

200. Warwick Argus, 1 December 1917; Sworn Statements, ibid.

201. Sworn Statements of John Murdock (Stock and Station Agent) and Constable J. Dufficy, ibid.

202. Warwick Argus, 1 & 4 December 1917; Warwick Examiner, 1 December 1917; Brisbane Courier, 30 November 1917; Murphy, Ryan, op. cit., pp.528-529; Toowoomba Chronicle, 6 December 1917; Darling Downs Gazette, 6 December 1917.

203. Border Post, 30 November 1917; Constable T. Healy to Inspector of Police, Toowoomba, 1 December 1917, QSA COL/A1104, in-letter no. 11291 of 1917.

204. E.L. Bushell and J. Reid, Queensland National Service League to T.J. Ryan, 6 December 1917, QSA PRE/A576, in-letter no. 15010 of 1917.

205. Clashes in Toowoomba occurred on 21 & 24 November and 7 December 1917. Brisbane Courier, 22 & 26 November and 10 December 1917; Darling Downs Gazette, 6 December 1917; Senior Sergeant J. Murray to Commissioner of Police, 27 December 1917, QSA COL/A1104, in-letter no. 215 of 1918.

206. Brisbane Courier, 30 November & 7 & 8 & 18 December 1917; Wild River Times, 12 December 1917; Wide Bay and Burnett News, 10 December 1917; Acting Sergeant Haylan, Pittsworth to Commissioner of Police, 4 December 1917, QSA COL/A1104, in-letter no. 11291 of 1917. In January 1918, the Governor-General's Affairs Report mentioned: '... in a Queensland constituency, a catapult was set up & - the range having been carefully ascertained previous to the meeting - eggs and road metal were hurled with remarkable accuracy at the Hon. James Page.' PRO C0418/169 (I), 1918, pp.9-10.


208. Brisbane Courier, 10 December 1917; Rockhampton Daily Record, 11 December 1917; Senior Sergeant M. O'Conner to Commissioner of Police, 11 December 1917, QSA COL/A1104, in-letter no. 11291 of 1917.

209. T.J. Ryan to Agent General Robinson, 13 December 1917, QSA PRE/A635, in-letter no. 8401 of 1919.

211. Miss L. Hetherington, Gladstone to T.J. Ryan, 6 February 1918, QSA PRE/A580, in-letter no. 1474 of 1918.


214. Governor Goold-Adams's amazing report on the Labor Government and anti-conscription again emphasizes what uneasy bedfellows the conscription struggle had made of the moderates and radicals. Indeed, the Governor depicted the Queensland Cabinet as being virtually coerced into an anti-conscriptionist position by the threat of revolutionary disorder, should conscription become law. Goold-Adams wrote: '... it has to be remembered that the present Government owed its success at the last elections to the freely-given support of the majority of labour unionists, included amongst whom were the extremists of the IWW and revolutionary classes. The members of the government therefore possessed secret channels of information of what these classes contemplated, and it was understood by them that if conscription was adopted the extremists would by acts of violence and sabotage upset the whole social and industrial life of Australia ... It was, I believe, a real fear of a crisis of this description that influenced my Premier and his colleagues ... to oppose the enforcement of conscription. From the public platform the State Ministers ... never disclosed the fears ... which really influenced them, and sought elsewhere for reasons ... eventually falling back upon "Australia being bled white", "Sanctity of human life" etc. The hollowness of this policy earned for them a very unenviable notoriety, they being stigmatized as anti-British ...' Gov. Goold-Adams to Sec. of State for the Colonies, 17 December 1917, PRO CO418/161 (1917), p.152.

CHAPTER SIX

'ARE WE IN A BRITISH COLONY?'

THE ALIEN PRESENCE IN QUEENSLAND: 1917-18

We readily believe that "alien" and "barbarian" are interchangeable terms.

- P.D. Phillips.¹

A GERMAN LYNCHED.
HOW THEY TREAT THEM IN AMERICA.

- Croydon Mining News headline 1918.²

The average Greek is a dirty, greasy sort of animal ... They are cheap and nasty ... They hate cleanliness and they love filth. They are said to be pro-German to a man ... We can't massacre the Greeks in Australia, but we can boycott them.

- National Leader 1917.³

Times are becoming difficult and dangerous for our Russian colony ... a great deal is demanded of our strength and energy ...

- G. Makaroff.⁴

On May Day, 1918 some 400 citizens gathered at the Brisbane Centennial Hall for an 'International celebration' of that traditionally 'sacred day' of the world's workers. Normally, such yearly assemblies simply made their ritualistic expressions of class solidarity and disbanded with little more than a casual nod from labour newspapers, while the conservative press ignored the whole affair. Yet, in 1918, the ceremony was seen as symbolic of far greater élan and menace than usual and could not, therefore, be so easily overlooked. By this time, the importance of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia had been grasped by all social sectors in Australia and new battle lines were being tentatively defined.⁵ Thus, the animated display of 'radical idealism' in Brisbane on 1 May was caustically attacked in the columns of the Courier, as the matter was urgently raised in the Federal House of
Representatives. Members of the R.S.S.I.L.A. expressed their 'most emphatic' protest and called for a soldiers' 'indignation' meeting to be held. Brisbane's Mayor, Alderman J. McMaster tendered his disgust and amazement at how such a gathering by 'a number of animals in the shape of men' could be allowed to occur in his city. All the complainants called for Commonwealth action to suppress any such demonstrations in the future.

The protesters were outraged, in part, because of the 'disloyal utterances' as well as the display and singing of 'The Red Flag' at the celebration. Yet their alarm was intensified by the particularly un-British, 'polyglot' nature of this workers' assembly. The Courier's reporter emphasized the strange accents and 'cast of countenances' among those present, as he recounted how speeches and songs had been delivered in Russian, Finnish, Polish, Greek, French and Esperanto as well as in English. A combined alien.radical threat was perceived in the way a 'jumble of nationalities' had expressed 'socialistic, anti-capitalistic, anti-militaristic and, indeed, disloyal sentiments' in a veritable 'babel of many tongues'. A 'German comrade', fearing internment had failed to make his appearance among the speakers, but the Courier was nevertheless incensed by a remark from the Chairman, Joseph Silver Collings asserting that:

If there are any German men or women in this room, they are to understand that every time we use the word "comrade" they are included in it.

Collings's official position as State Organizer of the C.P.E. only served to magnify the enormity of his assertion. Appended to the report was an editorial comment, demanding to know: 'what the authorities are doing when this sort of thing is permitted to go on under their noses.'

The 'authorities' had been represented at the meeting, however, by
a Military Intelligence agent, and his summary reflected the same sort of alarm as the Courier's account. He too emphasized how 'foreigners' had dominated the meeting and how 'about 40 per cent' of the audience were Russians. 'Several Germans' had also been present, as well as some Finns and Poles. Along with a number of socialists, 'Peace Alliance people' and suspected I.W.W. members of British background, he identified the alien speakers as:

Lagutin (Sec. Russian Association) ... Sargent (Greek Red Singlet), Sphynx (Internationalist) ... Ribenau (Finnish), O'Shang (Polish) and Holken (Esperanto) - a man who claims to be a Belgian, but whom I had placed on parole as a German.

The agent admitted that 'nothing unseemly took place', but then went on to summarize the demonstration contemptuously as:

... quite the most ludicrous gathering I have ever attended. The Red Flag was prominently displayed and ladies walked through the audience pinning red bows to the clothing of the persons present ... A feature of the entertainment was ... a tableau representing the "Breaking of the chains of Bondage". A Russian rushed about the stage reciting and gesticulating close to a group of three, one of whom was manacled and another held an upraised hammer. At the conclusion of the aforesaid Russian's gyrations, the hammer came down and the chain fell to the floor. Limelight ... slow curtain ... (Loud and unrestrained applause). 7

The writer's tone of disdain, however, could not entirely conceal an undercurrent of cultural incomprehension and unease at the crude effectiveness of the tableau. As Ian Turner has noted, it was to the Russian emigrés in Australia that local socialists and other radicals turned for explanation of the clouded events in revolutionary Russia after 1917. In Queensland, those emigrés were both more numerous and vociferous than elsewhere in Australia. In the absence of dependable press accounts of the Bolshevik coup, this minority therefore became a crucial medium for conveying the significance of that towering historical episode. 8 It was the Brisbane Russian Workers' Association which had organized the May Day gathering. On the same date, in the
Daily Standard, A. Resanoff, secretary of the Russian Group of Workers at Ipswich called upon all Queensland wage-earners 'to be real socialists and unite together for the class revolutionary struggle against international capitalism and militarism.' For local loyalists, therefore, it seemed as though Premier Denham's pre-war warnings about these dangerous 'Asiatic Russians' were now coming true.

Undoubtedly, the fear of revolution was to encourage a resurgence of Russophobia in Queensland. Yet the ethnic alarm originally raised by the presence of these refugee migrants had never entirely abated. It was evidenced in mid-1915, for instance, when the fledgling I.W.W. local was warned by Brisbane police not to let their movement be led further astray by 'those Nihilists from barbarous Russia' who were 'only here for murderous purposes.' The Commonwealth Censor continually opened all Russian correspondence, intercepted literature sent to and from the Russian Association and periodically suppressed their various newspapers. In February 1916, as anti-alien sentiment escalated generally, Truth newspaper attempted to align the Russian presence with the German 'menace' in a feature entitled 'Hun Intrigues in Queensland: Russian Political Refugees as Defenders of German Culture'. The article claimed that the local Russian newspaper, Izvestia was 'very pro-German' and asked how much 'German money' was behind its production. Izvestia was promptly suppressed by Federal authorities, as tighter censorship control was extended over all other publications printed in a foreign language. Truth depicted the Russian community as containing 'all types of criminals ... idle malcontents and adventurers ... with little capacity for good.' In an angry reply from the Russian Association's secretary, John P. Gray, published in the International Socialist, he denied any criminal component among his members. All of them were serious students of politics, he claimed, adhering to social democratic
or social revolutionary philosophies. The Association, which now had established branches at Mount Morgan and Canungra, as well as at Pine Creek in the Northern Territory was portrayed as a lively educational organization, with a library of 'one thousand precious volumes' in Russian at its Brisbane headquarters. Here, Gray alleged, 'from ten in the morning to eleven at night, with real distinguishing Russian enthusiasm, peasants and workers are debating world-wide questions.'

Despite his protests, however, a sinister anti-Russian stereotype persisted, grounded in part upon earlier fears and sustained by reverberations of anti-German prejudice, which affected the attitude of British-Australians towards many other alien groups in their midst. One Courier correspondent complained extravagantly that the British were fast losing their 'clannishness' with the result that 'the deportations of other countries batten on our sides like leeches and drink our life's blood.' Another, asking rhetorically, 'Are We Mad?' believed that this 'throwing open the doors to all and sundry' aliens might yet prove 'our undoing.' In April 1916, the Queensland Censor noted worriedly that many Germans were passing themselves off 'as Swedes, Swiss, Dutchmen or Russians' to obtain employment. His guarded conclusion was that no non-Britishers could apparently be trusted. By October 1916, the Aliens Restriction Order of 1915 had been progressively extended to cover the registration of all aliens, whether of enemy nationality or otherwise. As anti-alien sentiment again mounted during the first referendum, impelled by the propaganda of both sides, The Capricornian assessed the numbers of Germans and Austro-Hungarians, as well as Greeks, Italians, Russians, Portuguese, French and Belgians in Queensland. The paper contended, 'We can never be certain that the alien immigrants whom we welcome today may not be our enemies tomorrow.' This problem of foreign migration was particularly acute in Queensland, the article concluded, for
along with the highest number of non-whites, the State also possessed 'a much larger proportion' of non-British Europeans than any other area of the Commonwealth.\textsuperscript{16}

Conservative alarm at the October 1917 revolution in Russia simply elaborated upon these fears.\textsuperscript{17} By this time, more than 6,000 Russian migrants had arrived in Australia, the majority of whom settled in Queensland.\textsuperscript{18} During 1915, with migration at a low ebb, the practice of demanding passports from emigrés before allowing them to land had been quietly dropped, largely due to representations made by Labor's Senator Turley.\textsuperscript{19} Yet, in August 1917, the Queensland Commissioner of Police called for renewed action to 'decrease the influx of an undesirable class of Russian.'\textsuperscript{20} An upsurge of political activism, following upon the February revolution seems to have provoked his demand. A number of young Russian meatworkers and canecutters at Townsville and Innisfail were under suspicion, particularly for activities associated with the I.W.W. and Commonwealth intervention under the Aliens Restriction Order was again suggested.\textsuperscript{21} Simultaneously, members of the all-Russian I.W.W. local at Cairns announced their intention to return to their native land to fight for 'Industrial Unionism' and to oppose the likelihood of counter-revolution occurring there. Before departing, however, they held a huge celebratory gathering, attended by several thousand, where large red banners proclaimed 'Long Live the Russian Revolution.'\textsuperscript{22} Official alarm escalated, when following the October revolution, the Brisbane Russian Association jubilantly declared itself to be 'a Soviet'. From this time, the activities of the Association's new secretary, Peter Simonoff - a former canecutter and Broken Hill miner - were closely monitored by the Brisbane Censor.\textsuperscript{23} When in January 1918, Simonoff replaced Abramovitch-Tomas of Brisbane as Russian Consul-General, the Federal Government refused to recognize his new diplomatic
status. *Workers Life*, the latest paper produced by the Russian Association was suppressed by the Censor, who drew a direct parallel between German propaganda and the 'present condition of Russia.'

One of Simonoff's earliest acts as Consul-General was to complain to Premier Ryan on behalf of a group of thirty-six Russian workers at Halifax, claiming victimization by local police. It was alleged that Andrew Konchiz, acting as interpreter for Martin Soojloboff in a 'drunkenness' case had been seized and beaten by two constables when he disputed the sentence handed down. Konchiz's arm had been broken in the assault. The Russians protested angrily, in halting English:

... they will not allow us to speak ... give us justice otherwise we will be driven to make our own ... cannot stand it longer ... unrest going [on] among Russians here.

Alluding to a general upsurge of antagonism against Russian residents, Simonoff commented:

Lately in North Queensland a good few cases have occurred in which Russians have been somewhat specially treated with enmity, because whenever arrested, Russians are punished heavily and badly treated ... They are the same Russians and probably did the same drinking [previously] but they were not now treated like they were before.

Evidence of deteriorating relations came also from centres outside North Queensland. H. Nudga, a Russian living at Canungra wrote to a compatriot at Bundaberg that:

... [with the Bolsheviks] openly at war with the Allies [sic] ... people here are beginning to look upon us as enemies. If they do not actually flaunt their hostility in our face[s], they discuss it amongst themselves in unflattering terms.

Increasingly, during 1918, Russians were stereotyped as the instigators of social dislocation by loyalists. In March 1918, when Nationalist candidate, H.R. Gelston was attacked by a savage pro-Labor mob in Townsville while campaigning in the State election, he blamed the
riot exclusively upon local Russians. Another series of incidents at a canecutters' camp outside Marlborough later in 1918 reveals this pattern of scapegoating even more clearly. When returned soldiers employed among sugar workers there heard that one of the field-gang had 'abused the English authorities', they singled out a Russian labourer named Mihalenko as the culprit. A mock trial was held, to which Mihalenko was forcibly dragged, abused and told that he would be refused further employment. Yet his accusers were embarrassed when fellow Russian workers remonstrated with them, arguing that Mihalenko was innocent of the charge and did not even 'know English'. The ex-soldier acting as trial 'judge' nevertheless decided that the Russian should apologize to his detractors and, when he refused, he was further menaced. 'The next day,' wrote one of the Russians to Knowledge and Unity, their new newspaper, 'the soldiers held a consultation and went away complaining that it was impossible for them to get work here on account of the Russians.' 'A great deal of this kind of thing happens,' the Brisbane Censor casually remarked, as he intercepted the letter.

The conservative press and loyalist pamphleteers once more disseminated a powerful Bolshevik stereotype, bearing many of the characteristics of the 'Hun' fabrications which had preceded it. The Daily Mail, for instance reported new warfront atrocity stories, wherein Bolsheviks were depicted as 'Man beasts: The Japanese army find their wounded and killed with their eyes picked out and their stomachs turned out [by them].' Stories of the 'systematic enslaving and prostitution of women' by the Bolshevik Central Committee tended to complete this fearful picture. Locally, the Rockhampton Morning Bulletin detected the hands of Russian anarchists behind the disastrous fall in voluntary recruiting, while the National Leader depicted them as supporters of 'treachery, murder and incoherence.' 'Scratch a Russian
and you will find the Tartar underneath,' the paper solemnly advised, as it connected Bolsheviks with the 'Hun' and the I.W.W., plotting a revolutionary upheaval in Queensland. An anonymous loyalist pamphleteer, 'Secret Service' drew similar parallels in *Queer Queensland: The Breeding Ground of the Bolshevik*, written in October 1918. Connecting the Russians with an 'alien canker' pervading Queensland generally, he wrote that:

... a visit to the [Townsville] meatworks shows the evil compressed into narrower compass. Most of these foreigners profess to be Russians, although many of them have Teutonic rather than a Slavonic caste of countenance, and their speech savours more of the Hun than the Muscovite. Those who are Russians are largely Siberian products and Siberia is not alone the home of the political prisoner, but also of the very worst criminals that the Empire of the Czars produced. This explains why constituted authority has no influence over these men. They have drunk at the fount of Bolshevism ...

Themes of alien criminality, revolutionary intent and German conspiracy were thus roughly interwoven to fashion this Bolshevik stereotype. And, with the German military challenge humbled by November 1918, the Brisbane Courier finally arrived at the crushing conclusion that 'Prussianism at least stands for order and rigorous government, but Bolshevism is pandemonium and hell let loose.'

In its continuing search for target groups, xenophobia seems to have become more diversified and virulent by the second half of the war. The impact of anti-Germanism, the ethnic scares unleashed during the conscription debates and the Bolshevik revolution was cumulative in this regard, and hostile nativist expressions became a more pronounced feature of loyalist propaganda. Yet, one new aspect distinguished this heightened xenophobia from anti-Germanism extant prior to September 1916. After the bitter internal struggles of 1916 and 1917, there were now more people prepared to doubt and even openly challenge loyalist prognostications. By berating Blacks, Asians and Maltese during the
referenda, anti-conscriptionists themselves had contributed substantially to the worsening mood of racial prejudice. Yet, after being linked by loyalists with Germans, Russians and rebellious Irish in the same conflicts, some anti-conscriptionists seemed to have taken a more objective look at their alleged co-conspirators. Thus, while such anti-alien suspicions remained key loyalist responses, and indeed grew shriller as social disaffection mounted, a vocal minority were beginning to decry the very practice of 'gross dichotomizing' upon which those responses depended.

During the first referendum campaign, Queensland's Labor W. Finlayson had been one of the first Australian politicians to defend local Germans in the face of their total condemnation throughout the nation. Speaking at a Brisbane theatre gathering, he had declared:

>The war could not be won by hysterical denunciations of everything German. It was a thin and nervous patriotism that was afraid to face facts and argued that all the right was on one side and all the wrong on the other.\(^{34}\)

As British-Australian anti-conscriptionists fought alongside local Germans to secure 'No' victories and were denounced as minions of the enemy for doing so, more of them seemed prepared to qualify previously unchallenged anti-German assumptions. Joseph Silver Collings had publicly moved closer to his subsequent position of addressing German workers as 'comrades' when he asserted, amidst uproar at a meeting in Centennial Hall in November 1916 that some Germans were 'among the best people he knew.'\(^{35}\)

Although some Labor ministers, like H.F. Hardacre, the Secretary for Public Instruction maintained their inflexible anti-German views,\(^{36}\) others now began to temper their attitudes, particularly in relation to local German residents. Whereas, early in 1916, the Ryan Government had dismissed Germans from public office and curbed their powers upon local councils, Home Secretary John Huxham was actively resisting any further
developments in that direction by November of that year. Replying to a
deputation of loyalist local councillors calling for the disfranchise-
ment of German ratepayers, Huxham argued defensively:

I am an out and out Britisher, but I am not in favour of this.
I would get Britishers who are absolutely disloyal by the
heels before I would get the Germans ... It seemed unjust to
persons who were good settlers who loved their country.

When one of the deputation reminded him of the way 'the enemy' had
'mutilated and maltreated prisoners', Huxham replied ambiguously that he
had read 'where Russians had been mutilated, but had not come across
instances where Britishers had similarly suffered.' Further restrictions
upon German residents would only 'perpetuate bitterness', he concluded.37
Following this, bans against certain 'persons of enemy origin holding
positions on local councils' were quietly lifted.

Following upon the sharp ideological divisions induced by
conscription, there seems to have been more circumspection, generally,
about responding to every loyalist demand for increased surveillance over
'the enemy within'. In December 1916, the Victorian anti-German League,
claiming, among its 15,000 members, many office-bearers holding high
places in politics, the Church and the professions approached Premier
Ryan for support. Yet he did not even grace their communication with a
reply.36 Although loyalist organizations like the R.S. & P.N.L.
continued to call 'to high heaven' for an anti-German league in
Queensland, such a movement failed to receive any of the official support
it had obtained in Victoria and New South Wales.38 In October 1917, the
All Loyal League was inaugurated in Brisbane, drawing many of its
members initially from a conscriptionist group, the Women's Compulsory
Service League. Many of its objectives involved the suppression of
German culture, commercial and political activities within Australia, but
its adherents seem to have separated in dismay following the loss of the
second conscription referendum.39 On the other hand, certain workers
now began to display a softening of attitude towards local Germans. Townsville meatworkers had been among the first to boycott German labourers in late 1914. Although loyalist publications like The Australian Statesman and Mining Standard and the National Leader were bombarding their readers with stories of German corpse factories and cannibalism by mid-1917, however, the Townsville workers' attitude towards German residents seems to have undergone a major reversal by this time. When, in July 1917, a vote was again taken upon the issue of working alongside Germans, only sixty-one of the 1,016 workers at Alligator Creek continued to oppose this. 'The only enemy they had was the Capitalist,' one unionist stated. During 1918, the A.M.I.E.U. executive would actually discipline four of its Brisbane members who refused employment with Germans at the Oxley meat-processing plant.

Anti-conscriptionists found further cause for alarm in the Federal Government's continual encroachment upon the civil freedoms of 'enemy aliens'. For instance, the Commonwealth Electoral (War Time) Act of 1917 prevented even naturalized British subjects, who were either born in an enemy country or had fathers born there from exercising a Federal vote until six months after the termination of hostilities. An estimated 20,000 Queensland voters - the vast majority of whom were 'No' supporters - were thereby disenfranchised for the second conscription referendum. During this campaign, the Commonwealth's internment policies became a further cause for concern. The re-arrest of Dr Eugen Hirschfeld in October 1917 after his release, upon parole from the Liverpool camp in August was only one such incident to provoke considerable local comment. His incarceration upon Garden Island in Sydney Harbour, with 'six keepers' to watch over him was compared worriedly with the sudden internment of Queensland Irish republican, W.J. Fegan, which occurred at the same time. Concern increased in
January 1918 with the arrest at Gladstone of C.S. Schache, a second-generation Australian with a German-born grandfather. Schache, a waterside worker had been the secretary of the Gladstone W.P.O. to whom Lewis McDonald had desperately written in November 1917 to organize the distribution of *Hansard No. 37* in that district. Because of Schache's German-sounding name, this particular letter had caught the eye of the Brisbane censor and, through its interception, the entire *Hansard* 'plot' had been uncovered. Hughes had dramatically produced this confiscated letter during his fiery Exhibition Ground speech of 27 November, purposely pronouncing the second word of its opening address - 'Dear Comrade' - as 'Kamarad', when he quoted from it.\(^5^\)

Although Hughes's threat, that evening 'to have' Ryan or Theodore had come to nothing, it seemed to many Labor supporters in January 1918 that he had contented himself by 'having' Mr Schache instead. No evidence of hostile intent against Schache could be found, Senator Ferricks told the House of Representatives on 23 January. German residents and anti-conscriptionists alike concluded somberly that Schache - 'a man with an absolutely clean record and character' - had been arrested purely because of his German background and political affiliations.\(^6^\)

Events in New South Wales during February seemed further confirmation of their suspicions, for the internment there of Father Charles Jerger, a Passionist priest of German extraction was once more prompted by his anti-conscription activities. It did not escape the attention of Queenslanders, rankled by the arrests of Schache and Fegan, that Jerger was not only of German origin but was also a Catholic anti-conscriptionist, preaching to large numbers of Irish workers of Marrickville.\(^7^\) The attempts by Commonwealth censorship to suppress news of the agitation for Jerger's release merely added insult to injury. In April 1918, the Catholic Federation of New South Wales protested to
Premier Ryan that details of a huge protest rally at Sydney Town Hall, attended by 'more than 20,000 people' had been refused publication by Federal authorities. Writing from Sydney, Albert Dryer also informed Thomas Fitzgerald in Brisbane of these strict censorship suppressions 'in the press or by dodgers.' \(^{40}\) Loyalist preoccupations about a German, Sinn Fein nexus with anti-conscriptionists therefore seems to have gained considerable momentum in Australia since 1916. \(^{49}\) Following the internments of Fegan, Schache and Jerger, the two Brisbane premises of the Austral-Irish Association were raided on 25 March by Commonwealth police, in conjunction with a series of similar raids conducted in Sydney and Melbourne. \(^{50}\) These were promoted, in turn, by the public display of Sinn Fein banners, carried by Archbishops Mannix and Cattaneo in Melbourne nine days previously. Three days after the raids, Sinn Fein was declared a proscribed organization under the Illegal Associations Act. \(^{51}\)

From documents seized by Commonwealth police, Federal authorities learnt that there were 1,100 members of the Association in Sydney, 400 in Brisbane and 100 more in Melbourne. \(^{52}\) Attempts were also underway to open new branches at Warwick and in North Queensland as well as in Adelaide, South Australia. Further, plans to 'rouse Queensland' for the collection of funds 'for the republicans in Erin' were disclosed in a letter Dryer had written to Fitzgerald in early March 1918. \(^{53}\) A report upon 'Sinn Fein and Seditious Irish Societies' prepared by Lieutenant-Colonel H.E. Jones of the Special Intelligence Bureau, Lieutenant-Commander J.G. Latham of Naval Intelligence and Major Piesse of Military Intelligence reviewed the incriminating evidence in April and concluded that the three I.N.A. branches had been organized 'for the purpose of assisting in an effort to gain the independence of Ireland by the means (inter alia) of helping Germany and her allies in the war.' The report
recommended that Crown Law officers must now decide whether Thomas Dryer of Sydney, Frank McKeown of Melbourne as well as Thomas Fitzgerald and Thomas Cashin of Brisbane should be prosecuted for 'incitement to treason or sedition or for seditious conspiracy or sedition.' During May, further raids were recommended and, after the British Home Office had released details through its London Press Bureau, purporting to show continuing intrigues between Ireland and Germany, the Senate moved on 4 June to implement further measures for 'suppressing Sinn Fein propaganda in Australia.' As a direct result, on 17 and 18 June 1918, Thomas Fitzgerald was arrested in Brisbane, Maurice Dalton and Frank McKeown in Melbourne as well as Thomas Dryer, Edmund McSweeney, William McGuiness and Michael McGing in Sydney. All seven men were immediately interned on a charge of being 'of hostile origin and association.'

An angry reaction, Australia-wide to these moves caused the Federal Government to announce in early July that a public inquiry would be held into the internment of the seven republicans. Like the trial of the I.W.W. twelve in December 1916, however, the proposed tribunal was not merely intended to test the legal 'correctness' of the Government's action against the Sinn Fein seven. It was also anticipated that the inquiry would serve as a public show-case for the activities of another 'insurrectionary and hostile association' which, like the I.W.W., was supposedly acting in collusion with German war aims, Empire-wide. It was hoped that a prestigious member of the 'highest Australian tribunal' would conduct the hearing. Yet after Chief Justice Griffith and Justice Power of the High Court both declined the task on account of the 'extra-judicial nature of the proceedings', Mr Justice Harvey of the New South Wales Supreme Court was ultimately chosen to head the inquiry, which opened on 8 August.

Meanwhile, in Queensland, the evidence of an escalating Commonwealth
Irish Republican Internes: (Back Row) W. McGuinness (N.S.W.), F. McKeown (V.), M. McGing (N.S.W.), W. Fegan (Qld).
(Front Row) E. McSweeney (N.S.W.), M. Dalton (V.), A.T. Dryer (N.S.W.) and T. Fitzgerald (Qld) (Labor Call 29 August 1918).
assault upon outspoken German and Irish citizens appeared to have become too glaring to be left unanswered any longer. The Federal announcement that 'a trial ... of certain Irishmen' was to begin induced Cuthbert Butler, formerly of the A.C.C.C. to open a general attack upon internment without trial in Australia. His outspokenness may have been partly prompted by the fact that he had only recently been elected as the Labor member for Lockyer - a seat with a high proportion of German voters - in the March State election. Yet his protest was also based upon his own, consistent anti-militaristic convictions. Writing to the Queensland Times on 6 July 1918, Butler criticised the process whereby 'any person is liable to be taken from Queensland and placed in an internment camp.' Without specifically mentioning German settlers, he reminded the Editor that there were 'men in the camp at Liverpool who have been there over three years and ... have not been told why.' He continued:

... the people who suffer most under the form of military tyranny to which I refer are people who came to Australia because we invited them ... Many came and literally carved out homes for themselves in the scrub country of our State ... And now in this time of war we take them from their homes and keep them under arrest ... [without] good or valid reason ... in many of the cases of internment.\(^\text{58}\)

Butler's call for 'bare fairplay' was refused publication by the local censor, however, and, as in November 1917, an attempt was consequently made to read the text of his letter into the Queensland parliamentary record. On 23 July, at Butler's instigation, a motion for adjournment in the Legislative Assembly was transformed into a grievance debate upon 'the removal from Queensland and imprisonment without trial in New South Wales of certain citizens by the Commonwealth Government.'\(^\text{59}\) The cases of Fegan, Schache and Fitzgerald in particular were highlighted in the speeches which followed.

Even as this debate was proceeding, the Brisbane Censor contacted
his superior in Melbourne upon the 'probability of reprint, as in Hansard 37.' After first advising Captain Stable to use his own judgment and to 'be liberal in construing regulations', the Deputy Chief Censor rapidly moved - in the space of several telegrams - to the uncompromising position of forbidding 'the printing of Hansard or otherwise,' containing the offending debate. 'If you have reasonable grounds for believing your orders are not being obeyed,' McColl advised Stable on 24 July, 'telegraph me immediately and instruction to take necessary action for their enforcement will be sent to [Military] Commandant'. Simultaneously, Lieutenant-Colonel Legge, the Chief of General Staff ordered the Commandant, General Irving in a 'VERY SECRET' despatch:

Be prepared if instructed seize Hansard. Opposition possible. Keep touch with Censor but Minister holds you responsible your arrangements do not leak out and you will communicate the above to no other person whatever. Instruction to seize must come from me.

The successful censorship of Hansard 37 had undoubtedly established a precedent for intervention which was about to be duplicated with Hansard 17. On Thursday, 25 July, the Censor served notice upon the Government Printer to submit Hansard proofs to his office. The Military Commandant was ordered to stand by and, in the face of refusal or resistance was instructed to use either Commonwealth police or 'necessary military action' to 'enforce obedience'. In the 'ultimate resort,' he was instructed to take actual possession of the State Printing Office. Believing the uncensored printing of Hansard was proceeding on the morning of 26 July, Brigadier General Irving duly adopted this 'ultimate resort' and 'technically and quietly' took 'military possession of land and buildings belonging to the Queensland Government'.

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This outright seizure was an unprecedented invasion of the State's sovereign rights. As such, it was potentially an even more hazardous and provocative move than the military raid which the Prime Minister had directed against the building the previous November. Yet the atmosphere of escalating tension and conflict which had surrounded that earlier action had abated considerably upon this latter occasion. Although Ryan attacked the usurpation as a 'high handed' and 'intolerable' violation, it does not seem as though Cabinet, upon this second occasion, directly called upon the trade union movement for support. Instead, the Premier submitted that no uncensored copies would be despatched and, in response, the Commandant withdrew his men. The Queensland *Hansard* was once more censored on 28 and 29 July. The full text of Butler's letter as well as other matters showing 'unfair treatment of Germans in general' were deleted. So too were 'particulars of alleged treatment of prisoners of war,' including a description of how W.J. Fegan had suffered 'inhumane treatment' in a damp cell with no bed and bad food. References alleging that Schache had been interned upon the basis of his German-sounding name were also removed. Although the remainder of the debate was published - partly in a larger type-set than usual - the tactical victory once more lay with the Commonwealth.  

During the grievance debate in question, Premier Ryan spoke of the necessity of beginning public meetings in order to bring community opinion 'to bear ... upon the question in such a way that those who are so exercising these powers will refrain ... under the penalty of the risk, when they next face the electors, of losing the powers which they have.' Ryan's libertarian outlook was reflected in this approach, while his own Government's excellent showing in the recent election - with 53.68% of the valid vote - may have further encouraged his stand. The *Hansard* debate was intended to provide people with 'all the facts'
upon the discriminatory operations of internment, disfranchisement and censorship in the optimistic hope that 'public opinion in Australia will revolt against it.' After Hansard was censored, however, the C.P.E., in conjunction with the B.I.C. executive next called a meeting of representatives from both industrial and political wings of the labour movement to discuss future tactics. This conference, described by the Daily Standard as 'one of the most representative of its kind ever held in Queensland' met at Trades Hall on 11 August and decided to launch an immediate publicity campaign, with public gatherings throughout the State, in order to reveal 'the anti-democratic and arbitrary methods at present employed by the military authorities.'

Yet the very efficiency of those methods would rapidly turn a promising campaign into an entirely moribund one, as 'publicity' consistently failed to outflank censorship. The entire report of the Trades Hall conference was deleted from the Daily Standard, instituting a series of 'cat-and-mouse' moves between that paper and the Censor. As Captain Stable began attacking the alleged 'pro-Germanism' in its articles, the paper published part of the censored account, after the information had been repeated for this purpose at the third Queensland Trade Union Congress on 12 August. Consequently, the Commonwealth Crown Solicitor began proceedings against the Editor of the Standard under Regulation 28A of the War Precautions Act. Following this, a report of the inaugural publicity rally, held by Ryan and Theodore at the Exhibition Hall on 26 August was suppressed in its entirety. Several days later, the chastened proprietors of the Daily Standard agreed 'to publish an announcement that they will in future abide by the Censorship instructions.' No effort was subsequently spared to ensure that the publicity campaign, organized to encompass 'almost every town in the State' floundered irreparably. The Governor-General's Secretary,
Major George Steward, who was still active with the Special Intelligence Bureau apprised Acting Prime Minister Watt directly upon its details.

Captain Stable later summarized the outcome in the following report:

The 'Publicity Campaign' died at birth. Strong measures were taken by the Censor - there was a big splash - one meeting: many hercules were uttered by the platform talent of pro-German bodies. People wondered day by day where the champions of interned Germans and others were to commence this 'publicity campaign'. There was none. Speakers went to allotted meeting places but there were no audiences - and today the scheme is dead.\(^6^6\)

Although Stable's assessment implies that his own actions were paramount in suppressing the offensive, other reasons may be suggested for its failure. Labor's administrative co-ordination of the programme, for instance, seemed lax and ineptly instituted. George Barber of the P.L.P. complained of 'confused arrangements at most of the places' and poor organization generally. More significantly, however, the expected groundswell of public outrage at the 'unjust' internments failed to occur. For instance, Townsville's Labor member, Dan Ryan, an excellent platform speaker arrived to address a South Brisbane meeting only to discover that 'no officials or audience were present.' Vigilant censorship undoubtedly contributed to this fiasco.\(^6^7\) Yet the attempt to build a civil liberties initiative upon the questionable internment of several German and Irish residents also failed to receive the sympathetic reaction which Labor politicians and Trade Union officials had anticipated. Anti-Germanism, sectarianism and ethnic hatreds generally had all taken their toll, ensuring, at best, only a diffident public response. Fearing Commonwealth retaliation, even citizens who were potentially sympathetic to the plight of 'alien' minorities remained cautious and non-committal upon issues of this nature.

As Labor's initiative dwindled away, daily press columns were given over, instead, to sensational reports of Mr Justice Harvey's enquiry into
the internment of the Sinn Fein seven. Here, the 'danger to the community as a whole' posed by the I.N.A. was constantly emphasized. It was represented as being merely a cloak or recruiting ground for the I.R.B., which was depicted, in turn, as a 'pro-German treasonable organization', linked with similar groups in the United States, Ireland and even Germany itself. When the inquiry closed on 30 August, and Harvey's report was presented to the Governor-General twelve days later, it was concluded that Federal action had been entirely justified and that the detention of the seven by the Commonwealth should continue. In the interim, Cuthbert Butler, who had begun the aborted anti-internment crusade in Queensland was himself summoned for statements deemed both prejudicial to recruiting and 'likely to cause disaffection amongst people of German race or extraction in Australia', in his original, unpublished letter of 6 July to the Queensland Times. On 21 October 1918, when Butler was successfully prosecuted and fined five pounds plus costs for his outspokenness, Labor's sorry attempt at defending these minority interests was brought to a close.

The labour movement's venture and subsequent defeat upon the internment question was paralleled by its role in yet another struggle during 1918, involving minority rights. This was the fight to prevent the deportation, under the Aliens Restriction Order of 1915, of Italian reservists living in Australia, for military conscription in their country of origin. The struggle began on 6 March 1918 when Italian subjects were 'called upon to return to Italy' or face punitive action in a notice issued under Regulation 61 of the War Precautions Act. Eight days later, deportation orders were issued by the Defence Department to be served upon those failing to comply. Estimations of the number of Italians affected by this ruling varied significantly. Cavaliere Eles, the Italian consul believed that almost 4,000 reservists were involved, while Mick Considine,
The Labour Movement's Impression of the Ryan versus Hughes Contest (The Militant December 1919).

"It's a shame to hit him."

TIME!
Labor member for Broken Hill argued in the House of Representatives that 6,000 was a more likely figure. A pamphlet, alarmingly titled *Conscription Is In Force* added that these 6,000 men had families numbering 30,000 dependants. Although the figure of 30,000 was probably chosen more for its propaganda value than its precise accuracy, the size of the group of women and children dependent upon these potential conscripts was indeed substantial. By 1921, there were 8,135 persons recorded of Italian birth residing in Australia, most of whom were present in 1918. Australia's Italian population stood at 5,678 in 1901, and, as Lancaster-Jones shows:

> From 1900 onwards the volume of Italian migration ... continued to increase from an average of 700 to 800 emigrants annually to a peak of 1,682 ... in 1914.

Most of these migrants were young, single men who, upon marrying in Australia, tended to raise large families. Queensland had received more than one-quarter of this intake, since the first appreciable influx of these migrants into the Northern canefields in 1891. Most of these immigrants were from the Northern Italian regions of Lombardia and Piedmonte and had settled on the coastal belt where they either worked as cane cutters or had succeeded in establishing themselves as small farmers.

The shock notice of deportation brought an immediate reaction of 'great unrest' from the Italian communities scattered from Maryborough and Childers in the South to Ayr, Halifax, Innisfail and Cairns in the North. Outside support was slower to mobilize, but when arrests began in Melbourne, Sydney and Broken Hill in April and May, a campaign of resistance among other radicals and anti-conscriptionists eventually began to grow. The first to respond were militant socialists who had already championed the cause of other non-British minorities, such as the Germans and Russians. At a meeting in the Sydney Socialist Hall on
21 April, Adela Pankhurst stated:

The deportation of the Italians is infamous ... We should do something to prevent the young lives being sacrificed ... While we stand idly by and see our Italian comrades conscripted in Australia, are we absolutely safe ourselves?^75

Upon receipt of a circular from B. Santamaria warning that 'military authorities are searching the homes of Italians, seeking men who have not gone to camp ... and displaying great ruthlessness in their searching,' a remnant of the Sydney I.W.W., still functioning resolutely on as the Workers' International Industrial Union (W.I.I.U.) called upon the No Conscription Council of New South Wales in May to take 'definite action' by arranging protest meetings in the Domain.76 The first sign of such agitation in Queensland came the following month when Joseph Silver Collings steered a motion through the general meeting of the Metropolitan District Labour Council protesting that 'Australian soldiers, fully armed have been utilized to force ... unwilling Australian residents to obey a Military order.' Senator Pearce, to whom the motion was directed was reminded that Australia had 'twice declared against conscription' and that Commonwealth involvement in the call-up therefore represented 'a violation of the national will.' In the name of 'international working class justice,' the Metropolitan Council pledged that it would stand by 'our Italian comrades' in their time of difficulty. As Italian spokesmen at Childers, Ingham, Innisfail and Halifax called upon the Ryan Government to protect their countrymen from conscription, messages of support began arriving from waterside workers at Townsville, miners at Mount Cuthbert and sugar workers at Ayr and Innisfail. At this latter centre on 15 July, for instance, a 'large meeting' of A.W.U. members pledged themselves to 'stand by' the Italians adding that 'any unionist who takes the place of a man deported out of the Country should be placed in the same category as scab.'77
In response to the mounting agitation, the Ryan Government promised that its police force would not co-operate with any Commonwealth action upon the matter apart from posting notices of the call-up in the local press of each district. When in September, Federal authorities requested police aid in serving some 161 deportation orders in the Cairns and Maryborough districts, Ryan therefore refused any further involvement.\(^7\) Instead, military squads of thirteen men under Lieutenant-Colonel Luscombe and thirty-one under Lieutenant-Colonel Walker were sent to Maryborough and Cairns respectively and began making arrests 'gradually ... at the rate of 3 or 4 per diem' after 12 September.\(^7\) Italian resistance was immediate and dramatic. All Italians, whether farmers or labourers ceased farming operations in protest and, as the Mourilyan Cane Growers' Association complained, stated their intention of refusing work until compulsory deportation was cancelled.\(^8\) Police at Innisfail warned that Italians were buying rifles and threatening to shoot if interfered with.\(^8\) Medical inspections of reservists called by Consular agent, Dr Fiaschi in early September throughout North Queensland were assiduously boycotted.\(^8\) Luigi Torti of Kuridalla wrote to a compatriot at Mourilyan, 'We have refused to go ... Some will see 50 with bayonets ... [before] a stronger force will compel them to go.' At a series of protest meetings held at Babinda, Innisfail, Gordonvale, Ayr, Ingham and Halifax, Italians were addressed in their own language by a socialist named Sobarsante from Sydney who colourfully informed them of how their countrymen had been abused by the military in the South. At the same gatherings, I.W.W. members as well as some militant, local A.W.U. officials advised reservists 'not to answer the call but to arm themselves and they would assist them to fight the Military if they came for them.' Yet, when these military arrests actually began, the active assistance of Australian workers in helping Italians to resist the round-up was notable by its absence.\(^8\)
As in the anti-internment campaign proceeding simultaneously in Southern Queensland, labour leaders found that any worker support for these 'aliens' was circumspect and halting in its application when the critical moment arrived. 'Individually, the workers do not seem to be inclined to concern themselves with the deportation of the Italians,' commented a relieved Captain Reginald Hayes of Military Intelligence on 27 September, as he related how Townsville wharfies had decided that action need not be taken 'as a union', but that individual members should attend protest rallies 'if they pleased.'

Once more, censorship had hampered an adequate appreciation of the problem. From the outset, all press mentions of the call-up had been suppressed, and a petition protesting against 'the forcible seizure of law-abiding citizens' had been seized by the military in July. Yet, apart from the censorship, Australian workers again encountered great difficulty in overcoming deeply-ingrained ethnocentric responses towards Southern Europeans.

The greatest irony, of course, was that anti-conscriptionists themselves had recently enlivened this xenophobia by their own attacks upon Maltese labourers in late 1916. Meetings protesting against the presence of both Greeks and Italians had also been held in certain Northern centres at this time, and the heightened opposition to Southern Europeans had persisted into 1917. In November 1917, for instance, Labor Call had referred to 'the piebald North', as the haunt of Greeks, Maltese and other 'nondescript' Europeans - 'the steak and oyster and macaroni men.' Already, in July, the Federal Government had recommended that 'further immigration of Maltese to Australia during the period of the war is undesirable.' Verbal outbursts against 'dirty Greeks' were also common in pamphlets, the press and at public meetings. In June 1918, therefore, it was again decided that 'the admission of Greeks into Australia at the present time cannot be permitted,' after
Mary (to Organ Grinder): "You bin married man?"
Antonio: "No! Me notta marry."
Mary: "You plenty lie! Where you bin get it piccaninny?"

Two at One Blow: Racial Stereotyping in Smith's Weekly.
some citizens from Castelloritzo had applied for passages to the Commonwealth.® British-Australians continued to refer disparagingly to most Southern Europeans as 'Dagoes' and some, according to Gurdon, seemed unable to distinguish between certain Italians and 'black men.'®

In this context, it is perhaps questionable why any wider campaign, however tepid, was mounted in support of the Italians at all. Yet it must be remembered, to begin with, that the majority of these migrants were from Northern Italian provinces and were thus of an ethnic type held to be distinctly preferable to their Southern Italian counterparts. Northern Italians 'of the Alpine type', it was commonly argued, were physically, temperamentally and culturally superior to the 'hot blooded and impulsive' Southern 'Mediterraneans.'® While this helps, in part, to account for the support they were offered, it does not entirely suffice as an explanation, for even these 'superior' Northern types were still seen as 'inferior' to Britishers. As Queensland's Censor, Captain Stable commented in November 1918, reflecting upon evidence contained in letters written by Italians which he had intercepted, 'They have no love for the English i.e. the people of North Queensland. They complain that they are despised and treated with contempt.'® A second rallying cry in this anti-deportation campaign, however, was raised against the spectre of conscription itself. Workers were called upon to defeat it a third time, for, as leaflets issued in support of the Italians warned, 'If you sanction this outrage, it will be your turn next.'® Thus a degree of self-preservation allied with a deep-seated antipathy against military compulsion, per se encouraged their protests, rather than any well-developed sense of solidarity with Italian workers.

Self-interest was also paramount among cane-workers on account of the serious sugar strikes occurring at Ingham, Innisfail and Cairns in August and September, in which strikers were anxious to have all field-
hands join, whatever their ethnic origins. The fact that Italians had simultaneously ceased work in protest against their call-up helped to cement this temporary alliance. Police reported Italians interacting with British-Australians at some 'uproarious' strike meetings, while, on 9 September, an attempt by pickets to have Greek workers at Goondi and Darraji join the strike was only narrowly prevented by local constables. Yet these tentative attempts to forge class linkages across ethnic barriers tended to subside as the strike petered out in mid-September. Indeed, as the strike ended, the military arrests began. Ironically, the only reprieve won by the reservists came when cane-growers convinced the Commonwealth that the harvest would be ruined if Italian workers and farmers were suddenly taken. When the Italians returned to work as part of this bargain with the growers, arrests were suspended again on 19 September. Yet renewed pressure by Italian authorities led to the issue of new deportation orders on 3 October, with the Defence Department retaining the right to grant exemptions. As arrests re-commenced in mid-October, the Cairns Post noted jubilantly:

Incredible as it may seem, not the slightest attempt was made by IWW or disloyal elements of labour to intervene or prevent the arrests; they deserted their simple dupes at the first sight of competent authority.

The erstwhile supporters of the Italians therefore became immobilized as the forcible muster proceeded. By 20 October, approximately 100 reservists had been despatched to Sydney. Two days later, one Italian cane-cutter who arrived with his work-gang at Townsville described the following reception:

Scarcely had I disembarked when the Townsville soldiers took me and put me in prison to go to the war. Now they say they are taking all, both of this port and of Innisfail ... These are days when I sleep on the ground with nothing to cover me.
By early November, 170 Italians had been arrested at Innisfail, while a Cairns resident related how 'a big squad of returned soldiers' there were 'rounding up the Dagoes to send them back to Italy. They have captured a lot and have them [sur]rounded in the drill shed.' Anguished Italians complained of how such 'barbaric laws' rendered the English 'worse than the Germans'. Marianna Ravissa of Ayr, for instance, wrote bitterly to her brother at South Johnstone of how their father, a man of eighty years had been arrested by 'soldiers with fixed bayonets' and marched to the barracks for interrogation. Another Italian named Monti had been 'taken as if he were a brigand.' 'Such are the beautiful methods they adopt towards us,' a third Italian commented sarcastically, 'Those who do not present themselves will be ... driven out of Australia.' Ernest Scott records that 'only about 500 Italians' had 'embarked' from Australia when the Armistice interrupted these deportation proceedings. Yet the sudden military onslaught had shaken Australia's Italian communities to the core. The relieved reservists, displaying a fine sense of both theatricality and sarcasm marched in column through the streets of Cairns, Innisfail and Brisbane, crying 'Viva Italia' and bearing the Union Jack before them.

The equivocation of labour's rank and file upon these questions of German and Irish internment or Italian deportation and conscription contrasts sharply against the determination displayed by loyalists upon such matters. Italian marchers bore a Union Jack at their head advisedly, for other emblems were no longer to be tolerated. Alien, disloyalist outgrowths must now receive 'amputation' from the body politic, a loyalist pamphlet declared in October, as it demanded an Australia for White Australians, not a 'piebald community' nor 'a made-in-Germany Marxian muddle.' On 25 August 1918, a group of ex-soldiers and other citizens met at the Domain to form the Returned Sailors, Soldiers and
Citizens Loyalty League (R.S.S. & C.L.L.) as a further demonstration of the strident patriotism displayed by the conscriptionist, protestant and returned soldier organizations which had preceded it. As the R.S.S.I.L.A. pledged its continuing opposition to 'disloyal, seditious or pro-German utterances' and the R.S. & P.N.L. maintained its vigil against the 'Alien mole', the Loyalty League's new secretary, Mr T.G. Mills stated that its object was 'to keep the Union Jack flying over Australia' and to gather beneath it 'sufficient soldiers and loyal Britons' to 'put down disloyalty' in any form. He hoped that this movement would eventually become strong enough 'to crush this element out' entirely. C.J. Peiniger, the League's new president was himself a returned soldier who had enlisted early in the war and had been 'smashed up on two occasions by the enemy.' Upon his military discharge, he had become an ardent recruiter and conscriptionist. He argued forcefully that Queensland, under Labor rule had become 'the sanctuary of all disloyalists, traitors and ... scum,' whose organizations were financed by 'a great deal of German money.' Penning a welcome to the R.S.S. & C.L.L., a Daily Mail correspondent added that the time had now come for 'all Britishers' to attack these 'Hun organizations' of revolutionaries and to 'fight the enemy at home to the death.'

