# The Early Days of Queensland Bridge

## **Part Three**

# The Bridge World Divides: Contract and Auction





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# **Contract and Auction**

In the international bridge world, contract and auction coexisted, each with significant numbers of adherents. for about fifty years.

The nature of this co-existence, the rate at which contract replaced auction and the consequences of this for the game's overall popularity, was different in different places.

In much of Europe and possibly South America, contract bridge largely replaced auction very early on—from 1920. In the United States, contract only achieved widespread popularity from the late 1920s. Britain came later as did Australia—but even within Australia, there were differences between the States.

This part looks at the changing balance between contract and auction in Queensland from the late 1920s to the 1930s. It includes the formation of the Queensland Bridge Association and the Brisbane Bridge Club as twin centres of different kinds of competitive bridge.

It is not a story of one game replacing the other but about how the bridge world divided and the consequences of this both for the embryo contract organisations and the bridge world in general.

### Learning About Contract: New Books and American News

From 1927 onwards an increasing amount of information became available on contract bridge.

Cornstalk Press in Sydney published the first Australian edition of a book on contract—RF Foster's *Contract Bridge*.

Over the next four years, there were more occasional references to contract in the newspapers.

Most were mentions of the new books on contract which appear in greater numbers from 1927 onwards, and events in the UK and the USA. Ely Culbertson's challenges and matches were seen as particularly newsworthy.

Very few articles were about how to play the game or



discussions about the play or bidding in contract; and until 1932, there is no evidence of it being played in any clubs. However, people were undoubtedly becoming conscious of the game.

In 1931, the first edition of *Contract Kernels* by the Sydney player, Myra Millingen was published.

Contract Kernels was very favourably reviewed and, although no figures are available, was almost certainly the biggest selling book on contract by an Australian author before the modern era, and second only to Culbertson as the largest selling contract book in Australia of the time.

Mrs Millingen was Secretary of the Australian branch of the British Bridge League, the first attempt to give Australia a voice in world bridge.

She was also one of the key figures behind the formation of the New South Wales Bridge Association and the Australian Bridge Council, the forerunner of the ABF.

She became one of the leading national bridge columnists of the 1930s. Her columns were featured in the Brisbane edition of *Truth* and often carried interesting information about the local bridge scene.



Myra Millingen: NSW representative player, journalist, administrator, and author of the first book on contract bridge by an Australian.

### The visit of R F Foster

In January 1932, Robert F Foster, began the first of two tours of Queensland as part of a year-long Australian visit.

The Scottish-American Foster was an eminent expert on bridge and card games.

The initial reason for Foster's visit to Queensland was to give a series of seminars sponsored by McWhirter's Department Store.



Robert F. Foster

The visit sparked a lot of interest among the elite men's clubs in Brisbane, where Foster was regarded as the epitome of a good clubman as well as an international expert.

Wilf Boyce organised a meeting of the leading men's clubs to organise additional activities including a reception at Tattersalls. (No women's clubs were invited and no women were present at the meeting.)

Among contract players, it promoted hope of increasing interest in contract and the chance for some advanced lessons on the game. He was the author, in 1920, of the first book in English on contract. His 1927 edition of *Contract Bridge* had been published in an Australian edition. His publicity promoted his status as the first teacher authorised by Ely Culbertson. As part of his tour, which included Brisbane and the major regional centres, such as Rockhampton, Foster gave private lessons, for which he charged a hefty fee.



In the event, the tour, while successful overall, was something of a disappointment to contract adherents. The lessons, although advertised as auction and contract, seem to have

been primarily auction.

There were two different views of why this happened. One correspondent to the *Courier Mail* who had gone to Foster for contract lessons complained that Foster was an unwilling teacher who said he disliked the game.

Wilf Boyce, on the other hand, said that the lack of focus on contract was purely because of the lack of interest from the audience. When contract lectures were held, they were very poorly attended.

### Local contract teachers appear

Despite the disappointments of the Foster tour, there were signs that interest in contract was growing. It was not being played much in the clubs, but contract enthusiasts were seeking each other out and playing in their homes.

In 1932 several teachers decided to test the level of interest in structured contract lessons.

The first recorded offer of teaching contract is in May 1932. with a series of lessons by **Mrs Jacqueline Schwabe** at Rowe's Café in Edward Street, a popular society meeting spot and venue for many bridge parties.

