



The Australian National University

The Library

Social Sciences & Humanities Division

Post Office Box 4 Canberra ACT 2600

Telegrams & cables NATUNIV Canberra

Telephone 062-49 5111

USE OF THESES

This microfiche is supplied for purposes of private study and research only. Passages from the thesis may not be copied or closely paraphrased without the written consent of the author.

Stephen Alomes

'Reasonable Men':

Middle Class Reformism in Australia, 1928 - 1939

Thesis

Submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Australian National University
1979

This dissertation is the result of my own endeavour. It contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any degree in a University, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no copy or paraphrases of material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text of the dissertation.

Stephen Alomes (18.12.1979)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank my supervisor, Eric Fry, for his time, thought and encouragement and colleagues and friends in History and at Childers St. at the A.N.U. and in Humanities and Social Sciences at Deakin for their support, stimulation and helpful criticism.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Illustrations	v
Abbreviations	vi
Abstract	vii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: The Great Depression and the Development of Public Affairs Institutions and Reformist Thought	6
Chapter 2: 'Pessimistic Realism' : Responding to Economic Difficulties and Political Instability, ca. 1928-1932.	37
Chapter 3: Conservative and Technocratic Solutions to the Crisis	71
Chapter 4: Defending Liberal Democracy : Intellectuals, Censorship and Civil Liberties	107
Chapter 5: Idealism and National Purpose	135
Chapter 6: Aspirations for Cultural and Social Reform	167
Chapter 7: The Reformist World : The Social and Institutional Context	200
Chapter 8: The Reformist World : The A.I.I.A. and Public Affairs Research	248
Chapter 9: Reformism and Change	284
Appendix One: Members of Institutions and Journal Contributors	304
Two: Biographical Appendix	317
Three: International Connections	325
Bibliography	327

Illustrations

	following page
'Breeding a Fat and Lazy Generation' (Newspaper advertisement reproduced in Humphrey McQueen, <u>Social Sketches of Australia 1888-1975</u> , Melbourne, 1978, p.136)	10
'The Inspector Arrives' (Percy Leason cartoon from the <u>Bulletin</u> , 30/7/1930, reproduced in G.Greenwood (ed.), <u>Australia: A Social and Political History</u> , Sydney, 1955, facing p.354)	70
'Safety First' (Norman Lindsay cartoon from the <u>Bulletin</u> , 13/11/1935, reproduced in Greenwood, op.cit., facing p.370.)	122
G.V.Portus (by Herbert Beecroft, cartoon reproduced in G.V.Portus, <u>Happy Highways</u> , Melbourne, 1953, facing p.170)	187
An Intimate World (a Wells cartoon for the <u>Melbourne Herald</u> reproduced from Rohan Rivett, <u>Australian Citizen</u> , Melbourne, 1965, p.152)	251

Abbreviations

General

A.A.A.S.	Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science.
A.B.C.	Australian Broadcasting Commission.
A.C.E.R.	Australian Council for Educational Research.
A.C.C.L.	Australian Council for Civil Liberties.
A.I.P.S.	Australian Institute of Political Science.
A.I.I.A.	Australian Institute of International Affairs.
A.L.P.	Australian Labor Party.
A.N.U.	Australian National University.
A.N.Z.A.A.S.	Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science.
B.C.A.L.	Book Censorship Abolition League.
B.S. & I.A.	Bureau of Social and International Affairs.
C.A.	Constitutional Association.
C.S.I.R.	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.
C.S.I.R.O.	Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation.
F.L.M.	Free Library Movement.
I.I.I.C.	International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation.
I.P.C.	International Peace Campaign.
I.P.R.	Institute of Pacific Relations.
L.C.Y.	Legion of Christian Youth.
N.E.F.	New Education Fellowship.
N.L.A.	National Library of Australia.
N.S.W.	New South Wales.
R.I.I.A.	Royal Institute of International Affairs.
S.C.M.	Student Christian Movement.
U.A.P.	United Australia Party.
Y.L.L.	Young Liberal League.
Y.N.O.	Young Nationalists' Organisation.
U.A.P.	United Australia Party.
W.E.A.	Workers Educational Association.

Journals

<u>A.J.P. & P.</u>	<u>Australian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy.</u>
<u>A.N.R.</u>	<u>Australian National Review.</u>
<u>A.Q.</u>	<u>Australian Quarterly.</u>
<u>A.R.R.</u>	<u>Australian Rhodes Review.</u>
<u>E.R.</u>	<u>Economic Record.</u>
<u>M.R.</u>	<u>Morpeth Review.</u>

ABSTRACT

The political and economic instability of the Great Depression period produced many dramatic responses. It also gave rise to new public affairs institutions and the social criticism of middle class moderates who were as disturbed by political conflict and social division as by the evils wreaked by the economic depression. Through such forums as the Australian Institute of Political Science and journals of public affairs and social debate, including the Australian Quarterly, they elaborated their own social critique. Lamenting political conflict, emotional debate and popular apathy, they declared their belief in the power of rationality and the need for political agreement.

Moderate social thinkers, seeing the world in dualistic psychological terms, aspired for rationality and social harmony but feared division and decay. Social critics and more practical students of public affairs developed these themes in their analyses of Australian society and their public affairs research. Centred mainly in Sydney and Melbourne clusters of thinkers, sharing these beliefs, added particular stresses and offered varying views on the contemporary situation. Their emphases included: the difficulties of social planning; the defence of freedom of thought; education as a force for 'civilization'; a scientific approach to modern problems; the need for government action to remedy social evils; and the possibility of greater degree of national purpose.

The social critics and students of public affairs produced a large body of research and their criticisms encouraged movements for social and educational reform. Their endeavours were partly confined to a small section of middle class society and to their own institutional milieu as they retreated from the political arena. Their work also contributed however, to a larger transition

in the structure of Australian society. Their thought challenged existing attitudes which thwarted change, their institutions were the precursors of government institutions needed to run a complex modern society, and they were influential in several spheres. Their criticism prepared the ground for the changes accelerated by the engine of war during the 1940s and they were to be part of the new administrative elite in post-war Australia.

INTRODUCTION

Writings on Australian history and politics in the twentieth century have focussed mainly on the institutional structures of public life, political leaders, the crises of war and depression and international affairs. Historians looking at the decade of the Great Depression have studied economics, unemployment, political conflict and international affairs. There has been little written on ideology. This lacuna is partly the result of the small amount of research work done on the period; it also follows from a preference for research dealing with the neater categories provided by parties, institutions and events.

The belief that Australian politics is a struggle between interest groups, ideas being relatively unimportant, is another reason for the lack of research on ideology. The paucity of original, important or coherent sets of political and social ideas in Australia has been noted in support of this view.¹ It is not necessary, however, for a nation to have made important contributions to political philosophy for ideas to play a role in political life. Popular ideologies have offered the terms in which politics are debated: examples include the Progress ideology, rural rejection of the city, Labour anti-bank populism and numerous conservative fears, including the suggestion that foreign ideas and values might corrupt the purity and innocence of the young Australian nation.

The contribution to political ideology of a middle stream of moderate thought which accepts the broad lines of the established

-
1. P.G. Tiver considers these views in 'The Ideology of the Liberal Party of Australia: A sketch and interpretation, Politics, XI, (2), November, 1976, pp. 156-8. See also his The Liberal Party: Principles and Performance, Brisbane, 1978.

order, yet is amenable to reform, has not been considered.¹ In America, where a reform ideology has been important and transcended party, academic research into moderate opinion has proliferated.² The 'National Efficiency' movement in Britain during World War I which 'cut completely across the conventional distinctions between 'left' and 'right', 'liberals' and 'conservatives', and even 'socialists' and 'capitalists' ' has been studied by G.R. Searle.³ Intellectual groups such as Political and Economic Planning which sought political agreement during the 1930s have been explored by Arthur Marwick.⁴ In Australia the Initiative and Resistance view which sees Labor initiatives and non-Labor resistance as the fundamental dynamic of Australian politics has led to a stress on the divisions between the major parties;⁵ the role of moderates within them and of moderate publicists in the community has been disregarded. The influence of middle class citizens, pressure groups and experts outside the parties in the Labor Government reforms of the 1940s and 1970s has been only cursorily noted by historians and commentators.⁶

-
1. Tim Rowse's Australian Liberalism and National Character, Malmesbury, 1978 is an important exception.
 2. The work of Richard Hofstadter, for example, including The Age of Reform (New York, 1960; first edition 1955), has evaluated moderate thought, intellectuals and anti-intellectualism in American history.
 3. G.R. Searle, The Quest For National Efficiency, Los Angeles, 1971, p.2.
 4. Arthur Marwick, 'Middle Opinion in the Thirties : Planning, Progress and Political 'Agreement' ', English Historical Review, April, 1964, Vol. LXXIX, No. CCXI.
 5. The view was first expressed by W.K. Hancock in Australia, London, 1930, chapters 10 and 11. It remains influential though it has been challenged by several writers including Henry Mayer. ('Some Conceptions of the Australian Party System, 1910-1950', Historical Studies, Vol. 27, Nov., 1956.)
 6. See, for example, G.C. Bolton's '1939-1951', in F.K. Crowley, ed., A New History of Australia, Melbourne, 1974.

The economic, political and international pressures of the 1930s led to a polarisation of political opinion and the threat of civil conflict. Moderates offered their own distinctive response to the turmoil and uncertainty of the times. Moderate political thought, drawing on liberal and democratic ideas and an Australian tradition of national criticism, elaborated the answers of small groups of middle class citizens to the crisis. In the major capitals, in loose clusters of thinkers and in such public affairs institutions as the Australian Institute of Political Science and the Australian Quarterly, political moderates expressed their belief in reason and their aspiration for a return to 'consensus' and 'agreement'. Mostly male, middle class, Protestant and over thirty, these academics, churchmen, professionals and business men, wrote and talked of the need for education and research. Seeking to carry the flags of tolerance and moderation they saw themselves as reasonable men in a time of emotional conflict.

Moderate thought was 'reformist' in the sense of being open to renovation of the existing system, rather than in the Marxist meaning of the term, that of seeking reform rather than revolution. Some reformists were reformers seeking educational and cultural change, or even social reforms such as the redistribution of income and adequate housing for the whole community; but not all reformists sought such change. Reformism was a form of thought with no leading thinker and no single institutional base. It recurred frequently, however, pervading the rhetoric and assumptions of many writers on contemporary public affairs.

The term 'reformist' is the best of several alternative terms to describe the thought of middle class moderate students of affairs. It is free of the numerous connotations of 'liberalism', 'the stickiest

word in the political dictionary'.¹ It also allows more immediate access to the distinctively Australian aspects of the thought. Few moderate students of society termed themselves 'liberals', and the term is made more difficult by the plethora of qualifying adjectives. The phrase 'middle opinion', which has been used to describe similar thought in England, is also inappropriate.² The poles of political thought and action were less clearly defined than in England and the middle position was even more vague, and held by a minority. Though most reformists were 'moderates', in the centre of the political spectrum, the same lack of adequate definition limits the utility of such a concept as 'moderate thought'.

Reformist assumptions regarding thought and emotion, rationality and popular psychology and national qualities influenced educational, economic, political, social, cultural and religious ideas and fertilised the thought of several pressure groups for reform. This study seeks to explore the nature and impact of reformist thought in these spheres. Consequently many related areas are outside the compass of this discussion.

Reformist thought fused contemporary overseas ideas with responses to the Australian situation. The influence of overseas institutions (such as the Institute of Pacific Relations) and political thinkers (including Graham Wallas and Sir Arthur Salter) is considered where relevant. The complex process of the translation of overseas ideas and institutions to Australia is a subject which demands separate exploration. The political impact of reformism, which can be gauged in specific instances, is considered. A full assessment of political

1. Clinton Rossiter, Conservatism in America, New York, 1962, (Vintage edition), p. 12.

2. Warwick, op.cit.

influence in the period, however, would need to take account of several major competing influences which have not so far been researched.

The 1930s saw the beginnings of a network of public affairs institutions in the major cities and the evolution of personal links between their principals. These male, middle class, Protestant groups had little contact with Left intellectuals or Catholic intellectual groups on the Right which were forming at the same time.¹ The influence of these seemingly more dramatic political beliefs was probably less than that of the political moderates. This study explores the nature and role of that reformist thought.

-
1. Several women held some administrative posts in public affairs institutions but they were exceptions. Cultural and social subjects and peace were generally more attractive to female publicists.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC
AFFAIRS INSTITUTIONS AND REFORMIST THOUGHT

The events of the Great Depression decade brought an unprecedented challenge to the Australian political and economic system. Economic decline, mass unemployment and the threat of war challenged hitherto assured assumptions and attitudes. The conflict of Left and Right forces in the early 1930s was succeeded by repressive government and popular disinterest and escapism for the remainder of the decade. Such disparate factors as the failure of Australian economic policies during the 1920s and the rise of dictators in Italy, Germany and Russia made some people ask whether capitalism and democracy could survive. Others feared that 'civilisation' as they knew it could not survive another World War.

Dramatic responses to the Depression came from radical Left and Right groups. Defending the economic conditions of labour during the crisis of 1929-1931, or working through Communist bodies later in the decade, socialists believed that capitalism's failure to handle the trade cycle signalled its imminent end. At the other pole, middle class conservative organisations, from the political Emergency Committee in South Australia to the paramilitary New Guard in N.S.W., worked to defend the existing system. During the conflicts of the crisis period radical forces gathered around the defiant N.S.W. Labor Premier, J.T. Lang. Yet when the power of Lang was finally defeated the pattern of 1930s politics became set. In five of the

7.
seven parliaments conservative parties, which had been elected in the crisis backlash against incumbent governments, ruled for the rest of the decade. Dispirited Labour and a demoralised populace accepted governments which espoused contentment and practised repression.¹

The popular response to continued unemployment was not simply bitterness and anger. Though the depression experience gnawed away at the insides of many as hunger pains pulled at their stomachs, the immediate response was a passive one. The fear which made governments repress the strange or the new found its counterpart in popular fear. Many people, paralysed by anxiety, sought only to deal with their own pressing and immediate problems or sought to escape into the romantic worlds offered by movies and popular magazines.

Several middle class groups in the community, cushioned from the worst deprivations of the time, sought to assess and respond to contemporary economic and political problems through analysis and discussion. The Melbourne economist, Prof. G.L. Wood, wrote in September 1930 that 'Times of prolonged depression and persistent unemployment are always periods of national stocktaking. Under the pressure of the economic problem every phase of national life comes up for a review.'² Such stocktakings came from Left, literary and religious groups and also from clusters of political moderates who sought to preserve and improve existing political and economic institutions.

-
1. On radical and conservative forces during the depression, see R. Cooksey (ed.) The Great Depression, Canberra, 1970, Keith Amos, The New Guard Movement, 1931-1935, Melbourne, 1976, L. Louis and Ian Turner, (eds.) The Depression of the 1930s, Melbourne, 1968, Robin Gollan, Revolutionaries and Reformists, Canberra, 1975 and Heather Radi and Peter Spearritt (eds.) Jack Lang, Sydney, 1977.
 2. G.L. Wood, 'Population Policy in the Light of the Depression', Australian Quarterly, September 1930, p.41. (The month and year of publication and, after the first citation, an abbreviated title (e.g. A.Q.) are given for journals from the period.)

Some middle class economists, businessmen, professionals and students of public affairs, including Prof. D.B. Copland and the industrial manager, Sir Herbert Gepp, were primarily concerned to strengthen and improve economic and political institutions to avert a threatened collapse of the existing social order. Faced with conflict and emotion in politics they sought rationality, order and agreement in public life. A second group of social thinkers who were particularly troubled by the threat of political conflict to the free exchange of ideas shared this last orientation. Reacting against domestic conflict and the loss of liberal freedoms in Europe and at home, they sought to defend civil liberty and to encourage the agencies of reason including education, books, libraries, universities and public debate. They merged into a third group, including the political scientists, Macmahon Ball and Dr. W.G.K. Duncan, which believed that the real threat to the system lay in social inequality and the general unwillingness to face up to the problem. Without the alleviation of economic distress the present order could not hope, or deserve, to survive. Some who shared these views directed their energies into specific movements for social reform. Others sought to influence the general stocktaking and governments and public opinion in general.

These different but related groups shared certain assumptions which formed the core of reformist thought. Their central belief was in the need for a greater role for 'thought' (and its associates 'intelligence', 'rationality', 'education' and 'research') in the political process and the possibility of rational debate leading to a degree of political agreement and greater social and political stability. Though the first group was often sceptical of the possibilities of mass politics becoming rational they all shared a belief in the need for political education to create an informed public opinion. The reformist assumptions about politics and society were general ones which were more explicitly concerned with the political process and the possibilities of agreement than with the more concrete ends of political activity.

The reformist position could be held in association with other political positions which can be more easily placed on a traditional left-to-right political spectrum. A reformist persona was often taken on in particular contexts and institutions by people with other political personas. Thus some reformists held social democratic hopes for the future while others looked to leadership or technocracy to conquer popular irrationality.

Reformists believed that man ought to be rational and their division came in part from whether that belief stemmed from confident hope that political rationality could be developed or from fear that it was being lost. The views of the political moderates were united by a shared reaction against irrational and extreme tendencies. Reformist beliefs have been held by supporters of liberal democracy throughout this unstable century, yet they acquired sharper definition in a crisis when political institutions were under threat. The reformists, whatever their distinctive themes and approaches, shared a desire for a return to the politics of apparent agreement and consensus. Though many of them were practical men of affairs, most shared, if only in diluted form, a desire for relative harmony supplanting the existing class conflict in politics. Whether they saw the process leading to this as involving the greater role of experts in government, an informed public opinion or a more intangible shared sense of national purpose, they were agreed that the enemies were confusion, irrationality and division.

The major forums of reformist thought were temples of orderly debate where the shared commitment to rationality overcame divisions over political and social ends. Through such new 'public affairs' institutions as the Australian Institutes of Political Science and International Affairs and journals such as the Australian Quarterly, and a host of more specialised forums, the reformists developed their approach to society. The institutions were most often organised by the first group concerned with practical economic

and political questions; their primary focus was on public affairs narrowly defined as practical issues of the day.¹ The contributions of academics and idealists who gave rationality, freedom of debate and social ideals equal or greater priority, and of reformers who sought cultural and social change, also made them vehicles for a larger stocktaking.

The middle class moderate intellectuals in the public affairs groups felt a sense of identity in their shared opposition to contemporary tendencies. Political conflict was the initial and main cause of their dismay. Whether conflict was expressed in physical form through sporadic clashes between Communists and the New Guard, eviction battles and demonstrations or the poisonous polemic of election campaigns, moderates were scared and disturbed by the depth of division in society.² The fundamental antagonisms the conflict represented, and the violence it did to any ideal of rational debate offended them. They were almost equally offended by the paralysis of will and thought which the depression induced. The writer George Johnston believed that 'dissonance' was a good word for that mad little era'. 'It was a time of dissonance. People were looking at their own problems so closely and so bitterly, and with such total confusion that it was very hard for them to see much else.'³

-
1. The majority of members of the public affairs institutions were concerned with an approach to contemporary problems of public affairs. Most of them expressed, at some time, reformist views about the importance of education and rationality in politics. Their general approach was perhaps less reflective than that of those who developed reformist ideas more fully. However, a sharp demarcation of reformists and students of public affairs is inappropriate. Inevitably, most people shared each perspective to a greater or lesser extent. The public affairs institutions are more fully discussed in chapters 7 and 8.
 2. On the physical clashes see Amos, op.cit. and Ralph Gibson, My Years in the Communist Party, Melbourne, 1966, pp.31-2.
 3. George Johnston, My Brother Jack, London, 1964 (second edition), p.201

[illegible]

Choose a Powerful Receiver—Here's Why!

The family of his father, J. C. ...
... the
... ..
... ..
... ..

Price[illegible][illegible]

Yale University Press, 330 North Zeeb Road, New Haven, Conn. 06510

'Breeding a Fat and Lazy Generation'

Popular apathy and escapism, expressed in a preference for the worlds of Texas cowboys, Test cricket and the new crooners outraged those who saw themselves as the apostles of thought.¹ This theme was prominent in comments on the mid-1930s decline in political excitement. One commentator found the 1934 N.S.W. election 'a very dull affair' in comparison with its bitter predecessors. The 'once fiery Mr. Lang' had to compete with the 'graver national issues being fought at Leeds and the Oval'; the wireless was another factor keeping public interest low and 'breeding a fat and lazy generation'.²

Government espoused the virtues of 'contentment' in community life and set a safety-first style, political leaders seeking to be homely rather than inspiring.³ They also sought to reduce their own difficulties through the active repression of dissent. Writing on censorship during the 1930s Peter Coleman has described the underlying fear which informed their actions:

The confusion, fear and sense of incompetence that the depression brought to both the people and its governments spilt over in proscriptions of non-conformist writers of any kind, moral or political. Encouraged by regular resolutions throughout the country from church bodies, women's clubs, social groups, ex-servicemen's clubs and parents' organisations, the Federal Government tried to preserve Australia from all books which in any way... questioned, berated or attacked what they took to be the values of the patriotic family man and woman.⁴

-
1. Johnston also wrote of 'a yearning desire among people to be distracted from the miseries and fears of the times.', *ibid*, p.186. On films and escapism, see P. Peter, 'Social Aspects of the Depression in New South Wales, 1930-1934', Ph.D. Thesis, A.N.U., 1964, pp.114-116.
 2. W.S. Sheldon, 'State Elections: New South Wales', *A.Q.*, June, 1935, p.82.
 3. Lyons' image was that of 'Honest Joe Lyons', the family man. The N.S.W. Premier, Bertram Stevens, who has been described as 'the incarnation of civil servant suburban homeliness' once praised the virtues of 'contentment' in community life. (J.M. McCarthy, 'The Owen-Bruker Government, 1932-3', M.A. Thesis, University of N.S.W., 1967, pp.88,112).
 4. Peter Coleman, Obscenity, Blasphemy and Sedition, Brisbane, n.d., p.19.

Government repression was more easily accepted because of a surprising national complacency. In the midst of the depression Lyons could tell Australians that they had won a position which was 'the envy of the world'. The Attorney-General, R.G. Menzies, could make the grossly inaccurate remark that Lyons was the 'last man' he would 'accuse of endeavouring to suppress the opinions or expressions of other people.'¹ Dr. James Darling, one of the critics, who had come to Australia in 1930 as headmaster of Geelong Grammar School, saw the 'national faults which prevented Australia from becoming a modern democracy' as

a clear complacency and satisfaction with things done, a tendency to resent criticism, a tendency to reject comparisons with other civilised people, and a "touchiness" which was not characteristic of free men, and above all an enormous ignorance of both our deficiencies and our possibilities.²

Throughout the decade newspapers reflected the general self-satisfaction with things Australian and British. Superlatives were common. Australians were the 'happiest people in the world', and Australian fathers and Australian oysters were also the best in the world. Such optimism made criticism unacceptable.³ One literary critic saw the negative Australian response to Henry Handel Richardson's novel Ultima Thule as expressing the point of view of the Immigration Bureau. Another remarked that 'no Australian journal or paper would allow such unbiased literary criticism' as Hartley Grattan's Australian Literature to be published.⁴

1. Melbourne Argus, 1/1/1935 (Prime Minister's New Year Message to Australians); Argus, 9/1/1939.
2. 'Our National Faults', Argus, 16/6/1938.
3. Argus, 13/2/1938; 26/3/1938; 7/4/1938.
4. Basil Burdett, 'An Australian Trilogy', A.O., June, 1929, p.105; Kathleen Moneyreenny, review of Australian Literature, A.O., September, 1930, p.112. In her review she quoted Grattan on Australian literary criticism:

Criticism is at a low level.... The newspapers are either so uncritical as to be utterly colourless, or so stupid as to denounce with uncanny accuracy all that is worthwhile in prose or verse.

Despite criticism of the poor quality of Australian press coverage of overseas events a proprietors' spokesman could assert that 'Australian readers were daily presented with what was undoubtedly a finer and more impartial survey of foreign affairs than was given in any other part of the world'.¹ A similar smugness prevailed in the Federal Ministry. W.M. Hughes rejected criticism of the failure of the Parliament to debate League of Nations reports or adopt its conventions with the jibe 'What we are endeavouring to do is to get the world into step. (Laughter) I grant that may appear to be a Utopian project'.²

Complacency also issued in the discouragement of debate and dissent. The Lyons Government curtailed civil liberties, censored books, asked 'loyal Australians' to refrain from debating the international situation in 1938³ and discouraged debate on foreign affairs in Parliament. State Governments, including the Labor Government of William Forgan Smith in Queensland, were also ready to censor opinion and restrict debate.⁴ In the late 1930s Federal Parliament sat infrequently. Even the conservative Melbourne Argus regretted that the 'Lyons Ministry has been rather too prone to consider the conduct of public affairs as a matter for the Cabinet-room and ready to treat Parliament as a means for recording its

-
1. Argus, 19/5/1938.
 2. Ibid, 27/5/1938.
 3. Australian Council for Civil Liberties, Annual Report, 1937-8, C.C.L. Papers (held by Mrs. D. Fitzpatrick, Melbourne).
 4. B.M. Carroll, 'The Premiership of William Forgan Smith', M.A. Thesis, Melbourne University, 1967. The Federal Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, Mr. A.G. Cameron told the Chairman of the A.B.C. in 1938 that he considered Talks speakers were a kind of vermin which should be eradicated. (W.J. Cleary to Herbert Brookes, 15/11/1938, Brookes Papers, MS1924, Series 26, National Library of Australia.) In the N.S.W. Parliament the gag and the guillotine were used ruthlessly to stem debate. (McCarthy, op.cit. p.88.)

Intellectuals felt disaffected from prevailing social attitudes especially the strong fear of 'unhealthy' criticism which was abroad in the community. In this period of trouble the new was worthy of suspicion. Modern art and new ideas were seen as germs which might undermine the health and vitality of the nation. The alien, whether it came in the form of politically or sexually radical books or in the form of non-British immigrants, was to be resisted.² When national optimism was challenged, such as the view that the Vast Empty Spaces could carry an unlimited population, or it was suggested that the British element in the population should be reduced, the critic was seen as almost a traitor. When W.G.K. Duncan made this latter suggestion in the mid-1930s it was denounced in a newspaper article entitled 'Poison at the University'.³ The Depression polarisation of opinion made independent thought doubly suspect. Liberal humanist academics including G.V. Portus and Walter Murdoch complained that political moderates were either accused of being a 'Communist in disguise' or being 'tied hand and foot to the chariot of capitalism'.⁴ The more indiscriminate fear of the new was expressed in a host of complaints gathered around the idea that capital cities were cancers living off the

-
1. Argus, 2/3/1938. The Leader of the Opposition, objecting on May 20th 1938 to the adjournment of the House of Representatives the previous evening remarked that the House had sat for only 16 days since the election of October, 1937. Argus, 21/5/1938.
 2. Newspaper headlines and correspondence on non-British immigration often had a negative tone. Letters signed 'British Australia' or 'British Preference' and headlines such as 'Strict Check on Aliens - No Moving About' and 'Migration of Aliens - Many Refused' were common. (Argus, 9/4/1938, 12/4/1938, 5/5/1938).
 3. W.G.K. Duncan in G.V. Portus, (ed.) What the Census Reveals, Adelaide, 1936, p.54.
 4. G.V. Portus, 'Studies in Communism', Morpeth Review, September, 1931, p.53.

work of the man on the land. This view was satirised in a piece by the A.I.P.S. principal and Sydney solicitor, Norman Cowper:

The constant drift to the cities is, of course, a cancer gnawing at the vitals of Australia's welfare. It is caused, as everyone knows, by the concentration in the cities of such insidiously alluring things as gorgeous picture palaces, neon signs, protected industries, high wages, members of parliament, and university professors. Let us, therefore, unitedly deplore this phenomenon of modern life and begin a campaign to stop the drift, push people back on to the land, and settle a million farmers on a million farms.¹

Traditionalists discouraged dissent. Virtue was found in the British Empire as well as in the land. The Melbourne Argus had no time in 1938 for those 'pessimists and wreckers' who declared that the day of the Empire was done.²

* * * * *

The responses of moderate intellectuals to the depression were expressed through a new public affairs institutional world. During the 1920s and 1930s new intellectual, professional, government and private institutions for studying and regulating aspects of contemporary political and economic affairs were established in response to economic pressures and as part of the natural structural elaboration of a growing society. Population grew from 3.8 million people in 1901 to 6.6 million in 1933; 47.5% of people lived in capital cities by 1940 reflecting industrialisation and urbanisation.³ The modern urban world demanded new skills and training. The new faculties of Engineering, Dentistry, Veterinary Science, Agriculture, Economics and Architecture established at Sydney University after the Great War, and moves towards professionalism in social work, librarianship, psychology, teaching and public administration during

1. N. Cowper, 'The Census and Social Conditions' in Portus, op.cit. p.137.
2. Argus, 21/5/1938.
3. C.M.H. Clark, A Short History of Australia, New York, 1963, p.229. One cause of urbanisation was industrialisation: the volume of manufacturing grew by nearly 30% between 1920 and 1929 and by over 40% in the depressed years of 1929 to 1937. (A.G.L. Shaw, The Economic Development of Australia, Melbourne, 1969 (5th edition), p.155).

the 1930s were signs of this trend.¹

This new phase brought the slow expansion of the professional 'intelligentsia' defined in the traditional Russian sense of the tertiary educated and professionally employed workforce.² The nature of training varied and professional freedom was sometimes limited for salaried workers, but the number of people with some tertiary training increased. In the period from 1910-1935 the number of university academics increased from 233 to 664 and student numbers rose from 3,272 to 9,844.³

1. Alan Barcan, A Short History of Education in N.S.W., Sydney, 1965, pp.234-236. Moves towards professionalism in these latter areas are discussed in chapter 3.

2. T.B. Bottomore (Elites and Society, second edition, Harmondsworth, 1966, p.70) distinguishes between 'intellectuals' and 'intelligentsia':

The latter term was first used in Russia in the nineteenth century to refer to those who had received a university education which qualified them for professional occupations; subsequently, its denotation has been extended by many writers, to include all those who are engaged in non-manual occupations. In this sense it is equivalent to the 'new middle classes', within which we may distinguish between higher and lower strata-the higher comprising those in professional occupations, and the lower those in the more routine clerical and administrative jobs. The intellectuals, on the other hand, are generally regarded as comprising the much smaller group of those who contribute directly to the creation, transmission and criticism of ideas; they include writers, artists, scientists, philosophers, religious thinkers, social theorists, political commentators. The boundaries of the group may be difficult to determine with precision, and its lower levels merge with middle class occupations such as teaching and journalism, but its characteristic feature-direct concern with the culture of society - is sufficiently clear.

Lloyd Churchward, in his Arena article 'The Structure of the Intelligentsia' (No.5, Spring 1964), using a similar definition particularly considers the 'professional intelligentsia' in Australia. (p.5.)

In a small, provincial society such as Australia during the 1930s it was inevitable that the 'intellectuals' would be drawn from a wider range of publicists, journalists and so on than might be the case in a more intellectually sophisticated society with a fuller range of institutions for social and cultural thought.

3. G.H. Knibbs (ed.) Official Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia, No.5-1912, Melbourne, 1912, pp.884-897, E.T. McPhee (ed.), Official Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia, No.28-1935, Canberra, 1936, pp.286-293. The comparative statistics noted exclude the staff and enrolment numbers in technical education which do not differentiate between tertiary and secondary education.

It is impossible to estimate the size of the intelligentsia in this period because of the number of partly trained people in fields which were becoming slowly professionalised. We might assume though, that it was perhaps less than half of the figure of 200,000 which Lloyd Churchward gave as an estimate of the size of the professional intelligentsia in 1961.¹

The number of 'intellectuals', the intellectually active and aware members of the intelligentsia who thought about areas beyond their own immediate responsibilities, including politics, culture and society, was measured in the hundreds and the thousands at most. Though they were dispersed around the country, improved communications by rail, road, broadcasting and eventually air made national organisations possible and encouraged a national perspective. New public affairs institutions and journals drew their support from the major capitals and beyond. A new political awareness had come to the larger universities, expressed first in the formation of Public Questions Societies for non-partisan discussion, and then political clubs during the 1920s and 1930s.² Geoffrey Serle has seen in this period the beginnings of the development of a new cultural class outside the establishment. The description of the period as a seedtime for future developments in Australian intellectual life is accurate if the long-term process and its 1930s beginnings are not simplistically conflated:

1. Churchward, op.cit. p.5

2. Founding members of the Melbourne University Public Questions Society in 1918 included R.C. Mills, David Rivett, Meredith Atkinson and the students W.K. Hancock and Fred Alexander. The Society's journal Both Sides was censored by the Professorial Board. The Melbourne University Labour Club was founded in 1925 by Brian Fitzpatrick, Ralph Gibson (later a communist), Lloyd Ross, Robert Fraser and Macmahon Ball and a Liberal Club was formed soon after. (Don Watson, Brian Fitzpatrick: A Radical Life, Sydney, 1979, pp.15-22)

Professional men and artists had been almost identified, socially and intellectually, with the mercantile class. The new diversity was created not so much by the products of the new educational opportunity or by a natural growth in numbers but rather by the effects of the depression and the increasing consciousness of Australian isolationism. For the first time in Australian history, an intellectual-cultural class arose which was predominantly dissident. For in this generation large numbers of teachers, journalists, writers and artists and a few lawyers, doctors and engineers came to reject the conventional wisdom of their elders, and in the long run a deep gulf was to develop between government and the intelligentsia.¹

In more sober environments new institutions were providing forums for intellectual activity. In the post-war years the activities of the Workers' Educational Association, the formation of branches of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Institute of Pacific Relations, professional associations of philosophers and economists and the Melbourne University Press provided new avenues for research, education and debate.² The economic decline was the catalyst for a more dramatic expansion of activity. In the late 1920s books and journals appeared which began the national stocktaking predicted by Wood. In 1927 Eleanor Hinder, the active student of public and international affairs, asserted that the time was ripe for

a critical journal of the political, social and international situations which face the Commonwealth...with articles covering the whole field of literature, economics, politics, music, science and art, together with reviews of books.

Her words captured the mood which in a couple of years produced the Morpeth Review, the Australian Quarterly and a revamping of the W.E.A.'s Australian Highway.³

-
1. G. Serle, From Deserts the Prophets Come, Melbourne, 1973, p.154.
 2. The largest publisher of books on Australian affairs during the 1920s was the N.S.W. branch of the W.E.A.
 3. The Australian Highway, Vol.X, No.1, October 1927, p.15. From around this time the Highway increased its number of substantial articles. The Morpeth Review appeared in 1927, followed by the Australian Quarterly in 1929.

The new self-awareness had expression in new literary journals, in inquiries into economic policies and the constitution. Over a longer period an active Australian Council for Educational Research (A.C.E.R.), new public affairs institutions and novels and little magazines which sought to take stock of the national condition appeared.¹ Several writers recalled that they shared in a search for greater understanding of the Australian nation and people. Brian Penton, the novelist and editor, described the source of his inspiration:

Growing up in a period when Australians had begun to feel in themselves the germ of a new people and to fumble for words to express themselves, I often wondered what roots that new psyche was coming from.²

National awareness had other expressions in novels and plays dealing with the land and history. The first university course in Australian history was taught by Professor Ernest Scott at Melbourne in 1927.³ The pressing problems of 1930-1931 dampened new institutional activity briefly, but the formation of the Australian Institute of Political Science in 1932 was a sign of renewed action.⁴ In 1933 and 1934, unemployment and political conflict decreased and it became easier to place perspective on contemporary problems. New organisations were founded to reform policies

1. On little magazines see J.M. Tregenza, Australian Little Magazines, 1923-1954, Adelaide, 1964.
2. Quoted by H. Heseltine in 'Australian Fiction Since 1920' in G. Dutton, (ed.), The Literature of Australia, Melbourne, 1964, p.185.
3. Heseltine, op.cit.; Serle, op.cit., p.151.
4. The A.I.P.S. is discussed more fully in chapter 7.

on censorship, aboriginals, libraries, education, nutrition and slums and housing.¹

Despite continued fiscal stringency by governments middle class moderate intellectuals and more radical groupings initiated a period of questioning. The economic and social problems, the question of Australian relationships with Britain and the threat of war combined with the impetus derived from the 150th anniversary of white settlement in 1938 to encourage challenges to ruling complacency. It was a sign of the new undercurrent of social awareness that from the late 1920s conscience regarding the aborigines 'which had been somewhat lulled for decades' became sharpened and continued to grow.² The change of name of the Federal Capital Territory to the Australian Capital Territory in 1937 was another small sign of growing national self-awareness. In the late 1930s conferences on education and new journals and social critiques combined an unusual urgency with concrete suggestions for reform.³ Many students of

-
1. The organisations included the Book Censorship Abolition League (Melbourne), the Free Library Movement (which was strongest in Sydney), and movements for the reform of aboriginal policy (Sydney) and housing policy (Sydney and Melbourne). See: chapter 4 on the B.C.A.L; A.P. Elkin, 'Aboriginal Policy, 1930-1950: Some Personal Reflections', Quadrant, vol.I, No.4, 1957; P. Spearritt, 'Sydney's Slums: Middle Class Reformers and the Labor Response', Labour History, No.26, May, 1974; N. Lynravn, Libraries in Australia, London, 1948; K.S. Cunningham, The Australian Council for Educational Research and Library Services, Melbourne, 1961. During 1934 recorded unemployment was retreating to the comparatively low figure of 14% which it reached at the end of 1935. (G. Sawyer, Australian Federal Politics and Law, 1929-1949, Melbourne, 1963, p.75.) The Commonwealth Government established an Advisory Council on Nutrition during the period. (Douglas H.K. Lee, 'Nutrition', A.O., December, 1936). Educational reform movements are discussed in Chapter 9.
 2. Fikin, op.cit., p.27.
 3. These developments are more fully discussed in chapters 7 and 9.

society sensed that if war was coming they had to build a democracy which the ordinary citizen would want to defend. In domestic and foreign policy areas it was necessary to cultivate a more positive mode of thought on the problems of the age. The sesquicentenary encouraged a new level of cultural awareness though in social and political areas the gap between promise and performance which characterised the decade did not completely disappear.¹

The arousal of a degree of conscience and awareness from the late 1920s had been temporarily displaced by the more negative attitudes and policies of the depression crisis. By the late 1930s, however, the new awareness had issued in housing clearance and rebuilding policies, a federal 'New Deal' for aborigines and federal financial support for universities, industrial and medical research, improved popular nutrition and physical fitness, and popular movements for educational reform.² Many ideas such as the planned national insurance policy remained on the drawing board but there were signs that the mental and physical stagnation which characterised the decade was being overcome.

The view of the 1930s as a period of stagnation but also national reorientation has been expressed by several writers including the Left novelist Judah Waten. He felt that the spirit of the age was expressed in a 'conflict between a desire for change and colossal inertia, between the parochial past and an Australia about to step onto the world stage.'³

-
1. The gap between promise and performance had its most dramatic expression in the abandonment of the government's planned National Insurance scheme.
 2. See chapter 9 for a discussion of these developments.
 3. Judah Waten, The Depression Years (Australia Since the Camera, Vol.V), Melbourne, 1971, no pagination.

The historian, A.G.L. Shaw, has seen the inter-war years as 'Lost Years' which were also part of a transition from a pioneering society in which 'the bush beckoned the adventurous and moulded their ideas' into a more modern one. In his view

Australia was becoming an urban society but temporarily, as was inevitable, a rather second-rate one, lacking some of the resources of those societies in the old world which consciously or not she¹ was copying while lacking much of the individuality of her past.

Taking up the theme of rebirth rather than that of decay, another historian, R.M. Crawford has seen 'clear signs of a new level of maturity and professional skill' in public life in the late 1930s as representing the 'coming of age' of the 'new nation'.² The American student of Australian national development, C. Hartley Grattan, writing in 1938 on 'The Future in Australia' consciously sought the involvement of Australian intellectuals in what he saw as a necessary reorientation of Australian policies and attitudes.³

An idea such as 'coming of age' is complex and begs many questions of social philosophy. In simpler terms it can be observed that the nation had to deal with difficult economic, social and international problems. Fundamental social change can be measured in varying terms and over periods longer than one decade. One might study the role and apparatus of government, the economy, prevailing ideologies or international arrangements or demographic, occupational and social structural change. In this particular discussion, if significant change over the decades

1. A.G.L. Shaw, The Story of Australia, London, 1955, p.244.
2. R.M. Crawford, An Australian Perspective, Melbourne, 1960, pp.68-9
3. C. Hartley Grattan, 'The Future in Australia', A.O., December, 1938 pp.28-29.

since 1938 is accepted, the role of war in that change should be considered. The suggestion of later writers that the movement from the late 1930s was towards 'neo-capitalism' with greater government involvement in economic development and activity, and within it 'welfare capitalism' whereby a degree of social welfare was guaranteed for reasons of economic efficiency, conscience and political stability, deserves examination.¹ Reorientation in foreign policy and Serle's suggestion of the appearance of a dissident intellectual class are other subjects for scrutiny. The larger central study would properly consider two decades or more and would focus particularly on the structure, role and policies of governments. Part of this subject, however, is the story of the increased role of moderate intellectuals and academics and their professional and public affairs institutions in national policymaking. One concern of this study is the extent to which new, unofficial, public affairs and professional bodies preceded and encouraged new government institutions and fostered a national rather than state approach to contemporary problems.

The development of a network of institutions and individuals seeking to debate and research Australian problems was a major feature of the inter-war years. National public affairs bodies, including the Institutes of Political Science and International Affairs and the Australian Quarterly, were supplemented by semi-professional associations; these forums included the Economic Society, the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science and the Australasian Association of Psychology and Philosophy and their journals and publications.² Numerous smaller or local

-
1. This subject is discussed later. See chapters 7, 8 and 9 particularly.
 2. These bodies were national in their organisation and membership rather than in the impact of their activities.

bodies supplied other podiums and recruits for the central institutions. Diverse in kind, they included conservative political associations and clubs such as the Constitutional Association of N.S.W.,¹ the Young Nationalist Organisation of Victoria and the Young Liberal League of South Australia, the W.E.A., and university Public Questions Societies, the Student Christian Movement, international affairs groups and political clubs. Scholars were involved in government and private research institutions, while they also found a larger audience as 'a new race of dons' gained access to the airwaves.²

The most central institutions, the A.I.P.S., the A.I.I.A. and the Australian Quarterly, drew many members and writers from business, the professions and the ranks of the economists who shared the economic focus of social thought during the decade. A related stress on the renovation of political and administrative organs of government in the interests of efficiency was also manifested in the Institute of Public Administration.³ The Melbourne economists, Professors D.B. Copland and G.L. Wood, the industrial manager Sir Herbert Gepp, the stockbroker E.C. Dyason, the lawyers and students of society F.W. Eggleston and P.D. Phillips, the Sydney woolbroker D.A.S. Campbell, the barrister H.S. Nicholas, the student of administration, F.A. Bland and several Sydney economists were typical of students of public affairs who were mainly concerned with practical problems of economics and government.

-
1. The equivalent bodies in Melbourne and Brisbane were the 'Constitutional Clubs'.
 2. P. McGuire, Australian Journey, London, 1939, p.138.
 3. Regional groups of the Royal Institute of Public Administration were founded in Adelaide, Sydney and Melbourne during the 1920s and 1930s. The Journal of Public Administration (Australia) was first published in 1938.

The economists, businessmen and professionals were central in the first phase of depression reformism from the late 1920s with its dominant note of disillusionment. Reformism, in this phase was marked by fear and doubt and the underlying belief that man might not be able to act rationally in politics. This 'pessimistic realism' was soon challenged by belief in the role of science, experts and the informed minority rationally leading the way.¹ These views appealed to reformists, who saw themselves as the 'scientists' or clear thinkers, as did the defence of basic freedoms from government repression from the mid-1930s onwards. Led by progressive academics and clergy, more practical reformists declared their opposition to repression, to the popular indifference which allowed it and their interest in new ideas.

The believers in 'science' came from the Phillipases, Egglestones and Gepps and from scientists such as Ian Clunies Ross of Sydney University. Freedom of expression was defended by liberal humanists, including the literature academic and essayist, Walter Murdoch of Perth, and by social progressives who saw new ideas as the gate to a new and more just society. Several social scientists and progressive clergymen including the academics Professor G.V. Portus, Herbert Burton, Macmahon Ball and W.G.K. Duncan and Bishop E.H. Burgmann and the Rev. Roy Lee, believed that a social democracy with a greater degree of economic equality was necessary if the present political system was to survive. More diverse individuals including Hartley Grattan, the editor Brian Penton, the publicist P.R. Stephensen, and the supporter of Australian drama Leslie Rees, took up the theme of the need for national cultural awareness fusing it with reformist criticisms of the existing situation in Australia.²

-
1. These orientations are considered in chapters 2 and 3.
 2. Liberal humanist, social democrat and cultural nationalist criticisms of contemporary Australian society are discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

The unity of reformists was limited and different reformist clusters had links with more explicitly Left and Right political groups. In Melbourne reformists in the A.I.I.A. had links with what has been termed the 'Liberal/Conservative intellectual Establishment', while members of the Book Censorship Abolition League and the Australian Council for Civil Liberties had some connections with the 'Left/Left-liberal Establishment' at the university and beyond.¹

Reformism merged into political conservatism on the one hand and revolutionary socialism on the other. Reformists, however, were mainly people who felt unhappy about strong and continuing public political commitment. They were continually drawn back to their forums of objective non-party debate. Some reformists held back from politics proper, never embraced it fully or grasped all its opportunities.²

1. In 1973, commenting on Manning Clark's differentiation between Melbourne and Sydney intellectual traditions, Geoffrey Serle suggested that there was not only a longstanding radical intellectual tradition' (expressed in the twentieth century through the Victorian Socialist Party, the Y Club of the 1920s and the Melbourne University Labour Club), but also a 'legal conservative tradition of Latham, Dixon and Menzies' in Melbourne. (From Deserts the Prophets Come, Melbourne, 1973, p.234). In an uneven - sometimes perceptive, but often erratic - work, The Saviours (Melbourne, 1977) Patrick O'Brien differentiates between the two 'intellectual Establishments' at Melbourne University in similar terms. He characterises the 'Left/Left-liberal Establishment' in terms following Serle, and as drawing its members mainly from the Arts Faculty. The Liberal-Conservative Establishment's 'members were not principally interested in ideas', instead being committed more 'to careers and to ruling society at large'. (pp.65-6)
The discussions of the B.C.A.L. and C.C.L. in chapter 4 and of the A.I.I.A. in chapter 8 impinge on these themes.
2. Charles Hawker, the conservative politician and student of public affairs, resigned from the Lyons Ministry on a matter of principle, inevitably harming his future prospects. G.C. Bolton (in Dick Boyer: An Australian Humanist, Canberra, 1967, p.46) reports the observation that R.G. Casey possibly missed becoming Prime Minister in 1939 because he 'wouldn't have kicked anyone to death in trying to get it.'

The reformist world, centred mainly around the public affairs institutions, was devoted to the discussion of politics by those who found the actual world of party politics dirty and distasteful. The sceptics saw it as a world of thinkers rather than doers. F.W. Eggleston and H.S. Nicholas, two students of public affairs and lawyers with a long record of public service, both shared a preference for work as researchers, members of public affairs organisations and government commissions to more public, party-political activity. P.D. Phillips, casting his eye over Eggleston's career after he left the Victorian Parliament in 1927, described a common reformist position:

More and more he revealed a native inclination to escape from the rigidities which democratic combat imposes upon its practitioners. He saw problems increasingly as matters of "more or less" and decreasingly as matters of "right and wrong". It is an embarrassing point of view in a society which demands, and demands more every day, that we shall, each one of us, stand up and be counted on the Right or the Left. Eggleston - and the fact condemned him to fruitful inactivity - had essentially the mind of the scientist. He had a passion for generalisation indeed, as befits the scientist, and was bored by dogma or doctrine, a handicap to a politician.¹

These preferences derived partly from an underlying frustration at Australian hostility towards intellectuals. In his The Reflections of an Australian Liberal Eggleston remarked that it was only natural that intellectuals should not occupy the highest positions as they offended the masses. Earlier he had confessed his frustration to his diary, asking in 1942, 'Is it right for me to waste my sweetness on the desert air, in the vacant spaces of Australian minds?'²

-
1. P.D. Phillips, 'An Appreciation' in F.W. Eggleston, Reflections on Australian Foreign Policy, Melbourne, 1957 (volume edited by Norman Harper), p.xxii.
 2. F.W. Eggleston, The Reflections of an Australian Liberal, Melbourne, 1953, p.12; Eggleston, quoted in S. Willie, 'The Formation of Australian Attitudes towards China: 1914-1941', Ph.D. Thesis, University of New South Wales, 1974, p.366.

There were many academics and interested citizens who shared Eggleston's combination of an interest in public affairs with a preference for working through non-party institutions for discussion and research. They were part of a growing reformist world which had perhaps sixty or so individuals who were the principal editors, organisers, writers and speakers in the central institutions and had key roles in other tributary institutions.¹ Many of them, like Eggleston, were laymen rather than experts or academics. The limited development of Australian political science, sociology, demography and even economics allowed educated laymen to contribute to research and discussion, and made lay-academic public affairs bodies the major vehicles for discussion.² The journals were catholic in their interests and even a specialized journal such as the Economic Record carried articles and reviews dealing with political philosophy, law, international affairs and the labour movement.³ The private, academic and official worlds were intermeshed as research was done for institutions, for academic publication or as part of a government inquiry.

The continuities and discontinuities in the reformist world can be seen in the careers and involvements of three prominent individuals, the lawyers H.S. Nicholas and R.W.G. Mackay of Sydney and F.W. Eggleston of Melbourne.⁴ All were writers and organisers, two of them publishing journals, and all

-
1. See Appendix One.
 2. The major public affairs institutions and research are discussed in chapters 7 and 8.
 3. Reviews and articles were contributed to the Economic Record by the non-economists, Macmahon Ball, K.H. Bailey, F.W. Eggleston, P.D. Phillips, Lloyd Ross, G.V. Portus, and Norman Cowper.
 4. See Biographical Appendix.

held public office. Melbourne-Sydney links and continuity in the public affairs world were reflected in the membership, from before the Great War, of Eggleston and Nicholas in the Imperial Round Table organisation. They also both attended a Sydney conference on trade unionism hosted by the W.E.A. in 1915.

All three founded important public affairs institutions. The younger Mackay, who had begun a journal New Outlook in the early 1920s, was the principal founder of the A.I.P.S. in 1932. Nicholas formed a branch of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in Sydney in the 1920s and, with the support of the Constitutional Association, founded the Australian Quarterly in 1929. He recruited Mackay as an assistant editor. Several years later, when Mackay had left Australia, the journal was taken over by the A.I.P.S. Eggleston, a member of the Australian delegation at the Versailles peace talks, and a conservative Cabinet Minister in Victoria from 1924-1927 was a foundation member of the I.P.R. in Melbourne and long a principal of the A.I.I.A. from its formation in 1932. A member of the Economic Society and the Constitutional Club of Melbourne¹ and a participant at A.I.P.S. Summer Schools he contributed an article to the first issue of the Quarterly in March 1929. Mackay wrote on education and law and in 1934 left for England, disillusioned with the prospects for social democracy in Australia, and eventually became a British Labour Member of Parliament.

-
1. If some people were members of several organisations it remains true that of the 290 members of the Constitutional Club, which had become mainly a luncheon club for professionals and businessmen, the majority had no such interests. List of Members, attached to letter, H.B. Leigh (Secretary) - Secretary, A.I.P.S., 10/6/1935, A.I.P.S. Papers, ML MSS 1835, Y12900, Mitchell Library, Sydney.

Nicholas served on royal commissions, became a judge and was later appointed by the Stevens-Bruxner government to the N.S.W. Legislative Council.

Eggleston served on the Commonwealth Grants Commission, as a wartime diplomat and as a Melbourne University Council member and continued to write on society and politics.

The economists and administrators initiated a strong critique of Australian government and policymaking in the late 1920s. This usually conservative view, discussed in the second chapter, was later modified by technocratic views which supported increased science and expertise in government; these views finally led on to acceptance of the need for technocratic modification of laissez-faire.

Despite the central role of economics in 1930s discussions the economists were involved in the wider reformist network. D.B. Copland was also associated with the A.I.I.A., the library reform movement and the Institute of Public Administration. F.A. Bland, the student of public administration, was editor of the W.E.A.'s Australian Highway, an active Christian layman and a member of the Constitutional Association and the A.I.P.S. Several lawyers who studied public affairs, including Norman Cowper and Mackay in Sydney and Eggleston and Phillips in Melbourne, were similarly jacks of all trades, being involved with several institutions.¹

-
1. Lawyers were prominent in public affairs institutions and were usually politically conservative. Lawyers in the Victorian branch of the A.I.I.A. included Eggleston, Tristan Buesst, Phillips, Bailey, Prof. G.W. Paton, Alfred Stirling, Justice Owen Dixon, Sir John Latham, Prof. William Harrison Moore, R.G. Menzies and E.L. Piesse. In Sydney lawyers active in the study of public affairs included Norman Cowper and John Mant of the A.I.P.S. and David Maughan, P.F. Irvine and W.J.V. Windeyer of the A.I.I.A.

The interlocking connections of the public affairs world were also reflected in the links between academic and Christian social democrats especially in N.S.W. W.G.K. Duncan, (the former Rev.) G.V. Portus and E.H. Burgmann were all adult educators and founding Directors of the A.I.P.S. Burgmann, Warden of St. John's College, Morpeth, until he became Bishop of Goulburn in 1934, had founded the quarterly Morpeth Review to which many students of public affairs contributed. A publicist for social reform in the church and in the community he helped found the Legion of Christian Youth in 1936. G.V. Portus was Director of Tutorial Classes at Sydney University, a member of the League of Nations Union, Professor of History at Adelaide University from 1934, an editor of the Australian Rhodes Review and an author of books and papers on Australian history, communism and contemporary social issues.¹ Portus had been a student at St. Paul's College at Sydney University in the first decade of the century. Under its 1930s Warden Rev. A.H. Garnsey, a key figure in the League of Nations Union, the college joined with the Diocese of Newcastle and that of Armidale under Bishop J.S. Moyes as progressive forces in the generally conservative world of N.S.W. Anglicanism.² W.G.K. Duncan, a rationalist, who worked in adult

-
1. Members of the Australian Rhodes Review's editorial board during the period included Portus, K.H. Bailey, A.C.D. Rivett, L.C. Wilcher of Melbourne University, Andrew Garrahan and Herbert Burton.
 2. St. John's College was first established at Armidale and then moved to Morpeth, near Newcastle. G.V. Portus had grown up in the Newcastle area and been a student at St. Paul's in the first decade of the new century. The Rev. G.K. Tucker who founded the Brotherhood of St. Laurence in Melbourne had also come from Newcastle, while the Rev. Professor A.P. Elkin, the anthropologist and campaigner for new policies regarding aborigines, had a parish in the diocese for a time. See H.R.G. Oakes, 'The Episcopate of Bishop E.H. Burgmann to 1947', M.A. Thesis, A.N.U., 1966. On other radical churchmen in N.S.W. see L.C. Rodd, John Hope of Christ Church St. Laurence: A Sydney Church Era, Melbourne, 1972.

education with Portus and Bland, was also part of the progressive leaven in the A.I.P.S. He had a key position as its Director of Studies, organising classes for political education for young men and editing its publications.¹

In Melbourne Herbert Burton, the economic historian, and the young political scientist Macmahon Ball, who had links with the University's 'Left/Left-liberal' tradition, offered a similar progressive leaven in the even more conservative world of public affairs study found in the university, the Economic Society and the A.I.I.A. Ball was typical of the academic students of public affairs. He had a Christian background (his father was a clergyman), studied and travelled in Europe and North America, and was interested in contemporary international affairs and political ideas. He was critical of the national fear of ideas during the depression and sought to improve the social conditions of the mass of the people. Herbert Burton shared Ball's interests in freedom of ideas, peace and social reform and both were active in the B.C.A.L. and the A.C.C.L. They contributed to most public affairs forums and in the late 1930s became increasingly pre-occupied with the threat of another world war.²

The occupational and political connections of major reformists can give only part of the picture. The intermittent contact of individuals in

-
1. Duncan was in a strange position as a social democrat teaching mainly young businessmen and professionals of generally more conservative disposition. Duncan's views and position are discussed in chapters 6 and 7.
 2. Burton and Ball shared mild social democratic views of the kind found in the early Melbourne University Labour Club (Don Watson, op.cit., pp.19, 80-1) and were to have similar reservations about the politicization of the C.C.L. (Watson, pp.79-81, and see chapter 4.) The relative importance of social and international questions in their thought is discussed in chapter 6.

Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, Canberra and beyond did not facilitate the creation of more specialized national ideological and interest groups.¹ There were a variety of reformists, geographically dispersed, who combined liberal humanism and mildly progressive Christianity. Walter Murdoch in Perth, Ian Clunies Ross in Sydney, J.R. Darling in Melbourne, the historian W.K. Hancock in Adelaide and Britain, the Melbourne law professor and A.S.C.M. journal editor, K.H. Bailey and the Queensland grazier, R.J.F. Boyer shared at the very most a degree of intellectual community. Through journals and broadcasts they expressed distaste for narrow party politics and declared their support for culture and ideas as forces for progress.²

Finally, there were people who combined reformist views with other political and institutional orientations and the greater number of passive followers of public affairs discussion who privately took an interest in reformist writings. The former category included the adult educator Lloyd Ross. A frequent contributor to reformist forums, he was divided between his support for these rational students of society and his commitment to the political Left's demand for immediate and far-reaching

-
1. The reformists, due to relative comfort or even affluence and interest in new ideas and in travel, were users of modern forms of transport. Macmahon Ball bought his first car during this period and Charles Hawker travelled from South Australia to the eastern states by air and finally died in an air crash in 1939. Despite such transport and meetings in several cities the reformists generally remained separated by distance.
 2. Some of the ideological affinities and clusterings which were found within reformism are discussed in chapter 5. Personal links most often occurred within Protestant middle class institutions especially the universities, academic and public affairs organisations and the Anglican Church.

social change.¹ Circumstances partly determined the intermittent involvement with reformists of Hartley Grattan, who was only briefly in Australia, and the judge and future Labor leader, H.V. Evatt.² The economists E.R. Walker and F.R.E. Mauldon combined a primary professional commitment with a reformist belief in rationality and a Christian influenced social conscience.³ Several students of public affairs who came from constitutional clubs and young conservative party associations combined reformist views with political ambitions and more conventionally politically conservative opinions. The activities of reformists and students of public affairs also merged into specific reform campaigns in which individuals worked for concrete reforms rather than for the reorientation of political life.⁴ Such reformers were

1. Lloyd Ross was briefly during the mid-1930s a member of the Communist Party (Interview, 20/5/1974) and was a critic both of working class anti-intellectualism and middle class intellectuals' preference for words over action. (See chapters 5 and 8). Nearly three decades later he was to become President of the anti-communist Australian Congress for Cultural Freedom.
2. Hartley Grattan was in Australia in 1927 and within the period 1936-8, while Evatt's public role was restricted by his judicial position.
3. E.R. Walker stressed the need for a scientific approach to economic problems, yet was more explicitly concerned with unemployment (for example his Unemployment Policy, 1936) than most economists. Mauldon, a former W.E.A. Tutor in the Hunter Valley, similarly mixed a concern for academic objectivity (in 1933 he published a short work, The Use and Abuse of Statistics, Melbourne, 1933) with a Christian-influenced sympathy for social reform. (Interviews, Macmahon Ball, 22/10/1976, Herbert Burton, 15/5/1975), John Crawford, 15/1/1978.)
4. The relationship between general ideas and specific reform movements is discussed in chapters 7 and 9.

often, though, inspired by general views of the Australian situation, and their investigations and campaigns enlightened those who at first had only a general interest in public affairs.

The reformists and students of public affairs, working in their own institutions, and reacting against the noise of political combat and the cacophony of popular culture in the wider world, were often in danger of creating a self-contained world. In their cloistered forums they could reassure each other of the desirability of a rational civilized approach to contemporary problems, and share disgust at irrationality outside. The suggestion of reformist isolation from, and lack of influence on, public events deserves consideration. This isolation was less apparent, however, in the reformism of the late 1920s and early 1930s, the time to which we now turn.

'PESSIMISTIC REALISM' : RESPONDING TO ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES
AND POLITICAL INSTABILITY, ca. 1928 - 1932.

The political and economic developments of the late 1920s offered an introduction to the more dramatic events of the next decade. Economic decline and bitter political and industrial conflict had begun to undermine 'Australia Unlimited' optimism. Political and economic developments encouraged an already occurring movement of intellectuals away from national ideals to scientific scepticism and international terms of analysis. In these new terms intellectuals began to discern a crisis in Australian political organisation. Economic downturn also encouraged a movement from optimism to pessimism regarding national economic progress. The failure of development and land settlement schemes, the problems of manufacturing industry from 1926-7 and rising unemployment were the warning signs. Escalating conflict between the Bruce-Page Government and major unions in the years following the seamen's strike of 1925 also resulted partly from worsening economic conditions.¹

1. Tim Rowse, Australian Liberalism and National Character, Malmsbury, Victoria, 1978, pp.84-87 and Heather Radi, 1920-1929, pp.397-401, 408-414, in F.K. Crowley, (ed.) A New History of Australia, Melbourne, 1974.

The problems of the late 1920s came less than a decade after the conflicts and difficulties of the years around the end of the Great War. Intellectuals, watching these conflicts and the growing power of party machines and sectional interests began to react against contemporary politics. Social holism, focussing on the possibility of Australia building, through co-operation and consensus, a Commonwealth which would be an example to the world, had attracted middle class moderates in the periods of Deakinite liberalism and the Fisher Labor Government. These hopes, also reflecting the aspirations of a new nation and the optimism of the sheltered world before 1914, had practical expression in the New Liberalism of the Deakinites. They also strengthened the missionary confidence in education as a force for social progress of the founders of the Workers Educational Association. In this period education, co-operation, the positive state and even guild socialism were endorsed by moderates who believed that society was moving towards class harmony and continued social progress.¹

The war and the conflicts over Empire loyalty and conscription both dashed and strengthened these hopes. The conscription question brought divisions between the W.E.A. and the labour movement. The end of the war gave new impetus to the idea of making a better world and building a new social order. But the years from 1917 until 1919 also brought the conscription conflicts, the case of the International Workers of the World and the One Big Union movement and economic distress and government repression

1. Rowse, op.cit., chapter 2; Warren Osmond, in 'The Political Thought of F.W. Eggleston c.1930', Department of Government, University of Sydney, Colloquium Paper, 5 April 1976, discusses Eggleston's hopeful views of 1914-1915.

which suggested that conflict was more likely than harmony.¹ Though idealism was not abandoned completely by middle class intellectuals their belief in popular education stemmed increasingly from fear of conflict rather than hope of harmony. Their endeavours, through the W.E.A. and its journal the Australian Highway, and other channels were now inspired more by Robert Lowe's dictum that 'we must educate our masters'.²

The 1920s brought major new vehicles which contributed to the reorientation of the social thought of middle class moderates. Missionary idealism for social harmony or for Imperial union, the original aim of the Round Table movement, gave way to a more practical, sceptical approach. The Economic Society of Australia and New Zealand (which was founded at the 1924 Adelaide Science Congress), groups for the scientific study of international affairs and institutions linked with the conservative parties became the major forums of discussion and research. The movement towards a scientific approach to social problems was partly a reaction against the horror of the Great War. It was hoped that man could develop the social sciences so that he could understand and control his own social behaviour as the destructive power used in war had shown his mastery over physical nature. Science gave cause for international optimism, even after the greatest holocaust in human history

In Australia the movement from national ideals towards scientific analysis expressed attitudes other than optimism. The erstwhile idealists,

1. See the chapter by Ian Turner '1914-1919' in Crowley, op.cit.

2. Rowse, loc.cit.

though still hoping that the mind could order and improve society, were disgusted by contemporary politics. Eggleston lamented in 1920 that 'new ideas and forces of which (the statesman) knows little' were surging into the political arena 'pushing forward men ambitious for his prestige and power'.¹ The movement towards science expressed a disillusionment with politics, from which intellectuals were increasingly cast out. The reaction against politics, especially the power of sectional interests, also coincided with and encouraged the development of the new profession of economics in Australia.²

When political factors and myopic planning spelled the failure of land development schemes and losses for government enterprises, students of society looked to economics for objective measures of viable projects. The failures of the mid-to-late 1920s created many apostate or chastened idealists who believed, with W.K. Hancock, that Australians had been 'fond of ideals and impatient of technique and had assumed that economics was easy'.³ The limitations of national idealism and its corruption by Realpolitik encouraged intellectuals to align themselves with 'international', 'objective', and 'scientific' standards of measurement and analysis. The balance sheets and findings of the Development and Migration Commission under Herbert Gepp, and the reports of the Australian tariff inquiry and the British Economic Mission of 1929 showed that 'something (had) gone wrong with... the typical Australian

-
1. Quoted by Rowse, op.cit., p.108 (The remarks appeared in a New Statesman article entitled 'Two Great Australians', 29/5/1920.)
 2. Rowse, op.cit.; Craufurd D.W. Goodwin, Economic Inquiry in Australia, Durham, 1966.
 3. W.K. Hancock, Australia, Brisbane, 1961 (second edition), p.67.

policy'. Noting that Australians had 'only just (begun) to discover the mistakes of the past ten years, and (to) provide for the colossal losses they (had) caused' intellectual critics felt confirmed in their new stance.¹

Intellectual disillusionment with politics was part of moderate reformist intellectuals' continuing frustration at the lack of agreement, political harmony and rationality in twentieth century liberal democracy. In this period they were dismayed by the failure to realise the 19th century hopes held for education, parliamentary government and material achievement as factors leading to social progress. Following the English thinker Graham Wallas, the apostles of rationality were disgusted by the irrationality around them. They lamented above all the failure of compulsory education to create active citizens comprising an informed public opinion. F.W. Eggleston, who had had a brief and unpleasant experience of Victorian State politics, accused the average citizen of being short-sighted and selfish in the extreme, 'an unimaginative person, (who) reacts clumsily when his taxes are increased, hits around blindly, turns the intellectual out and puts the ward politician in.'²

Many reformist intellectuals, sharing the contemporary disillusionment of moderates, conscious of distinctive Australian problems, and rejected by politicians and populace alike, explicitly criticised the Australian version of contemporary democratic politics. They associated the tightness of party machines inside and outside parliament, sectional pressures on legislation

-
1. F.W. Eggleston, 'Australian Politics and the Federal Elections', A.O., March, 1929, pp.10, 20.
 2. F.W. Eggleston, State Socialism in Victoria, London, 1932, p.258.

and myopic economic expenditures with a typically Australian approach.¹ As early as 1914 R.F. Irvine, the first University Professor of Economics, had challenged Australia's reputation as a 'social laboratory', suggesting that most innovative policies had been of 'the hit-or-miss kind'.² Whereas in the phase of social idealism distinctive national approaches had justified innovation, in this later period intellectuals aligned themselves with international standards which they contrasted with Australian amateurism, decay and lack of sophistication. In carrying out a stocktaking they accused past policy makers of ad hoc decision-making, easy optimism and complacency and demanded more careful scrutiny of future development schemes.³

These themes, which were developed from the late 1920s, also followed from the growing number of economists amongst students of public affairs and the centrality of economics in political debate. General commentators on society including F.W. Eggleston and W.K. Hancock, and historians including G.V. Portus, stressed economic factors in their social analyses.⁴ In

-
1. Peter Loveday, 'Anti-Political Political Thought' in Cooksey, op.cit., provides the fullest discussion of criticisms of politics. See also Rowse, op.cit., chapter 3.
 2. Goodwin, op.cit., p.636.
 3. See the Australian Quarterly and the Economic Record, 1929-1933 including such articles as Eggleston, 'Australian Politics and the Federal Elections', A.Q., March, 1929, P.E. Coleman, 'Public Finance and Parliamentary Methods', A.Q., September, 1932, L.F. Giblin, 'Australia Agonistes', A.Q., December 1930 and F.A. Bland and R.C. Mills, 'Financial Reconstruction', E.R., November 1931.
 4. Hancock, op.cit., Eggleston, op.cit., G.V. Portus, Australia : An Economic Interpretation, Sydney, 1933 (second edition), Australia Since 1606 : A History for young Australians, London, 1932.

developing criticisms of Australian economics and society the economists, D.B. Copland, G.L. Wood, F.R.E. Mauldon, Prof. L.F. Giblin and E.C. Dyason (Melbourne), Prof. L.G. Melville (Adelaide), Prof. E.O.G. Shann (Perth), J.B. Brigden, Colin Clark, B.H. Molesworth (Brisbane) Dr. Roland Wilson (Canberra) and Prof. R.C. Mills and E.R. Walker and J.G. Crawford (Sydney) played a prominent role.¹ The non-economists, including Eggleston, Phillips, Gepp, Prof. William Harrison Moore (Melbourne), Hancock (Adelaide) and G.V. Portus, Peter Board, W.G.K. Duncan, R.W.G. Mackay, F.A. Bland, Dr. Frank Louat and J.A. McCallum (Sydney), took up their criticisms and applied them to politics and society. The intermeshing of groups and individuals is suggested by the reading of the draft of Hancock's Australia by the economists Shann and Mills, the writers Vance and Nettie Palmer, the South Australian conservative M.H.R., Charles Hawker, and F.W. Eggleston.²

The initial criticisms were of lack of forethought in economic activity. The scientist Ian Clunies Ross, called in 1929 for more scientific research into the pastoral industry, remarking that the beef industry was now 'reaping the reward for our policy of laissez-faire in the past'.³ F.W. Eggleston complained of the location of railways and land development schemes according to political pressures rather than objective economic criteria.⁴ Another challenge to complacency was offered by R.C. Wilson of the

1. Their views were developed in the Economic Record and the Australian Quarterly, in books on economics and society and through work in a wide range of public and private inquiries and institutions. The books included D.B. Copland, Credit and Currency Control, Melbourne, n.d. (reviewed in the November, 1930 E.R.) and J.B. Brigden, Escape to Prosperity, Melbourne, 1930.
2. Rowse, op.cit., p.89
3. Ian Clunies Ross, 'Scientific Research and the Pastoral Industry', A.Q., June, 1929, p.50.
4. Eggleston, op.cit., chapters 4 and 5.