The anti-alien, anti-radical rhetoric employed by these loyalist activists was clearly the vocabulary of paranoia. The polarizing appeal of their simplistic reasoning was structured, in turn, upon modes of thought which had been cultivated daily since the war began. Among such ranks, therefore, anti-Germanism continued to foster the very anxieties which it claimed to explain and exorcise. Its persuasiveness endured to sway the judgment of many in high office. Ernie Lane was amazed in late 1918, for instance, when he was berated by Censor Stable for advocating peace by negotiation with the outburst: 'You don't know the
unspeakable atrocities committed by the Huns. At New Farm, there is a girl with her two hands cut off!'\textsuperscript{103} Stable genuinely believed that German perfidy was the key to understanding all forms of social division in Australia. In a report prepared in September 1918, he argued that 'the enemy agent' controlled the entire amalgamation of disloyalist forces and the fostering of 'industrial trouble and social unrest.' The Deputy Chief Censor in Melbourne seemed to agree, claiming that 'enemy activity' was responsible for the onset of 'class warfare' throughout Australia. But Stable's analysis went a step further. In Queensland, he believed, 'the enemy alien' was now transferring his attention to 'other and safer fields' and was creating trouble by promoting a 'militant attitude' against the labour movement among members of the 'so-called leisured class.' As proof of their nimble efforts in directing right and left wing advocates at each other's throats, he offered the paltry evidence that 'the most bitter anti-labour newspaper in Queensland has a son of a full-fledged and, in his time, prominent German as one of its directors.'\textsuperscript{104} It is a measure of the irrationality apparent among many loyalists in official positions that the Censor's delusive report was seriously accepted and that Stable himself continued to be regarded as a 'level-headed' officer.\textsuperscript{105} Following the Daily Standard's advocacy of anti-internment in August, the Censor's campaign against the paper reached new heights of vehemence. Spurred on by what he considered to be the Standard's 'soft line' on Germany, he suggested in October that the authorities should put it 'out of issue'. Even a report showing infant mortality in Bombay which questioned Imperial 'principles of humanity' was condemned as 'pro-German ... equalling anything that the most vile Bolshevik print could produce.'\textsuperscript{106}

Denunciations of disloyalty at Loyalty League gatherings alternated effortlessly between rebuke of the Bosche and the Bolshevik, for the latter were regarded as 'working effortlessly for Germany' in any case.\textsuperscript{107}
At one R.S.S. & C.L.L. meeting called in October to discuss 'The Enemy at Home', local businessman E.R. Jenyns spoke upon the dangers of the Germans 'in our midst' who 'did not love us'. He was followed by Corporal H.E. Sizer, an ardent conscriptionist who had won the seat of Nundah for the R.S. & P.N.L. at the March elections. Sizer claimed that speeches he had heard in the Legislative Assembly made him wonder whether he was sitting 'in a British or an alien Parliament.' He feared that, 'what was at the back of the whole thing was ... what had had such an effect in Russia - the doctrines of Bolshevism.' (Applause) As loyalists sensed the prospect of allied victory from August onwards, a mood of 'righteous indignation' revitalized their flagging spirits. To them, victory represented the conquest of evil by moral force and it therefore seemed fitting that this should be heralded upon the homefront by a heightened vigilance against the local 'Hun' and all his sympathizers. 'There must be no life left in the poisonous snake of Prussianism when the Allies cease raining blows upon it,' demanded the Brisbane Courier. This triumph should be celebrated by increased legislative and social restrictions upon the internal German 'menace', the National Leader added.

Returned soldiers responded to these sentiments very much as an extension of war front antagonisms. By the end of August 1918, 9,451 soldiers had returned to Queensland and received their discharge. Over the next five months, another 3,271 would arrive. Many were recuperating from war wounds or remained psychologically traumatized by the horrors of trench warfare. Upon their return these broken and disturbed men were immediately forced to grapple with the problems of adjusting to homefront existence once more. They faced civilian life with a shock of non-recognition, as they discovered that the society which they had mentally glamorized as they stared out over corpse-strewn
landscapes no longer existed. They encountered instead a society beset by a multitude of problems, tensions and conflicts. In terms of practical survival alone, the new difficulties they faced seemed immense. Food prices increased by almost 100 units in Queensland between June and December 1918 while unemployment stood at 11.6% in the October quarter. These ex-soldiers were in no psychological condition to examine complex explanations for such phenomena, even had these been suggested. Precise diagnoses without workable solutions offered them cold comfort in any case. Instead, their problems were personalized in terms which they could quickly grasp. Simplified scape-goating interpretations which gave emotional satisfaction, if nothing else, were readily popularized. Inflation was blamed upon 'war-profiteers' as effortlessly as war-weariness and disenchantment were attributed to a large phalanx of 'disloyalists.' Foreigners and sometimes women holding jobs were denounced for the amount of returned soldier unemployment, as these ex-soldiers were encouraged to believe, above all, that their adversaries in Europe still remained to plague them at home.\footnote{111}

For many, local Germans were totally identified with the front-line 'enemy', those massing, shadowy figures they had faced and fought upon the wastes of 'no-man's land'. 'If they come, we knew how to treat them overseas and we haven't forgotten yet the way to treat either an armed Bosche or an anti-Britisher at home,' one returned man wrote to the Daily Mail. Consistent with such intentions, returned servicemen joined exuberantly in the Kaiser-burning demonstrations and the petty harassment of German settlers which accompanied the victory celebrations. Their organizations led the calls for deportation and the eradication of everything Teutonic from Australian life. Similarly, Queensland's Russians were seen as the local equivalents of those 'dirty low-down dogs,' the Bolsheviks who had deserted the Allies at the Brest-Litovsk
peace talks of December 1917.\textsuperscript{112} While the Germans were regarded as a defeated people who must now be kept down, however, the jubilant Bolsheviks were viewed with far greater apprehension. 'The Bolshevik element in Queensland must be stamped out,' the soldiers' paper, the \textit{National Leader} demanded and a social environment 'polluted with pro-Hun utterances' cleansed. A skilful anti-Bolshevik press campaign emphasized the fanaticism, criminality and lust of the Russians, playing constantly upon popular susceptibilities in this regard. Commenting upon news of a Soviet 'bureau of free love', purportedly established to turn females into 'breeding animals', returned soldier Neil McKenzie of the Loyalty League concluded stoutly in November, 'The Union Jack had saved our women from that sort of thing.'\textsuperscript{113}

The Union Jack was indeed seen by soldier and civilian loyalists alike as enveloping all the 'virtues' of British Imperialism within its folds. The Red Flag, conversely, was reviled as being symbolic of frenzied, alien doctrines and all the horrors of 'bloody revolution' in Russia.\textsuperscript{114} Before Brisbane's patriots turned their attack upon the local Russian community itself, they responded to this fearful emblem in a mood bordering upon phobic rage. Early in August 1918, for instance, a column of over 100 soldiers attached to a 'March for Freedom' - an 'eleventh hour' recruiting drive - encamped at Darra, near Brisbane's outskirts, in the vicinity of a W.P.O. hall, still under construction. Local meatworkers who contributed their labour nightly to this task had recently flown a small red flag, 'a little larger than a pocket handkerchief' from its roof. Because of adverse comments from nearby residents, however, the W.P.O.'s President had removed the offending pennant several days before the soldiers' arrival and hidden it beneath a pile of timber in one corner of the building. Nevertheless, the soldiers, who were evidently informed of this piece of red cloth by
locals invaded the workers' hall 'in an organized body' and ransacked the place until they located it. Carrying it outside, they attempted to burn it ceremoniously in front of the hall. 'It will not burn; cut it with an axe,' a soldier called frantically, as the material was torn apart. Others then unfurled the British standard and raised it above the building upon a makeshift flagpole. 'After floating the Union Jack,' a police report stated, 'the soldiers all stood to attention and saluted the flag in military style.' The following day, the conservative Brisbane Courier warmly applauded the recruits' destruction of the 'Red Flag of revolution'. The left-wing Daily Standard, however, attacked the soldiers for their ignorance and extremism.

As in the struggle over internment and deportation, the labour movement once more found its interests tenuously interlinked with the fortunes of another ethnic minority over the issue of flying the Red Flag. Red had been accepted as the Queensland labour movement's official colour since 1909, while Labor's endorsement of the Red Flag as the emblem of the world's workers had only recently been made at its seventh Federal Conference held at Perth in mid-June 1918. 'The Red Flag is not against or over the Union Jack,' the Daily Standard attempted to argue, 'but it is against and over all national flags because it is the ensign of the international hopes and aspirations of the workers.' Following the Perth Conference, a large red flag raised over the Brisbane Trades Hall in July became a centre of controversy for several months. After a deputation of returned soldiers to Trades Hall failed to have the flag lowered in August, the R.S.S.I.L.A. journal, The Soldier called upon Commonwealth authorities to crush this 'incipient rebellion.' Even after Acting Prime Minister Watt informed the Premier on 19 September that 'the exhibition or use of any red flag' was to be prohibited and this controversial War Precautions
regulation was gazetted two days later, the flag continued to fly upon the building. When angry members of both Protestant and Loyalty Leagues next petitioned Senator Pearce for action, he responded re-assuringly, 'We have the means of getting it down.' On 1 October, therefore, two Intelligence Officers 'hauled down the obnoxious flag' before a cheering crowd of loyalists, as B.I.C. officials, offering no resistance, looked on glumly. Although the *Courier* referred extravagantly to Premier Ryan as 'the Great Mogul of Australian Bolshevikism' [sic] upon the following morning, it seems clear that labour's resolve had once more faltered in the face of decisive Federal action. A Russian worker, P. Kritikoff wrote to the *Daily Standard*:

> When the red flag was hauled down ... there was not a single voice of protest ... If the rank and file do not realize the real meaning of the Red Flag - that sacred standard and symbol of solidarity and fraternity of Labor, which in the present struggle in Russia is protected by Bolsheviks at any price and by every means - then the time is not ripe yet for its hoisting on the Trades Hall.

As this writer went on to warn Australian workers to be 'ready for bitter strife with your enemy, the capitalist,' the outlook of the committed revolutionary was contrasted starkly against that of the parliamentary reformer. Although loyalist propaganda tended to define Labor supporters and Bolsheviks with the same unsavoury profile, this was hardly the case in reality. The latter's insistence that 'the organized might of the workers' must ultimately overthrow the 'organized power' of the capitalist state was anathema to the former, who saw the state and its people harmoniously co-ordinated in Queensland under the democratic rule of a Labor government. This fundamental ideological dissonance, aggravated by ethnic differences would only serve to widen the rift between Russian radicals and labour's mainstream in the months ahead.
'Let them accept me as I am - extreme revolutionist,' Peter Simonoff, the Soviet Consul declared flamboyantly to Norman Freeberg of the Brisbane Worker in late October 1918. After Simonoff had addressed the third Queensland Trade Union Congress in August upon the revolution and capitalist intervention in Russia, he had been prevented, under Section 17 (c) of the Aliens Restriction Order from any further public speaking in the first Military District, despite his repeated demands to the Commonwealth to recognize his diplomatic immunity. Simonoff also wrote unrepentently to a Russian comrade, Makaroff that he would 'disobey the order'. In early October, he embarked upon a lecture tour of the Southern States, addressing socialist audiences at Newcastle, Sydney and Melbourne upon Russian events, and was rapturously received. Peter Grant, who heard Simonoff speak upon 'Latest Developments in the Russian Revolution' at Newcastle Trades Hall interpreted his message as an endorsement of 'the tactics of the IWW ... "go-slow", sabotage and industrial organization.' In Sydney, Simonoff was prevailed upon to remain another fortnight and wrote excitedly to members of the Queensland Russian Association, 'Tell the little ones that the slaves here are alive and not sleeping.' Yet he was nevertheless dogged by serious financial worries and could sense Federal authorities closing in upon him. 'Everywhere there are spirits at my heels,' he confided to A. Zuzenko, editor of Knowledge and Unity, 'In Sydney at the Trades Hall, the chairman asked the gentlemen who was taking down my speech in shorthand to leave the building.' Arriving in Melbourne by late October, Simonoff spoke at the third Inter-State Peace Conference and later upon the Yarra Bank. All this time, his correspondence with Zuzenko in Brisbane was being closely monitored by the Queensland Censor, who continually advocated taking Commonwealth action against the two men. Captain Stable was clearly alarmed by the 'tremendous reception'
which Simonoff reported he was receiving, whilst the 'brooding serf',
Zuzenko was seen by him as 'a very fine, artistic writer' and 'a
persuasive orator', potentially 'more dangerous' than Simonoff
himself.\footnote{127} In response to Stable's recommendations, a new prohibition
order was issued against both Simonoff and Zuzenko on 29 October,
preventing them from 'taking part in any meeting or engaging in any
propaganda whatever.' Zuzenko responded to this ruling by surrendering
his editorship over *Knowledge and Unity* to Fanny Rosenberg, a former
undergraduate of Moscow University and the only female member upon the
Russian Association executive, where she served as secretary.\footnote{128}
Simonoff, however, remained more intransigent. After sardonically
congratulating Zuzenko upon the 'high honour of being picked out' with
himself 'by the "democratic authorities" of this country as one of the
most dangerous personages', he resolutely concluded, 'I am going [on]
with my work as usual ... I would prefer to hang myself on the first
lamp post than to stop my work which is my duty to humanity.' Stable's
response was predictable. 'Simonoff's vanity has been tickled by recent
receptions in Newcastle, Sydney and Melbourne,' he wrote, 'and he will -
given the opportunity - be more aggressive and dangerous than hitherto.
If he is anxious to join the ranks of internees he certainly is going the
right way about it.' Simonoff managed to address two more public
meetings before he was apprehended by military police in a Melbourne
street on Sunday, 3 November and was, as Captain Stable had forecast,
immensely interned.\footnote{129}

In Queensland, the Labor government made no moves of protest against
the treatment of Zuzenko and Simonoff, as they had following the intern­
ments of Fegan, Schache and Fitzgerald. Yet, on the day after Simonoff's
arrest, an advertisement appeared in the *Daily Standard* which was to
revive considerably the concern of moderates and the fury of loyalists
in Brisbane. The notice called upon 'all wage workers' to 'roll up in style' to a 'great rally' at Centennial Hall on the evening of Friday, 8 November to 'celebrate the anniversary of the inauguration of the first Federal Socialist Republic and the overthrow of Capitalism in Russia.' 'Russian music, songs and dances' were promised there, as well as addresses by six 'militant speakers': Charles Collins and Edgar Free of the P.L.P., Charles Boulton and William Wallace of the B.I.C. and the revolutionary socialists, William Jackson and Gordon Brown, representing the One Big Union Propaganda League. 'The appearance of the advertisement was a shock even to people who are accustomed to many extraordinary occurrences in Queensland,' the Censor admitted. Under the headline, 'Roll up! Bolsheviks' the Daily Mail concluded sensationally on 5 November that 'some kind of madness' was about to manifest itself in Brisbane.130

Although the Russian Association had issued the invitations to all speakers on 29 October, Collins, Free and Wallace all withdrew from the programme, claiming a misunderstanding, as a loyalist outcry mounted on 5 and 6 November.131 On this latter evening, members of the R.S.S. & C.L.L. gathered at the Protestant League rooms to decide 'what action should be taken.' The Loyalty League had already 'been instrumental in getting several undesirables dealt with,' its new President, Mr O.E. Rees stated, and it should not now be caught flagging in its resolve. The League's secretary, T.J. Mills added that he was personally 'prepared to go to any length' to prevent the meeting, while Neil McKenzie, in also calling for 'direct action' concluded forcefully, 'Disloyalty should be squelshed - and with an axe.' Hedley Gelston, the unsuccessful Nationalist candidate who claimed to have been mobbed by Russians in Townsville earlier that year then suggested that a 'counter-demonstration' of loyalists should be held; and, after arranging for a deputation to wait upon Premier
Ryan early the following afternoon, the meeting closed with the singing of the National Anthem.\textsuperscript{132}

The deputation of nine - including two soldiers from the R.S. & P.N.L. - which conferred with the Premier on 7 November tried a different approach to their belligerence of the previous evening. They argued that it was not themselves, but an outraged general public who would cause 'trouble' if the meeting were held. Though their League was 'absolutely against force', they claimed, 'they were only a small proportion of the community' and would therefore be unable to prevent any disturbance. Ryan, however, seemed singularly unimpressed as these advocates of interruption attempted to pose as social appeasers. Upon contacting his Commissioner of Police by telephone in their presence, he received the assurance that 'if the Loyalty League leaves the meeting alone, there will be no disturbance.' Therefore, despite renewed protests that the rally was 'in the nature of an enemy celebration' and that William Jackson, in particular 'would run a good risk of being killed' if he appeared, Ryan adamantly refused to stop the meeting, arguing that it was fully 'within the law'.\textsuperscript{133}

The thwarted loyalists next appealed to the Brisbane Caledonian Society, the owners of Centennial Hall and succeeded in panicking them into demanding a surety of £200 from the Russian Association, against possible damage to the building. Simultaneously, the Commonwealth Government was successfully approached once more. As a result, at 3.30 on the afternoon before the scheduled gathering, Senator Pearce issued an order prohibiting it, as being 'prejudicial to the public safety' under paragraph 27 (c) of the War Precautions Act.\textsuperscript{134} As Centennial Hall was closed to the Russians and their supporters, the Military Commandant was likewise notified that if the meeting was 'transferred to any other building, take possession of that building
under sub-paragraph six of paragraph four of War Precautions Regulations 1915 and prevent holding of meeting there.' Upon receiving news of the Federal order, the elated loyalists immediately secured the use of Centennial Hall themselves that evening for their own 'wonderful demonstration of loyalty', to celebrate the 'success of the Allies' and to mark their 'first defeat of "the enemy within our gates".' As the hundreds of British patriots, gathered in the hall by 8 p.m. rose to sing 'God Save the King', between forty and sixty 'Russians and Bolshevik sympathizers' who had mistakenly joined the audience withdrew in bewilderment to the derisive jeers and buffetting of the crowd.\(^\text{135}\)

According to the Brisbane Courier, 'about 20 well-known public men occupied the platform,' including E.H. Macartney, the leader of the Opposition, John Adamson, the renegade conscriptionist, the Honourable T.M. Hall M.L.C., chairman of the Queensland Protestant League, A.C. Elphinstone M.L.A., a recently elected member of the R.S. & P.N.L. and Dr E. Sandford-Jackson, a leading Brisbane medical specialist who was soon to co-ordinate a wide array of Queensland's patriotic groups into a United Loyalist Executive. The speakers were thus solidly representative of middle class, commercial and professional interests and were subsequently to be condemned by Premier Ryan as 'lip-loyalists' and 'out-and-out opponents of the workers.' 'A moving barrage' of cheers greeted each appeal that Britishers should now 'arise and suppress the internal enemies of Australia whose hands, figuratively speaking were dripping with the blood of Australia's sons.' E.H. Macartney was received with more than two minutes of sustained applause before being permitted to introduce a motion condemning those who chose to celebrate the 'rule of anarchy in a nation that was at war with itself.'\(^\text{136}\)

In the meantime, the displaced Russians and their radical supporters had attempted a gathering at North Quay but had encountered violence from
a number of returned soldiers congregating in the area. The radicals therefore marched in column across Victoria Bridge with the Russian men and women at their head, singing revolutionary songs. A crowd of 1,000 demonstrators and on-lookers finally assembled on an unlighted patch of open land behind the Municipal Market reserve and were addressed there by William Jackson. News that returned soldiers were coming to break up the meeting caused confusion and alarm, but the outcome was anti-climactic. Kate Sauer, a member of the Women's Peace Army who attended the rally wrote to her friend, the Quaker, Margaret Thorp:

At about 9 o'clock we were informed that soldiers were coming ... some one brought the news that there were 200 ... Judging by the noise, you would have thought there was 2,000; and when they arrived there was about 25 all told (mere boys at that). Kathleen [Hotson] was then up on the box and in a few well chosen words brought the meeting to a close, asking all present to go away quietly and not interfere with soldiers ...  

The returned men wheeled in, singing patriotic songs and there was a half-hearted attempt to counteract this with 'some Russian air.' Finally someone poured 'Asafoetida' on the ground and 'the stench dispersed the entire crowd.' Back at Centennial Hall, a returned soldier announced from the gallery, to rounds of cheering, that his comrades had broken up the Bolshevik meeting in South Brisbane.

The following morning, the Courier jubilantly reported how 'Brisbane Bolshevism' had sustained its 'first memorable defeat.' The National Leader added effusively:

What more do folks want than the Returned Soldiers! ... They saw and they acted in stemming the first trickle of the Bolshevist stream in Queensland and they did well ...  

The Queensland Labor Government, on the other hand, had again been humbled by the combined actions of local loyalists and Federal authorities. The Courier's report emphasized how Ryan had been hooted at every mention of his name at Centennial Hall, while other Cabinet
Ministers were denied a proper hearing by intolerant crowds at concurrent victory celebrations. Thus, in attempting to offer some support for the civil rights of several of the State's non-British minorities, the labour movement had, during 1918, suffered a series of tactical defeats upon fundamental issues, involving censorship, disfranchisement, internment, deportation, conscription and the denial of free speech and assembly. Military surveillance, raids and arrests had all escalated considerably as a consequence and the names of Fegan, Hirschfeld, Schache, Fitzgerald, Simonoff and Zuzenko read like an inventory of humiliations for the left. Not only had Italian residents been seized, gaoled and deported but spokesmen for the Irish republicans, as well as the local Germans and Russians had also been silenced, and were still securely locked in Southern prisons as Armistice Day approached.

Victory demonstrations therefore began in Queensland with many of its large Irish minority disaffected by the apparent brutalities of British rule; with its smaller Italian community in turmoil over military interventions; with its numerous German residents thoroughly cowed and apprehensive about their future; and with local Russians defensively resentful, awaiting some revolutionary sign. British-Australian workers had learned by bitter experience in 1916 and 1917 that severe loyalist prescriptions were hardly in their best interests. Yet they had by no means been persuaded that such interests were identical with those of workers from other ethnic backgrounds, despite what various radicals attempted to tell them. It was this complex, tenuous blend of relationships, however, which Imperial loyalists regarded as a well integrated alien/radical onslaught upon everything which seemed fine and noble in their idealized world. They concluded simplistically that Queensland was now 'divided into two camps - loyalty and disloyalty' and accordingly began recruiting returned soldiers into their ranks for the struggles ahead. Their monolithic analysis, although compelling in
its psychological appeal and, ultimately, devastating in its social repercussions was more the product of deeply conditioned, divisive thinking than anything else. For, despite radical exhortations and even some hesitant steps, here and there, towards greater unity, ethnic and ideological fragmentation remained a dominant characteristic of the Queensland working class, as a xenophobic distrust of 'aliens' continued to blinker many of their social perceptions. In this context, those Australian and Russian 'comrades' who had paraded in fraternal solidarity across Victoria Bridge in November 1918 represented less of a workers' vanguard than a loyalist target.
Chapter Six: Footnotes


4. G. Makaroff, Selwyn to A. Zuzenko, Brisbane, undated (November 1918), Australian Archives Defence Intelligence Report, First Military District, Q.F. 2333.

5. Secret report to Acting P.M. W.A. Watt, 10 May 1918, Australian Archives P.M. Department S.C. Series Accession CP447/3 item S.C. 5[1]; *Daily Standard*, 1 May 1918.


7. Secret report to Watt, 10 May 1918, op. cit.


12. Late in 1918, for instance, the Swiss Consul in Australia complained '... anyone with a German sounding name is treated as a German, who are looked upon as worse than criminals. Our countrymen could only be protected through me, and the worry and trouble I have gone through are indescribable. My office has never seen so many bayonets and prisoners as two years ago, and I would rather have got out of the country. The Australian people are too lazy to study the difference between the Nations. The idea of English subjects is that the world was made for them alone.' G. Stahel, Melbourne to J. Meier, Wintherthur, Switzerland undated (November 1918?) PRO C0418/169, I (1918), p.371.


15. Aliens Restriction Order 1915. Extensions to this legislation occurred in July and November 1915, while during 1916, its scope was expanded six times. Australian Archives Attorney General's Department, Accession CP406/1; E. Scott, *Australia During the War*, Sydney, 1940, p.109, p.164.


20. Commissioner of Police to Under Home Secretary, 22 August 1917, QSA COL/A1097, in-letter no. 8658 of 1917.


23. P. Simonoff, Brisbane to Petruchenia, Melbourne, 9 October 1917. The Censor at this point commented, 'Nothing is known concerning Siminoff [sic] but the association is regarded with a good deal of suspicion.' Australian Archives, Intelligence Report, First Military District, Q.2400.


26. H. Nudga, Canungra to J. Korotun, Bundaberg, 9 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2094.


32. *Brisbane Courier*, 8 November 1918.


36. In April 1917, for instance, Hardacre referred to the Germans as comparable in their behaviour to 'the Huns and Vandals of more than a thousand years ago.' H.F. Hardacre, *Addresses on Matters Educational*, Brisbane, ND, p.18.


40. The All Loyal League was inaugurated on 15 October 1917 with Mrs Bernadine Burns as its organizing secretary and the Hon. T.M. Hall of the Queensland Protestant League as chairman. Its objectives were Imperialist, militarist, compulsionist and strongly anti-German. QSA PRE/A571, in-letter no. 13563 of 1917.

41. *Australian Statesman and Mining Standard*, 19 April 1917; *National Leader*, 5 August 1917.

42. R. Bennett, 'Public Attitudes and Official Policy Towards Germans in Queensland in World War I', B.A. (Hons) (Hist.), University of Queensland, p.125; 'Summary of Ryan's Disloyal Associations', Australian Archives, Defence, Accession B197, File 2021/1/270.


45. Murphy, *op. cit.*, pp.323-324.


50. These premises were in Melbourne Street, South Brisbane and Queen Street, the City; Ex-cons. W.J. MacGregor-Davies, Testimony, August 1918; A.T. Dryer to T. Fitzgerald, 12 April 1918; Detective J. Ramsay, Sydney C.I.B. report 15 July 1918; H.W. Sainsbury, Testimony, August 1918; W.E. Truskett, Testimony, August 1918, Australian Archives, Attorney-General, Accession CP406/1.


52. 'Activities in the Commonwealth of Sinn Fein and Seditious Irish Societies', Undated, p.25, Australian Archives, Attorney-General, Accession CP406/1.


54. 'Activities ... of Sinn Fein ...', op. cit., p.24.


56. Referring to the I.R.B. internments, an official in the Colonial Office noted disapprovingly, 'This is the kind of thing which tends to discredit Mr Hughes Government and raises up enemies to it. (You will remember that he referred to Habeas Corpus as a "legal fiction" at the last Conference!).' Colonial Office Memo 52002, PRO CO418/170, July-December 1918. Earlier that year, the Governor-General had attacked the Commonwealth Government as 'more or less of a secret or open autocracy.' 'The Prime Minister's conception of Government is akin to that of a trade union devised by himself.' Munro-Ferguson wrote, 'All this tends to differentiate Australian forms of Government from those of other British Communities.' PRO 418/169, January-June 1918, pp.169-170; S. McHutchison to Crown Solicitor, 11 July 1918, Australian Archives, Attorney-General's Department, CAS, Accession CP406/1.

57. As the Governor-General explained, in August 1918, the Chief Justice had argued that 'the Federal Government could not, by regulation, confer any juris on the High Court, enabling it to decide as to the propriety of expediency of proposed or actual Administrative action.' Acting P.M. Watt had then attempted to circumvent this objection by suggesting that the regulation empowering the Governor-General to authorize a Justice of the High Court to conduct an enquiry be amended so as to permit of any person being so authorized. The Chief Justice rejected this, however, as a 'piece of political strategy, injurious to the prestige of the Judiciary.' Griffith argued that internment was
solely an Executive action and that 'any attempt at effecting it through the medium of a Judicial Tribunal' would be 'a dangerous expedient calculated to associate the High Court with political action.' Governor-General to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 29 August 1918, PRO CO418/170, July-December 1918, pp.139-140; Attorney-General to Justice Powers, 20 July 1918, Australian Archives, Attorney-General, CA5, Accession CP406/1.

58. C. Butler to Editor, Queensland Times, 6 July 1918, Australian Archives, Defence, MP367, File 570/10/195.


60. Colonel McColl to Censor, Brisbane, 24 July 1918; J.J. Stable to A.J. Cummings, 25 July 1918; General Legge to General Irving, Brisbane, 25 July 1918; General Irving to General Legge, Melbourne, 26 July 1918; T.J. Ryan to P.M., 26 July 1918, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession B197, File 2021/1/154.

61. J.J. Stable to the D.C.C., Victoria Barracks, Melbourne, 29 July 1918; Censor, Brisbane to D.C.C., 24 July 1918, ibid.


63. Daily Standard, 13 August 1918; A Bourke, Secretary, W.P.O., Goondiwindi, to L. McDonald, Daily Standard, 31 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2269.

64. Crown Solicitor to Secretary, Department of Defence, 27 August 1918, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession MP367, File 570/12/349.

65. T.J. Ryan to W.A. Watt, 3 September 1918, QSA PRE/A599, in-letter no. 10249 of 1918; N. Gillies to W.A. Watt, 31 August 1918, QSA PRE/A602, in-letter no. 11301 of 1918.

66. G. Steward to W.A. Watt, 26 August 1918, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, S.C. Series, Accession CP447/3, item S.C. 51; Censor's comment, 31 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, Q.F.2269.

67. G. Barber to G. Gavin, 9 September 1918; E. Sheppard, Innisfail to L. McDonald, 7 October 1918; A.H. Martin to G. Gavin, 5 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, Q.F.2078, Q.F.2118, Q.F.2183.

68. Telegraph, 21 August 1918; Evening News, 7 August 1918; Sydney Morning Herald, 8 August 1918.

69. Attorney-General Memo, 28 August 1918; J.M. Harvey to Governor-General, 11 September 1918, Australian Archives, Attorney-General, Accession CP406/1.

70. Crown Solicitor to Secretary, Department of Defence, 23 October 1918, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession MP367, File 570/10/195.

72. 'Conscription is in Force!', Pamphlet, 1918, F.J. Riley Collection

73. F. Lancaster-Jones, 'The Territorial Composition of Italian
Emigration to Australia', International Immigration, II, no. 4,
1964, pp.251-257; M. Gurdon, 'Australian Attitudes to Italy and
Italians 1922-36', B.A. (Hons) (Hist.), University of Queensland,
1970, pp.18-20; R. Evans, K. Saunders and K. Cronin, Exclusion,
Exploitation and Extermination: Race Relations in Colonial
Queensland, Sydney, 1975, pp.5-6; L.D. Henderson, 'Economic or
Racist - Australia's Reaction to Italians in North Queensland
1921-1939' in H. Reynolds (ed.), Race Relations in North

74. V. Casella, C. Giacomo and S. Vittorio, Ingham to T.J. Ryan,
29 June 1918; Z. Matthews, Childers to Ryan, 24 June 1918;
Pennisi, Innisfail to Ryan, 3 July 1918; P. Sobracante, Halifax
to Ryan, 8 July 1918; QSA PRE/A606, in-letter no. 12722 of 1918.

75. Constable M. Kiernan, Report on Socialist Hall Meeting, 21 April
1918, Australian Archives, Defence MP567, File 570/12/281.

76. B. Santamaria, Circular, 6 May 1918; W.I.I.U. meeting, Sydney,
Minutes, 11 May 1918; I.W.W. Minute Books, Mitchell Ms, Set 262,
Item 1.

77. J.S. Collings, Resolution, Brisbane Dist. Labour Council,
12 June 1918; McKenna, A.W.U., Innisfail to Ryan, 15 July 1918;
J.W. Cameron, Townsville Waterside Workers to Ryan, 10 July
1918; A. McNaught, Mount Cuthbert to Ryan, 18 July 1918;
W. Costello, A.W.U., Ayr, 13 July 1918, QSA PRE/A606, in-letter
no. 12722 of 1918.

78. T.J. Ryan to Acting P.M., 9 August & 17 September 1918, ibid.

79. Captain Wood, Intelligence report, 12 September 1918; Lieutenant-
Colonel Walker, Townsville, report, 13 September 1918, ibid.

80. Mourilyan Cane-Growers' Association, Innisfail to Ryan, 7 September
1918.

81. Sergeant Quinn to Commissioner of Police, 30 August 1918, QSA
PRE/A601, in-letter no. 10660 of 1918.

82. Lieutenant-Colonel Walker to Adjutant-General, 13 December 1918,
Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/3, item
S.C. 5[1]; A. Pravi, Cessnock to L. Phezzi, Mackay, 21 September
1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District,
Q.F.2124.

83. Cairns Post to Brisbane Courier, 4 November 1918; L. Tori,
Kuridalla to G. Della, Mourilyan, 5 November 1918, Australian
Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2377;
Walker to Adjutant-General, 13 December 1918, ibid.

84. Captain R. Hayes to Chief of General Staff, 27 September 1918,
Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/3, item
S.C. 5[1].
85. 'Conscription in Australia' Pamphlet, F.J. Riley Collection, Latrobe Ms.

86. Labor Call, 8 November 1917.

87. Prime Minister to Consul-General for France, 23 July 1917, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, CRS/A458, G.156/2.


89. Governor-General to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 28 & 29 June 1918, Australian Archives, Governor General's Office, CP78/23, Item 1918/89/772; see also PRO C0418/169, January-June 1918, pp.490-492.


92. Censor's Notes to Box 61, Ingham to L. Bettinelli, Italy, September 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2350.

93. 'An Appeal to Australians by Italians', 'Convicts as Conscripts' Leaflets, 1918, Riley Collection, Latrobe Ms.


95. Inspector King to Commissioner of Police, 13 September 1918, QSA PRE/A601, in-letter no. 10660 of 1918.

96. Scott, op. cit., p.430; Cairns Post to Brisbane Courier, 4 November 1918.

97. Cazzulino, Townsville to T. Cazzulino, Mourilyan, 26 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2268.

98. L. Tori, Kuridalla to G. Della, Mourilyan, 5 November 1918; J. Quigley, Cairns to J. Kelly, Brisbane, 1 November 1918; Sister Marianna, Ayr to Battista Ravissa, South Johnston, November 1918; Makalano, Marrickville to Azimino, Mourilyan, 31 October 1918; Box 61, Ingham to Lucia Bettinelli, Italy, n.d., Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2377, Q.F.2344, Q.F.2375, Q.F.2376 and Q.F.2350 consecutively.

99. Scott, op. cit., p.430; Cairns Post to Brisbane Courier, 4 November 1918; Brisbane Courier, 5 & 14 November 1918.
100. 'Secret Service', *Queer Queensland: The Breeding Ground for the Bolshevik*, Brisbane, 1918, p.49, p.69.


102. *Daily Mail*, 27 August & 9 September 1918. Peiniger had also stood as a Nationalist candidate in the 1918 State election.


104. J.J. Stable, Censor to Deputy Chief Censor, 21 September 1918, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession MP367, File 512/1/618.

105. Colonel Legge to Deputy Chief Censor, 14 February 1919, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, S.C. series, Accession CP447/3, item S.C.[5].

106. Censor's Notes, 20 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2359. See also Q.F.2121 and Q.F.2147.


108. *Brisbane Courier*, 11 October 1918. Corporal Sizer had taken a leading role in the second conscription referendum in Queensland, seconding Sir William Irvine's call for military conscription to be imposed by the Federal Executive on 7 November 1917, at a huge meeting at the Brisbane Exhibition Hall. Sizer, who had been 'in the first boats to land at Gallipoli' referred to Irvine as a great 'political Anzac'. *National Leader*, 9 November 1917; *Brisbane Courier*, 7 & 8 November 1917.


110. Military Command, Memo, 17 September 1918, QSA PRE/A601, in-letter no. 10625 of 1918; J.J. Stable, Review of Industrial and Political Situation in Queensland, 9 February 1919, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/3, item S.C. 5[1].


113. *National Leader*, 20 December 1918; *The Lone Hand*, February 1919, p.3; *Brisbane Courier*, 8 November 1918; *Daily Mail*, 7 November 1918 & 11 January 1919; *Atherton News and Barron Valley Advocate*, 15 February 1919.
114. C. Conroy, *Political Action*, Brisbane, 1918, p.10; Queensland Employers' Federation Conference, 30 October 1918 and Censor's notes, 6 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2252.

115. Constable F.M. O'Driscoll, report to Sub-Inspector O'Brien, 8 August 1918, QSA COL/A1122, in-letter no. 7040 of 1918.


117. Governor MacGregor to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 22 August 1910, PRO C0418/81 (1910), p.194.


121. Acting P.M. Watt to T.J. Ryan, 19 September 1918, QSA PRE/A601, in-letter no. 11020 of 1918.

122. *Brisbane Courier*, 1, 2 & 3 October 1918.

123. P. Kritikoff, South Brisbane to *Daily Standard*, 10 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2112.

124. P. Simonoff, Melbourne to N. Freeberg, Brisbane, 29 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2254.

125. *Daily Standard*, 13 August 1918; P. Simonoff, Sydney to A. Zuzenko, Brisbane, undated; M. Shepherd, P.M. Department to P. Simonoff, Brisbane, 11 October 1918; P. Grant, Newcastle to J. Gibson, Brisbane, 22 October 1918; Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2166, Q.F.2176, Q.F.2228 consecutively.

126. P. Simonoff, Melbourne to A. Zuzenko, Brisbane, 29 October 1918, _ibid._, Q.F.2289.

127. Censor's notes to Q.F.2152 and Q.F.2274, _ibid._

128. Major C. Clarke to J.J. Stable, 1 November 1918; P. Simonoff to A. Zuzenko, 2 November 1918; A. Zuzenko to P. Vasilevsky, Darwin, 18 November 1918, Australian Archives, _ibid._, Q.F.2342 and Q.F.2384; F. Rosenberg, Resolution of Russian Workers Association, 10 November 1918, QSA PRE/A607, in-letter no. 12862 of 1918.

129. P. Simonoff to A. Zuzenko, 29 October 1918; V. Petrushanva, Melbourne to *Knowledge and Unity*, undated, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2254 and Q.F.2332.

130. *Daily Standard*, 4 November 1918; Censor's Notes to Q.F.2294, _ibid._; *Daily Mail*, 5 November 1918.
131. Memo. on Bolshevik Meeting, November 1918, QSA PRE/A607, in-letter no. 12862 of 1918.


133. Deputation to T.J. Ryan re Bolshevik Meeting, 7 November 1918, QSA PRE/A607, in-letter no. 12862 of 1918; *Daily Mail*, 8 November 1918.

134. G.F. Pearce, Order under War Precautions Regulation, 1915, para. 27c, 8 November 1918, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession BP4/1, item no. 66/4/3289.

135. Major Piesse to Commandant, First Military District, 8 November 1918, *ibid.*; Brisbane *Courier*, 8 November 1918.

136. Brisbane *Courier*, 9 & 11 November 1918.

137. K. Sauer, Milton to M. Thorp, Buderim, undated, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2382.

138. Brisbane *Courier*, 9 November 1918; *National Leader*, 15 November 1918.

139. Brisbane *Courier*, 9 November 1918.
Let our enemies state FACTS instead of inferences; the TRUTH instead of malicious lies ... Let them meet the propagandists of the I.W.W. on the public platform and PROVE their case. Let the press give us space in their columns ... And by the Eternal Gods the TRUTH shall prevail.

The militant and extremist workers in the North of Queensland ... are preparing for and expecting a clash with the Commonwealth Government and apparently the controlling body, whatever it may be, is merely awaiting a favourable excuse.
- Captain Reginald Hayes, 1918.

The One Big Union is like a witches' cauldron in what you imagine it to contain, it does. ... To the fanatic, it means a way out of the wood to the land of their dreams where hunger and want cease to exist and bosses and exploiters shall be no more.
- 'One Big Union' Intelligence Report, 1919.

Among both supporters and opponents of the war, its closing months marked a time for cautious re-assessment as much as for that general cacophony of exultation and apprehension which heralded the coming of victory and peace. As so many human spirits were cast into turmoil, gains and losses were tallied, and forecasts made in moods of either confidence or despondency, depending upon the nature of each personal reckoning. Even among anti-war advocates, whose outlook upon the struggle had remained virtually constant and unanimous, this earnest stocktaking now revealed a variety of perspectives upon radical strengths and weaknesses as well as upon the direction Australian society might henceforward take. Adopting an optimistic stance, Ernie Lane recalled in the Daily Standard how, during late 1914, 'the ideals of International Socialism' had been overwhelmed by 'the awful war madness
that swept over the world' and how many socialists themselves had become panic-stricken and 'inoculated with the virulent germs of nationalism.' Yet, he concluded triumphantly:

... across that dread gulf of four years' bloody agony and desolation during which every hope of humanity, of tolerance, of sanity seemed to have vanished; when Socialism and all that it stood for was mocked, betrayed and derided of men, yet once again arises the cry of "Down with War", "Long Live the Socialist Republic". Socialism has again arisen ... to save the world from the ravening beast of capitalist exploitation and death ... This is the pathway of the present ... and in the words of Jack London, dead prophet of the Socialist Revolution: "Stop it who dare?!"

This assessment was again favoured by a Sydney radical, Phillip Ireland who, on Armistice Day wrote to a Queensland friend at St Joseph's College, Nudgee, 'Socialism a few years back was regarded by a majority of people as an idle dream: what strides it has taken since the War began!' Looking to Russia, Ireland felt that workers were now realizing that they had 'sufficient brains to manage the show.' Particularly in Queensland, signs of industrial unrest indicated that 'things promise to be startling throughout the Commonwealth in the very near future,' he believed, for 'the workers at last look as though they are waking up and realize that they can do without the capitalist.' Yet, other militants, examining the same socio-political scenario were hardly as convinced about socialism's swift and inexorable march. A sourly pessimistic Tom Walsh, waterside activist and husband of Adela Pankhurst wrote to Queensland pacifist, Margaret Thorp in facetious tones about the 'balmy' crowds he saw celebrating 'VICTORY':

... the good folk have something to rejoice over ... have we not disrupted the German Empire ... are we not established in Constantinople from where we are in a position to attack the cruel Bolsheviks in Russia; of course we are ... As we have extended our empire a bit ... that should be worth some little sacrifice on the part of the workers in whose interest the quarrel started. Yes, democracy is now safe, safe in the care of American profit-hogs, in the hands of maniacal jingoes of France ... in the bone-headed stupidity of the British and in the Hands of the NATIONAL SENTIMENT CULTIVATORS of this island of ours.
In Walsh's estimation, the forces of nationalism, militarism and capitalism were undeniably more formidable than any stirrings of 'enlightenment' which hopefuls like Lane and Ireland detected in the consciousness of Australian workers. 'We are in a h--l of a fix,' he confided sombrely, '[and] what with win-the-war laborites and others whose principles are hard to get secured anywhere in solid anchorage, things are Great!'

Thus, as the unknown problems of peacetime loomed ahead, perceptive observers on the left found their assessments to be clouded and conflicting ones. In reviewing past struggles, anti-conscription successes had to be balanced against important political and industrial defeats, like the Federal election and the New South Wales General Strike of 1917. Looking to the future, the consequences of both Allied victory and Soviet revolution needed to be weighed, one against the other. And, upon the homefront, the wartime extension of executive power, operating largely in the interests of an embattled ruling class, had to be appraised alongside evidence of increasingly restive stirrings from the workers below. Emotionalism, chiliastic expectations and ideological rigidity all served to muddle these considerations further. To radicals and loyalists alike, however, it at least seemed clear that working class responses towards both the war and the society which engaged in it had undergone an extensive shift in the direction of disillusionment and complaint. Only their explanations for this continued to differ fundamentally.

The ever-watchful Queensland Censor, Captain Stable found the spread of this antipathy 'the most puzzling feature of the present situation' as he brooded over how 'a large number of unionists who, at the beginning of the war were loyal' were now 'identified as a body with the revolutionary section and have, in most cases, allowed that section to
take full control of their organization.' His favourite explanation for this was again based upon the extraordinary influence allegedly possessed by that 'unholy alliance', the pacifist, the anarchist and the enemy agent whose images haunted his official reports. Partially echoing Stable's evaluation, a radical commentator, E.A. Sinclair, who had joined the I.W.W. at Broken Hill and had since become an A.W.U. official at Bundaberg commented thankfully in October 1918 upon how so many workers who, in 1914-15 had 'then wished to dash our brains against the brick wall are now good militants to whom the name of "Soldier" has become anathema.' Yet Sinclair did not accord the 'revolutionary vanguard' with such an exalted role in precipitating this outcome. Instead, he bewailed the dismemberment and annihilation of an I.W.W. movement which had originally ventured so much. In openly nostalgic tones, he recalled to a 'comrade', Walter Lewis in Townsville the 'stirring times' they had formerly shared at Broken Hill when:

Four years ago, the sturdy little band of militants gathered at the Miners Hotel and attempted to celebrate the hopes that lay within their breasts ... where are now that merry Party? Sam Kipling has been deported. Ted Kiley has done six months and as far as I know is still in the Hill. Pat O'Leary (that master of English) has scabbed and is no longer one of us; Big 'Baley' Lambert is hidden in obscurity; Albert Pickering is dead; ... Again four years (7 Sept. 1914) a gallant band of Reds held the infuriated jingoes at bay; what of them? J.J. O'Reilly has become a big man in P.L.L. circles - the one man above all whom we thought would not swerve. H.S. Woods sits by me as I write. Ern Wetherell now astonishes audiences with his eloquence; young Telfern, driven by domestic pressure has lost his assistance, maybe has given his life to the boss. A.E. Wallace and his brilliant wife now live in Melbourne ... Paddy Lamb, good, honest, sincere Paddy still battles on, still pronounces the unadulterated doctrines of Revolutionary Socialism whenever he can find scope for his activities ... [But] where is Donald Grant, Pete Larkin, Ben King, Charlie Reeve; where is Jack Wilson - in short, where is the old I.W.W.? Gone! Gone! One and all. What calamities, what glorious reputations made, won and lost and all in four short years ..."
regretful tone of finality in which he bids 'the old I.W.W.' adieu.
Yet, here, his own awareness of a heightened radicalism among workers,
combined with Stable's worried prognosis about the local state of
revolutionary zeal presents the historian with something of a paradox.
If the I.W.W. were truly 'Gone! Gone! One and all', scythed down by
determined Commonwealth suppression, what was the source of this renewed
burst of militancy which now stirred the labouring ranks, causing
loyalists, particularly in Queensland to recoil in alarm? Had the I.W.W.
movement, recognized as 'the most successful and courageous revolutionary
group in Australian history', which until 1916, had 'set the tone of the
anti-war movement', really been ground out of existence?^9

Commonwealth action against these anarcho-syndicalists had certainly
hit the movement like a series of shock waves after the initial arrests
of the I.W.W. twelve in September 1916. The trial of these men in
Sydney for sedition in November and December had resulted in 'longer
sentences than were imposed for treason, at the height of the war, in
Germany.'10 Over in Western Australia, the trial of the eleven I.W.W.
members arrested there ended less spectacularly, with the two year
sentences imposed upon the nine found 'guilty' being commuted to bonds
of good behaviour. At Broken Hill, in December, five men chose shorter
prison sentences rather than pay fines for charges arising out of a riot
in late September, protesting against the prior imprisonment of three
L.V.A. leaders, including Percy Brookfield and E.A. Sinclair himself.11
In Queensland, a certain B.M. Martin had also been apprehended while
speaking against conscription at Townsville on 24 October 1916 and, the
following day was taken aboard a Dutch vessel for deportation from
Australia. After refusing to provide his own fare, however, he was
returned to Townsville's lockup and new deportation orders, consigning
him to Manila were arranged for 19 November. His removal from Queensland
proceeded with very little publicity or protest and, in this respect, was similar to the 'secret deportation' of A.T. Leenders, a Dutch strike leader from Port Pirie in September 1916. Members of the B.I.C. led a hasty deputation to Premier Ryan on the evening of 14 November to plead Martin's case, but Ryan's subsequent appeal to Hughes proved fruitless. The Prime Minister simply replied that Martin was 'an alien whose conduct has been very adversely reported upon. He is an open advocate of the IWW and has been guilty of seditious conduct.'

Hughes was almost as peremptory on 15 December, when he introduced the Unlawful Associations Bill to circumscribe the activities of the Australian I.W.W. by rendering it an illegal body. Any organization holding 'a dagger at the heart of society' must 'in self-defence' be destroyed, he argued. Copies of this proscriptive legislation, which were forwarded to Ryan on 2 February 1917 were not transmitted to local police inspectors throughout the State until three weeks later, however, indicative of only half-hearted official co-operation in Queensland with the Commonwealth's repressive scheme. As has already been well-established by researchers like Turner and Rushton, the Unlawful Associations Act of 1916, because of several loopholes, failed to destroy the movement. Instead, rank and file sympathy, aroused for the imprisoned 'martyrs', actually allowed the organization to enter a brief period of boldly expansive activity, which might be termed its 'Indian Summer', before its political fall in the months of August-September 1917. 'The Master Class of Australia have forgotten more about SABOTAGE, CONSPIRACY, ARSON and MURDER than we ever knew,' the I.W.W.'s Defence and Release Committee protested, as it strove to awaken 'organized Labor' to the critical condition confronting it and to inform workers generally of the 'severe and unjust sentencing' of the twelve, through the medium of such works as Henry Boote's incisive Guilty or Not Guilty?
According to Turner, throughout Australia, 'members were recruited by the hundred, perhaps by the thousand ... New locals were formed and old ones revived.' Armstrong goes so far as to add that sympathy for the victimized Wobblies 'provided an environment in which the I.W.W. was able to finally establish itself in Queensland.'

Yet virtually every historical opinion upon the I.W.W. has so far concluded that this final flowering came to nothing. By August, official action taken under an amended Unlawful Associations Act of 1917 had closed down the movement's Sydney headquarters, terminated Direct Action and by mass arrests, principally at Broken Hill and Sydney 'virtually eliminated' this formidable working class organization. Rushton has commented upon how 'most Wobblies were unable to grasp the extent of the state's coercive powers' as they desperately pitted their tiny might against it. Turner has revealed the perverse spectacle of the Wobblies' conniving at their own destruction as they clung foolishly to the outworn tactic of sacrificially 'filling the gaols' with approximately eighty of their more audacious members in September, as the 'hundreds and ... thousands' of workers whom they called upon to follow them there ungraciously stayed away. 'Death-by-immolation' is Rushton's striking phrase when describing the I.W.W.'s 'spectacular end.' Childe, MacKinlay and Larmour also refer respectively to the 'final crippling', the 'demise' and the 'extinction' of the organization by late 1917; and, in some detail, Turner has delineated 'the final moment of physical suppression' which put 'the I.W.W. (Australian Admin.) out of business.' Perhaps forgetting that the rash of sentences were only of six months' duration, O'Farrell comments that 'it seems very likely that by the end of 1917, the effective membership of the IWW was behind bars and remained there till the war was over.'

Such a neatly-structured dénouement to this 'remarkable' movement's
life-span is probably most accurate insofar as the New South Wales political and industrial situation is concerned. Yet, even here, there was some life left in the 'crippled' I.W.W. body, for as Churchward revealed in 1952, a rump of direct actionists led by Betsy Matthias and Frank Brennan regrouped themselves in Sydney as the Industrial Labour Party (I.L.P.) in November 1917, producing their own fortnightly newspaper *Solidarity*. At the same time, there was a modest revival of the Detroit-inspired I.W.W. clubs in the form of the Workers' International Industrial Union (W.I.I.U.) in both Sydney and Melbourne among meat, timber and construction workers. In October 1918, one I.L.P. member, Herbert Crosby of Sydney who identified himself as one of 'the original I.W.W. members' admitted to George Henry, an I.L.P. organizer in North Queensland that 'an awful lot of my fellow workers of the late I.W.W. seem to have got scared to death and now do not function but meet in back lanes ... and give us live Rebs. the knock.' The I.W.W.'s remnants did not 'numerically (in this Town) amount to much,' Crosby conceded; yet with the undaunted optimism of a utopian, he concluded:

... but, by 'Gee', we sure are functioning and functioning right believe me ... As to our propaganda, it's going ahead like Hell fire with a good wind behind it ... sales of *Solidarity* average per Sunday 150 dozen papers in Sydney Domain ... This should be the age of reason ... Education, Organization (by agitation) will get a knowledge of class distinctions, class wrongs etc, which will cause our class to think. Therefore we must organize at the point where they are robbed, on the job, i.e. industrially ...