By this time the Culbertson bidding system, after much controversy in the US, had started to dominate over its



Part of Culbertson's success lay in his franchising system. In return for a fee, and passing an exam, teachers could designate themselves as accredited teachers of the system.

After the Rowe's Café lessons, other teachers began to appear.



**Lucille Avon** opened the Lucille Bridge Club at 207 Brunswick Street, Fortitude Valley in June 1932 and started teaching contract.

Lucille Avon was another example of the link between show business and bridge. She was an American, who first appeared in Brisbane in 1931 as a dance performer and teacher for the Addie Cantwell Studio. She married a local businessman, George Avon, and started her own dance studio. She and her husband were prominent theatre producers in Brisbane in the 1930s.

She was not the only acting and dancing studio in Brisbane to move into bridge. The **Nibio Studio** had offered lessons in 1931. In 1931 also, **Gerald Inglis**, who made a living putting on productions in country towns, had advertised himself as a bridge expert, and gave series of lessons, and a bridge column, in Townsville, Wide Bay and several other regional centres.

The Lucille bridge venture does not appear to have been a success and may have folded after a few months.



"Madame Lucille" Avon with her dancing partner "Jacques".

Taken from an advertisement for the Addie Cantwell Studio on her arrival in Brisbane.

### Mick Sullivan

August 1932 saw the first appearance in connection with bridge of a man who would become quite central to both Queensland and Australian bridge—M J 'Mick' Sullivan or 'Sully'.

Mick Sullivan is a good example of a person whose bridge career was kicked off by the Depression. In the 1920s he was a successful owner of a sporting goods and home furnishings store at Southport on the Gold Coast.

He was a leading member of the Chamber of Commerce and numerous sporting and tourist promotion organisations. This ended with the failure of his business in 1930 to add to the tragedy of his wife's death.

Following the collapse of his business, he had two short-lived periods of employment in 1930-31. First, there was a travel service for Irish Australian Catholics to travel to the Eucharistic Congress in Ireland.

After that he worked as Publicity Director and briefly Secretary of the short-lived Queensland Party which contested the 1931 Queensland State Election.

### CONTRACT BRIDGE CLASSES.

Classes for the study of contract bridge will be opened in Brisbane next we Mr. M. J. Sullivan. Night classe held every Monday and Thursde o'clock. in Moore's Chambers (000 GPOI. and afternoon classes. o'clock on Tuesdays and Thursdays in the Golden Glow Cafe. in the basement of the Colonial Mutual Bullding. Queen Street.

Mick Sullivan's first public entry into bridge: Newspaper advertisement: August 1932



Mick Sullivan in 1937

This party, aiming to capitalise on disenchantment with the major parties, had the somewhat unusual platform of not having a platform—promoting instead that it was recruiting high quality representatives who could be relied on to do the right thing. The party got a dismal 1.6% of the vote and ceased to exist shortly after the election.

Although he was out of work again, the experience would not have been wholly negative for Sullivan. Although it had produced no results, he had been very successful in generating publicity and would have made many Brisbane contacts. It also gave him somewhere to start his next venture—teaching bridge. Initially, he used the defunct party offices for his first daytime bridge lessons.

Sullivan also broadcast on contract in a series of programs in the second half of 1932 for radio station 4BQ.

Sullivan was not the only Brisbane bridge teacher who probably entered bridge as a last resort. Cuthbert Potts, a well-known Brisbane rowing coach and former Principal of the State's Agricultural College turned businessman, also offered lessons in this period.

Potts seem to have gone back to his previous businesses once things improved



but Mick Sullivan seems to have found his calling, and to some extent, a way of making a living, and features strongly in the rest of this history.

### **Contract and Auction 1932-34**

By the second half of 1932 the future pattern of auction and contract in Brisbane and Queensland more broadly was starting to emerge.

Contract was getting more publicity. Wilf Boyce, in his Quart Major columns, was paying more attention to the game and even developing his own point count system.

The *Brisbane Telegraph* was running regular columns on contract by the English writer, John Darrack. The Townsville papers featured another English writer JJ Brebner, who was a mine of information on the latest contract trends.

However, auction was not going to go away quietly or any time soon.

As far as contract went, the elite men's clubs were never going to be on the scene. For the majority of members, auction bridge was about as far into complicated card games that they wanted to go.