Graziers' Association, who asserted in 1934 that wool no longer sold itself and publicity and marketing schemes were now necessary.¹ These criticisms were expanded into an assault on popular illusions about the potentialities of Australia's 'Vast Open Spaces'. Hancock, considering the possibilities for settlement, triumphantly concluded that 'Oratory has been stabbed in the heart by statistics.'² The critics demanded more information and a future role for experts such as themselves. The apostles of rationalism and forethought, who had long wandered unheeded in the desert, went even further, feeling vengeful at their own earlier ostracism. Demanding that Australians face facts and accept harsh economic disciplines they injected moral, and even punitive, notes into their criticisms.

Allocating blame as well as offering analysis, they charged Australians with being thriftless and squandering their inheritance during the 1920s. The laissez-faire economist Edward Shann applied a Darwinian survival of the fittest view, arguing that Australia's hermit economy policy would bring 'slothful intellectual standards' and as a consequence, material decay.³ A chiding tone, and the view that most of the present troubles came from extravagance and cupidity, made it easier for these new social doctors to prescribe medicine of an unpleasant kind. Hancock's observation that it was hard for democracy to seek salvation through renunciation, and to pray 'Lead us not into temptation' was typical of this moral rather than economic view.⁴

-
1. R.C. Wilson, 'Wool Sells Itself', A.Q., September, 1934.
 2. Hancock, op.cit., p.122.
 3. Edward Shann, quoted by Herbert Burton (Economic Record, May, 1931, pp.143-144) in reviewing Shann's An Economic History of Australia, Cambridge, 1930.
 4. Hancock, op.cit., p.114.

These moral overtones followed the change in the terms of social debate. The Arbitration Court of H.B. Higgins had sought to relate standards of living to the needs of a civilised man and his family, and the New Protection had explicitly linked protection of industries to protection of living standards. The new economists and their followers sought to apply strictly economic criteria. While some of them such as Hancock saw the ethical ideals underlying the old dispensation as admirable, they wondered if they could be realised in practical economic terms. Tim Rowse has described the establishment of 'a new idiom and framework for the discussion of social issues' in the 1920s. There was a transition

from the Arbitration Bench's themes of social holism and amelioration to a concern with the economist's science of productive efficiency and marginal returns.

'Liberal intellectuals now recognized the social process through different conceptual tools.' The new respectability of the social sciences had brought with it the professionalisation and fragmentation of social philosophy.¹

The changing institutional structure for the study of public affairs encouraged and reflected the new trends. The Economic Society, which had been formed by middle class businessmen, professionals and academics, was not imbued with the Christian and Labour idealism for social reform and research of the W.E.A. The nexus between business and academic economics was symbolised by the name 'Commerce' and by the comfortable furniture donated by businessmen to the new Faculty at Melbourne University.²

1. Rowse, op.cit. pp 97-98.

2. Interview, Dianna Dyason (daughter of E.C. Dyason), 10/10/76.

Politically conservative bodies of young businessmen and professionals joining together for political discussion and action such as the Constitutional Association also brought more business-oriented recruits into public affairs debate. They sought to renovate conservative politics, which they saw under Hughes and his successors to be almost as decayed as Labor politics. Uniting to defend the constitution and oppose 'communism' during and after the turmoil of the 1925 Walsh and Johnson case, they encouraged a conservative orientation in public affairs debate.¹ The initial readership of the Australian Quarterly came mainly from group subscriptions from these bodies making a conservative weighting inevitable despite the journal's independence and wider spread of readers and contributors.²

The economic criticisms of the late 1920s coincided with, and supported, a growing conservative offensive against wage levels. The Queensland Basic Wage Inquiry of 1925 was the first expression of the growing opinion of economists, businessmen, conservative politicians and British financiers that wages had to be adjusted according to productivity rather than need.³ The relationship between the new terms of economic discourse and conservative moves to reduce the real income of workers is a complex one. The economists' science told them that Australian protection

-
1. One of the Objects of the Constitutional Association was: 'To promote the maintenance of constitutional government in opposition to Communism and all unconstitutional methods.' (C.A. advertisement in the March, 1932 A.Q., p.2.)
 2. The Quarterly began with the support of the Constitutional Association of N.S.W., and group subscriptions from the Constitutional Clubs in Melbourne and Brisbane. See chapter 7 for a fuller discussion.
 3. Nowse, op.cit., pp.101-102. The Commission's members were R.C. Mills, J.B. Bridgen and J.T. Sutcliffe.

was failing to protect and that economic adjustment was necessary. They derived professional and personal advancement from their new roles as advisers to conservative governments and to banking.¹ The moral tone of their criticisms suggests that they were not only offering the 'intense scrutiny' of policy 'by minds trained to avoid the pitfalls of popular reasoning and to weigh economic intangibles in a purely economic balance.'² The simple terms of their social analysis also suggest views which expressed their own middle class interest, the intellectuals' revenge, or perhaps merely the limitations of specialists who outside their own field turned more readily to moralising than to social analysis.

The non-economic aspects of the analysis can be seen in their views of popular political psychology in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The onset of the Great Depression itself intensified existing criticisms as the present evils, including political conflict and illusory panaceas for economic problems, appeared to worsen. The suffering of the depression made the

-
1. J.G. Crawford was economist to the Rural Bank of N.S.W., and H.C. Coombs was appointed an economist to the Commonwealth Bank. L.F. Giblin was the first economist on the Board of Directors of the Commonwealth Bank. Roland Wilson became Commonwealth Statistician and Adviser to the Commonwealth Treasury while at different times F.R.E. Mauldon, E.R. Walker and J.B. Brigden gave economic advice to the governments of Tasmania, New South Wales and Queensland. First L.F. Giblin, and later G.L. Wood, sat with F.W. Eggleston on the Commonwealth Grants Commission, while R.C. Mills sat on the Royal Commission into Monetary and Banking Systems

In the News and Notes of the June 1934 Economic Record it was observed that 'the much expected retirement of economists from public life has not yet taken place.' (p.82).

2. Roland Wilson, 'Australia and the Economic Conference', A.Q., March, 1932, p.6.

economists all the more determined to save the people from popular remedies such as Social Credit and 'Technocracy' which they believed to be like useless medicines containing only sugar and water or capable of worsening the situation further.¹ The economic criticisms and restraint of the late 1920s fostered an even more cautious view which might be termed 'pessimistic realism'. Faced with complex problems the apostate idealists and experts advised total caution regarding all grand schemes. The failure of 'State Socialism' in the 1920s made them reject economic planning, arguing in Eggleston's dramatic words that schemes for social renovation were destroyed by the 'obstinate, -nay, growing-disposition of the man in the street to walk in the gutter'.²

The pessimistic realist view expressed the traditional conservative belief that experience taught the limitations of idealistic hopes of social possibility. J.B. Bridgen regretted that in the real world of politics 'beautiful plans and theories' were often 'murdered by a gang of brutal facts'. His principle of social planning, his first test of an idea, was to ask 'Will it work?'³ The low view of human nature which characterised pessimistic realism was found in Roland Wilson's sceptical view of the bolder conceptions

-
1. Lloyd Ross was a strong critic of Social Credit and the American 'Technocracy' movement (which has only some similarities with the idea of 'technocracy' in Australian reformist social thought). See Lloyd Ross, Tickets Without Goods, Dunedin, 1932, and 'Technocracy', Norpath Review, July 1933.
 2. Eggleston, op.cit., p.321.
 3. J.B. Bridgen, op.cit., pp. 79, 153.

of planning:

Man may be innately good, but he is not good enough. He may be capable of improvement, but the present must take him as it finds him. It finds him still a creature of the emotions, ruled by instinct rather than reason. Under the stimulus of a fine ideal he can at times rise to noble heights, but in the ordinary course of everyday life he remains the imperfect social animal.¹

Brigden believed that the ideal of 'communism' had 'proved too high a standard for human nature'.² L.G. Melville rejected dreams of planning that could destroy "this sorry state of things entire, and remould it nearer to the heart's desire".³ Mindful of the proliferation of tracts for the times and schemes for salvation the economists took pride in their caution. In 1934 planning became briefly a subject of importance and 'National Economic Planning' was the theme of the annual A.I.P.S. Summer School. In reviewing the discussions L.G. Melville praised the realism of papers by L.F. Giblin and Roland Wilson, commending Wilson for criticising the present state of affairs, but being unwilling to 'throw away his bone, however bare, for its reflection'.⁴

There was an inherent tension in pessimistic realism as many reformists who held this view, while apostate idealists, had not completely abandoned their hopes for rational political processes. Their castigations often attacked the gap between reality and a rational ideal. Many reformists joined with Wells in believing that if there was a race between education and chaos

-
1. Roland Wilson, 'The Economic Implications of Planning' in W.G.K. Duncan (ed.), National Economic Planning, Sydney, 1934, p.73.
 2. Brigden, op.cit., p.157.
 3. L.G. Melville, 'Plans and Planners', A.Q., December, 1934, p.104.
 4. Melville, ibid, pp.104-106.

in the modern world, education might and must win. In scrutinising politics they had an ideal of citizenship which was the other side of the coin to present behaviour. There were ideal and pessimistic realist poles in Eggleston's thought. Against the ideal of ethical citizenship was put the disturbing reality of 'the ethical decadence of politics'.¹ Reformist ambivalence was often expressed in a psychological dualism in their thought. Seeing the absence of rational, responsible citizenship, the reformists calumniated what they saw as weakness of character or debased mass psychology.

The tone of revulsion which informed their perspective on Australian politics arose partly because intellectuals were unskilled at, and displeased by, party internal manoeuvring and emotional political debate. The critique of party politics, while largely directed at the rigidity of the Labor machine and its relationship to sectional interests, and used to help unseat Labor in several Parliaments, was not simply an attack on Labor. Members of new young conservative organisations in N.S.W., Victoria and South Australia disapproved of the political style of their own parties though they were also moved by other aims, including personal ambition.²

The critics complained of the increase in sectional legislation. Eggleston lamented that his own experience as a State Government Minister

1. Eggleston, quoted by Osmond, op.cit., p.14
2. See Frederick Howard, Kent Hughes: A Biography, Melbourne, 1972, chapters 5-7. Though in Victoria the All for Australia League worked, almost from the beginning, with conservative politicians and political groups to revamp the conservative parties, in N.S.W. the A.F.A.L. had relations with the Nationalist Party, in Matthews' words, 'only on the level of mutual abuse'. (Trevor Matthews, 'The All for Australia League', in Cooksey, op.cit. p.142.)

had been one of

only partially successful resistance to intense political pressure from interested sections of the community with practically no support from any political section or from the public.

Nobody had been interested but the "Interests". He went on to complain that state development schemes in Victoria had 'a long record of half-baked policy, uncertain objectives and faltering application.' Both policies and administration had fallen prey to the pressures of sectional interests, political decisions and inadequate research.¹

The commentators lamented the forms and tone of politics. The Parliamentary machine, the power of the Executive, the lack of training of M.P.s and Ministers, political 'interference' in economic and administrative decisions and lack of research support facilities were disapproved of throughout the late 1920s and the 1930s. The machinery criticisms contributed to a more general estimate of the short-sightedness of democracy, the limitations of the Australian version and the failings of press, parties and public. The threat of the depression to all interests and groups in the community intensified these views.²

Political life was often seen in 1930 as characterised by bitter conflict. The Sydney Anglican cleric, Rev.Dr. P.A. Micklem, regretted that the last year had been a 'weary tale of strife and recrimination' and wished that the body politic would be 'purged of this taint of personal mistrust and suspicion.'³ Each controversy over the next few years prompted similar

1. Eggleston, op.cit., Chapter 4, p.71.

2. See Loveday, op.cit., and Trevor Matthews, 'The All for Australia League' in Cooksey, op.cit.

3. P.A. Micklem, 'Politics and Progress', A.Q., March, 1930, p.14.

complaints. In 1934 J.A. McCallum regretted that banking, a subject 'eminently suited for calm consideration', was being approached with 'appeals to passion and instinct'.¹ The rejection of politics was the main theme in reformist thought in these years. Writing in 1929 Mildred Muscio asserted that party politics meant 'government by warfare', and complained that 'sincerity and constructive thought languish in such a political atmosphere.'²

These assessments of political democracy brought reformists closest to simply conservative political positions. The view that party conflict was a major obstacle to national recovery during the depression could easily lead to the view that a conservative United Australia Party would seek to govern in the national interest.³ The reformist themes of non-party government by disinterested citizens, experts and an informed minority appealed to conservatives who wanted emergency government in the crisis. Their real interest, though, was in 'national' government, which 'put aside party' yet governed in unmistakably conservative terms. The equation of conservative parties' aims with national aims has been described in regard to the modern Liberal Party by the political scientist Dean Jaensch. The Liberal Party believes 'that it integrates the interests of all social groups in society - that it is non-sectional in supports and policy and that both it and its policies are based on a concept of social consensus',

-
1. J.A. McCallum, 'Public Control of Banking', A.Q., June 1934, p.13.
 2. Mildred Muscio, 'Reflections on Party Politics', A.Q., September, 1929, pp.90-91.
 3. This view was argued by Captain J.G. Duncan-Hughes, 'The Prospects of Nationalism in Australia', A.Q., June, 1931 (Hughes was a South Australian Nationalist Senator elected in 1931. The United Australia Party was being formed at this time.)

that it represents the 'national' interest in contrast with the 'sectional' Labor Party.¹

Such an extreme formulation of this view in the Australian Quarterly came only from conservative politicians, whilst a milder version which simply damned the Labor Party was more common. F.W. Eggleston charged that it was not socialistic but 'an opportunistic representative of a unionist party machine without any thought of ultimate effect.' Workers' organisations gave one the impression of 'immense power uninformed by intelligent direction.' Intellectuals who had helped in the creation of the Labor Party had been almost completely thrust out. In the absence of a constant play of intelligence on the problems of socialism, Labor propaganda had become 'a hotch-potch of popular conventions and catch-cries, suspicions and prejudices, caught in a web of ideology derived mainly from Marx.'² J.A. McCallum made an even more damning indictment from his own experience which is discussed below with reformist views of popular psychology.

The rejection of politics also involved criticisms of Realpolitik in the conservative parties (Eggleston), of the bias of conservative and Labor newspapers (Brigden), of the Country Party as a sectional party (Hancock), and of the U.A.P.'s links with big business (McCallum).³ In N.S.W., the All for

-
1. Dean Jaensch, 'The Liberal Party and Change', p.184 in R. Lucy (ed.), The Pieces of Politics, Melbourne, 1975.
 2. F.W. Eggleston, op.cit., pp.134, 236.
 3. Eggleston, op.cit.; Brigden, op.cit., p.141; Hancock, op.cit., Chapter 11; McCallum, 'The Economic Bases of Australian Politics' in W.G.K. Duncan (ed.), Trends in Australian Politics, Sydney, 1935, pp.67-69. (In future cited as Duncan, ed., (1935). All volumes emanating from A.I.P.S. Summer Schools are cited in this way except when first cited.)

Australia League tapped a general and fairly undirected anti-political sentiment and had reservations about supporting a new conservative party which grew out of the Nationalist Party.¹ The utopian aspiration for the end of politics was held by moderate middle class citizens who longed for social harmony and national purpose, as well as by conservatives and ex-military officers who sought national unity under a leader and the corporate bonds expressed in the Anzac spirit informing public life.²

The implicit conservatism of some reformists was manifested in the views of Eggleston and others that politics would gain from the involvement of 'those who should be leaders', 'the professional and commercial classes - the most competent.'³ Similarly, during the political conflicts of 1931-32 reformists did not dissociate themselves from, or endorse for that matter, conservative press views of the Lang Government as a 'Frankenstein monster'.⁴ Several years later, however, when the heat and passion had decreased, they assailed emotionalism in politics generally rather than the now fading spectre of Jack Lang.⁵

1. See Matthews, op.cit.

2. On conservative, and specifically New Guard, ideas of national corporate unity, see Peter, op.cit. pp.339-342.

3. Eggleston, op.cit., p.295

4. The term was that of the Australasian, 6/2/1932.

5. David McLelland, the A.I.P.S. Secretary, writing to R.W.G. Mackay in England (21/4/1934) remarked that the words of an article on the N.S.W. Referendum on the Legislative Council, 'with which I am sure you are familiar', had been borne out in fact:

The Referendum will be fought on strictly party lines and in accordance with the best traditions of party politics. The Press and the speakers from all platforms, so as to obtain success for the party they support, will in all sincerity and apparent honesty misrepresent the real issues. The subject will be debated with heat and intolerance and all the customary paraphernalia of an election in all parts of the State wherever two or three are gathered together. Mr. Stevens and Mr. Lang will release from their Parliamentary cupboards all their invective. (A.I.P.S. Papers, Mitchell Library MSS 1835, Y12909)

In the early 1930s a general questioning of the adequacy of democracy partly supplanted the focus on Australian politics. This theme drew many progressive reformists into the pessimistic realist orbit. Even social democrat reformists lamented the quality of the press and the unwillingness of most citizens to think about politics in a period of economic crisis. Believing that the 'so-called educated democracy' was ignorant in the complex modern world they wondered if the ordinary citizen could handle the demands events placed on his intelligence and character. Several reformists complained about democracy's internal bias as reflected in the heavy-handed administration of the White Australia policy.¹ Eggleston complained that democracy interested itself with concerns of the day and was not apt for the management of an economic commodity like the forest which took from 50 to 100 years to mature its fruits. Trees had no votes and their greatest enemy was the parochial politician susceptible to electoral influences.²

Conservatives continued to stress the inadequacies of Australian government and politics. Eggleston remarked that many old countries and most new ones had destroyed their forests.³ F.A. Bland and A.H. Charteris wondered if the Australian soil was good enough for Westminster parliamentary democracy. Charteris noted a national 'sub-tropical somnolence' and characterized the typical Australian as 'the "easy-onsey Ossie"'.⁴ Bland

-
1. Hancock, op.cit., chapter 12; F.W. Eggleston, review of Gordon L.Wood, The Pacific Basin (Oxford, 1930) in E.R., November, 1930, pp.308-9.
 2. Eggleston, op.cit., pp.185-190.
 3. ibid
 4. A.H. Charteris, 'Declining Faith in Representative Government' in Duncan ed., (1935) p.140, pp.130-2.

attributed the general decline in parliamentary workings partly to the 'variations from the parent stock' in the Antipodes. The Westminster system had been transplanted, not completely successfully to

a new environment, where many of the restraints of custom and convention are absent, where the stratification of society is not so marked, and where there is no tradition of a ruling class.¹

The dualistic view of psychology and citizenship which was at the centre of reformist social analysis was evident in their writings on popular and national psychology. Most of the reformists were over 30 at the onset of the Great Depression.² They had been educated in the period of Edwardian optimism and had learned two central beliefs which stemmed from the Enlightenment and the century of 'Progress' which came after it. Taught to believe that education would activate man's innate rationality and that, in late 19th century New Liberal terms, responsible citizenship would ensure social and political progress, they confronted the twentieth century.³ Ideas of the role of the rational citizen in political progress had attracted middle class reformists in a period which seemed one of progress, peace and comparative harmony under middle class leadership. The new century, bringing the rise of the Federal Labor Party, industrial conflict, the mass press and international tension leading to the Great War, soon challenged this world and the rationalist world-view it engendered. The challenge of events was reflected in the new science of psychology, the writings of Freud and the new writers on political parties and political psychology, Graham Wallas, Walter Lippmann,

-
1. F.A. Bland, 'Overhauling the Machinery of Government' in Duncan, ed., (1935), p.148
 2. Bland was born in 1882, Eggleston in 1885 and Bridgen in 1887.
 3. The citizenship ideal offers the theme of Walter Murdoch's Civics textbook, The Australian Citizen, Melbourne, 1912.

and M.I. Ostrogorski. All insisted that the rationalist ideal was an inadequate description of reality.¹

In the post-war years reformist intellectuals sought to relate their ideals of citizenship to reality. The theme of citizenship, which informed the English New Liberalism, had become important in Australian reformist thought and in school Civics courses, and appealed to reformists in their role as adult educators.² The citizenship ideal, seen by F.A. Bland as the 'Periclean ideal of active personal attention to the affairs of the community' did not disappear entirely from reformist thought though it retreated increasingly to the background.³ In looking at the other side of the coin, the absence of citizenship, reformists began to consider what psychology had to say about the problem. In the immediate post-war years Freudian ideas were in the air, influencing many people who had never read Freud; some reformists, including E.H. Burgmann and Macmahon Ball, taught psychology to adult education classes.⁴ The strongest influence on Australian reformists, however, was Graham Wallas. R.C. Mills and F.A. Bland had studied under Wallas at the London School of Economics and Wallas' name and the theme of 'Human Nature in Politics' recur in numerous papers and

1. In 1902 M.I. Ostrogorski's Democracy and the Organisation of Political Parties was published in London. Walter Lippmann's Liberty and the News and Public Opinion were published in New York in 1920 and 1922 respectively.
2. On citizenship in school curricula see A. Barcan, 'The Decline of Citizenship as an Educational Aim', Quadrant, Vol. XVI, No. 2., April, 1972 and Murdoch's The Australian Citizen. See also chapter 5.
3. F.A. Bland, 'An Appraisal of Results' in W.G.K. Duncan, (ed.) Social Services in Australia, Sydney, 1939, p.193.
4. Oakes, op.cit., p.35 and Fowse, op.cit., p.162, footnote 37.

discussions.¹

Wallas sought to analyze the problem of irrationality in politics. His first major book Human Nature in Politics (1908) studied popular political psychology, developing an analysis of representative government which turned into an argument against nineteenth century intellectualist assumptions. His second book The Great Society: A Psychological Analysis (1914), which developed the psychological theme further, was an argument against certain forms of 'twentieth century anti-intellectualism.'² In The Art of Thought (1926) he looked to specialized 'thought organisations' for the thought which democracy seemed unable to provide.³ Australian reformists took up Wallas' stress on psychology and on the importance of research and administration in modern government. F.A. Bland and J.B. Brigden, who shared these interests, praised Wallas as the most stimulating writer on government. Bland argued, following Wallas and Lippman, that they had to 'make deliberate provision for thinking out (their) problems, instead of trusting to the interstices of time which remained to them from

-
1. Mills studied at the L.S.E. before serving in the Great War and his book The Colonization of Australia, 1829-42, London, 1915 has an introduction by Wallas who had supervised the study. F.A. Bland had been at the L.S.E. from 1916-1917, while Macmahon Ball and W.G.K. Duncan, who were of a later generation, studied there in the late 1920s when Harold Laski and R.H. Tawney were influential figures. Tawney was the main influence on Ball (Interview, 22/10/1976) and Tawney's Christian social conscience and W.E.A. orientation also influenced Bland (Interview, R.S. Parker, 23/1/1976). Don Watson has also argued that Herbert Burton's 'socialism was of the Tawney variety and vaguely Christian' (op.cit., p.81)
 2. Preface to G. Wallas, The Great Society: A Psychological Analysis, New York, 1920, (first edition, London, 1914)
Graham Wallas, Human Nature in Politics, London, 1908.
 3. Wallas, ibid.

their other activities', if the modern 'Great Society' was to survive.¹

Thinking in these terms several reformists believed that the new discipline of political science was in fact 'very largely political psychology' with the aim of making society more rational.² They lamented the 'almost pre-Copernican darkness' in which the social sciences languished, and saw their own work as a beginning.³ The development of educational and commercial psychology for use in vocational guidance and marketing respectively further popularized the subject as did the psychological impact of the depression on the nation and on

-
1. F.A. Bland, 'Citizenship in the Light of Christ's Way of Life', M.R., April, 1933, p.22, J.B. Brigden, op.cit., p.185. In stressing the importance of administration he used the Pope couplet: 'For forms of Government let fools contest; That which is best administered is best.' The A.I.P.S. class in political science considered psychology and 'human nature' in politics. (Typescript 'Human Nature', including sections 'The Psychology of the Crowd', 'A Herd or Gregarious Instinct', A.I.P.S. Papers, ML MSS 1835, Y12906) Macmahon Ball emphasised psychology in his paper 'Education and Politics' (Duncan, ed., (1935), and J.A McCallum spoke on radio on 'Human Nature and Politics' in 1939 (A.I.P.S. Papers, ML MSS 1835, Y 12903, Broadcast Committee Minutes). Wallas is cited in the writings of other reformists including Walter Murdoch (Murdoch Papers, NLA MS 2987, box 1, Notebook untitled, undated), E.R. Walker ('Some Economic Aspects of Vocational Guidance') (Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy, Vol. IX, March, 1931 p.64), and F.A. Bland ('Politics and Administration', A.Q., December, 1934, p.68), Bland remarked that Wallas had exploded the notion that men are automatically guided by enlightened self-interest.'
 2. J.B. Brigden, in discussion in W.G.K. Duncan (ed.), Social Services in Australia, Sydney, 1939, p.146.
 3. F.A. Bland, quoting the president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford in Duncan, ibid, p.197.

individuals.¹ In distinctive terms Macmahon Ball argued that 'psychology was the central (contemporary) problem': 'everyone wants to feel his own life has some importance, to achieve some sense of human dignity.'² This view became popular in educational circles in the late 1930s with the belief in education for complete living, which involved the development of the personality as well as preparation for work and citizenship. The power of wartime propaganda, depression political rhetoric and the totalitarian regimes' success in arousing their peoples from the slumber and drift brought by the depression were other reminders of the importance of psychology.

Reformist hopes for rationality, moderation and citizenship were rare in their views of popular psychology. Instead the apostate or chastened idealist's revulsion at contemporary irrationality informed their thought. Reformist views of the electorate were often expressed in literary and moral images beginning with the economists' criticisms of greed, selfishness, sloth, egotism and myopia. Reformist dualism was similarly expressed in variations on the vice and virtue theme. Images of health and viability were opposed to those of disease and decay, and the closed minds and open appetites

1. The first developments were in educational and industrial psychology, with particular reference to vocational guidance. On the growth of psychology in universities and the development of vocational guidance see K.E. Cunningham, 'Ideas, Theories and Assumptions in Australian Education', in J. Cleverley and J. Lawry (eds.) Australian Education in the Twentieth Century: Studies in the Development of State Education, Melbourne, 1973. Cunningham touches on A.H. Martin and the Australian Institute of Industrial Psychology, which he founded in 1927. See also Martin's Industrial Psychology, Sydney, 1931. Though Martin considered the use of psychology in marketing this application and its use in opinion polls developed more slowly. The influence of psychology in education (reflected in the importance of psychological testing in the A.C.E.R.) is a subject of great importance in Australian cultural and intellectual history.

2. W. Macmahon Ball, 'Education and Politics' in W.G.K. Duncan, (ed.) Educating a Democracy, Sydney, 1936, p.156.

of the electorate were juxtaposed. Work was contrasted with sloth, thought with emotion, appearance with reality, discipline with self-indulgence, the practical with the idealistic, courage with fear and experience with ignorance.¹ The average citizen was often charged with being immature and irresponsible, hasty and shortsighted in his public attitudes. Such views, following from the pessimistic realist view of human nature as expressed by conservatives, also appealed to those of more moderate and progressive disposition. The progressive Anglican Bishop J.S. Moyes, expressed this paternalistic view in a March, 1931 Quarterly article:

The temper of our political and social life today may be described as one of bitter mortification, comparable to that of a child who has built a castle in the sand and watched it topple under an incoming tide; watched it with tears and with futile anger, after trying to hold off the inevitable by other sandy walls that could not fulfil their promise of protection. For despite those who jest at the phrase "new country" or "young nation", the words express at least a fact in the psychology of our people, and the average Australian's attitude to life is that of the child, emotional rather than reasoned,² self-assertive and optimistic rather than sane and realistic.

-
1. These images were common in the writings of Shann, McCallum, Brigden and in a usually milder form in those of Eggleston and Hancock. Bland compared 'The Spoils System in the Public Service' (A.Q., June 1932) to a plague which was unleashing corruption and all the passions and instincts associated with it. (p.41) Peter Board, the educational administrator called, in his article 'Party Spirit in Politics' (A.Q., September, 1931, p.69), for idealism to replace materialism in public life. Sir Lennon Raws ('Economics and Politics', A.Q., June, 1931, p.37) compared politics to a 'dog-fight', called for sacrifice from all sections of the community to deal with the nation's economic problems (p.40), and criticized the tendency to lean too much on governments (p.43). Roland Wilson, the economist, looked to the spur of adversity to enable man to rediscover spiritual values and get himself out of his present difficulties. ('Capitalism and the Second Effort', A.Q., Dec.1932, p.60) while L.F. Giblin looked to Australians getting themselves out of a tough spot ('Australia Agonistes', A.Q., Dec., 1930, p.16) as had their soldiers in war. Similar images were found in the H.R. with the laziness and irresponsibility themes the strongest, and in the M.R., which criticised more apathy, drift and fear and materialism and called for thought, courage and spiritual idealism.
 2. J.S. Moyes, 'The Present Temper of Australian Politics and Society', A.Q., March, 1931, p.8.

In this picture of the citizen as a child Moyer was expressing the view that blame for the depression could be attributed to previous and present Australian actions and attitudes rather than to international economic factors. As time passed the depression was increasingly seen as resulting from the problems of world trade and of laissez-faire economics rather than being merely a product of Australian weaknesses. Many reformists, however, still saw popular and national psychology as the great evils. This was apparent in progressive reformists' criticism of popular ignorance and emotionalism regarding foreign affairs and in a general reformist distaste for contemporary attitudes.¹ Conservative reformists such as F.A. Bland attributed the populace's weaknesses of character to the social service state. He criticised what he saw as the practice of 'auctioning welfare for votes' as 'a means of popular self-corruption'. Regretting the lack of scientific data on the effect of social services on popular morals, the 53 year old Anglican layman looked around and saw 'tendencies to self-indulgence instead of self-denial, licence instead of restraint, love of pleasure instead of duty, escape to fantasy from reality.'²

Bland felt the problems could be attributed to what Bagehot had called the change of generation.³ Several writers took up the theme of a decline in public life in different terms. Some complained of the decline of true liberalism and the increase in government censorship. Even Bland recognised, with Edward Masey and Eggleston, that despite national boasting and complacency, Australian social services had fallen behind those of other

-
1. See the views of Macmahon Ball and others on this subject which are discussed in chapter 5.
 2. F.A. Bland, 'An Appraisal of Results' in Duncan, ed., (1938), pp. 192-3, pp.197-8.
 3. F.A. Bland, 'Overhauling the Machinery of Government' in W.G.K. Duncan, ed., (1935), pp.148-9.

countries.¹ F.R.E. Mauldon complained that in 1935 Australia still had not effected an administrative reorganisation comparable to that in England following the Haldane Report of 1918.² Intellectual nostalgia for the past included memories of the days when principle had supposedly been more important than party in politics, the days of laissez-faire and Gladstonian sound finance, while the American Australophile, Hartley Grattan, regretted the loss of the literary and social reforming impulse of the 1890s.³

The tension between the rationalist idealism which sees intelligence and rationality as possible characteristics of a better politics and the pessimistic realism which expresses frustration and disgust at the failure to achieve the ideal can be seen in the thought of the former N.S.W. Labor Party member (and later conservative Senator) J.A. McCallum, and that of F.W. Eggleston the former Victorian Nationalist M.L.A. Eggleston was conscious of social ideals as well as the falling away from them. Similarly, McCallum concluded an almost scatological description of the mentality of the electorate with the reflection that, as Darwin had not forgotten, when scrutinising the lowly habits of earthworms, that above his head was the spacious firmament and the glorious sun, he had not forgotten the Commonwealth

-
1. Bland, *op. cit.* (1938) , p.160; Eggleston, *State Socialism in Victoria* p.247, Edward Masey, 'Aspects of Planning', *A.Q.*, June, 1934, p.84. Bland debunked Australian illusions: 'Once famed as pioneer workers in the social laboratory, we have fallen far behind smugly satisfied with our achievements, and justifying our complacency on the ground that Australian conditions hardly warrant many services essential in congested industrial countries... The world crisis of 1929... rather rudely shattered some illusions about the sanctity of our standard of living, and made us suspect the soothsayers in our midst who are never tired of telling us that we have this or that service which is the best in the world.' (*ibid*).
 2. F.R.E. Mauldon, 'State Agencies of Administration in Victoria', in Duncan, ed. (1935), pp.188-189.
 3. F.W. Eggleston (*op.cit.*, chapter 8) looked nostalgically back to the simplicity of Gladstonian laissez-faire. Grattan looked back to a different tradition from the nineteenth century. 'On Australian Literature, 1788-1938', *A.Q.*, June 1938.

ideal and the ideal of 'a lofty conception of public welfare' which transcended all sectional and personal purposes.¹

Considering the ideal, Eggleston stressed the centrality of citizenship in political life. 'Social advancement of all kinds is dependent upon the development of a higher citizenship', he argued. 'With that anything is possible; without it nothing.'² The contemporary problem lay in the limitations of the average man and his social psychology. In the same way as Hancock had described the State as a vast public utility at the service of individualistic rights, Eggleston saw the development of the average Australian's social psychology, in Warren Osmond's summary, as 'the consequence of growing individuation of personality... the ironic legacy of Liberalism distorted by state socialism.'³ The typical Australian was the 'self-contained man', with a more developed individuality than earlier types, but one which was often expressed through a negative response to social demands. This negative side of him expressed the selfishness and egotism which marred modern politics. The self-contained man in his suburban home with a garden and 'a fence against intrusion' was 'a world to himself - he really (was) self-governed; his hedges were his frontiers.'⁴

Eggleston's critical view of the electorate expressed reformist dualism. The seekers after 'higher thought' could easily discern blind

-
1. McCallum, 'The Economic Bases of Australian Politics', in Duncan, ed., (1935), p.71.
 2. Eggleston, op.cit., p.323.
 3. Osmond, op.cit., p.20
 4. Eggleston, op.cit., p.330.

mechanical will. Seeking morality Eggleston detected unscrupulousness. Fellowship and co-operation could easily be supplanted by social division. Service could be opposed by greed and irresponsibility. Eggleston chastised and reproved the electorate and the citizen, arguing in religious terms that what the self-contained man wanted was 'an awakening to higher responsibility, or in the words of the old Methodists, a personal conviction of sin.'¹ Eggleston's further answers to these problems, which took him towards traditional conservative remedies of laissez-faire and leadership, to the rebirth of citizenship and to social progress coming from non-political bodies, independent citizens and education are discussed in the following chapter.

J.A. McCallum was similar to Eggleston in offering perceptive observations on contemporary social psychology laced with old-fashioned moralising and a punitive tone. A schoolteacher and middle class intellectual who felt he had been pushed aside by the rise of political machines in the N.S.W. Labour movement during the 1920s, he fondly recalled the days of Holman and the ascendancy of politicians over the industrial wing.² While most reformists, in looking at the 'extravagances' of the 1920s, tarred all Australians with the same psychological brush, making no attempt to apportion responsibility to governments, entrepreneurs or other classes and

1. Eggleston, op.cit., p. 346.

2. McCallum had been a member of the Labor Party in N.S.W. during the 1920s. A member of the Federal Labor Party, rather than Lang Labor, during the 1930s he eventually became a Liberal Senator in 1950. He was a Director of the A.I.P. from 1934 until 1950, and, with Norman Cowper, became a member of the A.I.P. Council. Like Bland, he was strongly influenced by his distasteful for Lang. (Interview with his son, Prof. Douglas McCallum, 3/7/1977).

groups, McCallum was aware that there were different social groups. Yet his pungent criticisms of the 'stock sentiments', the 'pictures in their heads' which prevailed in the 'intellectual climate' of these groups were not always more subtle.¹

McCallum considered the narrowness and self-satisfaction which prevailed in the 'property-owner's "intellectual climate"' but his most devastating criticism was of the attitudes found in 'the wage-earner's "intellectual climate"'. Here, certain stock sentiments such as Labor solidarity and opposition to capitalism prevailed. Since 1916 when trade union leaders had secured control of the Labor Party machine they had kept control of union affairs by manipulation, organising the militant minority and playing on these stock attitudes, and had treated the Parliamentary representative as 'an errand-boy of the movement'.²

In these years certain false beliefs had developed. One such belief, which he had once accepted, now offended him because of its anti-intellectualism. It was that

Labour policy, though it excels in wisdom all that was ever enacted from the time of Moses to that of Hitler, owes nothing to the teaching of the learned, the invention of the ingenious, or the vision of the inspired. It is exuded, like sweat, from the pores of the worker.³

McCallum believed instead that Labor's policy was not 'a magic emanation from the masses' but was 'put together and "put over", by a minority consisting of the political leaders and the thinking "rank and file".' He similarly

1. McCallum, 'The Economic Bases of Australian Politics', pp.48-9.

2. ibid, pp.50-55.

3. ibid, p.53.

rejected the view that members of the political party branches were less active and energetic than trade unionists. Labor Party branch members helped make Labor policy acceptable to the electorate:

The constant elements in Labour policy and methods reflected the opinion that flourishes in a wage-earning area. The variable elements reflect (a) the views of independent active members of the party; (b) opinion that flourishes in the community more generally.¹

McCallum saw the variable elements as adding ideas to the common stock and redeeming the movement 'from absolute squalor when the machine had become corrupt'. This attitude is implicit in his view of the political Labor movement as at best 'a splendid instrument for effecting the purposes of enlightened public opinion', and at worst 'a gadfly stinging sluggish opponents into reluctant response to the general will'. Similarly, he praised the "reformist" policy of Labor compounded of 'Liberalism' and non-doctrinaire measures for ameliorating the lot of the wage-earner and providing a fairer distribution of wealth.²

McCallum's picture of fallen virtue was more explicit in his description of how, despite the efforts of the pure minority, the equally impure conspiratorial few had taken over the machine and used propaganda to keep the support of those in the wage-earners' "intellectual climate". Only the wage-earner of 'character' or 'capacity' could resist this influence.³ The worst case of manipulation was the result of compulsory voting. McCallum,

1. ibid, pp. 51, 53-4.

2. ibid, pp. 50, 53.

3. ibid, pp. 54, 61-62.

and several other reformist intellectuals feared that the compulsory franchise had brought a lower than low class into the political process, a "slum proletariat" within the working class to which Labor had to appeal. This group had been seen by Marx as 'mercenary, fickle, and as likely to support the exploiters as the exploited.' This 'submerged stratum' was part of the socio-economic bases of Labour:

Without any conception of social justice, without any desire for the larger life that the Labour Party constantly strove for this group is readily responsive to the mass bribe and the sadistic pleasure that comes from making the comfortable classes uncomfortable.

Labour had to buy their votes with 'tangible material rewards and crude instinctive solaces'. Much which 'masqueraded as Labour policy had to be attributed to that fact'.¹ McCallum lived in the state where the Labour extra-parliamentary machine was strongest and his views were partly a legitimate product of that experience. One can see in their elitism and low view of the electorate, though, the seeds which were to later germinate and eventually take McCallum to the conservative side of politics.

The psychological critique of politics had three major limitations. Readily differentiating between the rational elite, the thinkers with a desire for 'the larger life', and the debased masses, it operated in terms taken from Protestant moralising and Social Darwinism which led to paternalistic and pessimistic conclusions. Holding these assumptions the thinkers undertook little close study of popular psychology which they preferred to dismiss in rhetorical terms. Following from this came a second weakness. Focussing on the psychology of the citizens most critics failed to consider practical schemes for dealing with Australia's social and economic problems beyond the most rudimentary measures of restraint to stop popular excesses. Finally, looking at psychology rather than society, even

1. ibid, pp. 56-7

in their hopeful moods, they looked not at the real prospects for social change but at the possibility of some kind of revelation, some moment when the straying flock might see the light.

The conservative implications of this thought are apparent in the disquiet expressed by several thinkers who feared that there were still 'primitive instincts' in modern society and that civilization offered 'only a slight veneer over our barbarity.'¹ Thought of this kind was not true social science; nor was it even systematic. These thinkers were part of a transitional generation which spoke the literary language of Shakespeare, the Bible and middle class Christian morality as much as the idiom of statistical and empirical social science. Hope and fear, observation and speculation, analysis and moral judgement sat side by side in their writings.² J.B. Brigden was as much preacher and publicist as professional economist and his own views and actions varied from outright conservatism to active participation in the planned national insurance scheme.³ Brigden's idiosyncratic Escape to Prosperity (1930) joined reformist support for thought, science and education with a conservative belief in leadership and discipline. The public learned nothing and forgot everything and only five

1. Brigden, op.cit. p.61.
2. Brigden (op.cit.) drew on Dickens (p.154), Plato (p.157), Mill and Carlyle (pp.166-7) and Shakespeare's 'The Tempest' (p.55) to support his own moral lessons as well as utilising contemporary political and economic analyses. Brigden criticised the tradition of idealism which he dated from Shelley, and saw in the thought of Shaw, Wells and Galsworthy. (p.107). He also remarked that one chapter entitled 'Phantoms, Fallacies and Facts' had become a sermon. (p.167).
3. Brigden was to have been responsible for setting up the scheme. (Interview, Roland Wilson, 23/1/1978).

per cent of men wanted responsibility argued Brigden.¹ Believing this he took a Protestant and Social Darwinist approach to social life; he asserted that 'Adversity:grim teacher' would show the way out of the present troubles, and saw trade unions as 'rather like people who have lost the fear of hell, and have not gained self-discipline.'² While not all reformists joined Hancock, Eggleston and Brigden in their awareness of temptation and sin, many still asked whether all citizens were able to cast a considered vote.

Brigden's admixture of punitive tones with a rhetoric of challenge and response expressed a reformist tendency whereby the enlightened minority castigated the ignorant majority and challenged it to see the light. This view,encouraged by reformism's tendency to personify the nation in psychological terms,was expressed in a secular 'politics of revelation.' An evangelical tradition and the Imperial and public school heroic mode of exhortation influenced the style of calls for thought, courage and self-sacrifice in coming to terms with the depression. The drama and extremes of a crisis situation encouraged many normally moderate, practical and rational reformists to express vague longings for a national regeneration or self-discovery which was the fullest expression of the 'politics of revelation'. The apostles of national consensus, as well as conservative, Christian and radical seekers after an organic harmony, were attracted by the holistic vision of Australia being lifted out of the depression by the surge of a general will.³ Following

1. Brigden, op.cit., p.61,p.186

2. ibid, p.xii, p.185.

3. Idealistic and progressive seekers after national purpose are discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

the critics who argued that despite Australia's sheep and soldiers the people had not yet shouldered the burdens of national responsibility, Bridgen offered his challenge to the individual Australian:

We are already moving somewhere. Is it advance or retreat? Whether we move quickly up the hill to prosperity depends on our individual and social courage. Are you an obstacle resisting advance, a complaining passenger, a shouting futility or a pioneer? The Australian of this generation has not yet advanced.¹

The challenge to the nation was linked with punitive views and conservative measures from 1928 to 1932. In the late 1930s it was frequently joined with more progressive aspirations. In both orientations it reflected intellectuals' alienation from the general populace and their lack of analytical tools for social analysis. The major contribution of pessimistic realism to reformism however, was to create a continuing underlying scepticism about the possibilities of social change and the development of an informed public opinion. Some reformists of radical disposition occasionally shared the scepticism about public capacity of a conservative such as F.A. Bland. When even moderate intellectuals in other countries, shocked by the horrors of the depression, talked urgently about grand schemes, planning and the need for a new social order,² Australian reformists, rejecting 'state socialism' and doubting the 'character of the citizens, kept their feet on flatter and more prosaic ground. Rejecting the world of politics, accepting economic laws and disturbed by popular psychology they often contented themselves with challenging popular illusions.

1. op.cit., p.192

2. On such debate in Britain see Arthur Marwick, 'Middle Opinion in the Thirties: Flaming Progress and Political 'Agreement'', English Historical Review, April, 1964, Vol. LXXIX, No. CXXI.

CONSERVATIVE AND TECHNOCRATIC SOLUTIONS TO
THE CRISIS

The pessimistic realist view of politics was easily translated into support for conservative solutions to the economic crisis. Conservatives made similar but stronger criticisms of the failure of government activity and the excesses of machine and sectional politics. In the short term many reformists, who over a longer period looked towards the intelligent modification of capitalism, accepted the conservative solutions of 'leadership', a more businesslike approach to government and increased controls on the Executive by Parliament and by expert bodies. It was a short step from low views of human nature and popular psychology to elitist views of government and support for machinery restraints on political innovation.

The conservative ramifications of pessimistic realism arose partly because of the prominence of economists and conservative students of public affairs in the debates. The Constitutional Association links of the Australian Quarterly drew to its pages articles by conservative politicians and publicists, including the leader of the new United Australia Party, the Labor defector, J.A. Lyons, and C.A. members such as F.A. Bland. The economists, advising governments and supporting a professional approach,



THE INSPECTOR ARRIVES.

From a cartoon by Percy Leason in the Bulletin, 10th July 1940.

'Ready to do what they're told.'

rejected traditional Australian policies and accepted the wisdom of visiting experts. They accepted the religion of sound finance as the conventional economic wisdom, and because its moral component followed their own criticisms of the character of the populace. The rebukes to Australian policymakers of British economic missions, including those of Sir Otto Niemeyer of the Bank of England, were also accepted. Niemeyer's style was that of a headmaster. When asked if he was finding his Australian visit satisfactory, he replied 'That depends on whether you do as you're told.' The Australian economists supported Niemeyer the headmaster, as teachers who were also responsible for moral and economic guidance.¹

Conservative criticisms of the Scullin Government in 1930 and demands for reduced government expenditure were supported indirectly by the criticisms of politics and extravagance in Hancock's Australia (1930) and Eggleston's State Socialism in Victoria (1932). The Australian Quarterly's pages for 1930-1932 carried similar articles on 'Party Spirit in Politics', 'The Economic and Financial Outlook', 'Economics for the Times', 'The Spoils System in the Public Service', 'The Federal Banking and Exchange Proposals', 'The Present Political Atmosphere in New South Wales', 'Australia Agonistes', 'Communism and New South Wales' and 'Economics and Politics'. These pieces criticised government extravagance and savagely assailed the political style of Lang in N.S.W. The dominant note in these articles was that the escape to prosperity would come through self-sacrifice and restraint of the kind that could best be implemented through conservative governments.

1. Quoted by John Lonie, 'Good Labor Men: The Hill Government in South Australia, 1930-1933', Labour History, No. 31, November, 1976, p. 20. Though most economists (including Giblin and Bridgen) joined in the general criticisms of Australian policies there was in fact much criticism of Niemeyer's analyses and recommendations. (See C.B. Schedvin, Australia and the Great Depression, Sydney, 1970, pp. 218-225).

The economists were involved in the move towards conservative governments and solutions as the experts behind the Premiers' Plan of 1931 with its key element of cuts in government expenditure including reductions, in wages and in social service payments. The Premiers' Plan was developed at several meetings of economists and government officials including those of the Economic Society and one held at the Blue Mountains home of Alfred Davidson, the General Manager of the Bank of New South Wales.¹ The Plan was accepted at the May 1931 Premiers' Conference, its stringency mentality and laissez-faire tendencies contributed to the cautious views of government expenditure which prevailed throughout the decade.

The victory of 'sound finance' put conservatives in the ascendant in politics and in public affairs forums, and encouraged a conservative rhetoric with a pro-British emphasis and the reaction against politics. It was argued that London debts and interest charges must be repaid, whatever the social cost in Australia. Conservatives associated sound finance with every other virtue including 'national honour', morality and decency. In contrast they saw their opponents, particularly the supporters of debt repudiation, as the devil personified. While they would see that Australian children were 'taught the old-fashioned British principles of honesty, decency and morality' their Labor opponents would be 'anti-religious' and teach Das Kapital in schools.²

-
1. Interview with R.F. Holder of the Economics Department of the Bank of New South Wales, 22/8/1976. There was also a cut in interest on government bonds. (Robertson, '1930-1939', p.427 in Crowley, op.cit.)
 2. Sydney Morning Herald, 1/5/1933. Quoted by John McCarthy in 'New South Wales after Lang: 1932-35', p.10, paper presented to the 'J.T. Lang and His Times' Conference, Sydney, 23-24 August, 1976.

The Premiership of Jack Lang in N.S.W. made many respectable citizens utter emotional phrases which were at odds with their own professions of moderation. Editorials were rare in the Australian Quarterly but the journal carried one on the dismissal of Lang. In dramatic terms it referred to the people's 'repugnance' to Lang's 'avowed dictatorship... repudiation of obligations... propagation of class hatred, degradation of parliament, cynical disregard of public or private honour', attacks on courts of justice and threats to private enterprise, and 'blind arrogance...divorced from patriotism and from principle.' He was charged with failing to make a constructive attempt to deal with unemployment and being intent on the confiscation of property and the control of industry. The self-righteous, evangelical and even religious tone of such criticism was expressed in the remark that

'A Greek writer would have seen in Mr. Lang's fall the hand of an offended Deity and even a modern commentator may be pardoned for tracing it to the interposition of Providence.' ¹

Several factors brought more moderate citizens close to such conservative stances. In the crisis the desire for stability became stronger than their support for flexibility and openness to new ideas, and they saw the conservatives as the guarantors of stability. Other more specific reasons included the reaction of intellectuals against popular emotion. Working class populism of the kind which pictured the Niemeyers as part of an international British or German-Jewish conspiracy did not attract reformists. ²

-
1. Editorial, A.Q., June, 1932, pp.5-7
 2. Typically, Labor Daily (23/8/1930) referred to British financiers as 'London Jews with their fat rake-offs' from Australian investments. Similarly, Lang referred to the 'international money ring's' desire for 'its pound of flesh' (J.T. Lang, The Great Bust: The Depression of the Thirties, Sydney, 1962, p.359). (Both references are cited in Jim Hutchison's 'Lang and His Times' Conference paper, 'The Lang Plan and Its Origins' p.5, p.7) W.A. Davies, the Labor candidate for Illawarra, warned constituents in the 1930 election campaign that the 'kingdom of international shylocks planned to reduce the miners to coolies and the dairy farmers to serfs.' (Illawarra Mercury, 24/10/1930). (Quoted by Len Richardson in his paper 'Lang and the Wollongong Labour Movement' p.4, given at the same conference.)

Some of their criticisms of Australian democracy, for example Hancock's remark on an insistent egalitarianism which refused to recognize talent ('every man thinks that he is twice as good as another'),¹ could lead in elitist directions. The strongest constraint on progressive support for social innovation was economic orthodoxy which focussed on fiscal stringency and balanced budgets.² W.G. Hancock's personal political movement in the period reflected contemporary currents of political opinion. He has recalled that from about 1926 until about 1933 he was 'right of centre' and since then had been 'left of centre'.³ The intellectual reaction and prevailing conservatism of the 1928-1932 years made reformists either accept the conservative position or adopt a lower profile until the return of climates more responsive to reform.

Only a few reformists were prominent in conservative groups during the depression. Norman Cowper, always on the fringe of conservative parliamentary politics, was on the executive of the All for Australia League and stood as a United Australia Party candidate against W.M. Hughes during the 1931 Federal elections.⁴ Many of the early members of the A.I.P.S. came from the Constitutional Association which, in addition

1. Hancock, op.cit., p.237.

2. Macmahon Ball told a Constitutional Association luncheon in February, 1937 that many of those who were fearful of either extreme, and sought to keep to the 'middle of the road' had in fact been pushed by social and economic forces to the right. He regretted both the popular lack of interest in questions of intellectual liberty, and the fact that social and economic forces were making it 'exceedingly inconvenient for anyone who thought boldly about the economic system to express his opinion in public'. (S.M.H., 3/2/1937).

3. Quoted by Tim Rowse, op.cit., p.124

4. Cowper was also the U.A.P. candidate for Wentworth in 1940 and had been active in the Council of the National Party during the 1920s (Interview, 18/5/1974).

to its more educational activities, campaigned in emotional terms on behalf of the anti-Labor parties (with pamphlets bearing such titles as 'A Recipe for Revolution' and 'Bolshevism by Act of Parliament') and assisted the A.F.A.L. in its activities.¹ It is a seeming paradox that some middle class students of public affairs and reformists who at first accepted the most bitter, partisan anti-Labor rhetoric later considered proposals for reform including improved social services. This was true of several principals of the C.A. and several key members of the Political Reform League in South Australia. The League, which grew out of a body of volunteers seeking to break a strike on the Port Adelaide wharves, had basic laissez-faire aims at its formation in 1929. It was active in conservative politics and publicity during 1930-31, particularly in the organisation of professedly 'non-political' conservatives. Later in the decade, however, particularly in the forums of the Young Liberal League, some of its members considered the need for social reform and sought a more efficient industrial capitalism in South Australia.²

In the crisis more moderate conservatives used similar rhetoric to

-
1. Constitutional Association Papers, Fisher Library, University of Sydney, Box 2, Committee Minutes, 9/4/1932 and Box 6, folder entitled 'Groups', Committee Minutes, 26/3/1931. The second pamphlet which attacked Lang's Arbitration Bill concluded:

If you want to avoid the curse of RUSSIAN SLAVERY
 If you want to keep YOUR HOME free and inviolate
 If you want to keep N.S.W. safe from the blight of Bolshevism
 VOTE and WORK for the U.A.P. Candidates

A typescript note regarding the Strathfield Group of the C.A. noted that most active members of the C.A. were active on committees of the All for Australia League.

2. See Loveday, *op.cit.*, and Matthews, *op.cit.*, and John Lonie, 'Conservatism and Class in South Australia during the Depression Years, 1929-1934', M.A. Thesis, Adelaide University, 1973. The 1937 Young Liberal League Scho 1 of Political Economy had as its subject 'The Welfare of the Australian People' and heard papers on health, social welfare, national insurance (G.L. Wood) and industrial efficiency. (A.I.P.S. Papers, Y12907).

that of conservatives who would have been happy to see the end of parliamentary government. Bland asserted that people were not rational and criticised 'so-called popular' mandates. Charteris wrote sceptically of 'imperious popular demand'. Such views were close to those of anti-democratic publicists. Charteris even sympathetically considered Winston Churchill's suggestion for a return to a restricted franchise with property qualifications.¹ The conservative politician, J.G. Duncan-Hughes' June, 1931 Quarterly article on 'The Prospects of Nationalism in Australia', which uses arguments about party machines and the need for fortitude in times of adversity to praise non-Labor, offers a clear example of the translation of pessimistic realism into conservative propaganda.² Similarly, J.B. Brigden dismissed 'Bolshevism' as ruthless and indefensible, 'a symptom of social disease not a policy' and R.C. Wilson of the Graziers' Association saw communism (meaning Langism) as 'a deadly peril... a cancer gnawing the vitals of our social body.'³

The ideal of leadership in a crisis, of a captain ensuring the safety of the ship in a storm, appealed to both conservatives and reformists.

1. F.A. Bland, 'Overhauling the Machinery of Government', p.146, p.180 and A.H. Charteris, 'Declining Faith in Representative Government and the Rise of Opposed Forms of Government', p.129 in Duncan, ed. (1935). Bland also complained of the 'irresponsible electorate' and 'the vagaries of the public whim', and in 1936 told a Sydney University audience that adult suffrage in state elections should be abolished. (McCarthy, op.cit., p.19)
2. Compare also the pessimistic realists' criticisms of extravagance and Duncan-Hughes' comments on 'the sorry tale of lavishness' during the previous decade. ('The Prospects of Nationalism in Australia', A.Q., June, 1931, p.67).
3. J.B. Brigden, op.cit., pp.158-160. R.C. Wilson, 'Communism and New South Wales', A.Q., June, 1931, p.111.

Leadership was an important theme in Victorian social thought. Most reformists had read Carlyle and, in their younger days, enjoyed stories of adventure in which gallant explorers and generals won through against the odds. Eggleston, Brigden and Walter Murdoch all had an interest in 'great men' and leadership which followed from the influence of Carlyle.¹

'Leadership' was also important for students of society who had studied history under Ernest Scott at Melbourne University. In his teaching Scott saw 'History as an Adventure, a record of Heroes dauntlessly proving that no land is uninhabitable and no sea unnavigable.'² The leadership idea was as important as the themes of 'democracy' and 'citizenship' in the political socialisation of most middle class citizens. Most conceptions of leadership involved conservative social assumptions. The industrialist Herbert Gepp, by character and temperament a leader of men, and Eggleston tended to join leadership and citizenship. Gepp looked for a combination of leadership and 'constructive responsible citizenship' which involved citizens giving loyal support to leaders as one answer to the problems of the Depression.³

'Leadership' as a social principle also appealed to those who lacked more complex analytical tools for studying society and could offer no concrete solutions to the crisis. It was a rhetorical crutch which could be leaned on by those who lacked adequate methods for studying society. Like the magic reformist word 'thought' the idea of

-
1. On Eggleston and Carlyle see Osmond, *op.cit.*, p.8. Brigden refers often to Carlyle (*op.cit.*, pp.15, 151, 167). Carlyle was also looked to with some reverence by Murdoch.
 2. An observation by Brian Fitzpatrick quoted in P. O'Brien, *The Saviours*, Melbourne, 1977, p.73.
 3. Herbert Gepp, *Democracy's Danger*, Sydney, 1939, p.64.

leadership was used to exhort men rather than being a quality which the exhorters always demonstrated themselves. With the associated qualities of 'courage', 'vision' and 'effort' it could easily be seen as providing an answer to a crisis which was psychological as well as economic. Conservative and progressive reformists used the idea in the rhetoric of the politics of revelation. Faced with insuperable problems, perhaps the great man could solve them. However, only conservative students of public affairs gave any content to this generalized ideal.¹ The economists and other academics placed their faith in expertise (better charts and instruments putting the ship back on course) and in the role of intelligent citizens in solving complex problems.² These orientations were generally strengthened during the decade by the growing reaction against the excesses of the dictators in Europe.

The conservative ramifications of pessimistic realism are most fully developed in the political thought of F.A. Bland. Though the idea of citizenship appealed to Bland he was primarily concerned to strengthen Parliament against the Executive. He saw the Social Service State as corrupting the character of the electorate. His conservatism was intensified by his reaction against the political 'interference' in administrative appointments of J.T. Lang who once demanded that Sydney

1. Loveday, op.cit., pp.123, 127.

2. In his prefatory poem, which tells of the troubles besetting the ship 'Good Intention' on its voyage, he sees growing hopes in these areas:

Yet charts go on improving,
And navigating skill;
Were knowledge tried light would abide
And Wisdom follow Will.

(op.cit., p.xii)

University restrain the outspoken academic.¹ Bland, the conservative, impelled by the fear of 'impetuous executives' sought to 'ensure democratic government.' Wearing this hat, words like 'control', 'rule of law', 'bulwarks' and 'safeguards' proliferated in his writing.²

The supporter of restraints on the Executive believed, however, that machinery would not 'immunize' them against the 'diseases' which were then attacking political life, arguing that 'no system can be better than the men who operate it.' The more optimistic Bland believed that if there could be 'infused into (the machinery's) working something of the spirit of service, then even a faulty system (would) be re-vitalized and transformed':

Reformers (were) sustained by a faith which believed that, given appropriate machinery, men will respond and the standards of political conduct and capacity will be equal to the effective management of the ever-extending public estate.³

Bland never completely abandoned these beliefs but they receded into the background as he advanced his machinery proposals for Parliament and administration. Bland's interests, and those of the Institute of Public Administration during the 1930s, reflected the rise of a 'practical', 'realistic' orientation which followed from the pessimistic realist rejection of grand social ideals and plans.⁴ The stocktaking

1. E. Hearnshaw, 'F.A. Bland and Politics', Journal of Public Administration (Australia), vol. VII, no. 2 (new series), June, 1948, p.161.
2. Bland, 'Overhauling the Machinery of Government' in Duncan (1935) especially pp. 145-151.
3. Ibid, p.147.
4. Branches were established in South Australia, N.S.W. and Victoria during the late 1920s and the 1930s.

theme similarly encouraged a scrutiny of administration, often following from the conservative themes of more business in government and less government interference in business.

In politics Bland saw himself as the defender of 'Parliament' against the Executive, and the citizen's economic liberties against government interference. To these ends he sought: to increase the importance of the committee system in Parliament and to establish a Standing Committee on finance; to remove the Speakership from the arena of 'party spoils'; to have the Public Service Board certify the probable costs of administering new measures before they were debated; to encourage the training of M.P.s.; to have longer sittings and less use of the 'guillotine' and the 'gag'; and to increase the powers of the Parliamentary Public Accounts Committee and the Auditor-General to scrutinise expenditure. In these and other proposals he fused technocratic and conservative aims as he sought to improve the efficiency of governments as well as restrain Executive action.¹

Bland's more general proposals also combined different aims. He argued, with other reformists, for a 'Supreme Administrative Council of State', modelled on English plans and innovations, with members with executive experience in law, finance, applied science, personnel management and business organisation. It would adjudicate on applications by the political executive to abolish or reorganise agencies such as the Tariff Board of the Transport Commission. Bland believed the Council was necessary 'to cope with the new rigidity and intransigence of party

1. ibid., pp.150-165.

politics which have tended to make the Legislature unable to control the political executive on behalf of the people.' He saw the new body as operating through publicity, even though he thought the people were not yet rational. It would seek in his terms, 'to protect the people, enhance the authority of Parliament and foster the rule of law', though its real aim was to prevent innovation by energetic Left governments.¹ Like the U.A.P.'s 1933 reform of the N.S.W. Legislative Council, which sought to keep Labor 'howling in the wilderness' for as long as possible, it was meant to stop change.²

Bland, the administration academic, had a less party political concern for efficiency and intelligence in government. He supported several administrative reforms: a new 'Bureau of General Administration'; the recruitment of more graduates; the prevention of political appointments; and, central checks on Departmental estimates and expenditure.³ He thought that Councils of Education, Health, Transport, Agriculture and Social Agencies would allow the development of a more articulate public opinion. Such a view, reflecting a reformist interest in thought and discussion in government, diverged from the simply defensive and negative conservative position.⁴

1. ibid, p.172.

2. Prof. J.M. Ward in discussion on his paper 'The Dismissal of Lang' at the 'J.T. Lang and His Times' conference. For a period during the 1930s Ward was secretary to Stevens.

3. Bland, op.cit., especially p.175. Bland was also one of several academic advisers used by the Stevens Government.

4. Bland, op.cit., p.181.

Bland's major machinery proposals were criticised by progressive reformists for offering 'too much harness and not enough horse'.¹ The conservative stress on the means of government was seen as part of a deliberate attempt to avoid questions of political ends. Macmahon Ball criticised Bland and several Victorian conservatives at the 1935 A.I.P.S. conference on Australian politics for focussing solely on improvements in the existing machinery of government, and arguing

"Let us not waste time in vague talk of social ideals"... "Let us be realistic, and get down to detailed and practical schemes of parliamentary and administrative reforms."

Bland, in emphasising procedural and machinery details, showed a common weakness of contemporary writers on political science. He had

quite deliberately left out of account any consideration of the contemporary clash of political ideals. He assumed, for the purposes of his paper, that problems of machinery, committee-systems and the like, can be discussed in isolation from political forces and economic conditions. In this he was only doing what the majority of contemporary political scientists do, that is, try to insulate the material of politics from the social matrix in which it is embedded.²

'Realism' was not to be achieved simply by eschewing the grand schemes and utopian ideas of the developmental visionaries of the 1920s and the socialist planners of the 1930s. Conservative 'realism' in fact concentrated on government and almost completely left out society.

Responses to a crisis are mixed and varied as well as often dramatic and extreme. Individuals and groups can countenance more than one solution, either simultaneously or over time. Pessimistic realism, with the ideal of citizenship not completely forgotten, led also to

1. D.W. Hall in discussion on Bland's paper, *op.cit.*, p.185.

2. W. Macmahon Ball, 'The Third Summer School of the Australian Institute of Political Science at Healesville', *A.O.*, March, 1935, pp. 26-27.

other than conservative solutions. F.W. Eggleston's thought fused conventionally conservative solutions with others which took account of citizenship and saw a role for intelligent citizens and for expertise. Eggleston, the critic of state socialism and the self-contained man, looked first to traditional conservative expedients. He believed that in the present situation self-government was dependent upon good government, not the other way around as the social democrats maintained. Eggleston argued for sound finance and a rediscovery of the virtue found in the simplicity of laissez-faire. Appealing for less government in the short term, he believed that

if the principle of individual responsibility is restored, the natural tendency to readjustment and the constructive and progressive qualities inherent in the human mind working in freedom will produce the developments necessary for humanity to solve its problems and renew its progress.

Looking at party politics he yearned nostalgically for the days of "conscientious independents" who did not represent vested interests.¹

The conservative Eggleston looked for leadership from business and saw citizenship mainly in terms of deference to managers and leaders. He also saw a larger role for expertise and the informed minority. Warren Osmond has argued that he saw government as firstly pedagogic, and secondly, managerial:

Removed from political interference technical and administrative experts would make the right decisions, for Parliament and the People. The growing complexity of modern problems, the need to persuade the more independent citizenry, the proliferation of "groups and sections" (which) have to be 'managed',... all point to an emergent managerial imperative, according to Eggleston.²

The influence of experts, independent citizens and education was intended to transcend the limitations of the self-contained man. All three could

1. Eggleston, *State So Slowly in Victoria*, p.345.

2. Osmond, *op.cit.*, p.8.

help deal with subjects outside his world, including 'the general ideas that control the determination of great political problems', the problem of managing complicated technical services, and the difficulties of securing support for enlightened policy.¹

Eggleston's support for 'non-political' forces included the belief that 'the most constructive function of the State' was the education of the citizens; and the view that disinterested citizens in independent institutions had a crucial role in the politics of the future.² He predicted that the

type of organisation which will become increasingly adopted for social reorganisation is the League of Nations based on a covenant or agreement where sanctions and compulsory action are reduced to a minimum.

He praised free institutions such as the universities and international affairs bodies, in which he himself felt at home, as giving the 'highest training'. In these bodies

no propaganda is allowed, no corporate opinion is expressed, no resolutions are carried. Truth does not depend on majorities, nor can it be expressed in formulae. The principle of these bodies, that formulae are less important than understanding between individuals has already produced important results.³

Reaction against popular politics and awareness of the complexity of modern problems encouraged a technocratic orientation in reformist thought. The technocratic perspective saw Western societies as having entered a new era of change in which there was a strong case for

1. Eggleston, State Socialism in Victoria, p. 333.

2. Ibid., p. 345

3. Ibid.

intelligent control. In crisis terms it was asserted that they were 'only blindly groping in an endeavour to discover the basic facts which will command the new condition of things'; what was needed was a system for registering and studying the changes so that they might be able to avoid the dangers of remaining in ignorance or of succumbing to fear.¹ These themes have recurred throughout this century. Appealing most in periods of crisis and stocktaking they have not disappeared completely in more optimistic years. The generalised aspiration for the end of politics and a new role for science and independent citizens had a psychological, and even aesthetic, appeal for intellectuals. They found the prospect of order, system and rationality pleasing, and had a personal and group interest in obtaining increased power, influence and standing in the community.

The technocratic theme frequently invoked the new magical words 'science' and 'research'. 'Science' meant many things but it was always a positive word in reformist circles. While most reformists were neither natural nor social scientists in the strictest sense, they frequently advocated a 'scientific' spirit, approach or method in the study of political and economic problems. Here, 'scientific' usually only meant systematic, objective and unbiassed thought in contrast to the alleged self-interest, myopia and subjectivism of political decision making. Some writers could even move easily from advocating a scientific approach to calling for a spiritual solution to contemporary problems. The engineer, Sir Henry Barraclough, saw 'Engineering the Modern State' partly in terms of a 'higher engineering' which would draw

1. Herbert A. S. Op. cit., p. 205

its power from the mind and spirit of man.¹ Herbert Gepp pleaded for the recognition as a scientist of everyone who possessed 'a balanced intellect', while R.W.G. Mackay, the solicitor, advocated 'a scientific method' in constitutional revision:

First of all the facts relating to the constitutional problems raised by the exercise of power have to be collected. They should then be classified, and afterwards principles for determining how the powers should be distributed can be formulated.²

Reformists supported increased 'research', reiterating criticisms of the lag of Australian politics and practices behind world trends. P.D. Phillips and G.L. Wood remarked that Australian attitudes to other races showed 'the limitations of our experience have left their traces on the popular mind'. They saw Australian opinion on population growth as behind that in Europe, this being 'one of the "lags"' in the

-
1. Sir Henry Barraclough, 'Engineering the Modern State', Journal of Public Administration (Australia), vol.I, no.3 (new series), December, 1939, pp.184, 195.
 2. Herbert Gepp, 'The Scientist in Industrial Administration' in G.L. Wood (ed.), Problems of Industrial Administration in Australia, Melbourne, 1937, p.58.
R.W.G. Mackay, 'The Distribution of Power Between the Commonwealth and the States', p.155, in G.V. Portus (ed.), Studies in the Australian Constitution, Sydney, 1933.

intellectual currents of the world.¹ Reformists echoed international support for a more sophisticated apparatus of government to deal with current national needs. Herbert Gepp argued that there was a gap in governmental organisation which arose because Ministers and Members of Parliament had insufficient time and opportunity to study the background to problems of policy. The gap was presently, and inadequately, filled by the work of royal commissions and such bodies as the Development and Migration Commission. In the modern economy areas remained which had become a "no man's land" under the proper control of neither Government nor Industry, but of fundamental importance to both.² Here, Gepp was describing that transition whereby the nation began to acquire the regulatory, investigatory and professional institutions of a modern society. The process was recognized in the 1918 view of the British Haldane Machinery of Government Committee that 'in the sphere of civil government the duty of investigation and thought as preliminary to action

1. P.D. Phillips and G.L. Wood, 'The Australian Population Problem', in Phillips and Wood (eds), The Peopling of Australia, Melbourne, 1928, pp.14,17. They remarked that Australians had not yet realized that population increase could be a curse rather than a blessing. Aware, like Eggleston, Hancock and Copland of the bluntness of Australian racial views and their influence on Australian attitudes in international forums (pp.9-17) they remarked on 'a curious sensitiveness, almost nervousness' in Australia regarding international discussion of the question of population (p.10) and noted that, partly resulting from isolation, Australians readily believed 'that "alien" and "barbarian" are interchangeable terms.' (p.14). Challenges to simplistic assumptions about the racial composition of the Australian people and the possible results of non Anglo-Saxon migration were common in reformist thought. Articles and books on the subject included: (in the above volume) Jens Lyng, 'Racial Composition of the Australian People'; Jens Lyng, Non-Britishers in Australia, Melbourne, 1927, and Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific, Melbourne, 1939; Hirsch Munz, Jews in South Australia, 1836-1936, Adelaide, 1936; and J.G. Holmes, 'The Influence of Foreign Settlers in the Development of Australia', A.O., September, 1938.