The I.L.P.'s leader, Betsy Matthias wrote in a similar vein to another Queensland sympathizer, Ben Noy in October that 'our fight is tough ... down here, dodging gaol and working from dawn till midnight for the Twelve in prison cells.' Nevertheless, she called upon Noy to form an I.L.P. committee at Innisfail and to ensure that local 'wage slaves ... do their best for *Solidarity* and do the square by it.' Thus, even though the central I.W.W. organization had been decisively crushed, the
spirit of some of the 'live Rebs', who either evaded the official
dragnet or patiently served out their prison sentences remained
resolute. It would seem also that certain contacts were either preserved
or re-established with militants in other States. One unstated
assumption in the writings of Childe, Turner, Rushton, Larmour and
O'Farrell must therefore be tested. This presumes that, with the
parent-body suppressed in New South Wales, locals established in other
States withered away accordingly. It will be shown, however, that
evidence of I.W.W. activities, continuing in Queensland in 1917-18 does
not tend to support this proposition.

The traditional interpretation of the I.W.W.'s sudden demise is
statistically supported by Rushton's calculation that, of an estimated
2,000 card-holding members throughout Australia, fully 1,500 were
associated with the Sydney local. When the membership of the healthy
Broken Hill local, which might be conservatively reckoned between 100
and 150 members is also subtracted, such an estimate leaves less than
400 Wobblies scattered among ten recognized locals in four other States.
Queensland, with three of these locals until mid-1917 could not therefore
be expected to contain more than 100 to 150 of these militants. One
assessment of the Queensland situation endorses this impression of a
tiny local showing. Beatson, in an unpublished paper which concentrates
largely upon the Brisbane local maintains that the total Queensland
membership 'probably didn't [sic] exceed fifty.' Yet data available
from centres in the Northern, Central and Western districts of the State
tends to belie the accuracy of this calculation. In this regard, it is
interesting to note that Norman Jeffery, a Queensland I.W.W. activist and
I.L.P. member, basing his estimate on the local situation believed that
'the maximum membership of the IWW in Australia' was not 2,000, but 4,000.

Beatson's low figure is influenced by the nature of the Brisbane
local, which was not particularly dynamic, ideologically or numerically and was often outshone in its militancy by the A.S.P., the Women's Peace Army, the Russian Association and even the B.I.C. Ernie Sampson, the Northern District Secretary of the Q.R.U. during the war recalled in 1967 that the Brisbane I.W.W. were 'never strong. I can't call them to mind as an organization of any account.' Dick Surplus, one of the few surviving members of the Brisbane local told Beatson in 1973 that the Sydney tactic of 'clogging the jails' was rejected in 1917 simply because 'a big section of the members were married ... It didn't catch on at all ...'25 This impression of faint-heartedness, however, tends to reflect somewhat unfairly upon the hard work undertaken by the Brisbane I.W.W. Defence and Release Committee which, despite Federal obstruction, even conducted an 'I.W.W. Art Union' in 1917 which collected £150 for the families of the imprisoned men.26 Yet it does accurately indicate an element of caution in the Brisbane Wobblies' behaviour, which distinguishes them from their more impetuous counterparts in Sydney and Broken Hill.

This very caution, however, proved to be their salvation as they struggled to survive first in the guise of the U.F.L. and L.V.A. during the first conscription campaign and then as the Defence and Release Committee, endorsed by the B.I.C. and its forty affiliated unions. The Committee, under the presidency of Gordon Brown met weekly in rooms at Trades Hall in early 1917.27 By mid-year, however, with a renewed Federal campaign mounting against the I.W.W., and with Ryan and Theodore both sniping at it verbally in Queensland, the Committee reformed itself as a revamped U.F.L., under the presidency of T.H. Sewell and, as such, secured delegates upon the second A.C.C.C., continuing its meetings at Trades Hall well into 1918.28 The primary association of the U.F.L. with conscription referenda, however, ultimately hampered the movement,
resulting in a loss of momentum by mid-1918. A Domain meeting held by
the U.F.L. on 2 June 1918, for instance, addressed by Percy Mandeno and
Charles O'Malley on Industrial Unionism, the Russian Revolution and the
Sydney Twelve attracted only sixty persons, although a 'largely attended
gathering' of the B.I.C. occurred nearby. In August, however, a
New South Wales Trade Union Congress adopted a One Big Union (O.B.U.)
proposal, endorsing the formation of a Workers' Industrial Union of
Australia (W.I.U. of A.). Following this lead, which relied heavily, in
format and ideology upon I.W.W. precedent, the Brisbane Wobblies again
resurrected their movement as the O.B.U. Propaganda League (O.B.U.P.L.).
The O.B.U.P.L., under the presidency of the seasoned I.W.W. campaigner,
William Jackson was openly competing for adherents by October with a
second O.B.U. scheme 'adopted by the Industrial Council [and] endorsed
by the A.W.U.' As Armstrong comments, this One Big Union Executive of
Queensland (O.B.U.E.Q.) seemed to have owed more in its inspiration to
Robert Owen's Grand National Consolidated Trade Union than to the
American syndicalist system of industrial unionism, proposed by Wobbly
organizers such as Eugene Debs, Daniel De Leon and the New Zealander,
W.E. Trautmann.

As the Armistice approached, therefore, the O.B.U.P.L. remained
remarkably active in Brisbane and a thorn in the side to both A.W.U.
moderates and Empire loyalists. In late October, the O.B.U.P.L.
attempted to mount a lecturing tour throughout Queensland, described
extravagantly 'from a propaganda standpoint ... [as] the biggest thing
of its kind ever launched in Australia.' William Jackson's lectures on
'the Economic Question' were to be accompanied by 'about 160' magic lantern
slides, tracing the development of Capitalism from 'the days of handicraft,
waterpower, steampower up to oil ... electricity' and the modern factory
system. Workers' cartoons of 'Mr Block' and 'working class songs ...
illustrated on the screen' were to complement the performance. 'We feel that this tour will live long in the history of Australian unionism,' wrote the O.B.U.P.L. secretary, Jack Burke, a former I.W.W. seaman, as he proposed 'a levy of 1/- per man on the job' to finance the grand enterprise. At this point, however, O.B.U.E.Q. officials began moves to sabotage the programme. W.J. Riordan, A.W.U. president and T. Moroney, Q.R.U. secretary, acting in their respective capacities as provisional chairman and secretary of the O.B.U.E.Q. issued a strong 'WARNING TO QUEENSLAND UNIONISTS' in the Daily Standard of 30 October against contributing to the subscription lists or heeding the pamphlets which Jackson's organization had begun circulating. An answering advertisement inserted by Jackson and Burke in the Standard upon the following day challenged Moroney and Riordan to a Sunday evening debate about O.B.U. principles upon a large platform erected at North Quay. A recriminatory exchange of correspondence followed, with the O.B.U.E.Q. leaders finally refusing 'the invitation of this irresponsible body as we have no intention of appearing as "star performers" in their sideshow and, incidentally, assisting to swell their collection.' Jackson's ambitious speaking tour was subsequently abandoned for lack of funds and, as Childe comments, the 'attempt to make the I.W.W. itself the One Big Union by a policy of "white-anting" existing organizations was from the outset doomed to failure.'

Simultaneously, the O.B.U.P.L. found itself under attack from the reactionary Loyalty League which, on 25 August issued its first warning that a 'new anarchist organization' had appeared in the community. It urged that official action must be taken against the 'I.W.W., Bolshevik, Pacifist ... [and] red-ragger' elements, 'continually pouring forth volumes of venom into the ears of our citizens.' On 24 October, the Secretary of the R.S.S. & C.L.L., T.J. Mills wrote pointedly to the State
Military Commandant requesting that the Defence Department 'order the exit from Brisbane' of 'certain conspicuously disloyal persons who constitute a menace to the State.' Precise though informal linkages between the R.S.S. & C.L.L. and Commonwealth Intelligence authorities were revealed as Mills's letter concluded casually that 'a list ... can be obtained from the Intelligence Department.' A communication from the Chief of General Staff to the State Commandant, written a week later clearly discloses that even the Defence Department had no knowledge of this 'List of Disloyalists in Brisbane', which contained the names of twenty-eight purported I.W.W. members, four Russian Association members and nine members of the Austral-Irish National Association. Whether Loyalty Leaguers had themselves compiled the list for Commonwealth Intelligence or, through a contact, had been informed of its existence or, perhaps, even its contents is unclear. Knowledge of the list, however, suggests a degree of close unofficial co-operation between Federal agents and organized, private citizens in their like minded zeal to eliminate local 'revolutionary' groups. Loyalists, in full cry, next attacked the Ryan Government for permitting freedom of speech to radical Domain orators. Openly displaying his Anglophile, middle-class prejudices, the R.S.S. & C.L.L. president, O.E. Rees here pilloried these radical publicists because they 'did not speak straight out, but had a nasal twang with which they sang their hymn: "The Red Flag".' On 23 October, a returned soldier also complained bitterly in the Brisbane Courier of how:

... in the Domain, a frothy orator, addressing a crowd spoke of returned soldiers as "derelicts in khaki", "hired murderers" etc. I was amazed to find that the man was not immediately lynched. However this is Queensland. They do things better in America. 37

A van driven through Brisbane streets displaying a red flag in contravention of the War Precautions Regulation of 21 September was the
next item to outrage loyalists and draw the fire of the Queensland
Censor. By diligently intercepting the mail of known radicals, Captain
Stable discovered that this vehicle was intended for use in a 'Red Van
Crusade' by former I.W.W. members, James Quinton and 'Curly' Johnston
to collect funds for the O.B.U.P.L. and to spread its propaganda in
working class suburbs of Brisbane and, subsequently, throughout south­
eastern Queensland. As Quinton wrote to Johnston in early October:

... Advertisement is what's needed ... just refer to yourself
as the 'Vanner' and myself as anything. But get the Standard
talking ... I have received two books of receipts but I can't
push these until the 'Van' is on the Road ... I would suggest
you get the Wobblies to take the 'Van' out - you may get a few
collections ... You are wanted out at Killamey to assist in
organizing timber-workers ... Killamey is three miles from
Tanymorel where 100 coal miners are awaiting your coming
eagerly. They will give financial and other support. Tanymorel
is seventeen miles from Warwick where I have been arranging
things. Appropriate Irish songs are wanted for this place. The
W.P.O. will arrange all our meetings and pay advertising. We
shall get a good many members ... Directly the Van is really
on the road the work will bear fruit.

In his annotations upon this letter, the Censor commented that the 'Red
Van' had recently appeared at the Brisbane Domain, where Johnston, Percy
Mandeno and Gordon Brown had spoken 'from the splash board' and that a
rendition of the 'Red Flag' had brought this 'I.W.W. meeting to an end.'
No more was heard of the 'Red Van Crusade', however, and it seems probable
that it floundered in the face of efficient Commonwealth surveillance,
much as Labor's anti-internment publicity campaign of several months
previously had done.

The commotion engendered by these 'Wobbly'-inspired propaganda
initiatives, however, indicate that even in Brisbane, where the I.W.W.
local had been weakest, a pattern of radical survival rather than
resignation may be traced. Strictly speaking, I.W.W. local No. 7 of
Woolloongabba, Brisbane no longer existed. Yet much of its membership,
through a series of organizations bearing other names had nevertheless
maintained their militancy. Though their existence ran a rather chequered course, there is even scattered evidence that some attempts at expansion had been made. A New South Wales police list of I.W.W. advocates, bearing July 1917 dates, for instance, refers to one T.S. Bryson as Secretary for 'Local I.W.W.' at 'Ipswich and district', although no prior organization of this nature is known there. Further, between August and November 1917, James Quinton, Gordon Brown and Hymie Barcan had attempted to establish an 'Industrial Council' at Toowoomba, to act as 'a blind for an I.W.W. organization.' After moderate anti-conscriptionists withdrew their support from this Council, however, police suppression of its public meetings caused it to fold. Although Toowoomba police were ordered to prevent James Quinton from engaging in any further public speaking, Captain Stable continued to blame the Ryan Government for the persistence of such rebel activity. 'This State has permitted anti-British sentiment to develop,' he charged:

... until the situation is such that in some cases the pro-German and pro-I.W.W. has a better chance of a good hearing when he enunciates his anti-Federal doctrines than the loyalist who points out the duty of every man in these times of stress.

As a remedy, he advocated concerted Federal action along the same lines as that which had induced the collapse of the Sydney movement. He reasoned:

I.W.W.ism would hardly survive a hard knock such as stiff sentence or imprisonment of ten or twenty of them. They are curs - at present ... making a bold showing. Imprisonment of the ringleaders would scare the seasoned rascal as well as the young man just out of his teens. The latter class has to be reached and the effective way is to compel men to respect the law by instilling fear into them. This will not come from Queensland Authorities - it is looked for from Federal Administration.

Stable believed that James Quinton should be interned for disloyalty to begin with, and he was also 'morally certain' that William Jackson could be taken, 'if patience is exercised in waiting.' When the limited
impact of Jackson's attempted propaganda tour, the abortive 'Red Van Crusade' and the shortlived Toowoomba Industrial Council is considered. Stable's tough prescriptions appear as a classic example of over-reaction, indicative of the tensions pervading loyalist ranks at this time. While Stable clearly favoured authoritarian responses, however, it should be appreciated that his agitated comments were not simply made in reference to South-Eastern Queensland, but to the entire State; and it is within this wider perspective that his reactions must be judged.

Stable was well aware that I.W.W. activity was less pronounced in Brisbane than in other centres. As he commented in late October 1918, in reference to a visit which elderly Monte Miller, the Eureka veteran and one of Western Australia's arrested I.W.W. eleven was about to make to the capital:

... the material in Brisbane is limited and of late there has been nothing to warrant a belief that he will meet kindred spirits - the activity is in North Queensland. There may be a drift south as soon as the cane harvesting is over but that will not be until the end of the year."^2

Most historical accounts presently imply that I.W.W. activity in North Queensland remained limited in scope, especially after the February revolution in Russia, when members of the only recognized local in the north - the 'all-Russian' local at Cairns - returned optimistically to their homeland. Yet, following this group's departure, intercepted correspondence revealed that I.W.W. ideas were still 'progressing well' among remaining Russians at Innisfail and Babinda, while from Townsville, Max Baranoff and B. Radchance wrote on behalf of a 'group of Russian workers' to Direct Action for 'papers on anarchism and I.W.W. subjects."^3 Even at Cairns itself, evidence suggests that the Russians' exodus did not mean the end of radical activity in that district. In September 1918, Captain Reginald Hayes of the censorship staff commented upon 'the almost open manner in which I.W.W.ism is preached and to some extent practiced
at places such as ... Gordon Vale, a settlement 20 miles from Cairns.' Within Cairns itself, a resident wrote that 'some of the I.W.W. delegates' were preparing 'Defence and Release' meetings and were anticipating trouble from returned soldiers in response. Indeed, as I.W.W. involvement in the northern sugar strikes of both 1917 and 1918 shows, 'Wobbly' agitators were continuing to make their presence felt throughout the region. Workers at Goondi Mill, outside Innisfail were claimed by the Censor to be strongly 'tainted with I.W.W.ism', while, within that town, I.W.W. publicists such as George Henry, Ben Noy, Ted Healy and Dave Kidd sold dozens of copies of Solidarity and set about forming an I.L.P. local. Further south, at Brandon and Ayr, on the lower Burdekin, I.W.W. influences were said to have extended down from Townsville and the Alligator Creek Meat Works, along the railway links which joined these districts.

Organization was certainly much more rudimentary than previously, and activities were more furtively undertaken, but the point should nonetheless be emphasized that definite initiatives were still being ventured in centres where no I.W.W 'locals' had ever officially existed. Townsville and its associated meatworks furnish an excellent example of this phenomenon. I.W.W. agitation was revived in the streets of Townsville in June 1917 during a visit there by William Jackson and Gordon Brown. The two activists were engaged upon a lecturing tour to publicize the plight of the Irish and the I.W.W. twelve, but their campaign assumed local significance almost immediately when they were denied a permit to speak publicly by Townsville police. Jackson's quick response was to invite his audience of 300-400 at the beach front 'to come to the water's edge of Cleveland Bay, and we would ... speak from the sea.' Thus, with the platform 'deposited on the sand [and] the waves just washing round it,' the I.W.W.'s free speech campaign in Townsville was launched.
Jackson was particularly impressed by the militancy of North Queensland workers in comparison with those of Brisbane. He wrote happily of large attendances, great enthusiasm and 'a plethora of speakers, not only willing, but anxious to speak to the crowd that was waiting.' Police reports of the weekly I.W.W. meetings upon the Strand beach named as speakers local agitators Edward Shannessy, Richard Storr, Patrick Brown, Victor Piper, Thomas Edwards and Paul Freeman, whose subsequent treatment by Federal authorities was to make his name a household word throughout Australia during 1919. Edward Shannessy was a meatworker who claimed that the Sydney trials had made him 'begin to think and I became an I.W.W.' At the Ross River meatworks he had debated O.B.U. principles with fellow workers whenever possible and contended, 'When I talk I.W.W. to anyone it is to get a few more sympathizers and members to join ... We have a continual progress and that progress is growing daily.'

Jackson, too found Townsville meatworkers outstanding in their militancy and doubted if there were 'any part of the world where you will find a more efficient fighting unit.' In a startling assessment, he claimed that 'over 900' workers at Alligator Creek alone were 'with the I.W.W.' Even after making allowances for a degree of euphoric hyperbole here and assuming that many of these workers would have been sympathizers rather than active members, Jackson's revelation nevertheless indicates a degree of syndicalist mobilization which most existing accounts of the Australian I.W.W. have failed to countenance. Although it never became a 'local', therefore, Alligator Creek came to be regarded as 'the stronghold of the I.W.W. in northern Queensland,' comparing 'more favourably with any other industrial centre in Australia for militancy, as most of the slaves are with the I.W.W. in the fight to reduce the hours of labour.' Substantial sums of money were collected there for the 'Defence and
Release' campaign and, by late 1918, the apparently high level of revolutionary fervour had become a matter of considerable Federal concern.\textsuperscript{50}

Captain Hayes reacted with a degree of alarm to match William Jackson's delight when he discovered meatworkers in September 1918 wearing red guernseys with 'the word "REVOLUTION" woven across them' and addressing each other as 'Wobblies'. He reported uneasily:

Most of the employees openly give utterance to disloyal statements ... Returned Soldiers are openly jeered at in the streets of Townsville and I was personally advised "to take off that badge of slavery": i.e. the Returned Soldiers' Badge ...

Townsville's Police Inspector Quinn supported Hayes upon the influence of this 'I.W.W. element' and cited incidents of 'go-slow' tactics practised at the meatworks.\textsuperscript{51} Other researchers have commented upon the strong sense of group solidarity among northern meatworkers as well as their propensity for 'larrikinism' and anti-establishment behaviour as factors contributing towards their acceptance of I.W.W. principles. Alienated migrant and migratory labourers, both found in significant numbers at the works also responded readily to the iconoclastic appeal of 'Wobbly' rhetoric.\textsuperscript{52} Furthermore, the decentralized structure of the A.M.I.E.U. had allowed for the election upon the shop-floor of radical boards of control, similar to the spontaneous emergence of Workers' Committees in Britain, on the Clydeside and elsewhere earlier in the war period.\textsuperscript{53} These boards or shop committees provided a solid industrial base for I.W.W. organization 'on the job', direct negotiations with management, as well as the implementation of obstructionist tactics like the 'go-slow' or even outright sabotage of the industrial process.

In the streets and suburbs of Townsville, meatworkers mixed with wharf labourers, carriers, sugar and railway workers who either supported
the radicals outright or, out of curiosity, attended their meetings, joining raggedly in the choruses of I.W.W. songs like 'Dump the Bosses off your Back' and 'Sabotage'. Letters from middle class citizens to the Townsville Daily Bulletin attacked the appearance of I.W.W. stickers upon the walls of buildings and called upon the police to deal with the 'dirty foul-mouthed blackguards who monopolize the side-walks of our town and sing the Red Flag.' Edward Shannessey's warning of August 1917 that I.W.W. agitators intended speaking 'in the principal streets' rather than 'sneaking around corners from the police' was fulfilled the following February when one William James Eccles, reviving the tactics of the 1913-14 free speech fight, chained himself to a verandah post in Flinders Street and began addressing a throng of 1,000 onlookers. Police arriving to apprehend him were stoned by a section of the crowd. Three days later, a second speaker, Jack Morris was arrested under similar circumstances. Both men attempted unsuccessfully to convert their subsequent court hearings into a public forum on civil liberties, but were denied a hearing and fined.

The struggle reached crisis point the following month during the State election campaign when Nationalist street meetings were physically attacked by a large band of militants, described by the Daily Bulletin as numbering 'about a hundred Red Guards.' Sullenly concluding that if they were to be denied access to the streets, then right-wing loyalists must also be silenced, the radicals, backed by a number of Labor supporters first attacked a meeting held by Nationalist candidate and Gallipoli veteran, C.J. Peiniger, who was later to help inaugurate the R.S.S. & C.L.L. in Brisbane. Peiniger was assaulted with tomatoes and tipped from his platform. Three nights later, H.R. Gelston, leader of the Northern National Party was attacked with stones and 'large lumps of street metal' in Flinders Street. A reporter from the Daily Bulletin was
injured and, as Gelston retreated from the agitated mob to the Post Office corner, the lorry upon which the other Nationalist speakers stood was overturned. Gelston was caught and kicked. Upon taking refuge in a nearby car, he then found himself surrounded by an angry crowd, swollen to several thousand, as police stood helplessly by. Following this fracas, the freedom of speech and assembly issue continued to be raised at various union gatherings in Townsville, as the I.W.W. persisted doggedly with their illegal street meetings. The granting of 'free speech areas' in certain towns by the Ryan Government, following upon the Perth Conference in June finally secured for the radicals a meeting place beneath a large 'Tree of Knowledge' in Flinders Street near the town's commercial heart. Captain Hayes who attended one Sunday evening gathering there in September 1918 found that:

The real object of the meeting was divulged in one speech which was simply a lecture on the I.W.W. methods (except sabotage) of hampering industrial proceedings: the Irritation Strike, the Lightning Strike and the Slow Down policy were described in detail.

Summarizing his impressions of worker militancy in Northern Queensland, generally, Hayes concluded that these 'extremists' were preparing for:

... a trial of strength with the Commonwealth Government ... be it a general strike or physical resistance to Commonwealth mandates ... and it is no exaggeration to say that the leaders of the extremist section will not baulk, when they think they have sufficient adherents, at out-and-out revolution.

The disposition of many workers in districts throughout Central and Western Queensland was presented as being equally volatile. Tom Barker of the I.W.W. was heartened by the activism he encountered among miners, pastoral and waterside workers during his propaganda tour from Townsville, through Cloncurry, Mount Morgan and other mining centres to Brisbane in mid-1917. Loyalists, on the other hand complained that there were certain Western districts 'where men advocating the cause of
the war loan dared not show their face. Loyalist influences tended to diminish the further west one travelled, wrote Thomas O'Hagan to T.J. Ryan in July 1918, while the capacity for influence by I.W.W. itinerants correspondingly increased. These travelling publicists visited such pastoral centres as Logan Downs, near Clermont and Cambridge Downs, near Hughenden. Jim Courtland, a miner at Mitchell was also later to recall the I.W.W. transients who would stop at the local camps, 'stir up militancy' and then move on. In the mining town of Mount Morgan, which had possessed its own 'local', I.W.W. action continued under the leadership of Hugh Clark, while, on the central coast, the sugar town of Childers was described by the Censor as being 'a nursery for I.W.W. propaganda.' Further south, a union organizer named Gillard wrote from Barrigun on the Queensland/New South Wales border that there were still 'some fine militants' to be found in the South-Western regions, encompassing the area around Thargomindah and Cunnamulla. 'A man can talk in the bush where he would be gagged in the cities,' Gillard commented wryly, 'The I.W.W. organization is still meeting in this town and resorting to direct action.'

In the North-West, at Cloncurry and its associated mining centres of Dobbyn, Mount Cuthbert and Duchess, the I.W.W. element were represented by local police as being 'very strong'. In October 1918, a miner, C. Manning wrote to Jack Burke, secretary of the O.B.U.P.L. in Brisbane that he had recently attended a Cloncurry meeting which was 'supposed to be A.W.U. but it was all the Wobblies spoke.' He was particularly impressed by one 'great speech' from a man named McGaughin, 'a red hot I.W.W.: It was all about the One Big Union.' Earlier that month, the Queensland Censor had intercepted the letters of Jack Morris Tilley, a former Melbourne 'Wobbly' who admitted therein to his brother that he was now 'preaching sabotage' on the mining fields around Dobbyn.
Another activist in this district, Paul Freeman came under Federal surveillance at the same time. Freeman was a migrant of German parentage from the United States who had worked for several years at Broken Hill before travelling on to the Cloncurry mines in mid-1917. Local police alleged that he was 'a member of the Industrial Workers of the World ... an agitator and organiser ... for Dobbyn and the surrounding districts.' Yet more sympathetic evidence from the Leader of the Federal Opposition, Frank Tudor would later suggest that Freeman had actually been expelled from the I.W.W. at Broken Hill for some infringement of its rules before the passage of the Illegal Associations Act and was therefore no longer a part of that organization. Nevertheless, it seems clear that Freeman had resumed the role of activist in Queensland, addressing meetings against the war and supporting industrial agitation at Townsville and Dobbyn upon an I.W.W. platform. A seemingly biased report upon Freeman, prepared by Acting-Sergeant Fahey of Cloncurry, emphasizing his 'pure German birth' and 'very strong German accent' claimed that he had been 'responsible for a great many Industrial troubles in the mines about here and amongst the miners ... as he has a very strong influence over them.' For allegedly telling an audience of mineworkers at Dobbyn in mid-1918 that any man who enlisted was 'lower than a dog', Freeman was about to be arrested as an undesirable alien by Federal authorities as the Armistice approached.  

Any precise assessment of the role and enduring influence of the I.W.W. in Queensland can scarcely be attempted from the scattered sources so far assembled. Yet it does seem probable from this range of references that I.W.W. activism was not suddenly extinguished after 1917, but continued to flare spasmodically during 1918 in centres as distantly spaced as Cairns and Brisbane on the coastal strip and Cloncurry and Thargomindah in the inland. How effectively the much-travelled 'Wobbly'
advocates were making their presence felt among Queensland workers is harder to assess, for the sources are not only relatively unyielding upon this matter but also weighted by the predilections of those who prepared them. On the one hand, the extravagant hopes of the revolutionaries themselves and the exaggerated fears of the loyalists opposing them combine to magnify the militants' overall impact. Yet, on the other, the condition of outlawry under which they continued to operate tends to mask and attenuate many of the details of their activities, which necessarily proceeded in a secretive and conspiratorial fashion. Where long-standing campaigns were apparently waged in centres like Townsville, Brisbane, Mount Morgan or Cloncurry, only shreds of evidence now seem to survive. The pieces extant suggest the contours of a much larger picture, though many areas remain blank within it, as much of the puzzle lies unsolved.

Conflicting contemporary opinions upon the nature of the I.W.W.'s appeal in Queensland are therefore difficult to adjudicate upon, historically. Hughes and Ryan clashed repeatedly upon this matter in a series of interchanges during September-October 1917. The Prime Minister claimed that because Queensland police were not strictly enforcing the amended Unlawful Associations Act, members of the beleaguered I.W.W. from the southern States were now 'flocking to Queensland' which was thus in danger of becoming 'a refuge and rallying ground for this destructive organization.' Evidence was continually coming to hand, Hughes charged, that I.W.W. agents in Queensland were 'numerous and actively engaged, disseminating propaganda, promoting strikes and generally offending against the act.' Premier Ryan replied in calmer tones that both local police surveillance of known 'Wobblies' and the refusal of permits for their public meetings were successfully 'minimising their activities.' Additionally, moderate unions, like the A.W.U. were 'expelling members of
the I.W.W. and discouraging their propaganda.' Although he was most anxious to 'deal effectively with this evil,' Ryan assured Hughes, he 'very much doubt[ed] the wisdom of precipitate action', similar to the mass arrests in New South Wales, for his Commissioner of Police had informed him that, essentially, there was 'nothing to justify alarm or uneasiness.'

The knowledge that the Prime Minister was prone to considerable over-reaction upon this issue tends to lead one, initially, towards the conclusion that Ryan's tempered response mirrored the existing state of affairs more accurately than did Hughes's alarmist announcements. Murphy is clearly of this opinion in his biography of T.J. Ryan, while Armstrong agrees that Hughes's contentions 'seem to have little basis in fact.' Yet a closer look at the Prime Minister's allegations invests them with considerably more substance than these writers have allowed. His claim, for instance, that the I.W.W. were active among Mount Cuthbert miners, near Cloncurry can be sustained by evidence already presented upon Wobbly activity in that mining region. Hundreds of copies of Direct Action had been sold weekly in this area, and the 5,000 miners in the North-West had purchased over 1,000 copies of the I.W.W. song book by mid-1917. Large aggregate donations were also collected here for the I.W.W. twelve, and, by the end of 1917, Mount Cuthbert alone was boasting 110 I.W.W. members, who dominated A.W.U. meetings there. Hughes additionally alleged that 'the manager of Mount Cuthbert can give evidence of men dismissed for membership' in the I.W.W., but Ryan chose not to investigate this further. The Prime Minister's information about I.W.W. propaganda activity 'in Townsville, Cloncurry, Cairns, Innisfail and other northern towns' was also essentially correct, as was his assertion that William Jackson and Gordon Brown had recently been agitating for the I.W.W. in both Townsville and Toowoomba. The Premier's
dismissive response that Jackson was now in Sydney and his erroneous impression that Brown was 'doing nothing ... in the way of I.W.W. propaganda,' however fail to answer these charges satisfactorily. Jackson had prepared the ground for a return to I.W.W. activism in Townsville and Brown, after the failure of the Toowoomba Industrial Council - to which Hughes also referred - had resumed organizational activities with the U.F.L. in Brisbane. Hughes agreed with Ryan that A.W.U. officials were attempting to expel 'Wobbly'-inspired members, as his own Intelligence sources had also shown this. Yet he argued that this only served as a 'setback' for them, not a 'final defeat'. Ryan clearly recoiled from adopting the draconic measures used to stifle the New South Wales movement; but Hughes could nevertheless raise a mailed fist crammed with offenders as palpable evidence of the 'success' of his 'strict enforcement' policies. Mass arrests, however, had not yet begun in Queensland, although local police had circumscribed the I.W.W.'s public meetings in several centres. Any battle-scarred 'Wobblies' who crossed the border from New South Wales into Queensland could thus rest assured that they had secured a reprieve from the futile task of attempting to build a new society 'within the gaols of the old.'

Ryan's letters expressly failed to answer the Prime Minister's charge that 'members of this unlawful association were flocking to Queensland.' Hughes here seems guilty of over-statement, for the movement which he depicted in terms of a flood was really no more than a consistent trickle. Yet a movement northward existed, nevertheless. The migration of interstate rebels like E.A. Sinclair, H.S. Wood, Walter Lewis and Paul Freeman from Broken Hill to Bundaberg, Townsville and Cloncurry has already been mentioned, as has the arrival of Jack Tilley from Melbourne at Dobbyn and of Monte Miller from Perth at Brisbane. Melbourne 'Wobblies' Roland Farrell and George Hill had also appeared in Queensland in mid-1917 - the
latter escaping a Victorian warrant for his arrest - and had travelled on to Cairns and Alligator Creek respectively. Following the implementation of the first Unlawful Associations Act, 'Curley' Johnston of Brisbane had written south offering to 'hide in Queensland any I.W.W. men wanted by the police.' During May 1917, both he and George Bright, the former secretary of the Woolloongabba I.W.W. local reported the movement of 'Wobblies' through Brisbane into North Queensland to 'plant the "dope" up there.' Again, in June, Johnston acknowledged the arrival of another 'mob from Sydney', also heading northwards. The later assertion of Townsville's Police Inspector Quinn that 'southerners who spread dissention' formed a high proportion of local 'undesirables' should not therefore be simply dismissed as petty parochialism. In October 1918, Captain Wood of Military Intelligence agreed that many of the I.W.W. speakers in Townsville were 'importations from other States and towns.' In much the same way as Brian Kennedy shows industrial activists 'gradually flocking' to the militant centre of Broken Hill from late 1916 onwards, it therefore seems probable that substantial numbers were now drawn or driven towards the relative sanctuary of North Queensland, and the radical strongholds of the Townsville meatworks in particular during 1917-18.

Another accusation by the Prime Minister that 'I.W.W. agents' were continually 'promoting strikes' in Queensland was supported by the claim that these agitators were specifically 'fomenting serious industrial trouble with shearer at Winton and Hughenden.' As in April-May 1916, shearing had been brought to a stand-still in Central Queensland once more during July and August 1917 due to worker dissatisfaction with the forty-eight hour week granted in their recent Federal award. As the strike spread through the shearing sheds of Ilfracombe, Winton, Hughenden, Aramac, Blackall, Longreach, Tambo, Barcaldine, Richmond and Clermont,
A.W.U. officials were again caught unawares by the dimensions of the escalating dispute. With between two and three thousand men gradually withdrawing their labour, union leaders preached moderation and urged shearsers to respect the clauses of their recently-won award, at least for the duration of the war. Radical agitators, particularly among the rouseabouts and shed hands, however, called adamantly for a forty-four hour week as rank and file unionists responded to their urgings. Yet, as the militants denounced A.W.U. officials as 'asses' and 'weaklings' and threatened, euphemistically, that the struggle might become 'a burning question', the moderates fought back, urging shearsers not to jeopardise their gains of 1916 by being led astray by 'anarchists'. At Barcaldine, this confrontation ended in a 'stand-up stouch' after which, claimed the National Leader:

... the I.W.W.-ites went out to it. They telegraphed to Longreach for reinforcements, but the latter were met on the station and the imported pugs were treated to bare 'uns in real prize-ring fashion and after the battle were gently escorted to the train and sent home again to nurse their bruises. In contrast with the 1916 situation, the strike buckled, due to such internal dissention and the added determination of pastoralists not to surrender any further ground to the dissatisfied men. Yet a new War Precautions Regulation of 29 August, threatening deregistration of the union was ultimately necessary to quell the stubborn agitation. Although this I.W.W. initiative failed, A.W.U. officials nevertheless recognized the full potential of its challenge. During 1918, A.W.U. secretaries at eight different centres in Western Queensland informed Thomas O'Hagan of the State Government's Returned Soldiers' Employment Bureau that they would welcome the 'working in' of returned men into the pastoral industry in order to combat 'the I.W.W. section amongst them who are trying to stir up trouble ...'
According to *Direct Action*, I.W.W. militants were also instrumental in promoting a Mount Morgan strike in April and May 1917 against the contract system in operation in the local mines and the employment of non-unionised returned soldiers. Syndicalist influences were again apparent during the Northern Railway Strike of August 1917 over retrospective wage claims. A 'scientific strike' led by syndicalists in the Q.R.U. spread throughout the northern division, bringing meatworks, wharves, sugar mills and mines to a standstill and spreading panic about serious food shortages at Cloncurry, Hughenden, McKinley and Ayr. As the strike entered its third week, 2,000 unionists meeting in Townsville heard militant speakers proclaiming that 'their success, in completely holding up the railway system was one of the finest arguments in favour of the One Big Union.' A strong State Government ultimatum to submit the pay question to arbitration by 28 August or face widespread retrenchments was finally necessary before the Q.R.U. strike leaders in Townsville capitulated and the men by a majority of three to one agreed to return to work.82

During successive sugar strikes in the North in June and August 1917, the hand of the I.W.W. agitator was once more detected, firing canefields and sabotaging mill machinery. Incendiarism was reported from the Burdekin and Isis districts in June, while sabotage was suspected at Doolbi and Mount Bauple, near Childers in August and September, when metal rods were placed among cane introduced through the crushing rollers at the local mills.83 During August 1918, another I.W.W.-led strike among cane-cutters at Ingham over wage claims was called without A.W.U. sanction. The stoppage began on 12 August among forty men, who, according to local police were 'principally ... I.W.W. members' and soon spread to involve 400. Local 'Wobbly' activist, Charles O'Malley chaired an elected strike committee, aided by fellow radical, James Kelly. Extra
mounted police were sent north from Townsville to patrol the region and prevent picketing, 'intimidation' and incendiarism. After a group of strikers had interfered with a cane train, threatening the driver and uncoupling some wagons, one of their number, John King was arrested for obstruction. O'Malley was threatened by police with gaol if he did not quit the district and Kelly was charged with vagrancy. On 24 August, the men returned disconsolately to work under the old conditions, although O'Malley and several others continued to agitate amongst them. No sooner had this dispute ended, however, than mill hands at Goondi, near Innisfail struck work independently for a minimum wage of £1 per day, plus 'keep' and were quickly joined by cutting gangs from Mourilyan and South Johnstone. With incendiarist attempts against the mill-owners beginning almost immediately, 'by placing burning candles on the cane' and with pickets threatening field hands who continued working for the growers, seven extra police were sent into the region from Cairns. Cane-fires and incidents of personal violence continued, however, as the bitterness displayed in the conduct of the strike was aggravated by the contingent crisis there, involving the arrest of Italian reservists. Italian, Greek and Japanese workers all joined the dispute. Although this strike had originally been supported by the local A.W.U. representative, McKenna, its prosecution rapidly passed into the hands of I.W.W. agitators, James Driscoll, Richard Jones, Ben Noy and George Henry, who attempted to prolong the dispute to the utmost. Whereas A.W.U. officials seemed relieved to accept a compromise offered by Judge McCawley of £1 per day without 'keep', the I.W.W. leaders held out and began establishing strike camps. Sergeant King reported to the Police Commissioner on 12 September:

A.W.U. members are going to try and oust I.W.W. element which is accountable for continuation of strike. Bitter feeling existing between A.W.U. and I.W.W. ...
Even after 17 September when the strikers in a secret ballot declared by 504 votes to 292 upon a return to work, the I.W.W.-inspired minority persisted with the dispute for another month, as antagonism mounted between themselves and the moderates.85

Such radical aggressiveness in the pastoral, mining and sugar industries again challenges the notion that the I.W.W. became defunct in Queensland during 1917. The pattern is one of persistence rather than of sudden truncation, as 'Wobbly' agitators in North and Western Queensland felt sufficient confidence in grass-roots support to confront the authority of the mighty A.W.U. with its penchant for arbitration and occasionally, to take the initiative, if only in the short-term. Yet, while granting the I.W.W. its due for audacity and zeal, its role as an industrial irritant in strike-prone areas of production must not be confused with one of primary causation. 'Wobbly' leaders dared in various centres to 'seize the time' largely because working class discontent itself encouraged and seasoned their activism. The workers’ restiveness over their material interests as well as a growing cynicism over the excesses of censorship and propaganda, an ever-mounting war-weariness and a keen anxiety over the encroachments of executive government, generally, all contributed to this trend.

Strike activity developed in two main waves, from mid-1917 and mid-1918 respectively, although the first of these initiatives was broken by the rout of New South Wales strikers as the massive General Strike, involving an estimated 97,507 workers Australia-wide collapsed under State and Commonwealth pressure. There were thirty-nine strikes in Queensland during 1917 - twenty-seven less than during the previous year, with some 7,000 fewer workers involved. Yet the disputes themselves were more prolonged and acrimonious, with almost double the number of work-days lost in 1916. Unemployment by mid-1917 had
fallen to five per cent, encouraging a resurgence of industrial activism, while food prices, after actually declining by some 200 units during 1916, began a renewed climb in 1917 to 1,492 by the close of that year. As the war ended, prices would reach a new peak of 1,589 units, continuing this increase until late 1920. Wages in Queensland, however, had also improved significantly, at last drawing almost level with the national average in June 1917 and, by December 1918, reaching 69/6 per week - 5/- ahead of the comparable Commonwealth figure. In this recovery, both the presence of a sympathetic Labor government and mass pressure from below played their part. Workers won twenty of the strikes in 1917, compared with only nine where the employer was victorious. The remaining ten resulted in compromise solutions, where workers also gained some concessions. During this particular period of agitation, average wages rose by 3/-, but, during the first half of 1918, there was virtually no movement in the wages spiral. With direct action temporarily discredited by the failure of the General Strike in the south, and with unemployment once more leaping to 10.4% in the second quarter of 1918, industrial agitation in Queensland had almost ceased. Yet, as food prices climbed to 1,500 units by June 1918 and unemployment temporarily declined to 7% in the third quarter, a new bout of industrial disputation commenced. Eighty-four conflicts occurred during 1918, involving 10,678 workers in almost 700 establishments. Nearly 184,000 work days were lost, most of which were concentrated in the second half of the year.\(^6\)

As Dan Coward concludes:

Wartime hardships hurt the working class more than any other socio-economic group. Caught between the pincers of an onerous war effort and inescapable economic problems, strike action partially reflected this distress.\(^7\)

Yet bourgeois loyalists failed to see things this way. Instead, they preferred to blame the unrest upon agitators and foreigners, encouraging
gullible but 'otherwise decent' workers along the path of 'treachery', 'rebellion' and 'anarchy'. The substantive evidence of on-going rebel activity in Queensland, coupled with left-wing 'class war' polemics lent plausibility to this interpretation, saving its adherents from considering the more complicated socio-economic and psychological motivations at the root of the disturbances. Few therefore seemed to heed Justice Higgins's conclusion of August 1917 that 'the pressure of increased prices on the poor as a result of the war necessarily causes unrest', as the New South Wales General Strike itself erupted. The I.W.W. were recruiting more followers in North Queensland than the A.I.F., the National Leader maintained, as it blamed the Northern Railway strike squarely upon these radicals. Empty though hysterical I.W.W. 'scares' at Dalby, Aramac and Longreach all contributed to the prevailing atmosphere of polarization and tension about the 'underhand, secret' methods of that organization. As the Commonwealth Government itself recruited thousands of 'voluntary workers' from amongst the unemployed in New South Wales, through its National Service Bureaux, to break the back of the huge strike there, loyalists generally grew more aggressive in their reactions against 'unnecessary stoppages.' 'Loyal labor' should be protected against 'the tyrannical actions of militant unionism' at all costs, it was argued, even if this meant abolishing Arbitration in favour of 'drastic ... old time methods' of preventing strikes. One official memo presented for consideration to the Prime Minister's Department on 28 August 1917 recommended that a strike should not legally commence until 'a three quarter majority in secret ballot, carried out under Government control' supported it. If this procedure was not followed, it was suggested that:
Any Union that strikes or assists other unions in striking automatically has its registration cancelled and all its previous awards annulled. Such cancellation and annulment cannot be re-instated. If a small section of a Union strikes, it will not be sufficient to cancel the registration of the whole Union, provided such Union either stops the strike within a fortnight, or expels the men on strike within that time and assists the industry concerned to get new men to take the place of the strikers.93

Twenty-two unions were deregistered in New South Wales following the General Strike, half of which were replaced by 'scab' of state-fostered unions. 'Scab' labour had even been utilized in Labor-controlled Queensland to break a sanity and tramway strike at Rockhampton in November 1916, when the health of that town became 'seriously endangered.'94 Again, the use of 'voluntary' farm labour exacerbated conflict in the northern sugar strikes of both 1917 and 1918, while farmer intervention during the railway strike of August 1917 promoted yet another confrontation between Ryan and Hughes. Farmers at Atherton and Molanda who requested military aid as they planned to seize a section of the Cairns railway were sympathetically treated by Hughes, who called upon Ryan to provide them with police protection - a demand which the Premier coldly refused.95 Simultaneously, as railway workers at the border rail-link of Wallangarra declined to handle goods loaded by 'scab' labour in New South Wales, angry Darling Downs loyalists at Toowoomba and Warwick threatened to apply for Commonwealth intervention 'to maintain the open road between the states' if the Queensland Railways Department did not break the boycott. Inspired by the National Service Bureaux, these citizens immediately formed their own National Service League to ensure the undisturbed distribution of produce and, by direct intervention if necessary, to protect the State's primary industries 'from interference and nationalization.'96

Loyalist apprehension over the volatility of strikers was paralleled by their increasingly panicky reactions against shirkers, as enlistments
flagged and recruiting appeals took on a desperately coercive tone.\(^8\)

During 1917, patriotic women's organizations such as the Women's Recruiting Committee and the Women's Service Corps became increasingly involved in such enlistment drives, employing tactics against wavering eligibles which steadily became more confrontational, as loyalist frustration mounted.\(^8\) Demands made by the Queensland Women's Recruiting Committee that racecourses and the stadium be closed down or that eligible men should be 'combed out ... in the civil service and all Business Houses', and replaced there by 'capable women' led the Premier's wife, Lilian Ryan to resign her presidency of this organization in March 1917.\(^9\) Members of the Women's Service Corps personally confronted male civilians in Brisbane's main streets and attempted to march in Labor's Eight-hour Day procession in May, carrying 'rifles which they would invite eligibles to take.' After B.I.C. officials prevented this militaristic exhibition, one thousand women, wearing black armbands and all with relatives at the front were organized to line the approach to the Albion Park race-course. Racegoers were thus forced to run the gauntlet of this silent 'guard of dishonour', as twenty drummers, organized by the R.S. & C.P.L. thundereout a military tattoo.\(^10\)

Anti-war activists and trade unionists were quick to react against these intimidatory displays. During July 1917, members of the W.P.A. attended a rally called by patriotic women's organizations at the Brisbane School of Arts to demand the adoption of military conscription. As the Peace Army's secretary, Margaret Thorp rose in the audience to try to move an amendment to this conscription resolution, she was loudly abused and, finally, physically assaulted. When other pacifists intervened to defend her attempts to speak upon 'economic conscription ... by starvation,' more blows were exchanged. Margaret Thorp was 'badly mauled' and it 'appeared probable that ... the gathering would resolve itself into a riot.'\(^10\) Positions were reversed during a similar confrontation, one
month later, when R.S. & C.P.L. member, Corporal Hubert Sizer intruded upon a meeting of workers in the Domain discussing the Northern railway strike and began a recruiting speech. As he strove to address the angry crowd, he was attacked by Joseph Silver Collings as 'a scamp, a scab and a coward' and was ultimately forced from the podium. Such clashes grew worse as 1917 ended with no respite upon the war front and with the second conscription referendum fought and lost at home. A South Brisbane crowd, called upon to sing the National Anthem by returned soldiers responded lustily with 'God Save Ireland'. The National Leader reported indignantly, 'The Union Jack was jeered, mention of our heroic dead was hissed and hooted and the speakers were absolutely refused a hearing.' Angry women in Rockhampton and Fortitude Valley, Brisbane howled down the exhortations of local recruiting sergeants, while wounded soldiers, campaigning for anti-Labor candidates in the 1918 State elections were pelted with stones.

As military recruiters harangued unresponsive male audiences daily at the Brisbane G.P.O. with such epithets as 'damned shirkers' and 'cold footed mongrels', labour organizations reacted angrily. One significant interchange occurred in June 1917 when Captain G.M. Dash of the Queensland Recruiting Committee appealed to both the C.P.E. and the B.I.C. for co-operation with yet another recruiting drive. In response, both groups maintained that the workers had already done more than enough and that the drain of 'our most fit wealth producers' into the trenches of death had 'brought the Commonwealth perilously near the economic danger mark.' They next complained of censorship operations which treated 'the intelligent democracy of Australian citizens as children unfit to be trusted with a knowledge of true facts of the situation,' while 'win-the-war' propaganda was increasingly riddled with 'bitter and slanderous utterances against the working class, and their industrial organization
The Recruiting Situation I: The Loyalists Attacked.
The Recruiting Situation II: The Disloyalists Attacked.
and ideals.' Most loyalist spokesmen were 'well-known opponents of our class,' George Gavin of the B.I.C. maintained, who 'hated the trade unions and their work.' At mid-day recruiting rallies in Brisbane, he continued, 'no opportunity is lost to insult the workers' and to 'misrepresent, ridicule and vilify' their attitudes and aims. Furthermore, Gavin concluded:

the numerous complaints of our sick and wounded comrades now returning from the firing line, as to their treatment both by the Military Authorities and those administering the various patriotic funds inspires very little recruiting enthusiasm.104

Although to ardent loyalists, 'peace talk was taboo' and the pacifist agitator was maligned as a 'craven yellow dog who has lately come from his burrow and shown his ugly fangs,' a 'Stop-the-War' movement gradually gained momentum during 1917.105 Pacifists constantly expressed their opposition to 'every phase of militarism' which was 'coercing our young manhood into this bewildering, bloody business.' The war had not 'accomplished any of those grand things which were promised,' a pacifist pamphlet argued in 1917. Instead, warfare had revealed itself as 'an atrocity', while, upon the homefront, 'in the realms of thought, fear sits enthroned as the master design of all our conduct and relationships.'106 Although the pacifist message did not attain widespread support throughout the labour movement until the time of the Russian Revolution and the second conscription referendum, its influence had nevertheless extended slowly since the 'Democracy versus Militarism' campaigns of 1915-16. After pacifists, industrial militants and anti-conscriptionists had co-operated pragmatically upon the first A.C.C.C. executive, a co-ordinated attack was next begun against 'jingoistic teaching' in the State schools. As William Wallace of the B.I.C. declared in February 1917, 'If the desire for peace which is abroad today is sincere, the time and place to start is with the schools.'107
This educational initiative was directly prompted by an incident which occurred at the opening of the annual meeting of the North Queensland Teachers' Association in Brisbane on 23 September 1916. Here, 'a vote of loyalty to the Empire in the present struggle for freedom' was strongly opposed by the headmaster of Mundingburra State School, Walter Lawrence Silver Collings, brother of the labour activist, on the grounds that the war was 'a system of wholesale murder' which no Queensland teacher should countenance. After some heated exchanges about atrocities and 'Lusitania principles', a group of loyalist teachers, led by Major Caldersmith of the Central State School withdrew from the meeting in protest. Collings was subsequently reported to the Defence Department for disloyal utterances and, during December, he was prosecuted in Townsville for a breach of War Precautions regulations. After a meeting of the Queensland Teachers' Union in January 1917 re-affirmed their intentions of inculcating 'patriotism into the children,' they were attacked in the columns of the Daily Standard for cultivating 'national selfishness', which was 'among the basic causes in the present disastrous war.' Such a 'blind principle', the Standard editorialized 'ferments hate and justifies murder. It treats "internationalism" as the doctrine of traitors.'

Less than a fortnight later, a deputation of thirty, organized by the Women's Peace Army and involving members of a dozen other left-wing bodies, including the Australian Peace Alliance, the Socialist Party and the Toowoomba Anti-Conscription League waited upon the Secretary of Public Instruction, Herbert Hardacre to protest against 'the spirit of jingoism in their State Schools in Queensland.' Margaret Thorp, who led the deputation alleged:
Many of the schools were little more than military camps at present where the children marched in and out to the sound of bugles and were treated as though they were part of the military machine. The flag became a fetish and bred in the child's mind a bigoted and warped conception of nationality.

The Queensland Secretary of the A.P.A., Alex Gorman, a Brisbane tobacconist complained of how his children who attended Junction Park State School were continually returning home 'with patriotic ditties on their tongue - most of which were of a nature likely to breed hatred for Germany and all things German.' 'How can we hope to establish the brotherhood of man,' he demanded, 'if we teach children that it is a noble and a glorious work to slay their brothers in any country whose trade interests clash with ours?' F. Lister-Hopkins, the Quaker representative sent by the Toowoomba anti-conscriptionists told of how his children also 'came home singing "We have a navy, a fighting navy to keep our foes at bay".' War was 'a social curse', he maintained, and 'teaching children the glories of war and hero worship of generals and admirals was setting the seeds of the curse.'

Specifically attacking the 'false patriotism' disseminated by the Queensland School Papers, Joseph Silver Collings, representing the Metropolitan Labor Council drew attention to their range of militaristic and Imperialist poems and historical distortions which celebrated 'the destruction of wealth and life.' 'The Anzac Day number [of 1916] was an absolute atrocity,' he alleged:

It took the plastic minds of the little children and held up to them the glories of war ... Gallipoli was the biggest and most costly blunder of the whole war. They should not extol an affair which caused unhappiness to so many broken-hearted fathers and mothers and left many a brave young life to die a brave but useless death ...