Contract enthusiasts in these clubs, such as Wilf Boyce, Otto Hirschfield and Frank Garnsey, would have to go elsewhere for their game. "We can't be bothered with contract. It's too slow. We like a quick game—like two-up."

"Contract is too dull and slow".

"Too concentrated for our members. Not enough relaxation in it."

*"Our members haven't the time, the inclination or the ability."* 

Some of the comments from the men's clubs in response to an August 1932 survey by *The Sunday Mail* on the progress of contract over auction. The report from the *Sunday Mail* went on to say that the situation in the women's clubs was a little more mixed. Auction was still heavily dominant and the only game played at the Brisbane Women's Club—but it was played `here and there' and very popular at the Moreton Club.

The Moreton Club, where contract first "took off" in Brisbane was a socially exclusive invitation-only club for women formed in the 1920s. During the 1930s and 1940s, several prominent figures in the club's affairs would also be highly active in the QBA.

Sue Brenan, a member of the first Queensland Open Team at the 1935 interstate and sometime secretary of the QBA was a President of the Moreton Club, as was Queenie Tully, another prominent QBA member. Another QBA stalwart, Tom Hiley, a prominent accountant (and later Sir Thomas and Deputy Queensland Premier), was for many years the Moreton Club's Auditor.



Sue Brenan

As was generally the case elsewhere, women tended to be quicker than men to take to contract. They had in general more time and interest and were prepared to study the new game.

# The First State Auction Bridge Championships 1932

The relatively small demand for contract saw Mick Sullivan quickly change his focus from teaching contract to organising a **state auction bridge championships**. This was run on a knockout basis, with separate categories for men's, women's and mixed pairs.

The finals were held in October at McKimmin's Soda Store in Queen Street.

RF Foster attended following his return to Queensland for further lectures.

The event appears to have been a success, both in terms of providing Sullivan with



McKimmin's Soda Store in Queen Street—site of the first State auction bridge championships. This was built on two levels in 1929, lavishly fitted out with a 66 foot counter.

income and in raising the profile of bridge.

The winning men's pair of G. Brandis and C. Hetherington were from the Public Curator's Office. The winning women's pair were Mrs E A Perrett and Mrs A L Young. The mixed pairs were won by Mrs E Rudd and Mr H F Johnson.



Annie Perrett (far left) winner of the 1932 auction bridge championships women's pairs and losing finalist in the 1933 event. She was also a member of the Brisbane Ladies Bridge Club and a consistent placegetter in Brisbane Bridge Club events of the late 1930s and 1940s.

This was not the first attempt at competition. In January 1931 the Tattersalls Club had issued invitations to other clubs to participate in a weekly evening inter-club bridge tournament. The invitations went mainly to the main city men's clubs and bowling clubs known to have associated bridge clubs. The women's clubs were not included.

The competition, involving only male players, got underway in the first half of the 1931. The participating clubs were Tattersalls, the Royal Queensland Yacht Club, the Stock Exchange Club, the Commercial Travellers' Association, the Constitutional Club, the Masonic Club, the New Farm Bowling Bridge Club, the Johnsonian Club, the United Services Club and the Queensland Irish Association.

This competition seems to have lasted for only one season at most and there is no information on the winners. In general, the interest in competitive regular bridge in most of these organisations and the other elite men's clubs was not particularly strong and the early enthusiasm did not survive.

Previous competitions involving men had been confined to members of the elite clubs but Sullivan's achievement was to recognise that a lot of good players were playing bridge in other places, particularly in social clubs associated with their workplaces.

He successfully reached out to workplaces, such as banks and public service departments to get a far broader enrolment than in any previous tournament.

With his background in public relations, Sullivan was also very effective in getting newspaper coverage and in transforming the image of bridge from a purely social to a sporting activity. In September 1932, for the first time, we see reports on a bridge tournament in the sporting pages.

In September 1932, Sullivan announced that arrangements were almost complete for an interstate auction bridge contest between a NSW and Queensland, with the winners of the men's section of his forthcoming championships getting automatic selection for the Queensland team.

Nothing came of this and it is not clear who he was talking with in NSW or whether he would have been supported by the longer-established figures in Queensland bridge.

Sullivan ran a second State Auction Bridge Championship from the end of October into December. This was run as a knockout competition (with a second chance for pairs losing their first match), with separate categories for men's, women's and mixed pairs.