2. Herbert Gepp, op.cit., pp.163-8.

might with great advantage be more definitely organised ...' ¹

The process within the nation was related to the proliferation of new official and unofficial international bodies for investigation and co-ordination during the inter-war years.² The League of Nations and its institutions, including the International Labour Organisation, Imperial bodies such as the Imperial Economic Committee and more specialised and regional institutions such as the Pan Pacific Science Congress and the I.P.R., were indicative of this general trend. Australian reformists endorsed these developments, and supported new professional bodies affiliated to international parents. Many individuals approved of, or were involved in, groups and institutions researching the fields of economics, nutrition, population, international law, administration, and tropical medicine and welcomed government inquiries into land erosion and social insurance.³

Reformists' views on public affairs research reflected intellectuals' sense of identity and alienation from popular attitudes. Writing in 1928 on the population question P.D. Phillips and G.L. Wood went from criticisms of the popular mind to call for more research by government, universities and independent bodies. They argued that the 'real class

-
1. Quoted by William Harrison Moore, 'Experts in Government', *A.O.*, December, 1930, p. 20. F.A. Bland, who also offered moralistic arguments against social services and Christian arguments for them, believed that Australia's 'greatest curse (was) the light-hearted experimentation by political amateurs upon the body politic ...' He saw a need for a 'Social Science Research Bureau' to collect information on society and the areas covered by social services. 'Were we but fortified with accurate knowledge and armed with a reliable technique', he remarked, 'aims and methods would become clearer, and we might know what services to contract and what to expand'. ('An Appraisal of Results' in Duncan ed. (1939), pp. 162-4, p. 202).
 2. Inis L. Claude, Jr., in 'The Growth of International Institutions' (in B. Potter, (ed.) *The Aberystwyth Papers: International Politics, 1919-1969*, London, 1972) argues that the number of public and private international agencies increased from around 30 and 400 respectively at the time of the Versailles conference to around 300 and 2,700 respectively in 1968-69. (p. 281).
 3. Research is discussed in chapter 8. The students of administration affiliated their groups with the Royal Institute of Public Administration in England.

conflict in modern self-governing communities' was that 'between the minority with knowledge and the majority without it'. Believing that intellectual achievement as well as prowess in war and sport was necessary for nationhood, they remarked on the absence of that class, 'vaguely but sufficiently described as "publicists", which does so much to clarify and assist social discussion in the older countries of the world'. They similarly regretted the small numbers and dispersal of Australian intellectuals, their isolation from the rest of the world, and the restricted opportunities for 'continuous meeting and discussion'. More research in social science research was necessary 'to provide stimulus, guidance and accurate information by which public opinion may eventually "find itself" by the normal methods of public discussion, political controversy and a gradual evolution of a community viewpoint'. They sought further development of the 'thought organisations' advocated by Graham Wallas, calling, in the contemporary idiom, for more 'men, money and markets', that is, 'trained workers, adequate endowments and an interested and responsive public'.¹

Phillips and Wood were by nature practical, hard-headed critics. Yet even they echoed international calls for science and Wallas' 'thought organisations' to bring a significant renovation of public life. Many Australian reformists, retreating from politics, looked to Wallas for guidance. Wallas believed that knowledge gave hope of improved political practice. Politicians were

most likely to acquire the power of valid reasoning when they, like doctors, avoid the over-simplification of their material, and aim at using in their reasoning as many facts as possible about the human₂ type, and its individual variations, and its environment.

-
1. Phillips and Wood, op.cit., pp. 4, 23-4. They suggested Lord Cecil, Sir Josiah Stamp, Sydney Webb and Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler as examples of such publicists.
 2. Graham Wallas, Human Nature in Politics, p. viii.

Supporting the move from 'qualitative' to 'quantitative' methods in economics he wondered if a similar change was possible in politics. Like Eggleston he approved of the work of independent bodies. He saw a conscious change in approach 'already taking place in the work of Royal Commissions, International Congresses, and other bodies ... (which had) to arrange and draw conclusions from large masses of specially collected evidence'.¹ Wallas was confident that these 'changes in political science' could 'affect the actual trend of political forces':

When men become conscious of psychological processes of which they have been unconscious of half-conscious, not only are they put on their guard against the exploitation of those processes in themselves by others, but they become better able to control them from within.

If, however, a conscious moral purpose is to be strong enough to overcome, as a political force, the advancing art of political exploitation, the conception of control from within must be formed into an ideal entity which, like 'Science', can appeal to popular² imagination, and be spread by an organised system of education.

Australian reformists did not countenance the renovation of political life in such elaborate terms, but they took from Wallas a belief in the need for conscious thought and the view that many 'political' problems were capable of almost exact scientific solution. The latter position was encouraged by the interest in population growth and development and the fact that two major controls on rural settlement, climate and economic geography were open to scientific measurement. The geographer, W. Wynne Williams, argued that the limits of tropical settlement could be expressed in 'simple meteorological terms'.³ The advocates of permanent research staffs believed that many political controversies

1. ibid, p. ix.

2. ibid, pp. ix-x.

3. W. Wynne Williams, 'The Settlement of the Australian Tropics', E.R., June, 1935, pp. 33-34.

over economics, development and social services were capable of statistical or scientific solution.¹ Through organisations which could examine contemporary problems in a 'non-partisan, scientific spirit', taking account of 'non-political factors - the "reason of the thing" - considered as a problem of health, or economics, or education', science could reduce or eliminate much political controversy.²

The idea of an intelligent minority giving leadership to democracy, with its suggestions of a guided democracy, was an international technocratic theme during the 1930s. It was argued, particularly by academics, that what democracy needed was 'intelligent leadership', an 'aristocracy of ability'.³ A book published by the Institute of International Studies at Geneva in 1938 argued that 'by constructive thinking on the pressing problems of society, the world of tomorrow is being prepared at this very moment in a few private studies and at a few centres of scientific co-operation'.⁴ An Australian writer applied this Eggleston theme in praising the new Australian and New Zealand Society for the Study of International Law for creating 'a nucleus of more or less well-informed minds'. An English economist noted that Australia had sought 'guidance from an (economic) brains trust to deal with the depression'.⁵ Herbert Gepp and other reformists similarly hoped for a special role for the 'thinking

-
1. In arguing for greater provision of statistical information Roland Wilson stressed that more exact knowledge of the chief elements of the monetary and financial system would help make possible 'a more definitely scientific treatment of those problems than the existing state of ... knowledge' allowed. Many 'matters of importance' which were the 'subject of controversy' need not be 'if they could be put to a statistical test'. (Typescript entitled 'Proposals Relating to Information and Statistics', A.I.P.S. Papers, Y 12900).
 2. W. Harrison Moore, op.cit., p. 29.
 3. The reviewer, R.L. Buell, quoting the professors of the Graduate Institute of International Studies, The World Crisis, London and New York, 1938. (Pacific Affairs, December, 1938, p. 521).
 4. Quoted by Buell, p. 521.
 5. G.W. Paton, review of K.H. Bailey, A.H. Charteris and Dr. T.P. Fry (eds.), Proceedings of the Australian and New Zealand Society of International Law, Melbourne, 1935 (Australian Rhodes Review, number 2, 1936, pp. 131-2); R.G. Hawtrey, 'Australian Policy in the Depression', E.R., June, 1934, p. 1.

people of Australia' or even contemplated the possibility of an 'aristocracy of intellect'.¹

In these views there is a vague suggestion of reformist intellectuals becoming a kind of clerisy above politics, capable of redeeming corrupt politics because of their lack of self-interest, their knowledge or even their moderation. These aspirations usually remained vague, or were occasionally stated in concrete, political terms such as the linking of economic experts with sound finance. Often they seemed to express a nostalgic wish for a return to those seemingly more rational, and possibly more conservative days when, in England at least, public opinion was the preserve of a minority, the educated, enfranchised middle classes. Such a wish appealed to reformists' utopian rationalism, and desire to be listened to, and to the political conservatism of some of their number.² The new role of the social sciences similarly offered hope to conservative advocates of social control, moderate supporters of consensus and progressives who believed the social sciences would legitimise innovation in social policy. The linking of science and change is manifested in the following picture of the future regulation of world trade:

(The new) phases of progress will be absorbed as established scientific truths into public utility, just as the germ theory of disease has been, and international trade relations will be controlled by a quietly functioning department, very much like an international Board of Health.

Combined with the idea of middle class intellectuals as an autonomous, socially unattached group serving society was the reality that

-
1. Herbert Gepp, 'Administrative Planning', Journal of Public Administration (Australia), vol. 1, no. 4, (old series), September, 1938, p. 83. Gepp takes the term 'aristocracy of intellect' from Walter Murdoch.
 2. Hugh Seton-Watson writing on 'The Impact of Ideology' in international politics (Potter, op.cit., p. 213) remarks that after 1914 in Europe with the beginnings of the rise of mass democracy 'public opinion' no longer 'meant only the wishes of the liberal middle classes'.
 3. P. Parkinson, 'Capitalism : A Phase in Civilization', A.Q., June, 1934, p. 97.

the new technocratic institutions and policies which they supported broadly improved the running of Australian capitalism. General plans for Industrial Stability Committees, National Councils, new banking institutions and policies and social services and suggested changes in Australian trade, investment and development policies were primarily directed to the improvement of Australian capitalism and the creation of an efficient industrial sector.¹

The social sciences which most interested reformists further indicated an economic orientation. There was general rhetorical support for the application of the new found knowledge on 'sociological matters' to 'the improvement of human welfare', but the term 'sociological' was used in an undefined and popular way.² Most writers looked more to the social sciences of economics, psychology and management ('the great modern profession').³ Herbert Gepp's view of the social sciences was, characteristically, a business-oriented one:

The sciences of economics, politics, sociology, psychology and other subjects pertaining to the social structure, such as population growth, vocational guidance and eugenics, must occupy more and more of the time which the world allots to scientific study and thought. At the present time decisions in these fields are being made upon an incomplete basis of facts by politicians and others. What is required is continued research work in laboratories of social science by men trained for the job.⁴

There was no developed or reasoned interest in the psychology of unemployment, even though the subject was frequently touched on in passing, and little coherent work on education and society. Psychology was

-
1. This is the direction of the argument in chapter 4 of Tim Rowse, Australian Liberalism and National Character, though it is not pursued in detail.
 2. McCallum, (op.cit., p. 61) considered 'the position of the Labour Movement today ... extremely interesting to the sociological student'.
 3. J.B. Brigden believed that 'the high profession of management' would soon be 'ranked amongst the most noble occupations of mankind'. (op.cit., p. 182).
 4. Gepp, Democracy's Danger, p. 267.

important, for its practical applications (in the areas of vocational guidance, marketing, industrial psychology, management) and for its value in rhetorical condemnation of mass ignorance.¹

The practical orientation was also expressed in the bodies and inquiries which partly filled the gap in public life. They included Gepp's Development and Migration Commission (which was established in 1926), the Commonwealth Grants Commission (which was formed in 1933) and major inquiries into tariffs (1929), banking (1937), and unemployment and business stability.² Economists and lay students of public affairs played central roles in these investigations and in similar unofficial research. In Melbourne there were close links between the industrialist, W.S. Robinson and the economists.³ In Adelaide several Young Liberal League publicists worked with businessmen including E.W. Holden for the industrialisation of South Australia and the state provision of such necessary ancillary social services as housing.⁴ In Sydney, A.I.P.S. links with different social and economic elites (pastoral, legal, financial, commercial, industrial) were complex. Many A.I.P.S. principals were in favour of a reorientation of Australian trade and development policy, especially the development of secondary industry due to the limited prospects for further primary industry

-
1. On the development of academic psychology see K.S. Cunningham, 'Ideas, Theories and Assumptions in Australian Education', pp. 107-112 in J. Cleverley and J. Lawry, (eds.) Australian Education in the Twentieth Century, Melbourne, 1973. An Institute of Industrial Psychology, of which Dr. A.H. Martin of Sydney University was Director, was established in 1927. See also his Industrial Psychology, Sydney, 1931.
 2. The reports of the two inquiries, J.B. Brigden, D.B. Copland, E.C. Dyason, L.F. Giblin and C.H. Wickens, The Australian Tariff : An Economic Inquiry, Melbourne, 1929 and of the Royal Commission inquiring into Monetary and Banking Systems of July, 1937 were landmarks in debate on Australian economic policy.
 3. Tim Rowse (op.cit., pp. 143-144) suggests these close links.
 4. These links are discussed by John Lonie, op.cit., pp. 272-279, and Hugh Stretton in Ideas for Australian Cities, Melbourne, 1975 (Third Edition), Chapter 6.

expansion because of markets and the economic geography of production.¹ Industrialisation was not a major concern of the A.I.P.S. While this theme was important to some members others were as interested in the subject of the 1937 Winter Lectures, 'Marketing Australia's Primary Products'.²

One view of consensus, adopted early in the period, was clearly directed at helping capitalism through the crisis. The 1928 Royal Commission on Unemployment and Business Stability recommended the establishment of representative 'Industrial Stability Committees' which might supplant class conflict with co-operation. These suggestions appealed to J.B. Brigden and to Herbert Gepp. They hoped the research, publicity and liaison work of the committees would increase understanding of 'the other man's point of view' and thereby reduce 'factionalism and class antagonism'.³ Gepp, the advocate of 'a get-together movement' like Rotary in industry, was also attracted to the ideal of 'a Parliament of Industries' which might contribute to national economic stability.⁴

Writings by reformists and students of public affairs on industrialisation and the trade diversion episode of 1936 also indicated involvement in economic reorientation. The ill-considered, sudden and short-lived, trade diversion policy, which went against immutable economic trends and sought to divert trade to Britain from Japan and the United States, provoked a chorus of intellectual condemnation. The challenge to economic common sense and the foreign policy implications,

-
1. This approach was most clearly expressed in the criticism of unrealistic ideas of rural development, in defence of the cities against rural populist attacks, and to some extent in criticism of the trade diversion policy.
 2. Marketing Australia's Primary Products, A.I.P.S., Sydney, 1937, comprised papers by Cowper, Copland, E.R. Walker, and N.F. Hall. Norman Cowper went to international wool marketing conferences as an Australian representative (Interview, 15/5/1974), while D.A.S. Campbell was, by profession, a wool broker.
 3. Gepp, Democracy's Danger, pp. 50-54; Brigden, op.cit., pp.187-189.
 4. Gepp, ibid, pp. 49,54.

the failure to consult the Tariff Board and the falsification of the Australia-Japan trading figures made the policy as offensive to rationalist intellectuals as the banning of Aldous Huxley's Brave New World and other excesses of the censorship policy.¹

Such aberrations as the trade diversion policy encouraged the demand for greater intelligence and flexibility in policymaking. A managerial progressive stream of thought sought more rational policy-making in the interests of economic efficiency. The self-admitted conservative, Norman Cowper, expressed the general philosophy underlying the new orientation. He declared his support for change and openness to ideas and intelligent inquiry. Looking at the demographic trend towards an ageing population he was displeased at the prospect of a society run increasingly by elderly men, believing that 'the quick adaptable leadership of younger men' was needed to deal with complex modern problems. His support for change and more systematic policy-making stemmed from the simplest reformist position that 'no one but a fool could think that things will remain as they are'.²

Cowper considered the depression situation and, in the interests of 'stability', approved of what he saw as the current high taxation on the rich, and supported a national system of health and unemployment insurance.³ Hartley Grattan challenged Australian approaches, arguing that Australian institutions had lagged behind the rate of technological change, that too many leaders sought to deal with an increasingly complex

-
1. Trade diversion was criticised by many writers including Herbert Burton ('Political Issues in Australia Today', Australian Rhodes Review, No. 3, pp. 20-21), Norman Cowper in a radio broadcast (Interview, 18/5/1974), by K.J. Binns and A.G. Pearson in the Economic Record ('Australian-Japanese Trade Relations', E.R., June, 1936), Herman Black, who, speaking to the Constitutional Association (Sydney Sun, 6/7/1936), called it a 'most unwise gamble in livelihoods' and considered Sir Henry Gullett's decision to abandon the principle of consulting the Tariff Board on such matters to be 'sheer obstinacy in the face of widespread critical and public apprehension'.
 2. Norman Cowper, 'The Census and Social Conditions', pp. 131-2, 153 in G.V. Portus, (ed.) What the Census Reveals, Adelaide, 1936.
 3. ibid, pp. 147-150.

world with simple and simple-minded ideas, and that a stocktaking on economic questions was necessary. Writing on Australia in 1938 he saw the current response to a new situation as one of fearfully pretending it did not exist, rather than recognising it and dealing with it. His assessment of the challenge of artificial fibres to wool expressed his general view of the Australian situation:

Australia must face up to the position now, explore its ramifications, and set a course which will allow for the weathering of the stock with the absolute minimum of social disorder. This will be an adventure in forward planning of great magnitude, and its successful execution will be a wonderful tribute to the constructive genius of Australians. It must be done. But as yet there is little evidence that it will be done. Rather the current Australian disposition is to take refuge in procedures which will bolster up the existing position in the hope that by protecting the producer within Australia, no fundamental readjustments will have to be made on the domestic scene. This is the quintessence of futility.

Grattan advanced the usual arguments for shedding the light of science on the problems facing Australia rather than just 'poking about with flickering candles'. He was particularly disturbed by the people who seemed 'determined to erect into an impediment of progress the dogma that Australia is an advanced country'. While it had been an advanced country forty years ago such a view ignored the fact that the world, in its 'perverse' way, had 'moved forward and overtaken' that Australia in many directions. For forty years 'Australia (had) been filling up the outlines of the scheme of development laid down more or less unconsciously in the latter quarter of the last century'.¹

The major reorientation of Australian capitalism which involved reformists concerned the role of the state in the economy. Arguments for central thought organisations in the form of National Councils advising governments were common from the early 1930s. Separate economic and political parliaments had been proposed by Sydney and Beatrice Webb in Britain in 1920, and there had been a post-Haldane Report interest in

1. C. Hartley Grattan, 'The Future in Australia', A.Q., December, 1938, pp. 16, 18, 23.

Britain and in Australian reformist circles in the need for more specialised advice to governments. A Supreme Advisory Council was established in Britain in 1931 and some Australian thinkers saw the need for 'economic advisory councils', 'Economic General Staffs' or a 'Supreme Administrative Council of State'.¹ These proposals were motivated, on one level, by a desire for 'a more skilled and scientific administration' to supplement Parliamentary Government in the new era. R.G. Casey, always a supporter of expertise in public affairs, argued that governments should have the benefit of 'complete, co-ordinated, continuous ... advice' on public and international affairs.² On another level, though, such bodies as Bland's 'Supreme Administrative Council of State' were seen as a restraint on the Executive, challenging ill-considered Executive action through publicity and through formal powers. Another Bland idea that most of the powers should reside with the States, the Federal Parliament being mainly a thinking body, seems a clear case of technocratic ideas being put at the service of conservative goals.³

Pessimistic realism and political conservatism expressed themselves in an initial reaction against the idea of 'National Economic Planning' which had gained wide currency in the period from about 1932 to 1934.⁴ From the onset of the depression, however, an undercurrent of thought recognised the necessity, and the inevitability of greater government interference in economic life, if only to seek to lessen the ill-effects of the trade cycle. The Royal Commission on Unemployment and Business Stability had recommended that the Bureau of Census and Statistics collect and collate statistics on employment, production,

-
1. The terms are those of Gepp, Casey and Bland respectively.
 2. R.G. Casey, 'The International Situation', A.Q., September, 1932, p. 28.
 3. F.A. Bland, in Duncan (1934), p. 109.
 4. The idea of economic planning gained currency partly from the 1933 World Economic Conference. The critical view was expressed in some of the contributions to Duncan ed. (1934) and in L.G. Melville's review of the conference, 'Plans and Planners', A.Q., December, 1934.

business conditions, trade, the business cycle and public works expenditure and had, as noted earlier, suggested the palliatives of employment bureaux and vocational guidance in a period of high unemployment.¹ In 1932 E.C. Dyason, the stockbroker, predicted that the democracies would need to take some form of state action to reduce gross economic inequalities. This might assume other forms than direct state ownership of the means of production: monetary and loan policies, tariffs, taxation, State participation in industry through semi-autonomous bodies and co-operative activity, and perhaps even new economic forms.²

The Premier's Plan itself, involving conscious, co-ordinated national control, helped prepare the way for acceptance of the technocratic modification of capitalism. In the early 1930s, the economists, pleased with their own role in the making of the plan, were becoming aware of Keynes and the new 'science' of 'economic control'.³ Roland Wilson, the future Secretary of the Treasury, enthusiastically welcomed the 'newer planning' which he saw mainly in terms of currency management.⁴ Progressive and conservative reformists both remarked on the Russian experiment as at least an example of constructive, definite action which they hoped might provide food for thought for Western countries.⁵ Progressive reformists rhetorically asked if social conditions in the ~~demo~~cracies were so bad that many people would prefer economic freedom in a

-
1. Gepp, Democracy's Danger, pp. 50-54.
 2. E.C. Dyason, 'Bolshevism, Fascism and Democracy', E.R., December, 1932, p. 171.
 3. N. Skene Smith, Economic Control (London, n.d.) was reviewed in the E.R., November, 1929. The author was quoted as saying that 'laissez-faire as a would-be philosopher is altogether too simple-minded for our modern age. Mr. Keynes had written his epitaph as elegantly as any'. (p. 361). During 1933, through Economic Record reviews by the New Zealander H. Belshaw, Herbert Burton, L.F. Giblin, and E.C. Dyason and an article 'Saving and Investment in Monetary Theory' by E.R. Walker (December, 1933), the Australian economists were being shaken out of their academic composure and becoming interested in Keynes' views.
 4. Roland Wilson, 'The Economic Implications of Planning' in W.G.K. Duncan ed. (1934), p. 74.
 5. Even conservative writers such as A.H. Charteris ('The Russian Five Year Plan', A.O., December, 1930, p. 67) and R.G. Casey ('The International Situation', p. 27) were grateful to Russia for encouraging the idea of planning.

dictatorship to their present empty political freedom without employment. Finally, the Roosevelt 'New Deal' was approved as an example of constructive far-reaching and effective action within the framework of liberal capitalist democracy. It had extra appeal because it had gained great psychological impact without the excesses of dictatorial leadership.¹

The English advocate of consensus and expertise, planning and co-operation, Sir Arthur Salter, was an important influence in the direction of economic planning on Australian reformists. Salter's influence came through his books Recovery, which David Campbell, writing in the Quarterly, saw as one of the best books of 1932, and The Framework of an Ordered Society (1933).² Salter argued that 'the competitive system was in transition' and its malfunctioning self-adjusting mechanism had to be replaced. While events had outrun control he still believed that a new world order could be established through reforming and transforming the present system without sacrificing enterprise.³ Recovery analysed the limitations of the world's monetary and credit systems, called for mixed private and public control and advocated National Economic Councils and a World Economic Council. Salter's imaginative, if general, ideas were appealing to reformists because he sought co-operation between the classes and between the nations and the intelligent regulation of economic life. In the desperate World Depression of the early 1930s there was also something compelling for middle class reformists in Recovery's main conception that they should reform their 'system radically rather than contemplate its replacement by one which leaves no room for political liberty or private enterprise'.⁴

-
1. F.L.W. Wood, 'The New Deal in the U.S.', A.Q., December, 1933, pp. 41-44; R.W.G. Mackay, 'America 1933 and the Industrial Recovery Act', A.Q., September, 1933.
 2. A. Salter, Recovery, London, 1932 and The Framework of an Ordered Society, Cambridge, 1933; D.A.S. Campbell, 'Sir Arthur Salter's "Recovery"', A.Q., September, 1932. Roland Wilson's 'Capitalism and the Second Effort' (A.Q., December, 1932) offers variations on themes from Salter and F.L.W. Wood, op.cit., p. 49, compares Roosevelt's planning with Salter's ideas.
 3. Recovery, pp. vii, ix, xi, 208.
 4. ibid, p. xvii.

Salter's work, like the different writings of Wallas and Wells, recognised that the new era required explicit challenges to Victorian political and economic assumptions. His belief in the need for expert advice for overpressed parliamentarians followed lines sketched by Wallas and Bland. His major appeal though, lay in the vague idea of 'the planned structure of society as always growing up from below, and not enforced from above'.¹ To those who feared communist planning and revolution he offered the more comforting prospect of evolution. The National Council idea appealed to the fearful, especially when its powers were seen as only those of investigation and advice.

The National Council idea was not developed further in Australia once the worst crisis had passed,² but there was a growing acceptance of the related idea of modifying capitalism. Salter had criticised Cabinets for 'a conservative clinging to traditions and precedents unsuited to changed conditions', and Australian critics applied locally criticisms of official and institutional inflexibility.³ Writing in 1939 G.L. Wood noted approvingly Keynes' view that British Treasury officials betrayed 'a fatal mental out-of-dateness', and were unable to adjust to modern conditions, instanced by their inability to envisage the benefits as well as the costs of taxation.⁴ Such a view, heretical in the days of 'sound finance' was becoming the new orthodoxy in informed circles less than a decade later.

-
1. F.A. Bland, 'More Plans', (review of The Framework of an Ordered Society), A.O., September, 1933, p. 128. (quoting Salter)
 2. Herbert Gepp's 1936 paper on 'The Place of an Economic Research and Advisory Council in the Modern State' (Democracy's Danger, pp. 147-178) is an exception.
 3. Bland, 'More Plans', p. 127.
 4. G.L. Wood, 'Of the Sad Frequency of Stalemate in Public Administration', Journal of Public Administration, Vol. 1, No. 2 (New Series), September, 1939, pp. 167-8.

The theme that 'laissez-faire was dead', at least in its purest form, was accepted with varying degrees of enthusiasm by economists and some informed business-men.¹ Detailed views varied but by the late 1930s many reformists, including Gepp, Copland and Wood in Melbourne, accepted: that more regulation of national and international economies using expert advice was necessary; that this involved more central control of monetary policy as recommended by the 1937 Royal Commission into Banking; that business had to look to the general social interest rather than just to its own interest; that improved social conditions for the mass of the community were necessary for 'social efficiency' and political stability; and, even, that a professional or managerial approach characterised by the motive of 'service' might become stronger in business and modify merely acquisitive tendencies.² The new orientation was pronounced in the piece by G.L. Wood which, wholeheartedly embracing the ideas of Keynes, argued for a modified capitalism:

The best social method under the conditions of the present order is neither collectivism, with its depreciation of private enterprise, nor rugged individualism, with its anti-social failings. A realistic view of possible progress demands that capitalism be made to work; and that method which promises successful development is a compromise which will preserve initiative and curb the acquisitiveness which leads to gross inequality. This amalgam of private capitalism and State Socialism, as the only practicable method, Keynes has called liberal socialism. The objective is ³planned development without sacrifice of individual freedom.

Though Wood recommended more government action in economic regulation, data collection and social services and the use of expert advice, the approach was neither socialist nor fully technocratic. Social measures and expert skills were put at the service of the existing state and society and sought to aid, as much as curb, business. Social factors

-
1. See Gepp, Democracy's Danger, pp. 155-158 and D.B. Copland, 'Economic Fluctuations and Industrial Administration', pp. 97-8 in G.L. Wood (ed.), Problems of Industrial Administration, Melbourne, 1937.
 2. The social responsibility of business and the professions is a recurring theme in Gepp's Democracy's Danger collection of essays.
 3. G.L. Wood, 'Of the Sad Frequency of Stalemate in Public Administration', p. 167.

and forces in Wood's analysis were also reduced to simplistic psychological qualities such as 'acquisitiveness'. The paper came after an important British-Australian joint White Paper of 1938 had recognised the need for 'a continued development of Australian secondary industries' on defence and economic grounds.¹ Over the next two decades industrial development and the increased government role in encouraging economic growth were characteristics of Australian public life.

The transition in public life involved reformist intellectuals as participants in, as well as theorists of, a new professional, systematic approach to policy-making. Whether as intellectuals linked with business such as C pp, as disinterested supporters of rationality in government or as individuals also seeking the advancement of their own speciality or career numerous reformists became involved in professional or administrative capacities in public life. That subject is discussed in detail later.² The process of change which saw the beginnings of a new educated middle class or 'salarial' is of immediate interest, though. New salaried professionals and semi-professionals working as employees rather than as independent agents were part of the intelligentsia necessary to run a complex society. Working as administrators, managers, accountants, tertiary teachers and researchers, technicians and engineers, psychologists, economic analysts, trade commissioners, diplomats and social workers their backgrounds, training and attitudes were sometimes different to those common in the older professions and in traditional commerce and industry. The growth of this new middle class salariat and the related 'managerial' and 'bureaucratic' revolutions were international phenomena which began rather than occurred in this period. James Burnham was to look at the 'managerial revolution' as changing the character as well as

1. From H.L. Harris' summary of the factors to be considered in the industrial survey to be undertaken in respect of proposed industrialisation (p. 12) in his 'Memorandum on Australia's Economic Policy' for the 1939 International Studies Conference of the League of Nations' International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. (A.I.I.A. Papers, Canberra)

2. See chapters 7, 8 and 9.

the organisation of capitalism.¹ While this hope was as fanciful as other technocratic aspirations the reality of an increase in the managerial and government workforces was indisputable. In Australia the transition was striking. Within fifteen years governments went from comparative distaste for expert advice to establishing commissions and boards and eventually new departments.²

The implications of these changes and the influence of intellectuals are considered later. There was one further manifestation of a scientific orientation in reformist thought. Reformism had an underlying, if background, Idealism which looked to spirit as more fundamental than matter as well as the rationalist idealism which encouraged scientific and technocratic approaches to society. For some reformists with a religious strain in their thought, science's power and concern for fundamental truth offered a restatement of the ideals of unity and purpose in an increasingly mechanised, materialistic, short-sighted, sectionalised and secular world. In a world in which, wrote the stockbroker, E.C. Dyason

man's fundamental values seem as effectively disintegrated as the atom of which he thought he was compounded

'the vision of a synthesis between science and faith' offered an exciting, yet still hazy, vision.³ Religious writers especially saw science and

1. In a 1934 article Herbert Burton cited G.D.H. Cole's argument that a "new petty bourgeoisie" ... has emerged under modern Capitalism, "a new middle class of salaried administrators, consultants living by fees, technicians and managers, ranging from persons who belong by wealth or tradition to the upper bourgeoisie to black-coated workers only just above the clerical level of payment."
(*'A Christian Critique of Fascism'*, A.O., September, 1934, pp.74-5)
James Burnham's important book *The Managerial Revolution* was published in the U.S. in 1941 and in England in 1942. On the 'bureaucratic revolution' which saw a dramatic growth in the Commonwealth Public Service see S. Encel, *Equality and Authority*, Melbourne, 1970, pp. 66-70, 268-274). Encel sees a second aspect of this 'revolution', the development of a new Public Service elite (see also pp. 280-281). He also considers post-war changes in the business elite in 'managerial revolution' terms (Chapters 20 and 21).
2. See Chapter 9.
3. E.C. Dyason, *op.cit.*, p. 149.

religion as sharing a concern with the ultimate truths of existence. The Melbourne University college master and advocate of clear thinking, D.K. Picken argued that problems of the modern age were not the fault of science, but arose because society had not been scientific enough. 'The way of solution was the way of Science and Culture followed through to the ultimate issues of Religion' - (truth, beauty and goodness).¹ Science was similarly linked to this trinity by Professor H.G. Denham in his 1939 A.N.Z.A.A.S. lecture on 'Modern Developments in the Industrial World'.² The clerics E.H. Burgmann and Roy Lee sought a reconciliation between science and religion. Burgmann saw the creator of the present 'new age' which was coming into being as neither Catholicism nor Protestantism but Science which was 'God's latest revelation and clearest Word to modern man'.³ Believing that science and religion saw the world as one he found it 'tragic beyond words that science (had) been thought of and felt to be the enemy of religion'.⁴ Scientists themselves were conscious of the danger of science retreating from its larger tasks into excessive specialisation and professionalisation. The implications for reformism of scientific idealism and the tendency towards professionalisation are, however, subjects for later discussion.

-
1. D.K. Picken, 'Culture and Science', A.Q., June, 1934, p. 38.
 2. Professor H.G. Denham, 'Modern Developments in the Industrial World', Liversidge Lecture, A.N.Z.A.A.S., 1939 in Margaret Walkom, (ed.) Report of the 24th Meeting of the A.N.Z.A.A.S., Canberra, January, 1939, Sydney, 1939, p. 350.
 3. E.H. Burgmann, 'The Churches and the New Age', Morpeth Review, January, 1934, p. 32. R.S. Lee, regularly reviewed general scientific books for the Review and had an occasional column 'The Changing World' which sought to relate religion to contemporary developments.
 4. Burgmann, quoted by Oakes, op.cit., p. 108.

DEFENDING LIBERAL DEMOCRACY : INTELLECTUALS,
CENSORSHIP AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

The perception of the inter-war years as a period of continuing international crisis became stronger during the mid-1930s.¹ The crisis saw liberal democracy being challenged by totalitarian, repressive and revolutionary tendencies at home and abroad. While some intelligent men looked favourably, or without concern, on developments in Italy and Germany most defenders of rationality, free speech and democratic institutions found them disturbing. Right-wing totalitarian powers and right-wing para-military groups and war were seen as greater threats to democracy than left-wing revolution. The defence of liberal democracy and the discussion which might open the way to social change was one major theme of the opponents of censorship. A second theme was the need to challenge provincial Australian attitudes which kept the country behind the civilised world. Some reformists believed that free speech

-
1. P.R. Stephensen in a piece entitled 'Children of the Abyss' captured the mood of the times in characteristically striking prose: In this year of continuing calamity, 1935, if we are to take stock of realities the reality is that there are already hundreds of thousands of young Australian men and women, now become adults, who were not even born in August, 1914, who consequently know nothing at first hand about the peace, prosperity, spirit of optimism and general certainty of life as it used to be lived in the naive first decade of the century. (The Foundations of Culture in Australia, Sydney, 1936, p.93).

would open the way to social change. Basic freedoms of expression were necessary to expose social conditions. Liberal humanists and social democrats joined with technocrats in supporting free discussion, analysis and research as the beginning of the road to reform.

The pressures of the 1930s demanded a redefinition of national policies in domestic and international affairs. Some sections of the community sought to grapple with the new challenges; others were paralysed by fear and sought security rather than change. The increase in censorship was a manifestation of this second tendency. Censorship provisions had been increasing since the Victorian Act of 1876. The Great War transformed censorship from something occasional and intermittent to a normal Government activity. The Commonwealth Customs Act of 1920 maintained some of the wartime restrictions on opinion, and it contained a wide-reaching sedition clause. The small scale prohibition of publications on political and moral grounds during the 1920s was transformed by the depression into a massive attempt to immunize Australia from the ferment of ideas occurring overseas. The introduction of the 'Householder Test' in 1929, whereby the term 'indecent' was to be interpreted as contrary to 'what is usually considered unobjectionable in the household of the ordinary self-respecting' citizen, and the U.A.P. Government's 1932 intensification of political bans were the turning points which signalled the introduction of heavy political and moral censorship.¹ The decade was characterised by wide-ranging repression: film, theatre and radio censorship by Federal, State and local authorities; restrictions on freedom of travel and assembly; and attempts by governments to repress Communist organisations and to prevent public criticism of their own policies.²

1. The summary is based on Coleman, op.cit.

2. Coleman, op.cit. and Andrews, op.cit., pp.21,206-211,241-244,336

Opponents of censorship could be found in most intellectual environments - public affairs institutions and journals, writers' and artists' organisations, universities, liberal and Left political groups and organisations. Indeed, censorship, and public acceptance of it, were recurring subjects in most critical writings on Australian government and society during the period. But, lacking political organisations and national connections, the nation's small and scattered groupings of intellectuals provided only sporadic and localised opposition. The main centre of organised resistance was in Melbourne through the Book Censorship Abolition League (founded in 1934) and the Australian Council for Civil Liberties (founded in 1936).

Intellectuals first criticised censorship and Australian cultural life in comparative international terms. Their own travels confirmed the view that censorship of incoming ideas would only exacerbate already strong national tendencies to isolationism, complacency, provincial narrowness, lack of interest in ideas and lack of political awareness and social conscience. Several articles in Stead's Review in 1930 took up these themes.¹ One piece, entitled 'The Village of a Million People', dealt with the parochialism of Melbourne, but observed that 'to some extent the parish atmosphere is met with all over Australia'. State and Federal politics were still dominated by Shire council mentalities. But Melbourne was 'the very navel of the parish'.

If a new play, with a reputation for daring treatment of an important theme, is produced, the village trembles, half with fear, half with clandestine excitement. Will everybody be shocked? Should not the police stop the play and arrest the actors?

-
1. Stead's Review, September, 1930.
 2. ibid, January, 1930.

Nettie Palmer asserted that there were two lines of Australian censorship: the leagues of sea which separated Australia from Europe and the 'fog on the wharf', the Customs Department.¹

The critics saw Australia as a country lacking the beneficial results of a liberal culture. Writing at the end of the decade, Brian Penton asserted that the observer would have

no difficulty in tracing a connection between the low ebb of creative activity and criticism in the arts and the low standard of political intelligence, national integrity, social conscience, enlightened patriotism and almost universal satisfaction in mediocre achievements

in Australian life. 'At the root of all these phenomena' was 'one constant factor - the lack of vital, critical minds' he asserted.² Penton's stress on 'vital' minds is slightly idiosyncratic and will be discussed more fully later. The basic argument, that an active artistic culture contributes significantly to political and social awareness, is, however, one which informed the thought of most reformists though it was often implicit. It appealed most to liberal humanists and had its practical expression in the interest of many reformists in cultural and educational institutions and developments. The idea of a distinctive national culture was one variant which appealed to writers and publicists including Vance and Nettie Palmer, F.R. Stephensen, Hartley Grattan and Leslie Rees. They were all conscious that the active social, cultural and political impulses of the 1890s and early 1900s had disappeared from Australian life. Amidst the slough of cultural and political despond of the depression they saw signs of a new cultural vitality and sought to remove the obstacles which thwarted change.³

1. ibid, July, 1930.

2. B. Penton, Think - Or Be Damned, Sydney, 1941, p.84.

3. ibid, pp. 65-68, C.H. Grattan, 'On Australian Literature', L. Rees, 'A Hope for Australian Drama' and George Bell, 'The Australian Academy', A.Q., March, 1938. See also David Walker, Dream and Disillusion, Canberra, 1976, on the Palmers.

Hartley Grattan and Brian Penton both sensed that Australia was at a cross-roads.¹ They joined with Leslie Rees, the supporter of national drama, in advocating self-revelation, soul-searching and social criticism in literature as elements contributing to a new national awareness.²

The Melbourne economist, L.F. Giblin, related censorship to Australian conservatism. Arguing that a free and lively play of discussion was necessary for any form of self-government, especially when society was faced with complex problems, he went on to assail Australian 'self'-censorship. The worst kind of censorship in Australia, he argued, was 'the indifference of so many people to things of cultural value'. 'No people could embark on the adventure of freedom with so little risk'. Australians, who 'of all people should be in the front-line' were instead 'in the deepest funk-hole' he lamented.³ P.R. Stephensen assailed censorship in his usual striking terms. Censorship was not 'a gesture of Australian cultural autonomy' but 'merely a provincial gaffe indicating to the world that Australia is a stagnant intellectual backwater and a good place not to live in'.⁴ One press commentator wrote of Australia's 'Sweet Tolerance':

Nothing can disturb that immense structure of tolerance. Not even our book censorship can get under its skin. Like some enormous, immovable mass, the tolerance of the Australian community remains the wonder and admiration of an envying world ...⁵

The author

went on to compare Australian censorship with that of Germany and Italy.

1. 'The Future in Australia' and Penton, op.cit.
2. The call to national self-awareness resembles the reformists' and students of public affairs' calls for Australians to face facts, especially in the personification of the nation.
3. Melbourne Star, 15/12/1934.
4. P.R. Stephensen, 'Book Publishing in Australia', A.R.R., 1934, p.42.
5. Newspaper cutting, 25/4/1936, untitled, in Mitchell Library Press Cuttings, vol. 201, p.121. Most of the press quotations in this chapter come originally from this collection.

David Stewart, the N.S.W. Secretary of the W.E.A., challenged cultural isolationism. He argued that Australia could not live in a world of its own and that its culture, politics and economic system must be influenced by events and by ideas of thinkers in other lands.¹ The Sydney trade unionist, Albert Thompson, believed that Australia's proud boast that it had 'led the world in education and social legislation (was) being rapidly strangled in the blind and ignorant banning of the fruits of great minds, of thought, of experiment, and of fact'.²

The defenders of censorship took up stances which vindicated the attitudes of the critics. The Federal Government preferred to rest on platitudes like 'Tune in With Britain' rather than face the troubled international situation of the late 1930s.³ The Minister for Customs, T.W. White, who was responsible for censorship, asserted that if the nations understood the rules of cricket the world would not be faced with its present difficulties.⁴ He was supported by community groups who used the images of disease, decay and depravity with which Australia had traditionally resisted new trends and ideas. In new ideas, modern art and communism they found cancers which might strike down the body politic and destroy the 'splendid Australian way of life'.⁵ Brian Panton believed the anti-censorship campaign had limited success because politicians answered the protests by producing 'a smokescreen of false moral issues' which made respectable citizens retreat. The opponents of political censorship were called Bolsheviks while the critics of moral censorship were viewed as 'pornographers'.⁶ Norman Lindsay's Redheap, which was

1. Hamilton Spectator, 7/3/1936.
2. Sydney Sun, 30/5/1936.
3. Drawn from the new age of radio, this phrase is similar to later statements of complete support for America in the 1960s including Harold Holt's remark 'All the Way With LBJ' (that is, President Lyndon Baines Johnson).
4. Star, 24/1/1936.
5. B. Panton, Censored, Sydney, 1947, p.17.
6. ibid.

the centre of one of the earliest censorship controversies, illustrated the second tendency. One newspaper charged Lindsay with 'Literary Matricide' for his frank treatment of adolescence in a Victorian country town. Lindsay venomously answered the charges before departing for the wider world; he declared that the 'average decent Australian is a slug and a moral coward whenever the noisy minority starts making a fuss over any frank statement of life and love'.¹

The critics of repression challenged the government's view of Australians as children and sought to bring Australian policies into line with those prevailing in Britain and America. Such diverse voices as the Tasmanian Labor Premier, Mr. Ogilvie, and the essayist Walter Murdoch protested. They complained that the Commonwealth Government was guilty of treating the adult population of Australia like little children of poor mentality, inferior in independence of spirit or in intelligence to the population of Britain.² There was a continuing attempt to challenge Australian censorship by bringing it before the court of international opinion. Visiting and returning writers and publishers reported that overseas Australia was seen as a benighted country because of its censorship.³ The Australian publisher, Will Andrade, noting the banning of a philosophical work Human Intercourse because of its title, remarked that Australian book censors were the laughing stock of London literary circles.⁴ The mood of the times was effectively captured in two cartoons. One pictured a display in 'Our Own Curiosity Shop' with signs for various 'bans' including, as well as a 'Book Ban', a 'Night Football Ban', a

1. Coleman, op.cit., p.23.

2. Launceston Examiner, 9/3/1936, Perth Daily News, 21/4/1936. Lindsay's novel Redheap was freely available in Britain. Murdoch asserted that 'on the whole the standard of intelligence is probably higher in Australia than in England'.

3. The critics included the American publisher F.W. Donohue (Herald, 24/5/1935), the British publisher, Jonathan Cape (Herald, 22/12/1934), the English novelist A.J. Ross (Herald, 20/9/1935), and the Australian novelist Flora Eldershaw (Star, 24/12/1934).

4. Sydney Sun, 8/9/1935.

'Parking Ban', 'This Ban' and 'The Other Ban'. Another sign assured passers-by that if a ban was not on view it could be obtained inside.¹ The second cartoon, which appeared in a radical little magazine, considered the deeper ramifications of repressive attitudes. It pictured a balloon containing many great modern minds which was passing over Australia in the Lyons Golden Age and was being fired on from below.²

* * * *

The movements against repression help illuminate the nature and vitality of Australian intellectual life in the period. The accelerating pace of repression, and advances in communication, occasionally encouraged active members of the nation's scattered intelligentsia to speak with one voice. In the late 1920s when two hundred 'seditious' publications and a few 'obscene' publications were under government bans, there was little public knowledge of the situation, and only occasional protest. In 1930, a year in which there were several attacks on censorship, the Sydney philosopher, Professor John Anderson, could observe that the existence of political censorship was not general knowledge, mainly because the newspapers had carefully refrained from discussing the matter.³

Political censorship and the repression of civil liberties were intensified by the newly-elected United Australia Party Government during 1932. The Crimes Act was strengthened and Francis Devanny, editor of the Communist Workers' Weekly, was successfully prosecuted, and sentenced to six months gaol, only to be freed after an appeal to the High Court.⁴ The 'dragnet' clause, which allowed the government to determine what was 'seditious' or not, and had been repealed by the Scullin Government in 1929, was reintroduced.⁵ Over the next two years the Customs Department,

1. Star, 9/4/1935.

2. The cartoon appeared in the Melbourne little magazine, Pandemonium. See J.M. Tregenza, Australian Little Magazines, 1923-1954, Adelaide, 1964, p.34.

3. John Anderson, Education and Politics, Sydney, 1930, p.14.

4. Watson, op.cit., p.63.

5. Coleman, op.cit., pp.112-113.

under the guidance of the Minister, Lt.Col. T.W. White, banned hundreds of publications on political or moral grounds. These tendencies at home, occurring at the same time as the rise of Hitler to power in Germany, alarmed academics and writers. Finally, in late 1934, they led to the formation of the Book Censorship Abolition League under the energetic leadership of the political scientist and reformist, William Macmahon Ball.

The B.C.A.L. had more modest aims than its name suggested, seeking primarily the free circulation of books available in Great Britain. The League found its natural centre in the 'Left/Left-liberal' groupings around Melbourne University which carried on a radical intellectual tradition expressed by the pre-war Victorian Socialist Party, the post-war 'Y' Club, and the Melbourne University Labour Club in its earliest years.¹ These institutions, and their principals, had links with Left-literary and socialist and Communist intellectual circles. Prominent members of these groups included the 'Socialist' Judge, A.W. Foster, the Labour M.H.R., Maurice Blackburn, the writer, Vance Palmer, and the historian and defender of civil liberties, Brian Fitzpatrick. Macmahon Ball had been at university with Fitzpatrick, who had been one of the founders of the Labour Club in 1925.² The Australian Council for Civil Liberties, which had a much wider brief than the League, and the Left Book Club had their origins in this Left milieu later in the decade.

The B.C.A.L.'s support was not confined to these circles. Its reasonable aims also appealed to individuals and institutions who were associated with the 'Liberal/Conservative' intellectual establishment of

-
1. On Melbourne's Left-intellectual environments in these years see Constance Lamour, 'Judge Foster - A Socialist Judge : Aspects of his life and work', M.A. Thesis, Monash University, 1973, Walker, op.cit., Ian Turner's introduction to Brian Fitzpatrick, A Short History of the Australian Labour Movement, second edition, Melbourne, 1968, and Don Watson, op.cit.
 2. Fitzpatrick and Ball had shared a flat for a time. (Turner, op.cit., pp.5-6) Other founding members of the M.U.L.C. included Lloyd Ross and Ralph Gibson. On the Communist Left in Melbourne in the 1930s see Ralph Gibson, My Years in the Communist Party, Melbourne, 1966.

the university. Numerous academics including Giblin, Copland, Ernest Scott, Professor S.M. Wadham (Agricultural Science), Professor G.W. Paton (Law), and the social democrat, Herbert Burton, members of the Young Nationalists' Organisation (J.A. Spicer), the Constitutional Club and the A.I.I.A. (Tristan Buesst, E.C. Dyason and F.W. Eggleston) declared their opposition to the existing censorship.¹ 'Liberal lawyers', including J.V. Barry and Eugene Gorman K.C., were prominent on B.C.A.L. platforms. Other supporters included the progressive bookshop owner, Roy Rawson and the League's energetic secretary Theo Lucas.²

During January, 1935 book censorship was criticised by most sections of the Melbourne Science Congress and by the A.I.P.S. Summer School which was also meeting in Melbourne.³ Throughout the decade distaste for censorship was a recurring theme in public affairs journals, including the Quarterly and the Morpeth Review. The subject provoked public comment from

1. Melbourne Herald, 5/2/1935, Melbourne Star, 10/4/1935, Herald 6/12/1935. Other prominent citizens who signed the League's petition included Sir James Barrett, the Chancellor of Melbourne University, Dr. J.S. Hart (the Anglican Bishop of Wangaratta), Mr. T.D. Oldham, M.L.A., and the former and present State Directors of Education, Frank Tate and J. McRae. (Herald, 6/12/1935). Organisations in N.S.W. which contacted the Prime Minister in 1935 to seek change in the censorship system included the W.E.A., the Sydney University Public Questions Society, the Newcastle Synod of the Anglican Church and the Australian Railway Union (N.S.W. Branch) of which Lloyd Ross was Secretary. (Sydney Sun, 18/8/1935). In Melbourne the Constitutional Club and the Movement Towards a Christian Social Order, the Unitarian Church and the A.L.P. were amongst the organisations which supported the B.C.A.L.'s deputation to Mr. White. (Melbourne Sun, 29/8/1935, Bendigo Advertiser, 11/9/1935). Such independent progressive and radical Sydney intellectuals as Lloyd Ross, the feminist Jessie Street, the Rev. G.S. Watts and A.B. Piddington, K.C., were strong critics of censorship. (Sydney Morning Herald, 11/9/1935, Sydney Daily Telegraph, 27/5/1936).
2. Watson, op.cit., p.78. Rawson, a rationalist and treasurer of the C.C.L. was also to be the major force behind the Left Book Club. (Watson, p.77).
3. Argus, 23/1/1935, 2/2/1935.

most intellectuals whatever their métier.¹ Writers, librarians, journalists, academics, artists, some lawyers and churchmen, students of politics and international affairs, adult educators, members of both major parties, trade unionists and Communists whose activities were under threat, and many Australian newspapers opposed restrictions on thought in the Australia of Joseph Lyons.²

The League's first public meeting at the Unitarian Church Hall, East Melbourne, in November, 1934 signalled the beginning of a long public battle against censorship.³ The main thrust of the campaign was a petition asking for the admission into Australia of all books freely circulating in Great Britain.⁴ A Sydney branch of the League was formed with the support of F.A. Bland, W.G.K. Duncan, David Stewart, Lloyd Ross and P.R. Stephensen, the radio commentator Eric Baume (who was later to have his own problems with radio censorship), and the trade unionist, Albert Thompson.⁵ A small Brisbane branch was established under the leadership of the medical researcher, Dr. J.V. Duhig, while Walter Murdoch was the most notable of the individual critics in other states.⁶ In Adelaide 500 of the first 1,000 signatures to the petition came from students and staff of the university. In Melbourne supporters were as diverse as Sir Keith Murdoch, proprietor of the Herald, and P.J. Clarey, the trade unionist.⁷

-
1. For example, K.S. McGill's Morpeth Review article on the novel of unemployment, Hans Fallada's Little Man-What Now?, M.R., July, 1933 and articles in the A.O. issues of March, 1933 and June, 1935.
 2. The Australian Journalists' Association, and the President of the Melbourne Trades Hall Council, P.J. Clarey, both supported the League in its endeavours. Artists who criticised censorship included Max Meldrum, H. Herbert, Charles Wheeler and Louis McCubbin (Herald, 8/2/1935, 10/2/1935).
 3. Coleman, op.cit., p. 115.
 4. The League hoped to obtain up to 2 million signatures (Adelaide Mail, 24/8/1935) but only succeeded in gaining 20,000. (Watson, op.cit., p. 69).
 5. Coleman, op.cit., p. 117; SMH, 17/8/1935; Sydney Daily Telegraph, 2/8/1935; Andrews, op.cit., pp. 241, 33.
 6. Brisbane Telegraph, 18/9/1934. Murdoch was a consistent defender of freedom of thought. See also chapter 5, and J.A. La Nauze, Walter Murdoch: A Biographical Memoir, Melbourne, 1977.
 7. Adelaide Mail, 24/8/1935, Melbourne Herald, 5/2/1935.

The strongest professional criticism came from the writers Flora Eldershaw, Christina Stead, Frederick Macartney, Frank Wilmot, Vance and Nettie Palmer and Katherine Susannah Prichard.¹ The petition's distinguished Victorian supporters included Sir Albert Rivett, head of the C.S.I.R. and the Rev. Wilson Macaulay, the former Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Victoria;² another less 'respectable' supporter was the Communist novelist, J.M. Harcourt from Perth.³

The early stages of the League's campaign were characterised by popular and press interest, confusion and conflict. In late February, 1935 the Melbourne Star promoted a Town Hall debate between the opponents and supporters of censorship.⁴ 1935 was a year of controversy. Ernest Scott challenged the Minister to read at a public meeting certain passages from Shakespeare and the Bible which would be handed to him a short time before he spoke.⁵ In February, the Melbourne University Librarian declared that he made no distinction between banned and unbanned books.⁶ A second public meeting in May which aimed to challenge censorship by having talks on banned books, which speakers would have in their possession, was thwarted when the books were removed from the Prohibited Publications list prior to the meeting.⁷

-
1. See reports of the campaign: Melbourne Star, 24/12/1934, Argus, 16/4/1935, Brisbane Courier-Mail, 27/6/1935, and Sydney Worker, 31/7/1935.
 2. Herald, 5/2/1935.
 3. Coleman, op.cit., p.115. Harcourt, whose novel Upsurge had just been seized by the West Australian police, was the first President, but was soon replaced by Macmahon Ball to make the body less vulnerable to attack as a Communist front.
 4. The Star devoted an issue to the debate (27/2/1935). The writer Cyril Pearl, working for the Star at the time, had a key role in these events.
 5. Argus, 22/2/1935.
 6. Argus, 10/2/1935.
 7. Star, 10/4/1935, Melbourne Sun, 3/5/1935.

Several incidents fed the fires of controversy. The banning of Mae West's book She Done Him Wrong aroused more public interest than the prohibition of a book which had been a prescribed Melbourne University economics text a couple of years before.¹ The role of 'obscure' Customs officials in the censorship process was questioned even more strongly when it was finally revealed in August, 1935 by Sir Robert Garran of the government's advisory Censorship Board, that no political books had been referred to the Board for advice.² Complaints about the 'bureaucratic stranglehold on intelligent thought' were supplemented by criticism of the 'star-chamber' method of censorship whereby the list of censored books was not publicly available.³ Cartoonists were happy to depict the hard-working Customs officials at their task and Smith's Weekly published its own 'Index Expurgatorius' of banned books.⁴ The folly of some decisions, such as the unwitting irony of suppressing Huxley's Brave New World, the banning of a scholarly work on communism⁵ and the failure to restrict cheap, sensationalist American comics and magazines held the government up to press ridicule as well as intellectual contempt.⁶

Censorship had its mildly humorous and its deadly serious aspects. The intransigence and provocative statements of Mr. White added a personality dimension to the issue. Faced with a chorus of intellectual

-
1. Herald, 13/8/1935, Brisbane Telegraph, 16/9/1935.
 2. Star, 26/8/1935.
 3. Sunraysia Daily, 10/10/1935, and the Newcastle Sun, 29/9/1935 in an editorial entitled 'The Book Blockade'.
 4. Table Talk, 18/7/1935, Smith's Weekly, 24/8/1935.
 5. The book in question was Ralph Fox's Communism, (Sydney Sun, 1/9/1935).
 6. By July, 1934 N.S.W. alone was receiving 100,000 low quality, low price, sensationalist 'pulp' magazines per month (Coleman, op.cit., p.146). This development increased support for censorship by women's groups concerned to prevent the corruption of youth, and encouraged Australian writers and their organisations, such as the Fellowship of Australian Writers, to both oppose the dumping of these magazines in Australia, though for different reasons. Both sought protection, one of the nation's morals, the other of its writers.

condemnation, the Minister remained, in the caricature of the Melbourne Star, 'adamant - a rock in surging sea of public opinion, a sea crested with authors, scientists, students and men and women who believe that freedom of thought is worth a great deal'.¹ Restrictions on travel also had their absurd side. The Czech writer, Egon Kisch, was prohibited from entering Australia in 1934 to speak for the Movement Against War and Fascism, jumped from the ship and broke a leg. He was declared a prohibited immigrant because he failed a dictation test in Gaelic but was freed by a ruling of the High Court.² There was amusement and consternation in 1936 when the government sought to ban an Englishwoman, Mrs. Freer, from entering the country, apparently on the rather unusual grounds that her presence might break up a marriage.³ To compound the absurdity the government sought to discourage discussion of the decision on the airwaves.⁴

The intransigence of White was encouraged by the support he received from branches of the Australian Women's National League, church groups and other concerned citizens.⁵ A correspondent to the Brisbane Telegraph attacked seditious writings and 'pornographic trash calculated to debase and inflame unmatured minds', asserting that the Bible was the backbone of the British Empire.⁶ An Anglican Canon believed that as the government 'took care to see that no plague was allowed to enter Australia which would affect the body' it should prevent the entry of plagues which could injure 'the moral health of the people'.⁷ White himself provocatively remarked that the free sale of poisons should not be allowed and that 'some authors wrote for degenerates'.⁸ One critic lambasted 'the ridiculous

-
1. Star, 7/2/1935.
 2. Egon Kisch, Australian Landfall, Melbourne, 1969 (second edition).
 3. Brian Fenton, op.cit., Appendix 3.
 4. Six Acts Against Civil Liberties, C.C.L., Melbourne, 1937.
 5. He often addressed such organisations on censorship (Melbourne Sun, 27/8/1935, Age, 28/8/1935).
 6. Brisbane Telegraph, 21/9/1935.
 7. Canon Baglin quoted by the Age, 11/9/1935.
 8. Geelong Advertiser, 11/9/1935.

opinion that any infection overlooked in England should be given free access to the Australian body politic'.¹ The Women's Vigilant Society was aghast at magazines with stories entitled 'Crawling Madness' and 'Death Takes a Ride'. 'How can we hope to have a clean-minded and virile nation if we are feeding the young people on filth?' asked a member.² Even some anti-censorship newspapers found censorship superfluous because of Australia's 'healthy national outlook'.³ The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Perth declared that Communist literature should be excluded, while a speaker at the 1936 Victorian and Tasmanian Methodist Conference condemned 'Godless Communistic doctrines'.⁴ Despite the opposition of the Revs. B.R. Wylie and F.T. Cleverdon, the Conference passed a motion that there should be no relaxation on restrictions on immoral books, books inciting to revolution and bloodshed, or books which sought to destroy Christianity and family life.⁵

The years 1935 and 1936 were frustrating for the League. Not until September, 1935 did the Minister agree to meet a deputation from the B.C.A.L. On September 10th he met with a deputation asking for the lifting of the bans on political works, followed by one from supporters of moral censorship. Provocative introductory comments from White and Macmahon Ball's argument that 'Australia, for banning (political) works, is being a traitor to the people, and is being unwilling to apply the principles of democracy' led inevitably to a confrontation during which Ball walked out in protest.⁶

The style of the Minister heartened his supporters, amused observers and frustrated and disgusted his opponents. The issue went

-
1. Age, 12/9/1935.
 2. Sydney Telegraph, 3/4/1936, 11/4/1936.
 3. Courier-Mail, 29/8/1935, Perth Sunday Times, 8/9/1935.
 4. West Australian, 3/12/1935, Age 3/3/1936 (The speaker was a Rev. C. Dugan.)
 5. Star, 3/3/1936.
 6. Herald, 10/9/1935, Star, 10/9/1935.

beyond personalities and battles of individual will, however, as suggested by one press rhyme on censorship. Considering the danger coming from the 'Madagascar Bolsheviks' a Hobart Mercury columnist observed:

Mr. White reads a book on depression,
Which he knows right away is most dire.
If the people should guess
They had been in a mess,
Why, he might have to make a confession.
So he steers by the course of repression,
With a principle simple and clear;
Fairy tales for the fools,
Goody books for the schools.
For the rest - well a careful discretion.¹

The opponents of censorship were conscious that, in the arguments of Walter Murdoch, and the Sydney publicist, Jessie Street, bans on such books as the Communist Manifesto and Allan Hutt's The Conditions of the Working Class in Great Britain were meant to prevent social criticism which might remove ignorance and lead to a public demand for reform.² Censorship of social criticism, wrote J.J. Simpson, a contributor to Labor Call, was like the precautions a thief takes to prevent his crime being discovered. In this case the crime was 'inflicted poverty'.³ The critics invoked Milton and quoted Shaw's argument that censorship's purpose was to prevent challenges to current conceptions and existing institutions. Its removal was the first condition of progress.⁴ The Rev. Claverdon told the Methodist Conference that conditions under the present capitalist economic system were not completely Christian, and that those looking for the ideal system would have to study all experiments - Christian and unchristian - to bring about a better social order.⁵ F.W. Eggleston was equally upset at restrictions on thought, rhetorically asking the Minister at the 1935 Conference, 'Do you say that Australians should not know everything that is being said about the future of human society and social institutions?'⁶

1. Hobart Mercury, 11/7/1935.

2. Newcastle Morning Herald, 28/9/1935; Perth Daily News, 4/3/1936; Labor Call, 26/3/1935.

3. Labor Call, ibid.

4. Hamilton Spectator, 7/3/1936.

5. Argus, 4/3/1936.

6. Ballarat Courier, 11/9/1936.



SAFETY FIRST.

"We'd be better without these bandages, P.M."
"Yes, but don't they make you feel SAFE?"

from a cartoon by Norman Lindsay in the Bulletin, 15th November 1933.

The government's repression of thought at a time when the lights of liberty were going out all over Europe and when Australia was facing grave social problems, gave an urgency to the opposition to censorship. They sensed that the government's ruling emotion was fear. Walter Murdoch regretted that censorship was supported by many who had 'some vague dread of terrible consequences if the Australian people were allowed to read what it chose'. A self-confessed 'conservative by temperament' he declared that he felt like praying daily for his young country to be delivered from this shameful fear of change and become a 'bold experimental land'.¹ The critics were displeased by the government's repression and indecision. They asserted that its 'undignified fear of subversive doctrines' implied 'a very serious lack of faith in its own principles'.² The national leadership offered by the Lyons government was captured in a Norman Lindsay cartoon which pictured Lyons blindfolded and leading a blindfolded kangaroo over a cliff. 'We'd see better without them bandages, P.M.', said the kangaroo, to which Lyons replied, 'Yes, but don't they make you feel SAFE?'³

-
1. Walter Murdoch, Collected Essays, Sydney, 1938, p.625.
 2. Leslie Henderson, Star, 24/12/1934. John Anderson, the Sydney philosopher, developed an analysis which combined traditional liberal democratic arguments with a psychological interpretation of the government's preference for security over change. Society could not be founded on 'guardianship' he asserted, affirming that the 'ventilation of views' was 'a primary social requirement'.
To admit that (social rules) have to be defended by censorship and the demand for obedience instead of by ventilation and the recognition of things themselves, is to admit that they do not work. An institution or a country which, in such a predicament falls back on "tradition", adopting an exclusive attitude and attributing its ills to external and accidental influences, is like the neurotic accusing "Fate" instead of his own repressions.
(Education and Politics, pp. 14, 26-7)
 3. Reproduced in G. Greenwood (ed.), Australia. A Social and Political History, Sydney, 1955, facing p. 370.

European events united the supporters of liberal democracy who recoiled from events in Germany and Italy. A full page Melbourne Star article by Cyril Pearl was accompanied by a drawing of Huxley's Brave New World and other books with Customs banning orders printed on them falling into fires of burning books surrounded by men in Nazi uniform.¹ Brian Fitzpatrick asserted that

Night was falling on the world order ... Fires were springing up all over Europe - books were being banned. We want the light from the books' pages, not from the fires as they burn.²

Similar comparisons came from the academics, Murdoch, Scott, Giblin and Burton and from Judge Foster, several of whom noted that repression had become one of the features of post-war Europe.³ Bishop Stephen, in the 1935 Moorhouse Lectures, placed repression in the context of a wider modern malaise. He began by deploring the 'direct attack from politics' on the human personality:

One writer recently declared "Men's minds have been sent to prison and their rulers hold the key to their cells." Men have to sink their convictions for party interests ... The most important fact in the post-war world is the rise of the absolute state. Russia, Italy and Germany agree in using force to mould or suppress opinions. The result is expressed in Mussolini's words, "We have buried the putrid corpse of liberty". Similar tendencies may be observed even in Anglo-Saxon countries, the boasted home of liberty. The Great War accustomed men to restrictions on liberty of opinion in the interests of the state. The masses are treated with contempt and they accept the will of their rulers. This may be due to the growth of moral cowardice or laziness ... (and) the growth of bureaucratic government. 4

-
1. Star, 25/2/1935.
 2. Melbourne Sun, 3/5/1935.
 3. Argus, 21/5/1935, Star, 15/12/1934.
 4. Age, 12/12/1935.

Threats to democracy, and even to 'civilization', were recurring themes in some reformist writings. W.G.K. Duncan wrote of the 'growing irrationality' of the times and feared that the future belonged to the barbarians.¹ 'The world has once more arrived at a crisis in its affairs', declared Professor Raymond Priestley, the progressive Vice-Chancellor of Melbourne University, when considering the role of the university in a democratic community. Like the philosophy professor, W.R. Boyce Gibson, he feared that once again the philosophers might have to retreat to caves, as occurred in the Dark Ages.²

The government, seeking to repress debate on international developments, did not readily appreciate such arguments. But it did make some concessions. Four months after the League's meeting with White, in February, 1936, without announcement the censorship was slackened. In May, Lyons stated that while the legislation would not be repealed the Minister for Customs would have the approval of the Government in 'interpreting the regulations in a spirit consonant with the established British principle of freedom of the Press.'³ While, after eighteen months the B.C.A.L. had not received a straightforward reply from the Prime Minister to their request for the entry of books circulating in Britain, some change had been achieved. It came partly because more liberal elements in the U.A.P. including the N.S.W. United Australia Review, and the U.A.P. candidate for Fawkner, Victoria, Mr. H.E. Holt, joined in the criticism.⁴ Further relaxations came in 1937 from the Attorney-General, R.G. Menzies. They were announced, while the irrepressible White was in England, as a government response to the Council for Civil Liberties' attempt to make civil liberty an election issue.⁵

* * * * *

-
1. Review of Leonard Woolf's Quack! Quack!, A.Q., December, 1935, pp. 104-107.
 2. R.E. Priestley, 'The Place of the University in a Democratic Community', A.Q., September, 1937, p.23. (The paper was first delivered at a forum at the Unitarian Church, East Melbourne, 25/7/1937).
 3. Canberra Times, 23/5/1936.
 4. Sydney Sun, 25/7/1935, Melbourne Sun, 23/7/1935.
 5. Coleman, op.cit., p.115; MacMahon Bail, interview, 22/10/1976.

The Lyons' government's repression, evasiveness and obtuseness and the anomalous and changing nature of censorship united intellectuals and many other outspoken individuals in the community in their opposition. The reactionary style of U.A.P. government in the 1930s alienated many conservatives as well as their opponents. Don Watson has suggested that the largely ineffective repressive 'anti-communist' legislation and action during the decade expressed 'a genuine fear that was poorly exploited' rather than the conscious, calculated exploitation of similar fears as political weapons by conservative governments during the 1950s.¹

Repressive action by governments was, however, widespread and included: attempts to prosecute communists under the Crimes Act; restrictions on entry into Australia; numerous cases of radio censorship, including the banning of a talk on free speech by Judge Foster and cutting programmes off the air; bans on plays such as the Odets anti-Hitler play Till The Day I Die and films such as Eisenstein's film of the Russian Revolution Ten Days That Shook The World by local and state authorities; and, the Melbourne City Council's refusal to let the League of Nations Union book the Town Hall in February 1938 for a public debate on international affairs.² In 1939 the Prime Minister even rebuked the visiting novelist, H.G. Wells, for criticising Hitler while in Australia.³

The gradual relaxation of censorship in 1936 and in the election year 1937 was followed, as the world situation worsened, by a rising tide of repression. While the fear of Lang and communism had declined the government, unable to predict international developments, demanded blind support for Britain and no criticism of possible foes lest they be

1. Watson, op.cit., p.72.

2. See: Coleman, op.cit.; E.M. Andrews, op.cit.; Watson, op.cit.; Ralph Gibson, My Years in the Communist Party, Melbourne, 1966; Six Acts Against Civil Liberties (C.C.L., Melbourne, 1937); Brian Fenton, Censored, Sydney, 1947 and C.C.L. Annual Report, 1937-8 (C.C.L. Papers).