He took particular exception to one story detailing 'How Jacka won the V.C.' which depicted him 'sitting on the bodies of seven dead Turks ...
smoking a cigarette.' Instead of emphasizing a 'philosophy of militarism,' the deputation argued, the education system should be restructured to teach pupils 'to detest war', to instruct them 'in the economic causes that make for war', and to make them aware of the 'constructive, industrial and mental forces which develop the Arts of Peace.' History should be taught 'in its true light', Margaret Thorp suggested and, instead of 'emphasizing the lives of kings and queens and all the bloody wars which had taken place, far more stress should be laid upon economic movements and all movements which make for progress.' William McCosker, representing the Printing Industry Employees' Union added that 'the suffering of the working classes was not taught at all.' School books should reflect 'the teaching of the labour movement,' he concluded and deliver an education based 'on broad humanitarian lines.'

In response to this critical barrage, the Minister replied that although he considered it wrong to represent war as 'a glorious thing ... It was quite right to inculcate pride in our own Empire. Why not?' Furthermore, he reminded the delegation, the British struggle was 'a war of defence.' As 'ours was a righteous attitude,' he reasoned:

> It was right to tell our children, if a Power endeavoured to crush the world and embarked on such a horrible and unexampled campaign as that of the present submarine menace, that it was a correct thing to defend ourselves from such aggression and that we would be ignoble if we did not.

He agreed that the printed description of Corporal Jacka seemed excessive and that children marching to 'bugles and kettledrums ... savoured of militarism,' but concluded that, otherwise, the deputation had 'little to complain of.'\(^{111}\) Nothing was subsequently done to alter the situation, therefore, although anti-war advocates continued to attack all teachings 'in praise of war and Empire.'\(^{112}\) Early in 1918, they established a Children's Peace Army in Brisbane to counter the effect of 'gory news of battle' in the schools upon the offspring of their
sympathizers. 'Socialist children believe that all men and women are brothers and sisters,' claimed Adela Pankhurst's 'newsletter for ... working class children', The Dawn, 'They do not hate the people of any country, nor wish only to serve those of their own.' 'I will love and not hate' was the pledge sworn by each of the 100 children who initially joined this youthful Peace Army.

Following a successful initiative in July 1918 against 'head teachers ... taking an active part' in urging their students to collect 'War Savings Certificates', the anti-war movement mounted a renewed attack on 'Militarism in the Schools' in October. Once more the Daily Standard led the assault, with articles by Charles Collins, Labor member for Bowen and Ernie Lane condemning 'lessons ... of capitalism and militarism against which the workers have fought for many years.' On 26 October, the Standard accused the Queensland School Paper of 'lickspittling monarchy' in a poem entitled, 'By Favor of the Queen.' Its editorial argued:

At a time when the world is writhing in agony largely because of the autocratic powers of European Czars, Kaisers and Kings, it is entirely out of place to see a line in a school paper, paid for by Australian democracy, which in any way seeks to extol monarchy at the cost of truth.

Simultaneously, members of the B.I.C. once more approached Herbert Hardacre to end the use of 'Bugle and Drum' which he had previously admitted 'savoured' of militarism and to stop 'the continued jingoistic teaching of our children.' The local Censor, Captain Stable, himself an academic, was incensed. 'The demands look childish,' he wrote:

... but they have been given much thought ... [T]his anti-British spirit would like to see pacifism supplant militarism even to the extent of excising all those incidents which have made history. It is pacifism gone mad, but there is method in the madness ... [which] would have the coming generation mature without a spark of national feeling - with no pride of race ... Everyday there are evidences of the extremist interference in Ministerial administration. Mr Hardacre must submit or give up office ... They will bludgeon their demands through and then
look around for something else upon which to give play to
their iconoclasm.\textsuperscript{117}

The Minister, however, now adopted a harder line than previously.
Martial drums must be retained, he responded to the B.I.C., because a
clause in the Defence Act required that 'drums must be played for the
purpose of marshalling school cadets.' Quoting from a Departmental
report, he argued that 'the drum in effectually instilling rhythm
uplifts the pupil to a more ordered life.' Its use was therefore
'disciplinary and not militaristic.' In this regard, he was prepared to
substitute whistle for bugle calls in 'assembling school pupils' for he
contended that 'the disciplinary strength at the back of the signal' was
what really mattered. 'This power over the pupils is established in
different degrees by different masters,' he concluded, so that 'the
response secured by a strong disciplinarian would be marked by alacrity
in either case.' The use of 'bugle bands for rhythmic effect' was,
however, retained along with the drums, while the character of school
lessons and literature remained undisturbed.\textsuperscript{118}

The ideological dissonance existing between the Minister and the
radical pacifists in this struggle for the student's mind was a supreme
example of the different outlooks held by labour moderates and militants
upon the larger question of war and peace. Although Labor party anti-
conscriptionists were prepared to work alongside pacifists on the
A.C.C.C. executive to preserve the principle of voluntarism, they baulked
at sending delegates to the second inter-State peace conference, to be
held in Melbourne on 7 April 1917. As Ernie Lane recalls in his
published reminiscences:

A motion to send two delegates ... aroused the most virulent
and unscrupulous opposition of the pro-war section of the
committee. The fight was a bitter one and was carried on for
several meetings, but the anti-war section could not be side­
tracked ... Dunstan [A.W.U.], Theodore, Fihelly [P.L.P.], all
that camp stormed and raved in vain and the motion that two delegates J.S. Collings and W.J. Wallace be sent to the Conference was passed.

The 'pro-war' faction, led by Theodore then succeeded, however, in convincing a majority of members that no money be allocated from anti-conscription funds 'to send delegates to a peace conference,' forcing Margaret Thorp and other female pacifists to raise the amount publicly. Notwithstanding this, a rump of the A.C.C.C. reconvened on the day before the Melbourne gathering and withdrew their endorsement of the delegates. Wallace and Lane, who had replaced Collings at the last moment, therefore attended the Easter conference as 'proxy delegates' for the B.I.C. and the Queensland anti-conscription movement was unrepresented. 'They have gone on behalf of the A.C.C.C. - not the Parliamentary Labor Party,' Margaret Thorp retorted in annoyance to Lewis McDonald, the Committee's secretary: 'That any of you should hesitate to heartily support any effort made in the cause of peace is beyond my comprehension.' Lane was even more candid and wideranging in his criticism. 'It was not only in Queensland, but in every State,' he wrote, 'the Labour politicians, with a very few exceptions were strongly opposed to any efforts to agitate for peace and proudly ranged themselves on the side of the jingoes in the war fervour.'

Yet, as the estrangement between loyalists and Laborites deepened during 1917, events were to reveal that peace advocates were no longer simply preaching to theconverted. From an original position as tiny fringe groups of secular and Christian pacifists in 1915, the A.P.A. and W.P.A. had grown in size and influence until, by mid-1917, their position upon the war was virtually synonymous with that of the B.I.C. itself. The B.I.C.'s annual report of June 1917 called for a negotiated peace settlement while, in February 1918, the Council refused any further co-operation with War Savings drives. As in Britain, where pacifist
protests were earlier dismissed as 'the twittering of sparrows in a thunderstorm', the 'call for an early peace' was beginning, by late 1917, 'to find its echo in a population which had suffered too long under the strains of war.' The Daily Standard became an 'ardent advocate of Peace by Negotiation' from this time, as new pacifist groups like the British-inspired Union of Democratic Control, the Free Australia Association and the Sisterhood for Peace joined the struggle. The first public demonstration calling for 'an immediate peace' was held in Brisbane in August 1917. Pacifist leaders Thorp, Gorman and Alex Robertson, sub-editor of the Standard were all represented on the second A.C.C.C. executive, while at the ninth Labor-in-Politics convention held in Brisbane in January 1918, anti-war advocacy was strongly supported, even in the Presidential Address delivered by the moderate, William Demaine. A motion calling for a repeal of compulsory clauses in the Defence Act was passed by thirty-eight votes to twenty. Over 100 delegates, representing fifty-four organizations subsequently attended the third inter-State peace conference in Sydney at Easter 1918, as public peace rallies in Brisbane became more frequent and R.S. Ross, the prominent Victorian socialist and rationalist visited Queensland 'to forward the Peace Movement.'

As 'Win-the-War' supporters vehemently attacked this amplified 'whining about the sacredness of human life' emanating from their 'Stop-the-War' adversaries, the Commonwealth Government, alarmed by the ever-declining enlistment rate called upon all major political, employer and trade union groups in Australia to attend a 'last-ditch' recruiting conference to be convened in Melbourne by the Governor-General in early April. Although the B.I.C. forwarded its delegates to the Sydney peace congress, it bluntly refused the Governor-General's invitation with the resolution that:
... the time has arrived for the present slaughter in Europe to cease and, instead of considering a scheme of recruiting, peace by negotiation is the first consideration of the workers of Australia.

The P.L.P. and the C.P.E. selected as delegates for the Melbourne conference Premier Ryan and William Demaine. Yet the 'minimal demands' these moderates were to present to that assembly were themselves 'based largely on the programme of the Australian Peace Alliance', demonstrating once more how deeply pacifist evaluations had now been absorbed by the 'responsible' ranks of the Queensland labour movement. As Turner, Murphy and Perks have all demonstrated, the 'fear and dread' of possible conscription hung like the Sword of Damocles over the delegates, as mutual distrust destroyed any prospect of unity or success at the Conference. Empty, rhetorical statements were all that a grim T.J. Ryan could carry northward to offer an increasingly restive rank and file, as the Conference ended fruitlessly on 19 April. With the seventh A.L.P. Federal Conference pending in Perth, the B.I.C. executive in mid-May issued a strongly-worded statement against Labor leaders who continued pandering to the war spirit. Any Labor member who persisted in appearing on recruiting platforms, instead of demanding an immediate 'armistice on all fronts,' the B.I.C. declared, 'fails to correctly interpret the views of the workers upon the question, and displays lamentable ignorance of the fundamental principles of the working class movement.'

This barbed comment was particularly directed at Premier Ryan who, upon his return from Melbourne had agreed to endorse from the recruiting platform the formation of a 'Ryan's Thousand' among volunteers for the Western Front. The Premier, while holding determinedly to this once extensive middle ground of 'respectable' public opinion now found his position to be an increasingly untenable one. From the anti-war left, he was attacked for duplicity and even 'cowardly fear' for his continuing
support of the Imperial war effort, while conscription-prone loyalists merely pilloried his efforts for voluntarism as facile and half-hearted. Patriotic women and returned soldiers converted the inauguration of the 'Ryan's Thousand' campaign into a chaotic disturbance, as the conservative press poured scorn upon the entire exercise. Ultimately, his appeal was to be less than half successful, raising only 478 men before floundering in the wake of the Perth Conference in May. Ryan himself finally retired from the recruiting platform in September after he was so soundly heckled by conscriptionists at the Brisbane G.P.O. that he was unable to complete his speech.

At the Perth Conference itself, delegates came within two votes of endorsing an amended motion from New South Wales representatives that 'the policy of the Australian Labor party is opposed to any men in future leaving Australia for military service abroad.' Although the extensive discussions revealed fundamental differences between moderates and militants upon the issue, the debaters in general condemned the 'war-frenzied jingoism' of the Nationalists as well as enlistment policies which had 'bled Australia white.' As Chairman of the Committee appointed to resolve disagreements about future recruiting, Ryan exerted a prudent, moderating influence. Ultimately, he succeeded in having the clause preventing 'official' involvement in recruiting drives put to a referendum of all W.P.O. branches and trade unions in Australia before it could be ratified. This move seems to have been more effective as a delaying tactic than as a careful means of testing consensus and the ballot remained incomplete as the war in Europe ended. Early voting figures, however, revealed an undeniable trend in favour of ending Labor involvement with enlistment campaigns. Plumbers at Bundaberg voted twelve to one in support of this, while Ipswich colliers recorded a favourable majority of 804 to 528. Western shearers solidly endorsed the
Thus, following the Perth Conference, Labor's recruiting activities diminished and campaigns against political censorship, internment and the civil restrictions of the War Precautions Act were mounted instead.

As the labour movement steadily withdrew from active war participation into either equivocation, criticism or open condemnation of the war effort, its members were increasingly attacked by conservatives for disloyalty, sedition and pro-Germanism. Loyalists threw their support behind a 'March for Freedom' recruitment drive which tried to revive 'languishing enthusiasm' as it proceeded through various Queensland towns. As the column of volunteers entered Toowoomba, Ethel Hely described its spirited reception with 'flags flying, bands playing ... the crowds closing in ... cheering and waving greetings,' in the National Leader. The well-known bass-baritone, Peter Dawson sang from the recruiting platform and, by the end of the day, twenty-one new recruits had been received. Yet the writer reacted to the cheery scene with bitterness, rather than elation, as 'the whole gay picture faded and became dim through tears of indignation.' Why should 'men such as these ... have to travel the country begging for help,' she demanded: 'my feeling of resentment ... and overwhelming sadness made it almost impossible to stand by and listen.' Hely's negative response accurately captured the acrimony now felt by many war supporters as they beheld the grand martial spirit of 1914 reduced to the level of unavailing street corner entreaties. Indeed, in this regard, the position of loyalists and radicals seemed to have been entirely reversed since 1914-15, when the former commanded public obeisance and the latter were driven into the side streets. Loyalist rancour was quickened, in turn, by the cumulative trauma of personal loss. Writing two months previously, upon the third Anzac Day gathering in Toowoomba, Ethel Hely
The Ghosts of Gallipoli.

Shades of Gallipoli: "Lord! how they cheered us! And these are what you and I and thousands of others died for!"

Loyalist Disenchantment with the Anti-War Movement.
had sadly recalled how, nearly four years earlier, 'the first contingent of Downs lads' had passed that way 'in the pride of their youth and strength.' At the 1918 memorial gathering, 'the flag of the famous 9th., tattered and soiled' from the first Gallipoli landing had flapped upon a lorry parked at a street corner as:

... down the street, band playing, came a little band of men - not the gay, debonair young soldiers of four years ago ... [but] all war-torn, some of them veterans, though not yet in their twenties. They were crippled, many of them, lame and halt and partially blind; others suffering from the illness of shock; one, alas! who wheeled himself along in an invalid chair had lost both legs - but down-hearted? No, a thousand times ...

That last denial, however had become, by 1918, a purely ritualized response as much loyalist enthusiasm had fallen to the level of mere pantomime. Only 1,350 persons had paraded in the Brisbane Anzac Day march that year. Less than 500 of these were returned soldiers. Many patriotic funds were either winding down or absolutely terminating activities by this time and, at the fourth commemoration of the war's outbreak in August, a mere 2,000 attended a subdued assembly in Albert Square. Disastrously low monthly enlistment totals, averaging less than 300 between January and August, were accompanied by worried admissions about the raising of the seventh and eighth War Loan. The toll of ceaseless slaughter which still seemed unending as August 1918 began had robbed pro-war Imperialists of most of their former buoyancy and swagger. A pent-up sense of rage and indignation rather than optimism now seemed to dominate their responses and fed the momentum of their bellicose loyalist movements.

Wherever the 'March for Freedom' encountered opposition or criticism, it rode roughshod over its detractors. At the small township of Bogantungan, near Emerald, recruiters secured the dismissal of a railway worker who heckled their proceedings. Several days later, at Bundaberg,
members of the column led loyal citizens in an attack upon two inter­jecting 'disloyalists' who received 'a severe handling' before being rescued by police. Then, at Maryborough, after Sergeant Browne had been interrupted during his Town Hall address, he sternly informed the crowd:

You have a pacifist here. Such men as these believe in peace without indemnity or annexation. A man of this sort is in the pay of the Germans and the sooner you turn him out of your town the better. Turn him out!"' Again, it was such a column as this, which, as it had passed en route towards Brisbane had unearthed a small red flag at the Darra W.P.O. hall, tearing and burning it in a frenzy of outraged patriotism, as onlookers cheered.

In Brisbane itself, the social atmosphere had become increasingly 'galvanic', as loyalist organizations urged suppressive action against the advocates of One Big Unionism and Russian Bolshevism as well as against any other brazen groups of red flag flyers or singers in the community. On 28 July 1918, for instance, W.A. Fisher, secretary of the Queensland R.S.S.I.L.A. and C.J. Peiniger of the R.S. & C.P.L. led an assault by loyalist soldiers and civilians upon a B.I.C. domain gathering. A 'great disturbance' resulted as, during the riot, the speaker, a socialist returned soldier named George 'Gunner' Taylour was torn from the platform and assaulted. Although Fisher, Peiniger and another returned soldier named William Lord were arrested for this attack, they felt entirely justified in making it."' For these extreme loyalists now depicted Brisbane as 'the arch-home ... of everything anti-Empire and anti-Australian' in a State which, under the only Labor rule in the Commonwealth had become 'a hot bed of disloyalty.' Britishers could stand a certain amount, a loyalist organizer warned, but that 'spirit of toleration' was fast running out."'

In truth, as bourgeois loyalists struggled to revive some semblance
of that euphoric fighting mood of earlier days, this alleged 'spirit of toleration' seems to have become as frayed and insubstantial as their tenuous grasp upon social realities. Confronted by a groundswell of worker mobilization for better conditions, greater civil freedom and an end to warfare, the embattled loyalists attempted to eradicate every trace of discontent, while fearing the imminence of some vast, revolutionary upsurge. The reactions of 'Win-the-War' advocates at Toowoomba against an attempt by anti-conscriptionists in late October 1918 'to celebrate the anniversary of "Australia's historic declaration of Freedom" on October 27, 1916' at the local Town Hall was a telling example of this process. A delegation of between 150 and 200 agitated loyalists first beseeched the Mayor, demanding that he should deny the anti-conscriptionists use of the building. When he refused to do so, successful pressure was applied to convene a meeting of the Town Council to rule upon the matter and permission to lease the hall was subsequently withdrawn. As the audience which had eagerly watched the Aldermen's debate filed out into the lobbies of the building, one of the speakers for the proposed gathering, the Reverend J.H. McDougall became involved in a serious altercation with 'several well-known' Toowoomba residents, one of whom had had a son killed in action. McDougall was a dissident Congregationalist pastor of the Christian Free Church, Moorooka and had been an ardent anti-conscriptionist since 1916. He had allegedly 'stolen the thunder' at Premier Ryan's first anti-conscription rally and had been the only Queensland signatory to a 'Conscription and Christianity' manifesto, condemning 'the subordination of the rights of individual conscience to alleged military necessity.' McDougall, who had personally stated that 'the most shameful thing in the history of this war was the prostitution of the Protestant church ... to bloody Caesar' was hardly a man to mince his words. According to the Censor's report, as he stood trading polemics with the incensed loyalists:
Matters looked ugly ... one or two returned men and others were forcibly held back from coming to blows with the visitor and wholesome advice was tendered to McDougall to "Get back to Brisbane; it's the safest place for you." The National Anthem was subsequently sung and cheers given for the boys at the front.

Later that afternoon, one of these soldiers again confronted Reverend McDougall in Margaret Street and a fist-fight began. 'McDougall closed with his assailant and threw him to the ground', and, as a large crowd quickly gathered, police arrived to restore order. An impromptu meeting of approximately fifty excited residents was held on the spot and this agreed immediately to form 'a Vigilance Committee ... for the suppression of disloyalty.' Mr F. Bernays, local president of the National Political Association informed the group:

Here in Toowoomba we have just about come to the end of our tether. We have had all sorts of insults thrown at us, and now we should think enough of ourselves to see this sort of thing goes no further and is stopped.

That evening, a wary Toowoomba Anti-Conscription League reconvened at the local 'Eight-Hour Rooms' and attracted only thirty participants to its much-publicized celebration. Outside, 'a number of returned soldiers, headed by the jingoes of Toowoomba' demonstrated loudly.

According to the Daily Standard, no sooner had the activities commenced when:

... the president of the Returned Soldiers' Association (Captain Kimber) entered the meeting and said he intended to remain there in his official capacity. He produced credentials to prove that he was a secret service man [!] The Chairman of the League then sent for the civil police to be present and the meeting was resumed ... Halfway through ... Captain Kimber and other returned soldiers decided to leave.

Meanwhile, a far larger loyalist gathering had assembled at the Town Hall, ruled 'out-of-bounds' to the anti-conscriptionists. Mr Job Stone, president of the new Vigilance Committee Movement who chaired this meeting stated:
they had this day witnessed one of the most notable days in the history of Toowoomba. Unfortunately, they had a practically disloyal Government to deal with, who were smiling and patting these men on the back. Queensland, above all other States of the Commonwealth was absolutely the most disloyal State.

In conclusion, he expressed 'unflinching determination to keep Australia free from disloyalty. In that manner, they would be upholding their boys at the front, while also protecting their children, who would be the future Empire builders.' Several days later, Stone and Edwin Price, secretary of the Toowoomba Vigilants issued a circular throughout the district, urging every citizen to 'combine as loyalists - and disperse now and forever' all forms of scoffing disloyalty.149

The parallels between this Toowoomba fracas and the anti-Bolshevik agitation which occurred in Brisbane less than a fortnight later are indeed striking. Loyalist statements and actions against both anti-conscriptionists and jubilant radicals followed almost the same course of intolerance, suppression and violence in each centre. Conservative political spokesmen and 'community leaders' in each instance indulged in clamorous pro-Imperial, anti-Labor rhetoric before engrossed loyalist audiences, while returned soldiers featured prominently in any assault upon the alleged 'disloyalists'. In a message of support from the Toowoomba Vigilants to the Brisbane patriots, printed in the Brisbane Courier on 8 November, Job Stone encouraged E.O. Rees of the Loyalty League to 'suppress' the Bolshevik commemoration, just as his organization had disrupted the Referendum anniversary. 'Returned boys will help you to this end,' he added unequivocally.159

As the 11 November approached, activists all over Queensland were preparing themselves for fresh conflict, inspired by a sense of either an old order to defend or a new world to win. Rather than anticipating calmer waters of peace stretching before them, they invariably seemed to
sense a maelstrom brewing. Often it appeared as if the very people who
dreaded this vortex the most were the ones who had come to accept its
looming inevitability the most fervently. "Every second man in the
street will prophesy trouble," Captain Stable warned, "some talk as if a
revolution is a certainty, but none look forward with satisfaction to
this possibility." The Censor himself acted as a vigilant sentinel
over the gathering tumult, always urging 'very drastic action' against
potential rebels and 'keeping a very strict watch upon printed
propaganda at this time - the most critical time in some respects of the
war period." Without these restraining influences there is no
telling to what lengths the extremists would go," he cautioned ominously.
His superior, Colonel McColl agreed with this prognosis, viewing Queensland
as the 'chief source at present' of Bolshevik propaganda. The
Governor-General's Secretary, George Steward, still deeply involved in
counter-espionage activities also foreshadowed a 'grave situation'
impending in the Northern State with 'speakers ... openly and fearlessly
advocating a revolution' and Russians abroad there, 'armed with
revolvers.'

These momentous forecasts were vigorously affirmed by many of the
would-be insurgents themselves who gladly heralded a coming struggle.
These radicals were 'not dreading trouble after the war,' Stable somewhat
peeishly complained: '[instead] they hope for it and are preparing the
ground for the conflict which they intend to precipitate.' A week
after the Armistice, that 'scandalous publication', the Daily Standard
depicted capitalists everywhere 'whistling to keep [their] courage up' in
their press organs, as their 'rotten, doomed capitalist system' crumbled
around them. The query, 'Daddy, What Did You Do in the Great Revolution?'
would make a fine new recruiting poster, the paper archly suggested.
Adopting a more serious tone, Norman Freeberg in the Brisbane Worker
affirmed that world capitalists now wanted peace simply 'to marshal their strength' and to preserve their wealth while the proletariat demanded 'revolution and a social republic.' 'Which will succeed?' he asked rhetorically, before immediately answering:

Revolution will come. It is as inevitable as the course of the earth round the sun. For, if it comes not now, it will come just after peace. And, if it comes not then, it will come as soon as Capitalism sits down to pay for the past four years of slaughter and destruction ... The revolution must come ... the call of the people is to something different - to an economic system which will relegate Capitalism into oblivion.\textsuperscript{159}

Local Russians, attempting in their Australian exile to remain as constant as possible to the revolutionary fervour which gripped their homeland issued a similar clarion call in the pages of their newspaper, *Knowledge and Unity*:

Peace has been declared, so do not sleep brothers. The time has come for work ... Are you going to help those who for four years have been trying to shed your blood and been telling you that the fight is a fight for freedom? ... The working class have long enough been slaves ... It is time to get ready ... We are all brothers fighting one enemy, 'Capitalism'. We are fighting for liberty and for the "Red Flag".\textsuperscript{159}

Such prophesies and exhortations, however, rarely reached the attention of their intended audiences, for they were assiduously intercepted and suppressed by the censorship. Many Queensland workers, in any case were probably paying more heed to the injunctions of the conservative dailies which now insistently touted Bolshevism as a new 'Frankenstein's monster' - 'not within man or God's law.'\textsuperscript{160} Most presumably hoped that peace might yet introduce a foretaste of that social serenity and concord which the word itself seemed to promise. A minority, however were preparing to fight, little realizing how their ruling class opponents could call upon reserves of power, numerical support and ingenuity which belied most of the latter's abundant private
anxieties. Not only was 'The revolution' unlikely to begin in Queensland, but the 'Red Flag' itself was also destined to flutter only fitfully over its beleaguered champions in the years ahead.

2. Captain R. Hayes to Chief of General Staff, 27 September 1918, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/3, item S.C. 5[1].


5. P. Ireland, Sydney to J. McCarthy, Nudgee, 11 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2393.

6. T. Walsh, Sydney to M. Thorp, Buderim, 12 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2395.

7. J.J. Stable to Deputy Chief Censor, 21 September 1918, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/3, item S.C. 5[1].

8. A.E. Sinclair, Bundaberg to W. Lewis, Townsville, 20 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2356; Sam. Kipling, referred to in this quotation, had been illegally deported to Chile on 9 July 1918, along with seven other convicted I.W.W. members, Tom Barker, Hyman Isserman, Alex. Rosenthal, Thos. Dillon, Geo. Andersen, Carl Petersen and Carl Fridland. See G. Knowles to Secretary, P.M. Department, 22 July 1918, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/3, item S.C. 23[2]. Further references to J.J. O'Reilly may be found in B. Kennedy, Silver, Sin and Sixpenny Ale: A Social History of Broken Hill, 1883-1921, M.U.P., 1978.


20. H.E. Crosby, Sydney to G. Henry, Innisfail, 26 September 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2073.

21. B. Matthias, Sydney, to B. Noy, Innisfail, 11 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2205.


24. N. Jeffery, quoted in Churchward, op. cit., p.268; B. Beattie, 'Memoirs of the I.W.W.', Labour History, 13, p.39. Beattie, a North Queenslander, claims a financial membership as high as 11,000, a number which seems vastly inflated.


26. The I.W.W. Art Union was drawn on 9 June 1917 in the I.W.W. Rooms, Stanley Street, South Brisbane 'by representatives of the Department of Justice' of the Queensland Labor Government! First prize was, interestingly enough, a piano. See H.M. Ellis, A Handbook for Nationalists, Brisbane, 1918, pp.64-65; Hughes to Ryan, 28 March 1917. The money raised was distributed as follows: Mrs Ann Larkin (£50.1.6); Mrs Katie Teen (£50.1.6); Mrs Annie Glynn (£50.1.6); QSA PRE/A569, in-letter no. 12821 of 1917; 'Summary of Ryan's Disloyal Associations', Australian Archives, Defence, Accession B197, file 2021/1/270.
27. These meetings, begun in January 1917 by Tom Barker were continued by Gordon Brown in February and were still being advertised in the Daily Standard in May of that year; Ellis, op. cit., pp.60-63; 'Summary of Ryan's Disloyal Associations, ibid.

28. Beatson, op. cit., p.34; Armstrong, op. cit., pp.215-216; D.J. Murphy, T.J. Ryan: A Political Biography, University of Queensland, 1975, p.252; Censor's Notes to J. Burke to Secretary, A.W.U., Hughenden, 24 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2213.

29. Constable A. Norton to Inspector Ferguson, 3 June 1918, QSA COL/A1117, in-letter no. 4885 of 1918.


31. J. Burke, Secretary, O.B.U.P.L. to Secretary, A.W.U., Hughenden, 24 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2213; New South Wales Police List, 'I.W.W. Correspondence in Queensland' describes Jack Burke as 'Employed on S.S. Gabo and carries I.W.W. literature.' Australian Archives, Inspector-General, Accession CP404/1, item: Bundle 1.

32. Daily Standard, 30 & 31 October 1918.

33. Censor's Notes, 6 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2260; Childe, op. cit., p.151.

34. Daily Mail, 26 August 1918.

35. Brigadier-General Irvine to Secretary, Department of Defence, 11 October 1918 with enclosures, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession BP4/1, item 66/4/3035.


37. Ibid., 11 October 1918; J. Burke to J. Quinton, 13 October 1918; J. Quinton to T. Turner, 18 October 1918; J. Quinton to 'Curley' Johnston, 8 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2107, Q.F.2158, Q.F.2088 consecutively.


39. Inspector F. O'Connor to Commissioner of Police, 20 November 1917; Toowoomba Industrial Council to B.I.C., 8 November 1917, QSA COL/A1102, in-letter no. 10270 of 1917; J. Quinton, Toowoomba to T. Turner, 18 October 1918 and Censor's Notes, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2158.

40. Censor's Notes, 16 & 30 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2214, Q.F.2080.

41. Censor's Notes, 30 October 1918, ibid., Q.F.2215.

42. Censor's Notes, 23 October & 6 November 1918, ibid., Q.F.2156, Q.F.2274.

44. Captain R. Hayes to Chief of General Staff, 27 September 1918, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/3, item S.C. 5[1]; J. Quigley, Cairns to J. Kelly, 1 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2344.

45. Censor's Notes, 30 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2208.

46. *Daily Mail*, 10 September 1918; Censor's Notes, 23 October 1918 Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2171.


50. Inspector Quinn to *Daily Mail*, Censor's Notes 15 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2338; *Direct Action*, 11 August 1917. Late in 1917, a series of naval disasters involving the S.S. Cumberland, off Cape Gabo, the S.S. Matunga, en route to Rabaul, the S.S. Port Kembla, near New Zealand, the S.S. Ceramic in Sydney Harbour and the S.S. Boorara at Port Melbourne sparked off a major sabotage scare in official circles. The cargo of S.S. Cumberland had been loaded in Bowen and Townsville and, on 18 September 1917, New South Wales and Queensland detectives were despatched to these centres to investigate 'all persons connected with the loading' of the vessel. 'Attention was specially directed to the Meat Works, Alligator Creek', Geo. Steward informed P.M. Hughes. PRO CO148/159, 1917, III, pp.53-59, p.121, pp.145-148.

51. Captain Hayes to Chief of General Staff, 27 September 1918, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/3, item S.C. 5[1].


56. Brisbane Courier, 16 March 1918.


58. Captain R. Hayes to Chief of General Staff, 27 September 1918, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/3, item S.C. 5[1].

59. Beatson, op. cit., p.24, p.28; For Barker's initial arrival in Brisbane, before his tour began, and his reception by Brisbane Unionists, see Daily Standard, 4, 9, 19 & 22 January, 5 & 21 February 1918.

60. Brisbane Courier, 11 October 1918.

61. T. O'Hagan to T.J. Ryan, 8 July 1918, QSA PRE/A594, in-letter no. 7553 of 1918.

62. C. Terry, Logan Downs to E. Sinclair, Innisfail, undated, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2208.


64. New South Wales Police List, 'I.W.W Correspondence in Queensland', Australian Archives, Inspector-General, Accession CP404/1, item: Bundle 1; Censor's Notes, 15 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2312.

65. Organizer Gillard, Barangan to Worker, Brisbane, 29 September 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2123.

66. Acting Sergeant F. Fahey, Cloncurry to Commissioner of Police, 10 November 1918, QSA COL/155, in-letter no. 6212 of 1918. In relation to Mount Cuthbert, the Worker noted, on 20 September 1917, 'The I.W.W. began to make headway, especially when Brown, Jackson and others spoke condemning the A.W.U. The I.W.W. kept increasing in number till their strength grew to 110 members, when they began to take charge of A.W.U. meetings.'

67. C. Manning, McGregor Junction to J. Burke, Woolloongabba, 18 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2215.

68. F. Tilley, Croxton to M. Tilley, Dobbyn, 7 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2080.

69. Acting Sergeant F. Fahey, Cloncurry to Commissioner of Police, 10 November 1918; Miners' Statements, 7 November 1918, Department of Defence, Minute Paper, 10 December 1918, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/2, item S.C. 292[1].

70. P.M. Hughes to T.J. Ryan, 20, 22 & 28 September & 2 October 1917; Ryan to Hughes, 21, 24 & 29 September 1917, QSA PRE/A571, in-letter no. 13536 of 1917.

72. Direct Action, 28 July & 18 August 1917; Worker, 20 September 1917.

73. The Governor-General, writing a year later, continued to agree with Hughes's assertions. In October 1918, he wrote: 'While the existence in Australia of organizations such as the I.W.W., the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Sinn Fein movement is of little consequence in itself, the rapidity with which these and similar institutions are securing influence over, and control of the political machinery of the Labour Party and the unions is disquietening. In no State is this so noticeable as in Queensland. The Industrial Council of Brisbane has set itself to gradually carry out the idea of the formation of a single big union for the whole of Australia ... Since the passing by the Commonwealth of the Unlawful Associations Act, the I.W.W. has shown, in Queensland, none of the shyness which has distinguished it in some of the Southern States ...' R. Munro-Ferguson to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 2 October 1918, PRO CO418/170, July-December 1918, pp.231-232, p.233. My own emphasis.

74. New South Wales Police List 'I.W.W. Correspondence in Queensland', Australian Archives, Inspector-General, Accession CP404/1, item: Bundle 1.

75. Inspector Quinn to Daily Mail, Censor's Notes 15 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2338; Captain Purvis to Captain Wood, Victoria Barracks, 30 October 1918, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession BP4/1, item 66/5/115.


77. G. Lesmond, Ilfracombe to T.J. Ryan, 7 July 1917, QSA PRE/A563, in-letter no. 9517 of 1917.

78. National Leader, 13 August 1917.

79. J. Boyd, Central West to T.J. Ryan, 15 July 1917, QSA PRE/A562, in-letter no. 9015 of 1917; Murphy, op. cit., p.274; W. Aplin, Barcaldine to T.J. Ryan, 11 August 1917, QSA PRE/A564, in-letter no. 10280 of 1917.

80. T. O'Hagan to T.J. Ryan, 8 July 1918, QSA PRE/A594, in-letter no. 7553 of 1918.


82. Governor-General to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 4 September 1917, PRO CO418/159, III, September-December 1917, pp.13-17; National Leader, 13 August 1917; Murphy, op. cit., pp.264-266; Turner, op. cit., p.157; Rymer and Sampson interview, pp.8-9; Rymer, referring to I.W.W. militancy in this strike recalled 'an attempt to assassinate him' under the Townsville Tree of Knowledge when he spoke of negotiations with the Queensland Government to end the strike. Armstrong, op. cit., p.215.
83. Brisbane Courier, 4 October 1917; Daily Mail, 4 October 1917; G.H. Pritchard, Secretary, Australian Sugar Producers' Association to T.J. Ryan, 9 June 1917; Inspector Sweetman, Townsville to Commissioner of Police, 27 June 1917; Deputation of Sugar Growers to T.J. Ryan, 3 October 1917, QSA PRE/A570, in-letter no. 13238 of 1917.

84. C. O'Malley, Ingham to T.J. Ryan, 22 August 1918; Sergeant Quinn, Townsville to Commissioner of Police, 26 August 1918, QSA PRE/A600, in-letter no. 11042 of 1918; Sergeant Quinn to Commissioner of Police, 23 August 1918, QSA PRE/A601, in-letter no. 10660 of 1918.

85. J. McGowan, Goondi to Doherty, Federal Deposit Bank, Brisbane, 29 August 1918, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/3, item S.C. 5[1]; Inspector King to Commissioner of Police, 4, 9, 12 & 13 September 1918; J. McGowan, Innisfail to W. Lennon M.L.A., 2 September 1918, QSA PRE/A601, in-letter no. 10660 of 1918; Acting Sergeant Pugh to Commissioner of Police, 13 September 1918; E. McKenna, Innisfail Democrat, to T.J. Ryan, 7 September 1918, QSA COL/A1124, in-letter no. 8147 of 1918.


89. Sydney Morning Herald, 20 August 1917.

90. The Lone Hand, September and October 1917; Brisbane Courier, 17 October 1918; In October 1917, the Governor-General maintained, 'The complete separation between classes is one of the causes of social unrest in Australia. The gulf between them is not bridged, as it is at Home, by the co-operation of all sorts and kinds in local government and on the various voluntary boards which, in Great Britain, do so much of the public work of the country. Consequently, they never meet, bitterness grows and "war to the knife" is the sole expedient either side believes in.' R. Munro-Ferguson to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 29 October 1917, PRO CO418/159, III, September-December 1917, pp.266-267.

91. National Leader, 7 & 13 August 1917.

92. W. Finlayson to J. Huxham, 15 June 1917, re fires at Dorrington Station, Dalby, QSA COL/A1090, in-letter no. 5777; R. Bow, A.W.U., Longreach to W. Dunstan, Secretary, A.W.U., 7 November 1917 re police suppression of A.W.U. meetings at Aramac, QSA COL/A1102, in-letter no. 10002 of 1917; Constable Colefare, Longreach to Sub-Inspector O'Neill, 9 October 1917, re police suppression of A.W.U. meetings at Longreach, QSA COL/A1109, in-letter no. 1886 of 1917; Constable O'Neill, Longreach to Commissioner of Police re 'The Jaccondol Sensation', 27 February 1918, QSA PRE/A581, in-letter no. 2129 of 1918; Pastoral Review, 15 September 1917.
93. C.M. McDonald to C.M. Newman, 27 August 1917; Amendment in the
Arbitration Act memo, 28 August 1917, Australian Archives,
P.M. Department, Accession CP103/22, item 5.

94. J. Morrison, Mayor of Rockhampton to Commissioner of Public
Health, 50 October 1916 and subsequent correspondence, QSA
COL/A1068, in-letter no. 1062 of 1916; Rockhampton Morning
Bulletin, 6 & 7 November 1916.

95. Douman, op. cit., p.63; Turner, op. cit., p.158; Murphy, op. cit.,
p.274.

96. J. Tolmie, Warwick to T.J. Ryan, 11 September 1917, QSA PRE/A570,
in-letter no. 13113 of 1917; Governor-General to Secretary of
State for the Colonies, 4 September 1917, CO418/159, III,
September-December 1917, pp.17-18.

97. In October 1917, for instance, the Governor-General noted that a
'slist of eligibles' had been compiled by voluntary effort in
Queensland to enable recruiting officers 'to get in touch with
shirkers'. PRO CO418/159, III, September-December 1917, p.149.

98. In February 1918, the Prime Minister expressly called for 'Enlistment
of the aid of women' in the recruitment of males for war service.
Governor-General to Secretary of State for the Colonies,
26 February 1918, PRO CO418/169, I, January-June 1918, pp.239-240.

99. Mrs D. Haager, Honorary Secretary, Queensland Women's Recruiting
Committee deputation, 16 February 1917, QSA PRE/A547,
in-letter no. 2302 of 1917; W.J. Brady, Crows Nest W.P.O. to Mrs L. Ryan,
13 March 1917, QSA PRE/A551, in-letter no. 3731 of 1917.

100. National Leader, 16 February & 22 June 1917; C. Shute, 'Heroines
and Heroes: Sexual Mythology in Australia 1914-1918', Hecate, I,
no. 1, 1975, p.9.

101. Worker, 19 July 1917; Shute, op. cit., p.11; 'Summary of Ryan's
Disloyal Associations', Australian Archives, Defence, Accession B197,
File 2021/1/270; National Leader, 6 July & 3 August 1917.

102. National Leader, 7 & 14 September & 7 December 1917. The silencing
of Sizer was followed by a number of soldier indignation meetings,
and a defamation case which Sizer won.

103. Ibid., 27 April, 1 June, 21 September 1917, 8 March & 28 June 1918;
Croydon Mining News, 14 March 1918.

104. G. Gavin, Secretary B.I.C. to Captain G.M. Dash, 21 June 1917;
L. McDonald, Secretary C.P.E. to Dash, 20 June 1917, Australian
Archives, Defence, Accession B197, File 2021/1/270; Similarly,
in February 1918, Geo. Gavin replied to a letter from Captain
Cottam, asking leave for members of the Queensland War Savings
Committee to address the B.I.C: 'Our members are, naturally ...
suspicious, when asked to receive representations from such
notoriously anti-working class sections of the community as
Commercial Travellers' Clubs and banking concerns ... With
the cost of living out of all proportion to our earnings it seems almost
a studied insult to our intelligence and a cruel mockery to our
wives and families to talk of workers' 'savings'. It is quite
evident that whatever your little committee know of war and its
problems, it knows less of the working class fight with low wages
and evil economic conditions, which go on all the time in peace
and war alike ... The greatest need of our class today is peace, and in the securing of it lies all our interests.' Daily Standard, 1 February 1918.

105. E. Lane, Dawn to Dusk: Reminiscences of a Rebel, Brisbane, 1939, p.183; Turner, op. cit., p.172; National Leader, 16 March 1917.


111. Deputation to H.F. Hardacre, 5 February 1917, QSA EDU/A177.

112. L. Gugenberger, 'The National and Imperial Image as Projected in the Teaching of History in Queensland State Primary Schools 1875 to 1975 with historical notes', M.A. (Qual.) (Hist.), University of Queensland, 1975, p.114; Memo on War Loan Information in School Papers, October 1917, QSA PRE/AS93, in-letter no. 7349 of 1917; On 2 February 1918, the Buranda W.P.O. moved that peace ideals and Esperanto should be taught in State Schools. Cuthbert Butler added that each School Paper should contain one article dealing with the "root cause of the war". Ellis, op. cit., p.73.

113. The Dawn, I, no. 2, October 1917, p.4; Children's Peace Army press cutting (unidentified) in J.S. Griffiths' Clipping Book on Women.

114. The Dawn, I, no. 1, September 1917.

115. Memo on War Loan Information in Schools, October 1917, QSA PRE/AS93, in-letter no. 7349 of 1917.

116. Daily Standard, 26 October 1918; Censor's Notes, 23 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2163.

117. G. Barber, Leg. Assembly to L. McDonald, 23 October, 1918 with Censor's Notes, 30 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2232.

118. H. Hardacre, Department of Public Instruction to G. Barber, 18 October 1918, Australian Archives, ibid., Q.F.2231.
119. Lane, op. cit., pp.177-179.

120. 'Summary of Ryan's Disloyal Associations', op. cit.; Ellis, op. cit., pp.73-74.


122. Jauncey, op. cit., p.334; Shute, op. cit., p.12; Free Australians Association to T.J. Ryan, 16 May 1917, QSA PRE/A588, in-letter no. 5127 of 1917.

123. 'Summary of Ryan's Disloyal Associations', op. cit.; Ellis, op. cit., pp.4-9. In a passionate speech, Demain declared: "I attribute the big majority against conscription at the recent referendum to this growing desire for peace. We are told that the majority of Australians do not realize what war means, but I deny this ... there is hardly a home that has not suffered bereavement, had its sons returned maimed or that does not suffer the anxiety that attends having a son or relative at the front. Our streets are filled with an ever increasing number of maimed, halt and blind ... The horrors of it all shreik to high Heaven, and the peoples of the world are sickening of them all, and in this sickening lies the hope of peace." Daily Standard, 28 January 1918.


125. Brisbane Courier, 2 January 1918; Aussie, 18 January 1918; Hon. H. Webster, M.H.R. to T.J. Ryan, 18 March 1918, QSA PRE/A584, in-letter no. 3060 of 1918; Report of Governor-General's Reinforcements Conference, April 1918, QSA PRE/A592, in-letter no. 5541 of 1918.


127. Turner, op. cit., p.175; Murphy, op. cit., p.360; Perks, op. cit., p.37; Governor-General to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 13 May 1918, PRO CO418/169, I, 1918, pp.577-578. Earlier, in December 1917, the Governor-General had commented, 'The Prime Minister is at present obviously resolved to carry conscription by one measure or another. He does not regard even defeat on the Referendum as final but considers it releases him from all pledges and clears the deck for further action.' Governor-General to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 10 December 1917, PRO CO418/159, III, September-December 1917, p.429.


129. C. Gavin to T.J. Ryan, 26 May 1918, QSA PRE/A590, in-letter no. 5878 of 1918; Perks, op. cit., p.42; Lane, op. cit., p.215; National Leader, 17 May & 7 June 1918.
130. *Croydon Mining News*, 16 May 1918; Murphy, *op. cit.*, pp.369-370.


134. P.C. Evans, A.L.P., Sydney to Hon. L. McDonald, M.L.C., Brisbane, 10 October 1918; Queensland Dist. Aust. Coal and Shale Employees' Federation, Ipswich to L. McDonald, 14 October 1918; J.M. McLean, A.W.U. Charleville to L. McDonald, 9 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2113, Q.F.2117 and Q.F.2292 respectively.


136. Brisbane *Courier*, 8 November 1918.


140. Memo on Patriotic Funds and Organizations, April 1918, QSA PRE/A587, in-letter no. 4514 of 1918. This file reveals the wide proliferation of funds during the war period, covering every conceivable 'cause': e.g. Babies of Allies Clothing Fund, Southern Cross Tobacco Fund, Soldiers' Sock Fund, Russian Jews' Relief Fund, Wattle Day League, Brisbane Wool Spinning Guild, War Horses Comforts Fund and so on. In September 1917, the Sock Fund recorded that it had despatched 49,000 pairs to the Front, and expected to send 30,000 more by the end of that year. Queensland soldier, F. Culverhouse noted: 'The socks were always welcome but, as I found out after the Armistice ... a stack of these "comforts" a hundred feet high and a quarter of a mile long and nearly as deep never reached the soldiers, although some had been despatched from Australia in 1915 ... These comforts were sold in London to Jewish traders at throw away prices when the salvage sales of military goods were being held in 1919.' F.V. Culverhouse, 'Three Black Lights 1914-18', Oxley Ms, 1930.

141. *National Leader*, 9 August 1918; Town Clerk to T.J. Ryan, 26 July 1918, QSA PRE/A596, in-letter no. 8480 of 1918.

142. Enlistment totals for Queensland monthly in 1918 were January (283); February (265); March (169) - the lowest in the war; April (269); May (432); June (294); July (295); August (325).
143. G.M. Dash to T.J. Ryan, 24 September 1918, QSA PRE/A601, in-letter no. 10961 of 1918; G.M. Dash to T.J. Ryan, 23 October 1918, QSA PRE/A605, in-letter no. 12018 of 1918; In relation to the Seventh War Loan, the Governor-General noted in September 1918, 'The Government has ... decided to introduce legislation requiring all persons to subscribe to War Loans in proportion to their means ... resort will be made to compulsion.' Governor-General to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 24 September 1918, PRO CO418/169, 1, 1918, pp. 208-209. My emphasis.

144. Brisbane Courier, 23 & 30 October, 4 & 12 November 1918.

145. Ibid., 4 & 27 November 1918.

146. National Leader, 2 August 1918; G. Steward to W.A. Watt, 20 November 1918; Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/3, item S.C. 5[1]; Brisbane Courier, 9 November 1918.

147. Censor's Notes, 30 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2224.

148. Jauncey, op. cit., p.207; Worker, 5 October 1916.

149. Censor's Notes, 30 October 1918, op. cit.

150. Brisbane Courier, 8 November 1918.

151. Daily Standard, 16 November 1918; Censor's Notes, 20 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2397.

152. Censor's Notes, 6 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2274.

153. Censor's Notes, 30 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2214.


155. G. Steward to W.A. Watt, 20 November 1918, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/3, item S.C. 5[1].

156. Censor's Notes, 6 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2282.


158. N. Freeberg, censored article for the Worker, 6 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2308.

159. Censored Article from Knowledge and Unity, 20 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2380.
160. Brisbane Courier, 14 & 19 November 1918; Summarizing the anti-Bolshevik stereotype, the Age in 1920 stated: 'To us in Australia they appear as masters of iniquity ... and blood-thirsty cutthroats, inaugurating a campaign of murder and rapine. We have learned to think of them as huge, fierce men, with fiery eyes and bristling hair and whiskers - a type of modern ogre who eats a sheep a day.' The Age, 11 December 1920, quoted in A. Gordon, 'The Conservative Press and the Russian Revolution,' in C. Hazlehurst, Australian Conservatism: Essays in Twentieth Century Political History, A.N.U., 1979, p.45.
CHAPTER EIGHT

WE'LL KEEP THE RED FLAG FROM FLYING HERE.

SOCIAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT IN QUEENSLAND 1918-20

It suits today the weak and base,
Whose minds are fixed on self and place;
To cringe before the rich man's frown,
And haul the sacred emblem down.

- 'The Red Flag'.

... Well, this Commonwealth is British. It will not tolerate any substitution of the Red Flag for the British Flag, which is the flag of Australia's history ... The men who have come back cannot look on unmoved when the flag of their race and its Empire is put aside and the revolutionary flag flaunted in their faces.

- Brisbane Telegraph, July 1919.¹

We say plainly that there is not room for all opinions.

- For Australia League, 1919.²

The people here are very easy going - they want a revolution without sacrifices.

- D. Entcheff, 1920.³

'It is pardonable to go mad at times,' the Brisbane Courier affirmed, as it reviewed the activities of a wildly joyous crowd of some 50,000 people, dancing in the city's streets on Armistice night.⁴ For these delirious displays were clearly in no way akin to that other 'kind of madness' which had allegedly impelled local Bolshevik supporters to attempt a celebration of the Russian Revolution in Brisbane only three nights earlier.⁵ That 'unpardonable' form of dementia had been rapidly and dogmatically curbed, as we have seen. Instead, the 'ordinary, dignified citizens' who went 'harmlessly mad, justifiably mad and laudibly mad' as the European war ended were understood to be dancing to a very different tune. Rather than 'nasally' intoning 'The Red Flag', thousands sang 'Sons of the Sea' and cheered the 'boys of the Bull-dog
breed/Who made old England's name' as they had 'never cheered before.'

Earlier in the evening:

The Brisbane Girls' Grammar School boarders, bareheaded, came down in a body on receipt of the good news and lustily sang "Keep the Home Fires Burning". They were cheered to the echo.

The phrase 'Peace with Victory', illuminated by an electric sign upon the Courier building was the central focus of the celebration. The enchanting formula was intoned again and again 'like some religious litany', and it was for this that 'demure matrons sounded paper bugles' and 'self-respecting citizens, holding high office in commercial life' rang cow-bells and beat loudly upon empty tin-cans.6

A Brisbane socialist, Stan O'Neill, with the racket of jubilation still ringing in his ears wrote caustically to his brother in Innisfail:

A few months ago it was a crime to talk peace. Now it is an established fact... Of course, the Jingo is top dog now, but he will soon sicken everybody with his 'God save' and stupid flag-flapping, so his reign will soon be over.

O'Neill was being both overly simplistic and optimistic in his assessment, however, as his words skirted around that world of difference which loyalists identified between the 'peace by negotiation' calls of the Perth Conference and the 'Peace with Victory' declaration, shining from the Courier building's balcony. Although all could now talk freely of peace, 'Win the War' determination had ultimately prevailed over 'Stop the War' initiatives. Only the former, the Courier asserted, had ensured 'the salvation of British civilization... the end of four years of desperate warfare... the safety of hearth and home, the vindication of justice and the preservation of freedom.' For only with Germany utterly crushed, the editorial concluded, could 'the broad sunlit highways of national progress' once more beckon ahead. It was small wonder then that those who faithfully accepted this prognosis appeared 'stunned with joy' for several consecutive days. As Brisbane's Anglican Archbishop Donaldson
exclaimed, 'If ever there was a time when it was a fair thing to go mad, it was the present ...'.