The winners were C. Wood and C McKeering of the Agricultural Bank, (Men's Pairs), and Fanny Short and Rene Robinson (Women's Pairs). Both winning pairs were losing finalists in the 1932 event.

The mixed pairs was won by Harold Hiley (who would later be a prominent player for the QBA and Queensland) and Edna Richards, both of whom were members of the Annerley Bridge Club.

Sullivan announced a new teams-of-four championship to begin in February 1934 to be played under duplicate conditions. Up until that point matches had been played on a pure rubber basis so that in a relatively short match the luck of the cards would play a major role.



Harold Hiley in 1939

Other events would mean that the next tournament would never happen, and Mick Sullivan's bridge career would move in another direction.

### **The Contract and Auction Debate**

There is a tendency now to see people who chose to stick to auction over contract as luddites who stood in the way of progress. However, there is a lot more to it than that and the proponents of auction were not always wrong.

Contract in this period had a lot of teething problems. Bidding became critical but for a long time there was a multiplicity of bidding systems and, until the Vanderbilt system dominated, a variety of scoring systems.

There was a strong feeling among many that having to learn artificial conventions to describe your hand was an unnecessary burden and also unsportsmanlike.

The problems this caused were magnified by the lack of agreement on the etiquette of telling people what your bids meant. You were generally expected to explain your methods if asked—but there was no system of alerting. The general standard of ethics in this area was probably well below what would be expected today.

As bridge was still primarily a gambling game, it was also natural for people to be cautious about playing the new game without a good understanding of potential losses. The main differences between the Vanderbilt system and previous systems lay in the increased gains and losses associated with vulnerability but also the massive bonuses for slams. These features could greatly increase losses for less experienced players.

Most of these teething problems would be resolved in time.

The major criticism of contract, though, even by people who played the game themselves, was that it would never be as popular as auction.

Bridge had become a widely-played game because it was still relatively simple and easily learnt. Learning contract took more effort than many bridge players were prepared to devote to a card game in the conditions of the time.

The minimal bidding in auction combined with the luck of the cards also meant that the relatively unskilled could compete with the better players with a reasonable chance of good results (and, therefore, as bridge was usually played for money, not losing much). In contract, particularly in the initial stages, the inexperienced were much more likely to be lambs to the slaughter.

The criticism of contract, that it would not get the same support from the public, largely proved correct. By the second half of 1933, however, contract finally seemed to be starting to get traction among serious players, particularly among women. Wilf Boyce was still critical of many conventional bids in contract but was devoting more column space to it and was even starting to develop his own bidding system.

In November, after inviting his readers to comment on why contract had not caught on in Brisbane, he concluded that the game was being played more than he had realised, particularly among women who had been "first-rate auction players".

Boyce's mildly encouraging but cautious approach to contract, was, however, about to come under attack, by way of a new arrival in Brisbane—Frank Cayley.

## Cayley, Boyce and Contract

Frank Cayley had arrived in Brisbane from Sydney in late 1933 to take work in an advertising agency. This was probably something of a step down for the aspiring journalist but he needed work.

He had been one of the main promoters of contract in Sydney and had a regular column in the *Australian Women's Weekly*.

In November 1933, his new text book on contract, the third by an Australian after Myra Millingen and Ena Burrows, *Modern* 

Contract Bridge had just been published.

By the end of 1933, it was probably getting reasonably easy for women to find a game of contract outside their home but for men keen on contract, the lack of opportunities was probably the cause of some frustration. Cayley wasted no time before tapping into this frustration.

On 19 December 1933, the Courier Mail published a letter from Cayley, promoting his own credentials, and strongly



attacking Boyce for being an opponent of contract, standing in the way of progress, and not understanding how the modern game was played.

The attack was largely unfair. Boyce had certainly been a critic of some aspects of contract and his articles on contract did contain some errors but he was in no way an out-and-out opponent of the new game. As a columnist, he had some responsibility to write on what his readers were interested in which was primarily auction.

He, himself, chose not to respond but the letter provoked a firestorm of correspondence. This was mostly anti-Cayley, accusing Cayley of misrepresenting Boyce's views and attacking contract. But Cayley also had his supporters from among keen contract players.

Each round of correspondence produced further letters from Cayley.