3. Wells came to Australia to address the 1933 Canberra Science Conference.

offended.¹ In April 1938 the Post-Master General's Department pressured commercial radio stations not to comment on Mr. Eden's resignation and the British Cabinet crisis. In the same year the Transport Workers Act was amended to provide for the licensing of waterside workers as a government reaction to the ban on shipments of pig iron to Japan.²

Censorship and civil liberties questions aroused varying degrees of opposition and public interest. Many of the books and rights being defended were those of communists. This fact increased the natural caution of many intellectuals who were generally chary of political involvement and appearance on the public stage. Many active defenders of freedom to read were not willing to publicly defend the freedom of communists to speak, travel, publish and associate. A qualified willingness to defend basic rights was even apparent over censorship. There was a special case within the Labor Party where many members, sharing the moral conservatism of the Catholic Church, supported moral censorship while opposing political censorship. The Labor member for Melbourne Ports, E.J. Holloway was one of the most persistent critics of political censorship; at the same time he joined other Labor speakers in vigorously defending moral censorship.³

Even censorship involved omissions and equivocations lamented Brian Penton. He complained of Labor's lack of leadership on the issue and the lack of sustained and vocal opposition from many academics and newspaper editors. Academics were often unwilling to associate with such lesser creatures as newspaper editors. The press interest in the subject, though strong, was short-lived. Penton complained that many academics and

-
1. This also had its expression in the precautionary self-censorship of some radio stations. In December, 1938 the Sydney commercial station 2GB forced its commentator, Eric Baume, to desist from criticising Germany (E.M.Andrews, *op.cit.*, pp. 241, 236).
 2. C.C.L. Annual Report 1937-8 (C.C.L. Papers).
 3. Sawyer, *op.cit.*, p. 91.

professionals were more interested in their own profession than in wider issues.¹ Penton's analysis pinpoints a distinctive feature of Australian political-intellectual life, the tightness of groups, the focus on traditional ends and fear of association with other groups. Penton charged the Labor Party with being 'an amalgam of groups for material ends' which failed to give leadership on all the great intellectual and moral issues. The intellectuals were too few, too disorganised, and too unschooled in the ways of politics to be able to campaign effectively against government repression. The greatest problem lay with group solidarity. Australian political groups expected and demanded political conformity without exception from their members, and anathematised opposing groups. When an individual stepped outside his group, or worse, aligned himself with another group on an issue, he placed himself at political risk:

The individual found himself in painful and confusing difficulties when he was moved to defend an idea which clashed with his loyalty to a profitable group and landed him in a defensive alliance with groups which had no material advantages to offer, or worse still,² with groups which, on all other counts, were opposed to his own.

The risk of standing aside from one's group was dramatically brought home to the Victorian Labor M.H.R., Maurice Blackburn, in 1941 when he was expelled from the Labor Party because he spoke at a meeting of the Australia-Soviet Friendship League.³ The case of Egon Kisch was an example of a different kind where many defenders of Left books kept a much lower profile when called to defend a politically active individual. The Kisch case only covered the less than five months from his 'Australian Landfall' in November 1934 until his departure in early March 1935.

-
1. Penton, op.cit., pp. 21-24. Penton accused academics, doctors and lawyers of an unwillingness to be quoted and to be associated with newspaper campaigns. From this position of 'absurd ostrichism' the censorship and civil liberties incidents were quite unconnected, 'unworthy of an educated man's serious attention'. (ibid.).
 2. ibid., pp. 16-19, 78.
 3. Penton, op.cit., p. 19.

It featured, however: public meetings attended by thousands; court cases and arrests, including the expulsion of Kisch's fellow speaker, the New Zealand Communist, Gerald Griffin, for his inability to speak a European language (Dutch); and Griffin's secret return to Australia to address a meeting and his subsequent arrest. Support for Kisch came because of fear of war and fascism and/or concern for civil liberties.¹ Several prominent academics and churchmen including Walter Murdoch, Professor F.R. Beasley, A.G.B. Fisher, Macmahon Ball, Sir Mungo McCallum, Rev. Arthur Rivett, Bishop Burgmann, Canon Garnsey, R.S. Lee, Rev. J.W. Burton, the lawyer A.B. Piddington K.C., the writers Vance Palmer, Louis Esson, E.J. Brady and Katherine Susannah Prichard and the painter, Max Meldrum, to defend him.² The dramatic and ridiculous aspects of the Kisch case and Kisch's own good humour, typified by the November, 1934 remark 'My English is broken, my leg is broken, but my heart is not broken', created a degree of public interest.³ The accusation that Kisch was a Communist, and the singing of the 'Internationale' at his meetings reduced the range of support, though. The newspapers gave the story sparser coverage than censorship, and refrained from editorial support. The names of prominent reformists including Bland, Duncan, Copland, Portus, Eggleston and Cowper were absent from the public declarations of support for the travel rights of Kisch and Griffin. Also absent were the names of prominent citizens who supported a relaxation of censorship. Newspaper reports of meetings which remarked that 'many in the crowd apparently had Communist affiliations' kept many citizens away from public involvement.⁴

In conservative eyes, and even in those of some reformists, there was a fine line between the defence of civil liberties for their own sake

-
1. See P. Howells, (ed.) Kisch's Censored Speech: What They Prevented Kisch From Saying..., Melbourne, 1934 and E.E. Kisch, Australian Landfall, Melbourne, 1969 (second edition).
 2. See the pamphlet 'How the Kisch-Griffin Ban Was Smashed', National Library pamphlet collection.
 3. See Kisch, op.cit., and Watson, op.cit., pp.64-67.
 4. Sydney Morning Herald, 21/11/1934.

and the defence of the civil liberties of those who sought to overthrow the established order of society. Progressive reformists, including Macmahon Ball, were also conscious that their public effectiveness was lessened if they were too often and too readily identified with Left causes.¹ Communist practices and conservative views made this a reality rather than just the fears of the respectable, middle class citizen. Communist Party fronts, such as the Movement Against War and Fascism, and more broadly based but Left-oriented peace and friendship movements such as the International Peace Campaign, sought to secure the support of prominent academics and churchmen.² The conservative press had no reservations about drawing simplistic pictures of intellectuals under communist influence. The Melbourne Age supported book censorship, declaring that the 'literary-intellectual group' which spearheaded the anti-censorship movement was 'being made use of in the fight by forces in the community much less worthy, forces whose motives are wholly sordid'.³

The caution of middle class intellectuals was reflected in their less prominent role in the Australian Council for Civil Liberties. The Council actively opposed the many attacks on basic freedoms. Formed in late 1935 and early 1936 its officebearers, including the first secretary, Theo Lucas, and president, Herbert Burton, came from the B.C.A.L.⁴ In its early stages its members addressed such middle class organisations as the Young Nationalists, the S.C.M. and the Constitutional Club, causing suspicion in some Left quarters, but its orientation moved gradually towards the Left.⁵ Most A.I.I.A., Young Nationalist and respectable academic opponents of censorship were missing from C.C.L. ranks. Burton and Ball became increasingly disturbed by the political content of the

-
1. Macmahon Ball, Interview, 22/10/1976.
 2. For details see chapter 8.
 3. Age, 4/9/1955.
 4. Watson, op.cit., pp. 77-78, 80-81.
 5. Ibid., chapter 4, especially pp. 79-80, and chapter 5.

League's activities and by some of Brian Fitzpatrick's activities, as Secretary. The two academics feared that the League was not just opposing a restriction on liberty such as the Transport Workers Act used against the striking Port Kembla waterside workers, but was endorsing their political position. Macmahon Ball believed that anyone with any independence of thought increasingly became petulant and kicked against party rigidity. He himself was unsettled by the way Fitzpatrick's initiatives as a Council publicist politically aligned the Council on current issues.¹

The role of intellectuals in defending civil liberties in Australia has always been an important but complex one. Writing in a symposium in 1964 Fitzpatrick argued that intellectuals, because of special knowledge and some notion of political strategy and tactics, could often be politically effective on certain issues even without the support of an obvious social group. He demonstrated how intellectual opposition had quickly created a non-party public campaign against the Crimes Act Amendment Bill of 1960 which led eventually to A.L.P. opposition to the Bill after initial hesitation and indifference.² Historically, on questions of civil liberties, censorship, doubtful justice and capital punishment intellectuals have played a crucial political role. They have been equally important, at times working with militant trade unions, on questions of principle regarding repressive governments abroad, military conscription, nuclear power and the environment. While there have been intellectuals prominent in the major parties and in parties on the Left there has been a clear pattern of progressive intellectual involvement as a conscious group on a number of moral, cultural and political questions.³

1. Macmahon Ball, Interview, 22/10/1976.
2. Brian Fitzpatrick, 'The Intelligentsia and the Labor Movement', Arena, No. 5, Spring, 1964, pp. 13-15.
3. Censorship and justice/capital punishment questions have engaged intellectuals throughout the century, the latter including the Stuart trial in South Australia and the Ronald Ryan hanging in Victoria in the 1960s. Intellectuals were also important in opposition to the Boer War and, over sixty years later, the Vietnam War. Declarations of support by artists and intellectuals for the Whitlam Labor government from 1972-1975 represent a clear break from the previous tradition.

The English sociologist, Frank Parkin, has advanced a set of propositions regarding the political involvement of radical intellectuals in England as suggested by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in the 1950s. He has argued that middle class radicals are often active on moral questions which do not relate to the possibility of 'thorough-going re-adjustments in property or class relationships'. Their greater degree of material security, status and economic rewards than the bulk of industrial workers makes them less inspired to press for 'deep-seated changes in the entire economic order'. Middle class movements, by focussing on moral issues, 'are in a sense able to avoid any direct challenge to the legitimacy of the existing social structure, since solutions to problems of this kind do not usually entail serious re-adjustments to basic institutions'. Such problems as capital punishment, colour discrimination, and the Bomb put forward 'distinct and limited demands, each of which can be met without thorough-going re-adjustments in property or class relationships; they could be aspects of any society, and not necessarily a capitalist one'.¹

Censorship appealed to intellectuals' interest in ideas, whatever their politics. Civil liberties questions which often related directly to political action came closer to the bone of overall social organisation. Opposition to censorship followed from reformists' fundamental belief in the importance of thought and rationality. Reformists, critics of censorship included Murdoch in Perth, Ball, Burton, Eggleston and Buesst in Melbourne and Duncan, Cowper and Bland in Sydney. Opposition came from A.I.I.A. members and Young Nationalists as well as from Left intellectuals. Censorship also brought reformists and students of public affairs into an alliance with writers and publicists who offered cultural critiques of Australian society (from P.R. Stephensen to Vance Palmer), the youthful publishers of radical little magazines and the supporters of

1. Frank Parkin, Middle Class Radicalism: The Social Bases of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Manchester, 1968, p.54.

modern art who sought wholeheartedly to embrace the new and reject the old, businessmen and lawyers who disapproved of the government's grandmotherly control of thought, and those on the Left who saw freedom of thought as a basic democratic right necessary to spread the message of socialism.¹ The alliance was temporary and partial; it was limited by geography and qualified by the underlying conflicts of ideas and interests between the different groups. There were differences between the views of Eggleston and Macmahon Ball and further gaps between those of Ball and Burton and the more Left members of the Council for Civil Liberties. A great gulf existed between academics who asked for the free circulation of books available in Britain and artistic and political radicals who rejected ruling social values.

Parkin's interpretation of middle class radicalism helps explain why opponents of censorship had reservations about supporting Kisch or joining the Council for Civil Liberties. Even progressive reformists such as Ball and Burton were often more interested in ideas, questions of principle, and cultural-political matters (the press, radio, censorship, international affairs) than in basic questions of economic, social and political power. Conservative reformists would defend freedom to read and think but were unwilling to countenance social reform carried out by Left parties. Single issues of a moral or technical kind, or general ideas, appealed to comfortable reformists, many of whom were more ready to advocate thought than to actually analyse society and politics. Some individuals found themselves in contradictory positions. The conservative political leader, J.G. Latham, was a member of the Rationalist Association, and a supporter of improved libraries and education. He was also willing

-
1. For the critical views of radical little magazines see Tregenza, op.cit. Businessmen who criticised censorship included Sir Keith Murdoch, W.G. Wainwright of B.H.P. South, McColl McCowan of Burns, Philp, and T.R. Ward of Equity Trustee. Amongst the lawyers were W.M. Irvine, J.V. Barry, L.B. Cussen, Henry Minoque, L.B. Stratton, E.F. Herring and J. O'Driscoll (Melbourne Herald, 5/2/1935, 8/2/1935, 10/2/1935).

to repress Communism in an undemocratic and irrational way.¹ He was Macmahon Ball's member of government who was trying to run a democracy with blinkers on, or at least with a blinker over the Left eye.² Latham was as much the traditional conservative as the rationalist and free thinker.

Many of the defenders of censorship and civil liberties showed a great deal of courage but on specific issues of principle and morality. Members of the C.C.L., the League of Nations Union and some A.I.I.A. members helped refugees from Europe who were impoverished and suffered from discrimination. They displayed conscience and commitment in their support of a minority on an issue which, in Parkin's terms, was a moral one rather than one concerning the entire economic order.³ In a sense though, the campaigns of reformists, Left intellectuals, writers and artists during the 1930s were a beginning for the intellectual dissidence which Serle perceived developing over the following decades.⁴ To oppose repression was for many reformists also to oppose a range of associated tendencies without opposing them specifically. In Lyons' Australia such a position at least allowed a broad alliance of intellectuals who were later to show basic conflicts of ideas and interests as some became more radical and others were further integrated into established institutions.

-
1. See Cowen, op.cit., pp. 46-8, on Latham as a High Court Judge. Until 1934 Latham had been Attorney-General in the repressive Bruce-Page and Lyons conservative governments.
 2. W. Macmahon Ball, 'The Australian Censorship', A.O., June, 1935, p. 10.
 3. See the discussion in chapter 7.
 4. Serle, op.cit., p. 154.

IDEALISM AND NATIONAL PURPOSE

The Depression experience activated and encouraged several forms of reformism which sought social, cultural and political change. An Idealist strand looked to a new social order and a new degree of national purpose. These visions appealed to many progressive Christians and to reformists who thought in more secular terms. Clusters of liberal humanists and social democrats contributed arguments for social, cultural and national renovation to reformist and other forums. Their views were 'progressive' in the accepted sense of supporting improved community facilities and/or government action to deal with social problems including injustice and inequality. These movements of ideas were indebted to the philosophical Idealism which underpinned reformism. Reformism was inherently Idealist due to its belief in the primary importance of thought and ideas.¹ In such terms all these groups looked towards a transformation

1. The terms 'Idealist' and 'idealist' are related, but not synonymous, in meaning. 'Idealist' refers to the philosophical belief that spirit is more fundamental than matter in the social and physical world. The term 'idealist', without capitals, refers to a hopeful view of social possibility and progress. Since 'Idealism' was often implicit in 'idealistic' aspirations there is an area of grey where either term might conceivably be used. Idealism was usually implicit in reformism and expressed in the belief in rationality. This form was much weaker than Christian Idealism which attributed an underlying spiritual unity to God's creation of the world. Both terms are readily opposed to 'realism' in its several philosophical and popular senses.

in national life beginning in the realm of ideas. Whereas the pessimistic realists feared decline from higher to lower moral states most of these groups saw the power of ideas and ideals lighting the way ahead. The consciously Idealist strand in reformism was partly derived from the Idealist tradition in philosophy which was still strong in Australia in the 1930s, and had fertilised the social thought of the New Liberalism at the turn of the century in England.¹

The reformist and New Liberal aspiration for citizenship as a source of social progress still appealed to the pessimistic realists despite their doubt and disbelief. It had even greater appeal to those who retained their social optimism. In their more confident moments reformists in the humanities in the universities and in the churches were inspired by the vision offered by Idealism. Aspiring for a society embodying a higher level of social purpose, Idealist reformists sought the encouragement of the social motives of service, fellowship and co-operation. Discerning drift, division and discord in society they hoped instead for a nation united and inspired by new ideals.

The Idealism of the turn of the century had been weakened but had not completely disappeared by the 1930s. Its importance in Australian reformism can be understood by considering its historical derivation and its contemporary appeal to middle class students of society. The

-
1. Melvin Richter, The Politics of Conscience : T.H. Green and his Age, London, 1964 is the fullest study of Green. H.V. Emy, in his Liberals, Radicals and Social Politics, Cambridge, 1973 remarks that the idea of the 'New Liberalism' in English political life had only begun to appear in the late 1960s but had 'emerged almost to the status of conventional wisdom' over the next few years (Preface, pp. viii-ix). Much of this discussion is based on Terry Cook's succinct description of the diffusion of Idealist social thought in his article 'George R. Parkin and the concept of Brittanic Idealism', Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. 10, August, 1975, pp. 15-31.

idealism of the philosopher T.H. Green had helped create the New Liberalism in England by bringing to liberal individualism a larger vision of the ethical citizenship of the individual as a force for social purpose. This view was informed by the underlying assumption that spirit was more fundamental than matter and a belief in the spiritual unity of the world.¹ Challenging contemporary materialism, secularism and anarchic individualism Idealism saw 'man as an embodiment of spirit and ideals, not as a creature of blind instincts and base sensations'.² Seeing man as 'essentially a spiritual being ... able to direct and control his appetites and impulses, able to move towards a greater realisation of that concept of good which was the very heart of his moral self' Idealists believed that:

the end of life (was) ... neither the pursuit of happiness nor the worship of humanity; it was nothing less than the struggle for the perfection of the whole spirit in a cooperative society, a society dedicated to the purposes of the eternal intelligence that held all evolving nature in unity and order.³

Green believed that 'will not force' was the basis of the state. He hoped that ethical citizenship would lead to the creation of a 'moral community'. He sought the cultivation of 'character' (or, as it was later sometimes called, 'personality') through civic instruction and the removal of material deprivation. In this view the good society should grow up from below.⁴ Green's Idealism was influenced by his study of the German Idealists and Benjamin Jowett's revival of Platonic studies at Oxford. His Idealist thought was expressed in liberal individualist

-
1. Tim Rowse, op.cit., chapter 2, has pursued the nature of New Liberal Idealism, and its influence in Australia through Francis Anderson on the secular evangelists of the pre-war N.E.W. W.E.A.
 2. Cook, op.cit., p. 23.
 3. J.H. Buckley, The Victorian Temper, New York, 1951, pp. 197-8 quoted by Cook, ibid.
 4. Cook, p. 24.

terms, but it was also influenced by the literary idealist reaction against late 19th century materialism.¹

The reaction against technological change in this era of Progress and Darwinian scepticism also produced 'a popular creed of Idealism, shorn of its philosophic intricacies'. This evangelical creed fertilised secular and Christian movements for social reform in a period of uncertainty. It inspired the New Liberalism, and also encouraged the idea that the Imperial mission was moral rather than merely material, regenerating the race and uplifting lesser races.² The New Liberalism and Christian Idealism were closely related both serving similar social and emotional purposes. Melvin Richter has argued that Green's work had an avowed religious purpose and a quasi-religious social function. In a period of religious uncertainty and advancing secular materialism Green's 'doctrine of citizenship and reform' provided 'a surrogate faith appealing to a transitional generation'.³

The Idealist historian, R.G. Collingwood, has recalled that from about 1880 to about 1910 Idealism's influence was immense, penetrating and fertilising every part of the national life.⁴ The internationalist thought of the writer on the Greek Commonwealth and on international relations, Alfred Zimmern, and Lionel Curtis, the prophet of *Civitas Dei*, or the city of God on earth, sustained Idealism's influence over several decades in the movements for organic Imperial union and for international harmony.⁵ Though under challenge from the critical philosophical writings of G.E. Moore, Bertrand Russell and later Ludwig Wittgenstein, one student recalled that Idealism was still strong at Oxford during the

1. *ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

2. *ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

3. Richter, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

4. quoted by Cook, *op.cit.*, p. 24.

5. Alfred Zimmern in *The Greek Commonwealth* (Oxford, 1911) looks back in Idealist and New Liberal terms to the themes of personality, ethical citizenship and cooperation in the Greek polis. Zimmern's idealist approach to the study of international relations is considered by Ieuan John, Moorhead Wright and John Garnett in the chapter 'International Politics at Aberystwyth 1919-1969' in *Wales and the World* (Aberystwyth, 1970).

1920s.¹ The theme of citizenship, central in Green's thought, remained important in Australian school Civics courses during the first half of the new century.² A continuing New Liberal influence was also apparent in the writings of the English political philosophers, L.T. Hobhouse and Harold Laski. Hobhouse wrote in 1911 that liberalism was 'the belief that society can safely be founded on (the) self-directing power of personality', and, like Green, aspired for a moral community. Laski argued in 1925 that liberty was 'the eager maintenance of that atmosphere, in which men have the opportunity to be their best selves'.³

The influence of New Liberal Idealism in Australia reflected the links between religion and moderate social thought. Green's ideas were brought to Australia by Francis Anderson who came to assist Charles Strong in his Australian Church before becoming, from 1887 until 1921, professor of philosophy at Sydney University.⁴ Anderson's influence lay in his role as a teacher, and his own combination of Idealism and an interest in social and educational questions. He supported the educational reform movement led by Peter Board in the early 1900s and influenced his own students including the clerics Elkin and Burgmann, the sociologist C.H. Northcott, the economist R.F. Irvine and the adult educators Portus and Bland to carry out the civic instruction recommended by Green.⁵

-
1. L.F. Fitzhardinge, Interview, 7/6/1974.
 2. See Alan Barcan, 'The Decline of Citizenship as an Educational Aim', Quadrant, Vol. XVI, No. 2., April, 1972.
 3. L.T. Hobhouse, Liberalism (edition introduced by A.P. Grimes), New York, 1964, p. 8.
H.J. Laski, cited by W.G.K. Duncan in his article 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity in the Modern World', A.J.P. & P., Vol. XII, No.1, March, 1934, p. 9. Duncan notes that Laski had since abandoned this definition, however. (ibid.)
 4. Rowse, op.cit., chapter 1.
 5. K.S. Cunningham in Cleverley and Lawry, op.cit., p. 110; Elkin's 1915 B.A. (Hons.) thesis was on 'Australian National Consciousness'. (Warren Osmond, 'Australianism and the Sociologist', Sociology Association of Australia and New Zealand Conference Paper, Sydney, 19/8/1972, p. 13 note.)

New Liberal ideals influenced the Melbourne social and political reformers Alfred Deakin, H.B. Higgins and the young Herbert Brookes, other servants of the new Australian Commonwealth and writers, teachers and ministers including Charles Strong, Walter Murdoch, F.W. Eggleston and William Harrison Moore.¹ A self-conscious and coherent social group arose through social, political, intellectual and family connections over several decades with its own social milieu in dining clubs such as the Boobooks. Many participants were also influenced by the progressive New Liberal aspirations of the turn of the century.² Some of the personal connections were to last to the 1930s and beyond, though many of the individuals were to become more conservative over time.³ Christian Idealism focussing on the personality was in the ascendant in philosophy

1. This is less clearly documented. It is suggested by Rowse, *ibid* and by John S. Evers in his study 'Herbert Brookes : A Political Biography', B.A. (Hons.) Thesis, Sydney University, 1971 (pp.124-125 especially) and Warren Osmond's study 'The Education of a Victorian Liberal : Frederick Eggleston 1875-1916', M.A. Thesis, Sydney University, 1974. Murdoch's early essay 'Social Service' (in Loose Leaves, Melbourne, 1911) deals partly with Green. His schoolbook, The Australian Citizen, Melbourne, 1912 develops the citizenship theme.
2. Osmond, *ibid*, pp. 79-84. Nearly all the Boobooks were academics or professionals rather than businessmen. Osmond also notes (p. 113) the impact in these circles of the Glasgow Idealist Henry Jones during his 1908 visit to Australia. Evers writes that 'Brookes' beliefs and attitudes arose, or were sustained, through the experience of living in a self-conscious and coherent social group', most of whom were 'radicals of middle class origin' carrying on the tradition of nineteenth century radicalism. (p. 135) Evers' picture (pp. 124-136) of Brookes as an idealist with a nineteenth century radical belief in the possibility of social harmony, and a desire for moral development in the whole of the society puts his early values within the stream of Idealist reformism. His desire for 'a new radical "party of the middle way" ' (Evers, p. 133) is similar to Murdoch's aspiration for a 'common cause'.
Another Brookes, the behind the scenes man in conservative politics, and someone ready to organise paramilitary forces to defend the regime against revolutionary action during World War I is outlined in Robert Darroch's, 'The Man Behind Australia's Secret Armies', Bulletin, 2/5/1978.
3. Brookes was infected by sectarian hostility to Catholics during the war (Evers, p. 132) while Eggleston rejected party politics and severely qualified his social idealism. (See Chapters 2 and 3). Osmond (p. 92n) suggests, however, that even in the early years of the century 'men like Murdoch, O'Dowd and others were as much in retreat from the general optimism of the period as they actually shared it'.

at Melbourne University under the influence of W.R. Boyce Gibson and his son A. Boyce Gibson until the 1940s.¹ In Sydney the W.E.A., with its 'secular ministry' of the education of citizens, was a vehicle for social idealism before the war, and in muted form after it. Portus, Bland and Burgmann replicated the strong Christian influence of Albert Mansbridge, Bishop Temple and R.H. Tawney on the English parent body. Francis Anderson's Christian Idealism influenced the League of Nations Union in Sydney until the mid-1930s.²

Idealism was hard-pressed to survive as the century advanced. Centrifugal tendencies and the Great War dashed dreams of Imperial Federation and political conflict eroded the prospect of a united 'moral community'. Reformists, watching these developments in secure middle class environments kept the Idealist spark alive. Several individuals in the Protestant churches and the Student Christian Movement - inspired by youth internationalism, science and religious idealism - saw a greater need for Idealism in the community. Noting the failed aspiration for social harmony some reformists hoped for international harmony. Eggleston, attending the conferences of the Christian-influenced Institute of Pacific Relations, clung to an ideal of rationality in international life which he was relinquishing regarding civil society.

-
1. J.A. Passmore has written that in Australia for the first few decades of the century at least 'philosophy was allied to literature and theology rather than to science, was committed to the defence of a liberal Christianity and to orthodox mores, and was Idealist in its metaphysical presumptions'. ('Philosophy', p.140 in A.L. McLeod (ed.), The Pattern of Australian Culture, Melbourne and Ithaca, N.Y., 1963.) The challenge to Idealism, like the growth of modern art, came belatedly in Australia, both perhaps being examples of cultural lag. John Anderson's idiosyncratic 'Realist' philosophy was beginning to make important inroads, and influencing younger thinkers, in Sydney during the 1930s.
 2. In chapter 16 of Happy Highways, Melbourne, 1953, Portus has written of his transition from the clergy to the new 'secular ministry' of adult education as Assistant Director and then Director of Tutorial Classes at Sydney University.

Despite the end of the ideal of Imperial unity Lord Cecil and the League of Nations Union sought international harmony in the 1920s.¹ Idealist themes and ethics, aesthetics, and political and social harmony were important in the forums of the Australasian Association of Psychology and Philosophy (especially before the realist John Anderson became editor of the journal in 1934). Nearly one fifth of the Association's members were ministers of religion.² The Idealist aspiration for harmony, expressed in such words as 'co-operation', 'unity', 'understanding', 'commonwealth', 'fellowship', 'service', and the ideals of 'personality' and truth, beauty and goodness were common in its forums. Occasionally they successfully challenged 'King Economics', 'Prince International Relations' and 'Baron Constitutional Problems' in the pages of the Morpeth Review and the Australian Quarterly.³

Idealist perceptions of society were infected with the same psychological dualism which characterized pessimistic realist thought. Against the prospect of the ideal was put the possibility of decline to a lower level. The aspiration for a 'moral community' was often thwarted by the Idealist's perception of 'collective sin'.⁴ Idealist thought of this kind posited that the general good could result from the collective exercise of social wills. Assuming that a shared vision was necessary for society to ascend towards that good it readily saw society and the nation

-
1. Peter Raffo, 'The League of Nations Philosophy of Lord Robert Cecil', Australian Journal of Politics and History, Vol. XX, No. 2, August 1974. Cecil believed (Raffo, p. 192) that if men were to be free 'they must be controlled by spiritual and not by material forces', a classic Idealist position. He also hoped that 'the Will of the Peoples of the World' for peace could defeat the bureaucracies and vested interests which made for war. (Raffo, p. 190)
 2. In 1931 no less than 43 of the Association's ca. 358 members were Ministers of Religion. (A.J.P. & P., Vol. IX, 1931 membership lists, no pagination) Mildred Muscio, K.S. McGill, R.C. Mills, K.H. Bailey, Macmahon Ball, Dr. K.S. Cunningham, F.R.E. Mauldon, G.W. Paton, R.J.F. Boyer and E.R. Walker were amongst the reformists and students of public affairs in the Association.
 3. The latter terms are those of K.H. Bailey, 'The Bureaucrat's Place in Government', M.R., September, 1930, p. 36.
 4. The Fabian socialist Beatrice Webb used the latter term. It is quoted by Geoffrey Hawthorn, 'The new intelligentsia in Britain', New Society, Vol. 38, No. 734, 28 October, 1976, p. 184.

in anthropomorphic and moral/psychological terms. Society was exhorted to a higher ideal and castigated for failing to pursue it. Much of the discussion was conducted in psychological and moral language which relied on contrasts between the noble qualities of vision, service and unity and the lower impulses of greed, selfishness and indifference.

Rationalist and more elevated Idealism were combined in a Walter Murdoch article on the need for a greater degree of national purpose. In 1938 Murdoch, the advocate of thought and education, called for Australians to gather in groups and discuss what sort of nation they wanted, and ways of achieving that common goal. He saw a country paralysed by fear, drifting at the 'mercy of anywhither wave and random wind', and displaying a 'shameful fear of change' and offered different solutions. In rationalist terms he saw the problem as the seeming inability of democratic Australia to make up its mind about what it wanted.¹ In this view social transformation began in the collective mind making a decision and reaching agreement. Murdoch suggested a new 'agenda party' which, though not in Parliament, would seek to bring out the existing 'very solid agreement on essential matters'. It would regard certain things as 'agenda', meaning 'Things that must be done'. Moving from the rational to the spiritual he believed that if the existing 'silent agreement' were given a voice it might 'give to Australia in peace-time the spiritual unity which she was conscious of in the great days of the war'. Seeking, with other reformists, to encourage a 'common cause' or a 'middle way' he regarded agreement as a gate to something more. Murdoch saw the 'common platform for all those who are not content with things as they are', the 'creed for Australia' as leading to a higher national purpose. He himself wanted to live 'in a country which is conscious of a spiritual unity, like a church, pursuing a common purpose and inspired by a common body of beliefs, a common creed'.²

-
1. Walter Murdoch, 'Australia-What Now?' sub-titled 'A Call to the Nation to Decide What Sort of Land This Shall Be', Argus, 8/1/1938.
 2. Walter Murdoch, 'A Creed for Australia', The A.B.C. Annual, Sydney, 1939, pp. 183-186.

The son of a minister, Murdoch had grown up in the Victorian era. He retained an underlying Idealism despite his sceptical views of social pretension and the doubts engendered by the modern 'age of bewilderment'. His belief in 'an ultimate decency of things' was justified by 'an idealistic philosophy', which maintained that consciousness had created the physical world, and by faith.¹ This was an 'old-fashioned' philosophy which dealt more readily in generalities than with specifics. Murdoch himself condemned 'lip-service to a shadowy abstraction called democracy or high-sounding talk about a nebulous thing called Liberty' as inadequate; but his own perceptions remained imprecise. In psychological terms he saw the real enemies of progress and democracy as greed, fear and stupidity. He made this view fractionally more concrete by condemning the stress on 'individual profit-making'. He asserted that society must stress Justice in addition to the traditional liberal stress on Freedom and demanded that the state take a positive role. He called his creed 'applied Christianity', and believed that it was supported by human nature's 'immeasurable capacity for development'. He realized that it would be a 'revolutionary change' in contemporary ways of thinking if it was really accepted.²

-
1. Walter Murdoch, 'On Vastness', Moreover, Sydney, 1935, pp.203-4. Considering the revelations of science regarding the universe's vastness and man's small role he found an answer: 'An idealistic philosophy-which I personally believe to be a sound philosophy-meets the statements of science with the reply that space and time are but forms of thought; that consciousness is not appalled by physical vastness because it has itself created that vastness; that the greatest thing in the universe is spirit, and that matter itself is spiritual in essence. But that philosophy is rather old-fashioned, I am told, and is now held by very few ... I believe that far down in the consciousness of every one of us, unknown to many of us, unaffected by our theories, unsupported by reason and unassailed by doubts, there lives a certain undying thing which we may, if we like, call faith.'

quoting R.L. Stevenson's statement "I believe in an ultimate decency of things; ay, and if I woke in hell, should still believe in it", he continued:

We too believe in an ultimate decency of things; that the world is not merely a bad joke, that life is neither meaningless nor futile, that man is not an insignificant insect. We know that in the checkered history of the race there is a purpose, had we the key to it. This we believe; and we show that we believe it, not by our words, which may deny it, but by our lives. This is the creed to which men of all religions subscribe, the irreducible minimum of belief, without which life would become impossible to a thinking being.

Thus Murdoch found the age of faith to be not in the past but in the present, enabling man 'to face with serenity the menace of the unknown'.

2. Murdoch, 'A Creed for Australia', op.cit., pp. 185-195.

Such rhetoric might seem hollow from a more practical political standpoint. In face of the fear, escapism and even torpor which characterised public attitudes during the period, the aspiration for increased social purpose, and frustration at its absence, was understandable though. Exhortations to national self-discovery and regeneration of the secular politics of revelation appealed to liberal humanists, social democrats and cultural nationalists as they had to the pessimistic realists earlier in the decade. There was an aspiration for a secular religion in this thought whereby shared social purposes might bind the nation together. Several progressive commentators looked for such a force. Mildred Muscio, a publicist and a member of the 1928 Royal Commission into Child Endowment, was inspired during the 1930s by H.G. Wells' belief in the coming dominance of the motive of service. It would contribute to an 'open conspiracy' of the educated and professional classes seeking 'the rational reconstruction of human affairs' to bring about 'better conditions for humanity'. In this transition, service would become a 'practical form of modern religion'.¹ F.R.E. Mauldon believed that society needed a 'focusing "myth", some ultimate purpose on the horizon of ideals' if it was to unite for action and undertake the 'scientific' planning which the spirit of the age needed.² Macmahon Ball contrasted the success of the dictatorships in harnessing the energies of their young people with the failure of the democracies. He believed that many people were 'looking for some social loyalty that (would) give them the satisfaction that they (could) no longer find in private ambition'.³ Elkin, the social anthropologist and minister, looked to religion to integrate society, seeing

an urgent need for religion to supply that common conscience and social outlook which the individual tends to lose in present day urbanised conditions... religion can preach the ideal of

-
1. Mildred Muscio, 'Wells on the World', A.O., June, 1932, pp. 119-120, 123.
 2. F.R.E. Mauldon, 'Some Implications of Economic Planning', A.O., June, 1933, p. 93.
 3. W. Macmahon Ball, 'Education and Politics' in Duncan ed. (1936), p. 157.

cultivating personality and working for the social good both off duty as well as on, and incidentally, it must encourage that social fellowship which the industrial and urban conditions of modern life tend to weaken and destroy. ¹

The anthropomorphic view of the nation was expressed in hopes for its positive role as well as in fears regarding its psychological flaws. There was a strong 'if only ...' emphasis in the reformist politics of revelation. 'If only ... the people picked up the gauntlet ...', 'if only they were enlightened by the spark from heaven ...', society would ascend to a higher level. A Morpeth Review contributor asserted that there was 'no barrier to the attainment of ideals strong in the consciousness of a majority of the people'. ² One variant of the call for a shared national purpose was the Christian perception that a nation, like an individual, might have a God-given mission on earth. Walter Murdoch declared his hope that Australia could find 'real national greatness' through 'her own special mission in the world, her own contribution ... to the welfare of humanity'. ³

The proclaimers of social ideals were also conscious that there was a Hell as well as a Heaven and base motives which might thwart the achievement of the ideal. Reformist dualism was expressed in their view of popular psychology. W.G.K. Duncan, criticised the forces which prevented democracy going from "in the making" to "in being", categorising them in terms of types of minds; the 'shallow minds' who looked to Moscow or Rome for a solution to problems and the 'lazy minds' who failed to realise that there were problems. ⁴ Burgmann argued, with Duncan, that

-
1. A.P. Elkin, 'The Present Social Function of Religion', M.R., December, 1931, p. 32.
 2. K.S. McGill, 'The Government of N.S.W.', M.R., December, 1931, p.45.
 3. Walter Murdoch, 'A Creed for Australia', op.cit., pp. 194-195.
 4. W.G.K. Duncan, 'Democracy or Dictatorship : Is it a real alternative?', A.O., June, 1934, p. 51.

without thought and trained intelligence in society social upheaval might result.¹ G.V. Portus, like Murdoch, saw social conflict in psychological terms; he believed that the major causes of war, even more than monopolies, alliances and racial animosities, were 'pride, lust, dominion, fear and above all ignorance, in what may be called the spiritual field'.²

Herman Black's perception of public opinion and international relations, one shared by Macmahon Ball and Brian Penton, was a bleak one. Relationships with other groups were

still bathed in mystery and obscurity. We are in the main terrified of the men of other groups ... That which we do not know has become the painted devil to affright us. The average man's view of other people and his own nation's relation to them is just plain childish and silly. It is just this type of person who would have no resistance to propaganda and would drift into a war as he would drift into a cafe ...³

The press was charged with encouraging such attitudes.

Duncan noted that mass circulations necessary for profits could only be built up by 'catering for the semi-educated masses, by appealing to their emotions and prejudices, by feeding their insatiable appetite for the exciting and sensational';

The mental furniture of the Press-reading public thus consists of isolated episodes and eruptions; nothing coheres in causal sequence; opinion is shallow, fluid and unreliable ... Our environment is rapidly growing in size and complexity, and the medium through which its developments are reported to us warps and distorts it.⁴

Burgmann found one solution to this problem in the reformist panacea of the informed minority: a number of trained citizens 'large enough to constitute a well-informed body of public opinion', influence 'the less informed or more indolent' and destroy the power of 'plausible catch-words and party slogans'.⁵

-
1. E.H. Burgmann, endorsing the views of Alfred North Whitehead, in reviewing his The Aims of Education and Other Essays, M.R., December, 1929, p. 59.
 2. G.V. Portus, 'Organisation for War', M.R., December, 1930, p. 18.
 3. Herman Black, 'Defence Against War', M.R., April, 1934, p. 71.
 4. W.G.R. Duncan, 'Politics and the Sphinx', M.R., Oct, 1933, p. 43.
 5. E.H. Burgmann, 'The Morpeth Review', M.R., December, 1931, p. 6.

The prophets of renewed social purpose were found in several clusters. They included progressive churchmen such as Burgmann, Elkin and Lee; groups of cultural nationalists, who sought the rebirth of national literary awareness and the social values associated with the legend of the 1890s; and cultural vitalists who stressed the need for vitality, energy and thought in national life. There had been a focus on national character in the history of Australian social aspirations which derived from 19th century biological views of race and the hopes and fears which gathered around a young country. The sense that Australia was 'not yet' but was 'nigh' aroused both utopian hopes and dystopian fears; it could become 'millennial Eden' or 'a new demasno for Mammon to infest'.¹ Contemporary interest in psychology encouraged these terms of analysis. Their appeal grew as several crises made it necessary for the nation to redefine its social, economic, and international policies if it was to survive.²

Conscious of the loss of direction in the first few decades of the century, on which A.G.L. Shaw later remarked, several reformists, writers and publicists sought to encourage national self-awareness and reinvigorate national cultural traditions. Reformist journals declared their intention of aiding the nation in thinking over its problems. Edward Masey, the reformist and vitalist, wondered at the reasons for 'our spiritual atrophy, and the dulling of the national consciousness which flared up so brilliantly forty years ago'.³ Editors and contributors believed that a nation, like an individual, should 'know thyself'. They hoped that such self-awareness would increase social conscience and prompt necessary political action as well. Several novelists believed that they were participating in a process of national re-awakening which

-
1. The two perceptions come from Brunton Stephens' poem 'The Dominion of Australia (a forecast)' (1877) and from Bernard O'Dowd's hopeful and fearful poem 'Australia' (1900).
 2. Ian Turner (ed.), The Australian Dream, Melbourne, 1968, anthologizes Australian aspirations including those of the late 1930s and the war years.
 3. Edward Masey, review of P.R. Stephensen, The Foundations of Culture in Australia, Sydney, 1936, in the A.O., March, 1936, p. 107.

transcended the realm of literature. Nettie Palmer, writing to Miles Franklin in 1931, asserted that

We are struggling, with the very beginnings of a national school of literature, unforced, self-respecting, but of the soil as Russians are to their soil ... and we must nurture those who are indubitably of that soil, despite their blemishes.¹

In the Morpath Review Burgmann commended a novel for its contribution to bringing Australia alive in story. He saw this as only a beginning:

We have hardly begun to discover Australia yet in our literature. Australia is not yet the living and intimate home of our souls, and she will not be until our minds are sensitive to the touch of her atmosphere, the₂breath of her scenery and the magic of her broad spaces ...

In the same journal Bishop G.M. Long discerned a growing national self-awareness in the important novels of the 1920s; they marked 'the definite establishment in Australia of that kind of self-consciousness that expresses itself in the analysis and synthesis of the novel, as distinct from the short story ... and the tale of physical adventure'. He concluded that while there were still gaps 'the tiny head that surmounts Australia's large and lanky limbs is expanding'.³ In radio drama, in the discovery of the Australian interior in books and magazines, and in the literary and popular interest in the aborigines and in native flora and fauna could be found evidence of an emerging cultural self-awareness.⁴

-
1. Quoted by H. Heseltine, 'Australian Fiction Since 1920' in G. Dutton, The Literature of Australia, p. 184. David Walker in Dream and Disillusion expresses a more critical view of some aspects of the movement for a national literature.
 2. E.H. Burgmann, review of Ashley Brown, The Hole in the Board (Hutchinson), M.R., March, 1928, p. 60. (Only the last chapter of the novel deals with Australia.)
 3. G.M. Long, 'The Australian Novel', M.R., March, 1930, pp. 18-19.
 4. Leslie Rees as the A.B.C.'s head of radio drama encouraged Australian plays. See his The Making of Australian Drama, Sydney, 1973. J.M. Tregenza, Australian Little Magazines, 1921-1954, considers the new awareness of the Australian environment. Several books on the aborigines, on the 'legend of the nineties' and Australian flora and fauna were published during the 1930s and the magazine Walkabout first appeared in 1934.

Cultural nationalism was an undercurrent in the 1930s encouraged by a variety of factors: the escapist interest in nature during a depression, economic nationalism, the 'bodyline' cricket war with England, the sesquicentenary of white Australian settlement in 1938 and, most importantly, the threat of war to the future of the nation.¹ Cultural nationalism was also endorsed by the visiting American Australophile, C. Hartley Grattan, who joined with the Palmers in seeking inspiration in the radical literary tradition of the 1890s. It influenced the Jindyworobak poets, Communist writers including Katharine Susannah Prichard, the idiosyncratic publicist, P.R. Stephensen, the bush-educated Burgmann, the Australian Broadcasting Commission's Federal Director of Drama, Leslie Rees, and to a lesser extent the editor, writer and publicist, Brian Penton.² Cultural nationalism had only limited appeal for middle class reformists. Distant from the radical, working class traditions expressed by Furphy and Lawson they sought instead to 'civilize' the young country and bring it up to 'international standards'. Cultural nationalism appealed most to reformists when fused with criticisms of provincial apathy and complacency. Stephensen had joined with reformists in nostalgically recalling the more harmonious liberal days before 1914. Like them he also rhetorically asked whether Australia had anything to be proud of aside from its cricketers, its merino sheep, its vast open spaces and its soldiers.

1. Economic nationalism had its local expression in a 'Buy Australian' campaign during the Depression. See Tregenza, op.cit. on the interest in nature aroused by the Depression.

2. P.R. Stephensen's The Foundations of Culture in Australia (Sydney, 1936) was central as a stimulus to cultural nationalism.

The literary-nationalist themes of the 1890s were rediscovered in Arthur W. Jose's The Romantic Nineties, Sydney, 1933 and Mary Gilmore's reminiscences Old Days & Old Ways, Sydney, 1934 and More Recollections, Sydney, 1935.

3. Stephensen, op.cit., pp. 25-6. Reviewing the book in the A.O. Edward Masey described it as 'a pioneering effort in a virgin field. It is a diagnosis of the fundamentals of our national existence, an exposure of alarming weakness, and a passionate plea to thrust aside the false deckings of the past and a spiritual subservience to alien conceptions.'

One variant of cultural nationalism was political vitalism, an undercurrent during the 1930s which became more important during the war years. Criticising the general decline in national vitality, apathy, and lack of courageous thought, the vitalists offered a more extreme version of similar reformist and cultural nationalist critiques. Political vitalism was strongest in Sydney and was a by-product of the literary vitalism associated with the Lindseys, P.R. Stephensen and Brian Penton.¹ Political vitalism derived its elitism, and its intellectual alienation from popular attitudes, from the literary vitalist tradition. This was also one source of the biological-psychological view of society which saw life in terms of strength and weakness, alertness and deadness, will and spinelessness.² Vitalism, more a tendency or an attitude than a coherent movement, was defiantly realistic seeking to destroy complacent illusions and make people face realities. Penton, through his 'new' Daily Telegraph, and his wartime books with titles such as Think-or Be Damned and Advance Australia Where?, was its leading exponent; his criticisms of conformity, intolerance and indifference struck a chord with some young people in the years before the war. The threat of war to the existence of the nation gave vitalism its agitated tones. Only in the sphere of foreign affairs did post-1932 reformism ever develop a similar urgency. Facing an uncertain future

-
1. Vincent Buckley's essay 'Utopianism and Vitalism' in G. Johnston (ed.), Australian Literary Criticism, Melbourne, 1962 considers literary vitalism which was largely Sydney based. John Docker, Australian Cultural Elites, Sydney, 1974 studies Sydney and Melbourne intellectual traditions. Vitalism's biological and elitist potentialities could lead various forms of it into extreme and racist attitudes. This happened with Stephensen's 'Australia First' movement (see Bruce Muirden, The Fuzzled Patriots, Melbourne, 1968) and was also apparent in the biological vitalism of 'A Psychologist and a Physician' (John Bostock and Leslie Nye), Wither Away, Sydney, 1934.
 2. Brian Penton, Think-or Be Damned, Sydney, 1941 and Advance Australia Where?, London, 1943. Penton's attitudes influenced the character of the new Daily Telegraph in Sydney which he edited from 1937. It had a great impact on the rebellious spirit of the young Donald Horne, see The Education of Young Donald, Sydney, 1967, pp. 131-134.

and arguing that 'Vitality is the only justification for existence, and vitality presupposes creation' Penton asked, after Stephenson, 'What then have we created?'¹

Penton and reformists found common ground in their criticisms of censorship, national myths and illusions, the conservatism of Labor and popular apathy. Vitalists preferred polemical criticisms of existing institutions to reformist Idealism's generalised, ideal views of the future. Reformism's demeanour was often responsible, even middle aged, by comparison and vitalist notes were only struck as expressions of frustration over censorship or popular indifference. There is a vitalist sense in the recurring image that Australians had 'grown too fond of leaning against lampposts' leaving others to do the thinking for them. Vitalists and reformists offered similar psychological criticisms of society; complaining of popular laziness and lack of mental courage, they exhorted people to read and think more. Reformist supporters of rationality and co-operation were not attracted by the strident, sceptical and even cantankerous tones of writers who suggested that

Conflict is better than apathy and if we ever win a brave new world it will be by only one means - mental courage and independence strong enough to rise above the gutter of pleasant superstition and comforting deceit. 2

The vitalists' tone was akin to that of the pessimistic realists though they looked for positive social change rather than mere restraint. Christian perceptions of social change were more typical of idealistic reformism. E.H. Burghmann, like many progressive Christians, was attracted to the theme of crisis and regeneration. He saw a special national, not sectarian, mission for the Anglican Church in the crisis. 'She must

1. Think-or Be Damned, p. 74.

2. Walter James, 'Thoughts at Thirty', A.G., June, 1937, p. 36.

feel that the making of the Australian nation is her special task ... She must ever sensitise the nation's conscience'.¹ Burgmann pictured the nation in the anthropomorphic terms of the politics of revelation. She had capacity for sacrifice and her heart was right but she needed the inspiration and vision of a great ideal:

There is no such ideal held steadily before her now. No one has thought out clearly what her place is among the nations of the world, and no one has tried to divine what Australia's mission is in the mind of God. 2

Progressive clerics and Christian liberal humanists saw in such old hortatory phrases as 'Where there is no vision the people perish' and 'By the soul only, the nations shall be great and free' messages for the nation during the Depression.³ Christian social idealism

provides a useful study of the strengths and weaknesses of Idealism as a force in energising reform movements.

In such progressive Christian forums as the Morpeth Review and the Australian Student Christian Movement idealistic rhetoric abounded. Christian Idealism focussing on the qualities of truth, beauty and goodness and the motive of service was intensified by reaction against secularising forces and the evils of the Depression.⁴ In the Review Burgmann looked back to the Greek focus on 'the whole man in all

-
1. E.H. Burgmann, quoted by Rev. H.R.G. Oakes, op.cit., p. 72.
 2. E.H. Burgmann, A sermon preached before the Newcastle Synod, in M.R., No. 1, 1927, p. 28.
 3. Walter Murdoch invoked the latter phrase in his article, 'The Tyranny of the Low-Brow', A.Q., March, 1937, p. 46.
 4. During the 1920s the Morpeth Review frequently attacked the secularism and materialism which it saw as characterising the decade. References to the ideals of truth, beauty and goodness are common in the Morpeth Review, and found in the A.J.P. & P. (for example: vol. IX, 1931, p. 241; vol. XIII, 1935, p. 83, and the A.Q. (W.G.K. Duncan quoting Leonard Woolf from his book Quack! Quack!, A.Q., December, 1935; J.R. Darling, 'Renaissance', A.Q., September, 1933).

his reactions to his world' which also had the sanction of Christian and modern psychological thought.¹ He and other contributors lamented that in the modern world an 'organic' view of life was being supplanted by a mechanistic one. Mechanism and materialism were not only a challenge to religion. They also threatened 'personality' and the social unity to which it contributed. Burgmann and Elkin both attacked a mechanistic world which was leaving less and less scope for individual adventure. The machine provided work and entertainment and controlled politics. Was the machine going to affect social and moral life in a similar manner, asked Elkin?

The very thought is soul-destroying. The mind has within it the power of freedom - the power to soar through all the heights of beauty, truth and goodness, and to do so unhindered by mechanical laws - by the atmosphere of engines, belts and cogs.²

The condition of modern life was seen as requiring a restatement of ideals. One Review contributor believed that the 'recovery of the organic view of human life' was 'supremely necessary' if the modern age was to be saved from disaster.³ In his Idealist voice F.A. Bland called for the recognition of Christ's 'twin principles of the sanctity of the human personality, and of corporate social responsibility which were the foundations of His Social Gospel'.⁴ E.H. Burgmann argued in New Liberal terms that the nation must foster the growth of its citizens in the recognition that 'a person had an organic relation with his fellows'.⁵ The Review's editors' experience as ministers in the coal-mining areas around Newcastle and their openness to progressive Christian ideas from overseas meant that

-
1. E.H. Burgmann, 'The Morpeth Review', op.cit., p. 7.
 2. A.P. Elkin, 'The Present Social Function of Religion', p. 31
 3. Dean H.K. Archdall, 'Leadership-its Need and Price', M.R., March, 1932, p. 17.
 4. F.A. Bland, 'Citizenship in the Light of Christ's Way of Life', M.R., April, 1933, p. 27.
 5. E.H. Burgmann, 'The Foundations of National Life' in Religion in the Life of the Nation : Four Lectures, Morpeth, 1930, p. 16.

such general ideals were sometimes related to more concrete social and political realities. Burgmann and Lee addressed themselves more clearly than other reformists to the question of property. Writing on unemployment Burgmann asked 'Are human rights more real than property rights?', and asserted that in the present situation property was in these terms the opposite of personality.¹ Roy Lee went beyond Burgmann's general view that the contemporary problem was 'to relate property to society and personality' arguing that the real problem was maldistribution of income. Arguing in psychological and economic terms he called for acceptance of the motive of service and the introduction of economic planning.² Burgmann believed that unemployment's challenge to the present economic system could not be escaped or evaded. Either the present system had to 'find a way to put men to work or it must confess its inadequacy and give place to another form of economy'.³

Christian Idealist rhetoric in journals and other small forums had wider impact through publicists such as Burgmann. It also found practical expression in the social work of churchmen including the Rev. John Hope of Christ Church, St. Laurence, Sydney, the Rev. G.K. Tucker who moved from Newcastle to Melbourne to found the ^{Mission of the} Brotherhood of St. Laurence, and the Methodist accountant and inquirer into living conditions, F. Oswald Barnett, in Melbourne.⁴ Burgmann was a ceaseless publicist against unemployment and social injustice (and against revolution it might be added) through forums in the Newcastle region including the Newcastle Morning Herald (whose editor, K.S. McGill contributed to the Morpeth Review and attended A.I.P.S. Summer Schools).⁵

-
1. E.H. Burgmann, 'Unemployment', M.R., July, 1933, p. 12, and 'Property and Morals', M.R., April, 1933, p. 5, pp. 8-12.
 2. 'Property and Morals', p. 5, R.S. Lee, 'Capitalism', M.R., April, 1933, p. 48.
 3. E.H. Burgmann, 'Unemployment', op.cit., p. 5.
 4. The Rev. Tucker established the Brotherhood's Mission in Fitzroy in 1933-1934. There were a number of academic theses on social problems in the period. F. Oswald Barnett's book The Unsuspected Slums, Melbourne, 1933 (also serialised in the Melbourne Herald) was originally a Melbourne University M.Sc. thesis.
 5. ibid., op.cit., chapter 5.

156.
He helped persuade the Newcastle Synod to support the doubling of the dole in 1933 and founded the Legion of Christian Youth which was active in the slum clearance/housing reform movement and the peace campaign. Burgmann was also an active supporter of peace groups including the League of Nations Union.¹ Though a publicist who enjoyed words, he manifested his concern for action in 1937 emphatically demanding of Premier Stevens that the houses promised under the new Housing Act should be built.²

Progressive Christians had influence on middle class Christians and students of public affairs in church forums and through such youth bodies as the S.C.M. and the Legion of Christian Youth. The S.C.M. was one agency of social awareness in a period when the seeds of social conscience and political radicalism were developing in the universities. Though the movement often focussed on the study of the Bible and on devotional matters, and most university students were more interested in their games and studies and 'isolated from the life of the community', the S.C.M. journal, the Australian Intercollegian, also carried articles entitled: 'Unemployment and the Slums', 'A Practical Investigation of Some Social Problems', 'Poverty and Unemployment in Australia', 'Towards a Christian Social Order', 'A New Order for a New Age', and 'The Church and Property'; and, discussions of Christian Socialism, the relevance of the church, the social role of the university, peace, and the reception of refugees.³ Social problems groups within branches studied housing, poverty, unemployment and the condition of the aborigines.⁴

Christian-inspired ideas had a wide influence fertilising several streams of secular thought. There was often a Christian motive behind

1. ibid, pp. 33-4, 126-136, 116-120.

2. ibid, p. 132.

3. 'Australian Students and Pacific Problems : Report from the A.S.C.M. to the World Student Christian Federation Pacific Area Conference', Australian Intercollegian, August, 1936.

4. These articles and reports are found within the journal in the period 1934-1938.

expressions of social conscience in conservative circles and in public affairs institutions. Many of the small band of social reformers in public affairs institutions were active Christians. The strong Christian influence in internationalist and peace movements was personified by Rev. A.H. Garnsey and Francis Anderson of the League of Nations Union and the Rev. Frank Coaldrake of Brisbane, the editor of The Peacemaker.¹

Coaldrake was also a founding member of the National Union of Australian University Students which eventually became a reformist and then radical organisation on social questions as well as a student pressure group.²

The more radical Christian elements were found in such bodies as the Christian Socialist Movement in N.S.W.³ Christian thought made an important contribution to holistic national ideas. Such groups as the Rev. John T. Lawton's Victorian Movement Towards A Christian Social Order encouraged the aspiration for a new social order which was to become important in social thought during the war years.⁴ In these years

1. F. Oswald Barnett was also prominent on the peace question, (See The Peacemaker, vol. 2, No. 6, 1/6/1940, p. 4) as was a group within the Legion of Christian Youth (Oakes, op.cit., p. 130).
2. The N.U.A.U.S. was formed at a meeting in Adelaide in February 1937 and held its first annual conference in Sydney in January, 1938. Ian McDonald, 'Towards Cohesion: The Development of a National Student Union', B.A. Honours Thesis, La Trobe University, 1973 describes its formation and considers the debates between those who thought it should deal only with student affairs and those who believed it should involve itself on social questions.
3. The Christian Socialist Movement held a conference at Thornleigh, N.S.W. in September, 1937 which was attended by 46 people and heard papers by several speakers including Lloyd Ross and Roy Lee. (Australian Intercollegian, October, 1937, p. 164). In the previous (September, 1937) issue of the journal Lee published an article entitled 'Christian Socialism'.
4. Australian Intercollegian, September, 1935, p. 135. Tim Rowse, op.cit., p. 127, quotes the 1945 remark of P.J. Clarey, the President of the A.C.T.U., that whether on the far left or far right 'everyone demands a new order'.

individuals who had been influenced by this thought including H.V. Evatt, who was in contact with Burgmann, A.P. Elkin, Kenneth Henderson and Lloyd Ross were in positions of power or were active as publicists.¹ Elkin sought to encourage what he saw as the coming period of social holism through the publications of his Australian Institute of Sociology, while Burgmann lectured in 1942 on 'The Regeneration of Civilization'.²

The Christian reforming impulse often had its expression in the recurring idealist theme of 'service'. The idea of social relations informed by the service motive supplanting the acquisitive society was common. The service ideal moved several of those who campaigned with Barnett and Burgmann for new government housing and with Elkin for new policies regarding aborigines. One Morpeth Review writer remarked that both Communism and Christianity were based on love and service and the only question was which philosophy would reconstruct the New Jerusalem.³ G.V. Portus believed that 'the majority of communists were attracted by the idealism of service'.⁴ Norman Dick described the N.S.W. housing reform/slum clearance campaign which he led as 'work for men of big hearts and big brains who will look upon the opportunity to serve the nation as the greatest privilege they have ever had'.⁵

-
1. Elkin was the founding President of the Australian Institute of Sociology, a body whose Council included Lloyd Ross and R.J.F. Boyer. Lloyd Ross was Director of Public Relations in the Ministry of Post-War Reconstruction from 1943-49. Kenneth Henderson was a Special Talks Officer with the A.B.C. during World War II.
 2. Powse, op.cit., pp. 166-7; E.H. Burgmann, The Regeneration of Civilization (Moorhouse Lectures), Melbourne, 1942.
 3. Lockhart Easton, 'Christianity and Socialism', M.R., April, 1933, pp. 30-33
 4. G.V. Portus, Communism and Christianity, Morpeth, 1931, quoted by the reviewer, R.W.G. Mackay in the A.O., March, 1931, p. 112.
 5. Norman Dick, 'Housing and Slum Clearance in N.S.W.', A.O., December, 1935, p. 85.

Christian Idealism fertilised secular reforming movements and encouraged reformists to set specific reforms in a larger context. There are doubts, though, about the potency of Idealist thought as a force for reform. One critic charged the S.C.M. with 'too great a quantity of prattling and too little practising what was preached'.¹ During the 1940s Lloyd Ross demanded that visions of the national future be made to come true with 'effort, determination, drive, plans - national effort, Australia driving, Commonwealth planning'. Australians would be inspired by poets but had to build 'not to music, but by planned effort, national effort', and by joining 'the word' and 'the deed'.² There were weaknesses in Murdoch's aspiration for harmony, for Australians to 'come together' and Portus' simplistic assertion that well-tempered idealism could be turned to account in the modern world by 'hard work, by reading, by reasoning'.³ Similarly, while Burgmann and Portus criticised the Rotary spirit and its equivalents Herbert Gepp still hoped for a 'get-together movement' like Rotary in industry.⁴

The limitations of Idealist thought have been succinctly stated by E.H. Carr, the writer on international relations and Jean Floud in commenting on the social reconstructionist thought of Karl Mannheim in the 1930s and 1940s. E.H. Carr was conscious that the events of the 1930s had demonstrated the inadequacy of idealistic and optimistic thought

-
1. H. Owen Chapman, 'Impressions of St. Peter's Conference', Australian Intercollegian, March, 1935, p. 19.
 2. Lloyd Ross, 'How shall we develop Australia's national spirit?' in K.T. Henderson (ed.) Searchlights on Life and on Australia (Sydney, 1944), pp. 51-2.
 3. Walter Murdoch, 'A Creed for Australia', op.cit., p. 195; G.V. Portus, Communism and Christianity, reviewed by R.W.G. Mackay, op.cit., p. 111. The theme of bringing Australia together has a strong appeal to moderates especially in times of crisis and uncertainty. In the 1970s it has reappeared as the theme of the minority Australian Democrat Party.
 4. G.V. Portus criticised businessmen's service associations in 'Our Morals', op.cit., pp. 90-91. Burgmann critically described the Church of England Men's Society as 'an Anglican version of Rotary only more so...' (Oakes, op.cit., p. 93). Gepp, the businessman, looking for reduced industrial and political conflict between employers and employees, had this hope. Democracy's Danger, pp. 48-9.

on international relations. Criticising the dreaming, impractical quality of idealism in social analysis he asserted that the first stage of a social science discipline was the wishing or utopian stage in which the 'ends' which brought it into being were stronger than the 'means' of analysis. 'Purpose, which should logically follow analysis, is required to give it both its initial impulse and direction...' The 'desire to cure the sickness of the body politic has given its impulse and its inspiration to political science...' In this stage "the wish is father to the thought" and 'the element of wish or purpose is overwhelmingly strong and the inclination to analyze facts and means weak or non-existent'.¹ Carr's observations might be applied to most Idealist thought in which the vision of the ideal, the holistic picture of new harmony, was clearly stated but the social processes by which it would be achieved were imperfectly considered. Sometimes the disturbing empirical reality of contemporary society was almost completely forgotten as the writers turned their eyes towards their vision of the ideal.

Idealist thought often looked backwards to imagined past harmonies (the organic view of life or the romantic legend of the nineties) or away from present divisions to the ideal abstract prospect of harmony. Such a movement away from the empirical to the ideal is fundamentally escapist unless, as sometimes happened, ideals are coupled with analysis or action. Jean Floud described Karl Mannheim, the European advocate of knowledge as a force for social reconstruction, as in some ways a conservative, 'a utopian of the right, seeking the security of an integrated society grounded in a common morality inculcated through education'. Mannheim's radicalism was born of a deeply conservative yearning for stability. Floud contrasts Mannheim, who (like the Christian progressives and liberal humanists) wanted to synthesize past and present

1. E.H. Carr, quoted by Ieuan John, Moorhead Wright and John Garnett in Potter, op.cit., pp. 92-3.

with the true revolutionary who welcomed change for its own sake.¹

Australian reformists, like Mannheim, were reacting against contemporary disorder and 'irrational' conflict. Some of them also looked to the rationality of the social sciences to bring a return to social harmony. Others were contented by ideals. The distaste for conflict which moved some reformists to become reformers also gave birth to an intense desire for stability which left the Idealists comforted with rhetorical pictures of harmony in an imperfect world.

The limitations of Idealist thought stemmed partly from the social situation and aims of the thinkers. The Idealism of Green had been nurtured in a sheltered world of scholars in a period when the prospects of peace and progress seemed good. In this context it was easy to assert 'the place of humane ideals in society' and have faith in the power of the rest of the community to assimilate them. Typical was Green's hope and prayer 'for a condition of English society in which all honest citizens will recognise themselves and be recognised by each other as gentlemen'.² In the same way Eggleston hoped that the responsible and courteous behaviour which he found at international I.P.R. and R.I.I.A. conferences and in university forums would eventually be more widespread.³

Parkin's sociological argument that middle class radicals are usually involved with problems which require a separate solution rather than ones which relate to the possibility of 'thorough-going re-adjustments in property or class relationships' helps explain the preference of many reformists for single issues or for generalised rhetoric regarding society.⁴ The pages of the Quarterly attest to the single issue focus of many reformists, a subject which will be discussed later. The

-
1. Jean Floud, 'Karl Mannheim' in Timothy Raison (ed.), The Founding Fathers of Social Science, Harmondsworth, 1969, p. 204.
 2. Quoted by John Bowle, Politics and Opinion in the Nineteenth Century, London, 1963 (second edition), p. 281.
 3. State Socialism in Victoria, p. 345.
 4. Frank Parkin, Middle Class Radicalism: The Social Bases of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Manchester, 1968, pp. 17, 54.

Idealist mode of thought with its aspiration for harmony if not a moral community was, however, a variant of the phenomenon Parkin describes.

By talking in generalities and psychological terms the social commentator was staying away from the nitty-gritty of social forces and conflicts.

In the worlds of the universities and the church where want was rare one could rest with comfortable, if inspiring, illusions. Many reformists looked to the power and idealism of youth as new sources of national direction and social purpose. Working with socially aware youth Burgmann and Lee looked to youthful idealism and to science, internationalism and Eastern spirituality as regenerating forces in an imperfect world.¹

Burgmann was inspired by science while Lee, a former Secretary at Paris for the International Student Service, believed that the student was 'the perennial source and the only source from which flows the life-giving water to the spirit of man'.² Another Review contributor looked to music to give 'a new sense of values, substituting for our prevailing materialism a more spiritual outlook'.³

1. On science see chapter 3. Conscious of rising secularism and materialism in the West, the Rev. H.R. Holmes found in the 'electric alertness to universal standards' in Eastern countries and the internationalism of the youth movement in the West challenges to Western parochialism and materialism. ('The Clash of Cultures', M.R., March, 1928, p. 13)
2. Roy Lee, who was of Chinese origin, was educated at Sydney University (residing at St. Paul's College) and at Oxford University. He was Secretary at Paris for the International Student Service during 1926-7, and a Travelling Lecturer in Canada and the U.S. for the I.S.S. during 1927. He returned to Australia to become Vice-Warden of St. John's College. L.C. Rodd believed that he was, with P.A. Micklem and the Rev. G.S. Watts, the editor of the Church Standard, a brilliant churchman who went unrecognised by the Church of England during the 1930s. (L.C. Rodd, John Hope of Christ Church St. Laurence: A Sydney Church Era, Melbourne, 1972, pp. 108-112). In 1940 Lee left for England to become the Curate of St. Martin in the Fields, London, Overseas Religious Organizer for the B.B.C. and later an Oxford University college chaplain. R.S. Lee, 'The Function of the Student in Society', M.R., September, 1929, p. 18. He also argued that it was the 'unwordly' student not the 'practical' man of affairs who was the greatest realist. (*ibid*)
3. E. Harold Davies, 'Thoughts on Education', M.R., March, 1928, pp. 9-12. He also quoted a Chinese proverb "If you have two loaves, sell one and buy a lily" which would become increasingly irrelevant during the events of the next twelve years.

Idealist thought, developed by men with only limited experience in other social environments, was often a vicarious emotional substitute for action rather than a prelude to action. When 'the word' and 'the deed' were not joined the sceptic had reason to question. Furthermore, Idealism as a mode of thought could, even more than reformism proper, be used to support different political ends. The Idealistic rhetoric of the period of the New Liberalism was also that of the New Imperialism. Religious social and Imperial idealism were all expressed in similar terms. The rhetoric of Imperial duty had suggested that Britain had a mission to bring civilisation to the world and thus justified military and commercial expansion in moral terms. One central Imperial theme was the idea of 'Service' which, like the ideals of Lord Milner's Imperial Round Table group, went back to Arthurian chivalry and before.¹ The service concept had a more widespread application in political thought especially concerning citizenship as noted earlier, and even Harold Laski, the radical writer of the inter-war years, believed that 'any society is ultimately tested by the manner in which it offers avenues for creative service'.²

The Service ideal did not always refer to a new form of social motivation. It was also used regarding the obligations of those of superior rank, wealth and opportunities. In chivalric terms it referred to what J.R. Darling thought was lacking in Australia, a spirit of service on the part of its potential leaders. 'No country can live without some people who are prepared to practise the spirit of 'Noblesse oblige' he opined, adding that it was 'immensely important that there should not be wanting men who (were) not afraid to lead public opinion in morals and manners as well as in public life'.³ Bishop Moyes

-
1. On Lord Milner and the Round Table see Alfred M. Collins, Freemasonry in Politics, London, 1944.
 2. Quoted by Rev. Wallace Pratt, 'Christian Democracy', Australian Intercollegian, April, 1939, p. 46.
 3. J.R. Darling, 'Public School Education', A.Q., March, 1931, p. 35. In the same issue the scientist, T.H. Laby, writing on 'The Causes of the Economic Depression', called for the expert, and politicians to show 'more of the scientific spirit of service of humanity as a whole' in future. (p.51). F.W. Eggleston wrote an article entitled 'Noblesse Oblige' for Stead's Review, 1 August, 1921.

remarked that 'A gentleman has been defined as one who puts more into life than he takes out' and concluded that Australian national life needed more gentlemen.¹ The Service ideal often referred to service by leaders and more specifically to serving one's class. John Mant, Sr., the Sydney solicitor, recalled that the business and professional men who had founded the Constitutional Association in 1925 felt a need to serve their country in peace as well as in war as Kipling had urged. Recalling the community service of St. Mark's College at Adelaide University, its first Master, Sir Archibald Grenfell Price, cited an early example in 1928 when the students had helped police defend strike-breakers on the Port Adelaide wharves.²

The spirit of service moved many professional and business men who served on government commissions and worked as students of public affairs. Eggleston shared with Herbert Brookes what has been termed 'an undirected sense of obligation' which found expression in the latter's case in political action, serving as a trade commissioner in America, working for imperial harmony, for the preservation of forests, and for culture and

1. J.S. Moyes, 'The Present Temper of Australian Politics and Society', A.Q., March, 1931, pp. 13-14.
2. Interview, John Mant, 21/5/1974.
John Lonie, 'Conservatism and Class in South Australia During the Depression Years, 1929-1934', M.A. Thesis, Adelaide University, 1973, p. 122.

public education through the A.B.C.¹ Geoffrey Bolton has written of how when Dick Boyer had established his property, Durella, in Queensland he wanted to do something for the community:

Boyer had always had it at the back of his mind that, if and when Durella prospered, he would seek some opportunity of serving the community in public life. With no taste for self-aggrandisement, he nevertheless shared a conviction not uncommon among returned officers after World War I that those whose means and education permitted owed it to the men who had not survived to take a role in Australian public affairs.²

The 'patrician' grazier and returned officer, Charles Hawker, who had behind him what Norman Cowper termed 'a family tradition of distinguished public service', went into political life with a strong sense of obligation.³ He displayed integrity - though it was made easier because

-
1. Byers, *op.cit.*, p. 17; The service there was important to Frank Tate, the educationist. C.J. Dennis wrote the poem 'Service' to honour him upon his retirement:

To know the pride of duty done,
The peace earned by a life well spent,
When towards the West a kindly sun
Moves slowly is to know content,
To know that praise comes well deserved
When spoken in the words - 'He served'.