Along with the relief and elation came brief displays of unanimity and forbearance. 'The news of Peace is filling Brisbane with the noise of Hooters and Cheering,' Archbishop Donaldson wrote to Labor minister Herbert Hardacre, 'It is a great day for us all.' The leader of the State's Opposition, E.H. Macartney told the ecstatic crowd on Armistice night, 'We must bury all our personal anger. Let there be no bitterness here and no quarrelling', while Premier Ryan agreed that although there had been 'little differences during the war,' he now hoped that 'bygones would be bygones.' At a huge Exhibition Ground rally, the following day, both leaders, at Ryan's instigation joined hands before an assemblage of 60,000 in a magnanimous gesture to end all 'bitterness and animosity.' The strands of social antipathy and conflict were now too tightly interwoven, however, to unravel with soothing words and hand-shakes. Both Hardacre and Ryan had recently been subjected to raucous heckling, 'groans and interruption' by hostile loyalists for their supposedly tepid attitude towards recruiting at recent 'Victory' meetings. Even at the Exhibition peace rally, a considerable section of the crowd attempted to count Ryan out. A fortnight later, the Police Commissioner informed the Premier that a movement was in progress to mob him violently and 'burst up' the Peace procession, should he attempt to lead it. It was rumoured that as many as one thousand soldiers might be involved. Subsequently, foot-police were placed on constant guard at Ryan's home after other violent threats were received.

Correspondents to the Brisbane Courier cautioned against the rashness of 'burying the hatchet' with the 'peace-at-any-price people' after victory had been so painfully achieved. The shirkers now realized they had 'backed the wrong horse,' the Reverend Stanley Morrison told
Protestant loyalists, roaring with delight at an Orange Lodge Thanksgiving Service, and were 'now scurrying to seem "true blue".' They cried belatedly, 'Hooray! Brother Anzac. We have won the war!' and 'Brother Anzac was too astounded to speak.'\(^1\) Frederick T. Brentnall, a fiery Wesleyan newspaper proprietor and member of the Legislative Council was, however, not quite so lost for words. Referring specifically to members of the Queensland Cabinet, he warned that 'lots of war shirkers will be eager to pluck the luscious fruits of victory and wreath their faces with false smiles of self-congratulation.' He therefore advised all to remember that 'Victory was not won by shirkers of any breed.' A time of 'righteous reckoning' was looming, he forecasted ominously, between these 'cynical, sinister recreants' and 'the loyal valiants, who, for the safety of the motherland have borne the brunt of battle.' Thus, though some now called vainly for society 'to sink all bitter party politics, submerge every form of sectarianism, strangle class consciousness and present a united front to all enemies of progress ...', the opposite of such idealistic accord seemed the most likely outcome.\(^2\) Though the crowds celebrating peace were far larger and more vociferous than those who had first hailed the war, the spirit of unanimity which this supposedly represented was far less evident than in 1914. Behind all the motions of gay rejoicing, the mood remained divisive, vengeful and ugly, as loyalists, in thought and deed, demanded capitulation and atonement rather than reconciliation. In Brisbane, a raucous crowd of more than one thousand raided the Treasury Buildings, on the morning of 12 November, forcing the closure of Government offices. At Rockhampton, a score of returned soldiers invaded the local Trades Hall, took full possession and hoisted a Union Jack over the building. Other loyalists there attacked the home of 'an avid pacifist.' 'Are we loyal?' a local A.M.I.E.U. official demanded in exasperation: 'Can we be otherwise ...?'\(^3\)
With 'the arch-enemy of mankind' now at their feet, loyalist propaganda once more rekindled anti-German hatreds to white heat. Germany was 'a criminal nation' which had 'willed and deliberately planned the war', asserted the *Courier* and so now must pay. Regular articles on 'Hun Booby Traps' and other atrocities, 'Life under German Rule' in Belgium and France, and 'The Insanity of Germany' in general continued to appear in its columns for many months after the war had ended. Although Germany now lay 'with her nose in the mud and her gross buttocks in the air,' stated the Australian 'cultural' journal, *The Triad*, 'she would be a menace still so long as any of us live.' As Brisbane's Lord Mayor, Alderman Buchanan compared Kaiser Wilhelm to 'a rat looking for a hole in which to hide,' a spate of Kaiser-burning demonstrations flared across the State. At Stanthorpe, an effigy of the Kaiser was paraded, draped in a white flag 'tugged on one side by a live bulldog decorated with a Union Jack and guarded on the other side by Australian soldiers.' It was finally burnt upon a high vantage point above the railway station. At Warwick, Dayboro, Morningside and Gatton, the 'Kaiser' was tried for murder at a mock court-martial, convened by returned soldiers before being executed by firing squad and then consigned to the flames. At Croydon, in the far north-west, the crowd sang 'What Do You Think of the Kaiser', as a straw-stuffed representation of 'the Hohenzollern murderer' was consumed by the fire and his 'head flew off with a bang.' A torchlight procession of 2,000 at Charleville carried a manacled effigy, 'with a hangman's noose around its neck' to a bonfire upon which it was exploded. In Brisbane, during the Peace procession, the dummy villain was lynched from a lamp-post.

From one perspective, these enthusiastic ceremonies might be interpreted as practical, cathartic actions, exorcising the cumulative impact of 'four years' horrid nightmare' in the symbolic destruction of
straw men. Yet these spectacles also rallied and incorporated more threateningly xenophobic elements, directed principally against those shadowy forces of 'the enemy within.' On Armistice night, arsonists set alight the Lutheran Church of Toowoomba after climbing into its belfry. Similarly, the Maryborough Lutheran Church was desecrated by a gang of men, composed mainly of returned soldiers who, after raising the Union Jack above it, broke its windows, destroyed its gates and fittings, kicked the Pastor's Bible and Hymn Books around the floor and danced drunkenly there until dawn. A mob, headed by ex-servicemen and a military band at Bundaberg also succeeded in hoisting a Union Jack over the German church but were held back by police when they attempted a further invasion of the premises. Several days later, police were again called when returned soldiers attended a Lutheran wedding there 'to see that the ceremony was conducted in English and under the Union Jack.'

These intimidatory displays were accompanied by a renewed outpouring of xenophobia, directed against German residents by the conservative press. The seizure of German farms for use as returned soldier settlements was one popular theme. The National Leader now argued that intermarriage between German and British Australians should henceforth be prohibited by legislation - an issue upon which the Triad expanded considerably. 'If the Government won't act, the citizens are justified in acting', the Triad raged:

Are we to submit our wives and daughters to the indignity of social intercourse with men who sympathize with the unspeakable beasts who cursed Belgium, men of the same beastly blood? Are staunch Australians and New Zealanders going to sit down in amity with brothers and sisters and cousins of beasts? ... For a generation at least there can be no peace with Germans. If need arises, the Triad will commence publishing lists of persons in Australia affected by the German taint.

Returned soldier organizations petitioned for the abolition of German clubs, churches and schools, the eradication of all Teutonic linguistic
and cultural influences and the deportation en masse of local German residents. Citizens of German background maintained a fearful silence, undoubtedly apprehensive about the fate of thousands of their relatives and friends in internment camps, as well as sensing that any protests would prove futile and even counter-productive. Commenting upon the possible fate of the internees, Mr T. Sadler, the father-in-law of Eugen Hirschfeld wrote to his daughter in November 1918:

... what is going to happen, no-one knows. I have been making some enquiries ... re Eugene [sic]. There is all sorts of wild talk about deporting them, but you will see it will die out in a little while.25

Time would prove, however, that this talk of mass deportation was not so 'wild' and that anti-Germanism would remain deeply entrenched. In August 1919, the new Queensland Censor, J. Botten was still warning against the 'numerous section' of local Germans who were 'well tutored in the direction of rebellion.' He argued that these men were just as dangerous 'in the present unsettled conditions in Queensland' as they had been during the war.26 Earlier that year, his predecessor, Captain Stable - who had retired in May - welcomed the appearance of an American soldiers' publication entitled Drill Chips which carried lurid atrocity stories of butchered soldiers and nurses, as well as terrorized orphan children as potent arguments against purchasing German-made items like razors, cutlery and toys in the future. 'This smart advertising scheme serves to show how Americans are using the war to create a prejudice against German goods and in favour of their own,' the Censor noted approvingly:

The print of a blood-stained hand on the cover is an appropriate index to the impressive way in which the writer uses Hun outrages to convince readers of the duty of supporting the industries of their own country and not those of the enemy.27

Smith's Weekly, Triad, the Mining Standard, the Pastoralist's Review
and Australian trade journals like Hardware and Machinery and Dalgety's Review continued this barrage of invective against German commercial activities into the 1920s. 'The atrocities practised, countenanced or instigated by the arch-enemy' were never to be forgotten. One Brisbane picture-palace had celebrated the Armistice by screening a film entitled Lest We Forget, re-enacting the sinking of the Lusitania in 1915. Similar anti-German films would keep 'scenes of frightfulness' alive in the minds of Australian audiences long after peace had been declared. Commenting upon one such cinema programme in early 1920, the Lone Hand was gratified to see that 'these gruesome morsels' were sustaining 'a proper appreciation and remembrance of the deeds of the soul-less German and his vile accomplices' and thus preventing any 'drift into a state of complacence which, in all respects, resembles forgiveness.'

As anti-Germanism peaked once more in the immediate post-war period, it was accompanied by a complementary intensification of anti-alien alarm. Bill Gammage has attempted to argue that 'wartime alliances' had so disturbed patterns of thought about 'the hierarchy of races' by 1918 that 'whiteness and virtue and, to a lesser extent, whiteness and superiority could no longer be considered synonymous.' As he somewhat simplistically summarizes these disturbed notions:

The Germans...were 'bad' but white, while the Japanese were 'good' but not white, and the Russians were white and 'good' until December 1917, but white and 'bad' thereafter.

The principal outcome of this wartime confusion, claims Gammage was that such structural 'damage' was done to ingrained racist assumptions that 'the drawing of racial distinctions within the white race' became more difficult and that an 'enlargement of racial tolerance in Australia' was thereby heralded. Such an optimistic conclusion, however, can be strongly questioned, at least in the short term.
THE SHADOW

Postwar Revival of Asian Invasion Threats (Smith's Weekly 1921).
We want something more than a sign to keep them out

White Australia and the Hordes of Asia (Smith's Weekly 1921).
Expedient 'wartime alliances' with foreign nations did not necessarily mean that stereotyped notions held by the average British-Australian concerning those nations' citizens were significantly transformed. War propaganda, for instance, was hardly as zealous in acclaiming Asians and Russians as it was in consistently vilifying Germans. Russians and particularly Japanese were hardly considered to be 'good' and unobjectionable beings while their governments were aligned with the Allied powers. Pre-war anti-Japanese hysteria in Australia—notably escalating with Japan already allied to Britain—had only been muted during the war by censorship and continued to influence decisions made during the conscription debates. The phobia burst forth again in 1918, inducing the censorship of J.H. Catts's no-confidence speech in the Commonwealth Hansard in January and influencing the Prime Minister's decision to adhere to the prospect of conscription during the Governor-General's recruiting conference in April. Among both Labor representatives at the Perth Conference and W.M. Hughes's delegation at the Peace Conference, presentiments of Japanese menace were sounded as compellingly as they had been before 1914. Similarly, Russophobia, boosted in Queensland by the local emigre problem was only temporarily dampened as the Czar's armies contested those of the Kaiser. The alien/radical threat posed by the Russians' presence, however, had never fully dissipated before it was so powerfully revived in 1917. Additionally, Southern Europeans like the Maltese, Italians and Greeks had hardly appeared as more acceptable migrants to white Australians because their countries too had confronted the Central Powers. In February 1919, the Daily Mail attacked 'the Greek, the Slav' and other foreign 'nondescripts' for fomenting strikes in Queensland, while Captain Stable maintained that a major reason for industrial instability in the North was the absorption of Southern Europeans there. 'Australia can very well do without the breed,' commented a Bulletin correspondent upon the Maltese after the war:
It's a toss-up which is the more undesirable - Steak-a-de-oyst [Italian], Rock Scorpion or a Maltese - the last a cross between a Dago and a Gyppo ... For down-right laziness, spieling adaptability and want of guts, the Maltese have first claim ...

Even the Dutch in Queensland were under close official scrutiny at the war's end for their allegedly disloyal, pro-German attitudes.33

It would seem, therefore, that the war, in promoting further confusion, misrepresentation and bitterness about non-British peoples and resident minorities, actually expanded the scope of racial intolerance in Australia, rather than potentially narrowing it. The characteristic response of British-Australians to increased insecurities about 'racial distinctions' was a solid affirmation of their central ethnic allegiances. Their essential 'Britishness' therefore remained a comforting bulwark against all suspect alien groups. The war had, if anything 'deepened the race consciousness of Australians' and ensured that the terms 'British Australia' and 'White Australia' remained practically synonymous phrases. 'We have our White Australia policy and our Alien Restriction,' the Lone Hand stated reassuringly in March 1919, 'and these in themselves absolutely exclude the idea of internationalism.' Nationalism, instead recognized that 'the foundations of nations is race' and Australian nationalism, in particular was clearly seen to stand for:

... a White Australia, for a white man's heritage, not for the piebald community of interest attached to those sections who would place black, white and yellow in propinquity and on the most exalted plane, provided they roared plaudits at I.W.W. oratory and Bolshevistic bounce ... First it stands for Australia and its good estate; secondly, it stands for the Empire and the solidarity of that great confederation of self-governing nations.34

Within the Australian nation, the interests of British imperialism, capitalism and racism were to be served contingently as both ethnic aliens and the purveyors of radical foreign doctrines were circumscribed and silenced. 'We are not only threatened by foreign intriguers and by
foreign commercial competition, but also by foreign propaganda,' claimed the 1919 publication, *For Australians*, in panic-stricken tones:

Australia has no room for the offscourings of continental cities, the cosmopolitan freaks who attempt to teach her people not how to be good Australians but how to resemble and emulate the degenerates of a score of countries herded into organizations which preach murder, incendiaryism, idleness, blackmail and every crime that is most hateful to a sane and civilized people.  

Official responses towards the 70,000 aliens already registered in Australia under the Aliens Registration Regulations 1916 were expressed within this repressive framework and reflected analogous attitudes. The Aliens Committee, established by the Prime Minister in October 1918 to consider aspects of the migration, naturalization, repatriation and property-holding of aliens - 'enemy' or otherwise - presented recommendations which were infused with the same sense of aversion and foreboding as that of the pamphleteers quoted above. The present Immigration Restriction Act, the report indicated, could, 'without any alteration of its terms ... be made to apply to people of any country,' although it was at present administered to exclude only the criminal, diseased and the 'people of special races.' Hence, it was decided that, along with the restrictions already placed upon the migration of Maltese, Greeks and Russians, 'a policy of complete exclusion' should be maintained against all enemy aliens 'of German, Austro-German, Hungarian, Bulgarian and Ottoman origin for a period of at least five years, and thereafter until the disability is removed by proclamation of the Governor-General.'

Those 'foreigners' still allowed admission into Australia were now to be kept under 'more thorough control' than prior to the war. The production of passports was made obligatory for them and, once resident, all were compelled to register themselves as aliens. Any changes of address were to be reported, while hotel and boarding-house keepers were obliged to record particulars of aliens staying at their establishments,
so that Commonwealth authorities could 'compile a register and keep a
record of the names and movements of all the aliens in the country.'
Naturalization procedures were to be considerably tightened and future
employment in the State and Commonwealth public services were to be
restricted to natural-born British subjects. The Aliens Committee
further recommended that the use of foreign languages in public
assemblies or as a medium for instruction in schools 'in other subjects
than its own study' be prohibited. Aliens were to be discouraged from
congregating in 'self-contained communities' and measures were advocated
'to disperse those already in existence.' As the Report explained:

The presence of those alien communities in certain localities
might be a distinct weakness to our national defence, whilst,
at the least, they could be a rallying centre for naturalized
persons of hostile sympathies and serve to create and keep
alive anti-Australian sentiment.

In short, everything was to be done to ensure 'the gradual Australian-
ization of all permanent residents in the Commonwealth' and their
assimilation with all the tenets of British race patriotism and cultural
hegemony which this process encompassed.37

These new prescriptions were, in part, the result of imperious
demands made in the full flush of victory as well as the outcome of
exaggerated ethnic anxieties and polarizations associated with the
experience of war. An already emphatically xenophobic people were now
advised to be on their guard against outsiders as never before in the
troubled aftermath of hostilities. Immediate homefront problems also
contributed greatly to the heightened phobic response towards foreigners
of all kinds. Unemployment and the increased competition for scarce work
in a numerically saturated labour market, in particular, intensified the
general mood of intractability and led to the scapegoating of alien
workers. It has already been seen how all but the most radically-minded
workers had shown themselves to be niggardly in offering support to
distressed Germans and Italians during the anti-internment and anti-conscription campaigns of 1918. The issue of 'preference to Australians' in the labour market, however, threatened to enliven latent ethnic antagonisms once more. By late October 1918, for instance, the more conservative members of the Combined Industrial Unions at the Ipswich Railway Workshops were locked in struggle with militant officials of the Q.R.U. over the question of discharging from the works all foreigners who would not become naturalized British subjects. The Q.R.U., supported by Ernie Lane of the Daily Standard argued that such a decision represented 'scabbery' and 'narrow, prejudiced nationalism of the lowest order.' Yet members of the Combined Unions found that their primary concern for white, indigenous railway workers returning from the war was championed by Railway Minister, John Fihelly who categorically stated that 'Australians would be given preference before any others.' Among the growing ranks of the unemployed, antipathy against the foreigner was felt even more keenly. In Townsville, a Dutch socialist named Barend Meyer was prominent in organizing unemployment demonstrations and marches in January 1919. For his pains, he was first served a summons by local police for failing to register as an alien and then turned upon by his own followers. 'A drift had set in against foreigners,' the unemployed men explained, as they forced Meyer to resign as their leader.

The unemployment rate in Queensland, aggravated by a crippling drought and the glut of returned soldiers now re-entering the labour market continued to climb steeply from 11.6% at the time of the Armistice to 14.2% in the second quarter of 1919 - in stark contrast to a Commonwealth average of 7% over the same period. Demonstrations in towns across the State by this army of disgruntled men also increased the disposition towards tension and instability in the society at the war's end. Brisbane was said to be 'over-run with unemployed' as ex-soldiers
walked about 'in hundreds, unable to get work' and angry deputations confronted the Premier. In early November, George 'Gunner' Taylour, president of the radical 'Comrades of War' led a march of 100 unemployed, carrying banners proclaiming 'We demand the right to live, eat and work,' along the City's main streets to the Labour Bureau. Although E.G. Theodore, who met the procession warned Taylour that 'there must not be any more demonstrations,' when the first post-war Anzacs to return on furlough arrived at Brisbane Central Station on 25 November they were met - along with the cheering throng - by a group of men in civilian clothes, displaying a banner which grimly read: 'Unemployed soldiers welcome Anzacs.' As the position worsened, destitution and starvation were predicted, with some 3,000 out of work in the metropolis alone. In January 1919, a deputation of 120 unemployed men clashed angrily with J.M. Hunter, the Acting Chief Secretary. When their spokesmen requested some 'peas or beans' as part of their dole rations, Hunter sarcastically replied, 'Would you like some asparagus?,' inducing a section of the group to try storming the Home Secretary's office and remaining there until 'they got something.' Police, however, quickly intervened and ended their desperate surges into the Minister's rooms.

In other Queensland centres, the plight of the jobless was as clearly displayed and they marched and demonstrated in the main streets, established their camps in local parks or on river banks and agitated at the labour exchanges. North Queensland was depicted as experiencing 'the worst slack seen this way' as the closure of mines at places like Mount Cuthbert, Mount Elliott, Hampden and Dobbyn increased the number of unemployed congregating in Townsville to above 800. In the Cloncurry district, over 2,000 miners were retrenched and 'great distress' prevailed along the river camps, while, at Charleville, unemployment was locally rated as being 'the worst in the last dozen years.' Angry demonstrators
from Maryborough, Bundaberg and Rockhampton in the south to Townsville, Innisfail and Cairns in the north called for 'direct action' or, at least, improvements to the dole ration scales. As the Returned Soldiers' Labour League began to argue that unemployment was not so much a temporary misfortune but a structural necessity of the capitalist system, creating 'a reserve army of labor upon which the employers can draw whenever they want to'; and as local agitators harangued the desperate men upon the possibility of violence and revolution, Commonwealth Intelligence Agents began casting anxious eyes over the Queensland unemployment situation.

In January 1919, Captain Purvis of Military Intelligence reported from Townsville to Victoria Barracks upon 'unemployed agitations ... in nearly every district between Bundaberg and Cairns,' blaming these exclusively upon men of either Bolshevik or 'I.W.W. type who seem to have arrived from the south for the purpose of creating trouble.' The situation in Townsville was 'very acute', he warned with the aforementioned Barend Meyer, in company with George and Ernie Thompson 'of Broken Hill fame' leading a 'Committee of Unemployed' and encouraging the jobless to sing and raise the Red Flag. Commenting upon this report, Captain Stable explained that 'the more undesirable element' among the floating population of North Queensland's sugar and meat workers did not return south in the off-season, but remained instead 'near the cane fields' or gathered in Townsville 'picking up odd jobs or living in idleness on the proceeds of their work.' It was these shiftless men, Stable averred, who were so 'ready for mischief' and 'eager to absorb the poison of extremist agitators.' From Brisbane, Lieutenant-Colonel Walker reported that the unemployed disturbances were 'only the beginning of things in the North,' where associated industrial trouble was 'tending towards a complete try-out of the State Government.'
Cabinet was 'very much concerned' at the developments, Walker claimed, with Acting Premier Theodore issuing strong statements that the I.W.W. element should be 'booted out of the Labour movement.' From private talks with Frederic Urquhart, the Queensland Commissioner of Police, Walker learned that Theodore had also issued 'instructions concerning the mission of an agitator named Eccles' who had gone to Cairns to organize unemployed demonstrations there. The redoubtable William James Eccles, described by Captain Purvis as 'a noted extremist with Bolshevik ideas' began - as he had in Townsville in February 1918 - arranging public meetings in Cairns under 'a weeping fig on the Esplanade,' which served as a local 'Tree of Knowledge.' These meetings were refused permits and broken up by police. On 20 January 1919, Eccles, who had already been apprehended at both Townsville and Hughenden was arrested in Cairns on a charge of 'assaulting a constable at Ingham' and imprisoned.

The prevailing argument that imported radicals were responsible for unemployment agitations was plausible only insofar as individual Wobblies and others were actually present in many of the disturbed centres, ready to capitalize upon any basic forms of social discontent. Yet, to confuse the role of provocateur and originator was both simplistic and vindictive. The Mayor of Bundaberg realized this when, in January 1919, he accused Theodore of low tactics in branding the unemployed 'as I.W.W. in the eyes of the public.' "It was all very well for him to sit back in luxury and belittle the workers,' the Mayor charged, '[but] there was no I.W.W.ism about them.' Their basic requirements were neither insurrectionary nor doctrinaire. "We are not here for hot air," unemployed men, meeting at Maryborough had cried out, "We are here to get something to eat.' Yet, particularly in the eyes of Federal agents, Queensland by this time was doubly damned as Australia's centre for
The Persistence of Unemployment in Queensland into the early 1920s.
foreign intrigues and revolutionary conspiracies. Any tendency towards instability, either socially or politically was therefore seen as further proof of this hypothesis. 'Queensland ... is now undoubtedly, to put the matter plainly and honestly, a hot bed of disloyalty, both to the Empire and Australia,' concluded George Steward of the S.I.B. on 20 November 1918, as he informed Acting Prime Minister Watt that he was immediately despatching 'Mr Jones to Queensland' to work with 'our representative in Brisbane' in identifying purported revolutionary ring-leaders and securing 'their imprisonment ... deportation or both' at the 'earliest possible moment.' The 'Mr Jones' in question was probably Major H.E. Jones, who was soon to assume control of the S.I.B. from Steward. The 'Brisbane representative' at this time was still Lieutenant-Colonel Walker who had established close informational links with Police Commissioner Urquhart. Walker, like Steward believed that Queensland had become 'the dumping ground recently for all disloyal elements in the Commonwealth,' and it would seem that Urquhart shared similar views. Under arrangements first made when the Counter-Espionage Bureau began in Australia in 1916, the 'cordial co-operation' of each State's Police Commissioner had been requested. Yet it is dubious whether this was ever meant to include the private briefing of Commonwealth Intelligence Officers upon the actions of leading State politicians.

As Trevor Botham has shown, Police Commissioner Urquhart's involvement with forces intent upon combatting subversion went somewhat beyond the immediate call of duty. Botham reveals that, in mid-1918, Herbert Brookes, former President of the Victorian Chamber of Manufacturers and a leading Protestant loyalist had interested Acting Prime Minister Watt in the establishment of a secret Australian Protective League to counter disloyal influences of all kinds. This League, which was to co-ordinate the activities of private loyalist groups was to be covertly directed by
the Minister of Defence, the Secret Service Head and a prominent private citizen - possibly Brookes himself. Operations in each State were to follow a similar pattern. 'Mr Harold Gall of John Hicks and Co.' was named as a likely Queensland contact, while Commissioner Urquhart was to act as 'the permanent formal head in charge of Queensland and New South Wales.' Replying to Brookes on 7 September 1918, Urquhart indicated that he would be willing to serve 'if the embryo developed.' In a manner similar to the reports of Captain Stable, Urquhart disclosed how 'the situation in Brisbane had deteriorated.' He believed, however, that 'a firm enforcement of the Unlawful Associations Act' would curb the activities of '20 well-known agitators there.' During consultations held in Melbourne at the end of November with Defence Minister Pearce, George Steward of the S.I.B., Major E.L. Piesse, the Director of Military Intelligence and Herbert Brookes himself, Urquhart learned that an Australian Defensive League was now contemplated which, under the authority of the S.I.B. would recruit private citizens to report upon disloyal activities. It seems indeed significant, therefore, that a list of purported disloyalists in Brisbane, bearing the names of forty-one persons was located with Commonwealth Intelligence at this time and that executive members of Queensland's loyalty league, the R.S.S & C.N.L. knew of its existence. This list had been compiled, by undisclosed means, following Brookes's initial contact with Urquhart.

While attending the Melbourne conference, Urquhart noted censoriously how an 'in-bred' Australian antipathy to 'surveillance ... espionage or censorship' tended to allow 'the vile doctrine of glib-tongued agitators' freer reign. Spellbound Australian crowds assented 'sheep-like' to their clever harangues, he claimed:

... without any real appreciation of what they are assenting to - as for instance, many people, especially young people will cheer the red flag without the least understanding of what the symbol stands for.
By 23 February 1919, however, the Police Commissioner commented in a letter to Brookes that 'things are looking better.' Various 'hints' that he had dropped before his departure for Melbourne, Urquhart indicated:

... had fruitified in a wonderful way and now upwards of 30 societies have given their adhesion to a Limited Loyalty League and, yesterday, three of the leaders came along to ask my advice about joining problems and told me inter alia that they could have 60 societies joined up and expressed a wish that I might like to take a hand in the business ...

Urquhart’s hints may have encouraged this escalating loyalist mobilization, but it had also been directly prompted by the successful suppression of the Brisbane Bolshevik celebration in early November. Excited by triumphs at home and upon the war front, the leading Imperialist societies, such as the Overseas Club, the Royal Society of St George, the newly-formed Navy League, the larger Returned Soldiers' Organizations and the R.S.S. & C.N.L. had banded together during December to elect a central executive, to which three delegates from each society would be sent. The resultant United Loyalist Executive (U.L.E.) was presided over by Dr E. Sandford-Jackson, a leading Brisbane physician, a staunch Protestant and a key speaker at the jubilant loyalist rally at Centennial Hall on 8 November 1918. As this body launched its militant pro-Imperial, anti-Bolshevik campaign in January 1919, it was joined by more than two dozen smaller loyalist groups. Captain Stable commented in early February:

This Executive ... will control the activities of the various affiliated societies in a loyalty campaign which is to be launched almost immediately and simultaneously with an anti-revolutionary and anti-Bolshevik movement under the same control.

Although the movement was ostensibly 'non-political', Stable confided:
... it is distinctly antagonistic to the present Labor Government partly on account of the lack of support given to recruiting since the 1918 election by the Labor members and partly on account of the sympathetic attitude of many of these members towards republicanism and even, in some cases, towards Bolshevism.  

As these Imperial loyalists were consolidating their ranks outside the parliamentary sphere, the State's conservative political forces were also moving to resolve their myriad differences around the issue of anti-Bolshevism. As Urquhart happily informed Brookes in February 1919:

The liberals are gradually composing their differences and getting together with a strong effort, while the Labor extremists are alarming their party leaders and will either force them to attempt some arrangement with the opposition or cause a split in the party itself ...  

A deep rift in the Nationalist ranks could be traced back to the 1918 State election campaign when a bitter wrangle had occurred between the National Party and the National Political Council (N.P.C.) over the selection of candidates. Subsequent electoral losses led to a disaffiliation of the two groups in late May.  

By August, political animosities, fed by both personal competition and sectarian hatreds were such that the National Leader attacked the 'sordid huckstering' and disarray throughout the Nationalist ranks. The R.S. & C.P.L. which the Leader represented had itself withdrawn from the Nationalist alliance the previous November. Several other sections were now 'at each other's throats', the paper lamented and 'real Nationalism is forgotten.'  

Yet in December 1918, the State Opposition Leader, E.H. Macartney, undoubtedly encouraged by the accolades he was receiving at loyalist rallies attempted both to seize the political initiative and to overcome the 'chaos' among conservatives by launching a new Nationalist movement - the Australian Democratic Union (A.D.U.), which incorporated 'the old National party' within it. Most significantly the A.D.U., begun with the backing of Imperially-minded company directors like Sir Robert Philp and Sir Arthur
Cowley was 'publicly launched with but one plank ... anti-Bolshevism'.

As such, it gradually overcame the continuing resistance of the N.P.C. Weakened by the withdrawal of the well-organized Farmers' Union from its ranks in September 1918 and then by the secession of the United Graziers' and the United Canegrowers' Associations the following January, the N.P.C. was finally forced to capitulate in February 1919 when even its finance committee, the National Union merged with the A.D.U. A chastened N.P.C. therefore amalgamated with the A.D.U. in late February, forming a new conservative coalition, the National Democratic Council (N.D.C.). This submission of the once dominant N.P.C. to the A.D.U. was neatly camouflaged as 'a reconciliation between the loyal political bodies in Queensland' in the cause of anti-Bolshevism. In this way, the impact of the N.P.C.'s demise was considerably diminished and the enthusiastic support of the average conservative voter vivified or, at least maintained. As the Censor noted in early February:

> For some time it has been very evident that a party whose platform would include as its chief plank active opposition to the growing Bolshevik element, loyalty to the Empire and embody the better features of the Labour party platform, while protecting the vital interests of the State would receive immediate and solid support, provided that the existing factions of the Nationalist party were not antagonised.

The triumph of the A.D.U., with its militant anti-Bolshevik platform represented a clear victory for the 'extremist element in the National Party, uncompromisingly hostile to labour.' It was this group, Captain Stable had warned as early as September 1918 who were 'deliberately working to precipitate a crisis on the assumption that as trouble must come, the sooner it comes the better.' According to the Censor, these militant loyalists hoped that in the turmoil of a major class confrontation, the workers would again be crushed, as they had been in Brisbane in 1912 and in New South Wales in 1917.64

This renewed co-ordination of the Nationalist opposition, accompanied
by the rapid mobilization of private loyalist groups and the keen preparedness of Commonwealth Intelligence forces to do battle with the so-called 'Bolshevik element' all provided a strong indication that a decisive political show-down was expected imminently. From left-wing vantage points, it also seemed clear that ruling class groups were mustering their forces for a major onslaught. As Leslie King of the Australian Distributing Trades Federation wrote to T. Buchanan of the Shop Assistants' Union in October 1918:

Influences are quietly at work now. Employerdom is consolidating its ranks and girding itself up for the coming fray as it never did before; not publicly, but in the secret ways it is the master of. Money is being silently got together and every effort is being made to divide the workers into separate and opposing camps. The Press is, as usual assisting in the foul work, and when the time comes, employerdom, fully armed, well organized and consolidated to the last man will strike and strike hard. Unionism will have to fight for its very life. This will be no ordinary fight, but a relentless, hard, determined struggle which may last for many months.\(^5\)

This analysis may have seemed unduly conspiratorial and monolithic, couched as it was in the remorseless terminology of class warfare and Social Darwinism. Yet, as struggles during the following year were to reveal, it would also prove to be a singularly prophetic statement. The spokesmen for 'employerdom,' on the other hand, emphasized the awesome schemes of their ideological adversaries, the 'Bolsheviks' as they prepared themselves to counter a revolutionary offensive. J.F. Maxwell, a City Council Alderman, leading businessman and Nationalist supporter told the annual meeting of the Queensland Employers' Federation on 30 October 1918 that the One Big Union scheme would mean 'without a doubt the complete wiping out of the employer.' It was 'one of the most drastic and venomous forms of union that had ever been submitted.' The Red Flag, which its proponents saluted 'in preference to the flag of liberty, the Union Jack,' he warned, stood for 'the abolition of the boss, the wage system and all private property.'\(^6\) The next day,
Making the World Safe for Democracy

Stereotypes of the Revolutionary (Smith's Weekly 1921).
Stereotypes of the Revolutionary (Smith's Weekly 1921).
employers at Townsville informed T.J. Ryan that they regarded a sympathetic Carters' strike which had begun in the town as 'the commencement of the one big union movement' there, which would then spread rapidly south. Northern employers had therefore agreed to act as 'one "United Body"' in response to this challenge. 'You may rest assured the Townsville employers will give a good account of themselves,' the North Queensland Employers' Association advised Ryan in the rhetoric of the war-front: 'The Union will find that for the first time the Employers are united and are prepared to stand shoulder to shoulder.'

The enemies of 'private enterprise', the Empire and British 'civilization' generally were once more viewed in distinctly monolithic terms. Extremists in Queensland now appeared to dominate 'the industrial and political situation' entirely, C.C. King, President of the Australian Mines and Metals Association told a Melbourne audience in November, 'and even the members of highly paid craft organizations have openly avowed that they intend to put the "screw" on the employer.' Prominent Victorian financier, W.L. Baillieu, central figure of the Collins House manufacturing group, with large-scale interests in the Mount Morgan mines expressed himself as being 'frightfully disturbed about the Socialist and Bolshevik outlook,' which the Brisbane Courier consistently summarized as being against all 'political equality ... freedom of speech ... law and order ... security of life and limb and the control of individual possessions - the workman's cottage not less than the rich man's mansion.'

In overcoming the crisis which Australian capitalists saw themselves facing, patriotic 'middle class' people and 'white collar' workers were to be recruited through the loyalty leagues to combat the alleged insurgents. As the 'three leaders' of the U.L.E. who visited Urquhart in late February 1919 admitted to the Police Commissioner of their counter-revolutionary intentions:
They wish[ed] to go pretty far - not only to uphold the constitution by peaceful means but to have a formidable striking force ready if required.

The American conflict sociologist, Lewis A. Coser has indicated what a portentous step social groups take when they threaten, prepare for and actively participate in the tactics of violence. Considerable 'psychic energies' and a level of 'very serious commitment' are demanded of those so enjoined, he claims, and their threats and actions spring from their involvement in 'extremely frustrating, ego-damaging and anxiety-producing' situations. Yet he goes on to add that persons already 'systematically trained to use legitimate or illegitimate violence' can be launched far more easily upon 'the unchartered seas of rebellion.'

Thus, when the professional leaders of the loyalty leagues spoke of preparing their 'formidable striking force', it was the returned soldiers, already well versed in the methods of combat, whom they held primarily in mind.

The embittered mood which afflicted many of the 13,000 war-torn soldiers who had returned to Queensland by early 1919 was aptly summarized by one of their number, the journalist W. O'Brien when he wrote:

They talked of Patriotism and we went ... we went into the rolling smoke cloud of that frontline hell, with the agony of splintered bone, the twisted, shattered grins of sprawling dead, the eternal thump, thump, thump of explosions that strike like red-hot blows on the eardrums and the sobbing of men ... And it is not a good joke that we should have done this, Comrades, we "the fools of the family" ...?

A small minority of returned men, like those who joined 'Gunner' Taylour's radical Australian Comrades of War League or Thomas O'Hagen's moderate Returned Soldiers' Labor League tended either to channel their disillusionment against the socio-political system which had sent them off to fight or, putting the agonies of war behind them as best they
could, concluded that their future interests as civilian workers lay with working class movements. The vast majority, however continued to respond to 'talk of Patriotism' and cast in their lot with aggressively anti-labour organizations like the R.S.S.I.L.A. and the R.S. & C.P.L., reconstituted as the Returned Soldiers' and Citizens' Political Federation (R.S. & C.P.F.) in early 1919. By February, the Comrades of War League, begun the previous August with some 200 members had become virtually defunct, but the R.S.S.I.L.A., recognized in October by the Federal Government as the official body representing Australian returned soldiers had increased its Queensland membership to 4,500. Overshadowing all the other associations at this time, however, was the R.S. & C.P.F., which boasted a State-wide membership of 14,000, including many loyal civilians. This openly political movement, which consistently opposed the Labor Government claimed a further influence over 50,000 voters. It had already placed three of its representatives - Sizer, Warren and Fry - in the Legislative Assembly and these men had aligned themselves with the Nationalist ranks. Additionally, the R.S. & C.P.F., like the R.S.S.I.L.A. was vehemently 'opposed to Bolshevism and loyal to the Empire.'

The continuing attraction of the majority of ex-soldiers to conservative, patriotic organizations is perhaps not difficult to explain. To begin with, their cast of mind as they turned their thoughts homeward was conservatively orientated, at least in a sentimentally, nostalgic way. "If the opposite of war is peace, the opposite of experiencing moments of war is proposing moments of pastoral," comments Paul Fussell perceptively. Soldiers, seeking escape from those 'bouts of violence and terror' which crowded the experience of trench warfare, both yearned for and romanticized not a new social order, but simply 'home' - the Australia they had left behind years earlier. 'How we lovingly clung to
dear old Australia,' wrote A.K. Anderson in the trench magazine, *The Limber Log* as others composed poems for *Aussie*, 'the Diggers' own paper' about how:

... through the mud and fury,
The yearning comes and aches,
For those shining Southern beaches,
Where the warm Pacific breaks.

'Think of the Bush at mid-day!' enthused one soldier correspondent as the war ended:

... Do you get me lad? We're going back ... back down South where there are no cobbled streets and the dust smothers the buggy with its good old friendly cloud ... Yes, Digger ... we're going home!75

Yet most of these naïvely idyllic images dissolved as returned men painfully discovered that they had come through 'nerve-racking and unbalancing experiences' only to confront the manifold problems of civilian re-adjustment in a strangely different society, riven by deep social and ideological divisions, high unemployment and inflation. Ex-soldiers were asking in bewilderment, 'Have we altered or have you?' the *Triad* stated in May 1919, when in truth both they and the society they had re-entered had changed irrevocably.76

The soldiers' disgruntled outcry that 'the old place is now not the same old place we left in 1914' provided a psychological basis for a reactionary appeal to their allegiances. Non-combatants generally could never understand the soldiers' ordeals nor fully appreciate their comradeship-at-arms. Yet those who had always supported their need for reinforcements, who espoused all the values for which they, as volunteers had fought and who, like themselves distrusted the novel and the strange in post-war Australia seemed most worthy to be called their kinsmen. Loyalist speakers and writers, in turn informed the returned soldiers that they would now compose a mighty force to purge society of all its
The Returned Soldier and the Promise of Attractive Recompense.
The Dreamer

The Returned Soldier and Dawning Realizations.
THE FORTUNES OF WAR

The Returned Soldier and Grim Realities.
disturbing features and to reconstitute it in their own image. The
civilian population would happily follow the war heroes' lead.
Returned soldiers should 'cleave together', consolidate themselves 'into
a class and co-ordinate their efforts,' claimed the anonymous
pamphleteer, 'Secret Service'. If industrial disturbances continued,
soldiers should become involved in active vigilance committees and take
part in 'patrols ... to see that property is not destroyed.'
L.R. Montefiore, the new president of the R.S. & C.P.F. promised:

Inevitably the soldiers will rule ... by virtue of their
numbers, because they have the virility of youth and because
they are the cream of this country ... The eagerness and
energy that have been their motive power in driving the Huns
out of France will not fail them when they come to wrestle
with the industrial and social Huns in their homeland.
Returned soldiers were forming their own 'One Big Union', warned a
correspondent to the National Leader and it would be 'open only to men
of one color, and that color is khaki.'

'Huns', shirkers and anti-conscriptionists, Wobblies, Sinn Fein
supporters and Bolsheviks were each paraded as being as much an enemy to
the returned men at home as they had ostensibly been to the Allied war
effort. 'When this lot get home, they will fix [the anti-conscriptionists]
... and you will be having a civil war before long,' Private Lester Lee
promised a friend in September 1918. After news reached the warfront
that the B.I.C. were no longer supporting recruiting, three irate members
of the Australian Light Horse in Palestine wrote accusing the Council
of 'base treachery to your own kith and kin.' 'How about having a try
to conduct yourselves as decent Australians and cease dragging the dear
name of our great country through the mud by such glaringly disloyal and
stupid utterances,' the soldiers wrote, 'The boys will all be home some
day - 90 per cent of them are working class. How are you going to face
them? Think it over.' Many of the soldiers' frustrations and
grievances, induced by a society which did not seem to appreciate their
sacrifices nor to have prepared adequately for their repatriation, were displaced onto the readily accessible targets of the anti-war radical and the alien. As Corporal Thorpe of the R.S.S.I.L.A. simplistically promised cheering soldiers in March 1919: 'If all aliens were cleared out of Queensland, there would not be one unemployed man walking about.'

Abiding resentments, harboured between those who had fought and those who had stayed behind only served to heighten the returned soldiers' sense of annoyance and alienation. 'Undesirable wasters ... have stepped into the soldiers' shoes and stolen their jobs,' claimed C.J. Peiniger of the R.S. & C.P.L. in September 1918. Conversely, workers who had come to hate the war in all its manifestations or who now feared the consequences of 'preference to soldiers' occurring in job competition often reacted aggressively against men wearing the returned soldier's badge. 'In the north of Queensland, especially Townsville, Returned Soldiers are not safe when walking singly,' alleged W.A. Fisher, State Secretary of the R.S.S.I.L.A. in March 1919, 'It is a common occurrence for a man wearing a badge to have his coat torn off and his badge trampled upon.' Returned men at Cairns, Bowen, Charters Towers, Cloncurry and Quilpie told similar tales of threats and physical intimidation. 'I was told if I wanted a peaceful time, I'd take off my medals at Alligator Creek,' stated one ex-A.I.F. member, 'I told them if I wanted one sort of peace I'd have stayed at home with them.'

The vocabulary of combat, echoing the brutality of the Western Front was successfully applied to encourage returned soldiers into violent confrontation with allegedly disloyal citizens. Queensland troops had 'stood against the Turk and Hun over there,' Richard Warren M.L.A. told an appreciative meeting of R.S. & C.P.F. members in January 1919, 'and they would stand against the Turk and Hun in Queensland ... If it was necessary for them to fight for their rights, they would be quite prepared to fight again.' Colonel Bolton of the R.S.S.I.L.A. added that
all Bolsheviks 'must be dealt with as a German spy would be if he were discovered behind the Australian trenches.' Violent responses came more easily to men for whom violence had served as a key to survival during the long years of trench warfare. Sergeant-Major Barnes, President of the Cairns R.S.S.I.L.A. thrashed 'hefty eligibles' who 'offered insults' to the soldiers' honor flag, while, at Dalby, a Trade Union organizer who proclaimed himself 'a rebel' was visited by a body of ex-servicemen who gave him 'the option of singing the National Anthem or of being tarred and feathered.' After singing the Anthem, the man was ordered to quit the town and he 'left by the first train for the West.' Mob violence flared again in Townsville on Armistice Night when returned soldiers drinking at Cassidy's Hotel attacked a group of men who paraded by in Flinders Street 'waving red handkerchiefs and singing disloyal songs.' As a major brawl erupted between the protagonists, wielding 'short, heavy sticks' and chairs, boy scouts ran into the nearby picture palaces calling theatrically, 'Diggers to the rescue at Cassidy's Hotel!' Ultimately, several hundred people were brawling in the street and within the hotel itself. Six soldiers were injured and, as Lieutenant-Colonel Walker reported, 'the red element got rather a bad time of it, bottles, boots and palings being freely used.' A military guard later paraded the town and the 'red flaggers ... were locked up for their own protection, charged with creating a disturbance.'

The returned soldiers' impulsive resort to violence, coupled with the determination of civilian loyalists to direct organized force against alleged radicals bound their associations together in a formidable fighting bloc, united against all forms of worker mobilization. The potentialities of this powerful military and middle class alliance had first been revealed in late October 1918, in the north-western pastoral
township of Hughenden. Here, due to the co-ordinated efforts of local pastoralists, business-people and ex-servicemen, a minor industrial dispute had been transformed into an ugly rout of agitating workers and their trade union leaders from the town. The dispute had first arisen when all but two of the licensed victuallers of Hughenden failed to honour an industrial award granted to female domestics and bar attendants by Mr Justice McNaughton the previous March. This award allowed for new overtime rates and was made retrospective to December 1917. Yet, according to W. Huxley, the local A.W.U. secretary, publicans had avoided paying the increased wages due to the laxity of the visiting Industrial Inspector in enforcing the award. Consequently, the women struck work and were supported by other workers, particularly shearers, who imposed a boycott upon the establishments of the offending publicans. This black ban became effective on 1 October 1918. A fortnight later, the town was visited by J.M. Durkin, the northern A.W.U. organizer, Michael Kelly of the Townsville Industrial Council and A.E. Eastcrabb, northern secretary of the Q.R.U. Both Kelly and Eastcrabb had previously been involved in I.W.W. activism. The three men joined with Huxley, George Bellamy, a western A.W.U. organizer and A.H. Bartholemew, secretary of the local W.P.O. in organizing a mockingly titled 'Temperance Committee' to enforce the drinking ban and to publicize the plight of the female strikers throughout the district.

Before their first street meeting on the evening of 16 October, 'rumours were afloat that the hotel proprietors had hired thugs to pull the speakers off the platform and deal with them.' The rally had not been long in progress, therefore, before the platform was suddenly rushed by a section of the crowd, led by two local pastoralists, the brothers James and Tom Penny. Calling, 'Get down you mongrel,' the two grabbed the speaker, George Bellamy around the legs and pulled him to the ground.
Michael Kelly and Ben Green, a local motorcar mechanic who shared the stand with Bellamy then jumped into the mob and a wild struggle of 'kicking, hitting and biting' resulted. Constables attending the rally, however, refused to make any arrests, even though Green attempted to give the Penny brothers in charge to them. Following this fracas, approximately 150 returned soldiers from surrounding stations, selections and towns were recruited to deal with the strikers, some being driven into Hughenden from Torrens Creek by motor vehicles. According to E.G. Theodore, 'several squatters, acting in conjunction with publicans' had organized this assembly and were aided by three military figures, ostensibly visiting the town in connection with the War Loan campaign - Sergeant-Major Furay and Lieutenants Webb and Byrne.

Thus, as the second 'Temperance' meeting began two nights later, a large mob, headed by Tom Penny and the visiting Military Officers emerged from the Central Hotel and 'headed straight for the lorry' upon which the speakers stood. Ten police tried unsuccessfully to hold the rioters back, but so many free fights broke out in the crowd that the meeting had to be abandoned. Outnumbered shearsers in the audience struggled against the soldiers, but as one of their number stated, 'What could they do against trained men?' The loyalists then began their own protest rally. As Sergeant-Major Furay inflamed the crowd with an emotive speech against disloyalists and enemy spies in their midst, Lieutenant Byrne vowed 'that he and his friends would clear up the country of I.W.W.s and pro-Germans.' A mass assault upon the strikers and their supporters resulted. The loyalists had their blood up,' the Brisbane Courier explained under the banner headline, 'I.W.W.ISM IN THE NORTH', as it reported how 'a crowd of a couple of hundred' loyalists 'running higher and thither' had hunted and assaulted the so-called 'Wobblies' throughout the town. The beatings and disturbances continued until
after 11 p.m. but police made only five arrests. Workers and union organizers involved in this protracted riot portrayed it somewhat differently from the pro-loyalist *Courier.*

'I don't know whether you'd call it fighting or murder,' exclaimed A.H. Bartholemew, as he described loyalist assaults on workers continuing from that Friday evening, 18 October until the following Sunday. E. Campbell, a Hughenden hotel employee added:

Men were mobbed, knocked down and kicked long after all consciousness had left them: they were then kicked into the gutter and left for dead; some of these unfortunates will never be the same again ... [Loyalists] half drunk with grog supplied by the squatters and publicans, gulled by the Capitalistic press to a state of semi-insanity hunted in packs of from 20 to 30 in search of unionists from house to house and on the job, waiting for them to come to work.

Mob violence continued throughout Saturday, 19 October. Durkin, Kelly, Campbell, Bellamy and another man named Barker were forced to leave the town after having been either bailed up and beaten in the street or surrounded by a mob of 200 at the Hughenden Hotel, threatening to burn the place down. Furay, Byrne and another returned soldier named Kimmormney took a leading role in these disturbances. A second mob, led by a returned soldier, Edward O'Neill actually broke down the door to the home of William Gibson, a railway worker, forcing him and his wife into the street and ransacking the dwelling before police intervened. At the Hughenden railway station, a number of other railway workers were brutally beaten by another pack of men, led by the Penny brothers. A ganger, Tom Black was helping a fellow employee named Lennox, whose ankle had been broken by the rioters when he too was set upon. He finally escaped the town with two broken ribs, several teeth missing and severe bruising and lacerations to most of his body. P.J. McSharry was also helping another injured man named Tefler when he was severely kicked and so badly beaten that doubts were later expressed about his recovery.
With eight or nine leading unionists already driven from the town, and many others in hiding, a crowd of some 500 gathered in the street that evening for a second loyalist rally. 'Never before had such a patriotic and enthusiastic meeting been held,' proclaimed the Brisbane Courier. The Mayor of Hughenden, Alderman O'Neill - who also happened to be one of the publicans affected by the black ban - chaired the gathering, flanked by Furay, Byrne and Webb as well as local returned soldiers, Lieutenants Baxter, Crawford and Andrews and Sergeant Caves. To loud cheers, Lieutenant Byrne told his audience that 'the I.W.W. organization had been given one of the biggest keel-haulings yet given here.' They were 'the enemy in our midst ... a lot of reptiles ... poisoning the minds of others ... The men who had fought would not tolerate being dictated to by eligibles who had stayed at home.' All speakers commended the R.S.S.I.L.A. as the body to stamp out the 'I.W.W. element', whom Sergeant-Major Furay cursed as 'the scum and scorpions of the earth.' Lieutenant Webb explained that he had actually come among them 'to command the Hughenden R.S.S. League' and he would not in future tolerate 'anybody interfering with the returned men.' Any person attempting to make a critical interjection at this rally was set upon by the crowd.  