### CONTRACT BRIDGE.

Sir .-- Your contributor. "Quart Major," appears to be going out of his way to offend Queensland bridge en-He overlooks, or has dethusiasts. cided to ignore, the fact that contract has practically superseded auction overseas and in the other States. "Quart Major" says-and he is within his rights in doing so-that he prefers auction to contract. This is . Il very well, but his writings show beyond any shadow of doubt that he does not know contract as played to-day. He says contract is overloaded with conventions, but this is not in accordance with the facts.

I can speak with authority on this subject, having just come up from the South, where I taught many hundreds of pupils, wrote articles, gave lectures, and published a book-"Modern Contract Bridge." I was an auction enthusiast, and about five years ago, when contract was first introduced into Australia, I was inclined to oppose it. Then I studied it, and realised that it was the game of the future-simple, accurate, exciting. Hoping that The Courier-Mail will use its influence to further the cause of contract .-- I am sir, &c.,

#### FRANK CAYLEY.

Brisbane.

The start of the Cayley-Boyce contract controversy: The Cayley letter of 19 December 1933.

This, in turn produced further correspondence until the editor of the *Courier Mail* declared the controversy closed on 6 January 1934, the twelfth day of Christmas. It seems very unlikely that the lengthy debate would have changed any opinions but it, and the further efforts of Cayley, did have a galvanizing impact on contract in Brisbane.

# The QBA and the Brisbane Bridge Club

## The 1934 World Olympiad

In February 1934, Brisbane saw its first contract bridge tournament—the Brisbane section of the world-wide Olympiad competition organised by the Culbertson organisation.

This was a par event and the pre-dealt hands had been devised by the Culbertson organisation. The holding of the event was an initiative by Frank Cayley. It would be a prelude to the formation of the QBA.

The referee (Tournament Director) was Sylvia Soares and the event was held in the Sesame Bridge Club rooms in the National Mutual Building.

This was a **par** competition, in which players were not judged by their actual scores at the table but whether, in the opinion of the Culbertson judges, they had reached the best contract; and then whether the contract was played in the right way.

Once the bidding finished at the table, players would be informed of the actual contract they were to play (which may not have been what had been actually bid). Both the initial bid contract and recording of the play of the hand for each pair was sent back to the US for judging.

The winners of the Queensland section of the Olympiad were — Edward and Grace McGuinness (East and West) and Austin Lennon and Frank Cayley (North and South). All were to play important roles in the QBA.

## The QBA established

On 1 March 1934, following a presentation to the winners of the Olympiad at Griffiths Brothers and a one-night tournament, those present agreed to form a Queensland Bridge Association.

Frank Cayley became the first president of the Queensland Bridge Association. The committee comprised Leila Baxter, Cecilia (Cissie) Douglas, Dr. Otto Hirschfeld and Austin Lennon.

The newspaper reported that the committee was incomplete and further members would be elected at a later date. However, no further additions were reported during the year.

Unfortunately, there seem to be no details on the stated objectives of the Association and it is not clear whether in this period it had a formal constitution.

The first reported QBA event was on 21 March. The number of participants is not known but a further duplicate pairs event with Howell scoring in May attracted 56 players; then an August pairs duplicate, 44.

The mechanics of scoring were clearly still a major difficulty. To get the results out on the night, the May event was limited to 14 hands. By September this had increased only slightly to 16.

The greater level of enthusiasm for contract of women over men at the time seems to have been reflected in the results, with the great majority of winners and placegetters in the events being female players.

### **Aftermath: Contract and Auction to the 1950s**

Following the closure of the Cayley correspondence, and the formation of the QBA, much of the venom seems to have gone out of the contract-auction debate.

Wilf Boyce does not appear to have been involved in the initial stages of the QBA but, despite Frank Cayley's attacks, was supportive of the organisation in his columns and reported on its activities.

Frank Cayley largely retired from writing letters to the editor. His place was taken by Mick Sullivan, who took exception to further criticisms by Boyce of contract conventions and slam bidding.

But was a just a brief episode, and the next twenty years seem to have been largely ones of peaceful co-existence between the two codes.

The QBA would provide an important space, that had been lacking, for competitive contract players and the opportunity to play in national competition.

At the same time auction did not go away, and remained in the opinion of local observers the most popular form of the game in the community generally.

Most bridge clubs either stuck to auction or operated with different sections for contract and auction players.