He served; but not as they who cling
To false beliefs in sordid gain,
And find, when comes the reckoning,
Time's precious treasure spent in vain,
His treasure is throughout the State
Eternal and inviolate.

They are the nation's builders who
Mould fittingly the mind of youth
And, living, serve, in what they do
Bring gifts of confidence and truth.
And high reward for such a one
Is knowledge of a task well done.

His own hands built his monument,
Till, looking down the count of years,
He sees each day in service spent
A stone in the vast pile that rears
In quiet triumph to the sky,
Making a name that cannot die.

J.C. Anchen, Frank Tate and His Work for National Education, Melbourne, 1956, p. 213.

2. G.C. Bolton, Dick Boyer: An Australian Humanist, Canberra, 1967, p. 45.
3. Norman Cowper, *ts*, 'The Grand Dialectic of the Summer School', p. 9, which appears to be a draft of the chairman's address to the 1935 Healesville forum. In folder 'Changes and Trends', A.I.P.S. Papers, NL MS3 1835, Y 12900.

of his personal affluence - when he resigned from the Lyons Ministry because of the disproportion between the cuts in M.P.'s. salaries and in social services in 1932.¹ Even the Labor leader, John Curtin, referred, after Hawker's untimely death in a plane crash in 1938, to his service that had 'the quality of immortality'.² The theme of service runs through his sister Mrs. L. Needham's memoir of Hawker. She recalled that he talked of his admiration for 'the British tradition that those who received the privileges of wealth, education and social position had the obligation to place their gifts at the service of the country'.³ In politics it was Hawker who valued most the reformist qualities of rationality and moderation. There was a fine line between Idealism which encouraged change and that which was a substitute for it. The 'service' motive also inspired a range of political and public action.

1. Douglas Pike, Charles Hawker, Melbourne, 1968.
2. ibid, p. 29.
3. Lonie, op.cit., p. 132; L. Needham, Charles Hawker : Soldier, Pastoralist, Statesman, Adelaide, 1969, p. 54.

ASPIRATIONS FOR CULTURAL AND SOCIAL REFORM

The liberal humanists and social democrats were two loose clusters of reformists, making an important input into educational/cultural reform movements and the social/political debates of the A.I.P.S. The social and cultural thought of a liberal humanist like Murdoch and social democrats such as Ball, Duncan and Burton leavened the more practical thinking of the Cowpers, Remingtons and Philippses. Typical of middle class progressives in the dominance of members of the cultural and service professions (the university, teaching and the church), the two clusters also typified reformist ambivalence about political involvement. Willing to speak out on public issues they were often chary of being aligned with any group or party. They typified many aspects of the reformist persona sharing also an occasional idealist strand deriving from their Christian backgrounds and encouraged an interest in the idea of cultural or social transformation. Conscious of their own ambivalences, they provide an interesting study in the contradictions of reformism.

The liberal humanists were reformists mainly working in educational institutions who were primarily interested in culture, education and research rather than politics and society. Dispersed around Australia, and not attracted to political organisations, they included the educationists and academics Murdoch, Portus, Raymond Priestley (the Vice-Chancellor of Melbourne University), W.K. Hancock¹, J.R. Darling and Frank Tate, and R.J.F. Boyer.² Some liberal humanist orientations were shared by more pragmatic or conservative reformists including J.G. Crawford, K.H. Bailey, the future head of the Immigration Department, Peter Heydon, and other educational reformers and civilizers including K.S. Cunningham of the A.G.E.R., W.J. Cleary of the A.B.C., Geoffrey Remington of the A.I.P.S., the Institute of Public Administration, and the Free Library Movement, and Norman Cowper.³ The liberal humanists were characterised more by a personal and intellectual style than a set of clear principles. Living in humane environments they were gentlemen and scholars who were often tolerant, humble and youthful in their attitudes. Habitually writing in the language of the civilised generalist they preferred independent stances in public life, stressed

-
1. Hancock shared some liberal humanist values but was more practically oriented to contemporary politics and society as can be seen from Australia and his studies for the R.I.A. at Chatham House, the 1937, 1940 and 1942 Surveys of British Commonwealth Affairs.
 2. The results of distance were expressed in Murdoch's remark upon the appointment of 'the Queensland grazier, Bower or Boyer or whatever his name is' to the Australian Broadcasting Commission that his only complaint was that he had never heard of him. (La Nauze, op.cit., p.111)
 3. L.F. Crisp has referred to Heydon's 'pragmatic, liberal-conservative - or, as he himself preferred 'progressive-conservative' temperament' and his 'forward-looking liberal mind' in his later roles as a diplomat and as head of the Department of Immigration. (L.F. Crisp, Peter Richard Heydon 1913-1971 : A Tribute From His Friends, Canberra, 1972, pp. 26, 32. K.H. Bailey's Australian Intercollegian editorials reveal a broader approach than that apparent in his professional academic papers. J.G. Crawford, like Heydon, was an Australian Intercollegian subscriber and contributed a review article entitled 'The Social Task of the Student Christian Movement' to the journal in May 1936. Throughout his career he has had a continuing interest in research and education, and from the publication of a chapter on trade with the East in Ian Clunies Ross (ed.), Australia and the Far East, Sydney, 1936, has had an interest in improving Australian relations with Asian countries.

ethical qualities in social relations and were at once rationalists and romantics in their thought and action.¹

The shared orientations of the liberal humanists came both from circumstances and from the Western intellectual tradition's classical and religious roots, underlying Christian idealism, humanism and rationalism.² Schooled in these traditions they had an optimism which came from their own sense of the Western heritage and the religious roots of their belief. From the Greek, Christian and modern humanist traditions they took the continuing themes of the good life for society as a whole and ethical citizenship.³ From the Renaissance they took humanism and rationalism, the idea of the development of the whole man, their support for intellectual freedom, the rejection of dead ideas constraining the present and their interest in human variety.⁴ From Protestantism and liberalism they took the belief in the importance of individual conscience in public action and their preference for individual over group action.⁵ Looking back to these traditions which were under threat they were traditionalists stressing continuities in the Western cultural heritage rather than radicals demanding change; at the same time they declared their openness to the new discoveries of reason and science and the creations of the human spirit.⁶

-
1. The ethical orientation was reflected in Boyer's first published article which was entitled 'The Ethical Basis of Trade Relations' and was published in the A.J.P. & F. (Bolton, op.cit., p. 48)
 2. Murdoch is an example. Murdoch was also typical in his endorsement of the concept of the whole man. (Osmond, op.cit., p. 83) Compare also Burgmann, above.
 3. Most would have had some training in the classics as was normal in university Faculties of Arts at the time. All of the major liberal humanists were Christian in belief.
 4. R.J.F. Boyer's Sydney University M.A. Thesis was entitled 'Erasmus: Apostle of the Modern Spirit', Bolton, op.cit., p. 10.
 5. Complex and personal questions of belief mattered greatly to Fortus and Boyer. Both left the Ministry because of personal reservations regarding Christian doctrine. Bolton, op.cit., p. 11, Fortus, op.cit., pp. 164-169.
 6. Murdoch (who is discussed below) most personified these contradictions.

They carried these fundamental assumptions, and their underlying idealism, with them throughout their careers. In response to the 1930s situation they restated the ideals of rationality and freedom of thought. Murdoch stated their theme, which was also a major reformist theme in his essay 'The Pink Man's Burden'. In contemporary political combat the partly red and partly white 'pink man' who stood between the battlelines was assailed from both sides. The pink man believed that tolerance and rationality were essential for getting out of the present troubles, however great the suffering many people endured and however bitter the conflict. Force was no answer and the only successful reforms in a troubled society came from convincing one's fellow men.¹ Portus called for Christians to maintain the scientific attitude and consider the evidence regarding any social problem or movement. He joined Murdoch in criticising those who used Communism merely as a handy lump of political mud to throw at an opponent, and in stating the case of the embattled moderates.²

-
1. Walter Murdoch, 'The Pink Man's Burden', Collected Essays, Sydney, 1938, pp. 599-602.
 2. G.V. Portus, Communism and Christianity, Morpeth, 1931, reviewed by Mackay, op.cit., p. 110. Portus argued in 'Studies in Communism' (M.R., September, 1931, pp. 52-53) that Christians had to adopt a 'scientific attitude' to the evidence regarding Communism rather than simply damning the Bolsheviks or holding them up as 'holy angels'. The Christian must say, 'I insist on being given more time and more light before I will make any moral declaration one way or another'. Probably such an attitude would subject him to the accusation that he is 'a mugwump, a rail sitter, and a coward'. Herbert Burton ('Political Issues in Australia Today', A.R.R., No. 3, 1937, p. 18) argued that 'democracy requires "toleration for the thought we hate", and can hardly survive any violation of this principle'.
W.G.K. Duncan, in the preface to National Economic Planning, Sydney, 1934, pp. v-vi, remarked:

It is interesting to note that the Institute has been accused simultaneously of "flirting with revolutionary theories", and of being "merely another bourgeois debating society". Such taunts are always thrown at people who endeavour to examine issues, before they commit themselves to advocating policies.

Murdoch and Portus were archetypal reformists in their desire to stimulate and provoke thought rather than offer solutions and in their emphasis on the need for both stability and reform. Both were individuals who did not wish to line up in the ranks of any particular army.¹ Preferring neutrality, they realised, in Murdoch's words, that this was not a time in which one could remain completely neutral.² Dick Boyer, who shared some of these concerns, captured Portus' orientation, though perhaps placing insufficient stress on the Left-liberal or social democrat elements in Portus' world view:

Portus, as truly as any man of my acquaintance (and certainly as any Australian), typified the knight-errant of that liberal tradition which came down to us in its fullest form from the Renaissance days and which is suffering sore trials for survival in this century. By the liberal tradition I do not mean a necessary adherence to any particular articles of political, religious or social theory, which so frequently and disastrously is regarded as its sign manual. In its essence, it is that attitude of mind which regards the obligation to be true to one's mind and conscience as the highest duty of man, and indeed, as the price he must pay for his vaunted dignity. Portus believed not only that this obligation lies at the heart of our political system of democracy with its emphasis on the sovereignty of the people, but that it has a religious, even a Christian sanction in man's spiritual origins and the purpose of the Universe.³

The liberal humanists were questioners challenging rigid orthodoxy and popular educators seeking to illuminate public opinion on international affairs and gain support for cultural and educational reforms. Portus as adult educator, Murdoch as essayist, Clunies Ross and Boyer as internationalists, and Darling as educationist all sought to increase awareness on public questions.⁴ Working on the Talks and advisory committees of the A.B.C. several of them hoped to improve

-
1. Coker, (op.cit., p. 23) remarks on Burmann's 'reluctance throughout his life to work as a member of a group or a team; he preferred to play a lone hand.
 2. Murdoch, (Argus, 18/3/1933) wondered if it was possible to be a neutral 'in the present extraordinary state of the world' and still preserve one's self-respect.
 3. R.J.P. Boyer, 'G.V. Portus - The Passing of an Australian Liberal', A.G., September, 1954, p. 7.
 4. Many other reformists were also active as publicists especially through the respectable medium of A.B.C. Talks programmes.

the standard of broadcasting and to resist government interference.¹

Putting the case for education and research with Priestley, Cunningham and other educationists, they sought better facilities in their own general fields, but they also saw education as contributing to larger changes in the community.² In the long-run they succeeded in many of their short-term aims. The government decision to increase research grants, the expansion of the universities and the formation of the Australian National University as a research and collegiate university in the 1940s, the introduction of university scholarships, the establishment of an independent A.B.C. News in 1947, and Acts for improved library provision were all long-term results of campaigns begun during the 1930s.³ Such a commitment was often related to personal interests but the dedication of W.J. Cloary, Chairman of the A.B.C., who relinquished other positions worth several thousand pounds per annum to work for quality in broadcasting, was undoubted.⁴ In a liberal humanist vein Murdoch spoke

1. In 1937 members of the national Talks Advisory Committee included B.H. Molesworth (as Federal Controller of Talks), W.G.K. Duncan, G.L. Wood, Constance Duncan, G.V. Portus, J.C.R. Proud (the Victorian Controller of Talks and an active A.I.I.A. member) and Walter Murdoch. (Minutes of the meeting of 29-30 October, 1937, MP 237/1, Box 68, File No. TKS/14 A.B.C. Records, A.B.C. Archives, Sydney. I am grateful to Alan Thomas for this information.) In one essay Murdoch suggested the formation of a Broadcasting Reform League to help the 'liberal elements' in the Broadcasting Commission, and to 'let the reactionary elements know that they are being watched'. (Argus, 10/8/1935).
2. Cunningham was Director of the A.C.E.R. from 1930. Priestley is often credited with inaugurating a new era at Melbourne University (R.M. Crawford, An Australian Perspective, Melbourne, 1960, p.69). Priestley also argued for a greater social role for the university (see 'The Place of the University in a Democratic Community', A.O., September, 1937) and was an active force behind the 1937 Australian and New Zealand Universities Conference in Adelaide which was the first for 12 years.
3. See Pamela Mitchell, 'The Development of the Australian Broadcasting Commission News Service', 1932-1942', B.A. Honours Thesis, Sydney University, 1974; and Milton Lewis, 'A National Research University: The Origins and Early Years of the Australian National University', M.A., A.N.U., 1972.
4. Alan Thomas, 'The Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1932-48: First Thoughts', A.N.U. History Seminar Paper, 29/9/1976.

of the duty of the reformer to seek to civilize Australia.¹ The continuing involvement of many students of public affairs on committees for cultural activity in the theatre suggests that cultural causes appealed more to the thinking middle class academic or professional than social causes. Even their wider interests were mainly in international affairs or education and research rather than social reform.

When Portus considered the suffering brought by economic inequality and the depression or Murdoch surveyed the irrationality or indifference of politicians or populace their anger was real. Murdoch condemned censorship harshly partly because he sensed it was intended to prevent social change, and was also a strident critic of conventional economics.² In performing what Murdoch called 'the sacred duty of growling' the liberal humanists were gadflies pricking balloons of illusion and undermining pomposity and complacency.³ Yet, they were gadflies accepted by their own institutions and by the middle class audience to which they spoke. They shared the basic comfort and certitude of their audience though their thoughts were often more challenging. The liberal humanists' autobiographical stories of their Happy Highways and Richly Rewarding lives attest to their basic optimism and faith in human nature.⁴ Murdoch praised good education for ideally bringing 'life, vitality and freshness' into the experience of the young. Portus - in Boyer's words - saw life as 'not only a worthwhile adventure but a joyous thing of football matches, good stories and human affection'.⁵ Clunies Ross was fascinated by 'the romance of quest and achievement, the wonder of having the world unravelled and seeing the systems that make it up, and

-
1. 'The Tyranny of the Low-Brow', op.cit., p. 45.
 2. See chapter 4. On Murdoch's criticism of conventional economics and interest in Douglas Credit see J.A. La Nauze, Walter Murdoch: A Memoir, Melbourne, 1977, pp. 115-118.
 3. The title of chapter eight in La Nauze, ibid.
 4. J.R. Darling, Richly Rewarding, Melbourne, 1978.
 5. Walter Murdoch, Argus, 2/7/1932; Boyer, op.cit., p. 7.

the satisfaction of doing things with it that have never been done before'.¹

Their optimism concerning international affairs, mainly acquired in the more innocent days before the Great War, was not readily given up. Dick Boyer had become involved with the A.I.I.A. and international affairs at a later stage. Coming into public life from a background cut off from the Realpolitik of the 1930s he retained 'an undiluted idealism and a faith in liberal principles' which was becoming rare.² Supported by underlying belief the liberal humanists were more teachers stimulating their own class than workers for fundamental change. Murdoch's major combat was not against poverty or injustice but against the 'everlasting enemy', the 'suburban spirit' and its near relation 'respectability'.³ He saw Respectability, after Carlyle, as 'a sinister influence ... the enemy ... of art and literature', a disease working against progress towards the bettering of the world. Respectability, and its accompanying goddess Comfort, had done more harm in history than wickedness. It was the dull and stupid people who had given Socrates the hemlock and persecuted other individual thinkers and reformers who challenged society.⁴ G.V. Portus was concerned with a related theme in his witty verse on the seven 'Ages' of the Rhodes Scholar. The former Rhodes Scholar lamented the last 'Age' of too many of his brethren:

Last scene of all,
That ends this strange eventful history,
Is matrimonial bliss and sheer oblivion,
With cash, with kids, with everything but freedom.⁵

-
1. Anthony Clunies Ross 'My Father' in Ian Clunies Ross: Memoirs and Papers, Melbourne, 1961 (ed. Jane Clunies Ross), p. 117.
 2. Bolton, op.cit., pp. 46-47.
 3. Walter Murdoch, Collected Essays, Preface.
 4. Collected Essays, 'On Dull People', p. 533.
 5. G.V. Portus, 'The Seven Ages', A.R.R., No. 1, 1934, p. 41.

The liberal humanists' social and political commitment was qualified by their preferred modes of expression and action the most important one perhaps being their own personal style. Several shared endearing personal qualities which indicated an approach to life different from that of the ardent reformer: a playful style, a degree of personal humility and several prose styles which varied from the serious and scholarly to the whimsical and fanciful. Boyer was a practical joker in his youth, as was Hancock at Melbourne and Oxford. Portus acquired his family's sense of the dramatic while Murdoch was often the gentle trickster in his essays and was a most unserious chairman of meetings.¹ Murdoch in particular was a 'professor of things in general'. The variety of his interests only occasionally allowed intensity in his essays which were often 'mild and inoffensive'.² Portus was more vigorous and directed in his academic and publicist work. One chapter of Happy Highways entitled 'Olla Podrida' meaning 'a stew made of many ingredients' suggested, however, his interest in variety.³

Many of the liberal humanists retained a boyish appearance even in their later years and all enjoyed the company of young people.⁴ In university colleges and staff rooms, at S.C.M. camps or League of Nations Union meetings Murdoch and Portus were congenial and stimulating company, Portus also delighting in the fraternity of the sports field.⁵ Murdoch's humility was present in his self-chiding and his sense of his own unimportance as a popular essayist, while Ian Clunies Ross received his own

-
1. Bolton, op.cit., p. 9; W.K. Hancock, Country and Calling, London, 1954, p. 74; Portus, op.cit., p. 13; F. Alexander, Campus at Crawley, Melbourne, 1963, pp. 246-7.
 2. La Nauze, op.cit., p. 111, described Portus as another of the species.
 3. Portus, op.cit., p. 230.
 4. 'Youthfulness was one of the most striking things about (Ian Clunies Ross)', remarked his son. 'At sixty he remained half-boyish in his outward exuberance.' (op.cit., p. 118) Boyer also retained a youthful appearance, Bolton, op.cit., frontispiece.
 5. Happy Highways, pp. 100-109, 264-268. He had played rugby for England when at Oxford and maintained his sporting interests even towards his retirement in Adelaide.

honours and dignities with a 'kind of romantic amusement'.¹ Murdoch and Portus especially often wrote in the light-hearted, chatty and fanciful styles of the engaging public commentator. Though he also wrote history and social analysis in a more serious style Portus' Australian Rhodes Review pieces were exercises in the gentlemanly art of kind satire qualified by self-deprecation. He began a humorous article with a serious intent entitled 'Our Morals' with the remark that this was not a sermon, 'only the attempt of an elderly gentleman ... to reckon with the universal deprecation of the moral standards of today which he finds among those of his own vintage.'² The young W.K. Hancock, who left Australia during the 1930s for an academic career in England, had contributed 'fanciful or picaresque pieces under a nom de plume' and serious political articles under his own signature to the university magazine.³ It could also be said of many of these sons of the manse (Murdoch, Hancock) and former clergy (Portus, Boyer), as it was of F.A. Bland, that the 'Authorised Version' often peeped through their literary style.⁴

The liberal humanists were in some ways even more disturbed by the realities of political conflict than other reformists who considered themselves to be men of affairs. Wanting a society which went beyond the profit motive and preferring co-operation to conflict they held back from public combat except over single, and often minority, issues.⁵ More often they were publicists on education, culture or international affairs, non-contentious fields with which they were personally familiar. Only occasionally did they face up to the major social, economic and political problems of the time. Their own commitment to rationality and independent

-
1. Anthony Clunies Ross, 'My Father' in Jane Clunies Ross, op.cit., p. 117. He 'never escaped from the idea that he was not a very clever schoolboy and that any distinction came to him as an unearned increment and something of a joke', continues his son.
 2. 'Our Morals', op.cit., p. 89.
 3. W.K. Hancock, Country and Calling, p. 67.
 4. R.G. Parker, 'F.A. Bland's Contribution to Public Administration in Australia', Journal of Public Administration (Australia), vol. VII, No. 3 (new series), September, 1948, p. 166. He characterised Bland as a scholarly 'proselytiser'. (p.167). Portus wondered if the Australian ignorance of the Bible was a cause of a lower level of prose writing than in England. (op.cit., p. 127)
 5. La Nauze remarks that 'minority movements tended to appeal to Murdoch' (p.117)

thought was often a constraint on action. Dick Boyer remarked in one piece that those who valued academic correctness and respect for facts often failed to intervene in public affairs to raise the level of informed thought and leaven popular prejudice. History had shown, especially in the religious sphere, that

the man of the widest vision and the greatest knowledge has done little toward the eradication of evil which he has generally left to an uncultured enthusiast. A width of vision generally means diffusion of sympathy.¹

The liberal humanists sought to deal with their own uncertainties about action by seeking to rouse their fellows. When Portus sought to influence an A.I.P.S. conference or Murdoch criticised the social passivity of the churches they were also challenging themselves.² Murdoch remarked that in many of his essays he was preaching or talking to himself, his readers being eavesdroppers who heard remarks addressed to the writer's own conscience.³ His self-chiding words were more serious ones for he knew that his besetting sin was 'frivolity'. However much he challenged conventional opinion on many subjects the essayist who resided at 'Suburban Road' and wrote for the readers of the conservative Argus and Australasian and the West Australia shared the conventionality and intellectual comfort of his readers.

Feeling a sense of social obligation and yet enjoying the green and pleasant lands of small towns and universities the liberal humanists were active as publicists, writers and increasingly as administrators. Sometimes they took the field on single issues such as censorship, an approach which accords with Parkin's analysis of middle class radicalism. They were able to be involved in public affairs without being directly involved in conflict through service on cultural and

1. Bolton, op.cit., p. 14.

2. La Nauze, op.cit., p. 111.

3. Walter Murdoch, Argus, 26/11/1932.

educational commissions. This was not always so as Boyer and Darling were to find in their A.B.C. work several decades later. Performing good works of a non-political kind - Clunies Ross following A.C.D. Rivett at the C.S.I.R.O., Darling and Boyer as chairmen of the A.B.C., working on university councils and arts, academic and educational associations or, as diplomats or wartime administrators - they made their contribution to the community within the civilized world they knew well.¹ In these situations and as teachers they were most appreciated, not for great political or intellectual achievements but for their personal qualities. Their colleagues, students and friends contributed memoirs of their work or they reflected upon their own career in the evening of retirement. Jane Clunies Ross suggested that her father's 'greatness lay in his own personality' while Boyer spoke warmly of the 'loveable nature' of Portus' personality.²

The relationship between their lighter and more serious sides can be seen in the essays and person of Walter Murdoch. Crustily described by Hartley Grattan as a 'teatimish' sage Murdoch was aware of the lightness of much of his own work.³ He often discoursed on fascinating trifles, and once admitted that his column had 'a bad name for flippancy'.⁴ His preferred style, he declared when contemplating the new mass medium of radio, was that of 'chatting with people' who shared similar interests. His newspaper essays were often playful, self-indulgent and miscellaneous in nature.⁵ Ready to dwell on any subject, he enticed his audience with attractions and distractions, before sometimes leading on to a moral.

-
1. A.C.D. Rivett was Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the C.S.I.R. and then C.S.I.R.O. from 1927 until 1946 when he was succeeded by Clunies Ross. Boyer was Chairman of the A.B.C. from 1945 until 1961 when he was succeeded by Darling who held the position until 1967. In reviewing Bolton's biography of Boyer (*op.cit.*) Dick Thomson suggests that neither liberal humanist was able to comprehend or deal effectively with some of the problems of power encountered during their terms. ('The Unimportance of Being chairman', *Arena* No. 15, 1968, pp. 62-66) See chapter 9 for a discussion of the other roles which attracted reformists in later years.
 2. Jane Clunies Ross, *op.cit.*, p. ix; Boyer, *op.cit.*, p. 7
 3. Interview, Hartley Grattan, 20/9/1975,
 4. Walter Murdoch, *Argus*, 20/7/1935.
 5. *Argus*, 29/4/1933.

Murdoch, with energetic mock humility, often deprecated his own role. 'Incorrigibly advisory', this 'Cassandra' had lavished much advice on the Australian public with little success.¹ He was, as are many essayists, the spectator who comments with concern on contemporary events but is not sure how to act on them; the man who, sitting in his armchair, is greatly disturbed but has only a pen for a weapon, and knows that he does not always practise what he preaches. While often holding back from formal and sustained campaigns he assailed, in his essays and in public statements, many evils including censorship, the education system, and the churches' lack of social responsibility.²

Praising H.G. Wells as the man who had most 'challenged the torpor of our minds on so many points', the 'gadfly' and 'stimulant' of the age, he saw similarities in his own milder critical role.³ During the 1930s his essays often acquired a more serious tone. Frequently he remarked that he was keeping less and less to his 'allotted theme' of literature and preaching more and more. Increasingly 'the sarcasm of the angry preacher' and the national Idealist's exhortations 'tended to displace his usual mode, what Arthur Phillips has called "the art of good humoured devastation"'.⁴ In the preface to the collection Lucid Intervals (1936), he remarked that in almost every essay there was 'a core of serious purpose, though it may be all too successfully concealed'. It was not 'a very cheerful book' though he hoped it was "anxious" rather than 'deleful'.⁵ Contemplating the threat of war and contemporary social

1. Australasian, 24/6/1933.

2. La Huize, op.cit., pp. 106-125.

3. Arden, 6/4/1935.

4. Arden, 7/9/1935.
La Huize, op.cit., p. 118.

5. Walter Murdoch, Lucid Intervals, Sydney, 1936, Preface, p. ix.

problems he sought to awaken Australians to the dangers of the hour.¹ While usually preferring the satirist's task of deflating social pretention he was often willing to take on the more serious mantle of social critic.

Murdoch, who was both comfortable and disturbed in his response to the world around him, expressed another liberal humanist contradiction in his response to literature. Though he talked both of the need for new ideas and of the relationship between Australian literature and the environment his response to contemporary literature was conservative. He did not like modern literature and rarely noticed any contemporary Australian writing, though he spoke approvingly of the generation of the turn of the century, some of whom he had known in Melbourne.² Here the formal openness of the liberal humanist to new ideas was constrained by the traditional, 'civilized' orientation which valued the achievements of the past. The supporter of eccentricity in principle cited few concrete examples of unconventionality of which he approved in practice. Murdoch's liberal humanist values, like those of W.K. Hancock, were also set firmly within the conservative context of Imperial patriotism. When war came Murdoch's Steadfast and Hancock's Argument of Empire made explicit this Imperial orientation.³

Murdoch, seeking to civilize and entertain through his columns, and willing to enter the fray as a publicist on some issues, was also the private liberal humanist who held back from a more continuing public role. Assailing the modern disease of publicity-hunting he declared that he

1. Ibid.

2. La Nauze, op.cit., pp. 129-131.

3. Walter Murdoch, Steadfast, Melbourne, 1941.
W.K. Hancock, Argument of Empire, Harmondsworth, 1943.

believed 'with Carlyle that all great things have their origin in silence and secrecy'.¹ Here, the liberal humanist preference for the small and the private and the enjoyable comfort of the small pond that was Perth joined to restrain Murdoch from moving to the urban centres in the East.²

* * * * *

The academic social democrats included Macmahon Ball, Burton, Duncan and by some measures Portus. They, and a miscellany of other social democrats (which included Mackay, McCallum, Grattan, Evatt, Ross, the younger and less prominent men Ron Mendelsohn, Geoffrey Sawer and L.F. Crisp) shared the liberal humanist interest in rationality and orderly reform but were more concerned with the pressing need for social change.³ The academic social democrats worked in the major reformist and public affairs forums (including the Institutes, the A.B.C., university and Christian associations and societies). The Melburnians, Burton and Ball, were also active on questions of censorship and civil liberties. Addressing different forums as academics, and as social democrats they sought to influence middle class students of public affairs.

-
1. Walter Murdoch, 'The Limelighter', pp. 97-8 in The Wild Planet, Sydney, 1934.
 2. It might be noted that by the 1930s Murdoch was approaching retirement, however.
 3. See Biographical Appendix.

In their social analyses, while offering the usual reformist criticisms of irrationality, they saw democracy in social rather than merely political terms. They joined with the progressive Christians and educational reformers in stressing the need for society to encourage and allow the full development of the personality. Duncan argued in these terms that democracy was more than a set of institutions. It was

a point of view, or a scale of values which results in a philosophy and a way of life. It is, at bottom, a respect for human personality, a belief that human beings should be regarded as ends in themselves, and should not be regarded as mere tools to achieve the ends and purposes of a privileged and powerful few.¹

Macmahon Ball believed that 'everyone wants to feel his own life has some importance, to achieve some sense of human dignity'.² Herbert Burton endorsed the Christian ideal 'that all men are equal in the sight of God and, therefore, that each individual should have the fullest opportunity for the development of his capacities and personality'.³

Asserting that democracy would not work without a greater degree of equality Burton thought that growing contemporary dissatisfaction with democracy came, not because the principle was unsound, but because it lacked the conditions for effective working - approximate social and economic equality.⁴ Duncan believed that the principal object of all government was to increase the happiness of the people and that everyone had an equal right to share in this happiness.⁵ Faced with this problem the social democrats began by reminding conservatives and the complacent middle class that all was not well. Talking to the A.I.P.S. on social services G.V. Fortus pointed out to the Colonel Blimps that no matter how much they complained taxation statistics on the distribution of wealth showed that there were, indeed, still rich and poor.⁶

-
1. W.G.K. Duncan, 'Democracy or Dictatorship', p. 51.
 2. Macmahon Ball, 'Education and Politics', p. 156.
 3. Herbert Burton, 'A Christian Critique of Fascism', A.Q., September, 1934, p. 76.
 4. ibid., p. 83.
 5. Duncan, 'Democracy or Dictatorship', p. 51.
 6. G.V. Fortus, 'The Nature and Purpose of Social Services', in W.G.K. Duncan, ed. (1939), p. 20.

In addressing reformist forums they used the fear argument that if nothing was done there was a serious threat of civil conflict possibly resulting in dictatorship. Herbert Burton surveyed recent Australian history and pointed out that not only 'benighted foreigners' suffered from threats of force coming from small groups in the community.¹ Sharing the reformist desire for stability and rational, orderly change they sought to persuade moderates of the need for substantial reforms to prevent revolution. Portus and Duncan asked whether dictatorships might solve the economic problem better than democracies. Duncan thought it possible that men might give up other liberties to obtain an increased measure of equality. If the contrast between formal political equality and actual economic inequality meant that representative government made little difference in the life of ordinary men, might democracy be not all that important?² Portus wondered if the prospect of dictatorship might appeal to the mood in the country which was in favour of action. He considered the prospect that dictatorships might 'realize enough economic equality to make democracy possible', Russia perhaps becoming more democratic than 'the Western so-called democracies'.³

Herbert Burton developed this fear argument in sophisticated terms in a 1937 article entitled 'Reform or Revolution'. Suggesting that 'revolution' meant fundamental change rather than 'forcible overthrow' he asserted that there was no necessary antithesis between revolution and reform. Seeking revolutionary reform he argued, in pink man's burden terms, that it must be based on the assent and conviction of the majority rather than on force. In this situation it was necessary to see 'that the achievement of even revolutionary change (was) assured beyond all

-
1. Herbert Burton, 'Reform or Revolution', pp. 64-67.
 2. Duncan, 'Democracy or Dictatorship', pp. 57-58.
 3. Portus, 'The Idea of Planning' in W.G.F. Duncan, ed. (1934), pp. 16, 28-9.

manner of doubt' if 'the drift towards violence and dictatorship' was to be arrested. In a world with Hitler and Mussolini in positions of power what was needed in Australia was not the repression of civil liberties to halt communism but the granting of full liberties and the fuller access of minorities to the media so rational change would be possible. Repression would only drive radical forces underground and towards the use of force.¹ Similarly, Portus believed that communism was a protest against existing 'social evils'. The challenge could best be met by recognising 'the essential righteousness of its protest, and by taking steps to make that protest effective ... steps (which) may not lead in the direction of Communism at all'.²

The academic social democrats were younger than most of the liberal humanists and sought to effect in their own work a transition from moral exhortation to scientific analysis. Portus warned in one paper of the danger of metaphor in the social sciences.³ Like Grattan, the social democrats were more aware of the structural dimensions of social change and the mechanics of political action than other reformists. Ball and Duncan argued, in the language of political theory, for social change while Portus marshalled historical evidence in support of economic planning and social services.⁴ The social democrats, with other

-
1. Burton, 'Reform or Revolution', pp. 62-67.
 2. Portus, Communism and Christianity, quoted by Mackay, op.cit., p. 112.
 3. Biological and psychological metaphors and similes were used often by reformist writers. In a Sydney University Extension Board lecture on 'The Difficulties of Knowledge' (in a series given by Portus and Bland under the title 'Man and the State') Portus criticised the tendency to use metaphors as arguments when they were only valuable as illustrations. (Sydney University Extension Board Circular, in Constitutional Association Papers, Box 7).
 4. G.V. Portus, 'The Nature and Purpose of the Social Services' in Duncan, ed. (1939).

reformists, were also attracted to more romantic and Idealist perceptions of social change and the transition to social science was only partly effected.

The appeal of these perceptions of change came partly from the Christian and idealist influences on reformism. It can also be explained by recent observations on the character of political behaviour. Writers on populism have focussed on the difference between expressive and instrumental political behaviour, the former offering an emotional satisfaction to the actor, and the latter being more clearly directed to obtaining a political end. Parkin has argued that middle class radicalism tends towards expressive rather than instrumental behaviour because it deals with moral rather than material issues.¹ It might be pointed out, though, that most political behaviour, like any form of activity, offers expressive satisfactions as well as instrumental results.

The Melbourne political scientist, A.F. Davies, has suggested, after Lasswell, that there are three major personal political styles, those of the agitator, the administrator and the theorist. In this view the 'agitator' has an urge to win an emotional response from the public and therefore tends to overvalue verbal formulae and gestures and single acts of innovation.² The teacher and the preacher are two types likely

-
1. Parkin writes that 'Instrumental activity may be thought of as that which is directly geared to the attainment of concrete and specific goals, generally of a material kind. Emphasis is placed on the ends to be achieved rather than on the means employed in attaining them. Expressive activity, by contrast, is that which is less concerned with specific achievements than with the benefits and satisfactions which the activity itself affords. The rewards are as much in the action itself as in the ends it is directed to'. (*op.cit.*, p. 34 and pp. 2-3).
 2. A.F. Davies, 'Intellectuals in Politics' in Essays in Political Sociology, Melbourne, 1972, pp. 25-26.

to place a high value on the expressive satisfactions found in verbal formulae. Many reformists occupied one or both of these roles. Several factors in Idealist reformism encouraged an expressive approach to political change. The reformist nervousness about rigid, political groups, the romantic interest in the role of the hero or great man in history and the idea of social change following from a revelation all encouraged a non-theoretical approach to social action. Desiring a collective social purpose it was possible to see the individual as the bearer of that new purpose. Romantic ideas of a prophetic soul proclaiming a new order appealed to those like Murdoch, who had been influenced by Carlyle's idea that the great man was the man 'who moulds the minds of other men'; and to those who believed in the role of the intelligent, even heroic, minority in social change.¹ Burgmann believed in the importance of 'the prophetic reforming element in the soul of many persons' and hoped that the 'national life' could conserve the values of its 'greatest souls' by enshrining those values in national institutions.²

Ball and Duncan's shared aspiration for a social transformation which would bring a new 'oneness' to the community was only one part of their general approach. Expressive romantic perceptions of social change were often apparent in the political performance of some reformists including Macmahon Ball, Clunies Ross, and Burgmann. Ian Clunies Ross' 'utterances on international affairs were only partly analytic'. They possessed a 'moral strain ... that marked them rather as prophecy in

-
1. Walter Murdoch, Argus, 28/3/1936. The actual quotation comes not from Carlyle, but from the earlier essayist, Hazlitt. In the same essay he stressed the importance for youth of heroic examples, 'the men and women who breasted the waves of circumstance', who shaped life rather than let it shape them. Murdoch edited an edition of Carlyle's Reminiscences, London, 1932. As noted before on Bridgen and Carlyle see Escape to Prosperity, op.cit., pp. 15, 151, 167. On Eggleston and Carlyle see Osmond, 'The Political Thought of F.W. Eggleston, ca.1930', p. 8, and Osmond, 'The Education of a Victorian Liberal: Frederick Eggleston 1875-1916', pp. 32-36.
 2. E.H. Burgmann, review of H.R.L. Sheppard, The Impatience of a Parson, H.R., No. 2, 1927, p.42 and E.H. Burgmann, 'The Foundations of the National Life', op.cit., p. 18.

the Old Testament sense. He always held before his audiences a blessing and a curse'.¹ Portus was a teacher of small groups who reacted against fanaticism. He knew, however, from his experience in the ministry and his studies under Francis Anderson the importance of 'just that touch of moral fervour which gets and holds a crowd'.² Burgmann and Portus both found pleasure as well as purpose in the immediate moment of political action. Macmahon Ball had a fierce Scottish sense of personal independence which often led to conflict whether in politics or in administration. His walk-out from a meeting with the Minister for Customs who had a similar conflict-orientation during the anti-censorship campaign was just one example.³ Most of all he was 'a magnificent platform man' who 'got a kick out of speaking to a large audience'.⁴ Burgmann had an even stronger preference for immediate situations coupled with a temperamental taste for political conflict:

His own personality required that he should find particular instances of the evil and deal with them as each affair demanded. He produced no blueprints and designed no grand strategy. Others might do the overall planning; he would rather carry out the assault ... A romantic strain in his character caused him to seek particular evils to assail.⁵

Prompted by these impulses he made statements to the press, and addressed church and public affairs bodies and every organisation which wanted to hear him.

The reformist 'Agitator' style was often distinctive. The reformists, personally comfortable, and working in institutions which could value the ludic or playful, often had an element of mock heroics in their combative style. While this could not be said of Burgmann or the social

-
1. Anthony Clunies Ross, op.cit., p. 118.
 2. Happy Highways, p. 58. He discusses his reaction against the evangelical religion of the Sydney diocese and against overstressing emotion on pp. 48-50.
 3. Interview, 22/10/1976.
 4. Interview, W.G.K. Duncan, 10/1/1976.
 5. H.R.G. Oakes, op.cit., p. 104.



G.V.P., 1929

Cartoon by Herbert B. Croft

Twice an International

democrats it accurately described some of Murdoch's quixotic battles against contemporary evils which occurred in the pages of a newspaper and the drawing rooms of its readers. There was a mock heroic element in Portus' ironic assertion that the Australian Rhodes Review, a most intermittent journal with the aura of a vanity publication and probably a limited readership, had hoped that it might help slay the dragons which held Australia in thrall.¹ Even in the long campaign against censorship its principal opponents combined seriousness with an occasionally humorous approach which suggested that there was something theatrical about the combat. One newspaper cartoon pictured Portus, the pipe-smoking rugby international, with the book of the founder of another 'International', Karl Marx, outside a building adjoining a factory and bearing the words 'Education for Workers'. It captured the mixture of seriousness and light-heartedness in the style of the middle class educator and supporter of social reform.²

The contradictions in reformism were most apparent in the social democrats. Critical of the political parties and of middle class reformism itself they were genuinely torn by their own ambivalences. They shared the reformist reservations about politics and parties and, as social democrats in the depression, viewed the conservative parties as selfish and short-sighted. All of them would have agreed with J.A. McCallum's sharp and succinct dismissal of the U.A.P., though some were more hopeful about a few of its socially aware members. What fundamental principle did the U.A.P. believe in - 'The Deity, the British Commonwealth of Nations, the League of Nations, the Australian Commonwealth, Justice and Decency?' he asked sceptically. The meaner sort of U.A.P. politician sought to establish a 'corner' in every type

-
1. Australian Rhodes Review, No. 1, 1934, Editorial entitled 'Why?', p. 3.
 2. Happy Highways, photo facing p. 150.

of virtue, but the party's main aim was 'Cabinet-making' in the interests of property-owners, especially the large ones.¹

The social democrats were disillusioned with the Labor Party only partly because of its weaknesses. In Geoffrey Sawyer's words, it was a 'dilemma of the middle class intellectual radical' that they were 'never at ease with the really genuine worker'.² The Labor Party disappointed reformists because, as they were temperamentally unsuited to its rules, it was reciprocally suspicious of intellectuals. Ron Mendelsohn recalled that to be an intellectual in the Labor Party in N.S.W. at the time rendered one almost impotent.³ A recurring theme in the W.E.A.'s Australian Highway from its inception was expressed in the rhetorical question 'Is Labour Afraid of Thought?'⁴ Another recurring criticism described Labour's attitude to 'all other forms or organisation for social service' as being that 'those who are not of us and with us are against us'.⁵ Progressive reformists endorsed some of Eggleston and McCallum's criticisms of Labour as union-dominated and anti-intellectual. Brian Penton, looking back to the early days of Labour, accused the Labor Party of initiating not one 'great liberal campaign' during the 1930s.⁶

These charges were not without warrant. Middle class organisations had led the way on censorship and housing reform while Left groups were more active in the causes of peace and anti-fascism. The backgrounds of the social democrats gave extra bite to these observa-

-
1. J.A. McCallum, *op.cit.*, pp. 62-69. He particularly notes the influence of a group of businessmen in the body known as the 'Consultative Council' on the U.A.P. (pp. 67-8).
 2. Interview, Geoffrey Sawyer, 20/3/1976.
 3. Interview, Ron Mendelsohn, 13/11/1977.
 4. Letter from 'Labor et Scientia', The Australian Highway, vol. 1, No. 1, March, 1919, p. 16.
 5. ibid.
 6. Brian Penton, Think-Or Be Damned, p. 61.

tions, however, for there was a social distance between them and the labour movement. Though Portus, Lloyd Ross, McCallum, Ball and Duncan were more aware than other reformists of social conditions and attitudes amongst the working class through W.E.A. or University Tutorial Class work, in many ways they were quite distant. Portus had grown up in Newcastle and worked on the wharves, but only in holiday work, and was placed in a difficult position during a strike for his father was the employer. He had been educated in the exclusive world of St. Paul's College at Sydney University and had been a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford some years before another social democrat, Herbert Burton.¹ W.G.K. Duncan had grown up in the inner suburbs of Sydney but had once been disgusted by the violence and irrationality of a New Town crowd which savagely heckled a conservative election candidate at a street meeting.² Macmahon Ball, who had Left intellectual contacts, had what has been described as a social democratic rather than a trade union viewpoint.³

The social democrats, and progressive clerics who had worked in working class parishes, were more aware of social conditions in the depression than liberal humanists or other reformists. The unemployment of Ron Mendelsohn's father for three years influenced the whole structure of his thought, giving him a lifelong interest in the provision of social services.⁴ Social transitions can be speedy, however, leaving certain social worlds and experiences in the past. Mendelsohn completed an economics degree, moved in to the Economics Department of the Bank of New South Wales, and later was to study social services from the vantage

-
1. Happy Highways, pp. 29-31, 56-61, 69 and 89-127. Portus was the 1907 N.S.W. Rhodes Scholar and Burton the 1922 Queensland Rhodes Scholar.
 2. Interview, W.G.K. Duncan, 10/1/1976.
 3. Interview, Herbert Burton, 15/5/1975.
 4. Interview, Ron Mendelsohn, 13/11/1977.

point of a public service position.¹ The transition was perhaps even more dramatic in the case of the young South Australian, L.F. (Fin) Crisp. During the depression his family suffered insecurity. He recalled once seeing a sign in Port Adelaide which burned itself into his memory. Reading 'Beds 6d, Clean Beds 1/-', it was one many reformists would never have seen.² To see such a sign was also not the same as sleeping in one of these clean or unclean beds. Crisp was eventually to move into a more confident and secure world. Studying at Adelaide University he was quickly assimilated into middle class society. Though his involvement in the peace movement cost him a job tutoring a daughter of one of Adelaide's best families, he felt at home in middle class circles.³ He recalled with respect, and even deference, the way in which established citizens and academics took an interest in the more enthusiastic and politically sophisticated students. They invited the students to the meetings of the Economic Society and other organisations which were often held in private homes. Crisp won acceptance, becoming the 1938 South Australian Rhodes Scholar. He maintained his Labour orientation working in the Department of Post-War Reconstruction during the 1940s and in his academic writings but it was, inevitably and increasingly, a middle class Labour perspective.⁴

The integration of progressive intellectuals into middle class society inevitably encouraged a belief in the appropriateness of the orderly procedures of debate and decision-making found in its forums.

-
1. Ron Mendelsohn completed a Ph.D. at the London School of Economics and held a number of Public Service positions, becoming First Assistant Secretary of the Department of Housing from 1965-1973 and writing studies of social welfare provision in Australia.
 2. Interview, L.F. Crisp, 26/1/1978.
 3. ibid.
 4. In Adelaide he had attended school at St. Peter's College and lived, while an undergraduate, at St. Mark's College. In the context of the academic politics of the Australian National University during the 1960s, and in his view of contemporary student movements in the 1970s, he became conservative.

Influenced by this world the progressive reformists hoped that they could persuade, through arguments of fear, economic and political rationality and compassion, their reformist brethren to support social reform and convince more conservative politicians and individuals of its necessity. Change would come through working on 'reasonable people in all political parties to get agreement on things'.¹ Perhaps a Charles Hawker, an R.G. Casey or a socially aware Young Nationalist might ascend to a position of power in a conservative government and implement such necessary reforms as National Insurance.² Like the advocates of service and the utilisers of the fear argument, Hartley Grattan sought to see social policy from a wider viewpoint than that of the 'owning-producers'. He hoped that they could be 'convinced' that 'there are more important things in life than economic power', particularly the welfare of the people as a whole.³ This view was encouraged by the involvement of middle class individuals in movements for housing reform, new aboriginal and educational policies, in groups seeking to establish social work at Melbourne and Sydney Universities, and in other signs of the growth of middle class conscience in the late 1930s.⁴

The social democrats were unsure as to the channels through which they might best direct their energies. Small numbers and long distances did not encourage the development of mildly radical groups of intellectuals such as Political and Economic Planning, the Next Five Years Group or the journal Political Quarterly, which existed in England.⁵

1. Interview, Herbert Burton, 15/5/1975. Burton also described the more conservative K.H. Bailey as 'a moderate who was trying to find solutions which were acceptable generally' and someone with 'sympathy for social justice'.
2. R.G. Casey was the Minister in charge of the social insurance scheme which was passed but not finally implemented.
3. Hartley Grattan, 'The Future in Australia', p. 27.
4. See R.J. Lawrence, Professional Social Work in Australia, Canberra, 1965. The discussions of the Young Nationalist Organization and the Young Liberal League suggest a degree of social awareness uncommon in other conservative circles. Public interest in education (discussed in chapter 9), libraries and social services are other indications.
5. See Arthur Marwick, 'Middle Opinion in the Thirties: Planning, Progress and Political 'Agreement'', English Historical Review, April, 1964, Vol. LXXIX, No. CCXI.

A.P. Elkin, the churchman, anthropologist and campaigner for new government aboriginal policies, was sceptical of reformists and their generalities believing that they did not know what they were after.¹ While he had a plan of action and concrete proposals, which he advanced through the press and put to governments, with some success, they remained content with forums and thoughts. The problem stemmed from an unwillingness to grapple with fundamental questions and follow them through to a conclusion. This interpretation supports Parkin's assertion that middle class radicals stay away from questions involving fundamental social change. Secondly, the reformists dispersed their energies because some of their involvements were academic and expressive rather than political and instrumental in intention.

In this period Ball, Burton and Duncan were in their thirties and were seeking to consolidate their academic careers. This situation perhaps helps explain one cause of their mild radicalism and two major constraints on it. Several further observations by Parkin on middle class radicalism are applicable to reformism. He argues that middle class radicals are most likely to be found in the welfare and creative professions: the arts, education, and social welfare work. These professions place less explicit stress on material gain and encourage greater social awareness than some other occupations. Their members derive an income from professional activities rather than from property which might be directly threatened by radical social change.² Parkin has suggested that one cause of radicalism can be what sociologists have termed 'status incongruity' or inconsistency. Radicalism is more likely to be found when there is an inconsistency between an individual's standing on different status scales such as occupational, ethnic, economic,

-
1. Interview, A.P. Elkin, 19/5/1974.
 2. Parkin, op.cit., pp. 177-181.

and educational.¹ In an argument which could be applied to the 1930s, academics with high occupational rank and an income which is not commensurate with that rank are more likely to identify with the underprivileged than those with a similar rank on occupational and salary scales.² The paucity of academic positions, the heavy marking and teaching workloads, and the need to supplement salaries with income from adult education teaching if one was to travel or enjoy the comforts of life, meant that Australian academics experienced this inconsistency.

When academics wrote papers for journals or conferences or published textbooks, they were developing their careers through the forums available. Often scholarly correctness and academic objectivity was more important in their work than the attempt to revive progressive traditions or highlight injustice and inequality. Educational and cultural questions attracted academics who knew these subjects well and had a vested interest in education. Censorship came into this category and was also a single issue rather than one concerning fundamental change in the society. The focus on international affairs arose because of the threatening world situation and perhaps also because, like censorship, the subject did not pertain directly to social change. Most reformists had travelled overseas which also increased their interest in world events. Macmahon Ball's writing on international affairs, whether in Possible Peace (1936) or the book he edited, Press, Radio and Foreign Affairs (1938), sought to prevent a further war and was thus politically as well as academically motivated. This emphasis on foreign affairs meant that his writings on society were occasional and scattered rather

-
1. ibid, pp. 181-183. The observation quoted by Parkin that 'Professors and clergymen enjoy high educational and occupational rank, yet their income is sometimes less than that of skilled manual workers.' (p. 182) illustrates the point. Parkin also notes (pp. 188-9) the assertion that occupational self-selection, whereby people choose to work in the welfare and creative professions due to their desire to avoid direct employment in capitalist economic institutions, is another reason for these professions' greater degree of radicalism.
 2. Macmahon Ball used his income from extension lectures in the country for travel. Interview, 22/10/1976.

than concentrated in a book or a thorough study.¹ In 1937, with war threatening, Herbert Burton gave foreign affairs a similar priority. Writing on Australian political issues he asserted, in contrast to his view of two years before, that a degree of political agreement had been reached between the parties which made social questions minor ones by comparison with the problem of external relations.²

Much of the time academic reformists were discharging a professional obligation in responding to calls for papers from institutions (such as the A.I.I.A.'s. request for background papers for conferences). Academics were often asked to contribute to professional forums (of the Economic Society and the Association of Psychology and Philosophy for example), to the student meetings of the Public Questions Society and the S.C.M. and to public affairs institutions.³ The sheer number and variety of such requests to the few academic commentators on current affairs encouraged them, as did small staffs and survey courses in universities, to be generalists rather than specialists or systematic empirical social researchers. Several reformists chose, themselves, to diffuse their energies indicating either that they were most effective as publicists or perhaps that social reform was only one of their priorities. Portus was almost at once adult educationist, A.I.P.S. principal, League of Nations Union supporter, economic historian, writer on Communism and Christianity and journal editor. Burton had a similar range combined with C.C.L. work and A.I.I.A. and economics research.⁴

The support given by Portus, Burton, Rivett and others to the Australian

-
1. Ball wrote more on political philosophy and politics than on society, for example his 1934 and 1936 Summer School papers noted elsewhere.
 2. Herbert Burton, 'Political Issues in Australia Today', A.R.R., No. 3, 1937, pp. 14-19.
 3. See Biographical Appendix.
 4. ibid. Portus and Burton often reviewed each other's work. See, for example, Burton's review of Portus' Communism and Christianity, E.R., November, 1931.

Rhodes Review seems a case of discharging an obligation rather than consciously deciding whether the journal would be a useful vehicle for the cause of social reform.

Academic and clerical reformists were serving the middle class in the exclusive universities and the Anglican Church of the time. Working as researchers and publicists in public affairs forums, it might be asked whether they were becoming infected by the complacency which they had discerned in these environments. There were, however, also institutional and structural constraints on their radicalism. University authorities discouraged outspokenness. Even Walter Murdoch found it was easy for any social critic to be labelled a communist, which might be discomfiting or even reduce one's public effectiveness.¹ Sociologists have observed that radicalism often has a limited life-span as an individual moves up the established career structure. The higher the individual is in the institutional structure the more he has placed career ahead of personal beliefs; his institutional position occupies more of his time and demands a less personal public profile.² Burgmann and Portus were more constrained from 1934, as Bishop and Professor respectively, than they had been in their former roles of Warden of St. John's College and Director of Tutorial Classes.³ Radicalism was also qualified by increasing personal comfort. The young Geoff Sawyer moved during the period from his active Melbourne University Labour Club self of the early 1930s into the world of the law. His reservations about Labour Club ideology were increasing but his world-view was also becoming more optimistic as his career developed. Like Macmahon Ball, he eventually had sufficient

-
1. La Nauze, op.cit., p. 112. Some listeners to the A.B.C. developed this idea.
 2. Parkin, op.cit., pp. 97-99, 187-189.
 3. Oakes remarks that after becoming a Bishop, Burgmann 'refrained from expressing his views as openly as in the Morpeth days' (op.cit., p. 114). L.F. Crisp remarked that Adelaide University occasionally put pressure on Portus after public statements. (Interview, 26/1/1978).

income 'to be able to experience the better things of life' such as a second hand car.¹

The social democrats' assessments of reformist rhetoric and public affairs forum debate could also be applied to their own activities. Hartley Grattan, the believer in rational persuasion, was at the same time sceptical about Idealist thought. 'Conspicuous among ... emotional substitutes for action', he remarked, was 'the appeal to people to turn away from material values to spiritual values' which he challenged in the words of an old Wobbly poem:

Work and pray,
Live on hay,
You'll get pie,
Bye and bye,
In the sky,
When you die.

Grattan believed that concrete programmes not generalities scared people.² Social democrat reformists shared this view though they offered few such programmes themselves. W.G.K. Duncan criticised those who paid lip-service to democracy without really meaning it while Ball remarked on the complacency of many middle class reformists.³ Duncan saw the 1933 A.I.P.S. Summer School on the constitution as a case of Nero fiddling while Rome burned; 'in the face of an unprecedented economic blizzard' they had remained 'content to bicker over nice points of States' rights and constitutional decencies'.⁴ Such a view would have also been appropriate regarding the 1936 forum on what the census revealed which only briefly considered unemployment and related social problems.⁵

-
1. Interview, Geoffrey Sawyer, 20/3/1976.
 2. Hartley Grattan, 'The Future in Australia', p. 26.
 3. W.G.K. Duncan, 'Democracy or Dictatorship', p. 51.
 4. W.G.K. Duncan, 'Modern Constitutions', p. 22 in Portus ed., (1933), op.cit.
 5. The two papers were 'The Census and Social Conditions' by Norman Cowper and 'The Census and the Social Service State' by the Leader of the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party, John Curtin, which was read to the conference in his absence by G.V. Portus.

The social democrats also discerned the fundamental weaknesses of reformism. E.H. Burgmann observed that 'moral exhortation' was insufficient 'to produce a social morality strong enough to stand against the strain of economic pressure'.¹ W.G.K. Duncan, in a critical mood, reflected on the political inaction of so many reformists:

Problems of political power ... cannot be solved by running away from them, and fondly imagining that they will solve themselves. Yet this is what many a middle class reformer really imagines. Politics, he feels, merely sullies and degrades its practitioners. How infinitely preferable, therefore, to subscribe to a gospel which claims to be above the sordid scramble of party politics, and which ignores² the clash of vested interests and the rumble of class antagonism.

Duncan, himself, and other progressive reformists, shared some of these weaknesses. He was at his best as an editor or as a group leader stimulating discussion. He recalled that he was more a stirrer to thought than action and that often intellectually his reach exceeded his grasp. He had a curious weakness whereby he could make a useful contribution to discussion but when others asked him what should be done he had to say 'I just don't know'.³ The reformist ambivalence about politics issued in a struggle between the combative and quiescent tendencies of many reformists. On the one hand they wanted to stride onto the field of battle to defend the good, while on the other hand they were so aghast at the nature of the conflict that they held back or worked in other ways. Lloyd Ross condemned liberals for thinking 'emotion a sign of irrationality, and vigour a proof of irresponsibility'.⁴ Reticence regarding political conflict characterised Eggleston, Duncan and Sawyer, who later remarked that he was happy to be consulted by governments as long as he was not in the public eye.⁵ R.C. Mills, the economist, similarly preferred to

-
1. E.H. Burgmann, 'The Churches and the New Age', M.R., January, 1934, p.5.
 2. W.G.K. Duncan, 'Politics and the Sphinx', M.R., October, 1933, p.42.
 3. Interview, W.G.K. Duncan, 10/1/1976.
 4. Lloyd Ross, 'Planning in Australia', p. 138 in Duncan, ed. (1934).
 5. Interview, Geoffrey Sawyer, 20/3/1976.

address the Sydney University Public Questions Society or the Economic Society and to work on commissions and in administrative positions.¹

Burgmann and Portus were happiest teaching students, Burgmann being delighted with 'a group who would listen to him with reverent attention and give prominence to his pronouncements'.² Never reticent or bland, Grattan was also the typical social democrat, with an 'aversion to movements' which made him follow 'the line of the radical, independent commentator'.³ The influence of reformists on the decision-makers and people of influence within the universities and the public affairs institutions requires fuller assessment. It is to this question, in the larger context of the reformist world, that we now turn.

1. Interview, Herman Black, 20/5/1974.

2. H.R.G. Oakes, op.cit., p. 129.

3. Hartley Grattan, quoted by D.B. Bryson, 'Hartley Grattan: An American Intellectual and Reformer, 1925-1945. An Evaluation', B.A. (Hons.) Thesis, Flinders University, 1974, p.24

THE REFORMIST WORLD:

THE SOCIAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

The nature and role of reformist thought can be more fully appreciated by considering the middle class world of educational and cultural institutions, the professions and business within which it was formulated. The character of the universities, and two major public affairs institutions the Australian Institute of Political Science and the Australian Institute of International Affairs was an important constraint on the range and public influence of reformism. A study of the social and institutional context poses the question of reformism's impact. Did it contribute to a significant modernisation in Australian public and professional institutions as part of the transition in public life discerned by Crawford or did it simply provide education and diversion for those within the reformist world?

The universities were the home of academic reformists and a training ground for most students of public affairs. Small, with students coming mainly from solid middle class homes to train for the 'hereditary professions' in pre-scholarship days, they were politically conservative.¹

1. Interview, L.F. Crisp, 26/1/1978.

The training they offered, for the professions and for teachers, was fundamentally technical and did little to challenge conventional 'suburban' values.¹ It was a minor theme of reformist educational thought that vocational specialisation, with all the narrowmindedness it encouraged, was the bane of Australian universities.² Donald Horne, a student at Sydney University in the late 1930s, offered a more elaborate critique. Most students

went to University because their parents had enough money to buy them careers as doctors, lawyers, dentists or engineers. At its top the University was embedded in the gentility of the city's Establishment; its governing body was largely controlled by important judges and doctors from down town, and some of the professors were members of Sydney society. Orthodoxy was prized and most University men and women were expected to keep their feet solidly on the firm base provided by the unchallengeable wisdoms of Sydney in 1939. Most student activities seemed to be dominated by the more conventional men and women from the private schools and 'good suburbs'....

There were other complaints regarding 'the ignorance of the bulk of the students and the indifference of most staff members to burning social problems'.⁴ Brian Penton had accused many academics of refusing to co-operate with newspapers in opposing censorship because of 'academic snobbery'.⁵ There was a strong peace movement (though not a pacifist one) on many campuses and Melbourne University especially had a politically radical element. But those who strove to make universities more relevant to the community were a minority. The general atmosphere was as Horne found it. The universities represented middle class values and were Anglo-Australian institutions influenced by conservative and respectable English environments. There was little study of Australian society, politics and

-
1. A.F. Davies, ('Intellectuals in Politics', op.cit., p. 32) has remarked that until the 1940s universities 'remained mere teachers' colleges'.
 2. Portus, op.cit., p.56 described Sydney University Arts Faculty as a 'professional school' even in the first decade of the century.
 3. Donald Horne, op.cit., p. 199.
 4. Judah Waten, op.cit., no pagination. See also A.G.B. Fisher's mini-survey of the ignorance of first year undergraduates, 'What Every Schoolboy Knows', A.O., December, 1937.
 5. Brian Penton, Censored, op.cit., pp. 21-24. Hartley Grattan, who was not holding an academic position, declared his annoyance at being treated like a 'ten year old schoolboy' by smug and complacent academics. (Cited by D.B. Bryson, 'Hartley Grattan: An American Intellectual and Reformer, 1925-1945. An Evaluation', B.A. Hons. Thesis, Flinders University, 1974), p. 44.

literature though a growing interest in economics.¹ Few radicals and literary nationalists were found within their cloisters. The separation between the universities and radical and national intellectual culture was reflected in the conflict between P.R. Stephensen, the cultural nationalist and G.H. Cowling, the English-born Professor of English at Melbourne University. Cowling believed that no great literature was possible in Australia because of the country's lack of tradition. 'There are no ancient churches, castles, ruins - the memorials of generations departed.'² Even more it was symbolised by the attitude, recalled by Donald Horne, that it seemed like a denial of education to speak like an Australian.³

The Australian middle class of the day shared imperial values and the suburban conventionality which Murdoch had discerned. The middle-brow taste in theatre and literature was conservative. Many laymen such as Robert Menzies, who believed that they could be arbiters of good taste, resisted modern art.⁴ Classical music concerts were not put on a regular basis in capital cities before the 1930s.⁵ Walter Murdoch was scathing about the bankers, doctors, lawyers and their wives who had giggled their way through a performance of Maeterlinck's play L'Intruse.⁶ The radical art critic Adrian Lawlor lambasted what he called the complacent 'dud suburban intelligentsia' during the modernists' battle against the proposed Academy of Art.⁷ The critics charged the traditionalists with

-
1. See Craufurd D.W. Goodwin, Economic Enquiry in Australia, Durham, North Carolina, 1966.
 2. G.H. Cowling, the Age, 16/2/1935, reproduced in John Barnes (ed.) The Writer in Australia, 1856 to 1964, Melbourne, 1969, pp.209-210.
 3. Horne, op.cit., p. 201.
 4. Serle, op.cit., pp. 161-163.
 5. ibid, pp. 156-7.
 6. 'The Tyranny of the Low Brow', pp. 43-44.
 7. Serle, op.cit., p. 160.

preferring the familiar, the fixed, the safe and the superficial. These were people who wanted 'imitative, photographic' art 'ruled by values that are merely sentimental, illustrative, literal and literary'. They wanted to be shown 'their own world, the only world they know or care about'.¹

There were other criticisms of Australian conventionality and lack of cultural awareness. Soon after his arrival in Australia in 1930 James Darling heard the remark that Australia's values were those of a Birmingham suburb which had been given all the money it wanted.² From a different perspective Brian Penton saw it as a sign of contemporary Australian provincialism and decay that visitors often found Australia to be more English than England.³ Part of the problem, though, may have also been the cultural cringe whereby reformist critics had an Anglocentric orientation which led to Australia being simply measured against an English ideal and found wanting. Such an orientation often led to a merely critical or imitative approach whereby no solutions or English solutions were suggested for Australian problems.⁴ Many reformists had an Anglocentric orientation which came from birth, education or travel. Schooled in the civilizing mission of the Empire, members of the Church of England, seeking to lift Australian cultural standards (including speech) to levels comparable with those found in Britain, they were almost unconscious of the extent to which they were, in Hancock's phrase, 'Independent Australian Britons'.⁵ Often they had idyllic Anglocentric dreams of improvement in Australian institutions. Collegiate universities on the Oxford model would

-
1. Ethel Anderson, 'Modernism and the Naturalists', A.O., March, 1929, p. 112.
 2. J.R. Darling (Interview, 26/9/1976) recalled hearing this observation upon his arrival in Australia.
 3. Penton, Think-Or Be Damned, p. 68.
 4. An inquiry into social services was conducted for the Federal Government by the English experts Godfrey H. Ince and Sir Walter Kinnear. (Colin Clark, 'Bacon and Eggs for Breakfast', A.O., December, 1937)
 5. Hancock, op.cit., pp. 39-51.

challenge vocationalism and other unsalutary forces in Australian tertiary education.¹ Even the cause of drama was often seen in Imperial terms through bodies such as the British Drama League.² Reacting against what Murdoch called 'the tyranny of the low-brow' in popular culture the critics often supported what might have been called the 'tyranny of the middle-brow' rather than seeking more challenging artistic explorations.

There was a strand of cultural criticism, often found in the Australian Quarterly, which encouraged these fundamentally conservative tendencies. Those who sought to 'civilize Australia' through theatre, music & radio were often merely seeking to impose formal, rather than artistic, European or English standards. There was a strong element of moral correction in the desire to uplift the masses, improve their speech and educate their minds. The contemporary middle class reaction against 'the revolt of the masses' and mass culture was fused with the old fear that in these new colonies, without centuries of tradition and long-established cultural institutions, the barbarians were always a great danger to civilization. These themes were strongest in writings on speech. Rare were the articles which impartially assessed Australian speech and accent rather than offering laments and schemes for their correction.³

The social background of most students of public affairs encouraged a conservative and Anglocentric orientation. Many A.I.P.S. and A.I.I.A. principals had a similar curriculum vitae. Educated at a 'Greater Public School' (such as Sydney Grammar, Kings School, Melbourne Grammar, Scotch College) and at Melbourne or Sydney University, some had also studied at

-
1. The Armidale University College was created on a collegiate model.
 2. H.S. Nicholas was active in the British Drama League. A later (1950s) cultural organisation was similarly named the Elizabethan Theatre Trust after the new British Queen.
 3. T.S. Dorsch's article on accent in J.C.G. Kevin (ed.) Some Australians Take Stock, London, 1939, was an exception.

Oxford or Cambridge.¹ Living in better suburbs, working in old, established law firms or in business, they were often members of leading clubs. It was an Anglophile world: schools often took their headmasters, universities their professors and the Church of England its bishops from England; and legal chambers and gentleman's clubs sought to emulate their English models.² Relatively frequent trips to England, Europe, and sometimes the United States, encouraged an interest in international affairs and the stress on international standards. The students of affairs were Murdoch's audience at home in the world of golf, the club and bridge though their interests often transcended those milieux.³

The Depression modified but did not fundamentally change the life of many rich people in Australia. A.R. Cottle has shown that life went on almost as normal for the rich of Woollahra: the social round continued; holidays in England and Europe were taken; garages were constructed for new automobiles; 'caviar and whitebait were necessities for musicales and masked balls in the dining rooms of Darling Point', and all was well with the world.⁴ The Anglo-Australians of Woollahra were proud of living in the second white city of the British Empire. In G.P.S. schools in Melbourne and Sydney patriotic sentiments were inculcated on speech days and in the classroom. The social worlds of the private schools, their ideological tendencies and links with business and the professions have been studied by the sociologist Sol Encel. The picture is one of self-assured conservatism. Encel cites one study of Geelong Grammar students in 1957

-
1. Sons of the establishment who had studied in England included Charles Hawker, H.S. Nicholas, and J.D. Fall. See also Appendix 2.
 2. Darling, G.H. Cowling and J.S. Moyes were three English imports. In the legal world see F. Maxwell Bradshaw, Selborne Chambers Memories, Sydney, 1962.
 3. In these social circles important and less important matters were often discussed on the golf course. On a lighter note, John Mant recalled winning 12/- from Menzies over a golf game played at the 1933 Robertson Summer School. (Interview, 21/5/1974)
 4. A.R. Cottle, 'A study of the rich of Woollahra during the Great Depression, 1928-1934', B.A. (Hons.) Thesis, University of New South Wales, 1976, p. 85.

which shows 'evidence of acceptance of authoritarian, almost anti-democratic values in more than the expected proportions' even in the school of James Darling.¹

The establishment background impinged on public affairs activity especially through the A.I.I.A. and the Australian Rhodes Review. In many ways the Institute, with its Imperial orientation, was a part of the world of polite society. It was criticised as a 'social stunt' because of its garden parties, cocktail parties and dinner meetings and for 'snobbish exclusiveness'.² Membership application forms contained a space for titles and its ranks were rich with distinguished citizens. The 1938 Lapstone conference on British Commonwealth Relations was a social extravaganza for elements of Imperial society as well as an international event. It was attended by generals, 'professors and viscounts and plain ordinary solicitors and politicians and nice young people' from Australia, Britain and other parts of the Empire.³ The overseas members were much fêted and were guests of leading citizens or stayed at gentleman's clubs or large hotels. The hosts included Dr. E.W. Fairfax of Point Piper and Miss Macarthur-Onslow at Gilbulla who house-guests included Lionel Curtis and his wife and James Darling.⁴ The lavish, intermittent Australian Rhodes Review, with its Imperial connections, also appealed to those in the world of 'nice people'. Its fine paper pages carried advertisements for travel and insurance companies, banks and oil companies, and the retailers of 'exclusive' silverware and 'fine' clothing.

-
1. S. Encel, Equality and Authority, Melbourne, 1970, p. 161.
 2. T.P. Fry (Queensland Branch Secretary) - P.R. Haydon (N.S.W. Branch Secretary), 22/7/1935, uncatalogued A.I.I.A. mss. held by the A.I.I.A., Canberra.
 3. J.C. Beaglehole, 'The Lapstone Commonwealth' (a review of The British Commonwealth and the Future, Oxford, 1939, H.V. Hodson's official report of the conference proceedings, A.O., June, 1939, p. 105) offered this characterization.
 4. Richly Rewarding, p. 154. The clubs included the Australian, Union and University and the hotels included the Australia and the Wentworth. Dr. Fairfax also hosted Lionel Curtis. (Accommodation lists, Lapstone Conference, A.I.I.A. uncatalogued mss.)