The following day, Archie Eastcrabb, the only Union official intrepid enough to remain in the town was surrounded and furiously beaten. As he reported to the Q.R.U.'s General Secretary:

I was attacked by a dozen men in the main street of the town at 3.50 p.m. [20 Oct.], knocked down, kicked about the head and body. This was witnessed by the military authority who was in company with the mob and did not try to stop such brutal treatment. I am in hiding today: several men have suffered similar treatment at their hand[s]; must have a two day rest ... Yours in Pain ...  

Sergeant-Major Furay indicated that loyalists next intended dealing with George Pollock, Labor member for the district in the same manner as
Eastcrabb had been handled. Subsequently, Mayor O'Neill convened another public meeting 'to exterminate the hotbed of I.W.W.ism from our midst and to allow this town to return to more peaceful times.' A citizens' committee of leading residents was thereby formed to rid Hughenden of its 'accumulation of human refuse.' A list was composed of eight more alleged 'I.W.W.ites', who were to be 'requested to leave town.' This list included W. Huxley and Ben Green, along with their respective families, A.H. Bartholemew, Mr and Mrs Murray and Mrs Sallatina, the licencees of the two hotels not blacklisted by the workers, as well as two other men named Yank and Minogue. 'The action we are taking is direct action, if ever there was any,' asserted one member of the committee, 'we are giving them a bit of their own back.' Further violence was curbed at this point, however, by the arrival of police re-inforcements. According to one observer, 'Word went round [that] they were going to use their firearms as soon as trouble started.'

During six days of protracted disturbances at Hughenden, it is probable that dozens of citizens had been assaulted and almost a score had been served with expulsion orders or directly driven from the town. Whereas the Daily Standard reported the incidents under headlines declaring 'Ruffianism', 'Latest Profiteer Move' and 'Defenceless People Assaulted, Robbed and Hunted,' the Brisbane Courier referred with implicit approval to diggers 'dealing out "the dinkum stouch" ... to the crowd known as the I.W.W..' Adjacent towns were 'delighted' by the setback administered to these agitators, the paper added. Other loyalist sources were also careful to gloss over the gross illegality and violence involved as they offered their heartiest congratulations to the rioters. Thankfully, bloodshed had been 'narrowly averted' at Hughenden claimed T.J. Mills of the Queensland Loyalty League. 'Loyal support' as well as a copy of the Protestant Sentinel were promptly conveyed to 'the Mayor, returned
soldiers and to the citizens' for their bold and decisive actions. Yet, beneath such exonerative camouflage, it was clearly appreciated that, at Hughenden, a precedent for future action had been established, based in turn upon vigilante tactics currently being employed against both radicals and foreigners in certain cities in the United States. The Daily Standard accused the Hughenden mob of adopting these American methods, while the citizens themselves acknowledged their indebtedness when it was admitted at the second loyalty meeting, 'The I.W.W. were kicked out of America [and] we are doing it here too!' 

Over the subsequent months, the Hughenden purge was to serve as a paradigm for zealous loyalist actions in other centres of the State. The 'vigorous spirit which has manifested itself at Hughenden' might now be profitably employed against sanitary workers striking in Townsville for higher wages, the Brisbane Courier editorialized in late October. At the same time, the pamphleteer 'Secret Service' added pointedly:

> When at Townsville the sanitary men on strike emptied filth over the town hall [sic] and in back lanes, they demonstrated the lengths to which "direct action" was capable of being pushed ... "Direct action" is an American product. There it is fought with "Direct Action". If a town was smeared with filth in America, someone would dangle from the arm of the nearest lamp-post.

Similarly, the action at Hughenden inspired Townsville employees to stand 'shoulder to shoulder' in dismissing local carters who refused 'to take Beer, Wine and Spirits' to the boycotted hotels in that troubled town.

To the south, members of the R.S.S. & C.N.L. recommended 'taking Hughenden as an example' as it petitioned the Defence Department to remove 'conspicuously disloyal persons' from Brisbane and suppress their Bolshevik celebrations. 'Hughenden fever had reached Toowoomba,' the Daily Standard jibed, as it reviewed the actions of Job Stone's Vigilance Committee against former anti-conscriptionists in that town. Commonwealth officials too seemed heartened by the Hughenden action. Captain
Stable found Eastcrabb's report of his beating 'most refreshing' reading and hoped that it 'may do him good.' The Hughenden struggle, along with the Townsville Armistice night riot when 'the extremist element' was also 'somewhat severely handled', the Censor concluded, showed that 'the North, at heart is still sound,' even though the 'cancer' of radicalism was spreading rapidly there.105

A purely local campaign of anti-radical hysteria at Hughenden was thus being advanced as a State-wide tactic when the European war ended. The expedient alliance formed between returned soldiers, graziers and the business 'elite of the town' to crush trade union activism presented, in microcosm, an important tactical lesson to loyalists elsewhere. Indeed, the major anti-Bolshevik crusade which was priming itself for action in Brisbane by the close of February 1919 simply exemplified a more comprehensive application of the 'Hughenden principle'. The thousands of members of the N.D.C., the U.L.E. and the two largest returned soldier organizations who composed its ranks merely represented an enhanced fighting combination of the same conservative, bourgeois and quasi-military elements which had beaten militant workers to their knees in that small pastoral town.

Gearing themselves to meet an imaginary revolution, all that these ultra-patriots required to provoke their sudden retaliation was some overt display of left-wing bravura. Like the Hughenden street meetings, or the Townsville marchers waving red handkerchiefs, this challenge would not need to be particularly dramatic to be considered an intimidatory one. By late March, Brisbane's radical groups were to provide the well-organized loyalists with all the provocation they needed, therefore, when they too took to the streets in pursuit of their civil rights and some revival of their trampled ideals. Significantly, members of the Queensland Socialist League, the Russian Workers' Association and the
B.I.C. had already made one bold showing since their public humiliation by loyalists in November 1918 without evoking the retaliation they were to attract in March 1919. On Australia Day, 26 January, more than 1,000 radical supporters had marched from Trades Hall to the Domain in protest against the extended implementation of the War Precautions Act, political censorship, deportations and Allied intervention in Russia. Members of the Children's Peace Army, wearing red sashes prophetically emblazoned 'War Debts are our burden' led the procession, followed by the Russian Association's contingent, many of whom carried the prohibited Red Flag. After commenting negatively upon the 'great proportion of foreigners' and the 'small sprinkling of returned soldiers,' all singing 'polyglot Socialist songs' in the parade, the Courier went on to observe:

The dominating note ... was [sic] the splashes of red to be seen throughout the length of the line - patches of red on the dresses of the women, on the coats of the men, sashes of red worn by the children, several red flags and a number of large red banners bearing socialist inscriptions.

At the Domain, W. Wright of the B.I.C. led the crowd in giving three cheers for the Red Flag and the Bolshevik Revolution, while the gnarled Eureka veteran, Monte Miller spoke on behalf of the Russians present in praise of Lenin, Trotsky and Internationalism. Warming to his theme that 'free speech is a crime in Australia,' the principal speaker, W.F. Finlayson, the Labor M.H.R. detailed internment abuses and the widespread prejudice apparent against both the Irish and Russians in Australia. 'Gunner' Taylour called for the abolition of the passport system being imposed upon non-British migrants and Norman Freeberg of the Worker warned the crowd against believing lying foreign cables about Russia. After again marching to North Quay, the demonstrators quietly dispersed.107

The March 'Red Flag' demonstration which was to induce a massive, prolonged loyalist backlash was virtually an exact replica of this
radical cavalcade. Yet no ebullient reactions occurred in January. The *Courier* offered only the mildest of rebukes and no direct loyalist action was taken in the streets. It would seem therefore that the developing anti-Bolshevik forces did not consider their movement sufficiently ready in January to undertake a full confrontation. Police Commissioner Urquhart, who by this time had managed to place an agent named James Richard Brown within the Russian Workers' Association attempted to persuade Acting Premier Theodore that the January march must be prevented, but he was unsuccessful. He also exhorted Theodore to co-operate with the Commonwealth in the deportation of the 'most active' Russians. Several days later, the Governor-General sent a list of the seven 'most dangerous' Russians in Australia to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Four of those named - Simonoff, Zuzenko, Resanoff and Gorsky - were members of the Brisbane Russian Workers' Association. A subsequent military raid upon 'the Russian quarter' on 31 January managed to secure examples of revolutionary literature, printing equipment, some firearms and, the *Courier* added, 'Banners with inscriptions that are far too revolutionary to appeal to the minds of sensible Britishers.'

Less than a week before the March 'Red Flag riots' erupted in Brisbane, several marchers in the annual St Patrick's Day procession brazenly carried the prohibited green flag of the Sinn Fein through the city's main streets. Again no loyalist reprisals were mounted beyond a few angry letters in the columns of the *Courier* and the *Telegraph.* As the loyalists were clearly mobilized for action by this time, it seems pertinent to ask why the green flag failed to provoke them as the Red Flag would, only six days later? The short answer to this is that the green flag had recently become an embarrassingly inappropriate target, for right wing forces had temporarily jettisoned the Sinn Fein bogey in order to mend crucial sectarian rifts within their own ranks. During the amalgamation of the Nationalist leagues which formed the N.D.C. in
February, mutual sectarian antagonisms existing between the A.D.U. and the P.N.C. had first to be overcome. The N.P.C., on the one hand contained a strong 'non-conformist faction ... bitterly opposed by the Roman Catholic church,' the Censor pointed out, while the A.D.U., on the other was supported by leading Catholic entrepreneurs, the emporium-owner, T.C. Bierne and the financier, Lieutenant-Colonel A.J. Thynne M.L.C. The religious enmity between the two factions manifested itself in sniping attacks in the columns of the *Courier* - 'the organ of the N.P.C.' - and the *Daily Mail* owned by John Wren, the wealthy Catholic speculator and financier. Yet, as the two groups merged in the cause of anti-Bolshevism, with the Catholic-influenced A.D.U. emerging as the dominant force, anti-Catholic, and therefore anti-Irish sentiments had to be necessarily subdued. The U.L.E. remained a stridently Protestant organization, but it too now seemed prepared to countenance a rapprochement with Roman Catholics in the cause of anti-Bolshevism.\textsuperscript{112}

In so doing, it had been heartened by a series of strongly worded attacks against 'atheistic' Bolsheviks made by Archbishop Duhig.\textsuperscript{113} Further, the united voices of all Christian denominations had risen in righteous anger in early February against a satirical article appearing in the Brisbane *Worker* on 30 January. Intended as a parody of extravagant press reportage about Russia, the piece entitled 'BOLSHEVISM HAS BROKEN OUT IN HEAVEN: GOD ABDICATES (Taken from a recent issue of the "Daily Liar")' was provocative to say the least. 'They singed St Peter's whiskers,' the account ran, 'invaded the Virgin Mary's bedchamber and dined on lamb chops cut from the Lamb of God (killed by order of Trotsky [sic] ... [for] bleating at him) ... The Almighty has been arrested and is now being tried before the Soviet for being a despot.' This clumsy attempt to ridicule and shock, however, backfired badly, as the point about 'The Daily Liar' was entirely missed in the predictable
outcry which followed. Protestant, middle class opinion was further outraged against the left, while nothing could have been better calculated to alienate devout Roman Catholics from the labour movement. The Daily Mail raged:

... this paper, standing apparently for Bolshevism is preparing the ground for the local Bolsheviki to cast the priests and ministers from the churches throughout Queensland and convert to their own profane and secular uses the sacred temples of God. Just as the Bolsheviks have made a dancing hall of the Strasnoi Monastery, so apparently the monasteries, convents and churches of Queensland are to be utilized ... and no longer will the worship of God be permitted in the State.

Faced with such a challenge as this, it therefore seemed imperative that 'priests and ministers' should now stand together and not allow some fluttering green flags to divide their ranks.114

Fluttering red flags, however were to be another matter entirely. Even as conservative forces mustered themselves for a decisive onslaught against 'subversives', moderates in the labour movement were simultaneously disassociating themselves from the troublesome radicals. The loss of Catholic Labor voters was one of the major considerations to be faced. Labour 'extremists' were 'anything but comforting to Catholics', Archbishop Duhig had warned and 'if the Labor party tolerates extremists who deal with nothing but absolute Socialism, let me tell them that they were going to lose a vast body of Catholic men and women.'115 By February 1919, Captain Stable noticed that this rank-and-file repudiation of Labor was already in progress as 'the menace of Bolshevism' drove an increasing number of Roman Catholic voters 'back to the ranks of the Nationalist party.' At the same time as this exodus was inducing Labor parliamentarians to re-examine their allegiances, the reformist bureaucracy of the A.W.U., closely allied to the politicians was withdrawing its commitment to the O.B.U.117 Both Lane and Vere Gordon Childe point to this withdrawal and mounting opposition as 'the rock on which the One
Big Union went to shipwreck.' Childe openly accuses W.J. Riordan, the A.W.U. representative of refusing to attend O.B.U. meetings and undermining its propaganda attempts, while Lane refers to the mounting attack made by A.W.U. officials against the militants, whom they denounced as 'industrial assassins' and 'anarchists'. This offensive was reaching a peak by March 1919, after Jock Garden, Secretary of the Sydney O.B.U. Committee injudiciously spoke of radicals 'white-anting the unions, beginning with the A.W.U.' While militant unions, like those of the miners, meat, waterside and railway workers continued to support the O.B.U. scheme, the more conservative craft unions, like those of the printers, carters and carpenters were having second thoughts. Many craft unionists viewed with alarm 'the growth of the Bolshevik element', the Censor claimed and argued that 'the abolition of craft unionism must inevitably be the outcome of the One Big Union scheme, adopted by the Industrial Council'. Already, by early 1919, the O.B.U.E.Q. was encountering considerable opposition from craft union groups who, according to Armstrong feared its aggressive, revolutionary implications. These workers instead favoured the 'constitutional way', not wishing to jeopardise the reformist policies of 'the only working class government in the world,' outside of Russia. Thus, the radical B.I.C. executive, which had largely sponsored the O.B.U.E.Q. originally, now found itself hamstrung by the disaffection of its own affiliated unions.

As the militants moved gradually to the far left of the ideological spectrum, they therefore came under increasing attack from moderates, who were now veering towards the right. Acting-Premier Theodore's outbursts against radicalism in early 1919 exemplifies this trend. Theodore, whom Military Intelligence depicted as being 'rather perturbed by the Buenos Aires disturbances' denounced Bolsheviks and Wobblies as 'trogloidytes' and 'barnacles', fastening themselves to the side of the
Labor Party. He reminded militants that the Labor Government was 'administering the capitalist state' and that, if they desired to introduce the redistribution of wealth or workers' controls over industry by revolutionary means, 'he was not prepared to render any assistance in that direction.' Early in March 1919, therefore, Norman Jeffrey, soon to be imprisoned as a 'Red Flag' agitator reported in *The Proletarian*:

Judging by the attention being devoted to us by the [State] authorities, it is clear that they have something "up their sleeves" ... A fortnight ago, we were forbidden to speak at Market Square by a Sub-Inspector of Police, who had quite a detachment of cops and detectives to support him. On the Sunday following, we were told to refrain from selling our literature or papers, including the "Proletarian" and the "OBU" ... From this it can be seen that the right to sell working class literature is likely to be taken from us, even though we are blessed by that heaven-sent boon - A Labor Government.121

Clearly, Labor had now begun to revise its stance on 'free speech' and 'anti-censorship' which it had so diligently adopted during the latter years of the war. Several days later, the Q.C.E. issued an official manifesto entitled *Solidarity or Disruption*, signed by all its members, warning the I.W.W. and 'other disruptive radical elements in the labour movement' to toe the party line or risk division and expulsion. Ernie Lane claims that this document, largely prepared by Theodore would have been a far more devastating attack upon the 'unconstitutional ... tactics' of the entire 'left wing section of Queensland workers' had he not been allowed a hand in its final drafting.122

The radicals' stubborn response to the mobilizing loyalists as well as towards censorious labour moderates was simply one of 'intensified activity.' The Russian Workers' newspaper, *Knowledge and Unity* argued on 22 March, the day prior to the calamitous Red Flag demonstration:
Our capitalist masters eat too much, are lazy and have no liking for trouble. Let us worry them by ceaseless agitation. And let the rumblings come from the side streets as well as from the main street and the domains; from the small towns as well as from the capitals ... Let there be agitation, ceaseless agitation. Agitate over the back fence, in your office, on the job and from the soap box upon all occasions...

AGITATE, EDUCATE, ORGANIZE! 

Two days previously, Bob Carroll, secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers wrote to R.S. Ross, the Melbourne socialist that he had successfully had a motion carried by the B.I.C.: 

... not unanimously, worse luck, to the following effect: that at all future demonstrations held under the auspices of this Council, the red flag be flown ...

Carroll explained that although this did not bind the Trades Hall Board of Management to attempt flying the flag from the building once more, he intended 'to move in that direction at the first opportunity.' The motion instead referred specifically to 'our Domain demonstrations.'

'The first demonstration since the motion was carried is set down for next Sunday afternoon,' Carroll fatefully concluded, 'when we will hold a meeting of protest against the continuance of the W.P.A. and will then give THE FLAG an airing. Subsequent events should be interesting.'

Soon, Carroll himself would be in prison for this very action.

Later correspondence also suggests that certain of the local Russians were expecting an advantageous outcome from the Red Flag demonstration. As Peter Kreslin of the 'Southern Soviet of Russian Workers, Brisbane' wrote to contacts at Townsville, Cairns, Broken Hill and Sydney on 29 March:

Two days before the procession we had sent a wire to [Acting P.M.] Watt demanding our release from here and another ... to the leader of the Federal Labor Party, with the request to send a cable to the Peace Conference asking about our illegal detention ...
Kreslin hoped that the loyalist backlash engendered by the march would now 'have an influence on the Czars here' and lead to the repatriation of key Bolsheviks.\(^{125}\) Ironically, upon this issue, the extreme loyalists and the Russian revolutionaries were virtually of one mind - the latter anxious to be part of the revolutionary movement in Russia and the former longing to expel them. Yet, with Allied intervention in Russia still escalating - and with even Australian volunteers fighting with the White Army at Archangel and on the Caspian Sea - British Imperial policy was expressly against ex-patriates re-entering the Soviets in support of both the revolution and the Red Army. Australian Bolsheviks of Russian origin might be deported, but they would not be repatriated. Due to the secrecy surrounding the Allied campaigns, however, little was known of such developments in Australia.\(^{126}\) Indeed, even Commonwealth Intelligence agents were left to wonder at the 'refusal of the authorities to allow the Russians to leave.'\(^{127}\) It is therefore probable that several of the Brisbane Russians were prepared to encourage the Red Flag display as a tactical device to precipitate their own expulsion. Yet the loyalist fury which that display unleashed and the suffering which this engendered could not have been accurately contemplated.

As previously indicated, the procession of Sunday, 23 March from Trades Hall to the Domain and the subsequent rally there differed little, in basic format and intentions, from the previous Australia Day demonstration. Once more, the B.I.C., the Russian Workers' Association, the Australian Socialist League, the O.B.U. Propaganda League and the Women's and Children's Peace Armies either directly planned or participated in the afternoon protest. Once more, its intentions were to demonstrate against the W.P.A., censorship and internment as well as the detention of Russian emigrés in Australia 'almost as war prisoners.'
'Free passages back to their native land' were demanded for the expatriates. Yet the March rally also differed from its earlier counterpart in several significant aspects. First, less than half the number of protesters actually marched upon this second occasion. Commonwealth Intelligence and press accounts both reveal that only between three and five hundred participated compared to more than 1,000 in January. Thus, in size at least, it could hardly have appeared as "threatening" as the earlier demonstration, even to the most antagonistic observer.

Secondly, there was far more uneasiness and disagreement among the marchers themselves upon the second occasion about the display of the Red Flag. The unanimity shown on Australia Day over the exhibition of this prohibited banner had evaporated by 23 March. To begin with, the organizers seemed to have already realized that the march would be small and rather anti-climactic. The Metropolitan District Council which, upon the motion of Cuthbert Butler had originally agreed to sponsor the rally had withdrawn its support after the majority of its constituent bodies declined to participate. As Knowledge and Unity later intimated, the general feeling on the days immediately preceding the demonstration was that it would probably proceed without red flags. Additionally, the Labor Government, acting through its Police Department had issued the marchers with a permit only upon the proviso that no red flags were to be carried. Russian workers arrived at the rally, however, with three large flags furled and wrapped in brown paper, while others carried small red pennants or insignias and wore red sashes, ribbons and red flag buttons. When W. Wright, President of the B.I.C. appeared at a Trades Hall window and told the crowd that he expected them to 'loyally ... abide' by his specific promise to the Police Commissioner 'that no Red Flag shall be carried or displayed,' angry and hurried consultations began in the street upon whether he should be obeyed or whether the march
should be abandoned entirely. Finally, A.M. Zuzenko, followed by other Russian males strode away from the quarreling bunch of socialists, Wobblies and trade unionists and tore the wrappings away from the three large flags. As they were 'raised on high and shaken out in glorious sunlight', Wright called from the window ledge, 'The procession is off, boys!', indicating the B.I.C.'s withdrawal from the proceedings. Others, however, following the Russians' lead, brought out more red flags and banners from inside Trades Hall and distributed them amongst those still willing to take to the streets.132

As the determined marchers remaining prepared to move off, a third significant contrast to the January rally was the behaviour of the State police. Whereas they had previously countenanced the flaunting of the War Precautions regulation against red flags, they now attempted to break up the demonstration and seize the banners. Sub-Inspector Brosnan first informed Jennie Scott Griffiths who was supervising a small group from the Children's Peace Army at the head of the procession that he would not permit any children carrying red emblems to advance. After addressing the crowd upon this matter, Scott Griffiths therefore withdrew the children from the procession. The Russian workers then took the lead and, as the parade moved off, Brosnan tussled with Zuzenko for possession of his flag. The eight foot-police assigned to the march, however proved incapable of preventing its progress down Edward Street. Even when they were joined there by four mounted troopers who attempted to block the roadway, the protesters managed to force their way through.133 Further scuffles occurred in Queen Street. One policeman received a bloodied nose and another had his helmet knocked off with the banner poles carried by Zuzenko and Resanoff.134 The conservative dailies subsequently made much of these clashes, claiming that 'foreigners', armed with 'sticks and stones' and even accompanied by 'a vicious dog'
The Red Flag Riots, as seen by the Daily Mail.

Returned Soldier: "This is Australia, and here is its flag. That one you wave at your peril!"
had purposely attacked and injured several police officers. 'BOLSHEVIK OUTBREAK ... QUEEN STREET RUSSIANISED ... POLICE AND SOLDIERS BADLY MAULED' proclaimed the Daily Mail's headlines, as its editor telegraphed the Acting Prime Minister to the same effect. Building upon this xenophobic theme, the Melbourne Age reported an unnamed 'businessman' who viewed the proceedings as saying:

Foreigners were in command, and our countrymen simply did as they were told ... One man who was a Swede ... told me ... "This is the start of the revolution ... and we intend to make things ripe. Turn out the troops and we will see how they get on." 

The later Australian historian, Malcolm H. Ellis, then acting as secretary to E.H. McCartney and in correspondence with Herbert Brookes would actually claim that these foreigners 'were showing their teeth like wild animals and dripping saliva.'

Yet, apart from two or three minor skirmishes where obstruction occurred, the march seems to have proceeded without further incident. 'When the processionists were not compelled to defend their flags from the police,' Knowledge and Unity claimed, 'they marched in a thoroughly orderly and peacable manner.' Commonwealth Intelligence reports from Lieutenant Robert D. Fisher, R. James and another unnamed agent who had been stationed by Military Command within Trades Hall also reveal only trivial incidents en route to the Domain. After parading down George Street singing 'Solidarity Forever', 'Hold the Fort' and 'The Red Flag', the marchers found that the mounted police had locked the Domain gates against them. An impromptu meeting was then held in the street, as Norman Jeffrey climbed onto the branch of a large Moreton Bay fig tree and told the assembly that, by their 'display of solidarity' that day, they had already accomplished their purpose. Inspector Ferguson, sensing that nothing could be gained by transferring the meeting from the Domain to the sidewalk then opened the gates. Demonstrators and
on-lookers gathered about the Rotunda, upon which the marchers' red flags were draped, to hear E. Turner of the Socialist League introduce a succession of speakers. The afternoon proceeded like many such Sunday afternoons at the Domain, save for the fact that the eminence of some of the personalities on the podium was somewhat more pronounced than was usual. The anti-war Labor Senator, Myles Ferricks spoke first, warning his audience about the continued spread of militarism. He informed them, for instance, that the naval cruisers Encounter and Una had recently been sent from Thursday Island to Port Darwin to help in quelling an uprising there against the civil administration.$^{139}$ Edgar Free, Labor M.L.A. for South Brisbane then praised the Red Flag and called for greater militancy throughout the labour movement. Monte Miller, sporting a red tie and hatband and wearing his 1856 Miners' Right pinned to his coat by a red rosette then congratulated his listeners on their afternoon's achievement and speculated upon what might have occurred if the police had been armed. Jennie Scott Griffiths also criticized the police and denounced the War Precautions Act. Other 'rebels' who spoke included James Quinton, who appeared on behalf of the Russians, Bob Carroll, who waved aloft the Red Flag and dared police to arrest him and Jerry Cahill, who called for cheers for Lenin, Trotsky and the Revolution. The entire programme, in short, was similar in both style and content to the Australia Day Domain demonstration. As the crowd quietly dispersed, £4/15/6 was collected 'for any prosecutions which may follow.$^{149}$ No one present however fully anticipated the startling repercussions of their defiant actions that afternoon.

Even as the speech-making continued at the Domain, officials of the Returned Servicemen's leagues were overheard circulating the directive among spectators that soldiers and other loyalists should attend the weekly North Quay meeting of the O.B.U. Propaganda League
that evening 'for the purpose of breaking it up.'\textsuperscript{141} A few fights had occurred between demonstrators and interjecting soldiers and reprisals were now being demanded. Over the next few hours, a mob of 4,000-5,000 men were rapidly mobilized to descend upon the evening rally - a testimony to the readiness of loyalist groups for action. As both Zuzenko and Resanoff attempted in broken English to address the jeering North Quay crowd, soldiers calling, 'Let us clear this scum out of Brisbane' rushed the large O.B.U. platform, knocking the speakers and a number of their supporters to the ground. The platform was then raised aloft and hurled into the river. Zuzenko managed to evade a group of men who pursued him part of the way across Victoria Bridge, but Resanoff was almost lynched. He was 'seized and mauled' by the mob who were about to throw him bodily over the steep river bank when police intervened and, according to the \textit{Age}, prevented 'the troops' from 'doing anything rash.' Resanoff, however had already suffered injuries to his head and spine and had been stabbed with a knife before he was led away by several constables.\textsuperscript{142} A raid on the 'Bolshevist headquarters' was then proposed and a crowd of 500, singing patriotic songs and led by returned soldiers 'in uniform or in mufti' began marching across Victoria Bridge. In the meantime, Zuzenko had arrived at the Russian Association rooms in Merivale Street, South Brisbane and alerted those present about the North Quay riot. Therefore, as the leaders of the 'raiding party', crying 'Come on Diggers!' broke into a run towards the Russian club, a group led by Zuzenko emerged from the side alley and fired several warning shots over their heads, scattering them in panic. In the uneasy lull which followed, Constable O'Driscoll brought word to the soldiers that there were some forty armed Russians in the laneway, prepared to fight until their bodies were 'lying on the ground' to protect their club-rooms. At this sobering news, the mob gingerly began to disband.
Although some soldiers withdrew to obtain arms immediately, the majority vowed to return 'in full strength' the following evening to decide 'who owns Australia - Australians or the Bolsheviks.'

The following morning, the conservative press, using headlines such as 'EXTREMISTS LOOSE' and 'RUSSIANS FIRE AT RETURNED SOLDIERS' read as though 'a polyglot of agitators' had provoked 'serious riots in the city' and that soldiers had merely responded as a righteous avenging force. Free publicity was given to the loyalist gathering to be held that night at North Quay. When returned soldiers met in preparation for the evening's activities, they were told to 'bring whatever they had with them' to the demonstration. Inspector Ferguson reported to Commissioner Urquhart:

This I take [it] means whatever kind of weapons they had. Perhaps you will be pleased to get the military authorities to do whatever they can to prevent bloodshed.

Consequently, all police leave in Brisbane was cancelled and the Enoggera military guard were placed on standby orders, equipped with machine guns and ammunition. Commonwealth agents later that day themselves raided the Russian rooms and interrogated fifteen of those present, but discovered nothing incriminating.

By early evening, on Monday, 24 March, a vast concourse of 7,000-8,000 people had gathered near North Quay in a yelling, jostling mass. Pandemonium reigned as half a dozen speakers tried to address the multitude simultaneously. The speakers called, 'Who let you down at the war?' and vowed 'to clear out of Queensland all the dirty Russian mongrels,' as crowd hysteria was goaded on to fever-pitch. Finally, a motion was read, demanding direct action against 'Russian Bolsheviks in this State' or 'we will take the law into our own hands, and by force quell disturbances made by the Russian Bolsheviks at once.'
frenzied cheering which greeted these words, a substantial section of
the crowd, again led by returned soldiers broke impatiently away from
the meeting. Bearing a large Australian flag at their head, they began
to surge across the bridge towards the Russians' headquarters once more,
calling, 'Burn their meeting place down! ... Hang them!' and singing
raggedly 'Australia Will Be There'. As they departed, military officers
continued to harangue the remaining audience about the 'scheming inter-
lopers' and their sympathizers, vowing, 'The whole lot of them will have
to be wiped out.' After some interjections, the whole gathering seemed
to drift into disarray, as the rest of the throng moved off across the
bridge 'to join their comrades at Merivale street.'

A double cordon of sixty foot police with bayonets drawn and loaded
rifles confronted the rioters as they approached the empty Russian club
rooms. As the crowd pressed forward to the bayonet line, a body of
ten mounted troopers, arriving from the city rode into the middle of the
mob from the rear, 'knocking a few down' and trampling upon them.
'Using their whips freely,' they scattered the demonstrators 'like chaff'
into the surrounding streets. It was this troopers' charge which
converted the volatile confrontation into a wild pitched battle, lasting
for more than two hours. According to the Daily Mail, 'scores' of
soldiers were already armed with revolvers and others carried 'the
primitive "jam-tin" bomb, which did good service at Gallipoli.' As the
mounted men wheeled to charge again, enraged loyalists also began
ripping hundreds of palings from surrounding fences. This rabble closed
with the troopers as shots rang out and bricks, bottles and fence
pickets flew through the air, striking the rearing horses, bringing one
of them down and sending three others plunging in panic through the
lines of foot police, knocking several officers and men to the ground.
When the remaining troopers saw themselves surrounded, they drew their
pistols and began firing 'over the heads' of the rioters. Several groups in the crowd were by now attempting to break through the disturbed police cordon in several places and the entire mêlée appeared as a pastiche of 'scattering figures, flashes of firearms ... flying ... portions of fences, crashing of rocks, thuds of tramping feet and hoofs [sic], cracking whips, swinging cudgels, yells, groans and curses.'

The climax of this chaotic spectacle was reached, the *Daily Standard* claimed:

... when the ex-soldiers advancing at the double and showering bottles, stones and palings ... attacked the armed guard of foot police. The offence [sic] was wild, undirected and disorderly ... There were no deaths, which is remarkable.\(^{149}\)

The next morning's Brisbane *Courier* mentioned nineteen people injured in the affray, but it is probable that there were considerably more casualties than this. Fourteen of those listed were police, including Commissioner Urquhart himself who had apparently been bayonetted in the right shoulder by an over-zealous Sergeant Ferguson, who was using his rifle-butt to club demonstrators. Minutes later, Ferguson too fell when he was hit in the forehead by a heavy iron railway bolt. He suffered a fractured skull.\(^{150}\) During one of the loyalist charges, Brisbane's Chief Police Magistrate, H. Archdall was forced forward onto the police line and was bayonetted in the groin. Three of the troopers had been struck by bullets or palings and the injured foot police had either been hit by stones and bottles, trampled by the horses or bayonetted by one of their fellows. Curiously, this left only five civilian casualties to be enumerated by the *Courier*, and one of these was listed as being injured at North Quay. Only one of the other four was described as suffering from 'cuts' which might have been caused by a police bayonet. One man had a bullet wound in the head, a second had internal injuries from being severely kicked and the third had been struck with a paling. This assessment, however, does not seem to reflect
the degree of violence apparent during hours of fighting. Additionally, it is strangely at odds with a letter written by one of the bayonet-wielding police constables to his brother, several days later. 'The soldiers started a bonser stunt,' claimed Constable Larkin:

Time after time they pressed on to the police and there must have been over a hundred stabbed with the bayonets; the papers say 19, but that's what the ambulance took away. I know for certain I prodded 6 myself. Zarn, who has a brother in the police at Allora made a swing at me with a paling - he missed but I didn't - I stuck him in the side ... still in the hospital.

Even Zarn's name, however, did not appear on the press casualty list and it is likely that many others had limped away from the conflict to seek private medical care without having their identities recorded. The Censor intercepted Larkin's letter but made no comment that the constable was exaggerating. The *Daily Mail* reporter may have most accurately depicted the outcome when he wrote:

One after another of the soldiers proceeded to the centre of the square to have injuries attended to [by an ambulance motor car]. And there were many eyes that had to be bandaged, and bruised heads to be patched, while those who had been wounded on the limbs remained on duty till the end.\(^{151}\)

During the fracas, the missiles of the crowd had wrecked much of the exterior of the Russian club. When the fighting subsided and police finally allowed 'deputations' of returned soldiers inside the building to satisfy themselves that no Russians were present, the interior was also 'turned topsy-turvy'. W.A. Fisher, Queensland's secretary of the R.S.S.I.L.A. emerged to assure the mob that the gutted building really was empty. Another soldier stated:

I saw smashed windows and smashed furniture and general disorder in the place. Thank God ... that is not my dwelling ... I did not see a single Bolshevik ... They have vanished like the Deutches did, and they did not cry "Kamarad."\(^{152}\)

Adjoining tenement houses which Russian families had occupied were also badly damaged. A Russian owned fruit store and a restaurant in Stanley
Street, where Peter Simonoff had previously held workers' meetings, were afterwards attacked and wrecked as the crowds turned back towards the city. There, elated loyalist gatherings began at several locations. Some attempted a march with Union Jack to Government House while others congregated noisily at North Quay, the G.P.O. and in Albert Square. The crowds roared their approval at the impromptu formation of an Anti-Bolshevik society to secure the deportation of all alien disloyalists and vowed to meet again the following evening.

As Botham has commented, 'Patriotism and racism had combined to create a violent, howling mob.' The Russians had proved an ideal scapegoat for such loyalist excesses because, as both foreigners and revolutionaries, ethnic grievances and ideological fears could be vented upon them simultaneously. Further, their South Brisbane community presented loyalist groups with an easily discernible target against which they could continue to mobilize their supporters. The logical outcome was a reinforcement of hegemonic values - ethnic exclusiveness, British nationalism and anti-radical ideals, in general. Loyalist bodies were not slow in pressing these points home. Dr E. Sandford-Jackson of the U.L.E., which now claimed 'a membership of over seventy thousands' telegrammed Acting Prime Minister Watt on the morning following the Merivale Street riot to demand 'prompt deportation of all rebels or, in the alternative, their internment.' 'A body of bolsheviks of alien, chiefly Russian origin,' along with I.W.W. members and 'other avowed rebels' represented 'a menace to British constituted authority' which must no longer be tolerated, he maintained. He next composed an open letter to Acting Premier Theodore, which he posted to the conservative dailies, urging him to detach himself altogether from the radical elements who retarded progress, fomented strikes and 'created a condition bordering on civil war,' and to 'give a lead' instead to Labor moderates,
unsympathetic to the revolutionary faction. During the day, a
deputation of returned soldiers, led by W.A. Fisher of the R.S.S.I.L.A.
met Theodore to demand 'swift and drastic action' against 'all bodies
such as I.W.W.s, Sinn Feiners, Bolsheviks etc.' who composed the
disloyalist ranks of Queensland. The deportation of all 'aliens who
are here' was strongly enjoined. When Theodore replied equivocally, the
soldiers left, expressing the opinion that he had 'camouflaged his answers'
because the Labor Government was 'protecting these disloyalists.' The
deputation then waited upon Colonel W. Mailer, acting on behalf of the
Military Commandant to repeat their ultimatum. If no Federal action was
taken, the soldiers warned, they would 'use every necessary means ... to
clear these men out of the Commonwealth.' 'Grave breaches of the peace'
would certainly ensue. The Russian community must therefore be removed
en masse and joined by other disloyalists, including Senator Ferricks and
Edgar Free M.L.A. who had supported them. W.A. Fisher, who spoke last
surveyed the prevalence of Bolshevism and disloyalty not only in Brisbane
but also at Hughenden, Townsville and throughout North Queensland. Both
alien and disloyal strains must be 'blot[ted] out' if 'law and order' was
to be restored, he emphasized:

... a large number of these aliens with, in many cases,
degrading standards of living are occupying good positions
in this country, at the same time carrying on their
disloyal propaganda. Why then do we ask are not the soldiers
to be permitted to occupy these positions? This would be
the immediate result of deportation ...  

Speaking in the abrasive language of the war front, Colonel W.K. Bolton,
president of the R.S.S.I.L.A. added, 'Bolshevism must be stamped out and
must be dealt with as a German spy would be if he were discovered behind
the Australian trenches.'

The tenor of the response to the loyalist rioting in the conservative
press may be judged by contrasting the reports on 25 March which appeared
in the Daily Standard and the Brisbane Courier. According to the left-
wing Standard, several thousand rioters 'equipped with bricks, bottles, batons, saplings, revolvers, knives and beer' had enacted 'one of the maddest and most disgraceful scenes ever witnessed in any part of Australia.' Yet the Courier depicted the 'dramatic ... wild and thrilling' scene as being 'as magnificent as it was altogether spontaneous.' An 'outburst of loyalty' had caused 'the Bolshevik element that slinks through the city' to flee in disorder. According to this report, a major collision between soldiers and police had been 'averted by splendid tact.' The excesses of violence were due instead to 'armed supporters of the Bolshevik element,' hiding among the crowd and 'hoodlums of a very low standard,' who were really in league with the I.W.W. These blatant distortions were accompanied by editorial comment which bordered perilously close to open incitement. Bolshevism had 'fairly aroused the blood of Brisbane's loyal citizens,' the editorial stated, and the agitation was not going to stop 'where it ended last night':

The authorities must not imagine that the demonstration ... is confined only to the more turbulent spirits amongst the returned soldiers ... offices of all ranks ... and of the highest ranks are heart and soul with the men. This display ... of Bolshevik disloyalty by a cowardly foreign element who have come from a country that betrayed the Allies will not be allowed to continue.

The soldiers had merely struck 'the first blow ... for the honour of the flag,' the account concluded, and 'the largest open air meeting ever seen in Brisbane' would surely endorse their behaviour that evening.\(^{156}\)

Despite driving rain, a huge concourse of 12,000 assembled in Albert Square that night to hear R.S.S.I.L.A. officials denounce Russian Bolsheviks and other 'extremists'. Major H.B. Taylor, an assistant Commonwealth censor and first president of the Eastern Districts R.S.S.I.L.A. along with Pearce Douglas, Queensland president of that organization likened Bolshevism to a disease, a microbe and a cancer. Brigadier-General Spencer Browne, soon to become a Courier journalist
saw it as a 'noxious weed', but concluded triumphantly:

... if it was a revolution at all, it was a revolution of loyalty ... a revolution in which every well-ordered man and woman in our beautiful State should take part.

Sergeant Buchanan delighted the crowd by telling them that if the imported element of 'dirty, greasy Russians' was not promptly deported, then it was 'going back to its Maker.' Major Bolingbroke included 'the I.W.W. and Germans' within the terms of this ultimatum. As these officers spoke, any critical interjectors in the crowd were set upon and beaten. When the Imperial Anthem was finally sung, men refusing to remove their hats were similarly attacked. The hysterical mood of the crowd is well captured by the following account of one such assault:

Scarcely had the last word of the hymn [i.e. God Save the King] been finished before half a dozen soldiers had grabbed the offender and his hat was torn off his head. They intended to make him sing the anthem all by himself but in a moment there was a wild rush and ... probably 2,000 persons surged in upon the scene. A dozen police constables or more crushed to the centre of the disturbance and a packed mass of humanity swayed backwards and forwards across the street. The man ... was forced against the wall of the Albert Hotel and a hundred voices roared, 'Make him sing it.' 'Sing it, man, sing it,' roared a police inspector ... The man steadied himself for a moment and ducked his head as if to break through, but a fist planked fairly in his face ... brought him back to the wall. Then he sang, or tried to sing ...

The terrorized individual was afterwards beaten, despite his vocal efforts, before the police rescued him and large sections of the mob were distracted by the cry, 'On to the Standard office.'

The Daily Standard's candid impression of the Merivale Street riots had antagonized the loyalists as much as the Courier's account had aroused them. The Standard's headline 'RIOTOUS EX-SOLDIERS' had been particularly deplored, and the inflamed crowd was now prepared to storm its offices to prove the paper wrong. Despite a hastily constructed cordon of police, the building was attacked in much the same fashion as
it had been during the conscription riots of 1916. Windows were smashed with rocks, revolver shots fired and the doors rushed before the Fire Brigade arrived with hoses ready to turn on the crowd. The rioters then withdrew, demanding an immediate, printed apology from the newspaper or its offices would be 'strafed'. At the same time, another party of police were protecting a group of Russian and other foreigners at Deshon Estate, South Brisbane from attack by a loyalist mob, as apprehensive residents waited 'with dynamite and shotguns' to defend their property, if necessary.158

Following this third night of violence, loyalist demands for Federal intervention became cacophonous. George Brown, Chairman of the N.D.C. insisted that immediate steps be taken 'to deport all undesirables, especially the Russian and other bolsheviks in this state.' He was joined in this call by the Brisbane Chamber of Commerce and the United Cane Growers' Association. G.H. Pritchard, president of the latter body telegraphed Watt:

I beg of you to be under no illusion as to the depth of feeling here against these persons, and let me assure you that nothing short of deportation of the offenders will meet the case ...

Queensland Nationalist politicians, such as the M.H.R.s E.B. Corser, J.G. Bayley and G.H. Mackay as well as Senators Foll, Givens and Crawford added their voices to the outcry. Senator Crawford wrote:

Aliens and other disloyalists ... if allowed to continue their agitation will completely undermine the prosperity of the State. There is already a general disinclination to embark upon new or to extend existing enterprise, business people without exception regarding it as unsafe to do more than mark time while present unsatisfactory conditions prevail ...

The R.S.S.I.L.A. repeated its threat of further 'drastic action' if the Commonwealth Government continued to tolerate 'traitors in our country.' Returned men were not prepared to see their land 'dominated by a pack of
hoodlums and anarchists,' Senator Foll explained.\textsuperscript{158} 'You may rely upon Federal Government doing its duty,' replied the Prime Minister's secretary unambiguously, as each petitioner was assured that Crown Law authorities were 'already moving in [the] matter.' By this time, Brigadier-General Irving, the Military Commandant had despatched a list of ten individuals, headed by A.M. Zuzenko to the Defence Department and was awaiting orders to begin prosecuting the group under \textit{War Precautions Regulation 27 BB (1)} for displaying the Red Flag. Co-operation between military authorities and State police was promised in effecting the arrests. Interestingly, although the report from Irving's 'secret agent' had named more than forty persons who had carried the offending banner, only six of these were among the ten listed by Military Command. These six were the Russians, Herman Bykoff and A.M. Zuzenko, the socialist, George 'Gunner' Taylour, and the I.W.W. supporters, Edward and Jerry Cahill and Norman Jeffrey. The other four - Percival James, Herbert James Huggott, William Elder and Steve Tolstobroff - were relatively unknown, although the former three seem to have been involved in a minor way with the O.B.U. Propaganda League. After these ten arrests were effected, a further eleven prosecutions were authorized, although, ultimately a total of fifteen persons would be tried in the Magistrates' Court and imprisoned for displaying the Red Flag.\textsuperscript{161}

At least eight of the Russian leaders were listed for deportation. Zuzenko, who was apprehended while in hiding outside Brisbane on 28 March was conveyed to Sydney for immediate deportation to Colombo on the \textit{S.S. Bakara}. His pregnant wife, who attempted to join him was later off-loaded at Alexandria in Egypt.\textsuperscript{162} On 27 March, the Minister of Defence had directed the indefinite closure of the Russian Association rooms under paragraph 17 (B) of the \textit{Aliens Restriction Order} and the names of
seven executive members - Michael Weshonusky, Hermann Bykoff, Konstantin Klushin, Peter Kreslin, Frank Madorsky, Walter Markin and Michael Rosenberg - were forwarded for deportation action. Weshonusky, the first named on this list was reported by Irving's 'secret agent' to be 'in close touch with Bolsheviks, London.' Five days later, the Governor-General informed the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the Commonwealth wished to deport certain Russians who had caused a 'serious disturbance' in Brisbane. Noting a London press cable, printed in the Melbourne Age, reporting the deportation of 100 'Russian Jew Bolshevik propagandists' from England, Munro-Ferguson now requested permission for the Federal Government to undertake 'similar action.' Upon the same day, the Nationalist Cabinet authorized the arrest of the seven men, emphasizing that the Military Commandant should effect this 'before soldiers' meeting tomorrow.' As the embattled Russian Association attempted to weather these arrests by appointing eight new members, including Dutch socialist, Barend Meyer to its depleted executive, Irving recommended their immediate deportation also, on the grounds that they were 'Bolsheviks ... all ... closely connected with the I.W.W.' It is unclear, however, whether this latter group of deportations was actually effected. Yet, by 16 April, the Military Commandant telegraphed the Defence Department that 'all' arrests had been completed and the deportees transferred to Sydney. Arrangements were being made for several of their wives and families to join them there.

In the meantime, the first batch of 'red flag prisoners' were facing sentence in the Brisbane Magistrates' Court. Hearing their cases was Police Magistrate Archdall, still nursing the painful groin injury he had received during the Merivale Street riot. Just as questionable was the appearance of Sub-Inspector Brosnan, who had fought with Zuzenko at
the start of the 'Red Flag' procession, prosecuting for the Crown. Furthermore, the prisoners were not represented by any Defence counsel. Hermann Bykoff, alias Alexander Resanoff was the first to be prosecuted when the trials began on Monday, 31 March. Described by the Daily Standard as a short, delicate man, Bykoff spoke of his ideals from the dock in halting English, amid peals of derisive laughter from the body of the Court. He stated that he had paraded as a 'Russian Maximalist' on 23 March to protest against 'military intervention in Russian internal affairs' and had displayed the Red Flag because it was the emblem 'of the workers of the world ... the national flag of our fatherland.' He therefore believed that he was guilty of a crime only from 'a capitalist point of view.' 'I consider I am not a criminal,' he stated:

... but merely a political prisoner of Australian capitalists. I was stabbed and beaten with sticks by some ignorant and drunken soldiers who do not understand what Bolshevism really is. Bolshevism is the section of socialism which stands for revolutionary socialization of all the means of production for the benefit of the producers. I spent seven years in the Tsar's dungeons and in exile in Siberia. I was glad to come in prison again for the final victory of the Red Flag. I believe that time will come and the Socialists and workers of Australia will understand why I and my comrades are fighting for the realization of our ... ideals.

Bykoff was sentenced to six months' imprisonment after resolving that he would now declare a hunger strike in gaol 'as my last protest against the starvation of Russian citizens in Hughes' land.' By contrast, the next defendant, Paul Lieschmann, a Russian boilermaker of north Ipswich seemed to have no political axe to grind. He was charged with assaulting a policeman but claimed his arrest was a case of mistaken identity. He had marched with his young son, he alleged, and had only carried a furled flag. He was not even a rank and file member of the Russian Association. Leischmann nevertheless received the same prison sentence as Bykoff.
The remaining trials, which recommenced on 2 April revealed similar scenarios of spirited amateur defence, derision and rigidly uniform sentencing. George Taylour stated that he had participated as a socialist in support of treating Russian workers as 'human beings'. He too received six months. So did Norman Jeffrey, who spoke of educating Australian workers to oppose an iniquitous law like the War Precautions Act. 'Though you put my body in prison, my thoughts will live,' Steve Tolstobroff asserted as he was given the customary sentence. William Elder and Herbert Huggott, described as 'mere youth[s]' both said they were proud to accept their punishment. 'The time is coming,' Elder hopefully predicted:

> when, instead of having misery, starvation and unemployment with all its attendant privations, the working class will, through their own organized might ... own collectively and control the industries ...

The Irish brothers, Edward and Jerry Cahill spoke in defence of Industrial Unionism, while Mark Ostapenko charged that the trial proceedings were arranged to intimidate workers and inhibit their developing class consciousness. Percival James, however argued that he had not waved any flag but had merely wiped his forehead with a red silk handkerchief, representing the colour of a New South Wales football club. 'You were ashamed of flying the red handkerchief?' Sub-Inspector Brosnan cross-examined him scornfully.\(^{167}\)

The trials continued regularly into July 1919 as Ludwick Rosnan, Gus Orance, Joseph Doyle and finally, Robert Carroll were all sentenced and gaol. Of the sixteen men arrested for displaying the flag, only Edgar Free, the Labor M.L.A. was not imprisoned and escaped with a fine. At Free's trial, Jennie Scott-Griffiths asserted angrily:

> What she had not expected was that in a Labor State, where red was the Government's color, a peaceful procession, headed by children and containing many working class
Australian women would be regarded by the police as an "outbreak" ... Nor that the soldiers would have their race prejudice played upon - as it had been on a previous occasion in Brisbane when prominent Tory politicians had induced drunken soldiers to break up a Bolshevik anniversary meeting ...\(^{168}\)

By contrast, loyalist rioters were handled by the Magistrates' Court with conspicuous leniency. During three nights of serious disturbances, only three men had been arrested by police. Returned soldiers, Thomas Cunningham and Thomas Drane charged respectively with leading the assault upon the mounted police and with the attempted shooting of Constable O'Driscoll were apprehended at Merivale Street on 24 March. James Mills, a stockman was arrested the following evening for wildly firing a revolver outside the *Daily Standard* building. Yet, after several weeks of being placed upon remand, the accused all escaped with only light fines.\(^{169}\) The Red Flag unfurled was clearly regarded as a far more dangerous weapon than either the paling or the gun.

As the trials, imprisonments and deportations proceeded, loyalist groups maintained their barrage of agitation and invective. Rallies were held almost nightly in the capital, as fervent messages of support flowed in from centres across the State. At huge open-air gatherings called by the Chamber of Commerce and the Mayor of Brisbane, leading public figures such as W.H. Barnes M.L.A. diagnosed 'the cancer ... eating at our very vitals.' The monster of Bolshevism 'with all its attendant horrors on women and property' was constantly baited and decried.\(^{170}\) On Empire Day, 24 April, even Queensland's Governor, Hamilton Goold-Adams entered the lists as an anti-Bolshevik crusader. Speaking after a re-enactment of the Battle of Agincourt at a demonstration organized by the Royal Society of St George 'to crush disloyalty', the Governor stated that he and his wife were there:
... to show by their presence their loyalty (loud applause) - to the Throne ... It had now been shown to be necessary for those of English blood to be up and doing (loud applause) - and to show they were determined that the English character and ideals were not going to be hid under any sort of canopy ... He interpreted the word 'loyal' as determined to support the constitution of Great Britain ... and no one could find fault with any of them that were determined that that constitution should not be thrown aside and torn to shreds and patches to meet the whims of a modern thought of a few years' standing.