This was similar to the situation elsewhere in Australia but Queensland was somewhat different in the number of top players who continued with auction and the number of opportunities to play duplicate competitive auction. This fact was often blamed for the lack of Queensland success in interstate competition.

Ironically, the continued vigour of the competitive auction scene would owe a lot to one of the main promoters of contract—Mick Sullivan.

He was starting to make a name for himself, through lectures to bridge clubs and later in the year through a column on contract in the Brisbane *Daily Standard* where he promoted the Culbertson system, of which he was a certified teacher.

He was also taking on the role of protector of contract in the newspaper—writing letters to the editor countering negative comments from Boyce or other columnists on contract bridge conventions or other aspects of the game.

It is not clear how Sullivan was making a living in 1934-35. It seems unlikely that bridge would have been enough, although he may have had part-time jobs in private bridge clubs, such as the Portland Lounge or the Relaxation Bridge Club. The various forwarding addresses in advertisements, such as c/the Brisbane Typewriting Company or Robinson's Sporting Depot might suggest other jobs.

The big change came in February 1936. This was the beginning of an institution that would play a major role in Queensland bridge history—the Brisbane Bridge Club.

### The Brisbane Bridge Club

The Brisbane Bridge Club (BBC) had opened in February 1936 in the Old Town Hall Building in Queen Street.

Oral history suggests that Sullivan was able to found the BBC

because Wilf Boyce was a partner and presumably gave it the financial backing it would need. This is possible but there is no written evidence.

BRIDGE learn contract, quickly, easily, expert personal tuition, individual players (contract, auction) fitted nightly into congenial fours at short notice. Brisbane Bridge Club, Old Town Hall, Queen Bt. B6540.

Courier-Mail 15 February 1936 p 3

Boyce at the time was involved in another club called the Relaxation Bridge Club which operated from around August 1935 at Freney House in Queen Street. This overlapped with the foundation of the Brisbane Bridge Club but only slightly.



The Old Town Hall Building. First location of the Brisbane Bridge Club.

The last reference to it appears in March 1936.

Compared with many of the other bridge clubs, the BBC initially got little coverage in the newspapers. There is little information about names or numbers of players or session times. This is surprising given Sullivan's talent for publicity and suggests that the club struggled at first.

Its initial advertisements had stressed contract tuition and play but in July 1936 there was a change of focus. To survive, he clearly had to accept the reality that auction bridge was still far more popular than contract. Once the decision was made, he started to market duplicate auction with his usual verve.

For duplicate auction events, the club over the next few years offered a range of different styles of evening competition, often with very attractive cash prizes. These events consistently attracted many of the top Queensland bridge players who retained a fondness for auction.

In addition to his own sessions, he encouraged other clubs that played auction to move their sessions to his premises, where he would, presumably for a fee, run duplicate events for them. In the second half of 1936, both the Australian Natives Association and Jewish Women's auction bridge clubs moved their sessions to the BBC.

In November 1937, the BBC moved out of its own premises in the Old Town Hall and ran its sessions in the auditorium of the Brisbane Women's Club in the old Edwards & Co Company building in Edward Street, Petrie Bight.

Shortly after, the QBA moved its weekly Friday night session to the BBC. This was strictly contract. The auction events on the other days and nights remained Sullivan's bread and butter. In his journalism work also, he retained a foot in both camps, promoting contract but catering for auction players.

He developed a series of "bridge drills", that were relevant to both auction and contract players. These were published in several regional newspapers in Queensland and Northern NSW.

Weekly Bridge Drill	
EXERCISES THAT	
IMPROVE PLAY	One of the Sullivan weekly "bridge
(By M. J. Sullivan, Australasian Olympic Winner.)	drills" from the Northern Standard
In addition to presenting in easy, interesting, and scientifically- graduated form, the technical knowledge of card plays and bids that is so indispensable to all aspirants to good or expert standards, this series of articles will be found to contain information that is beneficial to Auc- tion and Contract players alike.	(Lismore) in 1939.
No. 6.	
The Sullivan Table of Standard Finesses	
(When you yourself must lead the suit.)	

The move of the QBA to the BBC did not, therefore, mean the end of auction but it was still an important milestone.

Sullivan had no role in the initial founding of the QBA and does not seem to have played in its sessions—but from this point onward, Sullivan was to take an ever-increasing role in the QBA and in national contract competition, which is discussed in Part Four of this history.