The small worlds of the 'city' and the professions with their clubs, personal and family connections and conventions of dress, behaviour and even thought influenced the character of public affairs activity. In Sydney the Windeyer and Cowper families had been important in N.S.W. affairs and society for nearly a century. H.S. Nicholas, Norman Cowper, David Maughan and Victor Windeyer of the A.I.I.A. were all members of the Australian Club and all but Nicholas (who resided at Rose Bay) lived in the Upper North Shore suburbs of Wahroonga, Turramurra and Pymble.¹ In Melbourne, William Harrison Moore, Tristan Buesst, J.G. Latham, R.G. Menzies of the A.I.I.A., Herbert Gepp, James Darling and Ernest Scott were members of the Melbourne Club, of which Scott wrote a historical memoir in 1936.² In Melbourne, barristers in Selborne Chambers and barristers and solicitors in Temple Court formed personal acquaintances and learned approved styles of behaviour through their profession and met at clubs including the nearby Constitutional Club.³ One contemporary recalled that the Philip St. bar in Sydney comprised a compact little group characterised by a uniformity of speech, dress and outlook which had been subtly imposed by the profession.⁴ The founders of the A.I.P.S. came from the Sydney legal world which remained the main recruiting area for future principals. Many early A.I.P.S. Directors had a continuing involvement for several decades. There was an institutional exchange, Campbell and Cowper also holding executive positions in the sister institution, the A.I.I.A., during the 1950s.⁵ These small worlds were often implicitly or explicitly conservative. Many of the Melbourne lawyers were also members of the genuinely non-political Bureau of Social and International Affairs, the

1. See Biographical Appendix.

2. Ernest Scott, A Historical Memoir of the Melbourne Club, Melbourne, 1936.

3. Bradshaw, op.cit.

4. Interview, L.F. Fitzhardinge, 7/6/1974.

5. Norman Cowper was briefly on the Commonwealth Council of the A.I.I.A. in 1934 (Interview, 18/5/1974) while David Campbell became president of the Council during the 1950s.

Young Nationalist Organisation and the Constitutional Club.¹ In 1928 a visitor from the Sydney Constitutional Association described the Club as a 'Non-Party Club' with purely educational aims. unlike the C.A., but remarked that the members he saw looked like 'typically good earnest young Nationalists'.²

The major public affairs institutions were polite schools of letters with formal courtesies of debate. W.G.K. Duncan remarked that 'only rarely did people show their teeth' at A.I.P.S. Summer Schools and noted that the atmosphere was even more restrained and gentlemanly at Lapstone.³ The Sydney solicitor and A.I.P.S. Summer Schooler W.S. Sheldon captured the admixture of thought and conventionality at Summer Schools in a short, witty piece in the Quarterly. While most of Australia's rulers were chosen from the 'majority of frivolously minded people' who were over 45, most of the thinking was done by a larger 'number of neophytes who might be expected to be wholly absorbed in acquiring a credit balance and domestic security':

These children of light are the "raison d'etre" ... of our many groups devoted to the study of political and economic problems and international affairs. Praiseworthy and disinterested as they are, they have their limitations. For instance, it could not be fairly said that they are such stuff as dreams are made of. A primrose by the river's brim is to them merely a paratitic counterpart, in another order of life, of those happy victims of nepotism, who describe themselves on jury panels as "Independent Means", while Shakespeare seems a loose thinker after the Auditor-General. Although their outlook is radical they generally support the conservative parties at election time in an embarrassing sort of way, and Bligh Street regards them with more fear than favour, remorselessly discouraging their personal electoral aspirations. They solve the problems of life by applying the artic(sic) principles of pure reason. It is said that their wives have a very thin time ...

-
1. The Young Nationalist Organisation members Gerald Packer, A.H. Clerke, J.A. Spicer, Tristan Buesst, R.G. Casey and John and T.P. Oldham were also members of the A.I.I.A. and/or the Constitutional Club. Several lawyers with these and other interests, including P.D. Phillips, J.A. Spicer and R.G. Menzies, were located in Selborne Chambers.
 2. Undated ts. of report on the Melbourne Constitutional Club, entitled 'Impressions from a half hour visit', p.2, Constitutional Association Papers, Box 10, Fisher Library, Sydney University.
 3. He referred to the 'proper, clean and respectable people' and the 'gentlemanly atmosphere' at Lapstone, interview, 10/1/1976.

Being only human they take an annual holiday, but not of the usual "huntin' and fishin' and shootin' " kind. Although they select reasonably Arcadian surroundings they are incapable of indolence, the world forgetting by the world forgot. The holiday is called a Summer School ... The joy-makers consist of themselves and several more balanced members of society, who read papers on comparatively arid aspects of life ... 1

The public affairs world comprised a labyrinthine network of 'interlocking directorates' of executive members and journal editors supplemented by personal connections.² Several institutions in the major capitals co-operated in holding and publishing conferences or in sharing facilities: the A.I.P.S. 1935 conference was held in Melbourne with the assistance of the Constitutional Club; and its 1936 Winter School was held in South Australia with the support of G.V. Portus and some of the principals of the Young Liberal League.³ The 1937 A.I.P.S. publication on immigration also contained papers first given to the Economics section of the 1937 Auckland A.N.Z.A.A.S. Congress and was edited by Duncan, Cowper and H.L. Harris from the Institute and T. Hytten, C.V. Janes, and L.G. Melville from the Economic Society.⁴ During 1936 the Institute and the W.E.A. combined to run public winter lectures on the peopling of Australia.⁵ The Institute also shared library facilities with the Institute of Public Administration and had small Australian Quarterly sub-committees in Melbourne and Adelaide. National academic and public affairs conferences were often scheduled to allow attendance at two forums. In January 1935 and January 1939 both A.I.P.S. and A.N.Z.A.A.S. conferences were held in Melbourne and Canberra respectively, the A.I.I.A's. Commonwealth Council also meeting in Melbourne in January, 1935.

-
1. W.S. Sheldon, review of W.G.K. Duncan (ed.), Trends in Australian Politics, A.Q., September, 1935, pp. 106-7.
 2. Interview, Hartley Grattan, 20/9/1975.
 3. G.V. Portus-D. McLelland, 27/5/1935 (A.I.P.S. Paper, Y12906) Portus, anticipating a conference, suggested that it would be most preferable to have it under the non-party auspices of the A.I.P.S. rather than those of the Young Liberal League, the other potential organiser.
 4. W.G.K. Duncan, The Future of Immigration into Australia and New Zealand, Sydney, 1937.
 5. Directors Meeting Minutes, 20/3/1936, A.I.P.S. Papers, Y12912. In 1937 the Institute supported the W.E.A's. request to the State Government for a restoration of the Association's grant to the pre-depression figure. (Directors Meeting Minutes, 9/11/1937, Y12912).

The A.C.E.R. in Melbourne was an important informal national link through its President, Frank Tate, who was the Carnegie Corporation representative in Australia.¹ Despite the business support for the A.I.P.S. and E.C. Dyason's generosity towards international affairs organisations in Melbourne most institutions needed funds and looked hopefully to the great American philanthropic trust for some support. The Corporation actively supported the Free Library Movement, the A.C.E.R. itself, and A.I.I.A. research, and provided travel allowances for several students - many later prominent in public affairs, administration and the universities - who attended the 1936 and 1937 A.I.P.S. Conferences, as well as bringing Hartley Grattan to Australia.² Several names recur in executive and editorial positions and institutional membership shows an overlap; but it might be noted that most members of professional or political institutions, such as the Institute of Public Administration and the Young Nationalists' Organisation, were not involved in the major public affairs institutions.

The beginnings of a national middle class public affairs community were, however, apparent in the overlap which existed. These institutional and personal connections became important over time. In addition to the executive responsibilities of Campbell and Cowper in the A.I.P.S. and A.I.I.A. and Portus' involvements one might note Macmahon Ball's role in the Victorian branch of the A.I.I.A. and his regular contributions to the A.I.P.S. Many A.I.P.S. principals and Economic Society members were also called upon as academics to prepare data papers for the Lapstone conference. Particular crises including censorship and the refugee question in

-
1. See K.S. Cunningham, 'Ideas, Theories and Assumptions in Australian Education' in J. Cleverley and J. Lawry (eds.) Australian Education in the Twentieth Century: Studies in the Development of State Education, Melbourne, 1973, pp. 114-116.
 2. Directors Meetings, 12/6/1936, 9/12/1936, 24/2/1937. The 1937 Conference grant totalled £202-19-5. (A.I.P.S. Papers, Y12912).

the late 1930s drew together in Melbourne people most normally active in the A.I.I.A. and those mainly working in Left-liberal circles with the supporters of varying peace movements as a major bridge.¹ Personal links were often longlasting and important. On the fringe of the public affairs world but important regarding the A.B.C's. public affairs role was the friendship of over 50 years between Herbert Brookes in Melbourne and Walter Murdoch in Perth.² G.V. Portus and A.C.D. Rivett of the C.S.I.R. had shared a room at Oxford while Macmahon Ball and Brian Fitzpatrick had shared a flat in Melbourne as undergraduates.³ The links are further suggested by the readers of the draft of Hancock's Australia. Hartley Grattan's range of acquaintances and contacts were another indication. They included the writers Vance and Nettie Palmer, Miles Franklin and Katharine Susannah Prichard and Brian Fitzpatrick.⁴ Amongst those attending an A.I.P.S. dinner for Grattan in 1940 were several Institute principals and H.V. Evatt, A.C. Davidson, H.S. Nicholas, C.V. Jones of the Bank of New South Wales, the newspaper publisher Warwick Fairfax, Brian Penton, Bartlett Adamson of the Fellowship of Australian Writers and Ian Clunies Ross.⁵ While Grattan's range was increased by his combination of literary and public affairs interests and his status as a visitor, other contacts were developing in the reformist world. E.H. Burgmann wrote the foreword to H.V. Evatt's study of the Tolpuddle Martyrs, Injustice Within the Law (which was favourably reviewed with contemporary reflections by Norman Cowper in the Quarterly), while Evatt influenced the young Geoff Sawer on his visits to Melbourne.⁶

-
1. In Melbourne in December, 1938 following a conference on refugees convened by the Council for Civil Liberties, a Victorian Refugee Emergency Council was established, Melbourne, Herald, 8/2/1938. A later meeting was held at the quarters of the International Club at Kurrejong House (ibid.)
 2. La Nauze, op.cit., pp. 48-9.
 3. Happy Highway, p.122, Don Watson, op.cit., pp. 23-4.
 4. H.P. Heweltine, 'C. Hartley Grattan in Australia : Some Correspondence, 1937-1938', Meanjin Quarterly, Vol.29, No. 3, September, 1970; Watson, op.cit., p. 138.
 5. The dinner was held on November the 30th, 1940 (AIPS Papers, Y12904).
 6. Norman Cowper's review is in the June, 1937 issue of the Quarterly. Geoffrey Sawer, Interview, 20/3/1976.

The fruits of contact can be seen in the brief discussion in Macmahon Ball's Possible Peace on the importance of libraries for improving international understanding. The section was included partly because Geoffrey Remington had been staying in Melbourne with Ball when the book was being written.¹ If contacts were important, and were to develop even more over decades as individuals rose in their careers and transport improved, they were still intermittent and occasional in the 1930s. Despite his occasional visits to Canberra and Sydney Macmahon Ball was generally occupied in his Melbourne intellectual world, while even Goulburn was too far from Sydney and from Morpeth to allow Burgmann, carrying also the responsibilities of his office as Bishop, to keep up his involvements with the A.I.P.S. Board and with the Morpeth Review.

* * * * *

The most important institution for the discussion of Australian public affairs was the Institute of Political Science. The A.I.P.S. had been founded in the last year of the Premiership of J.T. Lang and was financially supported by business; yet it declared that it sought to be objective and impartial in its approach. When Macmahon Ball first heard of the A.I.P.S. he had wondered if it was in fact a 'pseudo-political body' like the Constitutional Association with implicitly conservative aims despite its declared educational purpose.² The Institute had links with the C.A. and with conservative politicians which suggest similarities. A more subtle interpretation would see a role for the Institute in the reorientation of Australian capitalism and perhaps in the regrouping of conservative political forces in the 1930s and 1940s. In this view the Institute does the 'ideological work of Australian capitalism' by showing its more reasonable and open-minded face to the public, and offers a critique which allows capitalism to deal with changing political and

-
1. Interview, Macmahon Ball, 22/10/1976.
 2. Macmahon Ball, speaking at the evening session of the Summer School, 26/1/1934, A.I.P.S. Board of Directors Minute Book 1932-1935 (AIPS Papers, Y12912).

economic realities.¹ Historically, the Institute has been seen in the 1930s-1940s context as a body facilitating the ideological shift necessary to develop manufacturing, reduce ties with Britain and increase links with America, and expand the role of the state in the economy.² Finally, within this transition it might be argued that the reformist critique of the U.A.P. and of existing conservative styles prepared the way for a more modern form of conservative party which could reap the political advantages of post-war 'neocapitalism'.³

The conservative political links of the A.I.P.S. can be seen from the circumstances of its formation, the political background and aspirations of its founders, its financial supporters and its initial aims. The Institute was an offshoot of the Constitutional Association in Sydney, an organisation which joined an interest in political education with opposition to 'communism' and active electoral support for the conservative parties. Manifesting the conservative desire to improve 'ethical standards' in public life through bringing good young men into the political arena it recruited conservative young businessmen and professionals.⁴ John Mant recalled the early members' desire to groom the right type of citizen for future leadership in public affairs, 'to see that 'politics became fashionable, should be taken up by people who belonged to clubs and had some wealth'.⁵ In the 1920s and early 1930s the Association was intimately associated with Nationalist and U.A.P. election campaigns. This prompted one member to complain in 1928 that the Association was 'merely a joint in the Nationalist tail and (was) at times very vigorously wagged by the "Nationalist" dog'.⁶

-
1. Colin Bell reviewing Rowse, op.cit., in the Australian, 13-14/5/1978.
 2. Rowse, op.cit., chapter 4.
 3. See chapter 9 for a discussion of this proposition. P.G. Tiver, The Liberal Party: Principles and Performance, Brisbane, 1978, pp.26-30, 31-45 considers the transition from the U.A.P. to the Liberal Party.
 4. Similar themes and implications can be discerned in the early career of W.S. Kent Hughes. See Frederick Howard, op.cit.
 5. John Mant, interview, 21/5/1974.
 6. F.B. Newcomen - The Editor, The Constitutionalist, 19/5/1928 in folder entitled 'The Constitutionalist' 'Mr. Wilson', Box 6, C.A.M.S.

The C.A. had been formed in 1925 during a period of N.S.W. State Labor Government, the clashes between the Bruce Government and the Seamen's Union leading up to the famous Walsh and Johnson case and Bruce's fear election of November, 1925.¹ An active and political educational body over the next decade the Association nearly collapsed during the Lang period when most of its members channelled their political energies into such emergency organisations as the All for Australia League.² In the calmer climate of the later 1930s it became, as one member had feared, mainly '... a Society for providing fortnightly luncheon entertainment for city business men'.³ Its broadcast luncheons were addressed by politicians (most of whom were conservative) and prominent publicists including Francis Anderson, A.C. Davidson, Burgmann, Mackay, Charteris, E.R. Walker, Bland, Portus, McCallum, Cowper, Herman Black, J.P. Abbott, Rev. P.A. Micklem, Stephen Roberts and Dr. R.B. Madgwick.⁴

The A.I.P.S., like the C.A., was born in a climate of political uncertainty and a period of reformist pessimistic realism and also became a vehicle for middle class leisure. The Institute grew out of a proposal put to the C.A. by R.W.G. Mackay. Its founding members were the solicitors Cowper, Remington and Reichenbach, the barrister W.F.L. Owen and the accountants J.D. Fell and R.E. Ludowici, all members of the C.A.⁵ The young child grew quickly and almost immediately severed nearly all links with its parent. The Institute, like the C.A., was a vehicle for political education and sought to influence young men going into public life. Reacting against

-
1. See Heather Radi, '1920-29', pp. 307-400 in Crowley, op.cit.
 2. Folder entitled 'Groups', C.A. Papers, Box 6. D.M. Shelly, Group Leader of the Strathfield Group of the C.A., remarks, in a typescript note, that 'most active members' of the Association 'are on A.F.A. Committees'.
 3. F.B. Newcomen, above, quoting S. Ick Hewins.
 4. Book entitled 'Luncheons' (containing mainly press clippings and covering the period 1933-1937) in C.A. Papers, Box 8.
 5. A.I.P.S. Principals who were, or had been, Constitutional Association members included Norman Cowper, G.C. Remington, F.A. Bland, D.A.S. Campbell, W.F.L. Owen, J.D. Fell and J.F. Mant, and even R.W.G. Mackay.

contemporary N.S.W. politics it saw its job as a long-term one of improving the tone of political life. It declared that it did not expect to show any 'spectacular results, or indeed, any substantial results, during its first few years. It did not seek to win elections, or to convert people en masse to specific reforms'. But it did hope for an improvement in the personnel in politics and in the proper understanding of political and economic matters.¹

The Institute had three main vehicles for political education: the class in political science for young men held in Sydney, the annual Summer Schools on 'current Australian questions' from January, 1933 onwards, and from 1935, the Australian Quarterly. The Institute's view of its non-partisan role as 'an educational and research body founded to promote a scientific study of public questions' encouraged an attempt to bring more political balance and academic expertise to its Board of Directors.² It appointed the Laski-influenced political scientist W.G.K. Duncan as Director of Studies on an income of £200 per annum and the Labor supporter David McLelland as Secretary on an income of £260 per annum. It also appointed to its Board the economist R.C. Mills, F.A. Bland, the Sydney Teachers' College historian H.L. Harris, G.V. Portus and the woolbuyer David Campbell.³ The Sydney University Tutorial Classes-W.E.A. component in the Institute carried on that city's tradition of adult education. The attempt to maintain a more progressive leaven amongst the Sydney legal and business men who set the tone of the Institute failed with the departure of Mackay for England, Portus for a Chair of History in Adelaide in 1934 and Burgmann's preoccupation with his new responsibilities in Goulburn.

-
1. Annual Report of Board of the Directors of the Institute, quoted by the S.M.H., 23/10/1974.
 2. This self-description was carried on the title pages of the Quarterly.
 3. Directors Meeting Minutes, 19/9/1932, A.I.P.S. Papers, Y12912. I have found no record of whether this application was successful.

The Institute's early financial support showed that many businessmen were willing to invest in a body which they believed would bring greater stability, and presumably less radicalism, in political life. Many of the Institute's members, including Cowper, Mackay, Mant, McCallum and Bland had, or were to have, conservative political aspirations and Cowper, Fell and Mant were involved with the Liberal Party organisation during the 1940s.¹ The Institute was a respectable body and Mackay, Cowper and its other Directors in eminent Sydney legal firms were able to secure an annual income of around £1000 during the Institute's first two years. Money was raised mainly from large Sydney companies, with whose principals some Institute members were professionally or personally acquainted, including the Bank of N.S.W., the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney, the C.S.R. Company, Warwick Fairfax the newspaper publishers and W.D. & H.O. Wills. There were few Melbourne donors though the Broken Hill Proprietary company donated £100 in 1935 and the Australian Paper Manufacturing Company donated £50 in 1939.² In the latter year the Institute was in dire financial straits partly because, in the words of its new chairman, A.E. Symons, traditional donors were losing interest due to 'complacency over political prospects induced by seven years of U.A.P. Governments'.³ An Institute appeal for funds drew a further £100 from B.H.P. and £50 from Sir Keith Murdoch's Herald and Weekly Times group.⁴ The Institute's good standing with the conservative government

-
1. Interviews, Norman Cowper, 18/5/1974; J.D. Fell, 22/8/1976.
 2. 2pp. carbon ts. 'Donors' listing donations from 30/9/1932 to 13/2/1932 and pencil list of 1939 donors in Folder marked 'Donors 1940', A.I.P.S. Papers, Y12904.
 3. A.E. Symons-G.S. Colman, Melbourne, 24/6/1939 (Y12904). With the prospect of an income of only £650 in 1939, both the A.O. and the Summer School volume were in jeopardy (A.I.P.S. Minutes, Annual General Meeting, 6/2/1939, Y12912). A.E. Symons was an accountant, company director, Rotarian, a Legacy and Y.M.C.A. principal who resided in the Upper North Shore suburb of Wahroonga.
 4. 'Donors 1940' folder, above.

of the day was reflected in its application for a £500 grant which was submitted with the support of the U.A.P. M.H.Rs. Harold Holt and Percy Spender.¹

The Institute reaction against politics was expressed in its view of the Summer School as being 'designed to afford an opportunity for the examination of current problems by people of differing views in an atmosphere free from slogans, personalities and the passion of party controversy'.² Before departing for the more hopeful climes of England in 1934, the Institute's founder R.W.G. Mackay lambasted Australia's 'hybrid politicians, devoid, bankrupt and barren of political theory, political ideals, and in some cases, even political principle'. In such a situation 'cunning' and 'underground engineering' were unfortunately more important than the development of 'a proper political education'.³ Reformists of different orientations - pessimistic realists and technocratic or social democrat advocates of change - supported the Institute's work; they endorsed its example of rational debate leading to the possibility of agreement and joined in the criticisms of popular opinion. Macmahon Ball praised the Summer Schools for bringing together 'the practitioners and theoreticians of Australian politics in an atmosphere that invites the frank expression of personal convictions unregimented by party demands'.⁴ Norman Cowper, as Chairman of the 1935 Summer School on Australian politics was pleased with the amicable interchange of often conflicting views. Whereas Australian political discussion was usually

-
1. A.E. Symons - A.C. Davidson (General Manager, Bank of New South Wales), 14/7/1939. Symons commented that Herbert Gepp was also canvassing for this move. Symons also wrote to Dr. F. Keppel, the President of the Carnegie Corporation (3/7/1939) on the Institute's financial situation, remarking that a South Australian government grant had assisted the publication of What the Census Reveals (A.I.P.S. Papers Y12904).
 2. Ts. 'Australian Institute of Political Science', p. 2, A.I.P.S. Papers, Y12906.
 3. R.W.G. Mackay, Constitutional Association luncheon address entitled 'Problems of Australian Politics', reported in the Sydney Sun, 12/3/1934.
 4. Macmahon Ball, 'The Third Summer School of the Australian Institute of Political Science at Healesville', A.O., March, 1935, p. 25.

ill-tempered and resembled 'a common dogfight' the Summer School reminded him of the English political theorist, Ernest Barker's grander vision of democracy:

The essence of democracy is the free competition and discussion of political ideas. Democracy is liberty - freedom of the mind, freedom of public discussion - the grand dialectic of public debate in which thought clashes with thought until a reconciling compromise is found which we can all accept because we can all see in it some little element of our own thought, some little element of ourselves.

He projected, perhaps too readily, from the small forum to society as a whole in his aspirations if not his words. He saw a diversity of people talking in an atmosphere free from recriminations and 'in a spirit of detachment and scientific enquiry'; this gave political discussion a dignity and interest which it did not ordinarily possess.¹

The poles of debate and of reformist interests were also reflected in the student body and curriculum of the Class in political science. Students were recruited from a variety of institutions including the Economic Department of the Bank of New South Wales, the C.S.R. Company, the Chamber of Commerce, the Institute of Secretaries, the U.A.P., the Public Service Association, the Y.M.C.A., and the Legion of Christian Youth.² The Institute sought qualified young men, especially those with 'political ambitions', for its two year class in political science. The course's two major sections on 'Political Institutions and Political Theory' and on 'Australian Problems' suggested the gap between the interests of some of the teachers and most of the students. Duncan, Portus and Lloyd Ross sought to place contemporary political problems in the larger context of political philosophy including New Liberal and socialist philosophy. The students, however, were more interested in such practical contemporary Australian problems as marketing, the tariff,

-
1. Norman Cowper, 'The Grand Dialectic of the Summer School'.
 2. Directors Meeting, Minutes, 27/1/1934, 24/10/1934, 24/2/1937, 22/2/1938, A.I.P.S. Papers, Y12912.

taxation and loans, prices and transport. The Institute saw the class as a meeting of 'citizen equals' to study common problems and aspects of the social sciences with practical applications in a 'thorough' but not 'unduly theoretical' way.¹ The practical approach of most students of public affairs and most pessimistic realists which Macmahon Ball had criticised contrasted with the broader perspective of more progressive academic reformists. One striking expression of the political gap between Duncan and his students was manifested in 1933. After he had advanced the arguments against upper houses during the N.S.W. referendum campaign on the form of the Legislative Council, his students had all gone out into the community to put the exactly opposite view.²

The range of subjects and participants at the Summer Schools reflects a similar diversity and qualifies, if not contradicts, Tim Rowse's view that the Summer Schools were central in the transition of Australian capitalism during the 1930s and 1940s. Rowse has argued that they were 'the occasions for the setting out of tentative blueprints of the welfare state, of expositions of broad strategies of economic management'; in the schools on planning, the census, immigration, marketing primary products and social services 'social planning of some kind was on the offensive, and 'economic individualism' and the laissez-faire doctrine of the state were pilloried and blamed for the social chaos of the Depression'.³ Similarly, he has attributed an important role to Hartley Grattan, to Herbert Gapp and the Melbourne Collins House lobby and to the future labor leaders Curtin and Chifley in the industrialisation of Australia from the late 1930s.⁴

-
1. 'Australian Institute of Political Science', undated ts., p. 4, A.I.P.S. Papers, Y12906.
 2. Interview, 10/1/1976.
 3. Rowse, op.cit., p. 151.
 4. ibid, pp. 134-147, 171-6.

The arguments concerning the A.I.P.S'. orientation and its involvement in the movement towards industrialisation are oversimplified.

Reformist support for more systematic thought was often expressed

in Bland and Phillips' demand for improved and more careful administration rather than innovation. Papers given to the 1934 and 1935 conferences on economic planning and politics by Roland Wilson, Edward Shann, L.F. Giblin, A.H. Charteris, F.A. Bland and E.L. Piesse also bore the caution of the pessimistic realist and the practical administrator. While the planners and reformers were present they were not in the majority.

The Summer Schools did, however, present progressive views which were not often found in the press or on radio. The economic planning debate was a breakthrough even though there was little continuity and the subject was all but forgotten at the 1935 forum on politics. The progressive reformists were present at the discussions on planning, education and social services, while the practical students of affairs were more readily attracted by the subjects of administration and immigration. The political poles within the forums can be appreciated by comparing Melville and Phillips' rejection of planning and Bland's views on the corrosion of character with the social democrats' criticisms of conservative myopia and comfortable complacency. Macmahon Ball was pleased when participants 'expressed views which did not become a typical conservative audience'; but he worried that the ideas of this 'well-meaning, kindly, middle class' would go up in smoke as in Germany and Italy unless there was a more radical change than had been suggested.¹

The Institute and its journal did contribute to the ideological transition which facilitated the acceptance of urban manufacturing; its forums and A.I.I.A. research helped provide data on the limits to rural economic

1. Ball, in Portus (ed.), What The Census Reveals, p. 174.

and demographic expansion. Its members were generally not attracted by the time-honoured views that secondary industry was less virtuous than primary industry and that trade with non-British countries was almost treasonable.¹ Its consciously Australian, rather than parochial or British, viewpoint helped create a national consciousness which also encouraged a broader view of Australian trade and development. Perhaps the greatest achievement of the institute was that national in scope, meeting in Canberra at a time when the new capital was decried by many as an absurd extravagance, it encouraged a national approach to government and economic development. Seeing the country's economic and social problems in national terms it anticipated the scope of the Federal Government in later years and influenced many future administrators.² Looking back Hartley Grattan praised it for 'homogenizing Australia' or at least the world of Australian public affairs.³ The view that Canberra as a city was, in one writer's words, 'a high ideal embodying the unity of a young and strong nation', and the related support for a national research university in the city, were undercurrents in the journals which reflected a new awareness though one still in a minor key.⁴

The Institute was not simply the voice of a manufacturing lobby, although that voice was strongly heard at its 1936 South Australian forum.⁵ Centred in Sydney, its backers and some of its principals were part of a small elite in which close links existed between financial, commercial,

1. See F.W. Gisborne, 'Urbanisation and Land Settlement - A Rejoinder', A.O., December, 1933.
2. In his 1934 article 'Capital Cities and Australian Progress', A.O., (September, 1934) L.C. Wilcher asserted that 'John Citizen, not Dave, is the characteristic Australian figure'. (p. 26) Geoffrey Saver, Interview, 20/3/1976.
3. Hartley Grattan, Interview, 20/9/1975.
4. A.C. Morgan, 'Canberra', A.O., December, 1931, p. 106. L.C. Wilcher (op.cit., p. 29) wondered if the national capital might 'supply an element which has hitherto been lacking in Australia's political life'.
5. The manufacturer E.W. Holden addressed the forum on 'The Census and Secondary Industry'.

industrial and even pastoral capital. Several active A.I.P.S. and A.I.I.A. contributors, including David Campbell, Ian Clunies Ross, R.C. Wilson and R.J.F. Boyer, were personally or professionally interested in primary industry; a major A.I.P.S. group subscriber was the Graziers' Association; while the 1937 winter lectures were on the marketing of primary products.¹ Even Hartley Grattan's important paper on the Australian future which was delivered at the Manufacturers' Conference Room in Sydney, focussed more on the modernisation of primary industry than the development of secondary industry.² Such observations are not meant to deny the interests of the Sydney businessmen Alfred Davidson and Sir Phillip Goldfinch (C.S.R.) and the Melbourne industrialists W.S. Robinson and Herbert Gepp in a more efficiently and intelligently run economy. Their financial and personal contributions to public affairs activity and the Bank of New South Wales' own research endeavours indicate an active involvement.³ The nature of relations between different sectors of Australian capitalism and the precise nature of influence on government policy remain, however, subjects for further research.

* * * * *

The A.I.P.S.' influence was varied and uneven. By one set of measures the Institute and related bodies and journals achieved a great deal. Never before had there been such continuing national journals and institutions as were found in the 1930s. There is also evidence of a growing public awareness of social problems and of the international situation for which reformists must take some credit.⁴ The Institute, by another set of measures, was simply the stage for debate which it aimed to be and had little real political or public impact. The result was a

-
1. Campbell was a woolbuyer, Boyer a grazier, and Clunies Ross a scientist advocating research into primary industry.
 2. 'The Future in Australia'.
 3. The Bank's Economic Section employed an economist (during the 1930s these included Edward Shann, J.B. Bridgen, A.G.B. Fisher and R.F. Holder) and its staff included some graduates such as Ron Mendelsohn. Its circulars on population, social services and other contemporary subjects published information on these problems, but it also functioned as a publicity department putting forward the Bank's opinion on current questions.
 4. See chapters 8 and 9.

small, content world in which, the critics argued, Institute members 223.
contemplated their navels in a self-satisfied way.

The A.I.P.S. was never just the 'Sydney Institute of Political Science' as Macmahon Ball once called it. Holding conferences and maintaining editorial committees in Melbourne and Adelaide, it also had Quarterly group subscriptions in four states.¹ Its written and oral

1. The planned Melbourne editorial sub-committee when the Institute was taking over the A.Q. comprised J.R. Darling, L.C. Wilcher and G.S. Coleman, the managing director of the Australian Estates and Nitre Co. Ltd. A.S. Elford and P.W. Powell, Secretary of the Constitutional Club, were added to this list, Powell as Victorian Business Manager. (Untitled and undated ts. containing a report on the A.Q. by Norman Cowper in Folder 'A.Q. 1935', Y12900; Directors Meeting Minutes 28/3/1935, Y12912). G.V. Portus suggested that the South Australian Winter School Committee with Geoffrey Clarke, the accountant as Secretary, should continue to function as the South Australian Committee of the A.I.P.S. (Directors Meeting Minutes 25/8/1936, Y12912). During 1937 (Directors Meeting Minutes 13/7/1937, Y12912) C.R. Badger of the University of Western Australia was seeking to establish a branch in Perth.
During 1935 the Institute was seeking articles and group subscriptions from several organisations including the N.S.W. Branch of the A.I.I.A., the Bureau of Social and International Affairs in Melbourne and the Constitutional Association (S.G.O. Martin, A.I.I.A. Branch Secretary, -D. McLelland, 17/12/1935, Y12900; Directors Meetings 15/2/1935, 28/3/1935, Y12912; F. Louat-D.A.S. Campbell, 23/10/1935, Y12902).
The Institute offered a group subscription of £5/5/0 per hundred or £3/3/0 for every 51 or less members (Directors Meeting, 28/3/1935, Y12912). Of the Quarterly circulation of around 3,100 in 1936 group subscriptions accounted for 2,322 (D. McLelland-R.W.G. Mackay, 20/2/1936, Y12900). The group subscribers were: the A.I.I.A. and Constitutional Club in Queensland, the C.A., the Economic Society, the Regional Group of the Institute of Public Administration, and the Graziers Association Council in N.S.W., the B.S. & I.A., the Young Nationalist Organisation and the Constitutional Club in Melbourne, the Economic Society and the Young Liberal League in South Australia, the Economic Society in Western Australia, and the University Association in Canberra. (Typed list 'June 1937 A.Q.', Y12900 and Ts. 'List of Subs. to A.Q.', Y12906) The Institute also reduced the price of the Quarterly to individual subscribers from 3/6 to 2/-. In 1939, the first flush of enthusiasm having passed, Quarterly circulation had dropped to a little over 2,800 of which 2,100 came from N.S.W. and Victoria. Around 400 went to Queensland, 150 to South Australia, 60 to Western Australia, 100 to Canberra and 20 went overseas.
(A.E. Symons-Mr. J.R. McKenzie, Director of Finance, General Motors Holdens Ltd., Melbourne, 9/8/1939, Y12904).

forums brought into contact such distant publicists as B.H. Molesworth, T.P. Fry and J.B. Brigden in Brisbane, Portus in Adelaide and Walter Murdoch in Perth.¹ Most importantly, it published much material which otherwise might never have been written or put into print. There were few weeklies. Articles on social and cultural questions were not quite the fare of the Economic Record, though its range was wide, and only rarely found a place at Science Congresses. The eight 200 page volumes of Summer Schools published in seven years represented a substantial achievement at a time when it was most difficult to publish books in Australia. It was a sustained achievement to ensure the continuity of the volumes (which usually sold around 500 of a print run of 900-1,000), the Quarterly and the Summer Schools which all operated at a considerable loss.²

The Summer Schools and the Quarterly brought before their initial subscription audiences of 100-200 and 2,100-3,100 respectively new research work and new ideas on numerous subjects.³ Papers presented to the Summer Schools made publicly accessible data on the organisation and statistics of Australian education, state agencies of administration in Victoria, adult education, the financial relations of the Commonwealth and the States, and Australian migration policy since the war. The Summer Schools also considered the historical background to economic planning and social services and aired different viewpoints on these and

1. T.P. Fry, who was active in the Queensland branch of the A.I.I.A., wrote several articles and reviews for the Quarterly.
2. A.E. Symons-R.D. Nicholls (Adelaide) 14/6/1939, stating that the Quarterly normally needed a subsidy of £200 per annum; and A.E. Symons-R.E. Elford (Melbourne) 10/6/1939, stating that the Summer School loss was 'probably £40 to £50', (A.I.P.S. Papers, Y12904). Angus and Robertson's Results Statement to the A.I.P.S. for the period 1/ 7/1939-31/12/1939 gave stock in hand in July as 540 of the foreign policy volume, 260 of the immigration one, 716 of the education volume, 387 of Trends in Australian Politics and 436 of that on national economic planning. Around 1,000 copies had been published of each volume. (Y21900)
3. R.W.G. Mackay reported that 160 had attended the 1934 Summer School, Argus, 26/1/1934. A mere 67 people had attended the first Summer School at Robertson, N.S.W. (T. Inglis Moore, reporting on the 190 attendance at the 1937 School, S.M.H., 5/2/1937) The number of readers was presumably greater than the number of subscribers if one takes account of library copies.

other subjects. The Australian Quarterly was issue-oriented rather than concerned with themes or disciplines. Its range was wide and it published articles (many calling for reforms) on such diverse subjects as nutrition and libraries, trade commissioners and the status of women.

The Institute had press and radio connections which ensured coverage of its forums. Four of the papers at the 1935 Summer School were summarised into talks for the Sydney public affairs oriented radio station 2GB (which advertised its talks in the Quarterly) and the Institute's Broadcasting and Public Lectures Committee arranged for Institute members to give other radio talks.¹ Radio was especially important in a period when newspapers were not actively interested in feature articles on public affairs. Access to radio for reformist publicists over the years was facilitated by the involvement of some of their number with the A.B.C. Many reformists, including Murdoch, Portus and Duncan, were on A.B.C. State Talks Advisory Committees and gave broadcast talks.² Some students of public affairs, including the economist and adult educator B.H. Molesworth and the Rev. Kenneth Henderson of Perth, took permanent positions in Talks with the A.B.C. Much later, first Boyer and then Darling became Chairman of the Commission. T. Inglis Moore, of the Sydney Morning Herald, who with Claude Mackay of Smith's Weekly had been a member of the Institute Class, gave sympathetic coverage to Summer Schools.³ K.S. McGill, the editor of the Newcastle Morning Herald, attended some Summer Schools himself, contributed to the Morpeth Review and gave space to Burgmann and other publicists on current issues in the paper.⁴ Frederick Howard, the editor of the Melbourne Herald

1. Preface to Duncan, (1935), op.cit., pp. v-vi; Directors Meeting, 12/8/1936 (Y12912) regarding A.B.C. broadcasting of lectures on the peopling of Australia; Directors Meeting, 7/2/1933 (Y12912) regarding planned weekly broadcasts on 2GB of 10-12 minutes duration (the Institute had wanted 20 minutes).
2. Interview, W.G.K. Duncan, 10/1/1976.
3. S.M.H. 25/1/1936, 27/1/1936, 29/1/1934, 27/2/1934, 30/1/1937, 5/2/1937, 31/1/1938, 1/2/1938, The 2/2/1938 report was written by T. Inglis Moore and entitled 'A National Forum'.
4. McGill attended the 1936 Summer School on education.

also acted as editor of the Victorian A.I.I.A.'s. Austral-Asiatic Bulletin. Summer Schools were fully covered by the Canberra Times and were reported in the Melbourne Age, Argus and Herald and the Sydney Morning Herald and the Newcastle Morning Herald.¹ The Age prefaced its criticisms of views on Australian foreign policy aired at the 1938 forum with the observation that the summer school was now 'an annual event of much public interest' which usually offered 'illuminating guidance on many of Australia's serious problems'.² The 1936 forum on 'Educating a Democracy', which attracted 120 people from at least five states, had fairly typical press coverage. Articles appeared in the Melbourne Herald and Argus and the Sydney Morning Herald with such titles as 'Australian Education Condemned', 'Opportunity for Education - "Not Equal in Australia"', and 'Professor Mackie - Condemns School Conditions - Overcrowded, Unhealthy'.³

A.I.I.A. and A.I.P.S. members often used personal influence to secure publicity. In Melbourne Errol Knox, the proprietor of the Argus, directed his editor to give a substantial review to the Migration volume following approaches from Norman Cowper.⁴ Geoffrey Remington, who sensed the importance of publicity, contacted the editor of the Sydney Morning Herald on occasions to ensure favourable pieces on A.I.P.S. activities and publications.⁵ A.H. Charteris, H.E. Nicholas, Macmahon Ball and Stephen Roberts of Sydney University were amongst the many public commentators on international affairs, the one subject on which the newspapers did seek features.⁶ A.I.P.S. members also gave public lectures to many

1. Canberra Times, 26/1/1934, 27/1/1934, 29/2/1934; Argus, 26/1/1934; Melbourne Herald, 30/1/1934; S.M.H., (see note 3, p.225); Age, 4/2/1935; Newcastle Morning Herald, 1/2/1935.

2. Age, 1/2/1938.

3. Herald, 25/1/1936, Argus, 25/1/1936 and S.M.H., 25/1/1936 respectively.

4. Errol Knox-Norman Cowper 19/11/1937 (A.I.P.S. Papers, Y12906).

5. Directors Meeting, 9/1/1938, Y12912.

6. Nicholas contributed leaders and articles to the S.M.H. before becoming a judge, Charteris wrote for the Sydney Sun and the Daily Telegraph, while Roberts wrote regularly on international affairs for the Sydney Mail.

organisations including U.A.P. and A.L.P. branches, the Church of England Men's Society, the Institute of Public Administration and the Guild of Empire.¹

The A.I.P.S. influenced a number of people who were important, or were to become so, in politics, administration, business and the academy. Seeking subscribers for the Quarterly an Institute leaflet characterised its readership, rather too narrowly, as including 'leading business executives, bankers, professional men, (and) graziers'.² Future top politicians and administrators amongst the Institute's audience included R.G. Casey, Harold Holt, H.C. Coombs, J.G. Crawford, P.R. Heydon, Roland Wilson, L.G. Melville and Alan Watt.³ Geoffrey Sawyer, R.I. Downing, L.F. Crisp, R.N. Crawford, W.E.H. Stanner and Herman Black were later to be prominent academics and/or academic or government administrators as were Burton, Mills and Ball.⁴ The influence of a public

-
1. Typed list of 1934 talks, Y12900; Directors Meetings, 22/3/1934, 29/6/1937, details of talks, Y12912.
 2. Typed sheet headed 'Points for incorporation in letter offering advertising space in 'A.Q.' attached to letter A.E. Symond-G.S. Reichenbach, 9/7/1937 (Y12900).
 3. Holt was to become Prime Minister; Casey was already holding the first of many Cabinet posts and was later to become Governor General; H.C. Coombs became Director-General of the Department of Post-War Reconstruction, Governor of the Reserve Bank and Chancellor of the A.N.U.; Roland Wilson became the Commonwealth Statistician, and Secretary of the Treasury; J.G. Crawford became Head of the Department of Trade, and Vice-Chancellor and Chancellor of the A.N.U.; P.R. Heydon became Head of the Department of Immigration, Alan Watt became Head of the Department of Foreign Affairs; and L.G. Melville became Chairman of the Commonwealth Grants Commission, Assistant Governor of the Commonwealth Bank and Vice-Chancellor of the A.N.U. All except Coombs, who received the highest award of the Order of Australia, were knighted, and most had a range of involvements as members of leading clubs, principals in semi-government and voluntary institutions and company directors.
 4. Geoffrey Sawyer became Professor of Law, Fin Crisp Professor of Political Science and W.H. Stanner Professor of Anthropology at the A.N.U. Herbert Burton became Professor of Economic History and Principal of the Canberra University College which was incorporated into the Australian National University in 1960. R.N. Crawford became Professor of History and R.I. Downing Professor of Economics and Assistant Vice-Chancellor at Melbourne University. Downing was also Chairman of the A.B.C. following in the footsteps of Boyer and Darling.

affairs journal on elites was asserted by Leonard Woolf, the editor of the English Political Quarterly. The latter journal, founded in 1930, was progressive but 'irreproachably respectable'. It sought to act as a clearing house for ideas and a medium of constructive thought. Woolf argued that its influence was in inverse proportion to its circulation. It was

written largely by experts for an elite, for Members of Parliament and civil servants in the arena of practical politics, and in the academic arena by experts and for experts in sociology, politics, law and history. It can only succeed ... by providing ideas for or influencing the ideas of a comparatively small number of 'men at the top'.¹

The equivalent Australian elites were smaller, less specialised and less sophisticated. Australian politicians and public servants were less interested in ideas than their English counterparts with the result that the Australian Quarterly was more diffuse by nature. It did, however, have a similarly select audience drawn from the more intellectually aware members of the country's political-administrative, business, academic and professional elites.

The mechanisms of influence are complex and varied requiring detailed study which is outside the scope of this discussion. The opportunity for influence through Institute forums is clear. Roland Wilson, the Commonwealth Statistician, recalled that it was possible to pick up an idea at the small, intimate, A.I.P.S. conferences of the time, forget it and then remember it six months later.² The Institute was one channel through which contemporary ideas came to Australia. Its class considered several important books in political science and its library took such journals as the Political Quarterly, the Manchester Guardian Weekly, the New Statesman, Nation, the New Republic, Harper's Weekly, Current History, the Round Table, International Affairs, International Conciliation and the

1. Leonard Woolf, Downhill all the Way: An Autobiography of the Years 1919-1939, London, 1967, p. 207.
2. Interview, Roland Wilson, 23/1/1978.

Economist. The Institute was a subscription member of P.E.P. and the New Fabian Research Bureau in England and exchanged publications with the U.S. Smithsonian Institute through the N.S.W. Public Library.¹ The writers considered by the class, whose members also used university and W.E.A. libraries, included Hobhouse, J.A. Hobson, Wallas, Laski, Tawney, R.M. MacIver, and G.D.H. Cole.² Quarterly reviews also contributed to the Institute's aim of 'feeding into the mind of serious-minded citizens the latest products of academic thought'.³ The writings of Sydney and Beatrice Webb, H.G. Wells, Bertrand Russell, Arthur Salter, Stafford Cripps, Sir Josiah Stamp, Julian Huxley and reports by P.E.P., the International Labour Organisation of the League of Nations, English Parliamentary Committees and even the Church of England's Commission on Politics, Economics and Citizenship were reviewed or cited in Institute publications.⁴ Perhaps even more than the Quarterly the Morpath Review and the W.E.A's Australian Highway reviewed recent overseas publications. The transformations, applications and simplifications of ideas as they move around the world are complex as is the question of cultural lag suggested by the importance of Wallas' ideas. The recurring analyses of the cultural cringe and the derivative-ness of Australian thought strengthen the case for influence though its precise nature is another matter. Hartley Grattan's observation that Australian thinkers had failed to apply international ideas to the Australian situation suggests the limitations of the reviews and reviews-cum-articles in the journals.⁵ International influences and local influences

-
1. Directors Meeting Minutes, 24/8/1937, Y12912, Library Book, Y12900. The Institute also took the Times Literary Supplement which was borrowed rarely in contrast to the Political Quarterly, the New Statesman, The Economist and the New Republic which were borrowed often. Directors Meetings, 26/2/1936, 24/8/1934, 27/7/1934, Y12912.
 2. Directors Meeting, 19/9/1932, Y12912.
 3. Interview, W.G.K. Duncan, 10/1/1976.
 4. The quarterly reviews of books by Wells and Salter by Mildred Muscio (op.cit.) and D.A.S. Campbell (op.cit.) and F.A. Bland (op.cit.) respectively were good examples of the process.
 5. Hartley Grattan, 'The Future in Australia', op.cit., p. 29.

often combined. The consolidation of the branches of the Royal Institute of Public Administration in Australia in the 1930s owed a debt to the work of Bland (an international pioneer in the field), Eggleston and Remington, but may also have been facilitated by the A.I.P.S.' receipt of the English journal Public Administration.¹

The middle level work of publicists, operating neither in the sphere of the practical reformer or that of the academic or theorist is often criticised from practical and purist perspectives. It is either seen as ineffective or dismissed as intellectually of little worth. Such views fail to recognise the relationship between general forms of social and political awareness and public action on specific issues. Often social reformers active on a particular issue are also moved by a more general social concern. Reformist thought and the stocktaking impulse alerted some individuals to specific problems in society and prompted them to action. The Institute itself, putting temporarily aside its objective, uninvolved stance, recognised this; it declared that 'the interests aroused by the work of the Institute have caused others to initiate such valuable movements as the Free Library Movement, the Housing Reform Movement and the Institute of Public Administration'.² The influence of general ideas on particular actions was expressed in the former Institute class student Norman Dick's belief that slums were 'a growing menace to civilization' and his work on the Housing Council of N.S.W. The general and the particular were also fused in the work and ideas of another Institute member, the practical crusader for free libraries, Geoffrey Remington.³ Writing in 1937 he dramatically responded

-
1. Bland's work Shadows and Realities of Government, Sydney, 1923, was a pioneering study in public administration. Bland's endeavours in many spheres are recorded in the special commemorative issue of the Journal of Public Administration (Australia) of September, 1948 (Vol. VII, No. 3, New Series). A comprehensive bibliography of his writings is found in the June issue of the journal.
 2. A.E. Symons-Dr. Keppel (Pres. of the Carnegie Corporation, 3/7/1939, Y12904).
 3. Norman Dick, 'Housing and Slum Clearance in New South Wales', A.O., December, 1935, p. 81.

in reformist-vitalist terms to the Munn-Pitt Report's revelation of the inadequacy of Australian libraries:

our intellectual destitution was revealed. True we still had our "vast potentialities", our "unlimited resources", our beautiful sunshine and our Sydney harbour which ... is still lovely to look at, our efforts notwithstanding ... We are not used to criticism which shows us up as backward in comparison with other countries. For too long we have willingly listened to the polite praise which has poured from distinguished, and sometimes even intelligent, visitors who should have known better. If they had criticised us more and forgotten to tell us of our sunshine and our harbour and our beaches and how good our girls were to gaze upon, we would, long since this, have remedied our sins of omission and commission, not only in making books readily available to all, but in keeping our social institutions reasonably up-to-date.¹

Change often proceeds slowly so we might also take account of the space given by reformist forums to supporters of the reform of broadcasting and free kindergartens and the advocates of national drama and professional drama, causes which were to bear fruit within the next few decades.

* * * * *

A minority of Institute members was sceptical regarding the organisation's effectiveness as a vehicle for political education. This criticism was usually focussed on the Summer School and suggested: (one) that the Institute was self-satisfied, exclusive and middle class and closed off from outside influences; (two) that it made too little impression on the public mind; (three) that its interests were too diffuse and unfocussed; and (four) that its research was too limited and much of the thought expressed in its forums lacked analytical rigour. Outside the regular forums the Institute did little to sponsor research though it set up a study group on industrial relations in 1934.² The other criticisms, often advanced at Annual General Meetings, endorsed Sheldon's view of the Summer School as pleasant and interesting but isolated from the real world of affairs. The first Summer School had been held in the 'elysian'

-
1. G.C. Remington, 'The Free Library Movement', A.O., June, 1937, p.87.
 2. Directors Meeting Minutes, 15/11/1934, Y12912. This followed a donation of £100 from Claude Mackay of Smith's Weekly which was earmarked for this purpose. It was to be formed from members of the first Institute class and included Norman Cowper, G.S. Reichenbach, W.E.R. Francis and Edward Masey (Directors Meeting Minutes, 11/1/1935, *ibid*) The project was still operating in 1935 (Directors Meeting Minutes, 26/1/1936) but I have found no evidence of a report.

232.

surroundings of Robertson, N.S.W.,¹ the third at Healesville and from 1936 onwards the Schools were held in the then rural village of Canberra over the Australian Day holiday weekend. Though it showed faith in the nation to hold them in Canberra, the young capital was usually a rather deserted place in late January with politicians and many public servants fleeing to their family and friends in interstate capitals.

W.G.K. Duncan's view of the Summer Schoolers as 'good, safe, bourgeois people' suggested the institution's role as a vehicle for middle class leisure and adult education.² The ideal of a conference in an Arcadian setting was taken from church, student and adult education groups. John Mant found the school a 'stimulating holiday' which gave the 'ordinary suburban fellow who worked' a chance to hear 'political opinion of all sorts, including that of wretched communists'. Here, one met with reasonably intelligent people from all walks of life and heard different views from those of people you met on the golf course or litigating or surfing, remarked Mant.³ Discussions were supplemented with social functions: Fin Crisp recalled that Summer Schools gave young men the pleasure of meeting both important people and comely and intelligent young ladies.⁴ The conference photo provided a fitting snapshot for regulars to recall their annual holiday while they looked forward to meeting their old and new found friends again next year.

The Summer Schoolers were generally middle class, the pioneers of intellectual life in the national capital being joined by the Sydney legal contingent and groups from Melbourne and Adelaide which had a majority of

-
1. The description is that of Frank Louat, ('The Constitution and the Summer School', A.Q., September, 1933, p. 115.)
 2. W.G.K. Duncan, Interview, 10/1/1976.
 3. John Mant, Interview, 21/5/1974.
 4. L.F. Crisp (Interview, 26/1/1978) remarked that Beryl Rouch from the Economics Section of the Bank of New South Wales was an attractive young Summer Schooler with many admirers.

Young Nationalists and Young Liberals and a sprinkling of more radical types.¹ Summer School membership cost 10/6, a large amount for a working class person at any time and even more prohibitive during the depression. At a time when 72% of employed male breadwinners received less than 4 per week, Sydney visitors paid £4/10/- for membership, rail fare and accommodation at the Hotel Canberra, a figure out of reach of most of the community even in normal times.² The Institute recognised the prohibitiveness of the costs in 1936 when it invited two Australian Railways Union members as guests. It was another indication that the Institute was, as John Metcalfe remarked, a body for 'young silvertails' that dinner jackets were required for dinner until 1937.³

The Institute could be seen as a body for adult education at one's own social level, supplementing the work of the W.E.A. R.W.G. Mackay often saw the body in these terms. It might be asked whether middle class reformers such as Mackay, having failed to influence the labour movement through the W.E.A., looked to the Institute to help influence more conservative intellectuals. The simpler aim of encouraging forums for rational debate was easier to achieve than this latter prospect. Portus could look at the 130 people gathered at Victor Harbour, South Australia in 1936 'to listen, to question, to debate with, and very often to disagree with one another' and was pleased that this was part of 'that technique of continuous self-education without which democracy cannot hope to maintain itself'.⁴

-
1. Amongst the frequent Melbourne participants were Macmahon Ball, K.H. Bailey, P.D. Phillips, T.D. Oldham, M.L.A., J.A. Spicer and A.H. Clarke. From Adelaide came Portus and R.D. Nicholls, M.L.A., G.T. Clarke and K.C. (later Senator) Wilson.
 2. Norman Cowper, 'The Census and Social Conditions', p. 142, in Portus ed. (1936); Directors Meeting Minutes, 30/8/1933, Y12912. The data cited by Cowper came from the 1933 census while the cost was fixed for the January, 1934 Summer School.
 3. Directors Meeting Minutes, 5/1/1937; Interview, John Metcalfe, 23/8/1976.
 4. Preface to G.V. Portus, (ed.) What The Census Reveals, Adelaide, 1936, p. iii.

The Institute's unchanging activities and membership suggest that it eventually became a self-contained debating society with only limited interest in any larger purposes. Any organisation - even one seeking to influence society as a whole - can develop an institutional imperative whereby the body goes on in the same way despite changed circumstances and limited success in achieving its aims. Organisations which seek to change society face a difficult task, and often respond to lack of success by enjoying shared interests and fellowship and celebrating, and becoming a prisoner of their own institutional tradition. The political scientist George Shipp has argued this regarding the Sydney W.E.A. It might also be applied to the idea that there has been a 'great tradition' in adult education in Australia.¹

The world of the Summer School was perhaps an example of the 'expressive' side of reformism. Reacting against both politics and the world of broadcasting, with its popular taste and its demand for short radio talks, the members enjoyed an environment free of their unpleasant elements. Rejecting, and consequently limiting their ability to understand, mass politics and culture they preferred to criticize them from within the safe fortress of the Summer School. Several participants asked whether the Institute was becoming 'exclusive' and should seek a wider membership. Others doubted whether it was making 'much impression on the public mind'. While Summer Schools added to the 'store of information' there was a danger of the Institute being looked upon merely as a group which met at Canberra and had no activities of a more public kind.²

-
1. George Shipp, 'Democracy and Mission: A Case Study' in R. Lucy (ed.) The Pieces of Politics, Melbourne, 1975. Derek Whitelock's history of adult education in Australia is entitled The Great Tradition, Brisbane, 1974.
 2. John Metcalfe, Annual General Meeting Minutes, 31/10/1935; W.E.A. Francis, Minutes Combined Meeting of Board of Directors and Members, 26/2/1936, Y12912.

The Institute responded to these criticisms seeking, with eventual success, to use the airwaves to influence public opinion. Its unchanging membership and forms of activity over a longer period suggest, however, that it was becoming inward looking. In the late 1930s it was criticised for drawing too much on members of the earlier classes for organisational roles and it had great continuity on the Board of Directors. In 1955 Cowper, Campbell, Reichenbach, Remington, and Masey were five founders on a board of 14 and a few years earlier H.S. Nicholas had played a central role in raising funds for the A.I.P.S.¹ A dinner held for R.W.G. Mackay, who was visiting from England in 1938, and a Founders Dinner in 1945 also symbolised continuity. Even more striking evidence is offered by the involvement of Edward Masey and John Mant in the Institute over forty years after its foundation.² Norman Cowper's 1937 criticism of the failure to involve new people in the work of the Institute confirmed, even then, that in some ways it was becoming a club, if a talking rather than a dining club.³

The Institute's major activities have remained unchanged since their inception. The Summer School, held every January in Canberra, differs little in organisation and format from the first ones, though its numbers have increased and more specialists are available as speakers. During the 1940s and 1950s much of the burden carried by the Australian Quarterly was taken over by other journals. The publication has remained relatively unchanged, however, even with the addition of the political chronicle, which had been suggested by C.R. Badger in 1936, and with less material on culture, history and science.⁴

-
1. A.I.P.S. letterhead in folder marked 'Victorian Group 1955'. John Metcalfe, the librarian who had joined the Institute during the 1930s, was also a Director. (A.I.P.S. Papers, Y12913).
 2. A.I.P.S. Ledger, 1936-1946, p.103; Masey and Mant both attended the 1976 conference in Canberra.
 3. Annual General Meeting Minutes, 30/11/1937 (Y12912). He argued for a widened basis for Associate Membership to increase the possibility of establishing study groups and for greater use of the broadcasting medium.
 4. Directors Meeting Minutes, 26/1/1936 (Y12912).

The Summer School gave the Institute its highest public profile and its greatest opportunity for an intellectual influence on Australian social thought and public opinion. The School was criticised by many observers as an inadequate forum for useful discussion. The symposium, still important in research on Australian society today nearly sixty years after Meredith Atkinson's Australia (1920), is open to criticism as a vehicle for intellectual discourse.¹ A collection of short, usually mainly empirical papers on a variety of subjects is only rarely characterised by real intellectual coherence. Only in a long study by a single author or in a study emanating from a school which has developed its own terms of discourse can social analysis be readily developed to a high level. The content of the Summer Schools was often uneven and disjointed partly as a result of the diversity of viewpoints represented, something on which the Institute prided itself. A.G.B. Fisher considered the difference between the planners and the anti-planners at the 1934 Summer School, criticising the capitalists for ignoring the dislocating influences in the capitalist system and the radicals for simply believing that 'if only everything were different, how different everything would be'. Both were crying for the moon, 'though their respective moons were quite different, of course, both in shape and colour'.² Roy Lee suggested that the conference should have focussed more on 'how we get power to plan' rather than 'if we had power to plan', concluding that the 'absence of any determined consideration of this chief practical problem in the technique of power, marked Canberra down as another bourgeois debating school'.³ Despite Fisher's reformist pleasure at the mere variety of opinion, the Summer School suffered because the terms of debate remained undefined and the differences were as great as the points of agreement.

-
1. Meredith Atkinson (ed.), Australia : Economic and Political Studies, London, 1920 (G.V. Portus contributed a chapter on 'The Australian Labour Movement' to this volume.)
 2. Duncan (1934), pp. 185-6.
 3. ibid, p. 196.

The discontinuities began with the papers. Macmahon Ball's pro-planning paper was preceded and followed by the more sceptical papers of Roland Wilson and L.F. Giblin. Ball's paper covered four subjects - the goals of planning, the role of the expert, the problem of obtaining political authority for planning and efficiency in administration. It was a subtle and perceptive paper which, predictably, dealt most briefly and least confidently with the difficult third subject. Ball's simple conclusion here, from his social democrat point of view, was that Parliaments should relinquish more power to the Executive and Federal powers should increase at the expense of the states.¹ P.D. Phillips, the Melbourne barrister, lecturer, chairman of the Victorian Transport Regulation Board and ardent disciple of F.W. Eggleston, responded by criticising the 'waste' of 'state socialism' in terms which suggested the polarities at the School. Phillips, ever the ardent and scathing critic, charged that 'thirty or forty years of discussion' had demonstrated that belief in planning as 'an instrument for achieving social justice and ethical improvement' was 'nothing more than "emotional poppy-cock" ';

These searchings after justice were merely rationalised emotions, bedecked with the words of social philosophy. They provided an entirely unsuitable criterion of political action, for they lacked the objectivity of science.²

Macmahon Ball replied in kind suggesting that Phillips was moved more by emotion than by science, and that 'objective scientific tests' could not be applied to many aspects of economic activity because of their social and political implications. He concluded by arguing that one could not have 'a more Utopian, unrealistic and academic attitude towards government today than to believe with Mr. Phillips that governments stand above emotional pulls and pushes'.³

1. ibid, pp. 99-100.

2. ibid, p. 110.

3. ibid, p. 113.

With these words the two Melbourne publicists, lecturers and A.I.I.A. members crossed swords. The practical Phillips and the theoretical Ball showed only a degree of tolerance towards each other's views. Reformist political styles could not be simply divided into Lasswell's categories of the theorist, the agitator and the administrator. There was also a political gap between right and left, a gap between those with an administrative orientation, who were impatient with abstraction and preferred to concentrate on immediate, 'practical' problems and those who wanted to see politics in larger terms. The social democrats sought to convince the middle classes of the need for change, particularly the new salariat which they hoped was different in outlook from the typical nineteenth century property owner, but they faced a difficult task. E.R. Walker was sceptical of Macmahon Ball's hopes about the 'sterling qualities of the professional business man'. He doubted if those in key positions in industry and finance would give their 'whole-hearted allegiance to the new ideal' of a planned economy:

I join with Mr. Ball in hoping that it may be possible to win over the professional business man to the ideal of planning. But I notice that none of the subsequent speakers, except Dr. Duncan, referred even by implication, to a most important feature of Mr. Ball's scheme, namely, that he would seek more and more equality. That is one of the things you must convert the business man to.

Walker used, and believed in, the fear argument, asserting that unless the conversion came soon they would be placed 'under the threat of a catastrophe, wherein things will be determined not by reason or intellect, but by mass emotion'.¹

The discontinuities were also apparent within conferences and during debates. Questions from the floor often took the form of comments on many different aspects of a subject; as one speaker remarked at the Victor Harbour meeting the discussion had amplified rather than criticised

1. ibid, pp. 113-114.

his paper.¹ The ten discussants of Norman Cowper's paper on social conditions at this conference broached eleven subjects including the need for higher taxation, the limitations of hospitals, vocational guidance, hereditary factors in intellect, the idea that Australia's population was not 'Ninety-eight per cent British', the need for caution regarding census figures on income and the tendency of Southern Europeans to live in crowded conditions.² It was also indicative of the middle class milieu of the Institute that at this conference on the census during the depression only two out of six papers focussed on social conditions and social services.³

The Summer Schools were sometimes diffuse and politically ineffective, but they still offered expressive satisfactions for their participants. They had an appealing ludic and theatrical aspect. The occasional tedium of detailed papers on administration or education was relieved by debating clashes such as that between Ball and Phillips. More progressive reformists could find unintended humour in such occasional reactionary remarks as Philip Goldfinch's view that a country with a falling birth rate which failed to make up the deficiency in some other way was decadent in the sight of God and of other countries.⁴ Over several years the regular participants took on roles, becoming characters in a developing play. Norman Cowper was the chairman figure, humane and witty, open to radical ideas though having an establishment background and holding to a basic conservative standpoint. Lloyd Ross was the resident 'nigger in the woodpile', the radical able to wave the

1. J.A. La Nauze in Portus ed. (1936), p. 23.

2. Portus (1936), pp. 151-153.

3. Norman Cowper spoke on 'The Census and Social Conditions' while John Curtin contributed a paper on 'The Census and the Social Service State'.

4. Discussion in W.G.K. Duncan and C.V. Jones (eds.) The Future of Immigration into Australia and New Zealand, Sydney, 1937, p.103.

'reddest of cloaks' to arouse the charge of the conservatives.¹ Portus was the progressive scholar, and sometimes the impish gadfly, Duncan the ardent rationalist, Bland the more gravely serious student of citizenship and administration, Ball the stimulating radical thinker and Phillips the adversary. To this cast of regulars were added the critical visitors Bartley Grattan and Esmond Higgins who challenged ruling complacency, the performances of politicians, and the thoughts of specialists who delivered their wisdom on education, secondary industry or immigration.²

* * * * *

The Australian Quarterly and other public affairs journals had a diversity of subject matter and viewpoints similar to that found in the Summer Schools. The Quarterly, the Morpeth Review, the gentlemanly and diverse Australian Rhodes Review and the two-monthly Canberra Australian National Review (from 1937-1939) had a miscellaneous quality and a related lack of direction. Though consciously seeking to help Australia think over its problems their attention was diffused over too many subjects. They were like omnibuses which carried many different passengers and looked at several sights without being sure exactly where they were going. The Morpeth Review had an atypical interest in contemporary general ideas on the state of civilization. Its articles, like those of the A.N.R., were short and often contained much of the preacher's rhetoric.³ The Australian National Review also offered a 'varied bill of fare'. Its aim of giving direction to the nation remained unrealised. It had a small range of contributors who lived mainly in Canberra: it dealt more

-
1. The bullfight image was used by T. Inglis Moore in covering the 1938 Summer School for the Sydney Morning Herald (2/2/1938). Duncan (Interview, 10/1/1976) referred to Ross' curious acceptance as 'the wild colonial boy' in the forums.
 2. The educationists included N.H. McNeil talking on 'Education in the Schools', B.H. Molesworth on 'Adult Education', K.H. Bailey on 'The Role of the University' and the librarian W.H. Ifould on 'Moulding Public Opinion'.
 3. The Morpeth Review cost about £250 per annum. In the sixth issue of the St. John's College Union 'News Sheet' (of September, 1929, which was inserted in the journal) Burgmann noted that four dioceses had agreed to pay lump sums so the Review would be sent to each parson in the diocese. At the annual subscription rate of 7/6 for four copies the £250 cost suggests the journal may have had over 500 subscribers or recipients. In the Review's 18th issue (December, 1931) Burgmann noted that for the first time the journal was facing a deficit, of around £50 per annum.

with literature than politics and society, and, as one reviewer suggested, often treated subjects 'too much in the manner of the Saturday supplements of (the) daily newspapers'.¹ The Australian Rhodes Review was atypical in its occasional nature (four issues were published from 1934 to 1939) and in the confined world from which its contributors came. Its editors, contributors and some articles reflected the mainstream of public affairs: the former included Portus, Bailey, Burton and Wilcher; contributors included W.K. Hancock, P.R. Stephensen the headmaster N.H. MacNeil the law professor G.W. Paton and A.H. Clerke of the Young Nationalist Organisation; and its articles covered such recurring reformist subjects as aborigines, broadcasting, the League of Nations, a national university, Canberra, education and international affairs.²

The Australian Quarterly was more substantial, more widely read and more soundly based as a publishing venture than the other journals. Its articles were longer and of a more even standard. A typical Institute Quarterly contained on average 9 articles, 5 reviews and a short drama review section. Though there were articles on culture, science and history the major stress was on the bread and butter matters of economics, politics and international affairs. The practical orientation of most Institute supporters, and such Quarterly group subscribers as the Economic Society, the Institute of Public Administration, the Graziers' Association and conservative political organisations was reflected in the backgrounds of the contributors. Practical lay students of public affairs predominated over academics: in the June 1935 issue there were only 6 academics out of a total of 25 contributors and reviewers; in September only 9 out of 25, and in March 1936 only 4 out of 11 contributors and 3 out of 6 reviewers. The predominance of economists and lawyers amongst

-
1. Review of the first issue of the A.N.R. in All About Books, January, 1937, pp. 6-7.
 2. The A.R.R. ran at a loss (Preface, No. 4, 1939) and only four issues appeared during the 1930s.

the ranks of academic social scientists further strengthened the 'practical' focus on economic and administrative problems. Many of the Institute principals who were frequent contributors were lawyers or practical men of affairs as is suggested by such names as Cowper, Campbell, Harris, Sheldon, Symond, Mant and Bland.

The diversity of the Quarterly can be seen in the June and September, 1935 and March, 1936 issues. The June, 1935 issue considered the rice industry, the wheat industry, film production, defence, censorship, new states, public administration, the novelist Frederic Manning, and the State elections in N.S.W. and Queensland. It also included reminiscences of the late 19th century 'New Australia' colony in Paraguay and a general article by the Rev. P.A. Micklem on religion and the social order. G.L. Wood's 2,000 word piece on the wheat industry was typical of a certain type of Quarterly article which responded to current events. It summarised, and commented upon, the second report of the Royal Commission on the Wheat, Flour and Bread Industries. The review section was similarly miscellaneous containing several works on international affairs, a collection of Australian essays, a book on Dickens, a title on the aborigines, works on transport and education in the U.S.S.R. and a review of three books on the role of women. The September issue offered pieces on aviation, land transport, dairying, wool, housing, the law, libraries, and a national university and a longer article (of around 5,000 words) by A.R. Chisholm on 'Oswald Spengler and the Decline of the West'.

Some critical glimpses of contemporary Parliament by G.V. Portus and an article on aborigines by Bishop Stephen H. Davies were found in the same issue. The Quarterly was always ready to accept contributions which often more followed the interest of a capable writer rather than that of its audience or editors. A.R. Chisholm was allowed to have his head on the late 19th century European cultural subjects which interested

him; he contributed a piece to the March, 1936 issue on the aftermath of European romanticism. The same journal also contained Geoffrey Remington's thoughts on 'Profit and Loss in Public Administration'. The Quarterly's British patriotism was expressed in the March, 1936 obituary on the death of King George the Fifth. Two other obituaries, those of Edward Shann and William Harrison Moore during 1935 respected achievement and showed the public affairs community's sense of loss at the passing of two of its prominent members. The classical education possessed by most graduates perhaps prompted a review of an Australian translation of Aeschylus' Agamemnon in the September, 1935 issue. The short review of the 1935 New Zealand ski book was another small indication of the social position of Quarterly readers. Despite this miscellany the same issue included E.R. Walker's review of John Strachey's The Nature of the Capitalist Crisis and discussions of six books on Nazism and Italian fascism.