Following the Governor's rousing words, A. Langley-Simmons, president of the Royal Society of St George re-affirmed his organization's determination 'to do their utmost to kill disloyalty in whatever shape or form it appeared.' 'They did not intend to allow Bolshevisra and disorder to rule in Queensland,' he vowed:

The society solidly supported the returned soldiers in the action they took to kill Bolshevisra (prolonged cheers) and would be behind them in everything they did, constitutionally to kill disloyalty ...

The following afternoon, some 3,500 returned soldiers marched in a greatly re-invigorated Anzac Day procession. This was seven times more than the number who had paraded the previous year. The returned soldiers' organizations which had utilized their members as vigilantes during the period of rioting both recorded substantial membership increases due to such loyalist mobilization. The journal of the R.S. & C.P.F., now simply known as The Leader, which already had 9,000 subscribers claimed a readership increase of 150% between March and May 1919 and expanded its size to thirty pages. During the same period, membership in the R.S.S.I.L.A. rose more than 82%, from 4,500 to 8,200. 'Very great indeed was the activity of the R.S.S.I.L.A.,' asserted Knowledge and Unity, 'New branches were formed and the central body received considerable support from all parts of the State. A State-wide "anti-Bolshevik" campaign was carried on and met with financial support to the extent of £15,000.' 'People with money' had pledged this amount, Lieutenant Murray told a Bundaberg R.S.S.I.L.A. meeting on
Furthermore, the R.S.S.I.L.A. seems to have utilized the agitations to cement allegiances within its own ranks. Prior to the disturbances, Captain Stable had reported that this league appeared 'to be passing through a crisis' involving 'a considerable amount of friction between those who belong to the rank and file and the ex-officers.' Several soldiers 'professing advanced labour and even Bolshevik views,' Stable claimed in February, had capitalized upon this restiveness and had created 'an atmosphere of discontent and rowdyism amongst a small section of the members.' The Censor identified these agitators as members of either George Taylour's Comrades of War League or of the Returned Soldiers' Labor League, who had allegedly infiltrated R.S.S.I.L.A. ranks. The organization's new policy of decentralization, introduced from Melbourne had helped 'the advanced labour advocates in Brisbane to get their organizers on to the different councils,' Stable warned:

... the aim of these men, prominent amongst whom is ex-Sergeant Robilliard, who occupies a position in Mr Fihelly's office is to place the whole of the organization in the hands of the extreme labour party [sic]. It is more than doubtful ... whether their object will be realized, but a noisy minority always has the advantages over a tacit majority in impressing public opinion.  

The militant activism, led by ex-officers in March and April 1919, however, left no shadow of a doubt about the future political direction of the R.S.S.I.L.A. in Queensland. The right-wing campaign enabled the movement to discipline errant members and to reconsolidate its forces in opposition against 'rebel bodies' and 'class-consciousness', in general. The clashes had 'done more to unite the soldiers than years of organizing would have accomplished,' admitted the League's State Organizer in early April. Members were now 'absolutely solid.' On Sunday, 30 March - one week after the Red Flag procession - the R.S.S.I.L.A. staged its own march to the Domain gates. There, the 1,700 participants
were drawn up 'in military order' to hear Pearce Douglas, their president impress upon them that they were 'an organized body not a disorderly rabble.' 'No doubt some of you would like direct action straight away,' Douglas told them, 'but your League is moving. We are out to see that the Anarchists in our midst are dealt with.'

The following Sunday, after several interim soldiers' meetings, 2,000 returned men assembled at the Exhibition Grounds, under the auspices of the R.S.S.I.L.A. to form a private army 'to fight disloyalty.' The recruits were admitted to the grounds only upon display of their Returned Servicemen's badge and discharge papers. Here, they were divided into eight district units, each of which then 'elected' its own commanding officer, as well as a staff of non-commissioned men to compose a para-military chain of command. The soldiers were next officially enrolled within their units, and instructions, tactics and meeting-places were revealed to them. Constable Rowe, who joined the South Brisbane section later reported that Major Hart had been selected as its commanding officer, supported by Lieutenants Gibbins, Webb and Kelly. The men's names, addresses and occupations were taken so that 'if they were wanted in a hurry, they could be called upon.' The section was told that it would meet under 'strict supervision' to ensure the exclusion of 'undesirable persons' and was ordered to drill the following Sunday at Musgrave Park. Similar directions were given to the other sections and, following the rally, the soldiers marched in military ranks to North Quay, headed by the Union Jack and a Caledonian pipe band. The Brisbane Courier reported enthusiastically, 'The alacrity and military precision with which the business was carried out formed a striking testimony of the determination of the soldiers to carry the movement through to a successful issue.' The Leader was even more effusive, claiming the mobilization represented 'the spirit of the A.I.F. in the olden days when "marching orders" were out.' Writing in the abrasive language
of the warfront, the journal addressed the soldiers:

You offered your lives for the safety of your womenfolk, not to throw your sisters on the market of free love. You went through Hell for the sacred cause of Liberty, not to submit to the rule of wild beasts.

Bolshevism shall not rule us!
I.W.W. shall not rule us!

In the first skirmish, we won our first victory.
... We are going over the top.

Diggers, fall in!176

In his study upon the Returned Servicemen's League, G.L. Kristianson implies that these paramilitary developments were undertaken 'to try to prevent further violence and to try to persuade the returned men to channel their energies into the League.'177 This interpretation of placatory motives, however, seems more exonerative than accurate and overlooks the vindictive atmosphere which invariably prevailed at the League's gatherings. By marshalling the men under military discipline, the R.S.S.I.L.A. seemed to be less concerned with securing social calm than with harnessing and institutionalizing the violence towards its own ends. Although there was some ambiguous talk of 'upholding law and order' and using 'constitutional methods', the threat of force and violence was nevertheless retained within the vocabulary of the League's officials. 'We will see that the Commonwealth and State Governments deal with those Anarchists,' Pearce Douglas told the wildly cheering men, 'if not by deporting them, then by shooting them.' He then informed his audience that the League had appointed a sub-committee to pressure employers to have 'aliens ... discovered in jobs in the city' dismissed and replaced by ex-soldiers. More deportations were also in order, he maintained, not only of Russians but also of interned Germans. The soldiers had now 'gained the right' of issuing 'such manifestes' to the Government, he concluded, and they would get what they wanted: that was why they were organizing.178
Major Bolingbroke, the League's chief adviser in Queensland seemed to hold the same equivocal attitude as Douglas about the 'prevention' of violence. The soldiers 'had the fighting strength and would use it,' he had earlier warned:

They wanted to accomplish their ends by constitutional means, but if they failed, then there were others. They had all "hopped over" before and he supposed they could do it again (cheers).

The Merivale Street disturbance may have been 'unconstitutional', Bolingbroke later told soldiers at Rockhampton, 'but it was the finest thing that ever happened.' 'If we cannot get the constitution to do what is right,' he reasoned expediently:

... we will have to put a bit of ginger into it and see that they do it ... I say it is not safe for a man to show a red flag in Brisbane today, or any other rebel flag ... we have split Brisbane into so many districts and the men have elected their own officers. We reckon we can keep all the men under control.

Not only should all 'unnaturalized and enemy' aliens be 'kicked out of Australia,' Bolingbroke believed, but they should also be joined by any other disloyalist, especially 'Wobblies' or the Sinn Fein - 'the most dangerous of the lot.'

As the 'digger' vigilantes organized themselves for action throughout Brisbane, they received support from nearby branches at Coolangatta, Toowoomba and Warwick which sent men into the capital to demonstrate. Two hundred soldiers at Ipswich formed their own anti-Bolshevik phalanx while others at Gympie and Kingaroy offered to despatch 'reinforcements for what cleaning up is necessary.' Soldiers to the West and North also tendered their co-operation 'both morally and practically with the headquarters in Brisbane.' Returned men at Barcaldine and Hughenden vowed that 'the boys in the country were willing to stand by their mates,' while at Townsville, the self-styled leader of the local ex-servicemen,
Lieutenant Ravenell Holland, acting in liaison with the 'Wobbly'-hunting Lieutenant Byrne from Hughenden urged the soldiers to help their Brisbane colleagues 'mop up' the Bolsheviks. The soldiers vowed that 'at a given signal' they would assist local police against 'undesirables ... and make this country fit for other comrades yet to come home.' They called upon all 'loyal and law-abiding workers' to join them and to 'cease work with any Bolshevik or other disloyalists employed with them.'

The most remarkable example of complementary anti-Bolshevik organization, however occurred in the Upper Brisbane Valley during May 1919. After several anti-Bolshevik meetings had been held at Esk and Toogoolawah during March and April, Major Bolingbroke contacted E.F. Lord of Eskdale station, who had earlier led his Legion of Frontiersmen into Brisbane to crush the 1912 general strike and had proposed the establishment of another strike-breaking force during the War. Bolingbroke intimated to Lord that 'further trouble' was expected in Brisbane in connection with the Federated Seamen's strike over wages and quarantine arrangements which had begun in Queensland on 9 May and then spread to other States. The 'Bolshevik element' was still prevalent in Brisbane fomenting discontent, Bolingbroke concluded and 'a rising' was expected in the near future. 'If there is, can we depend on you country people for assistance?' Bolingbroke demanded. 'Yes, we are behind you to a man,' Lord replied. On 16 May, therefore, Lord called a secret meeting at the Alexandra Hall, Toogoolawah of between thirty and forty leading graziers, businessmen and farmers to discuss organizing the Upper Brisbane Valley 'on similar lines as they had done in the 1912 strike.' Those present were asked to discover 'how many young men could be raised from the districts' to proceed fully mounted to Brisbane 'to help suppress any Bolshevik rising.' The meeting elected Lord as president of this vigilante group and Captain Rollo Somerset as its vice-president.
Twenty-five other members including W.R. Butler, a grazier of 'Staghurst' and Chairman of the Esk Shire Council and E. McConnel of 'Cressbrook' station formed themselves into an executive to supervise the raising of recruits. Twenty men were to act as canvassers or 'patrol leaders' throughout the region. They were to approach reliable men, swear them to secrecy and obtain 'a distinct pledge' of allegiance from them. The men were asked to keep their horses, pack saddles and bridles ready for the call to action. Canvassers were additionally told to ascertain whether the recruits possessed 'any etceteras' - presumably meaning weaponry - and to determine 'the nature of same.' As Lord later stated:

What was required was mounted men and certain leaders were told off to enrol sympathizers in their particular districts ... When the SOS was received from Brisbane, the men would assemble at a certain place and [he] would command.

The fact that Lord and his new 'frontiersmen' did not ride - for no 'Bolshevik rising' occurred in the capital - is less significant than the certainty that they were ready and willing to do so. One dissident at the meeting, a Mr Stephen Hosking warned them that the whole enterprise was potentially treasonable. He reminded the intending vigilantes that, in 1912:

... the State Government ... was sympathetic with the strike-breaking force and condoned their illegal act in forming an armed band by swearing in all hands as special constables. But today if any such body were formed they would probably be arrested for sedition.

Preparations nevertheless proceeded in secrecy until the Daily Standard exposed the plan under the glaring headline 'ORGANIZED SCABBERY ... ATTEMPT TO REPEAT 1912 OUTRAGE ... MOVE TO RAISE ARMED BANDS IN THE COUNTRY.' Home Secretary, John Huxham immediately ordered police into the area to 'keep in close touch with this movement and advise me of all that occurs promptly.' Key members of Lord's executive were interrogated and the movement scotched. Yet the venture clearly
reveals how elite citizens of the Upper Brisbane Valley, like the organized loyalists at Toowoomba, Hughenden and Brisbane as well as returned soldiers in their para-military formations were fully prepared to use whatever violence seemed necessary to 'sternly ... repress Bolshevism.' That Bolshevik bogey, in turn was fully equated with workers' industrial mobilization in pursuance of immediate economic and social reforms. 'Whenever one sees "Bolshevism" ... in a capitalist controlled print,' The Worker commented, 'it is safe to read the terms as meaning "Unionism", for it is unionism that is the thing the profiteer is afraid of ...'  

Although there was no further rioting in Brisbane for several months, this was due not so much to the R.S.S.I.L.A.'s penchant for order as to Federal willingness to comply with loyalist demands as well as to the Labor Government's disinclination to resist them. As military raids, arrests, imprisonments and deportations proceeded, Brisbane's Russian community fell into disarray. Although a new 'Soviet executive' resolved emphatically on 8 April to hold 'future demonstrations and take more drastic measures of revolt,' job dismissals, evictions, public boycotts of small business premises and further sporadic violence combined with the official onslaught to sap the Russians' energies and destroy any will to resist. 'I cannot describe all I have heard,' wrote one panic-stricken Russian to a friend in the Brisbane General Hospital:

Many Russians were beaten ... I met a Russian here and started to speak to him ... I was nearly beaten for speaking Russian - by Englishmen. We must be as far from Russia as we possibly can. There is danger for the Russians on every step and corner.

Another revealed the intimidatory effect of the loyalist riots when he wrote to a compatriot in Sydney:
We made things very hot here and I do not know what will take place. The club has been closed. I will not describe to you the details of the pogrom of the Russians here. Yes, it is a formal pogrom, exactly like the pogrom of Jews, organized during the reign of the Czar ... They are being dismissed everywhere from work. The soldiers thrash the Russians in the streets. [They] ... have all run away like rats!\textsuperscript{186}

Russian workers sacked from the Cannon Hill meatworks, the Brisbane railway yards and the Ipswich railway work shops wrote of their 'really desperate' situation to the Home Secretary and called for an end to their victimization. Another community of Russians at Bingera Plains, near Bundaberg also complained bitterly against local job discrimination. Many with large families had been reduced to 'a state of destitution' due to such boycotts, they claimed and needed either work or passports to return to Russia. 'Hasten our departure without driving us to despair,' their spokesman, P. Borrmakin pleaded, 'If we are to be in such state of affairs for any considerable time, there will be no other course left for us but to go to local authorities and ask them to gaol us.'\textsuperscript{187}

Yet moderates in the labour movement remained generally unresponsive to the Russians' predicament. Even the mild degree of support which had been offered to victimized Germans, Irish and Italians in 1917-18 was now withheld. In one sense, their indifference smacked of betrayal towards a group who had twice assisted them to defeat conscription, but other principles and strategies were also involved. Moderate support for parliamentary reformism, craft unionism and existing British-Australian cultural norms meant that foreign advocates of iconoclastic change were to be coldly and suspiciously regarded. As well, an immediate, pragmatic concern over the voting allegiances of an electorate whose racism had again been inflamed tended to dampen any residual ardour for the plight of the scapegoated Russians. Instead, it was left to the radical fringe groups of international socialists, pacifists and revolutionaries, who had demonstrated and suffered alongside the Russians,
to spring once more to their defence.

On 28 March, B.I.C. officials had met secretly with several of the Russian leaders at Trades Hall and resolved to combat the opposing loyalist forces. Those present were urged to purchase firearms and 'to fight for freedom and liberty of the Russians and the militant organizations' who shared their outlook. O.B.U.E.Q. officials revived the Labor Volunteer Army which had been disbanded after the conscription struggles and some 320 men were quickly enrolled at Trades Hall and the Daily Standard office. The following day, a deputation from the B.I.C. waited upon Acting Premier Theodore, urging him to enrol special constables to control the loyalist demonstrations. Theodore, however had been persuaded against this move, two days earlier, by Police Commissioner Urquhart. During their long discussion, Urquhart's pro-loyalist sympathies were clearly revealed. As he had already been informed by his undercover agent, Brown that O.B.U. members intended enlisting as 'specials', he opposed Theodore's suggestion that 2,000 men be enrolled for duty, 'being suspicious of [the] source they would be drawn from.' Disturbances would continue, he bluntly informed the Acting Premier, 'until the plaque-spot of pestilent Russian revolutionaries [was] eliminated.' Theodore acquiesced, refusing to budge when the B.I.C. deputation interviewed him. Urquhart had immediately relayed the substance of his private talk with Theodore to Lieutenant R.D. Fisher, the Military Commandant's assistant Intelligence Officer. He informed Fisher that he had also confronted Theodore about rumours that the L.V.A. was reforming, but the Acting Premier had denied any knowledge of this, adding that no Government consent had been given for its formation. Yet, through the work of agent Brown, Urquhart already knew that George Gavin, Bob Carroll and W. Wright were actively seeking recruits. Armed with this information, Urquhart and Fisher together saw Theodore on the afternoon of 27 March.
The Acting Premier admitted that he too had heard 'something about' the L.V.A. from Gavin and Wright that morning, but had strongly advised them 'to desist from such action, of which he was sure they would do.' His response was a far cry from labour attitudes of 1916-17, when moderates and radicals had been drawn together against conscription, and L.V.A. members had stood guard at public meetings addressed by Labor Ministers. Urquhart and Fisher left this meeting with Theodore, however, unconvinced about his apparent rejection of confrontational tactics. The Police Commissioner openly complained that he was 'perturbed at the lack of co-operation of his Department and the State Government and ... thought it would eventually bring difficulties in the way.' These misgivings were directly relayed to the Defence Department and, in response, Brigadier-General Irving was ordered 'to take all necessary steps to be prepared, especially providing guard for military arms and ammunition and to enrol additional personnel for limited period of home service' in anticipation of a clash between the L.V.A. and the returned soldiers.¹⁸⁸

These precautions would prove to be unnecessary, however, as labour moderates declined to make any rapprochement with their radical counterparts. As Armstrong has shown, the B.I.C. were already locked in a bitter, protracted struggle with Trades Hall moderates for policy control by this time, while Theodore himself had made no secret of his disdain for revolutionary militancy as 'the poison that is circulating in the Labor Party.' This repudiation of the radical sectors, like the abandonment of the Russians, again appears as a form of 'betrayal', but as Ian Turner has cautioned:

... it is not simply a question of labour elites 'betraying' the interests of the working class in order to maintain their political power (and to advance their personal careers) ...

... If a labour movement chooses to operate within the system of parliamentary democracy - and most labour movements which
"Come on—this is the quickest way"

Bolshevism and Constitutionalism (Smith's Weekly 1921).
have had that option open to them have chosen it - the question it confronts is always how far, how fast? What programme can it advance that at the same time satisfies its supporters, furthers its long-term objectives and is capable of attracting majority electoral support?\(^{189}\)

Keeping such pragmatic considerations uppermost, therefore, the Labor Government would declare no State of Emergency to deal with the tumultuous loyalist demonstrations. No bodies of special constabulary would be sworn in to counter the para-military preparations of the returned soldiers and no sympathetic strikes would be called from Trades Hall or by the A.W.U. in support of the Red Flag prisoners or to protest against the fate of the Russian deportees. The bulk of the labour movement remained inactive in the face of loyalist excesses, leaving their troublesome radicals, their revolutionaries and chiliastic utopians exposed upon their left flank. As D. Burns, a member of the O.B.U.P.L. wrote to a comrade in Melbourne:

No meetings are allowed now by the Labour Government and the Trade Unions have been approached and they turned us down; so you can realize our difficulties ... Norman Jeffrey got six months and all the others who have come before the beak received the same sentence - I don't know if the organization will go out of existence or not.\(^{190}\)

Along with the Russian Association, it seemed as though the O.U.B.P.L. had been singled out for special attention by State and Commonwealth authorities. Speaking at the South Brisbane W.P.O. in early May 1919, Jennie Scott-Griffiths commented upon how strange it was that ten men in one organization which had had no representatives upon the committee arranging the demonstration had been arrested. 'Whereas some 75 or 80 flags were carried by members of various organizations,' she asserted, 'there was something queer in the knowledge that only members of one organization had been punished.' Thus, the O.B.U.P.L., as the direct outgrowth of the I.W.W. movement in Queensland had finally received its humiliation from the State apparatus. As this organization fell into
disarray, the One Big Union principle itself was rapidly surrendered, as the O.B.U.E.Q. also succumbed to A.W.U. intransigence and craft union antagonism. One year later, a new Trades Hall council, dominated by moderates would announce that the O.B.U. movement was officially dead.\footnote{191}

Almost as a parting shot, the B.I.C. issued 'A Declaration ... on the Recent Disturbances' which forcefully argued that the loyalist disturbances were part of a process, instigated by the 'property owning and profiteering class' to deprive workers of their rights. Throughout the war period, the manifesto declared, 'freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of movement have been encroached upon by regulations which Parliament never contemplated when the War Precautions Act was passed.' Although conscription had twice been successfully ousted, other repressive measures were now being imposed:

They are invading the privacy and sanctity of the home and searching for so-called "disloyal" literature. They are exercising powers of censorship through the Post Office. They are instituting a campaign of persecution which amounts to terrorism.

Returned soldiers were warned that they were being distracted away from realizing 'the true cause of their disappointments and grievances' under capitalism by having the twin bogeys of 'Bolshevism' and 'disloyalty' paraded before their eyes by the 'Tory press'. They had been incited to 'mob violence' by having their prejudices first aroused against 'the so called Bolshevik activities of an insignificant number of Russian workers' and then against 'the whole working class movement.' 'Tory' money had helped finance the 'organized disorder' which followed. The document appealed to the soldiers to do what the 'profiteers' feared the most: to 'join the working class ... and give it a greater driving force and more determination to bring about ... emancipation.' Ex-soldiers must discover, the Declaration concluded:
... that they can advance their cause only in the comradeship and fellowship of toil. Let us then close up our ranks, whether we be returned soldiers or not. 192

The diggers were thus enjoined to stand beside their working class brethren for all the principles which the forbidden Red Flag was said to symbolize. 193 Yet the initial reunion between soldiers and workers was to reveal more of a tactical capitulation by trade unionists to Imperial, military values than anything else. In late April, Police Commissioner Urquhart began reporting to Home Secretary, John Huxham that the A.M.I.E.U., the B.E.I.U., the O.B.U.P.L., the Butcher's Union and the Russian workers had all passed resolutions in support of carrying the Red Flag in the forthcoming Eight Hour Day procession of 5 May. Returned soldiers in their para-military formations had been notified, and Urquhart warned:

Any display of the red flag in this procession will, in my opinion undoubtedly result in riot and turmoil, besides which anything which has hitherto occurred in Brisbane will be a mere bagatelle.

The Commissioner wanted the labour procession banned, but finally it was held with the red banners - and any groups determined upon displaying them - removed. 195 Only at Ipswich, where workers refused to withdraw two lorries 'decorated with red material' was the march forbidden entirely. The resulting Brisbane parade presented many of the features of a surrogate Anzac Day procession. Instead of union officials carrying the Eight Hour Day banner, 'a uniformed warrior carrying the Commonwealth Flag' led the marchers, followed by several hundred returned soldiers. "The sight of these war-scarred men in quartet formation, swinging to the step of march music, their brass medals and battalion colours standing out conspicuously in their mufti was an inspiration," the Daily Standard exclaimed. The Courier was quick to note, that of all the marchers, the soldiers alone were 'heartily cheered by spectators.'
The rest were 'received in cold silence - a marked contrast to previous years.' At Trades Hall, E.G. Theodore reminded his audience that returned soldiers were workers too and that Queensland was 'under the rule of a Labor Government which had no intention to abdicate.' As he spoke, a murmur went through the crowd that 'the soldiers are coming' and there was a momentary panic until it was realized that these men were the processionists themselves, who wheeled in carrying the Australian flag. They were then enthusiastically cheered by the relieved onlookers. The patriotic display of Union Jack and Commonwealth flag as well as the military effect of 'unionists ... wearing the medal of service of the A.I.F.' was the image which the labour movement must continue to foster, the *Courier* concluded approvingly, rather than the 'disloyal display' of 'extremist influences ... furtively establishing a very solid footing in the movement.  

As the mass labour movement retreated from any espousal of predominantly class interests or revolutionary rhetoric and moved towards a re-assertion of its nationalist and reformist concerns, the tiny Brisbane branch of the Australian Socialist League was left to champion the rights of the Red Flag prisoners and to raise funds to support their dependants, much as the Sydney I.W.W. had done in defence of the I.W.W. twelve. In May, its Prisoners' Defence Committee, modelled upon the earlier Defence and Release organizations publicized a four-day hunger strike, undertaken by the five Russian prisoners for improved conditions within Boggo Road gaol.  

After T.J. Ryan returned from Britain on 27 June, the Committee was finally granted an audience with the Premier upon the question of freeing the imprisoned men. Although Ryan believed that Bolshevism 'had nothing to do with the Labor party in Australia,' he was not as committed towards waging a political vendetta against its real and alleged adherents as Treasurer Theodore seemed to be. Instead,
as a consistent advocate of liberal democratic principles, he displayed much more concern over civil rights infringements, produced by the implementation of repressive War Precautions regulations. On 30 June, Ryan therefore received a deputation of some fifty socialist and pacifist women, each wearing - the Brisbane *Telegraph* charged - the 'prohibited colour' in the form of the 'flaming leaves' of the Poinsettia flower. He listened sympathetically to their complaints and then expressed his grave doubts about the validity of the regulation under which the men had been imprisoned. He believed it was not only 'unwise', but an 'infringement of Magna Carta.' Rather than continuing to play host to Federal prisoners in a State gaol, as specified by section 120 of the Constitution, he was prepared to challenge the legality of the regulation in the Courts. This challenge before the Full Court opened on 15 July, but proved unsuccessful. In his role as Attorney-General, Ryan was considering pursuing the issue to the High Court when the Commonwealth Government decided to release ten of the prisoners as an act of clemency to coincide with the Peace Celebrations of 19 July.198

Carroll, James, Orance, Ostapenko and Roslan remained in gaol, the last man being eventually released on 6 September. Less than one hundred 'reds' gathered at the Dutton Park picnic to welcome the ten pardoned men, watched over in their revelry by Federal Intelligence agents. Perhaps when the War Precautions Act was repealed, one of the picnickers ventured hopefully, 'we can fly all the red flags possible.'199 Yet there was really little cause for celebration. A year later, eleven of the I.W.W. prisoners would be similarly freed in Sydney as a result of the recommendations of the Ewing Royal Commission - six of them fully exonerated and the other five considered to have been 'sufficiently punished.' When Donald Grant, the most eloquent of the group lectured in Brisbane in September 1920, he might as well have been speaking on behalf of the victimized local radicals of 1919. 'You must not think we
have had a win,' he cautioned his audience of 600 at Centennial Hall:

... and the Capitalist class knows it ... We are finding it an impossibility to obtain Halls to speak in, and the Police refuse us permits and yet you have a Labor Government ... In Europe today, the Revolution is on, and yet here in Australia you know nothing about it.²⁰⁰

Local socialists and O.B.U. advocates were already experiencing the same frustrations, diminishing returns and encroaching pessimism as Grant's words reflected. Their public meetings were poorly attended and subject to police harassment. Militant speakers expressed almost habitual regrets at finding 'so few here' to listen to them. 'Do you intend to leave the emancipation of the workers to a few militants,' Norman Freeberg castigated his tiny audience in June 1919, 'and when they are prosecuted or gaol after having worked in your interest [to] leave them to their fate? What are you workers afraid of?'²⁰¹ The answer seemed self-evident. As an intercepted radical pamphlet demanded in May 1919, the Allies may have won the war, but what had the workers of Australia won - 'the War Precautions Act, the Illegal Associations Act, the Income Tax, the Censorship of the Press, aye and many other glorious honors have been thrust upon us.'²⁰² In Queensland, the Brisbane correspondent to the Melbourne Socialist added in August:

The hope of obtaining palliatives from the Government large enough to tide over the reconstruction period decreases daily, and failing THAT, the workers have nothing but a period of successive strikes, lockouts and riots to look forward to.²⁰³

At another O.B.U. meeting held in August, Norman Jeffrey spoke of the internment of Herman Bykoff since his release from Prison in July. He predicted glumly:

The workers of Brisbane would stand anything when they would allow the Military Authorities to arrest a man who committed no crime other than being true to the working class ... probably in the near future, himself and his fellow-workers would be arrested the same way and deported out of Australia ... It was high time that the workers woke up and took some action ...
About 200 'of the same old crowd attended the meeting,' watching constables reported complacently, 'There were no interjections and the meeting was orderly.'

As the radical challenge languished in Southern Queensland, it seemed, superficially, as though working class militancy was still running a rampant course in the North, due to the massive industrial disputes at the Townsville meatworks, lasting from November 1918 until March 1919 and then flaring violently again between June and September. The episodes of civil disorder and the rhetoric of conflict accompanying these disturbances - much of which has been described by Cutler and Phillips - were probably even more violent and dramatic than at Hughenden and Brisbane, and tended once more to persuade panic-prone loyalists that 'a first-class revolution on high-class lines' was underway there. Yet, in reality, the A.M.I.E.U. in both disputes was bitterly fighting a rear-guard action against the meat companies' initiatives upon job control, preference for unionists and direct negotiations; and, despite the aid it received from the Q.R.U. and W.W.F., was losing at every turn. The first strike was lost as southern unions and branches of the A.M.I.E.U. failed to provide the strikers with sufficient funds; the Arbitration Court on 31 January opened the way for the companies' recruitment of 'scab' labour, mainly composed of returned soldiers; and the A.W.U. 'readily gave official recognition' to these 'loyalist' workers at Alligator Creek. Despite desperate picket action against 'scab' workers, the defeated men were forced back to work in late March, after a quarter of their number, most active in the strike had been victimized and blacklisted. While loyalists saw this victory in terms of a rout of 'undesirables with strong Bolshevik and pro-German leanings,' Pierce Carney, the shop committees' spokesman commented that the outcome indicated the 'lack of class consciousness of the workers.' In a similar vein,
the hunted Hughenden rebel, G.W. Bellamy wrote to Mick Kelly of the Townsville Industrial Council:

I was sorry but not surprised to hear of the defeat of the Meat Workers ... the erstwhile ... Rebels will have to take a back seat ... AMIEU members ... only want to join the AMU and they will have a licence to scab ... [T]heir heterogeneous agglomeration ... are a reflex of the rank and file which puts the Australian worker at the bottom of the tree in his knowledge of working class philosophy.\textsuperscript{208}

In dealing with these northern disputes, the Labor Government found its working class sympathies compromised once more by its need to secure social order and promote industrial harmony. Following a potentially violent waterfront demonstration on 30 May by 1,600 Townsville workers against the S.S. Morialta, breaking quarantine regulations with influenza patients on board, the Government co-operated with the North Queensland Employers' Federation in the enrolment of special constables to confront any further protests.\textsuperscript{209} Inspector King of the Townsville police began collecting names of men willing to act in this capacity on 31 May, while the Commander of the gunboat Una was requested to 'protect shipping harbour from mob if attacked,' using 'ball ammunition' and machine guns if necessary. After hearing rumours that unionists were next intending to remove 'scabs' still employed at the meatworks with force, King requested permission to begin swearing in 200 specials chosen from among 'employers and employees of different firms here' on 2 June. The services of the Military at Kissing Point were also sought to augment the force of sixty regular police stationed in Townsville. King's suggestions were approved by Acting Premier Theodore, Home Secretary Huxham and Commissioner Urquhart that same afternoon.\textsuperscript{210} The Commissioner wired King that leaders of any agitation should be warned that 'any overt action on their part tending to breach of the peace' would be followed by 'strong action.' 'Tumult and riot is apprehended in Townsville,' Urquhart announced:
Request Police Magistrate swear in any number special constables necessary ... See that special constables when sworn in [are] provided with batons and distinguishing badges.

This crisis, however proved an abortive one. After A.M.I.E.U. officials had protested against such precipitate action and Herbert Hardacre had telegraphed Theodore from Townsville, criticizing this 'untactful' and inflammatory move, State Cabinet advised, 'No further action re special constables at present, but be in readiness.' Inspector King had, however, sworn in seventy-nine specials by this time and was therefore ordered by Urquhart to have them remain 'at ordinary employment subject to call when required.'

Ultimately, special constables were not called out into the streets of Townsville to quell the series of riots which accompanied the second A.M.I.E.U. strike, beginning on 23 June. Instead, the official tactic adopted was to send in more than eighty regular police, 'fully armed and equipped' from centres as widely dispersed as Cairns, Longreach, Roma, Maryborough and Toowoomba and to swear in specials in those towns to undertake the duties of absent constables. The fifty-seven police already at Townsville in late June were provided with additional rifles, bayonets and ammunition by the Ordnance Officer at Kissing Point and the Military were placed on standby. The Townsville 'specials' were therefore kept in reserve and, as King informed Urquhart on 11 July, their services had not been required.

Yet the Labor Government's intention to use special constables, if necessary, against striking workers stood in marked contrast to its refusal to enrol such a force for deployment against loyalist rioters and organized ex-soldiers in Brisbane two months earlier. Its action also brought grim reminders of Denham's recruitment of the notorious 'specials' in the Brisbane General Strike of 1912. This comparison was again heightened when police opened fire upon an angry crowd outside the Townsville lock-up on 29 June 1919, wounding
between eight and sixteen of their number. Labor-in-power, it now seemed to many working class observers, would not baulk at employing the same tactics and weaponry as their political opponents in defence of the capitalist system. As Cutler concludes, 'Ryan's readiness to use the full coercive powers of the state against the strikers ... only intensified the subsequent conflict between the parliamentary Party and the trade unions.'

The second, eleven-week A.M.I.E.U. strike was lost, due primarily to the unity and determination of the meat companies; for, with their operations suspended during the concurrent shipping strike, they had nothing further to sacrifice. Secondly, the fragmentation of the Townsville working class into strike-breakers, strikers, the black-listed and the unemployed meant that any comprehensive spirit of solidarity was absent from the outset. Despite severe harassment from the strikers, 'scab' labour, led by returned soldiers such as Lieutenants Holland and Byrne, and driven by the goad of destitution from the ranks of the unemployed grew steadily in number from eighty to 300 as the strike progressed. They were supported in turn by the A.W.U. and several craft unions, all intent upon breaking 'the stranglehold that the A.M.I.E.U. exercised over union membership at the Queensland meatworks.' Any unity between the June strikers, those victimized in March and the remainder of the unemployed was riven by mutual suspicions engendered mainly by the pressures of job competition. The black-listed workers felt a sense of betrayal against those who had returned to positions alongside strike-breakers between March and June, while strikers feared that their vacant billets would prove too great a temptation for those desperately unemployed. These divisions were institutionalized by the existence of two rival 'strike organizations' which remained - as Commonwealth Intelligence was quick to appreciate - 'at daggers drawn'
until the end. The official Strike Committee, led by Pierce Carney and Michael Kelly was thus consistently challenged by a group calling themselves the Unofficial One Big Union Committee, composed of the unemployed disciples of Wobbly advocate, Charles O'Malley as well as 'victimized I.W.W. followers' who had split with the A.M.I.E.U. This movement claimed affiliation with the Melbourne I.I.W., but its membership also seems to have been infiltrated by agents provocateurs, working for Commonwealth Intelligence. In November 1919, Captain S. Birtles of Military Intelligence, Townsville wrote to Captain Wood of Victoria Barracks that during the forthcoming Federal Election campaign 'an agent could well be employed to speak under the guise of the O.B.U. (unofficial)' and thus counter anti-Nationalist propaganda in the town. 'It may be mentioned,' he now divulged, 'that this worked very successfully during the late disturbances here when we had the two sections up against one another. It was the means of driving the Kelly/Carney crowd off the stump.' When this second strike collapsed in confusion, starvation and ignominious defeat for the workers on 8 September, the strongholds of Northern radicalism at Ross River and Alligator Creek had been successfully purged.

Anti-alien alarm once more blended with anti-radicalism in these disputes, as Intelligence agents reported that 'the Russian element' would be 'well to the fore with their firearms' in any disturbance and police asserted that all local foreigners were 'pests' who should be deported. Lists of 'aliens' detected among Townsville rioters were demanded by the Ryan Government. Indeed, the State Government now seemed to be identifying its potential enemies in much the same way as the Commonwealth. Following the Red Flag riots, the Brisbane C.I.B. compiled lists of Russians, Poles, Finns and German radicals as well as other unnaturalized foreigners. These were integrated in one large file
with the names of persons believed to be 'particularly virulent and
dangerous' by State police. Significantly, no loyalist extremists nor
returned soldier leaders - save for George Taylour - were included in
these careful compilations. All the 'Agitators and Propagandists' so
named were from the radical left - socialists, O.B.U. advocates and
Bolsheviks. The Labor Party, it seemed was now reflecting rather
than confronting the preoccupations of a society which had become 'ripe
territory' for radical and racialist witchhunts. In that wider society,
powerful groups like the U.L.E. - which renamed itself the King and
Empire Alliance during 1919 - continued to agitate for the expulsion of
'disloyal aliens, principally Russians' into the 1920s.

An anti-radical, anti-alien nexus was thus institutionalized as a
powerful ideological prop to the maintenance of existing relations of
production and to the perpetuation of Australian capitalism in peace time.
A social consciousness of both cultural hegemony and ethnic homogeneity
was stimulated by this well-orchestrated fear of the revolutionary and
the alien, and was utilized, in turn, to defuse class antagonisms among
'democratic' Anglo-Australians. Surveillance, censorship, propaganda-
control and restricted civil liberties all continued to play an essential
role in this process as the War Precautions Act Repeal Act of 1920-1 laid
the basis for the Commonwealth Crimes Act; successive Commonwealth
proclamations of February and June 1921 prohibited the importation of
literature with a revolutionary or 'seditious intention'; film censorship
was tightened to eliminate all 'anti-British matter'; and 'the reliably
conservative press' operated to inculcate uncritically consensual,
normative values among a mass readership. 'It is not only through
schools that the mind of a people is moulded,' observed the Brisbane
Journal of the Workers' School of Social Sciences, The Movement in
January 1920:
... Newspapers and magazines, books and plays, many forms of entertainment and the activities of religious and other associations either deliberately seek to make the people an empty-headed mob or else divert attention from the pressing problems of the hour.\textsuperscript{1221}

Simultaneously, the power of deportation had been progressively expanded until, under the Unlawful Associations Act, only persons 'born in Australia' were exempt. 'All others, irrespective of nationality who have been convicted of certain offences may be deported,' commented the Secretary for the Home and Territories Department in January 1920:

\textit{The Unlawful Associations Act 1916-17 carries the power of deportation further than either \textit{The Pacific Island Labourers Act} or \textit{The Commonwealth Immigration Restriction Act of 1901}} ... administered by this department, and further than the \textit{War Precautions Regulations} dealing with the deportation of alien enemies. Under these, ex-enemy subjects, if naturalized here, could not be deported.\textsuperscript{222}

Powers implicit in this legislation were therefore utilized to deport not only various groups of radicals of foreign birth, but also a total of 5,276 citizens of German and Austrian background in 'nine special ships ... between May 1919 and June 1920.'\textsuperscript{223} The Aliens Committee argued that such deportation was a logical extension of internment, because 'close association for a long period under predominantly German influence' in the camps had meant, ironically, that inmates' 'national feeling' had been notably revived. Certain 'uninterned enemy aliens' were also selected for 'compulsory repatriation', but, of the thousands removed, only the cases of Paul Freeman and Dr Eugen Hirschfeld from Queensland as well as Father Charles Jerger and Dr Max Herz from New South Wales aroused any significant public opposition.\textsuperscript{225} In March 1920, procedures were also finalized for the repatriation of Russians, 'not of Bolshevik tendencies', 'provided arrangements are first made for them to land in a neutral country.' By February 1921, 'over 700 applicants' were being processed for removal. Subsequently, large
numbers of these became stranded in Shanghai, as they made their way homeward along the same tortuous route by which they had previously come. Powers of exclusion were implemented to deny Russians entry into the Commonwealth, except in cases where 'special authority' had been granted. A quota of 260 per annum was placed upon Maltese immigration, while Germans, Austrians, Hungarians and Bulgarians were prevented from migrating until January 1926. The same prohibition against Turkish nationals was extended until 1930.

Despite this range of official controls and ideological constraints, however, loyalist violence continued against both radicals and alien 'undesirables'. Fired by counter-revolutionary rhetoric, returned soldiers led by W.A. Fisher of the R.S.S.I.L.A. again attacked unionists in Brisbane in late October 1919, wrecking the offices of the A.B.I.E.U., as Prime Minister Hughes addressed loyalists in Albert Square below. A fortnight later, at Proserpine, cane farmers and returned soldiers, led by Percival Raymond Meredith, secretary of the local R.S.S.I.L.A., attempted to break a combined hotel and mill-workers strike by demanding the deportation from the town of nine militants, 'with violence if necessary.' The following month, 'Hughenden-type' action commenced at Charleville as more than seventy returned soldiers, led by Major Bolingbroke of the R.S.S.I.L.A. and supported by the local Chamber of Commerce drove more than a dozen 'undesirables' and 'parasites' from the town with rioting, intimidation and beatings. During the early twenties, anti-communist vigilance became intense, with returned soldiers reporting Australian Communist Party members spreading ideas of 'mad revolution' among troops and civilians in North Queensland. Although the State's already minor industrial base contracted further during this decade, Queensland was again regarded as Australia's 'danger zone' in relation to Communist party activism.
This continuing pattern of conflict in Queensland was paralleled by clashes in other States, extending from the Fremantle 'battle' of May 1919 to Sydney's tumultuous loyalist demonstrations of May 1921. Loyalists clashed violently with strikers in Fremantle during May 1919, leaving thirty-three casualties and soldiers fought 'Bolsheviks' at Queenstown, Tasmania in July.\(^{231}\) Queensland's returned soldiers enthusiastically supported race riots at Boulder, Kalgoorlie and Griffith, in the Murrumbidgee district against Italians, Greeks and Slavs and themselves mounted spirited agitations against the 'Olive Peril', allegedly posed by Southern Europeans in North Queensland during the 1920s.\(^{232}\) Para-military organizations, begun in post-war Queensland with the formation of the R.S.S.I.L.A.'s Anti-Bolshevik Army in April 1919 were soon reproduced in Victoria and New South Wales in the form of the White Guard, the League for National Security, the Who's For Australia League, the Movement and, eventually, the New Guard. Keith Amos has indicated that links were established between these organizations and the British Fascist movement, while McQueen has traced the bourgeois and petit-bourgeois backgrounds of many of their members.\(^{233}\) During 1923, James A. Philp, commercial editor of the Brisbane Courier produced a volume entitled *Songs of the Australian Fascisti* which summarized a number of the aspirations of such movements. Attacking shirkers, Bolsheviks, O.B.U. advocates and strangers 'who would see other banners unfurled,' Philp warned that soldiers and patriots were ready to form 'Another Big Union' to counter their 'foul' influences upon Australian life and to uphold the virtues of 'our pink-tinted Empire.' 'No matter what this new organization may be called,' he predicted, 'it will be analogous to the black-shirted castor-oil prescribers of Signor Mussolini.' Fascism had proven a 'successful antidote' against Italian Bolshevism, he reasoned, and the 'Australian Fascisti' could be counted
upon to uphold 'law and order' and defeat Communism here. 'Mind you,'
his preface concluded:

... there should be no more call for the coming of Fascism to
Australia than there is for the Independent Workers of the
World [sic], the Third Moscow Internationale, the Ku Klux Klan
or any other wierd foreign, extra-legal combination. However,
if some sections of the community WILL persist in upraising
their hollow pumpkin spectres, there is always a danger of
other sections taking a hand in the game. This is not a
threat - it is a prophesy.234

Philp wrote, however, as part of a long tradition of 'spectre-
mongering,' wherein worker mobilization against 'an only partly understood
and only partly opposed bourgeois hegemony'235 had been continually
thwarted, and working class fragmentation along ethnic lines consistently
encouraged by a combination of ingrained Imperialist, Nationalist and
racist concepts. These concepts promoted a proud consciousness of being
British, Australian and white, thereby overshadowing any burgeoning
awareness of domestic inequality and exploitation, and hampering the
consequent development of class consciousness within the nation. The
onset of the war crisis had originally enhanced these ideological pre-
occupations by advancing the dominance of Empire loyalty above all other
socio-psychological concerns. Simultaneously, throughout Australia, the
State's repressive apparatus had been bolstered to meet war's challenge
and to suppress all forms of internal dissent. 'Political, industrial
and ideological repression' had logically resulted.236 Yet, due to the
socio-economic rigours and personal anguish of war involvement itself,
this powerfully established loyalist hegemony had been increasingly
challenged. Decisive sections of the working class had begun to gain an
appreciation of themselves as 'class subjects within economic relations'237
rather than simply as Imperial citizens united against a common foreign
enemy. Militant minorities gained an appreciative social following as
both radical and revolutionary mass action was advocated and sometimes
The ideological dissonance and social conflict thereby engendered led inexorably to the crisis of peace. The strategic situation in this period, as Connell and Irving remark, was 'ruling class resistance to working class mobilization.' Although in terms of executive power, ruling class controls had never been stronger, in terms of maintaining a consensus socially for its moral, political and cultural values, ruling class prospects had perhaps never looked grimmer. The tactics of overt force had therefore rapidly replaced those of constant persuasion. Radicals and aliens were not simply verbally maligned in this period, but were increasingly scapegoated and violently attacked, as striking workers also were confronted and physically subdued.

In Queensland, the contours of loyalty and disloyalty, which framed these class and ethnic struggles were most starkly defined. There, loyalists secured allegiance from a wider sector of British-born residents than in any other State, while key alien minorities, such as Germans, Russians and Southern Europeans were numerically larger and hence, more socially 'visible' than elsewhere. Furthermore, although Queensland's economy depended upon the smallest industrial base, its radical movements had flourished during the war, whereas, elsewhere, they had been weakened by official attack. In this respect, the existence of a State Labor Government in Queensland was crucial, for, in balancing its commitment both to war involvement and social reconstruction after 1915, it had been unprepared to prosecute local radicals in the manner demanded by the Federal Government. This reticence had become especially marked after pragmatic alliances had been forged between the State Government and the radicals during the conscription conflicts. As a consequence, Queensland's militants gained the formidable reputation of being near the head of the revolutionary vanguard in Australia.
The loyalists' subsequent resort to extreme extra-legal actions in Queensland to combat this threat was enhanced by their belief that the local State apparatus was not at their service as it was in the other, non-Labor States. Loyalist paranoia and violence against foreigners and revolutionaries was thereby intensified, as was a tendency for the Commonwealth, through its Intelligence, Military and Censorship machinery to intervene in the subsequent disputes. The Labor Government, however, did not foresee the same advantages in confronting this loyalist onslaught as it had in opposing conscriptionists during the war. Instead, as a parliamentary, reformist party, it preferred tactically to see the adventurist, revolutionary wing of the labour movement curbed and depleted by the loyalist attack. The rank and file ultimately chose the paths of caution and not revolution as they continued to follow their industrial leaders and political masters in the elusive pursuit of gradual social amelioration rather than sudden 'deliverance'. For the present, the battle cries of the routed militants were lost beneath loud boasts of Imperial and racial chauvinism, and the persistent, beguiling recall of 'careless laughter on Anzac beach.'
Chapter Eight: Footnotes

1. Telegraph, 1 July 1919.

2. For Australians, issued by the For Australia League, Melbourne, 14 October 1919, Fryer Ms 40/F.16.

3. H.G. Dering, Sofia to Earl Curzon, 7 September 1920, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/2, item S.C.294.


5. Daily Mail, 5 November 1918.


7. S. O'Neill, Brisbane to M. O'Neill, Innisfail, 14 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2362.

8. Brisbane Courier, 15 November 1918.


11. Ibid., 8 November 1918; Censor's Notes, 16 October & 13 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2074, Q.F.2310 respectively.


13. Sergeant Rudledge to Commissioner of Police, 28 November 1918, QSA PRE/A635, in-letter no. 9450 of 1919; Brisbane Courier, 30 November 1918; British Australasian, 12 December 1918, p.8; Ryan V. The Mercury, Hobart, Libel Case 1921, in J.S. Griffiths' Cutting Book.


15. Ibid., 9 & 13 November 1918.


17. Brisbane Courier, 8 November 1918, 28 & 29 November 1918, 1 & 11 January 1919.

18. The Triad, 10 January 1919.

20. Ibid., 13, 14, 18 & 30 November 1918; Croydon Mining News, 9 December 1918.


23. National Leader, 15 November 1918; Triad, April and May 1919.


25. J. Sadler, Melbourne to Mrs Hirschfeld, Brisbane, 15 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2401.


27. Drill Chips, November 1918; Censor's Notes, 11 January 1919, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.5849.

28. Smith's Weekly, 2 & 9 April 1921, 22 & 29 April 1922; Hardware and Machinery, 1 January 1919 & 6 May 1920; Triad, September 1919.

29. Brisbane Courier., 23 November 1918; Lone Hand, 26 January 1920. In December 1920, a German resident of Queensland for 11 years wrote to the Premier of the tribulations of himself and his family of three: '... every place where we come they hate Germans. This year I got the sack. They wouldn't work with me because I was a German. I can't say they are all bad - a big lot is still good to us. Here is a man in this town, he is after me the third time and call me dirty, stinking, rotten German B——. I never said this man a word ... One thing is: In free Australia we can't walk free ... and then we can't get work. This is the hardest time I got in my life. One loaf Bread a day.' J. Van. Doorn, Stannery Hills to Premier's Department, 9 December 1920, QSA PRE/A679, in-letter no. 11335 of 1920.

31. M. Perks, 'Labour and the Governor-General's Recruiting Conference, Melbourne, April 1918', Labour History, 34, 1978, p.31; L.F. Fitzhardinge, The Little Digger 1914-1952: William Morris Hughes. A Political Biography, II, London, 1979, pp.400-410; Murphy, op. cit., p.581; Indeed, officially, anti-Japanese sentiment had never seriously abated. In January 1917, and again in April and September 1918, the Governor-General warned of Japan's 'policy of peaceful penetration', drawing attention to alleged Japanese claims 'to rule Australia or a great portion of it.' PRO C0418/157, I, 1917, p.6; C0418/169, I, 1918, p.328; C0418/170, I, 1918, p.184 respectively. Similarly, in February 1917, Lieutenant-Colonel R.S. Sands, a Company Director and Commandant of German 'Concentration Camps' in Australia, 1914-16, presented a secret report on the Japanese question to the Federal Government, in which he contended: '... every Jap abroad is a potential spy, either military or industrial ... the character of the Jap himself savors of the Hun.' He continued: 'The man of the street knows that Japan is ever knocking at Australia's door ... He knows there is a danger but he does not realize the clutching yellow hand which is just at the present moment not mailed but which is busy gradually placing stepping stones for its countless millions to walk over when the time is propitious. The united opinion of all the leading diplomats and business men in Japan today is that Australia is the ultimate objective.' Sands, who claimed that he was being closely shadowed by 'a certain Japanese' who had been pointed out to him by Prime Minister Hughes himself, had 'every confidence' of the Commonwealth Government, the Governor-General averred. PRO C0418/157, I, 1917, pp.232-259.

32. Daily Mail, 11 February 1919, extract in Australian Archives, Defence, Accession BP4, item 66/5/221; J.J. Stable, 'Review of Industrial and Political Situation in Queensland', 9 February 1919, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/5, item S.C. 5[1].

33. Bulletin, 10 August 1922, Censor's Notes, 26 October 1918, 8 February, 12 April & 10 May 1919, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2195, Q.F.3925, Q.F.2123, Q.F.4209 respectively.

34. The Rising Sun, 15 April 1919; Lone Hand, March 1919; 'Secret Service', Queer Queensland: The Breeding Ground of the Bolshevik, October 1918, p.69.

35. For Australians, op. cit., p.2.


37. Report of the Aliens Committee, 10 December 1918. Members of this body were Senator G. Fairbairn, Chairman, Atlee Hunt, Major Oakley, G.S. Knowles and Major E.L. Piesse of Military Intelligence, Australian Archives, Attorney-General's Department, Accession CP406/1. See also Governor-General to Secretary of State for Colonies, 5 January 1920, Aliens Registration Act No. 97, 26 June 1919, PRO CO418/176, January-June 1919, pp.333-334.
38. P.M. Argus, Q.R.U., Ipswich to T. Moroney, Brisbane, 22 October 1918; Censor's Notes, 30 October 1918; Ipswich Workshops Combined Industrial Unions Conference to Daily Standard, 6 November 1918; Censor's Notes, 13 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2236, Q.F.2318 respectively.