The critics charged many Quarterly articles with lacking 'sting'. It was as if the desire to avoid political partisanship had encouraged a safety-first approach which sometimes led to blandness. In arranging regular articles from the Constitutional Association in part exchange for financial support the Institute was doubly concerned with the problem of bias. 'The tone of the articles', it was agreed, was 'to be restrained, informative and occasionally as an aid to interest, mildly controversial'.¹ Macmahon Ball took the journal to task for being 'largely, a collection of articles with no connected view', suggesting that each issue should have more character and unity.² A single viewpoint or political or philosophical orientation did not appeal to the Institute; this attitude was

1. D. McLelland - F. Louat, 4/11/1935 (Y12902).

2. Executive Meeting Minutes, 26/1/1936, (Y12912).

probably one of the main reasons why it rejected the mooted amalgamation of the Morpeth Review into the Quarterly in 1935.¹ Ball's criticisms made the Institute consider an editorial, but it was generally felt that it was inappropriate for the journal to follow the Political Quarterly which expressed the view of a particular school.²

Running through the journals was the reformist focus on single issues which, like the stress on international affairs, allowed questions of social organisation and ideology to be put aside. Geoffrey Sawyer, in describing his own political and professional development, voiced this preference remarking that he 'increasingly got tired of organisations and tended to respond more on issues of importance'.³ Accepting the broad design of the engine of society most reformists sought to tinker with its parts and improve its tuning. Norman Cowper, reviewing a report on broadcasting, argued for an independent A.B.C. news service which was finally secured in 1947.⁴ There was also a feminist undercurrent in public affairs writing, sowing seeds which were to germinate many years later.⁵

1. R.S. Lee-W.G.K. Duncan, 8/3/1935, D. McLelland-R.S. Lee, 18/3/1935, Lee-McLelland, 28/3 and McLelland-Lee, 1/4/1935. (Y12900) Lee was asking for more 'subjects of a general nature', particularly 'citizenship' in the Quarterly, and for the name of the journal to be 'The Australian Quarterly (large caps.) with which is incorporated the Morpeth Review (small caps.)' on the title and cover page and Lee's name as Corresponding or Assistant Editor appearing on the title page. It was on the first of these requests that the amalgamation proposal foundered.
2. Directors Meeting Minutes, 26/1/1936, 7/2/1936 (Y12912).
3. Interview, 20/3/1976.
4. Norman Cowper, 'The Control of Broadcasting', A.O., June, 1936, p.64. See Pamela Mitchell, 'The Development of the Australian Broadcasting Commission News Service 1932-1942', B.A. (Hons.) Thesis, Sydney University, 1974.
5. Three books on the situation of women were reviewed by Dorothy Duncan in the June, 1935 A.O. 'How Women Escaped from the Home' by Evelyn Tildesley (who, like her sister Beatrice was a regular contributor on drama and film) appeared in the March, 1936 issue. An article on 'Equal Pay' by John R. Hughes was found in the September, 1937 Quarterly. Mildred Muscio's March, 1930 article 'Some Principles of Education' (a paper read before the 1930 conference of the Australian Federation of University Women) had one section entitled 'Similar Values for Men and Women'.

It is possible to discuss single issues in rationalist-technocratic terms, considering the effectiveness of a part of the engine of society without taking into account the political realities. In these reformist terms the case for change is often crystal clear though the question of the means is conveniently put aside. One such article in the Quarterly, humorously titled 'Swift and Sure', stressed the need for law reform. It was asserted that there could be 'no honest and rational opposition' to 'the proposition that the State should provide its people with a system of justice instead of charging for it'. The extent of actual opposition was recognised by the author, however, who safeguarded his standing with his colleagues by writing under the pseudonym 'Lex'.¹

Many articles on similar issues called for mild or far-reaching reforms.

Despite the reformist criticism of politics there were few pieces which sought to analyse further the problems arising within the existing political parties. The Quarterly remained a receptacle for opinions rather than attempting to initiate campaigns or to sustain particular debates. Even articles on censorship were spread over several years rather than found in successive issues.² Most startling was the lack of analysis of the parties, their policies and their leaders. The reformists, as political fringe-dwellers, anathematised existing politics but offered no penetrating analyses of what had gone wrong. The names of Lyons, Curtin, Lang and Stevens bobbed up in different articles but there was no real evaluation of what the political power-holders were doing and thinking. There was no regular political commentary and most reformists would not have gone

-
1. 'Swift and Sure', by 'Lex', A.O., September, 1935, p. 70.
 2. The Nicholas Quarterly carried articles critical of censorship in June 1930, March 1933 and December 1934. The Institute Quarterly carried similar articles in June 1935 and June 1936 and a criticism of the banning of the Clifford Odets anti-Nazi play in December, 1936. Many other articles made passing reference to censorship.

much beyond L.F. Crisp's later accurate, but analytically limited, observation that Labour in N.S.W. during the period was 'a can of worms'.¹ This omission was all the more unfortunate when there were no quality political weeklies and daily newspaper political journalism was of a low standard.

* * * * *

The A.I.P.S. and the public affairs journals reflect the paradoxes of reformism. They filled a vacuum which had existed for too long and contributed to that public awareness of the few that is often called 'informed public opinion'. One radical critic later suggested, however, that Summer Schools were only 'an elegant middle class way of filling in what would otherwise have been a dull weekend', the participants mainly sharing a 'mild interest and rather pallid social concern'.² Many students of public affairs and some reformists were civic do-gooders who sought a larger sphere than the parochial worlds of local government, charities and service organisations. Only a small amount of material in the journals - much of it written by women who were on the fringe of the public affairs world - dealt with the massive social problems of the decade. Some students of affairs and campaigners for particular causes such as Geoffrey Remington, A.P. Elkin and P.F. Irvine rarely attended Summer Schools believing that it was more important to work on the pressure points of power. Elkin's criticism that the A.I.P.S. people did not know what they were after has much truth in it. Other critics suggested that reformist social thought was limited because it emanated from the self-contained middle class public affairs world, a subject which will be discussed further later. The A.I.P.S. was in many ways the

1. L.F. Crisp made this observation in discussion (Interview, 26/1/1978) where it was quite appropriate and not subject to criticism. Many contemporary reformists, however, used such phrases as their intellectual stock in trade.

2. Interview, Ron Mendelsohn, 13/11/1977.

central institution in a self-assured world whose members had limited influence on those with power at the time. There was a more subtle, if intangible, influence on many people who were later to be in positions of power and influence. Though the Institute was a self-contained institution it is significant that many of its members and supporters came from that part of society in which most political and economic power was centred.

THE REFORMIST WORLD :
THE A.I.I.A. AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS RESEARCH

The social background of reformism, the nature of reformist thought and of the research done in the public affairs institutions can be more fully assessed by a study of a second important and 'national' public affairs institution, the Australian Institute of International Affairs. The A.I.I.A., through its branches in the major cities, was the largest organiser of research into contemporary conditions. It also had the strongest ties with the social establishment. No public affairs institution took more seriously the technocratic imperative of scientific research. The work of the Institute, and other unofficial institutions, preceded the formation of government and professional bodies to supply the data needed by a modern government. The A.I.I.A. also drew on the services of most active students of public affairs, and its work and deliberations often crossed over the fine distinctions between research, publicity and discussion.

The A.I.I.A. was national in scope, existing in three states and the A.C.T. by the late 1930s, though in practice it was a loose confederation of branches. The Institute had a long pre-history. It grew

out of the Imperial Round Table organisation and branches of the R.I.I.A. and the I.P.R. in Sydney and Melbourne and many of its principals were also involved in the idealistic, popularising League of Nations Union. The formation of the Institute in 1932, just a year after the consolidation of League of Nations Union branches into a national body, reflected the growing interest in international affairs aroused by the international uncertainty of the 1930s.¹

The 'Round Table' groups in Sydney and Melbourne had been established to strengthen Imperial relations through study, research and influence. The A.I.I.A. branches were in the 1920s and early 1930s little more than 'groups of dilettantes' meeting in each other's homes. They included such prominent Round Table members as Eggleston, Latham, Harrison Moore, Scott and Nicholas, R.C. Mills and G.V. Portus and shared the Round Table's Imperial orientation, elitism, social status, financial connections and its private and unofficial nature which also involved a vicarious sense of power.² The Round Table groups comprised specially chosen academics and men of affairs who held discussions and wrote articles for the Round Table journal. The recession into the background of the original aim of Imperial Union increasingly directed the energies of members through R.I.I.A. and I.P.R. branches which sought to undertake

1. The amalgamation of the N.S.W. branches of the I.P.R. and R.I.I.A. to form an A.I.I.A. in 1931 was followed by a 1932 Sydney conference of N.S.W., Victorian and Queensland representatives which considered a draft constitution for a national A.I.I.A. Within the Victorian branch the R.I.I.A. and I.P.R. groups retained separate identities. A Canberra branch of the Institute was formed in 1937. (A.I.I.A. Papers, Canberra).
2. The phrase was used by Macmahon Ball (Interview, 22/10/1976). On the Round Table see Collin, op.cit., the William Harrison Moore Papers at Melbourne University Archives and Lloyd Robson, (ed.), Australian Commentaries, Melbourne, 1975, a collection of Australian articles from the Round Table. Membership, Harrison Moore Papers, 11/6/3/2, 11/6/3/4. Lionel Curtis' letter to Walter Murdoch of the 21st October, 1910 asking to be given the opportunity of 'meeting men who will help me to some correct appreciation of facts and tendencies in this country' on his forthcoming visit to establish Round Table groups offers a suggestion of the smallness of the public affairs world at the time. (Murdoch Papers, NLA MS 2987, Box 7).

a scientific study of international relations; many, including Eggleston, also continued to write for the Round Table.¹

The A.I.I.A. took over many of the qualities of the Round Table but it was less 'a secret society'; its membership was larger and some branches actively sought publicity. The branches varied in nature from the large Queensland branch with many sub-branches, which published very little and participated only rarely in international conferences, to the smaller, active, elitist Victorian branch.² Branch members' participation ranged from passively reading Institute publications and journals and attending meetings to a much higher level of commitment. The most energetic minority, with whom we are mainly concerned, worked as researchers, executive members, delegates to conferences and, in a personal capacity, as publicists on international affairs.³ They often had contacts with the government, the press and other public affairs institutions; some, including K.H. Bailey and Ian Clunies Ross, represented Australia at the League and other international meetings.⁴

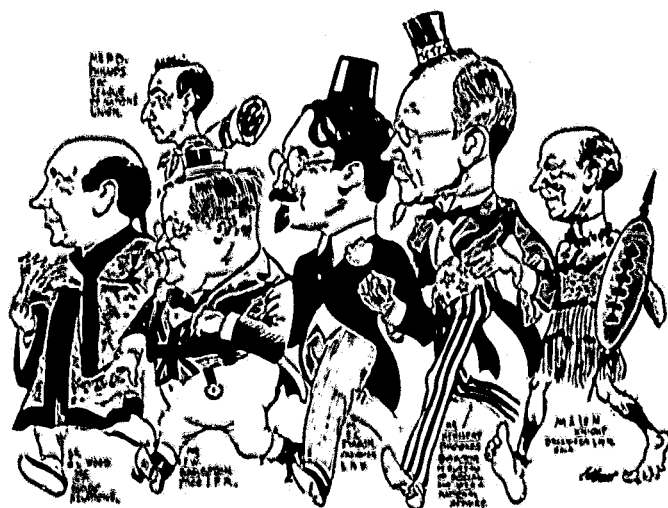
The social character of the Institute in Melbourne particularly was suggestive of the social world of the public affairs institutions.

-
1. Participants in the 1935 Round Table conference on the Political and Strategic Situation in the Pacific came from the centre stage of public affairs debate and included: from Sydney, Bland, Duncan, A.G.B. Fisher and R.C. Mills; and from Melbourne, Bailey, Harrison Moore, Scott, E.L. Piesse, Eggleston, D.K. Picken, T.H. Laby and Alfred Stirling; and also L.G. Melville, W.S. Kelly, M.H.R., and J.B. Bridgen. (Harrison Moore Papers, MS 11/6/3/10).
 2. The Queensland branch's most prominent member was T.P. Fry, the university lawyer, and other prominent members were the academics A.C.V. Melbourne, J.B. Bridgen and B.H. Molesworth and the leader-writer J.G. Holmes. Distinctive for having sub-branches in such provincial centres as Rockhampton, Townsville, Bundaberg and Mackay, it had the largest membership of any branch (286 in 1938 out of a national total of 650). Victoria had 116, N.S.W. 228 and Canberra 20 members. A.I.I.A. Annual Report 1937-8, A.I.I.A. Papers, Canberra.
 3. Publicists included Hall, Burton, Bailey, Eggleston, Phillips, Charteris, Black, and Clunies Ross. The most active A.I.I.A. members as researchers, publicists and committee members also included Tristan Buesst, Harrison Moore, and P.R. Heydon.
 4. K.H. Bailey and Ian Clunies Ross were Australian delegates to the 1937 and 1938 General Assembly meetings of the League of Nations.

Participants in public affairs work have recalled the conservative orientation and 'establishment' tone of Melbourne University, the A.I.I.A. and the Economics Society.¹ The differences between the Sydney and Melbourne public affairs worlds have been attributed to social, geographical and historical differences between the cities. The librarian, John Metcalfe, believed that Sydney 'society' is more democratic while Melbourne 'society' has always seen itself as superior. The editor, Frederick Howard, ascribed the differences to Melbourne's 'Baltic' and Sydney's 'Mediterranean' climate.² The headmaster, James Darling, believed that much of the difference resulted from the character of the two cities' universities. The dominance of the private schools made Melbourne University a 'place to which gentlemen went', unlike Sydney University where students from the selective state schools modified the private school influence. The result was that the Sydney gentry, the Norman Cowpers, were more on the defensive and lacked the natural assumption of superiority of the English upper class.³ It might be remarked that the different degrees of self-assuredness also resulted from the conservative parties' greater success in Victoria than in N.S.W.

The small public affairs world of Melbourne was focussed on the Economic Society, with its links with the business world, and the Institute which had similar links through E.C. Dyason, Herbert Brookes, W.S. Robinson and Keith Murdoch.⁴ Melbourne's public affairs world was a coherent one under the chairman figure of Harrison Moore, with the financial support of these businessmen and the political interest of

-
1. Interviews, Macmahon Ball, Frederick Howard (21/10/1976), W.D. Forsyth, Herbert Burton.
 2. Interviews, Frederick Howard, John Metcalfe.
 3. Interview, James Darling, 26/9/1976.
 4. The Bureau of Social and International Affairs which housed Melbourne international affairs groups received initial contributions of \$500 for its first two years from E.C. Dyason, the principal founder, and donations of £100 from Herbert Brookes, W.S. Robinson, J.H. Curle, G.J. Coles, A.M. Nicholas and John Sanderson. (Tristan Buesst Papers, N.L.A. MS 2821, Pamphlet entitled "Bureau of Social and International Affairs : A Chatham House for Australia").



An Intimate World

Latham, Menzies and Casey. Several individuals, including Eggleston, Dyason, Phillips, Gerald Packer, Sir Lennon Raws, Copland, Wood, Gepp, Burton, Bailey and Ball, formed the core of both the A.I.I.A. and the Economic Society.¹ The A.I.I.A. was also related to the social world found in dining clubs such as the Boobooks, which numbered amongst its members Eggleston, Latham, Ernest Scott, Herbert Brookes, and Harrison Moore and had existed for over thirty years, and in such intellectual and social events as house parties held at Herbert Brookes' homes in Melbourne and on Mount Macedon.² Many of the Melburnians had come to know each other in the halcyon days of Deakinite liberalism and society.

The intimacy of their world was also expressed in intermarriage. Brookes had married Deakin's eldest daughter Ivy, Ernest Scott's wife was a Dyason and the younger John Oldham was a cousin of Eggleston.

The A.I.I.A. branch in Melbourne expressed what has been termed the schizophrenia of the Institute in the 1930s. Until 1937 it comprised branches of the R.I.I.A. and the I.P.R. which reflected its Anglo-European and Far Eastern or 'Near North' orientations.³ It was idiosyncratic in other ways being housed with the League of Nations Union and the International Club in the Bureau of Social and International Affairs, an institution created and mainly financed by Dyason.⁴ The International Club which had been set up by Mrs. Herbert Brookes, supplanting the Women's Auxiliary for International Affairs, was a

-
1. Gerald Packer was an accountant and former army officer who later became Vice President of the Institute. Sir William Lennon Raws was a principal in the international chemical company, I.C.I., and a director of several other companies, a former President of the Melbourne Club, and a frequent contributor to the Economic Record.
 2. Osmond, *op.cit.*, p. 84. Bernard O'Dowd, the poet, was also a Boobook. Rohan Rivett, Australian Citizen, Melbourne, 1965, chapter 11.
 3. The term is that of Frederick Howard, Interview, 21/10/1976.
 4. The Bureau provided offices, secretarial and organising staff for several organisations mainly engaged in study, research and education including the R.I.I.A. and I.P.R. groups, the Round Table, the League of Nations Union and the social and goodwill body, the International Club.

social organisation which sought to celebrate national days and welcome distinguished overseas visitors; the first 'outstanding event in the club's history' was a reception in honour of Princess Irina Kristoff.¹ The B.S. & I.A. groups benefited from Dyason's support for the study of international affairs in Melbourne, being wealthier than their Sydney counterparts.

The Melbourne branch was oriented to research rather than publicity. Its members, with their connections in politics and big business, emphasized private influence on elites rather than the education of public opinion. The branch was not overly concerned that it was a 'very establishment' body from which Labour men, afraid of being duchessed and wary of the Institute's Imperial connections, kept their distance. Though it made some efforts, following the R.I.I.A. in England, to obtain Labour members, they met with little success.² The barrier between the classes and the gap between Labour and conservative views of foreign policy made the realisation of such an aim impossible. While Macmahon Ball, who was moving up in his own outspoken way as a political science academic, found the Institute's interests supported some of his professional endeavours, it still seemed another world to people like the young Geoffrey Sawyer who, in the early 30s, lived in the liberal-Left world of cafes, clubs, pubs, journals and associations.³

The cost of Institute membership at £2/2/- per annum was also prohibitive as was the organisation's implicit, though not ostentatious, Imperial conservatism. P.D. Phillips' remarks on the Round Table

-
1. B.S. & I.A. Annual Report, 1933, pp. 4-5, (William Harrison Moore, Papers 11/2/9, Melbourne University Archives).
 2. The phrase is that of Macmahon Ball, Interview, 22/10/1976. Tristan Buesst recalled its continuing, but unsuccessful, endeavours to obtain Labour members. Interview, 23/10/1976.
 3. Interview, Geoffrey Sawyer, 20/3/1976.

journal might, with only slight variation, be applied to the style and views of many members of the Institute especially in Victoria. The journal, he remarked, had once 'purported impartiality':

Like London Punch however its political tolerance does not embrace Socialism. More and more it displays a frank antagonism to Labour. Withal there is a certain studied air of responsibility which at times comes profoundly close to humorlessness ...¹ it has developed the vices as well as the virtues of middle age.

The conservatism became explicit in one member's query regarding the four Labour men on the 31 person Australian delegation at Lapstone. 'By what right was Lloyd Ross present' at 'a gathering of supporters of the British Empire?', the patriot demanded.²

The Institute's world, though a small one in Victoria in particular, proved socially and intellectually satisfying for most of its members. The small Victorian branch mulled over new membership applications seeking ideally members who could contribute to the work of the Institute. In practice, as membership grew, this could not be so. Many of the members, including 10 knights, 7 professors, 8 doctors, 6 military officers, 3 judges and 5 M.P.s, were probably accepted into the Institute because of their positions and qualifications.³ The active members of the Institute were thorough and formal in their deliberations, conscious of the seriousness of the work of an affiliate of the Royal Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House. There was a sense of mission and responsibility which was also shared by those who were conscious of being part of 'a little band of enquirers' which was working for harmonious international relations in the Pacific.⁴

-
1. P.D. Phillips, review of the journal, E.R., November, 1931, pp. 336-7.
 2. Lloyd Ross, op.cit., p. 41.
 3. The A.I.I.A's. Victorian members also included at least a dozen Melbourne Club members, many people with Toorak and South Yarra addresses and 27 women (Membership Lists, 1937-8, 1938-9, A.I.I.A. Papers, Canberra).
 4. Persia Campbell, R.C. Mills, G.V. Portis, Studies in Australian Affairs, Sydney, 1928, Preface.

The Victorian branch carried on the clublike gentlemanliness found in the chivalrous Arthurian-inspired world of the Round Table, many Anglophile Australians finding in the Institute something of the polite society of England itself.¹ In this exclusive club of servants of Empire and improved international relations aspiring diplomats, including the lawyer and Menzies' secretary, Alfred Stirling, learned the diplomatic manners which were to aid them in their later careers.² The Institute was itself part of a world of 'mimic diplomacy', members could feel privileged at their knowledge of contemporary affairs obtained at its private and secret meetings.³ Ron Mendelsohn recalled that members of the Bank of New South Wales' Economic Department, who had provided administrative support at Lapstone, returned with 'stitched lips' and delight at their new-found, privileged awareness of contemporary international events.⁴

The Victorian Institute was, however, serious about the study of international affairs and related Australian conditions. Its members' research output was considerable and many were active in other bodies, including the A.I.P.S., the Economic Society, and the Australian and New Zealand Society for the Study of International Law, and in attending international conferences.⁵ Influence was a reality in this environment. Harrison Moore was willing to go to Canberra to put a case on international

-
1. J.D. Fell (Interview, 22/8/1976) remarked that its social, as well as intellectual, role was indicated by its large number of female members in contrast to the A.I.P.S. which had few.
 2. Alfred Stirling, who is still the courteous and correct diplomat in social intercourse, studied at Melbourne and Oxford, was a member of the Victorian Bar from 1927-1933, attended some international affairs conferences and was Private Secretary to Menzies (then Federal Attorney-General) during 1934-35.
 3. Interview, Ron Mendelsohn, 13/11/1977.
 4. Ibid.
 5. The Society's members included Bailey, G.W. Paton, J.G. Latham and Harrison Moore from Melbourne, Charteris and H.V. Evatt from Sydney and T.P. Fry from Brisbane. (K.H. Bailey, A.H. Charteris and T.P. Fry (eds.), Proceedings of the Australian and New Zealand Society of International Law, Melbourne, 1935.)

relations and Eggleston had the ear of leading conservative politicians.¹ The unofficial merged into the official in the role of Keith Officer, an early member of the branch, in the External Affairs Branch of the Prime Minister's Department from 1927, and in Latham's government mission to the Far East in 1934.² The 'rarified atmosphere' of the Institute was ideal for someone like Eggleston. Never a confident public speaker, despite his political experience, he was most effective in a small group discussing an article or a research project.³

The N.S.W. branch of the Institute had its distinguished citizens including David Maughan, K.C., Sir Thomas Bavin, the former conservative Premier, Victor Windeyer and Warwick Fairfax; but its membership was more widely based than that of its Victorian counterpart.⁴ Though it published research papers on such subjects as Australia and the Far East it had a greater publicity orientation actively campaigning for new members in a manner which would have been foreign to the Melbourneans. In contrast to the Victorians' sober mien and research orientation many of its members had a casual and optimistic approach combined with the evangelical, popularising style of an Ian Clunies Ross or a Herman Black. The less coherent nature of the Sydney group arose partly because the A.I.P.S. was the major channel for the energies of Sydney publicists. In the State of Premier Lang the educated middle class focussed their attention more on Australian affairs.

-
1. Interview, Tristan Buesst, 23/10/1976.
 2. See Peter Heydon, 'Keith Officer (1889-1969) Pioneer and Symbol', Quadrant, No. 66, Vol. 14, No. 4, August, 1970.
 3. Interview, Herbert Burton, 15/5/1975.
 4. David Maughan, K.C. was chairman of the N.S.W. Branch of the Oxford (University) Society, a member of the Australian, University and Royal Sydney Golf Clubs, and had prominent positions in the law, sport, and other spheres as well as being an A.I.I.A. Executive member. Sir Thomas Bavin, a former Nationalist Premier of N.S.W., was another Executive member and in 1938 chaired the Lapstone Conference. On the Oxford connection it might be noted that Tristan Buesst, for decades an office-holder in the Victorian and national Institute, was for a time secretary of the Victorian Branch of the Oxford Society.

The different approaches of the Victorian and N.S.W. branches expressed the underlying tension in reformism and public affairs work between seeking to influence the elite and building a more informed public opinion. The education of public opinion, which had even concerned the elite Round Table coteries, was the main concern of the International League of Nations Union. This theme, which appealed to the reformist critique of popular ignorance and emotionalism, seemed all the more necessary after the 1933 war scare hysteria concerning Japan which Ian Clunies Ross and Roy Lee had criticised.¹ A view of popular psychology was often translated into a simply psychological analysis of the forces for war as in Portus' view discussed earlier. In this approach the moral and the psychological were joined as intellectuals condemned the emotions of the populace and the motives of interest groups which gained from war. The forces for peace and for war were seen in terms of the opposed reformist clusters of knowledge, intelligence, rationality and co-operation and emotion, prejudice, stupidity and selfishness. The reaction against the Great War in which millions of people died encouraged the belief that the education of public opinion for peace was imperative. Macmahon Ball assailed what he saw as contemporary 'tribalism' and 'collective stupidity' and sought instead 'civilization' and attitudes befitting an 'adult democracy'. The Australian 'combination of ignorance with apathy' towards international affairs was 'a lowly stage of mental growth' 'appropriate to desert tribesmen', and likely to encourage 'dumb, ignorant and courageous men to be martyred in some tribal cause of which they (understood) nothing'.² This dualist view, with its polar prospects of fulfilling co-operative peace and destructive war, was not simply an Australian phenomenon. It ran through the Christian Idealist evangelism

-
1. Ian Clunies Ross, 'Japan and Australia', M.R., April, 1934.
Roy Lee, 'The Changing World', M.R., October, 1933.
 2. Macmahon Ball, Possible Peace, Melbourne, 1936, p. 115.

of the League of Nations Union and was shared by many English academic students of international affairs.¹

The same idealistic impulse was behind the beliefs in the power of research and education for peace. The educational theme was taken up most strongly by the League of Nations Union in Australia with the support of university Peace Groups, and bodies such as the Australian Peace Pledge Union, and by Left groups for peace including the Movement Against War and Fascism and the International Peace Campaign.² The Union was a goodwill organisation prohibited from advocating any definite course of action on particular problems. During the peaceful 1920s it attracted formal declarations of support from most political leaders and students of public affairs. Amongst the latter its vice-presidents in the 1920s included P.A. Micklem, R.C. Mills, J.W. Metcalfe, David Stewart of the W.E.A., A.H. Charteris and the later expatriate academics, H. Duncan Hall and Persia Campbell.³ In Victoria the Union operated under the paternal guidance of J.G. Latham and other B.S. & I.A. men including Macmahon Ball, Harrison Moore, Brookes, Paton, Phillips and Bailey.⁴ The strongest impetus behind the Union, particularly as the League showed its limitations in face of the Abyssinian war in 1935,

1. See Ieuan John, Moorhead Wright and John Garnett, 'International Politics at Aberystwyth 1919-1969', in B. Potter (ed.), op.cit.
2. On M.A.W.F. see Ralph Gibson, op.cit., pp. 40-48. The peace organisations attracted people on the Left, pacifist or idealist women and churchmen in particular. Christians, including Rev. W. Bottomley of Melbourne, L.C. Rodd of Sydney, F. Oswald Barnett, the glum reformer, and Rev. Frank Coaldrake who helped form the new National Association of University Students, Burgmann and Canon A.H. Garnsey of St. Paul's College, Sydney University, were involved in some of the bodies. Peace Ballots were held in universities in the 1933-1935 period. See E.M. Andrews, op.cit., and Ralph Gibson, op.cit.
3. Its Vice-Presidents also included S.M. Bruce, J.H. Scullin and Dr. Earle Page. R.J. Hawkes (Treasurer, Australian League of Nations Union-A.H. Charteris, 21/12/1928, uncatalogued Charteris Papers, Fisher Library). It is interesting that in the post World War II phase of international idealism associated with the United Nations ideal Harold Woodruff, Herbert Brookes, Herbert Burton, the Rev. Palmer Phillips, E.C. Dyason, and F. Oswald Barnett were involved with the Victorian Branch of the new United Nations Association (Harrison Moore MS, 10/2/24, 1945-6 U.N.A. Report).
4. Victorian Branch Council, Minutes of Meeting, no year given but apparently 1932. (Harrison Moore MS, 10/1/22).

the Spanish Civil War and the Sino-Japanese conflict, came, however, from a contingent of Christian and female idealists, including Francis Anderson, A.M. Garnsey, Raymond Watt, and Constance Duncan. The Victorian branch Council had 17 women, 5 ministers of religion and several B.S. & I.A. principals amongst its 33 members.¹

The Union expressed the Idealist side of reformism, one which was increasingly to be challenged by events. Many of its activities were of a fairly parochial do-gooding kind, including League of Nations School Days, International Evenings, schoolchildren's peace pledges and essay competitions, study circles and bridge parties.² Its higher public profile, which came from broadcasts, lectures and articles, merged into the publicist work of A.I.I.A. members including Charteris, Ball and Herman Black.³ The Union, however, was on the fringe of reformism and the public affairs world proper on a continuum which led to the more idealistic and radical peace groups. These groups attracted Christian laity and clergy including the Unitarian, Rev. W. Bottomley, L.C. Rodd, of Sydney, the housing reformer F.Oswald Barnett, and Rev. Frank Coal-drake. The Communist-supported International Peace Campaign extended into a different intellectual, political and social world, its supporters including Burgmann, Judge Foster, Professor Harold Woodruff of Melbourne University, Ralph Gibson of the Communist Party and the more atypical Professor Stephen Roberts and E.C. Dyason.⁴ In the Melbourne

-
1. ibid.
 2. Harrison Moore MS, League of Nations Union files, 10/1/11, 10/1/1, 10/1/14.
 3. Raymond Watt in Sydney, Duncan and her predecessor Nora Collison, and the assistant-secretary J.C. Hockwood Proud gave hundreds of addresses and prepared numerous press articles and radio talks. (Harrison Moore MS, 10/1/10, 10/1/27).
 4. Ralph Gibson, op.cit., pp. 62-5, E.M. Andrews, op.cit. p.278n, 280n. Other supporters included the critic of censorship the Rev. Palmer Phillips, L.F. Giblin, the Rev. G.S. Watts, Judge Beeby, F. Oswald Barnett, the housing publicist, and Dr. Charles Strong of the Australian Church.

intellectual world Constance Duncan was active in the movement against book censorship and the League of Nations Union. She personified some of the links between Melbourne civil libertarians, Union and A.I.I.A. members who were similarly disturbed by the contemporary international situation.¹

* * * * *

The A.I.I.A. saw its activities as more practical and oriented to hard-headed research though it shared the 'softer' Union's interest in educating public opinion. An assessment of Institute and other public affairs research poses the question of whether the studies really grappled with immediate problems or provided fundamental analyses of underlying national and international situations. The research stress was encouraged by the international theme of science, the national stocktaking idea and the reformist desire for thought cut off from the world of conflict. The A.I.I.A.'s. research orientation derived partly from the international aspiration for better knowledge leading to improved social and international relations. This aspiration was expressed in the League of Nations' International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation and the International Labour Organisation, in the I.P.R. and in the work of private philanthropic educational bodies such as the Carnegie Corporation.² The international context of much Australian activity was also apparent in the affiliation of the A.I.I.A. and the Institute of Public Administration to their English 'parent' bodies.

The international and Christian-influenced idealism of the 1920s which gave birth to the I.P.R. assumed that if the social forces determining the course of Pacific affairs 'were more adequately known, it

-
1. Constance Duncan had an academic background (having done an M.A. at Melbourne University), Student Christian Movement and Y.W.C.A. involvements and was to become a member of the United Nations Refugee Relief Association during the 1940s.
 2. The Carnegie Corporation published the journal International Conciliation and gave massive donations in several countries, including Australia, in support of educational causes (for example the A.C.E.R. and the Free Library Movement), research (see footnote 1., p.262) and public affairs discussion.

might be possible to control and direct them'.¹ Intellectuals hoped that scientific co-operation would give an example to leaders, unofficial I.P.R. conferences being the precursors of official co-operation, and that the Pacific research programme would reduce prejudice and fear by making plain the actual facts of relationships in the area.² The I.P.R. sought to maintain a balance between idealism and realism in its work, and between the general approaches of academics and the more practical concerns of men of affairs. Its orientation was, however, one whereby an underlying idealism expressed itself in empirical research.³

The major organised expression of this was the international research programme which involved a massive co-ordinated Pacific research effort supported by a budget of several hundred thousand dollars to study such subjects as population, immigration, land utilization, standards of living and the political and cultural relations of member countries.⁴ The bulk of A.I.I.A. research was carried on under this programme or in the form of supplementary data papers for international conferences. This orientation was attractive not only because the I.P.R. and Australian research interests were similar but also

-
1. Persia Campbell, R.C. Mills, G.V. Portus, (eds.) Studies in Australian Affairs, Sydney, 1928, Preface.
 2. ibid.
 3. Galen M. Fisher, A Bird's Eye View of the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1937, pp. 14-15, described the Institute's activities as being motivated by 'an idealism which, even if seldom mentioned, and is perhaps unconscious, embraces a desire to advance the well-being of all the people of the Pacific, a belief in the value of co-operation among the nations and races ...'
 4. The research on population included F.D. Phillips and G.L. Wood, The Peopling of Australia, Melbourne, 1928, F.W. Eggleston, F.D. Phillips, et.al., The Peopling of Australia : Further Studies, Melbourne, 1933 and the A.I.P.S. volume of immigration while the major land utilization study was the massive Land Utilization in Australia by S.M. Wadham and G.L. Wood. F.W. Eggleston, E.R. Walker, G. Anderson and J.F. Nimmo co-authored an Institute study on standards of living. The volume Press, Radio and Foreign Affairs, Melbourne, 1938 reflected the growing I.P.R. and general interest in public opinion and international relations.

because I.P.R. funds allowed the publication of research.¹ When the 262.
I.P.R. began to focus more on national policies and public opinion in
the late 1930s this appealed to the reformist interest in the latter
subject and was necessary given the threatening speed of international
developments.²

The I.P.R. approach also appealed because Australian students of
affairs shared that international academic idealism which E.H. Carr saw
as flawed the inter-war study of international relations. In this
phase of the new discipline the wish for peace was strong but the analy-
tical means of approaching international relations to help secure this
and was weak.³ In Australia, a country which had previously lacked even
unofficial research institutions and basic information regarding resour-
ces, the I.P.R. research programme was an exciting development. There
was also an element of self-indulgence and even snobbery in the enthus-
iastic support for the I.P.R. Many A.I.I.A. members felt flattered and
self-important at being participants in an international research
programme and in international conferences.⁴

-
1. From 1926 to 1935 the I.P.R.'s International Research Fund, which
was contributed by the Rockefeller Foundation, expended
\$U.S.338,982.11, national councils, affiliated groups and the
Pacific Council of the Institute expending an additional
\$U.S.559,060.60, the total expenditure being \$U.S.898,042.71.
(Galen M. Fisher, A Bird's Eye View of the Institute of Pacific
Relations, New York, 1937, p.16)
The Australian data and research papers varied from general sur-
veys such as H.L. Harris' Australia's National Interests and
National Policies, Sydney, 1938, F.W. Eggleston's speculative
paper, 'Post-War Instability and the Problem of Planning', G.L.
Wood's 'Control of Primary Commodities by Means of Marketing or
Production Restriction in Australia', A.H. Charteris' 'Adminis-
tration of Nauru Island' and his 'The Mandated Territory of New
Guinea' and the Canberra branch's report on 'Australian Fisher-
ies'. (A.I.I.A. Papers, Canberra)
 2. This transition is expressed in a letter from the Chairman of
the I.P.R. Advisory Committee, F. Atherton to P.R. Heydon,
27/1/1936 (A.I.I.A. Papers).
 3. E.H. Carr developed these views in contemporary articles and in
his book The Twenty Years Crisis, London, 1935.
 4. Australian representatives attended I.P.R. Conferences including
Honolulu (1925 and 1927), Kyoto (1929), Shanghai (1931), Banff
(1933), and Yosemite (1936). F.W. Eggleston, Harrison Moore and
H. Duncan Hall (the expatriate Australian academic at the Univer-
sity of Syracuse, New York) attended the 1927 University of
Chicago Norman Wait Harris Foundation Round Table Conference on
'Problems of the British Empire' (Harrison Moore MS 11/6/3/7,
Conference Reports).

The research of the A.I.I.A. and other institutions and individuals was impressive in its range and quantity. Many gaps in knowledge about Australian education, administration, health, living conditions, economic standards of living, economics, economic geography and demography were filled during the period. By 1939 new information was available about nutrition, health, business statistics, land utilization and soil erosion. Government inquiries by economists, experts, businessmen and others, comparative studies of Australian and overseas education, A.I.P.S. and A.I.I.A. publications on social services, secondary industries and population made public and available previously unknown or little known data.¹ The unresearched 'no man's land' between government and industry was being occupied; by 1939 Australia was establishing a number of systems for 'registering the conditions of affairs at frequent intervals' in many spheres of public life.²

The transition from unofficial to official institutions in Australian public life was an important by-product of public affairs work during the 1930s. The lay-academic institutions were often advocates and precursors of government and professional bodies. The activities of the Free Library Movement prompted the formation of the Institute of Librarians (later the Library Association of Australia). Other lay

-
1. The Commonwealth Statistician's Monthly Review of Statistics, Current Notes from the External Affairs Department, the reports of the Commonwealth Advisory Council on Nutrition, the Munn-Pitt report on Australian libraries (1935), the housing inquiries in N.S.W. and Victoria (see Spearritt, *op.cit.*), the Victorian study of land erosion and the reports on 'Unemployment Insurance' and 'Health and Pensions Insurance' in Australia by the English experts Godfrey H. Ince and Sir Walter Kinnear were other examples of gaps in knowledge being filled. J.F. Cramer's Australian Schools Through American Eyes, Melbourne, 1936 was one of several studies which placed Australian education within a comparative perspective. Such books as T. Griffith Taylor, Australia: A Geographical Reader, New York, 1931, G.S. Browne, Education in Australia: A Comparative Study of the Education Systems of the Six Australian States, London, 1927, the new books on population, land utilization and economics and a variety of more specialised studies helped reduce the lack of basic information.
 2. Herbert Gepp, Democracy's Danger, p. 265.

groups supported the professionalisation of social work, education and higher public administration. The A.C.E.R. was an American funded body which did not receive government financial support until the 1940s.¹ The A.I.I.A's. discussions, publications and international activities anticipated the formation of the Department of External Affairs and it offered one of the main Australian forums for informed discussion of foreign policy.² In the early years of the new Department the A.I.I.A. supplied recruits to the foreign service as well as Australian representatives at assemblies of the League of Nations.³

Research and expert advice to governments came from groups other than the professional and public affairs bodies. The Bank of New South Wales' Economic Department, while more a publicity than a research organization, published material on Australian conditions in its Circulars and gave training to future researchers and policy-makers.⁴

1. The A.C.E.R. received very substantial support from the Carnegie Corporation to the tune of £A120,000 from the formation of the Council in 1929 until 1942. (For a discussion of the Carnegie Corporation, the A.C.E.R. and library services see K.S. Cunningham, The Australian Council for Educational Research and Australian Library Services, Melbourne, 1961. The figure comes from Cunningham, p. 8 note.
2. There was little interest and great ignorance regarding international affairs in Parliament, and the British cables provided limited information in the press. (On Parliament see E.M. Andrews, *op.cit.*, chapter 1); the poor press coverage was a recurring complaint, Macmahon Ball, Interview, 22/10/1976. The turn of world events increased interest throughout the decade. The Department of External Affairs was created in 1935 and its publication, Current Notes on International Affairs had around 1,000 subscribers (H.L. Harris, Australia's National Interests and National Policies, Sydney, 1938, p. 132). In November, 1937, the Austral-Asiatic Bulletin had 513 subscribers in Australia and overseas. (Jack Shephard, A.I.I.A. Secretary - Edward C. Carter, Secretary-General, I.P.R., 26/10/1937, A.I.I.A. Papers).
3. Alfred Stirling, a delegate to the 1933 I.P.R. Banff and British Commonwealth Relations Toronto conference, joined the new Department in 1936 as did the former 1935 Secretary of the A.I.I.A. Commonwealth Council, P.R. Heydon.
4. W.D. Forsyth, who with Mildred Muscio and Margot Hentze, was an Australian delegate to the 10th International Studies Conference of the League of Nations International Institute for Intellectual Co-operation held in Paris in 1937, believed that the A.I.P.S.' Census and Immigration conferences and the Bank of New South Wales Circulars on Population, the Vast Open Spaces and Closer Settlement would have strengthened Australian documentation on these subjects at the conference. (Tenth I.S.C., Reports of Australian Delegates, A.I.I.A. Papers, Canberra.)

The contribution of the Bureau of Industry (under J.B. Brigden and then Colin Clark) to State Government research in Queensland was the most striking example of State interest in expertise.¹ Economists were appointed to advise governments and write reports on economic conditions in other States. In N.S.W. the U.A.P. Premier Bertram Stevens was particularly interested in expert advice. It was not unusual for him to ask academic experts to address Cabinet, the most interesting example being Stephen Roberts' talk on the international situation in 1938. Roberts began his talk by pointing out the location of Czechoslovakia on the map of Europe.² During 1932 Stevens put advice to government on a more systematic level setting up an organisation comprising Roberts, H.L. Harris and the historian, Gordon Greenwood, to give him fortnightly reports on domestic and foreign affairs. Stevens also sought advice on administration from F.A. Bland and economic advice from R.C. Mills, E.R. Walker and J.G. Crawford, the economist to the Rural Bank.³

The research/expertise orientation also had impact in the Federal sphere. The transition from the unofficial to the official was reflected in an early A.I.P.S. plan for a bulletin of information and statistics. Though the plan was never realised its designer Roland Wilson, in his capacity as Commonwealth Statistician, brought out the first issue of the Bureau of Statistics' Monthly Review of Business and Statistics in 1937.⁴ During the 1930s the Commonwealth Public Service was still largely clerical in nature lacking in administrative and specialised expertise. Support for graduate recruitment of administrators, often expressed in

-
1. The Queensland Bureau of Industry had been established in 1930 (originally under the title of Bureau of Economics and Statistics) as a subsidiary of the Treasury Department. Under J.B. Brigden and then Colin Clark it investigated different aspects of economic conditions and public expenditure in Queensland and published a Monthly Economic News and the Queensland Business Index. (B.H. Moleworth, 'The Bureau of Industry in Queensland', E.R., June, 1933).
 2. Interview, Herman Black, 20/5/1974.
 3. Interviews, J.G. Crawford, Roland Wilson, 15/1/1978, 23/1/1978.
 4. Wilson, ibid.

public affairs forums, was accepted when it was decided in 1933 to make provision for the appointment of graduates to the Third Division of the Commonwealth Public Service.¹ Roland Wilson recalled that he had invented the term 'Research Officer' to convince the Public Service Inspector that he wanted graduates, and that the term had then proliferated. He also built up the Bureau's library and supported National Library training for departmental librarians. Wilson became Commonwealth Statistician largely through the involvement of R.G. Casey who, sympathetic to the recruitment of skilled and trained people, similarly appointed J.B. Brigden to set up the planned national insurance scheme later in the decade.²

The amount of research work done in the 1930s represented a considerable achievement. Doubts have been expressed, however, by contemporary and later writers, regarding the quality of the work. The economists worked as advisers to governments, students of Australian conditions and publicists but much of their work was in a sense technical; it involved the application of accepted economic principles and theories to the Australian situation. The most original work was that of L.F. Giblin on the multiplier which involved some anticipation of Keynesianism.³ Writings on Australian politics and society and reformist thought generally have been charged with lack of depth and intellectual bite. Several progressive reformists have argued that reformist thought was on the surface of the social order. W.D. Forsyth, an A.I.I.A. research officer, and later a diplomat, has argued that there was sometimes an unwillingness to think right through a subject, to get to the heart of the matter, especially when it might disturb the

-
1. Encel, *op.cit.*, pp. 258-263. Encel notes that the provision was used sparingly up to 1941, only 80 graduates being appointed out of more than 200 applicants. (p. 261)
 2. Interview, Roland Wilson, 23/1/1978.
 3. C.B. Schedvin, Australia and the Great Depression, Sydney, 1970, pp. 117, 220-1.

complacent and lead to conflict.¹ A second reason was lack of time. Overworked economists and social scientists had limited time for developed analysis due to their teaching and examining, research, publicist and administrative commitments.² Progressive reformists also found that their more practical and conservative extra-mural audiences responded without great enthusiasm to analyses influenced by Laski, Tawney and Cole.³

The political scientists, S.R. Davis and Colin Hughes have characterized writings on Australian politics in the period as 'a single-article literature', 'narrow in its preoccupations', 'highly opinionated in style', 'polemical' and 'hortatory'. Characteristic of this literature of 'platform advocacy' was some of F.A. Bland's work which they found to be 'almost entirely a missionary literature, full of earnest diagnoses, alarms and calls to action'.⁴ There was another side to Bland's work which was expressed in G.V. Portus' observation that 'his genius is of the practical variety. He is at ^{his} best when dealing with a situation rather than with a theory'.⁵ Bland and the other students of politics and society were at once compilers, who put together empirical information, reporters of overseas theories such as those of Wallas or Salter, and proselytizers and publicists focussing on contemporary problems and issuing calls to action. Much of the writing, whether of Bland or Ball, Duncan or Burton, on contemporary politics, administration, society and international affairs was

-
1. Interview, W.D. Forsyth, 10/6/1977.
 2. Many University Departments were still one or two person operations though staff now taught within one discipline rather than several as had many of the economists when they began their careers. R.M. Crawford, *op.cit.*, p. 71, notes that in 1939 there were 12 full-time historians teaching in Australian universities.
 3. Interviews, W.G.K. Duncan, Macmahon Ball, 10/1/1976, 22/10/1976.
 4. S.R. Davis and Colin A. Hughes, 'The Literature of Australian Government and Politics', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. IV, No. 1, August, 1958, p. 107.
 5. G.V. Portus, 'Bland and Adult Education: A Personal Memoir', p.139 in the special Bland commemorative issue of the *Journal of Public Administration (Australia)*, Vol. VII, No. 3 (New Series) Sept. 1948. See also R.S. Parker, 'F.A. Bland's Contribution to Public Administration in Australia'.

concerned to comment on existing practices and trends.¹ The commentators sought to criticise unsatisfactory practices and espouse desirable political and social ends. Working as provocative thinkers before middle class audiences and in the media they were more publicists than researchers or theorists. Even a paper based on wide reading and serious thought such as Ball's 'Education and Politics' which analysed liberal-democratic assumptions in the light of modern political psychology was united by a desire to arouse action to deal with the crisis facing democracy. Some of the papers presented to A.I.P.S. Summer Schools were in fact armchair analyses, papers written out of the head the night before they were delivered, commentaries by intelligent experienced observers rather than research papers.²

Much of the 1930s work represented a stage in the development of the social sciences in Australia. It was a period of halting movement towards professionalism, as indicated by the new professional journals and associations and the new discipline of political science.³ The younger researchers were encouraged to undertake specialised professional work by their mentors, but, as R.S. Parker recalled of F.A. Bland, these teachers could not show them how.⁴ Bland and his generation had been trained as generalists. They compiled material because basic data was lacking, and worked as publicists because they filled a need and there were few other audiences for their thought. Some younger academics such

1. Most articles on Australian politics and public finance in the dramatic 1929-1932 period had a political and/or polemical intent. Debate on social services was often simply Left-Right debate though the writers believed they were moving towards a 'scientific' approach to the subject.
2. Roland Wilson recalled sharing a room with a regular A.I.P.S. contributor who wrote his paper the night before at a Summer School during the 1940s. This phenomenon is perhaps not a totally rare one, however. (Interview, 23/1/1978).
3. The Journal of Public Administration (Australia) first appeared in 1937, Oceania (anthropology) in 1939, and Southerly (literature) and Historical Studies appeared around the turn of the decade in 1939 and 1940 respectively.
4. R.S. Parker, interview, 23/1/1976.

as Duncan sought to 'get away from moral exhortations to scientific analyses'. Most academics were of a generation schooled in the values of the humanist and generalist; and all joined in criticising the narrow specialisation of the professional faculties in universities.¹ Even the economists who sought to establish the professional respectability of their discipline had generally trained and worked in other fields. G.V. Portus, a strong critic of the 'factories of specialisation', was pleased with Macmahon Ball's focus on psychology rather than statistics at the A.I.P.S. forum on the census remarking that 'humanist that he is, the kind of figures and curves produced by statisticians do not interest him very much'.²

Those who had graduated in Arts had received a generalist education which touched on wide realms of history and literature, the classics and philosophy. The rhetoric of exhortation of the generalist was useful speaking to small, mixed audiences. Exhortation was also encouraged by the Idealist aspirations and/or pessimistic realist doubts of many reformists. Liberal humanists like Portus or Murdoch, when reacting against the vocational narrowness of professional training, were tempted to look back wistfully to a period when both knowledge and society seemed to possess a more organic unity.³ The romantic vision of totally different new universities on the Oxford collegiate model was an example of this hopeful Anglocentric dreaming.⁴ When specialisation came, except in the case of economics, the combination of the empirical and the generalist sides of academic thought ensured that there was a movement into new subject areas, such as politics and administration rather than the creation of new disciplines.

-
1. The quote is from W.G.A. Duncan, Interview, 10/1/1976.
 2. G.V. Portus, What The Census Reveals, p. 175.
 3. Murdoch was sceptical of experts, La Nauze, op cit., p. 115.
 4. Both the Armidale University College and the future national university in Canberra were usually envisaged in collegiate terms. This aim was realised at Armidale.

The small numbers and dispersal of thinkers also impeded the cultivation of developed social science thought. One cause and result of the small numbers was the brain drain to the U.K. and even to America. Hancock, Mackay and A.G.B. Fisher left for England during the 1930s and in the previous decade Persia Campbell and Herbert Heaton, the economic historian, had left for the U.S. Writing in 1939, J.V. Connolly estimated that one third of Rhodes Scholars had settled overseas temporarily or permanently after completing their studies at Oxford. A practical complaint was the lack of jobs for good graduates, especially in administration. More subtle factors included popular scepticism about intellectuals, or for that matter anyone dressed differently wearing suede shoes or, in Portus' words, 'Oxford bags... too wide for Sydney streets'.¹ The dispersal within Australia of intellectuals, the cultural lag, and the Anglophile cultural cringe were other factors which made the more complex society of the U.K. appeal to many Australian graduates.

In Australia there was little writing on political theory and, in Duncan's words, no critical tradition of scholarly discussion, and no theorists, not even Fabians. This lacuna was also encouraged by the tendency of Australian thinkers to soon get onto boards, he remarked.² In the 1930s when bodies such as the Commonwealth Grants Commission required capable and independent members, and during the 1940s when war necessitated a sudden expansion of the higher administrative class in the Federal Public Service, academic and practical students of affairs

-
1. J.V. Connolly, 'The Export of Talent' in J.C.G. Kevin, Some Australians Take Stock, London, 1939. (The book itself was published in London and most of the contributors were expatriate or travelling Australians.) Persia Campbell had edited Studies in Australian Affairs, Sydney, 1928, with G.V. Portus and R.C. Mills for the N.S.W. group of the I.P.R. G.V. Portus, 'The Seven Ages'.
 2. Interview, W.G.K. Duncan, 10/1/1976.

began to accept administrative positions. This reduced both their opportunities and their inclinations for social science analysis.¹

The recruitment of intellectuals into administration depleted the ranks of academics and reinforced the already strong practical approach to public affairs work. A second cause was the predominance in the A.I.I.A. and A.I.P.S. of lawyers and part-time researchers. The pressures of part-time research in varied and often unfamiliar fields by academics and part-time laymen inevitably encouraged simplification. It was easier to compile data than it was to concentrate one's thoughts especially after a hard day's work in another sphere.² Lawyers were important in the A.I.I.A. as well as the A.I.P.S.; amongst its prominent members were the lawyers Eggleston, Phillips, Buesst, Bailey, Harrison Moore, E.L. Piesse, Stirling, Nicholas, Windeyer, Charteris, Maughan, Cowper, Heydon and Fry. Several reformists have reflected on the limitations of the legal mind. Herman Black, the economist, remarked on the lawyer's 'soporific reasonableness' and 'desire to see things in an orderly fashion', while Duncan charged lawyers with being objective, but not analytical, and looking not for tendencies for change but for precedents which justified rigidity. Frederick Howard, the editor, noted 'the Anglo-Saxon belief that if you could find the facts the conclusions would follow'.

-
1. During the 1930s Eggleston was Chairman of the Commonwealth Grants Commission, while P.D. Phillips was Chairman of the Victorian Transport Regulation Board from 1934-1937. During the war D.B. Copland became Commonwealth Prices Commissioner and a Federal Government Economic Consultant. H.C. Coombs, J.G. Crawford and L.F. Crisp were members of the Department of Post-War Reconstruction. Eggleston became the Australian envoy in China in 1941 and was on the Australian delegation at San Francisco when the United Nations was being established. Macmahon Bail, a consultant to the San Francisco delegation, was to become a member of the Allied Council which ruled occupied Japan after the war.
 2. E.L. Piesse, who had been Director of Intelligence from 1916-19 and Director of the Pacific Branch of the Prime Minister's Department from 1919-1923, was for most of the inter-war years a solicitor and his interest in international affairs was inevitably of a part-time kind.

Discussing the contemporary focus on treaty obligations he remarked that lawyers found it easier to take a treaty to pieces than to develop other analyses. The strongest criticism came from the solicitor, Norman Cowper, who has asserted that while lawyers have an ability to produce cogent arguments they find it hard to make decisions and translate ideas into action.¹

All of these factors contributed to 'the dominance of practical men'. The result was, in Duncan's words, that consensus was reached on 'a too superficial level'. 'There was no adequate level of fundamental criticism' and too small a gap between 'the conventional wisdom' and the analyses developed in the public affairs institutions.² The major problem was that the period of intellectual gestation necessary for the development of alternative modes of thought was usually lacking. Fin Crisp's Adelaide University experience and the appointment of W.D. Forsyth as an A.I.I.A. research officer, after working under Sir Arthur Salter at Oxford, indicated the rapid assimilation of young intellectuals into the world of affairs and inevitably into the modes of thinking which went with it.³ The diffusion of energies and the absence of a concentrated intellectual culture in a small community created a form of provincial derivativeness. Many intellectuals failed to develop a thoroughgoing critique of things as they were and often failed to reflect in a self-critical way on the frameworks within which they worked out their analyses.⁴

-
1. Herman Black, W.G.K. Duncan, Frederick Howard, Interviews, 20/5/1974, 10/1/1976, 21/10/1976; Norman Cowper, interview in the National Times, 24-29/10/1977, p. 12.
 2. Interview, W.G.K. Duncan, 10/1/1976.
 3. W.D. Forsyth, a State School boy (Ballarat High), had taught in Victorian Schools and been a Melbourne University Extension Tutor in the early 1930s before studying at Oxford on a Rockefeller Fellowship (under Sir Arthur Salter). He then returned to take up a Research Fellowship at Melbourne, and then editorship of the Austral-Asiatic Bulletin before beginning a diplomatic career.
 4. Hartley Grattan in, 'The Future in Australia', p. 29, noted the failure of Australian intellectuals to apply 'the essential ideas' they took from overseas literature to the Australian scene.

These limitations were reflected in A.I.I.A. research. Most A.I.I.A. work was in the form of single factor analyses of Australian conditions (particularly economic and demographic subjects) or was in the form of data papers which gave summaries of similar subjects. Some short general data papers contained subjective overviews and analyses but much of the work combined factual description with laments about public attitudes. This was particularly true of P.D. Phillips' writings on population while papers such as Herbert Burton's 'Historical Survey of Immigration and Immigration Policy' and D.T. Sawkins' 'The Australian Standard of Living' sought to provide the factual background for further research and debate.¹

One reviewer believed that the first A.I.P.S. Summer School, the 1933 forum on the constitution, was not forward-looking:

The primary object of the gathering having been, no doubt, to scrutinise the present state of affairs, there is not a great deal of constructive planning to be found in the papers. With two notable exceptions, the speakers have devoted themselves, for the most part, to the reiteration of important facts which in the words of Sir Edward Mitchell 'every Australian ought to know'.²

An assessment of prominent figures in the A.I.P.S. and A.I.I.A., including the laymen Cowper, Campbell, Dyason, Phillips, Alfred Stirling and Peter Heydon and the academics Harrison Moore, Burton, Charteris, and Bailey, suggests that, while there were idiosyncratic exceptions including Eggleston, Bland and Giblin, in many intellectual matters they were often, as Zelman Cowen described Latham, men of 'competence rather than of real distinction'.³ Though many of them were important in their fields or in administration or politics they lacked the intellectual power to provide penetrating analyses of contemporary

-
1. The Burton article is in The Peopling of Australia: Further Studies; The Sawkins article is in Studies in Australian Affairs.
 2. Frank Louat, 'The Constitution and the Summer School', A.Q., September, 1933, p. 115.
 3. Zelman Cowen, Sir John Latham and Other Papers, Melbourne, 1963, p. 59.

international affairs. Lacking time and knowledge and finding it easier to collate and compile material on specific subjects they encouraged and supported a research programme which was not always closely related to the movement of international events.

The supplementary data papers for the Lapstone conference were designed to present in summary form the facts of the Australian situation within the categories population, economic policy, political and strategic policies and Australia in the British Commonwealth and in the Pacific.¹ In researching such subjects 'a mere handful of people' faced the immense task of working on large and often unmapped areas. S.M. Wadham and G.L. Wood, in introducing their monumental study Land Utilization in Australia, remarked on this problem and the need for overview surveys and 'the presentation of a large amount of factual material'.² The reviews of conference data papers and other background works on international and economic questions noted the stress on information rather than on analysis. Reviewers often used terms such as 'handbook' and 'background compendia' and commented on the lack of 'personal interpretation' in data papers.³ The Sydney historian, H.L. Harris' book-length Lapstone supplementary paper, Australia's National Interests and National Policy, was criticised by the sceptical Melbourne P.D. Phillips as 'too careful and "official" ', 'too factual and descriptive'; G.L. Wood characterised one chapter as 'accurate

-
1. The authors included the geographers, W. Wynne Williams and J. Andrews, the economists R.B. Madgwick, Bridgen, Copland, Wood, and Herbert Burton, W.S. Kelly the South Australian conservative M.H.R. and critic of protection, C.A.S. Hawker, M.H.R., W.S. Sheldon, F.F. Irvine, G.V. Portus, T.P. Fry, the Queensland leader writer J.G. Holmes, and Captain Fred Aarons of the League of Nations Union. (A.I.I.A., Australian national preparatory paper for the British Commonwealth Relations Conference, Sydney, 1938, Sydney, 1938).
 2. S.M. Wadham and G.L. Wood, Land Utilization in Australia, Preface, p. ix.
 3. Reviewing a British R.I.I.A. report on the British Empire in the Economic Record, the historian R.M. Crawford termed it a 'useful handbook'. (E.R., June, 1938, pp. 114-115).

but uninspired'.¹ The number of data papers presented to conferences 275.
by Australian delegations aroused a naive satisfaction at the amount of
work being done. This was so even when, as in the case of the 82 papers
presented by all delegations to the Banff Conference, it was impossible
for delegates to read all of them.²

The data papers were intended to provide the basis for discussion
at conferences but it is questionable whether such an expenditure of
effort on background general papers often divorced from searching
analysis was desirable. Though there were exceptions, such as E.L.
Piesse's 1933 paper on Australia's defence and foreign policy options,
most papers were summary or survey pieces.³ The limitations of inter-
national affairs research were reflected in three aspects of Australian
research: the historical survey; the focus on legal aspects of inter-
national relations; and the single factor analyses of economic and
demographic subjects with other factors, including political ones, left
out as extraneous or irrational. Failing to study the interrelation of
economic forces with social and political factors in Australian society
they repeated the failure in studying international affairs with
disastrous results. The historical survey approach was combined with a
focus on the machinery of imperial relations in R.G. Casey's 1938

-
1. G.L. Wood-H.L. Harris, 24/1/1938; P.D. Phillips-J. Shepherd,
2/2/1938 (A.I.I.A. Papers) Harris replied to Wood (8/2/1938,
A.I.I.A. Papers) that 'to submit one's work to a group so alert
and well-informed' as the Victorian branch was 'to subject it to
a severe test' and that he was 'glad that it (had) received some-
thing less than complete condemnation'. If this was a comment on
Sydney-Melbourne rivalry, their different styles and a dart aimed
at Melbourne self-importance, his remark to Phillips (H.L.Harris-
P.D.Phillips, 8/2/1938, A.I.I.A. Papers) that he hoped that he
might have the pleasure of meeting him again some day was indica-
tive of the distance which maintained the difference and helped to
fuel the rivalry.
 2. 'Interim Report of the Secretary of the Australian Group', Fifth
Biennial I.P.R. Conference, Banff, August, 1933, (ts.), p. 3
(Harrison Moore Papers MS 1/2/4).
 3. E.L. Piesse, 'Australia's Interest in Foreign Affairs', presented
to the Toronto British Commonwealth Relations Conference.

A.I.P.S. paper 'Australia's Voice in Imperial Affairs'.¹ Fred Alexander and F.W. Eggleston noted this problem in reviewing the expatriate W.K. Hancock's 1937 survey of British Commonwealth affairs. Alexander found the book to be more a survey than an analysis. Eggleston was troubled by another problem. He found that Hancock had taken 'legal and constitutional formulae' too much at their face value and not taken adequate account of political relations. 'The question whether the Empire is a viable political entity depends not on its formulae but upon its real loyalties,' he concluded. Speaking as a solicitor, he asserted that one should not 'pay too much attention to the constitutional lawyer' who could 'produce formulae on demand' but ones as often intended to conceal as to construct.² The accumulation of data was not enough even when it was discussed within the international but still self-contained public affairs world of I.P.R. and R.I.I.A. conferences. A particular kind of complacency, of a public affairs, reformist and Imperial kind, was also found in a data paper prepared by P.D. Phillips for the 1933 Toronto British Commonwealth Relations Conference. It asserted, conventionally and deferentially, that British statesmen had become 'the guiding lights' of Imperial policy and went on to give the most exaggerated reformist denigration of that immature child, Australia:

Isolated nations such as our own in an early stage of political evolution suffer from the petulance and pride of youth. Immaturity sometimes prevents us from perceiving the real trends of world affairs. We shall be wise if we disregard the twitches of our growing pains, and here, above all else, remember that it would be the mark of wisdom to "tune in with Britain".³

Thus Phillips put aside his critical intelligence and spoke in words which might equally have come from Lyons.

-
1. Casey was at the time a Federal Minister and had been the political liaison officer in London between the Australian and British Governments from 1924 to 1931. Both backgrounds inevitably encouraged a positive and uncontroversial approach to the subject.
 2. Fred Alexander review of W.K. Hancock, Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs, Vol. 1, 'Problems of Nationality', Oxford, 1937, A.O., September, 1937, p. 96. F.W. Eggleston, review article entitled 'The Commonwealth in a Changing World', Austral-Asiatic Bulletin, August-September, 1937, p. 20.
 3. P.D. Phillips, 'The Empire and the League', B.C.R. Conference Toronto 1933 Supplementary Paper (A.I.I.A. Papers, Canberra).

It would be possible to write the history of the A.I.I.A. in the years to 1937 in terms of conferences, meetings, data papers and publications dealing with general backgrounds to international affairs and Australian conditions. The Institute was sometimes divorced from responses to immediate problems as its members were personally and intellectually rewarded by the execution of long-term research projects. Though the Institute helped educate public opinion on relations with the East and gathered details on Australia's population it, as a private body, made little contribution to the public definition of Australian foreign policy. By the mid-1930s the I.P.R. had started to wonder if it had had an 'almost too touching a faith in the magic of research' and had been too naive in believing that all it had to do was to say "Here are the facts" and the public would give up its prejudices.¹ Increasingly the I.P.R., and its Australian constituent, sought to educate public opinion. Some members also wondered if the I.P.R. should enter into 'real politics' by focussing on immediate problems such as the issues facing a peace conference in the East during the second Sino-Japanese conflict.²

The views of foreign policy which suggested that Australia should simply follow the British lead or supported economic appeasement without considering current political tendencies in other countries were both oversimplified. The support for appeasement of the Australian economists and other academics (Copland, Giblin, Burton, Raddaway, Ball and R.M. Crawford) in their 1937 manifesto to the Australian delegation to the Imperial Conference came not only because of their sense of the injustice of the peace settlement after the Great War; it also arose because the Australian and the I.P.R. study of international politics was

-
1. Edith E. Ware, (ed.) The Study of International Relations in the U.S. Survey for 1934, reviewed by E.C. Brunauer in Pacific Affairs, Vol. VIII, No. 4, December, 1935, pp. 529-530.
 2. Memorandum E.C. Dyason-W.M. Gray (Victorian A.I.I.A. Secretary), 17/1/1938 referring to Edward Carter's November 23rd letter to Eggleston in which the International Secretary had proposed the organisation of a study of the issues confronting a peace conference in the Far East.

focussed on geography and demography rather on history and politics.¹

The inequities of Versailles and questions of resources and markets were not the sole causes of international tension. Similarly, some writers on public opinion and war were so moved by their desire to avoid the catastrophe of another world war that they stressed the dangers of emotional public opinion in Australia as a force for war without adequately considering events and attitudes in other countries.²

The 1938 Summer School on 'Australian Foreign Policy' had some of these weaknesses and many of its participants were accused of thinking in pre-1929 terms. There was something tentative about a paper such as David Campbell's 'A Foreign Policy for Australia' which began with a five part survey of Australia's international relations by treaty. J.G. Crawford's paper on 'Australia as a Pacific Power' showed an awareness of Japanese militarism and of the situation in the Pacific if a European war broke out, but was written in academic and speculative terms discerning 'a very nice problem in economic appeasement' and 'an equally nice political problem' in relations with Japan.³ The Japan-China war was considered in less than urgent terms and not all speakers apprehended the speed with which events were moving. Richard Boyer was concerned that Australia's actions in international relations and trade were not completely moral and believed that 'we must clean our hands before we take action against Japan'.⁴ Noting the probable economic basis of the current troubles in eastern Asia David Campbell pointed out that the I.P.R. was collecting information on the economic position of Japan and China. This would be available within the next two years.⁵

1. E.H. Andrews, *op.cit.*, p.199. They recognised that certain countries had grievances not only because of loss of colonies but because of growing trade restrictions. In his study of Australia and the European situation in the 1930s Andrews considers the views of intellectuals (most of whom were A.I.I.A. members) but does not consider the A.I.I.A. and the making of foreign policy as such.
2. Most notably Black and other League of Nations Union supporters.
3. J.G. Crawford, 'Australia as a Pacific Power' in Duncan (1938), pp. 83, 86 and *passim*.
4. R.F. Boyer in discussion, in Duncan ed. (1938), p. 118.
5. D.A.G. Campbell, 'A Foreign Policy for Australia' in Duncan, *ibid*, p. 191.

The critics charged that there was little writing on international affairs between empirical detail and general rhetorical speculation. These tendencies were exemplified by the research and discussions of the Lapstone conference and sharply criticised by the Sydney lawyer commentator, P.F. Irvine, and the Melbourne Austral-Asiatic Bulletin. Irvine endorsed E.H. Carr's call for realism in the study of international affairs. In 1938 he lamented that for nearly twenty years the scheme of world politics had been 'too much the plaything of the student mind bred in the idealistic atmosphere of academies and societies'; here, supposedly intelligent people regarded 'precision of minor facts' as 'more important than broad meanings'. In an 'age of pamphleteering ... the intelligentsia (were) surfeited with masses of printed information'. The more 'many-sided mind' with a practical bent realized that time for reflection, not mere memory, was needed to understand the profound changes occurring in the world order.¹

Irvine's observation that many contemporary commentators were buried 'under the mass of facts which they seek to survey as part of any major problem' might have been applied to much A.I.I.A.-I.P.R. research.² One A.I.I.A. affiliate which sought to transcend this approach was the two-monthly Melbourne Austral-Asiatic Bulletin. The journal had a consciously realistic and Pacific-centred view recognising that what was still called the 'Far East' was for Australia the 'Near North'. It challenged, asserted Edward Masey in the Quarterly, 'those dangerous people who still believe that this country is situated somewhere between the Atlantic Ocean and the Ural Mountains'.³ It saw itself as an apostle of realism, challenging the naivete of mere sentiment, legalism and idealism, which recognised the dangerous forces at work in the world. It was an

1. P.F. Irvine, 'Peace and Sacrifice', A.Q., September, 1938, p. 87.

2. Ibid.

3. Edward Masey, review of the Austral-Asiatic Bulletin, A.Q., December, 1937, p. 117.

atypical international affairs forum as reflected in its criticisms of 'facile sentimentalists' and the 'pious platitudes' of Mr. Lyons' opening speech to the 1937 Imperial Conference.¹ Eggleston, an early convert to pessimistic realism in domestic affairs, was now beginning to qualify his international idealism. Looking at proposed international co-operation he argued that life was more than logic and that experience had weakened the appeal of complete systems of co-operation.²

The Austral-Asiatic Bulletin was conscious that its approach 'would have been branded disloyal and refused a hearing five years ago'. Even in 1937 one outraged loyalist protested at the journal's stance, declaring that 'There must be a head to every family', and that all loyal Australians should recognise Australia's obligation 'to accept unquestionably the decisions of the experienced statesmen of the Mother Country'. The journal's editor responded in fresh and critical terms remarking that such opinions were 'of some historical interest' and were 'based on an accurate understanding of Australia's situation fifty years ago'.³ While the journal's actual analyses were limited by a legacy of habitual idealism, and by Australia's lack of real options in the world of the late 1930s, its writing had a crispness which was not found elsewhere.⁴

The admixture of general ideals and detailed factual treatments mirroring each other in their lack of analytical penetration was

-
1. Austral-Asiatic Bulletin, 'Wanted-An Australian Policy' (April, 1937), 'Australia's Duty To Itself', E.L. Piesse (June, 1937), 'What Is Our Defence Policy?' (February-March, 1938).
 2. F.W. Eggleston, 'The Commonwealth in a Changing World', pp.19-20. Eggleston also warned of the tendency of British statesmen to weave 'a web of soothing words around a series of incompatible propositions'. (p. 20).
 3. Austral-Asiatic Bulletin, No. 2, p. 22. The letter was editorially titled 'A Patriot Protests'.
 4. The journal also gave sympathetic coverage to the September, 1937 Melbourne Peace Congress of the International Peace Campaign (August-September, 1937, p. 3) and ran an article by Judge Foster, President of the Victorian Branch of the League of Nations Union on the value of the League. (June, 1937, p. 7).

epitomised by the grand British Commonwealth Relations Conference held at the Blue Mountains pleasure resort of Lapstone in October, 1938 at the time of the Munich Crisis. The Lapstone conference devoted little time to the pressing European situation, and was more of a cathedral service in the church of well-meaning Imperialism than a meeting-place for analysis.