41. File on Unemployed Workers, 1918-20, QSA PRE/A651, in-letter no. 1529 of 1920; Brisbane Courier, 12, 20 & 26 November 1918.

42. Brisbane Courier, 24 January 1919; Detective-Sergeant T.J. McNaulty to Commissioner of Police, Report on Unemployed Meeting, 23 December 1918, QSA COL/A1134, in-letter no. 274 of 1919.

43. E. Williams, Townsville to W. Jackson, Brisbane, 14 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2155; Captain Purvis to Captain Wood, 20 January 1919, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession BP4/1, item 66/5/115.


47. J.J. Stable, 'Review of Industrial and Political Situation in Queensland', 9 February 1919, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/3, item S.C. 5[1].

48. T. Trumble to The Secretary, P.M. Department, 2 January 1919, with enclosure, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/3, item S.C. 5[1].


54. Urquhart to Brookes, 9 September 1918, in Botham, op. cit., pp. 34-36.


56. 'List of Disloyalists in Brisbane', enclosure with Brigadier-General Lee to Secretary, Department of Defence, 11 October 1918, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession BP4/1, item 66/4/3035.

57. F. Urquhart, notes 30 November 1918, quoted in Botham, op. cit., p. 36.

58. Urquhart to Brookes, 23 February 1919, in Botham op. cit., p. 38.


62. National Leader, 31 May 1918. The Nationalist vote fell from 47.02% in 1915 to 44.62% in 1918.

63. National Leader, 16 November 1917.

64. J.J. Stable to Deputy Chief Censor, 21 September 1918, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/3, item S.C. 5[1]. Stable, 'Review of Industrial and Political Situation', op. cit.

65. L. Kelly, Australian Distrib. Trades Fed. to T. Buchanan, Shop Assistants' Union, 22 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2221.

66. J.F. Maxwell, Queensland Employers' Federation speech, 30 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2252.

67. T. Thorpe, North Queensland Employers' Association to T.J. Ryan, 31 October & 1 November 1918, QSA COL/A1165, in-letter no. 9989 of 1919.


69. Commissioner Urquhart to H. Brookes, 23 February 1919, in Botham, op. cit., p. 38.

71. National Leader, June 1919.

72. G. Taylor, Australian Comrades of War to T.J. Ryan, 27 August 1918, QSA PRE/A599, in-letter no. 9833 of 1918; G. Taylor, Deputation to T.J. Ryan, 30 August 1918, QSA PRE/A605, in-letter no. 12164 of 1918; The Militant, 1 January 1919.


75. The Limber Log, 1917, p.3; Aussie, March & April 1919.

76. Aussie, April 1919; Triad, 10 May 1919.

77. The Lone Hand, June 1917.

78. 'Secret Service', op. cit., p.47; National Leader, 6 September & 20 December 1918.

79. L. Lee, France to G. Blakeman, Neutral Bay, 21 September 1918, 'Letters Written on Active Service', Mitchell Ms. AL.

80. S. Randall, H. Swanson and A. Harris, Palestine to Secretary, B.I.C., 12 September 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2574.


82. Daily Mail, 9 September 1918.


84. 'Secret Service', op. cit., pp.25-26; Brisbane Courier, 26 March 1919; Captain R. Hayes to Chief of General Staff, 27 September 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Accession CP447/3, item S.C. 5[1]; Daily Mail, 10 September 1918.


86. Ibid., 18 October & 14 November 1918.

87. Lieutenant-Colonel J. Walker to Adjutant-General, 13 December 1918, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/3, item S.C. 5[1]; Brisbane Courier, 15 & 16 November 1918.

88. J. Harlan to Commissioner of Police, 19 October 1918; W. Huxley, Secretary, A.W.U., Hughenden to T.J. Ryan, 7 November 1918, QSA COL/A1165, in-letter no. 8892 of 1918.

89. E. Campbell, Hughenden to B. Matthias, Sydney, 4 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2317.

91. Brisbane Courier, 21 October 1918.

92. E. Campbell to B. Matthias, 4 November 1918, op. cit.


94. Brisbane Courier, 21 October 1918.

95. A.E. Eastcrabb, Hughenden to General Secretary, Q.R.U., Brisbane, 21 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2287.

96. J. Harlan to Commissioner of Police, 22 October 1918, QSA COL/A1165, in-letter no. 8892 of 1918.

97. E.G. Theodore to Commissioner of Police, 22 October 1918, ibid.; Captain Purvis to Captain Wood, 30 October 1918, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession BP4/1, item 66/5/115.

98. Brisbane Courier, 22 & 25 October 1918; 'Paddy', Hughenden to A.E. Eastcrabb, Brisbane, 3 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2306.


100. T.J. Mills, Queensland Loyalty League to State Commandant, 24 October 1918, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession BP4/1, item 66/4/5035; T.J. Mills to Secretary, Returned Soldiers League, Hughenden, 24 October 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2209.


102. Daily Standard, 22 October 1918; Brisbane Courier, 21 October 1918.

103. Brisbane Courier, 25 October 1918; 'Secret Service', op. cit., p.42. Inspector Quinn of Townsville similarly encouraged mob action when he predicted, "Citizens will co-operate in ridding the town of these parasites ... if the government does not take action ... it will not be surprising if the people themselves take action and 'move them on' as they were 'moved on in America'." Daily Mail, 1 November 1918.

104. T. Thorpe, North Queensland Employers' Association, to T.J. Ryan, 31 October & 1 November 1918, QSA COL/A1165, in-letter no. 8892 of 1918.


109. Governor-General to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 23 January 1919. The others listed were M. Brodsky, V. Petruchiana and P. Bikunoff, Australian Archives, Gov. Gen., Accession CP78/22, item 1921/67.

110. Knowledge and Unity, 26 July 1919; Brisbane Courier, 1 February 1919; Daily Standard, 2 April 1919; George Taylour maintained that this raid was 'the main cause of the second demonstration being held on March 23.'

111. Brisbane Courier, 1, 2 & 3 April 1919; Telegraph, 18 March 1919.


113. Censor's Notes, 20 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2298; Argus, 25 March 1919.

114. Worker, 30 January 1919; R. Frederick, Methodist Conference, 5 March 1919, QSA PRE/A617, in-letter no. 2238 of 1919; Daily Mail, 11 February 1919.

115. Censor's Notes, 20 November 1918, Australian Archives, Intelligence, First Military District, Q.F.2398.


123. The Proletarian, 8 March 1919; Knowledge and Unity, 22 March 1919.


130. Knowledge and Unity, 26 July 1919.


132. Knowledge and Unity, 26 July 1919; Botham, op. cit., p.2.

133. The Age, 24 March 1919.

134. Botham, op. cit., p.3. This information is based on an interview with Don Griffith, Jennie Scott-Griffiths' son.


136. Ryan V. The Mercury, Hobart, 1921. Libel Action in J.S. Griffiths' Cutting Book. Ellis additionally seems to have been working as an agent for the Federal Government. In 1949 he told the Victorian Royal Commission into Communism 'that his career as an anti-communist student began in 1918 at the request of the Commonwealth Directorate of War Propaganda'. McQueen in Wheelwright and Buckley, op. cit., p.203, fn. 20.
137. *Knowledge and Unity*, 26 July 1919.


139. H. McQueen, *Social Sketches of Australia 1888-1975*, Penguin, 1978, p.92; H.I. Jensen, 'The Darwin Rebellion', *Labour History*, no. 11, 1966, pp.5-13. Although Jensen depicts the 'uprising' as 'involving no bloodshed at all', official reports on the Darwin troubles reveal a higher degree of conflict than his account displays. The Governor-General's reports for 1919 reveal two separate and distinct Darwin risings, the first against the administration of Dr Gilruth in December 1918 and the second against an interim administration of H.E. Carey, of Vestey's, Judge Bevan and the Government Secretary, R.J. Evans in October 1919. A third administration, under Lieutenant Staniforth-Smith, ex-A.I.F. and Administrator of Papua managed to restore order in December 1919, only with the aid of thirty mounted constables, all ex-soldiers. Significantly, unrest was blamed principally upon a 'large foreign element' of 'labour extremists', principally Russians. See Gov-Gen. to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 25 December 1918, PRO CO418/169, 1918, pp.496-497; Gov.-Gen. Affairs Reports, 1 April 1919, 22 October 1919 & 26 November 1919, PRO CO418/176, January-June 1919, p.184, p.449; July-December, 1919, pp.415-416, p.444.


141. *Knowledge and Unity*, 26 July 1919.


148. R. James, 'Report on Demonstration of 24/3/19 held by Returned Sailors and Soldiers, assisted by loyal citizens of Brisbane, as a protest against the disloyal element at present existing in and around Brisbane.' Australian Archives, Defence, Accession MP367, File 512/1/898; Brisbane *Courier*, 25 March 1919.


155. Returned Soldier Deputations, 25 March 1919; Brigadier-General Irving to Secretary, Department of Defence, 26 March 1919, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession MP367, File 512/1/898.


158. The Argus, 26 March 1919; Daily Standard, 26 March 1919; Brisbane Courier, 26 March 1919.

159. G. Brown, N.D.C. to Acting P.M., 26 March 1919; Weatherill, Chamber of Commerce to Acting P.M., 26 March 1919; G.H. Pritchard, United Cane Growers Association to Acting P.M., 26 March 1919; E.B. Corser to Acting P.M. 27 March 1919; H.S. Fo11 to Acting P.M., 29 March 1919; T. Givens to Acting P.M., 27 March 1919; G.H. Mackay and J.G. Bayley to Acting P.M., 25 March 1919; Senator Crawford to Acting P.M., 2 April 1919, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession MP367, File 512/1/898.

160. Secretary, P.M. Department to Dr Guy L'Estrange, 26 March 1919, ibid.

161. G. Russell, Defence to Acting P.M., 4 April 1919; G.G. Irving to Secretary, Department of Defence, 25 March 1919, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/3, item S.C. 5[1].

162. 'Precis of Demonstrations at Brisbane re Bolsheviks', undated, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession MP367, File 512/1/898; G. Russell, Memo, 8 April 1919, Australian Archives P.M. Department, Accession CP447/3, item S.C. 5[1]. Zuzenko eventually found his way back to the U.S.S.R. and subsequently became the master of a Soviet vessel. See Botham, op. cit., p.56.

163. G. Russell to District Command, Brisbane, 27 March 1919; Brigadier-General Irving to Secretary, Defence, 8 April 1919, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession MP367, File 512/1/898; Russell to Acting P.M., 29 March 1919, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/3, item S.C. 5[1].

164. Age, 17 February 1919; Gov.-Gen. to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1 April 1919, Australian Archives, Gov.-Gen., Accession CP78/22, item 1921/67.
165. G. Russell to Acting P.M., 4 April 1919, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/3, item S.C. 5[1]; Brigadier-General Irving to Secretary of Defence, 16 April 1919, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession MP367, File 512/1/898.

166. Brisbane Courier, 1 April 1919; Daily Standard, 31 March 1919.

167. Daily Standard, 2, 3, 4 & 5 April 1919; Brisbane Courier, 3, 4 & 5 April 1919.

168. Comptroller-General of Prisons to Director, State Children's Department, 25 April 1919, QSA COL/A1154, in-letter no. 5916 of 1919; Brisbane Courier, 9 & 15 April 1919; Daily Standard, 8 May & 9 July 1919; Joseph Doyle of Samsonvale was gaol upon the charge of flying a red flag upon a different occasion from the March demonstration.

169. Brisbane Courier, 8, 10, 15 & 16 April 1919.

170. Ibid., 26 March & 1 April 1919; Telegraph, 28 March 1919; Daily Standard, 4 April 1919; Worker, 10 April 1919.

171. Brisbane Courier, 24 April 1919.

172. Ibid., 26 April & 5 May 1919; National Leader, May 1919; Editor, National Leader to Home Secretary, 28 April 1919, QSA COL/A1154, in-letter no. 5310 of 1919; Knowledge and Unity, 26 July 1919; Daily Standard, 4 April 1919.


175. Brisbane Courier, 7 April 1919; Daily Mail, 7 April 1919; Constable Rowe and Constable Kiddeil reports, 7 April 1919, QSA COL/A1148, in-letter no. 4256 of 1919.

176. National Leader, April 1919.


179. Brisbane Courier, 26 March, 3 April & 3 May 1919. Bolingbroke would later lead returned soldiers in violent action against 'undesirables' at Charleville (December 1919); an interesting case of further soldier violence occurred on 28 March 1919 in the vestibule of the Courier building, when a mob, led by returned soldiers attacked H. Nicoll of the Daily Standard, who was wearing a Red Flag badge. Nicoll escaped by holding them at bay with a revolver, and later, hiding for an hour on the fire escape of the Q.I.A. club rooms. Significantly, Police Commissioner Urquhart's comment upon the incident was: 'This Nicoll is a troublesome and turbulent person and if not restrained will cause serious trouble.' Acting Sergeant Warner Report, 28 March 1919, QSA COL/A1148, in-letter no. 3961 of 1919.

181. 'Maritime Dispute - Seamen's Strike', Summary of Events, 1919, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP703/22, Item 6; see also R. Morris, 'Mr Justice Higgins Scuppered: The 1919 Seamen's Strike', Labour History, 37, 1979, pp.52-62. Morris points out that this strike was the longest in the 'brief, post-war era of intensified, almost proto-revolutionary industrial conflict' (p.52).


183. Cairns Post, 6 June 1919.

184. Worker, 28 January 1919.

185. Brigadier-General Irving to Department of Defence, Melbourne, 11 April 1919, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession MP367, File 512/1/898.

186. Unsigned, Brisbane to Kalashnikoff, Brisbane General Hospital, 24 March 1919; C. Galchin, Brisbane to Rosenberg, Sydney, 5 April 1919 in ibid. In relation to Galchin's phraseology, it is interesting to note that Vere Gordon Childe also refers to the loyalist activities as 'Red Flag Riots and Pogrom by Soldiers', Childe, op. cit., XXI.

187. Brisbane Courier, 1 April 1919; J. Egan, Bundaberg to T.J. Ryan, 10 June 1919; M. Reinschmidt, Brisbane to T.J. Ryan, 11 July 1919; P. Borrmakin, Bundaberg to T.J. Ryan, 28 May 1919, QSA PRE/A626, in-letters 6186, 6701 and 7140 consecutively.

188. Brigadier-General Irving to Minister of Defence, 27, 28 & 29 March 1919 and replies. The Governor-General praised Theodore's actions as being 'quite satisfactory ... in spite of his past association with the extreme Labor Movement.' Affairs Report, 1 April 1919, PRO CO418/176, January-June 1919, p.184.


190. D. Burns, South Brisbane to P. Laidler, Melbourne, 3 April 1919, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession MP367, File 512/1/898.


192. Declaration of the Brisbane Industrial Council on the Recent Disturbances, Brisbane, 16 April 1919.

194. Commissioner Urquhart to Home Secretary, 24 April 1919, QSA COL/A1152, in-letter no. 4961 of 1919.


196. Brisbane Courier, 6 May 1919; Daily Standard, 5 May 1919.

197. Daily Standard, 12 May 1919; Knowledge and Unity, 26 July 1919 pointed out that Frank Page, Secretary of the Metropolitan District Council refused to grant any money to the Workers' Defence Committee as it was 'outside the scope of the Council's activities.'

198. Murphy, op. cit., pp.426-428; The Telegraph, 30 June 1919; Melbourne Socialist, 8 August 1919.

199. Comptroller General of Prisons to Director, State Children's Department, 25 April 1919, QSA COL/A1154, in-letter no. 5916 of 1919; Agent's Report on Dutton Park picnic, 19 July 1919, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/2, item S.C. 294/22.


202. Soldiers Halt! Reed, Study or Be Damned! May 1919, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, CP447/2, item S.C. 294.

203. 'Our Brisbane Budget', Melbourne Socialist, 8 August 1919.

204. Sergeant J. Corbett to Deputy Commissioner of Police, 18 August 1919, QSA PRE/A634, in-letter no. 8985 of 1919.


206. Rymer and Sampson interview, op. cit., p.24; Lane, op. cit., p.103.

207. Cutler, op. cit., p.87, pp.91-92; Phillips, op. cit., p.70, p.80.

208. G.W. Bellamy, Greta to M. Kelly, Townsville, 14 April 1919, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession BP4/1, item 66/5/115.


211. Commissioner of Police to Inspector King, 2 June 1919; Cabinet decision, 4 June 1919; Inspector King to Commissioner of Police, 5 June 1919 and reply, QSA COL/A1162, in-letter no. 8986 of 1919.

212. Commissioner of Police to Police Stations, Toowoomba, Roma, Maryborough, Cairns, etc., 30 June & 1 July 1919 and subsequent correspondence, QSA COL/A1162, in-letter no. 8986 of 1919.

213. Inspector King to Commissioner Urquhart, 30 June 1919; Urquhart to King, July 1919, etc., ibid.


216. Captain Birtles, Townsville to Captain Wood, Brisbane, 6 November 1919, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession BP4/1, item 66/5/115.

217. 'Industrial Unrest', Townsville, August 1919, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession BP4/1, item 66/5/115; Inspector King to Commissioner Urquhart, 31 August 1919, QSA PRE/A663, in-letter no. 5560 of 1919.

218. Lists of Russians, Finns and Poles, Agitators, Propagandists and Socialists, compiled for the information of ... E.G. Theodore, Acting Premier, October 1919, QSA PRE/A639, in-letter no. 10583 of 1919.

219. King and Empire Alliance, Brisbane to Senator J. Adamson and Lieutenant-Colonel D.C. Cameron P.M., March 1920. This communication emphasized the 'contamination' of British workers by 'disloyal aliens, principally Russians' whose ways were 'insidious' and whose numbers were 'very difficult to find out.' Australian Archives, Defence, File 502/2/69; Captain G.H. Pitt-Rivers, 'Memorandum on the Revolutionary Movement in Australia', 1921, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, CRS A1606, item B5/1, Part 3, reproduced in Hall, *op. cit.*, pp.213-218; K. Richmond, 'Reactions to Radicalism: Non-Labour Movements, 1920-9', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 5, 1979, pp.50-63; G. Henderson, 'The Deportation of Charles Jerger', *Labour History*, 31, 1976, p.77.

220. *Lone Hand*, December 1920; Official Secretary, Australia House to Secretary, P.M. Department, 19 May 1921, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/2, item S.C. 294; Workers' Education Association, Queensland to P.M. Hughes, 26 October 1921, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, CRS/A457, File 745/1; G. Taylor, *The Soldier*, to Secretary, P.M. Department, 27 January 1922; Acting Secretary, R.S.S.I.L.A., Melbourne to P.M. Department, 15 September 1921; Comptroller Gen. Department to P.M. Department, 28 May 1921, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, CRS/A457, item D514/1; P. Coleman, *Obscenity, Blasphemy, Sedition: Censorship*


222. Atlee Hunt, Home and Territories Department, Memo. 16 January 1920, Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/3, item S.C.23[2].


224. Commissioner Urquhart, Memo. 21 August 1920, QSA PRE/A674, in-letter no. 9140 of 1920; *Report of the Aliens Committee*, Australian Archives, Attorney-General, Accession CP406/1. For details of the Paul Freeman case, see his Department of Defence file and subs. in Australian Archives, P.M. Department, CP447/2, item S.C.292; also, 'Report of Address Given by Mr Percy Brookfield, M.L.A. - N.S.W. at Townsville on 4 Nov. 1919', Australian Archives, Defence, Accession BP4/1, item 66/5/115.

225. Secretary, Defence to Peter Simonoff, Sydney, 19 March 1920, Australian Archives, Defence, Accession MP367/1, File 502/2/82; Governor-General to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 29 July 1919, PRO CO418/177, July-October 1919, p.57; Secretary, P.M. Department to Secretary, Governor-General, 23 February 1921; Governor-General to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 3 June 1920, Australian Archives, Gov.-Gen. Department, Accession CP78/22, File 1921/67.

226. Earle Page Memo., 9 November 1923; Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CRS/A458, item G156/2; Scott, *op. cit.*, p.137.


229. Brisbane Courier, 3 December 1919; Constable Harlan to Commissioner of Police, 3 & 23 December 1919. By 29 December, 40 police had been stationed at Charleville to suppress the disturbances. QSA COL/A1178, in-letter no. 89 of 1920.

230. See, for instance, 'Light-Horseman', N.Q. to Sir H.G. Chauvel, November 1922, that communists 'of high intelligence in the north' were 'engaged in spreading Propaganda among the Army, relative to their proposed mad revolution.' Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP407/2, item S.C.294; in 1920, the Sydney *Sun* compared the pernicious influence of Communism to that of Futurism, Cubism and Dadaism, all leading 'ignorant young men's steps into criminal paths': quoted in
In March 1921, the Director of Intelligence, Scotland Yard called for monthly reports on the 'Communist or Extreme Section' of the labour movement in each State (Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/2, item S.C.294); Following this, in December 1921, a summary of Communism in Australia emphasized its particular success in Queensland. Cairns and Townsville were 'hot-beds of "rebels"', it was alleged, while a new branch had been formed in Childers. In Brisbane, an 'inner Communist group' had been formed under the control of a Russian, Lagutin 'and a few other dangerous men, on the ground that some of the members are not militant enough.' At its first meeting on 27 November 1921, the former executive was expelled for advocating 'use of the "political machine".' The attraction of unemployed returned soldiers, feeling 'the pinch of hunger' to the doctrines of Communism was feared, although it was confidently asserted that 'the real A.I.F. men' would remain 'untainted'. A following report on 'Communist Movements in Australia' emphasized: 'The chief breeding grounds of Communist activity are Sydney and Brisbane, and from these capitals a very aggressive campaign is being carried on in country centres. Queensland, which has a population particularly amenable to revolutionary doctrines, is being systematically worked and will become a danger zone should any eruption occur.' (My emphasis.) North Queensland was the place of 'intensive propaganda', it was claimed, for 'the propagandists who have been working there are amongst the most subtle and plausible; their reports that whole districts have "gone Communist" may well be largely true.' Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CP447/2, item S.C.292[1].

231. Kristianson (op. cit., p.13) mentions riots in Adelaide, November 1918, Brisbane, March 1919, Fremantle, May 1919 and Melbourne, July 1919. G. Souter deals in more detail with 'fierce conflicts' which made '1919 ... the strangest, most violent year the Commonwealth had known.' He describes clashes in Brisbane, Townsville, Queenstown and Melbourne. See G. Souter, Lion and Kangaroo: The Initiation of Australia 1901-1919, Sydney, 1976, pp.286-298; McQueen, in turn, deals with clashes in Brisbane, Ararat, Fremantle, Melbourne and Darwin. H. McQueen, Social Sketches of Australia 1888-1975, Penguin, 1978, pp.90-92; and 'Shoot the Bolshevik! Hang the Profiteer! Reconstructing Australian Capitalism, 1918-21', in E.L. Wheelwright and K. Buckley, Essays in the Political Economy of Australian Capitalism, Sydney, 1978, pp.194-195; see also file on 'Disloyalty Burning of Union Jack in Sydney Domain, 1st May 1921', Australian Archives, P.M. Department, Accession CRS A457, item G514/1; Colonial Office records provide evidence of further disorder during 1919. Australian soldiers, homeward bound on the Nestor, Leicestershire and other ships rampaged through Colombo in January 1919; a 'chaotic disturbance' was reported from Sydney in January also, involving 'local Bolsheviks'; soldier riots in Melbourne in February were accompanied by 'mutinous action' by soldiers and sailors on the Kamaïa and Somall in Port Phillip Bay. Queensland and Northern Territory riots were reported in April, while unrest at Fremantle ('one man killed and others wounded') as well as the national shipping strike, extending from Queensland, was the substance of the Governor-General's May Communications. In July he reported the court martial of 5 ratings of H.M.A.S. Australia in June for


233. H. McQueen, 'The Social Character of the New Guard', Arena, 40, pp.67-86; K. Amos, The New Guard Movement 1921-1936, Melbourne, 1976, pp.12-15, pp.95-96; K. Richmond, 'Reaction to Radicalism: Non-Labour Movements 1920-9', Journal of Australian Studies, 5, 1979, pp.50-63. Other such organizations of note include the Scott/Campbell force of 1925, The Old Guard of 1930, the All for Australia League, 1931 and the Order of Silent Knights, 1931-2. In Western Australia, the Blackshirts were formed and in Queensland, the Vigilants. Similarly the King and Empire Alliance had spread to New South Wales in 1920, presaging the formation of the Sane Democracy League, the Constitutional Association, the Argonauts Civic and Political Club (W.A.) and the Douglas Credit Movement.

234. J.A. Philp, Songs of Australian Fascists, Brisbane, circa 1922, esp. pp.4-6.


236. H. McQueen in Wheelwright and Buckley, op. cit., p.203.


CONCLUSION

The tense polarization of Queensland's citizenry into the ranks of loyalty or disloyalty during the Great War presented a puzzle for contemporary observers which they attempted to solve from their various ideological vantage points. An anonymous correspondent to the conservative *Fortnightly Review* in 1919 depicted Queensland as being 'conspicuous among the Australian states' for 'notorious acts and utterances of a disloyal type ... i.e. of tendencies in speech and action which were definitely prejudicial to the State and required rigorous suppression in the public interest.' The writer continued:

Whether such disloyalty was more widespread in Queensland ... or only more articulate, it is impossible to say. But it can be said with certainty that there was a not inconsiderable section of the population which was not interested in the successful prosecution of the war and not averse to saying and doing things which would hinder it. To what causes can this be attributed?

In answering his own question, the correspondent went on to suggest, from a loyalist standpoint, that perhaps 'the existence of propaganda carried on in the enemy interest and financed by enemy money' might be to blame. Secondly, the fact that the *Commonwealth Year Book* revealed that 'Queensland shares with one other State [W.A.] the distinction of having the largest immigrant non-British European population' was mooted as another explanation for the 'considerable amount of genuine and indisputable disloyalty.' 'A "foreign" element of a most undesirable type' had congregated in Queensland, particularly in its northern regions, commented the writer, and their pernicious influence was augmented by 'a large number of disaffected Irish' as well as 'Australians of Irish descent and anti-English sympathies.' Combined with the threat of this enemy and alien presence, the survey detected the existence of 'less desirable elements in the Labour movement':
... those mysterious individuals who are affected by the bias of anti-patriotism and who are incapable of believing anything but the worst of their own country or anything but the best of the countries with which it is in conflict...

This dangerous mélange of foreigners and radicals were protected, in turn, under the mantle of 'the only Labour Government ... in Australia,' which provided them with 'a certain sense of security in making themselves articulate.' The ominous result of their agitations, the writer concluded, was a general cultivation of class-consciousness, the practical outcome of which was, simply, Bolshevism. Referring specifically to the policy of the *Daily Standard*, the article alleged,

... class-consciousness and the class-war have been preached with greater visible success in Queensland than in any other part of Australia ... The result of this is to extend and exacerbate class-feeling, and incidentally to provoke the phenomena of disloyalty ...\(^1\)

This ideological construct, which inter-connected Irish, German and other European minorities with anti-war dissidents and revolutionary agitators, had become a stock loyalist response to the realities of social division and conflict by the closing years of the war. The labour movement, it was confidently argued by the *National Review*, had encouraged the growth of ideas and behaviour which were 'anti-British, anti-Imperial, pro-Irish Republic, pro-Hun and Bolshevik.' A fusion of disloyalty and class-consciousness had led logically on to worker excesses, it was alleged, as when:

... Townsville, the third town of the State was held for many days by a "Red" and riotous mob, and the first of the returned soldiers were greeted by earnest Government supporters in many towns with execration, likewise with expectoration.\(^2\)

Yet, according to the left-wing, pacifist political observer, Vere Gordon Childe, it was the loyalist upholders of capitalism who were the guilty parties in fomenting disturbances and forcing the Labor Government to succumb to their pressures. 'The first reaction of capitalism ... was
the adoption of fascist violence in 1919,' Childe claimed bluntly:

To this end returned soldiers organized by Tory officers and encouraged by the Federal Government ... were employed. The workers were unprepared and the State police insufficient to repel their attacks ... Labour Ministers had to pose as upholders of law and order even at the cost of arresting militants for exhibiting the Red Flag contrary to Federal Law. So when the police at Townsville used firearms to repel an assault by armed strikers upon a non-union meat works, the Home Secretary condoned their conduct and despatched reinforcements to the town. The Minister for Railways suspended some unionists who refused to work the train conveying the extra constables, and only fully re-instated the victims under the cloak of the "Peace" celebrations when the crisis was over.

Since that time, the Labor regime had fallen more and more under the thrall of a 'general capitalist assault,' Childe argued, as pastoral and commercial interests had arranged a London boycott upon State Government loans, intensifying depression and unemployment in Queensland. 'Direct action' by 'the capitalist class' against 'mere constitutionalism' had thus reduced Theodore's Cabinet 'to the position of a subservient managing committee for the bourgeoisie.' For other radical observers, the argument that 'Capitalism does not have a party, it has the state' seemed even more self-evident. As the revolutionary socialist newspaper, *Solidarity* argued in October 1918:

Immediately Labour descends so low as to allow members of its class to occupy the benches in the capitalist's Government, immediately the fighting spirit of Labour vanishes, and the individuality of the workers is sunken in their parliamentary representative ... The history of Labour Governments in Australia is a history reeking with hypocrisy, betrayals and persecutions.

The mutual vituperation and suspicion emanating from the Right and the Left in the post-war era, as well as their contradictory claims that the State had been unscrupulously captured by the forces and ideologies of the opposing side seem to give some validity to Ian Turner's assertion that:
In advanced capitalist societies, it seems possible to argue not that the state is neutral, but that, given the counter-vailing power of the organized working class, it is not necessarily and under all circumstances at the service of capitalism.\(^6\)

In the period under discussion, the role and purpose of the Federal administration seem far more uniform and direct than that of the Queensland State Government. In the Commonwealth sphere, the rapid introduction of military censorship, the implementation of the War Precautions Act with its subsequent plethora of restrictive regulations, the Illegal Associations Acts and Alien Restriction Orders, the processes of internment, disfranchisement and deportation, control of the press and film media and the suppression of civil freedoms, amendments to the Crimes Act and Customs Act, the Counter-Espionage Bureau, the Special Intelligence Bureau, the Commonwealth police, the Directorate of War Propaganda, conscription attempts, strike breaking activities, covert and semi-official involvement with 'anti-subversive' agencies and movements - all such procedures seem to indicate a single-minded approach to such issues as an inflexible war prosecution, working class control and the containment of ethnic minorities. What was lost in the direction of institutional subtlety in the manipulation of collective consciousness was more than compensated for by the imposition of force, proscription and intervention. Over-arching all the normal hegemonic permeations of bourgeois ideology, which articulated 'different visions of the world in such a way that their potential antagonism ... [was] neutralized,'\(^7\) the repressive apparatus of the State imposed a singular world-view, infused with the demands of patriotism, Imperialism and military sacrifice. Obedience was categorically solicited and protest rigorously subdued. Thus, what the Governor-General could candidly view, from the top, as the 'more or less ... secret, or open autocracy' of the Hughes regime was more directly experienced, from below, in the form of repression, as the
'unseemly rattle of bayonets ... and sliding of bolts' were distinctly heard.®

The role of the local State apparatus in Queensland was a more equivocal and vacillating one. This was partially because the Labor government, elected upon a solid working class mandate in 1915, was as dedicated to a detailed platform of social reform as it was to a dogged prosecution of the war effort. Thus, alongside its improvements in areas like insurance, compensation and arbitration, and the expansion of public enterprises, the administration took a leading part in recruitment drives, the co-ordination of patriotic funds, War Loan raising and the spread of loyalist propaganda. It was the first government in Australia to provide the Anzac spirit with an institutional form, while certain Cabinet ministers also actively promoted anti-Germanism. Its police department initially co-operated fully with Commonwealth forces in surveillance, censorship and internment procedures. Furthermore, the Ryan regime closed German schools, dismissed large numbers of German public servants, curbed German-dominated local councils, suspended German Justices of the Peace and seemed fully to endorse rumours about German 'gold', sabotage and espionage.

The Labor government's somewhat hesitant championing of anti-conscription, encouraged by large sections of the trade union movement, the left wing of the party and the radical groups upon its fringe altered for a time the emphases of its war-directed policies, bringing it eventually into overt conflict with the Commonwealth, Nationalist government. After a victorious stand upon two successive occasions as the only government in the Empire to oppose military conscription, it took an increasingly vocal position against the encroachments of censorship, disfranchisement, internment and deportation. Its anti-Germanism became considerably muted and its enthusiasm for recruiting and total victory waned. As it managed
to survive, virtually intact, as the only Labor regime left in the Commonwealth, it fell under increasing attack as a direct fount of disloyalty and as the refractory protector of dangerous radicals and enemy aliens. In reality, its unwillingness to endorse the draconian policies of the Federal government against dissidents did allow for a late flowering and a spirited survival of I.W.W. influence in Queensland after the southern suppressions of 1916-17.

Under Labor rule, the Brisbane Industrial Council persevered as perhaps the most consistently ardent anti-war body in Australia; the Daily Standard remained a most outspoken opponent of capitalism and Imperialism, continually flouting the censorship, and pacifist influences gradually penetrated into the heart of the C.P.E. The Anti-Conscription Campaign Committees, the Labour Volunteer Army and the Universal Freedom League, which all grew out of the conscription struggles, were each manipulated by strongly socialist and syndicalist influences. Yet tension between these radicals and moderates within the A.W.U., the craft unions, the P.L.P., the Cabinet, the Worker office and so on remained acute. Labour protests against Commonwealth censorship and disfranchisement failed. Its anti-internment initiatives in support of certain German and Irish citizens misfired; while its backing of Italian residents against conscription and deportation moves proved abortive. Electoral support and enthusiasm for these minority causes were conspicuously lacking. Alliances forged between moderates and radicals to fight conscription were more pragmatic and opportunistic than ideologically harmonious or, in the long run, tactically sound. During the subsequent 'Bolshevik' scare crisis, such alliances rapidly dissolved. A.W.U. and craft union suspicion of One Big Union principles and Catholic disaffection from atheistic Bolshevism helped to accelerate this trend. As the local Russian community was attacked and hounded by loyalist extremists, and
radical spokespersons were expelled or imprisoned, the mass labour movement remained virtually inactive and, ostensibly, uninvolved. Indeed, under Theodore's Acting Premiership, the Labor government co-operated with the Commonwealth in providing its police force to seek out Russians for deportation, its magistrate's court to hear 'Red Flag' offences against the War Precautions Act and one of its gaols in which to incarcerate the condemned. Its Police Commissioner remained in close contact with Commonwealth Intelligence and covertly encouraged the organized loyalist vigilantes. Special constables were enrolled at Townsville and strike leaders gaoled. Police opened fire upon rioting strikers there, while largely failing to arrest and punish rioting loyalists in Hughenden and Brisbane. The State C.I.B. was soon listing as 'virulent' and 'dangerous' radical and alien members of those very organizations which had recently combined eagerly with the trade union movement, the W.P.O.s and the parliamentary party towards the defeat of conscription. Socialists, pacifists, syndicalists and communists rapidly learned, to their discomfort, that an anti-conscriptionist was not necessarily an anti-war activist; and that even restiveness with war's prolongation did not necessarily imply anti-Imperialism or anti-capitalism. Labor's commitment to parliamentary reformism as well as its grasp upon the reins of power clearly spelt anathema to revolutionary zeal. Similarly, its ideological, cultural and emotional identification with a white and British Australia meant that its recognition of the non-white and non-British segments of the working class was slight and, usually, spiritless.

The precepts of nationalism, militarism and racism had penetrated deeply into the labour movement long before the war years, despite the survival of a tenacious minority tradition emphasizing class consciousness, socialism and internationalism. Queensland workers, despite their
material grievances seemed invariably more aware of their British heritage and their whiteness than they were of their standing in relation to the mode of production. They appeared far more concerned over racial threats from the North than they were about complaints against capitalism. Pre-war emergencies like Boer War involvement and an alleged Asian invasion crisis intensified military, patriotic and xenophobic tendencies, encouraging a strong commitment to national defence, compulsory military training and a White Australia. Socialist and syndicalist groups remained small and their immediate impact upon consciousness was limited, as the Brisbane 'Free Speech' struggle of 1913-15 demonstrated. Yet their strategical importance in providing an alternative ideological message to the consensual emphases of bourgeois hegemony, or the meliorist approach of labourism was quite significant. Employer groups and conservative politicians seemed fully to realize this by the intensity of their anti-socialist campaigns and their continual uneasiness about the potential for crisis in local industrial relations. When such crises did erupt, as in the 1911 sugar strike or the 1912 Brisbane General Strike, a consciousness of specific grievances among workers as well as the experience of confrontation itself seemed to provide more substance to the doctrines of class conflict. Thus, in times of social emergency or of deteriorating socio-economic conditions, revolutionary ideologies assumed greater authenticity and persuasiveness, despite hegemonic denials about the existence of separate class identities.

The major crisis of total war involvement seemed initially to overwhelm the radical sects by the urgency and stridency of its calls for loyalty, sacrifice and uniform commitment. Class interests were ignored, as military, Imperial and nationalistic demands gained precedence. Yet the war crisis carried on its own unbearable burden of hardship, bitterness and regret, especially for the working class. As wages were
frozen, prices and unemployment soared, and civil restrictions were introduced, wage-labourers learned that sacrifice was not necessarily uniform, and that loyalty could be repressive as well as noble. As casualties and bereavement mounted, and disenchantment spread, pacifist messages about the horrors of warfare became more appealing and plausible. Similarly, as industrial conditions worsened and strike activity escalated, socialist arguments and syndicalist strategies politicized larger sectors of the workforce. Two attempts to introduce military conscription in a society already polarizing over war commitment, and the widespread turmoil these moves engendered, accelerated the processes of disillusion, alienation and resistance. Yet the manner in which workers drew 'political conclusions from their economic experiences' was neither direct nor immediate. As Simon Clarke notes:

People do not experience oppression and exploitation immediately as class oppression and exploitation; they experience it in a series of fragmented and differentiated forms: as exploitations and oppressions imposed by specific individuals through specific institutions. In resisting ... the working class gradually, but always incompletely and imperfectly realizes a practical unity, as workers begin to organize on a progressively wider basis. Thus the fragmentation of the individual experience gives way to the unity of class consciousness ... But this achievement of a practical unity is always incomplete, provisional and precarious ...

In Queensland, the severe pressures of warfare and the ongoing threat of conscription combined to produce, for a time, this sense of heightened struggle; and, especially after the example of the Russian Revolution had been absorbed, a sense of that struggle as a class struggle among sections of the working class. Ian Turner comments upon this process:

The experience of the labour movements of various countries suggests that it is only under rare and exceptional circumstances (for example, the breakdown of the established social order during war) that a majority or the decisive sections of the working class accept the necessity of radical or revolutionary political action to achieve their objectives.
In Queensland, where the social order did not collapse, although it bent under excessive strain, and where a Labor government attempted to push stubbornly ahead with its platform of reforms, workers *en masse* proved 'reluctant to engage in quixotic outbreaks.' Committed radicals, however, seemed seduced by pervasive signs of war-weariness, anti-conscription mobilizations and unprecedented strike waves into believing that initiatives taken by a revolutionary vanguard might secure widespread grass-roots support. Yet socio-economic suffering did not necessarily imply a reasoned anti-capitalist critique. Nor did war-exhaustion necessarily mean a firm opposition to Imperialism or constitutionalism.

As E.P. Thompson notes:

> What mattered to people was not that it was a capitalism but whether it was a ruthless or tolerable capitalism - whether men were hurled into wars, subject to inquisitions and arbitrary arrest, or allowed some freedom of person and of organization.\(^{12}\)

Thus, many workers mobilized to defeat forcible recruitment and some took a stand against political trials, internment, deportation and the *War Precautions Act*. Yet they were unprepared to sacrifice gains accumulated through parliamentary processes for the heady adventurism of revolution. Radical organizations remained as isolated detachments and, in the fervour of the massive, loyalist anti-Bolshevik mobilizations, emerged as obvious and accessible targets as well. The tens of thousands of citizens in the Protestant associations or who joined the United Loyalist Executive, the King and Empire Alliance, the Returned Soldiers and Citizens Political Federation, the Returned Soldiers and Sailors Imperial League of Australia and so on reveal the greater potential for conservative, populist mobilizations, which the war experience stimulated. Bourgeois and petit-bourgeois sectors of the population, skilled and white-collar workers with 'middle class' aspirations and returned soldiers, alienated from their working class backgrounds by the shared impact of their warfront exposure
were all particularly responsive to crusading musters against the Hun, the shirker and the Bolshevik. Returned soldier violence, escalating from individualized attacks upon Germans, pacifists and radical street meetings, through organized assaults upon anti-conscriptionists by mid-war and on to the formation of right-wing combat leagues to fight revolutionaries after the Armistice represents an important facet in this co-ordination of a combined loyalist assault. For men skilled as 'functionaries ... of destruction' in the trenches led the street skirmishes of 1916-19, successfully putting to rout the supposed 'enemy within our gates.'

The central role played by anti-Germanism in such mobilizations is of especial significance, both ideologically and strategically. Of all the non-British minorities in Queensland, German migrants had perhaps originally been the best received. Yet, upon the outbreak of war, conflict with their parent country had thrown considerable doubt upon their unconditional loyalty to the host society and stereotyping, discrimination and persecution had resulted. This example of ethnic scapegoating closely followed patterns already well established in Australian, and particularly Queensland's race-relations. Blanket derogation of all Germans, the propounding of pseudo-scientific theories to explain their 'frightfulness', mobility-closure, social harassment and political oppression closely reflected earlier precedents of racial interaction in the colony and State. For the war-induced treatment of local Germans not only paralleled pre-war examples of Russophobia, anti-'Dago' antagonisms and general anti-Semitism: Germans were also forcibly interned, just as Aborigines had been - and were being - incarcerated upon special reserves since 1897. Fears of German invasion throughout the War period mirrored Asian invasion scares of a much older vintage. Internally, anti-German scapegoating and rioting peaked in 1915-16 and
1918 much as the violence and hysteria of the anti-Chinese campaign had in 1887-88. Finally, suspect Germans were deported _en masse_ during 1919 in the same manner as Melanesians had been repatriated from Queensland after 1906.

Furthermore, anti-Germanism led to a re-emphasis and a broadening of ethnicity as 'a criterion of status assignment.' Again, Queensland, with the largest number and widest range of non-British peoples experienced the impact of this process most dramatically. Virtually all non-British groups, even of Irish and North European origin fell under an intensified suspicion as a formerly trusted ethnic community was revealed as allegedly bestial, contaminated and traitorous. The Gallipoli withdrawal, the Irish Rebellion, the conscription debates and the Russian Revolution progressively increased ethnic antagonism and polarization, as the focus of xenophobia was constantly shifted and widened. Anti-Germanism, sectarian hatred, anti-Semitism, Maltese and coloured labour scares, invasion fears and Russophobia subsequently spread as the virtues of being white Britishers were more stridently proclaimed. Indeed, radical exploitation of Jewish, Southern European and Asian threats during the conscription struggles reveals how profoundly racism had infused the entire social spectrum as a hegemonic ideology in this period. Internationalism was therefore seriously qualified by widespread fixations upon national homogeneity and racial purity.

Anti-Germanism was also of central importance in the construction of other loyalist bogeys. Radical and pacifist organizations were consistently said to be financed by 'German gold'. I.W.W. links with enemy agents and saboteurs were strongly suspected. Connections between German war aims and the Sinn Fein, the Irish Republican Brotherhood as well as the Russian Bolsheviks were continually drawn. Finally, radical and alien oppositions were linked and integrated in the loyalist mobilizations against Irish
republicans and Russian revolutionaries. Each attack reached its climax in raids upon Irish Nationalist headquarters and the internment of the 'Sinn Fein' seven in 1918, as well as in the riots, arrests, trials, imprisonments and deportations which constituted the 'Red Flag' crisis of 1919. Ethnocentrism, racism and xenophobia were thus closely interlinked, in thought and experience, with anti-republicanism and anti-revolutionary fervour to produce the explosive confrontations which marked the closing years of warfare and the onset of an elusive peace.

Anti-radical, anti-alien campaigns therefore crudely dramatised the virtues of loyalty and the perils of disloyalty before a mass audience. In this amplification, the conservative press took a central part, inciting widespread panic and aggression and channelling it organizationally against key socialist and syndicalist targets, and ethnic scapegoats. The violence and agitation engendered in centres like Brisbane, Townsville, Hughenden, Charleville, Toowoomba, Warwick, Rockhampton, Proserpine and other towns clearly illustrates the accuracy of Connell and Irving's observation that:

... power rested less on consent and more on force than it had done before or was to do later. Strikes and lockouts ... repeatedly turned into riots, police violence against unionists was widespread and several times para-military organizations were formed against the left ...\(^{15}\)

Yet the comparative rawness of these militant improvisations should not disguise their efficacy as trenchant modes of social control and repression. As Orlando Patterson indicates, 'Because [the wage-earner] ... is not normally exposed to naked force, a few blows from a policeman's truncheon or a night in jail works more effectively in breaking up strikes or picketing than does economic force.'\(^ {16}\) The conviction among Queensland loyalists that they did not possess requisite control over the local, 'disloyal' State apparatus, despite the ready compliance of Federal...
Authorities with their demands, merely served to increase their penchant for direct action. Loyalist street warfare and para-military formations among returned soldiers kept worker agitations in the State under restraint and helped forestall the spread of any revolutionary impulses among them. The energies exerted by wage-labourers in this 'brief, postwar era of intensified, almost proto-revolutionary industrial conflict' were thoroughly dissipated and class struggle diffused. The 'Southern Soviet' of Russian workers in Queensland was disbanded, the surviving I.W.W. organization put to rout and the O.B.U. movement undermined. By a combination of Federal and State actions, as well as loyalist and moderate trade union initiatives, the radical challenge in Queensland was effectively quashed. As E.P. Thompson remarks:

... once a certain, climactic moment is passed, the opportunity for a certain kind of revolutionary movement passes irrevocably - not so much because of 'exhaustion', but because more limited reformist pressures, from secure organizational bases, bring evident returns.¹⁸

As revolutionary impulses were curbed, and anarchism and communism branded as threats to all property rights, family life and womanhood, Labor reformism survived, though with increasingly diminishing returns for workers, into the nineteen-twenties. An 'incredibly sustained repression of the revolutionary left'¹⁹ during this decade ensured that wage-earners remained ideologically integrated and attuned to conservative themes of social consensus, national development and law and order. The annual sanctification of the Anzac legend kept nationalism ensconced within the bounds of military and Imperial sacrifice. Nationalist flirtations with republicanism or socialism were debarred. Racism, too, had been greatly enhanced by the war experience and, as ethnic mistrust was enlivened, racial fragmentation and internal conflict among Queensland workers persisted.
The psychological ordeal of the Great War itself - the trauma of tens of thousands of Australians killed and hundreds of thousands more wounded and maimed - produced a postwar society which had been emotionally drained and enfeebled. 'To the children of the Abyss, it is the Abyss that is normal', asserted P.R. Stephensen gloomily of the generation who grew out of the war - 'born since 1914 in the years of calamity and in the Aftermath.' 'Into that Abyss of the Great War and the Great Aftermath,' he wrote in 1936, 'crashed not only ten million and more young human lives but also the Spirit of Man itself, everywhere on the earth, even in Sunny Australia.' For the generation who had endured the conflict, visions of holocaust and human waste now rudely took their place beside those of martial grandeur and patriotic duty. At home, 'capitalist society had not ceased being capitalist society by virtue of the war ...' and the turmoil, divisiveness and disillusionment of the postwar world confounded those who had believed 'war would bring with it a spiritual, communal transformation.' Addressing later Anzac Day gatherings, religious leaders admitted there had been 'no great change save, perhaps, for the worst as a result of the war.' Ex-A.I.F. chaplain, the Reverend E.S. Barry asserted in 1921:

I am prepared to admit that the positive results of the war have been disappointing. We are a disappointed people. Looking back, it seems we were foolish to expect so much; certainly we know now that many of the objects for which the war was professedly waged were mere fictions, pleasanntries of propaganda with which the simple populace was beguiled to its cost.

Disenchantment has produced 'a great reaction', the Reverend C.H. Massey of Warwick added:

Discipline of life is loosened. Sometimes it would seem as if all restraint were thrown aside and all the forces of evil let loose in the world. Archbishop Duhig, presenting his Lenten letter in early 1920
similarly painted a dismal picture of disorder, discontent, strikes, unemployment and vice among Queensland's population. In reply, Knowledge and Unity, former organ of the Russian Workers' Association and now representing the ideals of Queensland's infant Communist movement struck back caustically:

How changed now is the tune of our priests and parsons. During the bloody struggle ... we were told of the wonderful moral uplift of the fight for righteousness, liberty and justice - of the moral cleansing power of war. Now they tearfully declaim about the immorality, vice, crime and industrial unrest raging as if some malign influence had been at work, destroying the good results war ought to have engendered.

Several months later, addressing embittered veteran soldiers, demanding restitution for their warfront suffering and sacrifice, the paper added:

The comradeship of arms has disappeared to be replaced by the old-time distinctions, those many layers of society that divide man from man, making one the Lord, the next, the slave. O, you one-time soldiers under the banner of Democracy, does not this embitter your very hearts ... Were not we, soldier and non-soldier, both promised a cleaner world, a better world? But need it be stressed that we still live in the same drab world? Is there not evidence that drab has become rotten, and health, disease ...?

The grim aftermath of total warfare bequeathed no social millennium upon its participants and victims. Instead, as the advocates of a fundamental reconstruction were penalized and dismissed as fools and dangerous dreamers, the political, cultural and ideological status quo was vigorously defended and the promised foundations of a new social order were never laid.
Conclusion: Footnotes


5. *Solidarity*, 19 October 1918.


7. K. Nield and J. Seed, 'Theoretical poverty or the poverty of theory: British Marxist historiography and the Althusserians', *Economy and Society*, vol. 8, 1979, p.408.


12. Thompson, op. cit., p.71, p.82.


The bulk of the primary documentation used in this thesis is to be found in the 'Official Material: Unpublished' sources listed below. At the Queensland State Archives, almost 600 bundles of letters in the Premier's and Home Secretary's Departments revealed literally thousands of pieces of correspondence relevant to themes pursued in this dissertation. This was augmented by other State departmental files in Queensland, diligent work at the Australian Archives, Canberra, as well as its Brisbane and Brighton, Victoria repositories. Here, files in the Prime Minister's, Defence and Governor-General's correspondence provided the most pertinent insights. Much valuable data was also found in the Public Records Office, Kew, London in despatches from the Queensland Governor and the Governor-General to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Appended Colonial Office memos provide interesting responses to many events occurring within Queensland. Other primary research upon manuscripts, pamphlets, newspapers, journals, cutting books and contemporary literature, reminiscences and the like was undertaken at a range of centres: viz. the Oxley Library, the Fryer Library and the Parliamentary Library, Brisbane; the Mitchell Library, Sydney; the Latrobe Library, Melbourne; the A.N.U. Archives of Business and Labour, Canberra; the British Library, the Royal Commonwealth Society, the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, the Fawcett Library, the Institute of Historical Research and the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

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'Censorship Protest', 1921. CRS/A457 item 745/1.
'Censorship of Films', 1917-23. CRS/A457 item A553/1.
'Disloyalty: Moving Picture Films', 1921. CRS/A457 item H514/1.
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'Unemployment, Assistance to State Governments', 1920.
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