The conference's reviewers criticised the preponderance of description and talk over considered thought. 'Did anybody ever look carefully at that beautiful word "appeasement" which appears to have been used so much?', asked J.C. Beaglehole in characterising the vagueness of much of the thought. He went on to consider the relative amounts of description and analysis in the reports of the conference:

There are many pages in the book which persuade us of the abounding good will of delegates to the Conference; there are many which convince us of their knowledge, perception, and ability to roll up facts; there are also some, alas! which present evidence of an entire absence of fundamental thought. Or perhaps I merely mean that I don't agree with them.

Lloyd Ross criticised Lapstone's rhetorical and Idealist tendencies. After avoiding or defusing the vital issues the conference ended seeking the unity it could not find in deeds in words. For two days, said Ross, 'we wallowed in words, washed from our deliberations the unclean thoughts of common action and found comfort in the scented garments' of the Recorder's final words:

Everybody went home delighted. Mr. Lyons had opened the conference with a plea that Australia take part in a great prayer for peace which, unfortunately, forgot Czechoslovakia. The Recorder closed the Conference in the same mood of religious ecstasy. 2

Beaglehole discerned in the talk of common purpose and a moral order and of the Commonwealth as a 'spiritual entity' the authentic accents of Lionel Curtis who still dreamed of a 'Civitas Dei' on earth when others

-
1. J.C. Beaglehole, 'The Lapstone Commonwealth', p. 107.
 2. Lloyd Ross, 'Poor and Rich Relations at Lapstone', pp. 47-8.

were becoming reconciled to the prospect of another world war.¹ The language of Idealistic unity, involving talk of 'Imperial' or 'organic' unity, 'harmony', 'co-operation' and 'service' for a greater good had not completely departed from the rhetoric of the students of international affairs. This seemed appropriate in the ludic world of the conference, its 'mimic diplomacy' being only partly related to the real world outside.

The tendencies towards a rhetorical speculation and detailed description in reformist thought and research did not foster the development of a middle level of analysis which involved careful synthesis and the modest testing of an hypothesis. Though Bland and others were pioneering new areas, and their descriptions and politically edged comments provided the basis for more specialised and balanced research, they did not undertake such work themselves.

The research and thought of this period was transitional in another important way. In international affairs at a time when Parliamentarians knew little of world events, the U.A.P. government repressed debate and Labour tended towards isolationism, the forum of the A.I.I.A. was an unofficial Parliament for foreign policy discussion, and an unofficial adjunct to the embryonic Department of External Affairs in providing factual material on current events and diplomatic expertise. Events such as the Lapstone conference, whatever their weaknesses, brought together Australian, British and Commonwealth politicians,

1. Beaglehole, *op.cit.*, p. 106. Beaglehole also refers to 'the moral purpose, the divine far-off event of the world order, to which we are all devoted - perhaps because it is so conveniently far-off'. (p. 108)

publicists and service chiefs and encouraged the high level discussion of international affairs.¹

While 1930s research is open to criticism, especially from a later period in which the number of institutions and researchers has multiplied, the size of the task, the small number of workers and the consequent magnitude of the achievement must be recognised. Bland's voluminous pioneering work on administration, the work of Wadham and Wood in economic geography, and the studies of population and standards of living all provided a basis for later work. There were also important individual papers, such as J.A. McCallum's insightful, but flawed, piece on 'The Economic Bases of Australian Politics'.² Perhaps, though, the greatest weakness of the research from the standpoint of the student of Australian society was that so little of it focussed on society. The importance of the A.I.I.A. reinforced the tendency for international affairs, economics and demography to occupy a disproportionately large place in contemporary discussion and research.

-
1. Irvine believed that the coming together of Australian and overseas politicians, experts and laymen and the opportunity for servicemen to meet lay students of international affairs was valuable in itself and opened up the way for further contact and discussion. (Interview, 29/8/1976).
 2. In Duncan, ed. (1935).

REFORMISM AND CHANGE

The crises of the 1930s demanded significant changes in Australian orientations if they were to be resolved. The 1938 White Paper on industrialisation, changing defence relationships with Britain and America and the arrival of European refugees were three indicators of change. The late 1930s might be seen as a seedbed for the developments which were dramatically accelerated by the demands of the war economy during the early 1940s. The contribution of reformists to change, and to continuity, in Australian society can be seen in terms of contemporary ideological or political influence, on specific questions, a more fundamental involvement in the ideological and structural mechanisms of significant change, and in terms of their longer personal influence. Reformist influence was a product of the overall arrangement of political, economic and social forces at the time, their own aims and the nature of their thought.

The late 1930s offer evidence of new developments in the spheres of education, libraries, housing, social reform, foreign affairs expertise and aboriginal policy. Throughout the decade

reformists had supported such educational causes as the Free Library Movement and welcomed visiting educationists. The social and educational reform movements of the late 1930s were indebted to reformist criticism of Australian assumptions and institutions. Professional educationists, teachers, academics and reformists remarked in chorus that Australia did not have 'the best educational system in the world'.¹ Educationists took up the themes of 'education for democracy', the Greek conception of the education of the whole man and the idea of the full development of personality. Like Walter Murdoch they demanded greater freedom for the teacher, and criticised the 'drudgery routine' of school education oriented towards 'cramming' for external exams.² Reformists and educationists together reasserted the need for education for full citizenship while the influence of Dewey encouraged the new stress on personality. Challenging 'the old system of drill and learning by rote' their interests reflected K.S. Cunningham's observation in 1938 that education was finally nearing 'the end of a period of complacency, during which ... standards (had) fallen below those of progressive countries in other parts of the world'.³

The A.I.P.S. had links with educationists. It supported an increase in the N.S.W. State Government's grant to the W.E.A., prominent members supported the study of government and international relations in universities, and its 1936 conference discussed 'Educating a Democracy'.

-
1. R.W.G. Mackay had used this phrase in his study, Some Aspects of Primary and Secondary Education in N.S.W., 1929 (cited by H.L. Harris in his March, 1930 A.O. review, p. 121). D.H. Drummond, the N.S.W. Minister for Education declared in 1938 that an overseas trip had finally made him give up this assumption. (S.M.H., 19/7/1937.)
 2. J.R. Darling 'Education to Meet the Needs of the Modern State', A.O., March, 1933, pp. 15, 21-22; Dr. Margaret Clarke, 'The Examination System in Education', A.O., March, 1933, joined the demand for the 'freedom of the school' as a means to the 'freedom of the pupil' to a critique of unintellectual Australia which preferred 'surfing or test cricket' to exercising the mind. (pp. 115-116).
 3. K.S. Cunningham, G.A. McIntyre and W.C. Radford, (eds.) Review of Education in Australia, 1938, Melbourne, 1939, pp. 199-200.

Educational reform interested the reformists Walter Murdoch, R.W.G. Mackay and Mildred Muscio.¹ Some of their themes were more fully developed by the educationists P.R. Cole, K.S. Cunningham, James Darling, G.S. Browne, N.H. MacNeil, Frank Tate and Peter Board.²

The New Education Fellowship Conference of 1937 brought international educationists to Australia; over 300 addresses were given around the country to over 8,000 members of the conference.³ The N.E.F. talkfest helped rekindle public interest in education. Education reform movements with large public memberships and many affiliated organisations were established, the first universities conference for 12 years was held in Adelaide, and the National Union of Australian/Students was formed. A 'Conference on Education for a Progressive Democratic Australia', the second of two conferences held by the education reform movement in N.S.W., drew 500 delegates from educational institutions and affiliated organisations and passed resolutions demanding reform. The Victorian Educational Reform Association had the support of the Victorian Teachers' Union, 1,570 individual members and 61 affiliated bodies. The Association's ten point platform fused social and educational aims, demanding: free education for all including pre-school and special education; improved physical education facilities and public playing areas; the medical inspection and dental treatment of all children, and milk and hot mid-day meals where necessary; new school buildings and equipment; a reduction in class sizes to 40 and later 30; an increase in the school leaving age to 15,

-
1. Mildred Muscio, 'Some Principles of Education', A.O., March, 1930.
 2. See, for example, P.R. Cole, (ed.) The Education of the Adolescent in Australia, Melbourne, 1935.
 3. Cunningham, et al, op.cit., pp. 110-112; N.H. MacNeil ('Can These Bones Live? A Problem in Education', A.R.R., 1937, p. 30) discerned 'four great principles' running through the N.E.F. Conference discussions: 'that the teacher must be as free as it is possible to make him; that education is as wide as life itself; that the pupil's studies must be real to him; that progress in education should be assessed by record, not by external examination'. Bruce Mansfield's Knox: A History of Knox Grammar School 1924-1974, (Sydney, 1974) shows that in other respects MacNeil was a conservative 'Arnoldian' in his educational philosophy.

and later to 16; appropriate post-primary 'professional, technical and commercial' courses and courses in domestic and rural science; improved adult education facilities; the provision of secondary and university bursaries 'on a liberal scale'; an adequate system of teacher training and refresher courses; modification of the curriculum and the examination system 'to render them more suitable to the needs of a democratic community, and granting to both teachers and pupils a greater degree of freedom'.¹

There was less organised support for social reform aside from the housing reform movements in Sydney and Melbourne. Signs of middle class conscience were becoming apparent by the end of the decade, however: Australian Quarterly articles on unemployment, social questions, the 1939 Summer School on Social Services and the earlier Young Liberal League forum on 'The Welfare of the Australian People' reflected slowly increasing social awareness. An article by A.H. Clerke, the President of the Young Nationalist Organisation in Victoria, on 'The Relief of Poverty in Victoria' in the 1939 Australian Rhodes Review and the planned national insurance scheme were other signs.²

Several cases demonstrated tangible reformist influence. Media contacts, the temporary relaxation of censorship and influence on government appointments have been considered above. Increasing access to decisionmakers by experts is confirmed by such instances as Elkin's involvement in writing the 1938 'New Deal' for aborigines policy for the Minister for the Interior, John McEwen.³ Press assurances given to

-
1. Cunningham, et al., pp. 109-111; K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, (eds.) Review of Education in Australia, 1939, Melbourne, 1940, pp. 28-29.
 2. Housing was the main subject of articles on social conditions in the Quarterly, but there were other articles such as Francis Pennington's 'Occupations and Interests for the Unemployed', June, 1936.
 3. C.D. Rowley, The Destruction of Aboriginal Society, Melbourne, 1972, p. 328.

Geoffrey Remington that the 1939 N.S.W. library Bill would not be attacked allowed the proposal to go ahead.¹ The Chairman of the Federal Advisory Committee on Eastern Trade, Professor A.C.V. Melbourne, successfully developed the new trade commissioner system of overseas representation.² The External Affairs Department was established during 1935 despite fears that it might be an unlimited waste of funds.³ J.G. Latham led a government mission to the East in 1934 despite the belief of one country newspaper, and many other Australians, that this represented 'a desertion ... from the Empire'.⁴ A.I.I.A. principals were confident of their influence. When a chapter in the 1935 Institute book, Australia and the Far East 'caused a flutter in the Hughes dovecot' P.R. Heydon assured Edward Carter of the I.P.R. that they had no fear of censorship:

(Angus and Robertson, the publishers are) delighted at the prospects of achieving increased sales out of this unexpected publicity. Sir Thomas Bavin thinks we have nothing to fear in the way of ministerial action in suppressing or censoring the book. Hughes is far too spent a force for us to fear anything in that direction and anyway the combined weight of Scott, Eggleston and Roberts would preponderate. 5

These specific cases should not encourage a too rosy picture of reformist influence. Fundamental change is rarely easily won. Apparent victories are not always actual ones, and gains in policy are often eroded during implementation. The perceptive impressions of R. Freeman Butts, the visiting American educationist, of Australian education during the 1950s question the extent of change.⁶ Centralised, authoritarian, discipline and exam-oriented State education still prevailed despite the reformers' ideals of 'personality', 'education for complete living' and

-
1. Interview, John Metcalfe, 23/8/1976.
 2. See Melbourne's article, 'Trade Commissioners and Their Work', A.O., September, 1935.
 3. S. Willis, op.cit., p. 158.
 4. Castlemaine Mail, 6/2/1934, quoted by Willis, ibid, p. 135.
 5. A.I.I.A. Secretary - Edward Carter, 13/8/1935, A.I.I.A. Papers, Canberra.
 6. R. Freeman Butts, Assumptions Underlying Australian Education, Melbourne, 1955.

'citizenship'. The 1930s movement, like the earlier 'New Education' movement, had challenged the Education Department fortress, and even left marks on its battlements, but the fortress remained intact. W.E.H. Stanner has questioned A.P. Elkin's sanguine picture of progress in aboriginal policy. Elkin had remarked that in the 1940s it was possible to talk of citizenship for aborigines, something unthinkable during the previous decade. Stanner added, however, if day-to-day policy had actually changed. He believed that even in 1968 the gap, which he had noted in 1939, between 'high intentions and laudable objectives, loosely formulated in vague principles' and 'an extremely bad local administration', still existed. Commonwealth involvement, expert advice, new policy and a more systematic approach, though an improvement, were not enough.¹

The Free Library Movement story is similarly one of research, public campaigns, moves towards professionalism, influence, expert involvement and government legislation followed by a lack of concrete action. The library issue was a classic reformist cause: non-party political; related to political education; based on the stocktaking of the Munn-Pitt report in which, typically, an overseas expert (and a supporting Australian professional) exposed the lag in Australian institutions; winning the support of prominent reformists and respectable citizens; gaining expression in N.S.W. in a public campaign organised by an energetic lay publicist (Geoffrey Remington) and a librarian (John Metcalfe), and backed by Carnegie Corporation money; and, eventually arousing public opinion and influencing politicians. The campaigns were, characteristically, organised on a State basis, though a national professional Institute of Librarians was established after a 1937 Canberra meeting. The delay in submitting the N.S.W. free library Bill, and further delay in its implementation due to the onset of war were also regrettably typical; a similar, and less successful, tale could be told

1. W.E.H. Stanner, After the Dreaming, Sydney, 1968 and 'The Aborigines' in Kevin, op.cit., p.11. He is implicitly criticising Elkin's 1956 argument, op.cit.

of the library cause in other states.¹ Significant change in education, libraries and aboriginal policy was finally achieved over decades rather than after several years.

* * * * *

R.M. Crawford's view that the Australian nation's 'coming of age' in public and professional life can be dated from the late 1930s poses questions of reformist involvement in more fundamental change. W.K. Hancock remarked in 1930 that 'the Australian people (had) not yet come of age'.² National maturity was a recurring reformist theme. Hartley Grattan's 1938 article on the Australian future anticipated far-reaching structural social and economic change. A related argument sees the economic regulation and social provision discussed in the 1930s as anticipating the development of a neo-capitalist economy characterised by state intervention in the interests of economic efficiency, and social welfare as related to political stability.³ This interpretation accepts Crawford's argument regarding change, though conceiving the transition in different terms. Scholars have begun to gather evidence which confirms the picture of significant change beginning in the 1940s. Sol Encel has written of a 'bureaucratic revolution' in the Commonwealth Public Service.⁴ Its manifestations included: a dramatic growth in the number of departments and employees; the recruitment of graduates and use of expert advice; and the development of an administrative elite. The expansion in the universities, increased research grants, and extended provision of secondary education all contributed to developing the expertise and human capital necessary to efficiently run a complex society. Movements for

-
1. See Lynravn, op.cit., Cunningham (1961) op.cit., K. Binns, Library Services in Tasmania, Hobart, 1943.
 2. Hancock, op.cit., p. 244.
 3. See John Playford, Neo-capitalism in Australia, Melbourne, 1969 and John Playford and D. Kirsner (eds.) Australian Capitalism, Melbourne, 1972.
 4. Encel, op.cit., pp. 66-70, 268-274, 280. R.W. Connell 'Structural Change in the Ruling Class' (in E.L. Wheelwright and Ken Buckley, (eds.), Essays in the Political Economy of Australian Capitalism, Vol. I, Sydney, 1975) seeks to relate changes in government to economic transition.

improved health, nutrition, physical fitness and education, which began during the 1930s, bore fruit during the war years. Michael Howard has shown, in his study of the increase in Federal government activity, how the demands of war and industrialisation increased the role of government in supporting capitalism.¹

The post-war transition from a dependent provincial society, exchanging raw materials for British manufactures and accepting British cultural dominance, to a more sophisticated society with its own industrial base and a more complex pattern of dependence confirms other perceptions of change. Recent statistical studies document its character and extent.² The neo-capitalist argument and the view that Australian developments in welfare and education paralleled similar innovations in comparable modern, industrial countries require further exploration. The Australian situation has similarities with those in Europe and North America; but the socio-economic structure and ideas of the social and economic role of government vary from country to country.

Reformism helped prepare the ideological ground for change. Challenging laissez-faire development schemes, the lack of expertise in economic policy, and the prevailing fear of the new or strange it opened the way for a clearer debate on the decisions facing Australia. It led the forces for Progress in what, in the contemporary idiom, might be termed the clash between Progress and Security.³ The technocratic rationalist approach to government and the educational reform cause encouraged more flexible approaches to the difficult national situation.

-
1. Michael Howard, 'The Growth in the Domestic Economic and Social Role of the Commonwealth Government in Australia from the late 1930's to the Early Post-War Period', Ph.D. Thesis, Sydney University, 1975.
 2. For example, 'Social Change and the Future of Australia', A.L.P. National Commission of Inquiry Discussion Paper, Canberra, 1978; Playford and Kirsner, op.cit. also documents structural change.
 3. A.G.B. Fisher's 1935 book was entitled The Clash Between Progress and Security (London).

The recognition of changing international realities, and the cultural nationalist rejection of sheepish devotion to things British, began to open the way to more thoughtful and independent views of the nation's future.

The challenge to government fear and popular escapism helped modernize attitudes. A second criticism was of the prevailing parochialism. Reformists reminded Australians that international events in distant Europe and Asia could not be completely forgotten. Parochialism in the domestic sphere was also challenged. The national orientation of reformists, reflected in the A.I.P.S.' Canberra conferences and the aspiration for a national university, was unusual in a period when most people thought in State terms. Most reformists conceived of national progress in institutional and structural terms rather than in the cultural or idealist images of Stephensen and Burgmann. The national orientation was to take many reformists to Canberra to work in government posts or at the new Australian National University.

The reformist view of politics continued the middle class moderate aspiration for a Deakinite middle way whereby social innovation was implemented by reasonable, progressive men of their own ilk rather than an unsubtle, working class Labor Party. Reformists were attracted to the vision of reasonable idealistic men willing to debate reform proposals and implement them by persuasion rather than through the power of a parliamentary machine. These reformist longings were rarely explicit though they are found in Hancock's Australia.¹ The aspiration for citizenship, an educated public opinion and rational political debate and laments about declining standards in political life all suggest the longing for a vanished ideal. The aspiration for debate leading to compromise and eventual agreement has informed the A.I.P.S. through most of its history, attracting moderates from both major parties. Similarly, the

1. Hancock, op.cit., pp. 56, 118, 188, 235, 243-5.

desire to see an issue (whether that of broadcasting, immigration or wheat marketing) in rational terms, free of the demands of sectional interests, has moved Australian Quarterly contributors since 1929.

These continuities suggest reformism's appeal to members of the intelligentsia in a century of political polarisation. It might be asked whether 1930s reformism contributed to other transitions: to change in political organisation and to the structural position of the intelligentsia in society. Colin Bell's view that the A.I.P.S. does the ideological work of Australian capitalism suggests a possible answer to the first question.¹ The Institute, in this view, serves to provide an intelligent critique of capitalism, keeping it efficient and ready to deal with changing situations. During the early 1960s the A.I.P.S. received the blessing of Sir Robert Menzies. His praise of the Institute for making 'a notable contribution to the formation of sound judgement on great issues' lends support to Bell's view.² The role of reformists and public affairs institutions during the 1930s might similarly be seen as more than that of elaborating institutions for socio-economic analysis and the stocktaking of national policies and practices. The middle class adult education role of the A.I.P.S. contributed to the renovation of the ideology of the conservative parties. The young conservative organisations, more than the public affairs institutions, recruited new personnel ('good young men') and provided forums within the conservative orbit for the airing of new approaches to national problems. The fearful, safety-first approach of the Lyons Government offered few solutions to the problems. Putting the head under the bedclothes would not make problems go away. Reformists challenged aberrations like censorship and the trade diversion policy. The A.I.P.S., the A.I.I.A. and young conservative bodies considered the need for new social and economic policies. Businessmen with influence on conservative politicians, including Gepp, Alfred Davidson, W.S. Robinson, Philip Goldfinch and E.W. Holden, financially supported, or participated in, their debates and research.

1. Bell, op.cit.

2. Draft A.I.P.S. leaflet, 'Victorian Division, 1965' papers, A.I.P.S. Papers, Y 12913.

Conservative politicians, including Menzies, Casey and Hawker, were sometimes amongst the audience when Hartley Grattan or G.V. Portus contemplated a degree of income redistribution, state financed housing or better provision of medical care. The reformist interest in social welfare anticipated the more flexible conservatism with a human face of the post-war Liberal Party.

The careers of reformists, as professionals and academics, were related to structural change. The contribution of Crisp, Coombs, Crawford, Wilson, Lloyd Ross and Mills to the government's Post-War Reconstruction plans, and the ideological work of Ross, Elkin and Kenneth Henderson in the same cause was related to structural change.¹ Graduate recruitment in the public service and university expansion accelerated the growth of the new middle class, a contemporary international phenomenon which Mildred Muscio and Herbert Burton had noted during the 1930s.² Reformist arguments for graduate administrators, technocratic rationality and research funds were pleas on behalf of that small group of which they were a part. The calls for expertise and disinterested advice of this vanguard of the new middle class were not totally disinterested.

The elaboration of the new middle class during the post-war period poses questions regarding the future role of reformists and the influence of the ideas and institutions of the 1930s. In the post-war decades many reformists moved into important administrative positions in the universities, cultural and scientific institutions and in the public service: they provided several chairmen of the A.B.C.; Ian Clunies Ross became head of C.S.I.R.O.; diplomats and public service principals included Haydon, Forsyth, Coombs, Crawford and Bailey. Ball and Duncan took up chairs in the new field of political science. A large number of prominent reformists

-
1. On Post-War Reconstruction ideology, see Rowse, *op.cit.*, pp. 129-138, 163-170.
 2. Mildred Muscio, 'Wells on the World'; Herbert Burton, 'A Christian Critique of Fascism'. Muscio cited H.G. Wells and Burton cited G.D.H. Cole on the subject.

were knighted at the peak of their career including Herman Black (who became Chancellor of Sydney University), Richard Boyer (who became chairman of the A.B.C.) and Norman Cowper.¹ Realising the impossibility of their projection of the relative harmony of public affairs forums to the larger society, they concentrated on their own administrative responsibilities. Leadership had become more important than citizenship. Many of the students of public affairs, who had risen to public positions and standing in respectable society, showed less concern with basic freedoms than much 1930s rhetoric might have suggested. J.G. Latham had always been both the educator and the repressor. An A.I.P.S. Director, Justice W.F.L. Owen, chaired the 1954 Royal Commission into espionage. K.H. Bailey, as Solicitor-General, was administratively involved in the politically motivated expansion of Australian Security Intelligence Organisation activity during the 1950s.²

The long-term influence of reformist principals involved crucial paradoxes. Increased administrative influence was often associated with declining intellectual influence. Even Public Service Permanent Heads were in positions of influence rather than power regarding major decisions. There were exceptions, however. John Crawford's long-held support for improved relations with Asia was important in securing the 1957 Australia-Japan trade treaty. Peter Heydon's position as head of the Immigration Department in 1966 facilitated the implementation of the relaxation of the White Australia policy.³ Possible influence was constricted by unforeseen events. H.C. Coombs, who retained his social awareness, was for over two decades an adviser to conservative governments. He was to have greater influence on the Whitlam Government from 1972 to 1975.⁴ The influence of

-
1. See Biographical Appendix.
 2. Watson, *op.cit.*, p. 237. The Senior Counsel assisting the Commission was the former A.I.I.A. member and student of public affairs, Major-General W.J.V. Windeyer.
 3. Crowley, *op.cit.*, p. 529; Interview, J.G. Crawford, 15/1/1978; L.F. Crisp, *op.cit.*
 4. Coombs developed his social and political philosophy in The Fragile Pattern, Sydney, 1970.

reformism on the Labor Prime Minister, an Australian Quarterly subscriber himself, during the 1930s, may be a subject which requires investigation.¹ Post-war affluence was another constraint on social criticism and pressure for social change. A.F. Davies has related intellectual influence to social and economic conditions. He argues that 'societies have a dialectic of ideology and organisation':

In the era of nation-building, or in active periods of social change, ideas are thick, and intellectuals fateful. Attention contracts in times of consolidation and calm, of low pressure politics, to the details of running the machine. Thinking of new things for the machine to do, designs for a better one, lapse. Experts, not intellectuals are in demand. 2

Such a transition suited many reformists. Despite their interest in political philosophy most of them were, in Lasswell's terms, by temperament as well as experience, more administrators than agitators or theorists, who accepted the last two roles only in their work as publicists. Even in the 1930s such students of public affairs as Roland Wilson chose the path of the administrator and expert in preference to an intellectual vocation.

The social and political position of reformists who occupied new roles in post-war institutions is a subject needing investigation. Davies has asked if the intellectual who becomes a busy administrator, putting aside his earlier interests, ceases to be an intellectual.³ A more important question is that of the relationship between intellectuals and ruling elites. Reformists, as well as students of public affairs, as intellectuals-cum-administrators, came closer to what has been termed the 'Liberal/

-
1. Whitlam received the journal as a member of the University Association of Canberra in which his father, H.F.E. Whitlam, was prominent. (A.I.P.S. Papers, 1937 membership lists, Y12906).
 2. Davies, op.cit., p. 29.
 3. ibid, pp. 21, 34-35. Encel, op.cit., p. 255, suggests the Australian post-war experience bears out Richard Hofstadter's 'view that a society in which anti-intellectualism is a prominent feature will rationalise its need for trained minds by emphasizing the value of the expert as against that of the intellectual'.

Conservative' intellectual establishment. Dependent on government and 297.
universities for their careers, and working in a middle class milieu they criticised the details rather than the fundamentals of the existing order. Relative affluence in most of the society, the Cold War, career success and its demands for restraint in public utterance, and social acceptance dampened the erstwhile reformists' critical, questioning spirit.

Writers on British and American intellectual life of the 1950s and early 1960s have stressed the affinity between the worldview of intellectuals and ruling social values. Richard Hofstadter considers "the embourgeoisement" of American intellectuals during the 1950s and the 'new acceptance' of the status quo.¹ Noel Annan has written of an English intellectual 'aristocracy, secure, established and like the rest of English society, accustomed to responsible and judicious utterance and sceptical of iconoclastic speculation'.² The Australian 'coming of age', as seen by Crawford, was partly related to a similar conventionality, though it also involved the establishment of long overdue professional institutions and journals. A subject which demands exploration is the extent to which these post-war developments involved (due to the political climate of the time, structural changes in the role of intellectuals, or a new view of the professional role of institutional intellectuals) the assimilation of intellectuals-cum-administrators into the 'Liberal/Conservative' establishment, the nature of which also demands further investigation. The views of one social critic, the political scientist Dennis Altman, suggest that the process whereby Australian intellectuals were reintegrated into the national life was one of assimilation into the ruling elites. Altman argues that many senior Australian academics and public figures share with their English counterparts an

-
1. R. Hofstadter, Anti-Intellectualism in American Life, New York, 1963, pp. 393-398, 426-430.
 2. Noel Annan, quoted by Geoffrey Hawthorn, 'The new intelligentsia in Britain', New Society, Vol. 38, No. 734, p. 183.

acceptance of 'the basic correctness of things as they are', a concern 'with doing things properly', 'respect for authority' and a 'total lack of self-criticism'.¹

The tensions in reformist roles can be seen in the post-war involvements of Sir James Darling. The Geelong Grammar headmaster, Christian social commentator and Melbourne Club President was, by his own admission, a member of the establishment, though a man of independent views.² A President of the Club of Presidents, he influenced future politicians of the 'middle ground' of the conservative parties³ and sought to encourage social understanding. As chairman of the A.B.C. he emphasised its adult education role and impartiality and denied, in pink men's burden terms, that he was 'a stooge of the capitalists'. He had a typical reformist response to the politics of broadcasting. He sought to defend the A.B.C's. autonomy against conservative critics during the early 1960s but he was bewildered by the gap between his high ideals and the political 'hell' resulting from this conflict.⁴ It might be asked whether Darling, like the very different men Sir John Crawford and H.C. Coombs, retained an unusual degree of intellectual autonomy as he rose in his public career. Even more importantly it is possible that Coombs and Crawford shared with Darling a balanced, integrated personality that was unlikely to stimulate great change. Though the son of a miner and the West Australian graduate of the London School of Economics were different from this 'Englishman who never quite became an Australian',⁵ they, and many other reformists, were balanced personalities, 'limited by (their) own completeness'.⁶

-
1. Dennis Altman, review of Turning Points by Lord Wolfenden, Australian, 24/7/1976.
 2. See Richly Rewarding, and Craig MacGregor, People, Politics and Pop, Sydney, 1968, pp. 99-106.
 3. Manning Clark, review of Richly Rewarding, Age, 22/4/1978.
 4. MacGregor, op.cit., pp. 100-101, 104-106.
 5. Clark, op.cit.
 6. MacGregor, p. 106.

The social milieu and temperament of reformists offered constraints on their thought and action during the 1930s. They were torn between their desire to respond to a crisis and their distaste for the dirty, conflict-ridden political arena. The practical interests of the students of public affairs who attended forums out of a sense of civic obligation, and were 'socially concerned' according to one critic 'only while they were there' diluted the ardour and the argument of the social democrats.¹ The social democrats also had reservations about political action and preferred to be active on single issues. This made it easier, in the words of the critics, for the establishment to 'swallow up its young radicals'.² Macmahon Ball and Duncan were to become assimilated into middle class society though Ball especially retained a critical, independent streak.³

The structure of reformist thought also limited its social analysis. Psychological/moral dualism which saw society in terms of the pure and the impure, the 'open conspiracy' of intelligent men and the "invisible government" of cliques could not render social complexity.⁴ Reformists' perceptions of citizen and nation could capture aspects of the contemporary malaise but they could not easily be refined as tools for analysis. Reformism recognised few social categories between the nation and the individual, and few qualities between the former's vision or drift and the latter's responsibility or apathy. Reformism's belief in the role of thought in political life, the assumption that 'ultimately, the only safeguard against legislative error lies in the quality of the national mind', discouraged the social critics from moving from the abstract mind to society.⁵ Neither rhetorical visions nor criticism or empirical research

1. Interview, Ron Mandelsohn, 13/11/1977.

2. ibid.

3. Ball has been a consistent critic of Australian foreign policy.

4. The terms are those of Wells, quoted by Muscio, op.cit., and Hancock, op.cit., p. 180.

5. Prefatory quote to R.W.G. Mackay's 1933 typescript, 'The Referendum on the Upper House', A.I.P.S. Papers, Y12906.

on practical policy matters encouraged thoroughgoing social analysis. Eloquent generalities and solid research both reflected a lack of purpose. Reformist thought, like the diffusion of energies into many channels and caution regarding political involvement, indicated that reformists, like many other Australians during the 1930s, were waiting for a lead.

Reformist criticisms and public affairs research encouraged a transition in social research. Scholarly professionalism was beginning to challenge the style of civilized generalists like Hancock, Portus and Murdoch. The generalist tradition entertained interesting perceptions, but, in a self-consciously 'amateur' way, rarely pursued them in depth. The early social scientists looked to thorough research as an antidote to popular generalities. Solid, but often uninspiring, work was the result, partly because of the small number of researchers, their lack of time and diversity of interests. The absence of any developed language of social discourse and these factors meant that the thought was often, in Duncan's words 'on the surface of the social order'.¹ Despite this the achievements were considerable. An unprecedented quantity of published data, challenges to national economic, demographic and foreign policy assumptions, and a critique of social institutions initiated a new phase of informed discussion of Australian affairs. The involvement of academics and publicists in government deprived them of time for thought but indicated that the worlds of the students and practitioners of public affairs were not completely divorced.

The divisions between different reformist groupings provided the most important constraint on the development of reformist thought. Despite their personal contact, shared Anglicanism and support for adult education the political gap between Bland, the pessimistic realist, and Burgmann, the social democrat, was unbridgeable. Bland's stress on legislative caution and individual responsibility was incompatible with Burgmann's demand for

government action to secure social justice. The liberal humanist interest in 'civilization' was divorced from the interest of more 'practical' men of affairs in transport, tariffs and taxation. Idealist conceptions of 'Service' were articulated by established citizens who advocated 'Leadership' and reformers who sought a new social order. The rhetoric of national unity and purpose was invoked by conservative politicians over several decades. Cultural nationalists sought Australian cultural independence while Anglophiles lamented national immaturity. Coherent groups seeking distinct forms of social change were absent due to this diversity and the problems of numbers and distance.

Reformist divisions were amicably contained within the public affairs forums because of the shared reaction of the moderate pink men against the political warfare outside. They were also contained because rhetoric was often used as a comforter rather than a stimulus to social change as the social democrats pointed out. Magic words such as 'agreement' meant little if the character of that agreement was not defined. Murdoch's 'agenda' partly remained mythical while the agenda was subject to variation. Reformist ambivalence about citizenship and about change was one cause of this lack of definition. Progressive reformists were occasionally infected by recurring doubts about the capacity of the mass of citizens. This poses the question of how much reformist thought was expressive rather than instrumental, the gap between wishful rhetoric and action being substantial. The historian of political philosophy, George Sabine, raised similar doubts about contemporary liberalism in 1939:

The low esteem in which liberalism is now so often held, depends, unless I am mistaken, on the suspicion that, though liberals talk about removing the hindrances to opportunity and the good life, they cannot be depended on to do anything about it. There is also the suspicion that they have never really counted the cost of approximating their ideal ... 1

-
1. G. Sabine, 'The Historical Position of Liberalism', p. 219, in Caroline F. Ware, (ed.), The Cultural Approach to History, New York, 1940.

The 1930s reformists were middle class political critics, personally comfortable, interested in politics, international affairs and particular issues, and astonishingly unaware of the character of the suffering wreaked by the depression. Their divisions were to become more obvious at the 1944 Summer School on Post-War Reconstruction. In a period of Labor Government and the possibility of significant social change conservative reformists such as Herbert Gepp abandoned their non-political persona to establish institutions for the defence of capital such as the Institute of Public Affairs.¹

The reformist achievement, despite these continuing contradictions, was considerable. New institutions were established, research completed, the fragile plant of liberal democracy partly protected, and the ground prepared for later changes. Reformist forums challenged, usually unsuccessfully at first, entrenched anti-intellectualism and helped fill the vacuum created by the absence of a quality press. Reformists mocked, pricked and challenged, but could not defeat, the fundamental conservatism of ruling elites and popular attitudes. Deeply held fears of the new and the strange were to assist the opponents of change for the next half century or more. Conservative governments were to continue to use the stick of repression while seeing the value of the carrot of welfare.

The fundamental longing for a new order where rationality replaced political conflict was the source of reformism's limitations. It was the reformist, even the intellectual, impossible dream. The men of moderation who hoped that economic rationality would replace economic nationalism, that expert decisions would supplant pressure-group conflict, could not appreciate, in their reformist persona, that politics is about power and interests do not disappear at the promise of rational leadership. Nor could they realize that the intelligent minority had its own self-interest

1. D.A.S. Campbell, (ed.), Post-War Reconstruction in Australia, Sydney, 1944; C.D. Kemp, Big Businessmen, Melbourne, 1964.

303.
In the expansion of education. Reformist aspirations for a rational middle way have persisted throughout the century, though they have become prominent in periods of change or crisis. The technocratic rationalist ideal was restated in 1972 in an optimistic press description of the autonomous role of intellectuals and such new bodies as the Australian Institute of Urban Studies:

a professionally trained intelligentsia, the freelance intellectuals, are starting to tame the traditional pressure groups which for so long have pursued their particular interests at the expense of the community at large. From research institutes, specialist bureaus in the Public Service, consultant groups, research officer positions or places in universities, this new group of activists is increasingly applying a much more rigorous evaluation of proposals for Government expenditure and legislation.

Governments might not always like the results of disclosure by bodies like the Institute or the Melbourne University Institute for Economic and Social Research; but the new 'footloose intellectuals' would 'just have to be given the kind of professional freedom they demand'.¹ The events of the following decade, like those of the 1930s, challenged this idea.

One of the sponsors of this attempt to apply technocratic expertise to government decisionmaking through the A.I.U.S. was Herbert Burton. Most reformists had realised in the 1930s that they faced a difficult task. They were encouraged, paradoxically, by their reluctance to work more directly upon the political stage. Burton had been a Council for Civil Liberties spokesman but most reformists lacked the skills and temperament demanded by the political world. They stayed within their own partly self-contained public affairs world with its vicarious politics and occasional opportunities for influence. These were the answers to the bright W.E.A. student's question about why university men didn't go into politics.² Frustrated by the excesses of the political sphere the reformists built in opposition to it, their own world, a temple of moderation and rationality. That reasonable world had its own limitations.

1. 'Have Degree Will Travel', National Times editorial, 27/11/1972.

2. Hancock, op.cit., p. 112.

Appendix I

Members of Institutions and Journal Contributors

The following lists indicate the range of individuals' activity across several institutions. They do not indicate all members or contributors. They seek to suggest the spread of reformists and students of public affairs and the character of other members or contributors. The alphabetical key following some of the names gives further details as to occupation.

Key to Symbols:

- A - Academic or research student (including teacher's college and adult education lecturers).
- B - Businessman (including owners, managers, accountants).
- E - Educationist, Teacher or Headmaster.
- G - Grazier (or graziers' organisation principal, or work related to the pastoral industry).
- J - Journalist or Editor.
- L - Lawyer (or judge).
- LIB - Librarian.
- O - Officer in the Armed Services.
- P - Politician (conservative unless the reference is (P-L)).
- PS - Public Servant.
- R - Minister of Religion.
- W - Writer (including critics).

Symbols normally refer to the position or title held at some time during the 1930s. 'Politicians' include individuals politically active but not necessarily in Parliament at the time.

The major source of biographical information is Who's Who in Australia.

I Australian Quarterly

Contributors

1 H.S. Nicholas' A.Q., 1929-1934

Fred Aarons (O)
J.P. Abbott (P/G)
F. Alexander (A)
K.H. Bailey (A)
James Barrett (K)

T.R. Bavin (P)
H.D. Black (A)
F.A. Bland (A)
F.R. Beasley (A)
Peter Board (L)

Tristan Buesst (L)
Herbert Burton (A)
R.G. Casey (P)
D.A.S. Campbell (G)
A.H. Charteris (A)

A.H. Clerke (L)	J.A. Lyons (P)	W. Lennon Raws (B)
P.E. Coleman (P)	J.A. McCallum (P)	S.H. Roberts (A)
D.B. Copland (A)	Hugh McRae (W)	Ian Clunies Ross (A)
N.L. Cowper (L)	R.W.G. Mackay (asst.ed.) (L)	Lloyd Ross (A)
H. Crotty (R)	A. Mackie (E)	D.T. Sawkins (A)
J.R. Darling (E)	E. Masey (B)	E.O.G. Shann (A)
W.G.K. Duncan (A)	F.R.E. Mauldon (A)	J.A. Spicer (L/P)
J.G. Duncan Hughes (P)	L.G. Melville (A)	E.S. Spooner (P)
F.W. Eggleston (L)	R.G. Menzies (P)	A.G. Stephens (W)
A.P. Elkin (A)	P.A. Micklem (P)	Alfred Stirling (L/PS)
A.G.B. Fisher (A)	J.S. Moyes (R)	B.S. Stevens (P)
R.R. Garran (K)	Mildred Muscio	H.M. Storey
L.F. Giblin (A)	N.H. MacNeil (E)	B. Tildesley (W)
F.A.W. Gisborne	G. Packer (B)	S.M. Wadham (A)
H.M. Green (W)	N. Palmer (W)	E.R. Walker (A)
H.L. Harris (A)	P.D. Phillips (L)	Raymond Watt
William Harrison Moore (A)	E.L. Piessa (L)	W.C. Wentworth (P)
C.A.S. Hawker (P)	D.K. Picken	L.C. Wilcher (A)
T. Hytten (A)	A. Grenfell Price (A)	R.C. Wilson (asst.ed.) (G)
W.S. Kent Hughes (P)	G.V. Portus (A)	Roland Wilson (A/PS)
T.H. Laby (A)	W.I. Potter (B)	W.J.V. Windeyer (L)
F. Louat (L)	G.G. Remington (L)	F.L.W. Wood (A)
		G.L. Wood (A)

ii The A.I.P.S. A.Q., 1935-1939

R. Ashburner (L/A)	W.E.R. Francis	Walter Murdoch (A/W)
C.R. Badger (A)	R.R. Garran (PS)	Frances Pennington
W. Macmahon Ball (A)	C. Hartley Grattan (W)	R.E. Priestley (A)
J.C. Beaglehole (A)	Kenneth Henderson	G.V. Portus (A)
F.R. Beasley (A)	E.M. Higgins (A)	Leslie Roes (W)
George Bell	H.L. Harris (A)	Lloyd Ross
E.G. Biaggini	J.G. Holmes (J)	G.C. Remington (L)
F.A. Bland (A)	Jocelyn Hyslop (A)	B. Scott (A)
D.A.S. Campbell (ed.) (G)	P.F. Irvine (L)	W.S. Sheldon (Acting Editor, 1937) (L)
A.H. Charteris (A)	C. Kaepfel	H.M. Storey
A.R. Chisholm (A)	Douglas H.K. Lee (A)	A.E. Symons (B)
Colin Clark (A)	H.J. Lipman	Euphemia Terry
N.L. Cowper (L)	A. Lodewyckx (A)	Beatrice Tildesley (W)
R.L. Curthoys (J)	J.A. McCallum (P)	E.M. Tildesley (W)
John Curtin (P)	D.P. McGuire (W)	S.M. Wadham (A)
S.H. Davies (R)	R.B. Madgwick (A)	E.R. Walker (A)
N.H. Dick (B)	E. Masey (B)	J.W. Wainwright
Dorothy Duncan	J. Mant (L)	Freda Wedemeyer
W.G.K. Duncan (A)	Furnley Maurice (W)	L.C. Wilcher (A)
F.W. Eggleston (L)	A.C.V. Melbourne (A)	W. Wynne Williams
A.G.B. Fisher (A)	John Metcalfe (L)	R.C. Wilson (G)
Frank Fletcher (E)	P.A. Micklem (R)	G.L. Woods (A)

II Australian Institute of Political Science

1935 list of individual subscribers to the Australian Quarterly (A.I.P.S. Papers, Y12900). (The importance of the Group Subscription scheme means that this list offers a very limited picture of Quarterly subscribers. The list is undated and may refer to the Quarterly at the time of the A.I.P.S. takeover of the journal or to subscriptions later in 1935.)

Fred Aarons (O)	Mrs. Marks	Mr. Richardson (BN)
A. Anthony (P)	A. Mainerd	Mr. Reynolds (BN)
A.O. Badman (P)	W. Harrison Moore (A/K)	Lloyd Ross
E.H. Burgmann (R)	Mr. Merry (BN)	Beryl Rouch (BN)
N. Cowper (L)	J. Metcalfe (LIB)	J.A. Spicer (L/P)
Roland Wilson (A)	Mrs. D. Maughan	Alan Watt (L/PS)
W.G.K. Duncan (A)	L.G. Melville (A)	W.J. Edwards (R/E)
W.A. Flynn (PS)	E. Masey (B)	F.A. Bland (A)
J.D. Fell (B)	R.W.G. Mackay (L)	G.V. Portus (A)
A.G.B. Fisher (A/BN)	K.S. McGill (J)	W. Macmahon Ball (A)
W.E.R. Francis	R.D. Nicholls (P)	Herbert Burton (A)
J.A. Gray (P)	Mr. Nicholson (BN)	W. Farmer Whyte (J)
V. Godsell (BN)	T.D. Oldham (P)	J.A. McCallum (P)
H.L. Harris (A)	P.D. Phillips (L)	E.O.G. Shann (A)
C.V. James (BN)	Allan Pickering	W.E.H. Stanner (A)
R.S. Lee (R)	P.W. Powell	H.F. Whitlam (L)
T. Inglis Moore (J)	G.C. Remington (L)	E.R. Walker (A)

Australian Trade Commissioners

E. Hinder
E.L. Piasse (L)
A.W. Foster (L)
F.W. Rolland (E)

(A.O. Subscription Lists, 1936-1938, Y12906)

N.B. (BN) In this section notates staff of the Bank of New South Wales.

III Australian Institute of Political Science

Members (including Associate Members)

H.D. Black (A)	F.W. Eggleston (L)	Stuart D. MacPhee
F.A. Bland (A)	N.H. Dick (L)	R.W.G. Mackay (L)
R.J.F. Boyer	W.G.K. Duncan (A)	A. Mackie (L)
T.A. Butler	E.W. Easton	D. McLelland
E.H. Burgmann (R)	R.E. Elford	A. Mainerd
M.C. Cadogan	J.D. Fell (B)	John Mant (L)
G.T. Clarke (B)	V.J. Flynn	Edward Masey (B)
D.A.S. Campbell (G)	H.L. Harris (A)	John Metcalfe (LIB)
G.S. Colman (B)	W.S. Kelly	R.C. Mills (A)
H.C. Coombs (A)	R.S. Lee (R)	J.C. Nield (E)
N.L. Cowper (L)	F. Louat (L)	W.F.L. Owen (L)
R.M. Crawford (A)	J.A. McCallum (P)	Phillip Parkinson

G.V. Portus (A)	W.S. Sheldon (A)	L.W. Taylor
G.S. Reichenbach (L)	W.E.H. Stanner (A)	E.R. Walker (A)
G.C. Remington (L)	H.M. Storey	A.S. Watt (L/PS)
Ian Clunies Ross (A)	A.E. Symons (B)	W.J.V. Windeyer (L)
		P.J. Woodhill

(A.I.P.S. Papers. This list is based on A.I.P.S. Papers, particularly the executive minutes. Membership of the Institute is not all that revealing as it was possible to subscribe to the A.Q. and attend Summer Schools without being a member.)

IV Australian Institute of International Affairs

Members

Victoria *

Stanley Addison	E.C. Dyason (B)	Keith Murdoch (B)
W.E. Agar (A)	F.W. Eggleston (L)	John Oldham (PS)
K.H. Bailey (A)	R.E. Fanning (O) (M)	Trevor Oldham (P)
Clive Baillieu (B)	Theodore Fink	Gerald Packer (B)
W. Macmahon Ball (A)	W.D. Forsyth	G.W. Paton (A)
James Barrett (O/K)	A.W. Foster (L)	Frances Pennington
Thomas Blamey (O/K) (M)	J.M. Garland (A)	P.D. Phillips (L)
Douglas T. Boyd (M)	H.W. Gepp (K/B)	E.L. Piesse (L)
Herbert Brookes (B)	L.F. Giblin (A)	W. Prest
Tristan Buesst (L) (M)	Leslie Henderson	J.C. Rookwood Proud
R.G. Casey (P) (M)	M. Holmes	W.L. Raws (K/B/O) (N)
H. Col n (O)	Harold Holt (P)	A.R. Rivett (A)
G.S. Coleman (B) (M)	Frederick Howard (J)	A. Robinson
D.B. Copland (A)	Jocelyn S. Hyslop (A)	E. Scott (A) (M)
R.M. Crawford (A)	W.S. Kelly (P)	J.A. Spicer (P)
R.L. Curthoys (J) (M)	H.W. Kent (M)	Geoffrey Street
J.R. Darling (L) (M)	R. Knox (K)	Georgina Sweet (A)
Owen Dixon (L) (M)	J.G. Latham (P/K) (M)	S.M. Wadham (A)
Constance Duncan	R.G. Menzies (P)	G.A. Weller (A)
J.G. Duncan-Hughes (P)	Felix Meyer	G.L. Wood (A)

(Source: 1937-8 and 1938-9 Subscription Lists, A.I.I.A. Papers, Canberra.)

* N.B. M = Melbourne Club Members.

Names of other members in the 1925-1939 period

Victoria

C.R. Badger (A)	Keith Officer (PS)	C.H. Wickens (PS)
William Harrison Moore (A)	Alfred Stirling (L)	

(Source: A.I.I.A. Papers, Canberra, Buesst Papers, N.L.A., Harrison Moore Papers, Melbourne University Archives.)

New South Wales

Fred Aarons (O)	A.G.B. Fisher (A)	M. Muscio
J.P. Abbott (P/G)	V.J. Flynn	H.S. Nicholas (L/P)
A. de R. Barclay (P)	R. Garsia (O)	P. Parkinson
T.R. Bavin (P)	P. Goldfinch (B/K)	J. Peden (A)
F.A. Bland (A)	T.S. Gordon	A. Thyne Reid
J.W. Burton (R)	P.R. Heydon (PS/L)	S.H. Roberts (A)
D.A.S. Campbell (G)	J. MacDonald Holmes (A)	A.L. Sadler (A)
A.H. Charteris (A)	T. Hytten (A)	P. Street
Joyce Cocks (LIB)	H.W. Lloyd (O)	R.C. Teece (L)
C.W.D. Conacher	N.H. MacNeil (E)	E.R. Walker (A)
N.L. Cowper (L)	G. Marks	Raymond Watt
R.M. Crawford (A)	L.O. Martin (P)	F.H. Way
C.H. Currey (A)	D. Maughan (L)	W.J.V. Windeyer (L/O)
A.C. Davidson (B)	R.S. Maynard	
N.H. Dick (L)	P.A. Micklem (R)	
	R.C. Mills (A)	

(Source: 1933-1937, 1939 Subscription Lists, A.I.I.A. Papers, Canberra.)

Names of other members in the 1925-1939 periodNew South Wales

F.R. Beasley (A)	H. Duncan Hill (A)	S.G.O. Martin
H.D. Black (A)	H.L. Harris (A)	A.M. Pooley (J)
F.A. Bland (A)	M. Hentze (A)	I. Clunies Ross (A)
E.H. Burgmann (R)	J.L. Heyworth (B)	Beryl Rouch
G.H. Capes (O)	Eleanor Hinder	D.T. Sawkins (A/PS)
P. Campbell (A)	W.A. Holman (P)	Mark Sheldon
P.R. Cole (E)	E. Longfield Lloyd (O)	J. Shepherd (A)
N.H. Dick (L)	S. Macarthur Onslow	M.G. Skipper
W.G.K. Duncan (A)	R.W.G. Mackay (L)	H. McClure Smith (J)
R.E. Fanning (O)	Gladys Marks	H.F.E. Whitlam (L)
		F.L.W. Wood (A)

(Source: A.I.I.A. Papers, Buesst Papers, Harrison Moore Papers.)

Queensland

R.J.F. Boyer (G)	J.G. Holmes (J)	T.P. Fry (A)
		A.C.V. Melbourne (A)

(Source: 1937-1938 Subscription Lists, A.I.I.A. Papers, Canberra.)

Names of other members in the 1925-1939 periodQueensland

J.B. Brigden (A)	D.H.K. Lee (A)	B.H. Molesworth (A)
		W. Forgan Smith (P-L)

(Source: A.I.I.A. Papers, Buesst Papers, Harrison Moore Papers.)

V Austral-Asiatic Bulletin (1937-1939)Contributors

W. Macmahon Ball (A)	W.D. Forsyth (asst.ed.) (A)	K.C. Masterman (E)
(editorial board)	A.W. Foster (L)	Gerald Packer
H. Belshaw (A)	W.M. Gray (Secretary,	(editorial board) (B)
G. Caiger	A.I.I.A. Austral-	E.L. Piesse (L)
A.H. Charteris (A)	Asiatic Section)	P.D. Phillips
D.B. Copland (A)	C. Hartley Grattan (W)	(editorial board) (L)
R.L. Curthoys	L.F. Giblin (A)	I. Clunies Ross (A)
(editor) (J)	H. Gullett (P)	A. Sadler (A)
A. Constance Duncan	C.A.S. Hawker (A)	Ernest Scott (A)
E.C. Dyason (editorial	J.G. Holmes (J)	(editorial board)
board) (B)	Frederick Howard	Georgina Sweet (A)
F.W. Eggleston	(editor) (J)	Y. Tsurumi (P-Japan)
(editorial board)	P.F. Irvine (L)	G.L. Wood (A)

VI Economic RecordContributors

G. Anderson	F.W. Eggleston (L)	E.L. Piesse (L)
W. Macmahon Ball (A)	A.G.B. Fisher (A)	P.D. Phillips (L)
K.H. Bailey (A)	W.D. Forsyth (A)	G.V. Portus (A)
H.D. Black (A)	A.W. Foster (L)	W. Lannon Raws (B/K)
F.A. Bland (A)	J.M. Garland (A)	W.B. Reddaway (A)
H. Belshaw (A)	L.F. Giblin (A)	Beryl Rouch
J.B. Brigden (A)	T. Hytten (A)	D.T. Sawkins (A/PS)
W. Jethro Brown (A)	C.V. Janes (A/B)	E. Scott (A)
H. Burton (A)	W.S. Kelly	E.G. Shann (A)
S.J. Butlin (A)	A. Lodewyckx (A)	A. Smithies (A)
C. Clark (A)	R.B. Madgwick (A)	S.M. Wadham (A)
J.G. Crawford (A)	C.E. Martin (P-L)	E.R. Walker (A)
R.M. Crawford (A)	F.R.E. Mauldon (A)	G.H. Wickens (PS)
B.B. Copland (A)	L.G. Melville (A)	L.C. Wilcher (A)
N.L. Cowper (L)	Ronald Mandelsohn	W. Wynne Williams
K.M. Dallas (A)	R.C. Mills (A)	Roland Wilson (A/PS)
Dorothy M. Davies	B.H. Molesworth (A)	G.L. Wood (A)
E.C. Dyason (B)	G. Packer (B)	

VII Constitutional Association of New South Wales

Members, 1927-1939

R. Ashburner (L/A)	F. Louat (L)	G.S. Reichenbach (L)
F.A. Bland (A)	R. Ludowici	G.C. Remington (L)
R.C.M. Boyce	F.A. Maguire	S.G. Rowe
J.B. Brigden (A)	R.W.G. Mackay (L)	W.J.R. Scott
F.A. Brodie	J.F. Mant (L)	C.R. Scharkie
David Campbell (G)	S.G.O. Martin	A.J.G. Simpson
A.H. Craig	E.M. Mitchell	H.M. Storey
C.W.D. Conacher	T. Inglis Moore (J)	R.W. Street
M.C. Cadogan	R.A. Money	V.H. Treant
N. Cowper (L)	H.S. Nicholas (L)	Raymond Watt
J.D. Fell (B)	W.F.L. Owen (L)	R.C. Wilson (G)
H.T.E. Holt	Phillip Parkinson	W.J.V. Windayer (L)
P.W.A. Kelso	T.A.J. Playfair	

(Source: C.A. Papers. Most of those listed were on the Association's Executive.)

VIII Constitutional Club (Melbourne)

Members

R.G. Casey (P)	H.B. Leigh	W.A. Sanderson (B)
A.H. Clarke (L)	K. Officer (PS)	J.A. Spicer (P)
F.W. Eggleston (L)	P.W. Powell	A. Stirling (L/PS)
H.W. Gepp (K)	W.L. Raws (B/K)	

(Sources: Constitutional Association Papers, Boxes 3 (1933-1935) and 10 (1927). A.I.P.S. List of Constitutional Club members, 1935, A.I.P.S. Papers, Y12900.)

Note. This list includes mainly those members with several public affairs institution involvements, a fraction of the Club's 290 members in 1935.

IX Young Nationalist Organisation

Members

Tristan Buesst (L)	J.V. Fairbairn	G. Packer (B)
R.G. Casey (P)	H.E. Holt (P)	W.I. Potter (B)
A.H. Clarke (L)	W.S. Kent Hughes (P)	J. Oldham (PS)
		T.D. Oldham (P)

(Source: A.O. Group Subscription List of 283 Members, 1936, A.I.P.S. Papers, Y12900.)

X Constitutional Association of New South Wales

Speakers at Luncheons, Sydney, 1933-1937

1933-1934

H.V. Hodson	W.M. Hughes (P)	R.W.G. Mackay (L)
R.G. Menzies (P)	E. Booth	F.A. Bland (A)
B.S. Stevens (P)	E.R. Walker (A)	T.R. Bavin (P)
A.H. Martin (A)	F. Anderson (A)	F.J. McCulloch
J.G. Latham (P/K)	A.C. Davidson (B)	J.A. McCallum (P)
A.H. Charteris (A)	Hubert Murray (PS)	F.H. Stewart (P)

1935-1936

David Maughan (L)	E.H. Burgmann (R)	F.H. Stewart (P)
J.A. Lyons (P)	N.L. Cowper (L)	H.D. Black (A)
W.H. Ifould (LIB)	R.G. Menzies (P)	J.P. Abbott (P/G)
F. Louat (L/P)	G.V. Portus (A)	R.M. Crawford (A)
T.R. Bavin (P)	H. Duncan Hall (A)	T. Inglis Moore (J)
A.H. Charteris (A)	W.G.K. Duncan (A)	B.S. Stevens (P)
		J.S. Garden (F-L)

1937

W. Macmahon Ball (A)	B.S. Stevens (P)	D.H. Drummond (P)
P.A. Micklam (R)	Donald Cameron	F.A. Bland (A)
R.B. Madgwick (A)	S.H. Roberts (A)	Y. Tsurumi
		J.E. Pullen

(Sources: Constitutional Association Papers, Fisher Library, Box 8.)

Speakers sought during 1938-1939

R.W.G. Mackay (L)	S.H. Roberts (A)	John Curtin (P-L)
W.M. Hughes (P)	Alfred Zimmern (A/K)	

(Source: C.A. Papers, Box 3, Committee Minutes.)

XI Australasian Association of Psychology and Philosophy

(Members, 1931, A.J.P. & P., Vol. IX)

Francis Anderson (A)	J.M. Garland (A)	K.S. McGill (J)
G. Anderson	H.M. Green (W)	W.A. Merrylees (A)
John Anderson (A)	J.A. Gunn (A)	P.A. Micklam (R)
W.E. Agar (A)	Margot Hentze (A)	R.C. Mills (A)
K.H. Bailey (A)	H.T. Lovell (A)	Mildred Muscio
W.M. Ball (A)	R.W. Macaulay (R)	J.C. Nield (E)
R.J.F. Boyer (G)	C.R. McRae (E)	P.H. Partridge (A)
W.R. Boyce-Gibson (A)	J. McRae (E)	L.B. Radford (R)
E.H. Burgmann (R)	A. Mackie (E)	K. Tennant (W)
J.W. Burton (R)	R.B. Madgwick (A)	E.R. Walker (A)
K. Clements	A.H. Martin (A)	
K.S. Cunningham (E)	F.R.E. Mauldon (A)	

XII University Association of Canberra

K. Binns (LIB)	R.R. Garran (PS)	R.J. Tillyard (A)
J.H.L. Cumpston	P.R. Heydon (PS)	E.G. Whitlam
W.J. Edwards (R/E)	J.S. Lyng	H.F.E. Whitlam (L/PS)
L.F. Fitzhardinge (LIB)	Alfred Stirling (PS)	

(Source: A.Q. Group Subscriptions 1935 and 1937, A.I.P.S. Papers, Y12900 and Y12906.)

XIII Australian Journal of Psychology and PhilosophyContributors

Francis Anderson (A)	H.M. Green (W)	W.A. Merrylees (A)
John Anderson (ed.) (A)	J.A. Gunn (A)	J.A. Passmore (A)
K.H. Bailey (A)	P.F. Irvine (L)	G.W. Paton (A)
W. Macmahon Ball (A)	H. Tasman Lovell (ed.) (A)	G.V. Portus (A)
R.J.F. Boyer (G)	W.A. Mitchell (A)	Lloyd Ross (A)
W.G.K. Duncan (A)	W.J. McKellar Stewart (A)	E.R. Walker (A)
H. Eddy	C.R. McRae (E)	F.L.W. Wood (A)
A.C. Fox (A)	R.B. Madgwick (A)	
A. Boyce Gibson (A)	A.H. Martin (A)	
W.R. Boyce Gibson (A)		

XIV Morpeth Review

(Morpeth, 1927-1934)

Contributors

K.H. Bailey (A)	Kenneth Henderson	R.C. Mills (A)
F.A. Bland (A)	H.R. Holmes (R)	J.S. Moyes (R)
E.H. Burgmann (ed.) (R)	R.S. Lee (ed.) (R)	G.V. Portus (A)
F.M. Burnet (A)	Gavin Long	L.B. Radford (R)
J.B. Brigden (A)	G.M. Long (R)	Ian Clunies Ross (A)
Horace Crotty (R)	R.W.G. Mackay (L)	Lloyd Ross (A)
A.P. Elkin (ed.) (A)	R.B. Madgwick (A)	Alfred Stirling (L)
W.G.K. Duncan (A)	C.E. Martin (P)	T. Griffith Taylor (A)
L.F. Fitzhardinge (LIB)	F.R.E. Mauldon (A)	Raymond Watt
A.H. Garnsey (R)	K.S. McGill (J)	E.R. Walker (A)
J.N. Greenwood (A)	P.A. Micklem (R)	W. Farmer Whyte (J)
W.K. Hancock (A)	'A Miner'	F.L.W. Wood (A)
		H.A. Woodruff (A)

XV Australian IntercollegianSubscribers

W.R. Coughlan (R)	K.T. Henderson	Mrs. P.A. Micklem
J.G. Crawford (A)	P.R. Heydon (PS/L)	D.K. Picken (A)
K.H. Bailey (ed.) (A)	Margaret Holmes	N.H. MacNeil (E)
A.C. Fox (A)	T. Hytten (A)	R.S. Lee (R)
A.H. Garnsey (R)	R.W. Macaulay (R)	B.R. Wyllie (R)
A. Boyce Gibson (ed.) (A)	F.R.E. Mauldon (A)	H.A. Woodruff (A)
W.R. Boyce Gibson (A)	F. Maynard (R)	

Contributors (excluding those listed above)

F. Oswald Barnett (B)	Toyohiko Kagawa	W. Wallace F. Pratt (R)
F.A. Bland (A)	W.S. Kelly (P)	A.G.L. Shaw (A)
E.H. Burgmann (R)	J.T. Lawton (R)	G.K. Tucker (R)
A. Constance Duncan	J.C. Nield (E)	E.R. Walker (A)

Speakers to S.C.M. Forums *

F. Alexander (A)	T.P. Fry (A)	J.C. Nield (E)
F. Oswald Barnett (B)	K.T. Henderson	Lloyd Ross (A)
K.H. Bailey (A)	R.S. Lee (R)	E.R. Walker (A)
J.B. Bridgen (A)	K.S. McGill (J)	B.R. Wyllie (R)
E.H. Burgmann (R)	F.R.E. Mauldon (A)	H.A. Woodruff (A)
A.G.B. Fisher (A)		

(*Source: Australian Intercollegian.)XVI Australian Rhodes Review

(4 issues, 1934-1939)

Contributors

R. Ashburner (L/A)	W.S. Kent Hughes (P)	A.C.D. Rivett (ed.) (A)
K.H. Bailey (ed.) (A)	C.T. Madigan (A)	P. Halse Rogers (L)
H. Burton (ed.) (A)	W.A. Merrylees (A)	H.G. Seccombe (ed.)
A.H. Clerke (L/P)	N.H. MacNeil (L)	P.R. Stephenson (W)
A. Garran (ed.) (A)	G.W. Paton (A)	C. Harvey Sutton (A)
W.K. Hancock (A)	G.V. Portus (ed.) (A)	L.C. Wilcher (ed.) (A)
		Roland Wilson (A/PS)

XVII Australian National Review

(Canberra, 1937-1939)

Contributors

Frederick Aaronson (O)	S.M. Bruce (P)	A.R. Chisholm (A)
Colin Badger (A)	E.H. Burgmann (R)	C.B. Cristesen (W)
Sir Thomas Bavin (P)	R.G. Casey (P)	R.H. Croll (W)

Warren Denning	A. Lodewyckx (A)	Rex Rienits (W)
J.V. Fairbairn	Frederick T. Macartney (W)	Ernest Scott (A)
L.F. Fitzhardinge (LIB)	Edward Masey (B)	Beatrice Tildesley (W)
Arthur H. Garnsey (R)	Furnley Maurice (W)	E.M. Tildesley (W)
Mary Gilmore (W)	T. Inglis Moore (J)	H.L. White (LIB)
T.H. Laby (A)	W.B. Reddaway (A)	Don Whittington (J)
		W. Farmer Whyte (ed.) (J)

XVIII Journal of Public Administration

1937-1939

Contributors

F.A. Bland (ed.) (A)	D. McVey	H.S. Wyndham (E)
Herbert Gepp (K/B)	R.S. Parker (A)	G.L. Wood (A)

XIX Australian and New Zealand Association for the

Advancement of Science

(24th Congress, Canberra, 1939)

Participants (Section Presidents and Speakers and Committee Members)

F. Alexander (A)	W.J. Edwards (R/E)	R.C. Mills (A)
J. Andrews (A)	F.W. Eggleston (L)	Hubert Murray (PS)
G.S. Browne	L.F. Fitzhardinge (LIB)	J.S. Moyes (R)
E.H. Burgmann (R)	W.D. Forsyth (A)	E.R. Pitt (LIB)
Herbert Burton (A)	R.R. Garran (K)	G.V. Portus (A)
Colin Clark (A)	R. Grimwade (B)	A.C.D. Rivett (A)
H.C. Coombs (A)	T. Hytten (A)	E. Scott (A)
D.B. Copland (A)	H. Tasman Lovell (A)	F.R. Walker (A)
K.R. Cramp (A)	N.H. MacNeil (J)	A.S. Watt (PS)
R.M. Crawford (A)	R. Ormsby Martin	G.L. Wood (A)
K.S. Cunningham (E)	F.R.E. Mauldon (A)	Roland Wilson (A)
J.R. Darling (E)	L.G. Melville (A)	H.S. Wyndham (E)

Other A.N.Z.A.A.S. Members, 1939

J.C. Bradfield	L.F. Giblin (A)	D.T. Sawkins (A/PS)
K. Binns (LIB)	J.A. Gunn (A)	Georgina Sweet (A)
P. Board (E)	P.R. Haydon (A)	S.M. Wadham (A)
R.H. Croll (W)	J.S. Hyslop (A)	W.E. Wainwright
A.C. Davidson (B)	Ida Leeson (LIB)	G.A. Weller (A)
K.M. Dallas (A)	D.H.K. Lee (A)	H.L. White (LIB)
J.V. Duhig (A)	C.T. Madigan (A)	H.F.E. Whitlam (L)
E.C. Dyason (B)	W. Mitchell (A)	W. Farmer Whyte (J)
A.P. Elkin (A)	R.S. Parker (A)	
H.W. Gepp (B/K)	A.E.V. Richardson	

(Source: Margaret Walkom (ed.), Report of the 24th Meeting of the A.N.Z.A.A.S., Canberra, January, 1939, Sydney, 1939.

Most of the reformists and students of public affairs at the Congress were in the Economics, Education, Psychology and Philosophy or History sections.

XX Free Library MovementMembers

J.P. Abbott (P/G)	W.M. Hughes (P)	A. Grenfell Price (A)
G.W. Brain	Charles Lloyd Jones (B)	G.C. Remington (L)
D.H. Drummond (P)	J.G. Latham (P/K)	Frederick Stewart (P)
F.W. Eggleston (L)	David Maughan (L)	Frank Tate (E)
Mrs. Hubert Fairfax	John Metcalfe (LIB)	R. Windeyer
Herbert Gepp (B/K)	R.E. Priestley (A)	

(Sources: G.C. Remington, 'The Free Library Movement', A.O., June, 1937; F.L.M. Letterhead, F.L.M. Secretary-Constitutional Association Secretary, 5/7/1937, C.A. Papers, Box 4.)

XXI A.I.P.S. Summer School Discussion ParticipantsThe Australian Constitution (1933)

*W.G.K. Duncan (A)	*A.C. Gain	*R.G. Menzies
*N.L. Cowper (L)	*R.W.G. Mackay (L)	*E.L. Piesse (L)
*K.H. Bailey (A)	*R.C. Mills (A)	*W.J.V. Windeyer (LIB)

National Economic Planning (1934)

*W. Macmahon Ball	F.A. Bland (A)	H.L. Harris (A)
*L.F. Giblin (A)	E.H. Burgmann (R)	J.A. McCallum (P)
*G.V. Portus (A)	J.W. Burton (R)	R.S. Lee (R)
*Lloyd Ross (A)	D.A.S. Campbell (G)	L.G. Melville (A)
*E.O.G. Shann (A)	Doris Coutts	P.D. Phillips (L)
*E.R. Walker (A)	N.L. Cowper (L)	E.R. Walker (A)
*R. Wilson (A)	W.G.K. Duncan (A)	A. Watt (L/PS)
E. Anthony (P)	A.G.B. Fisher (A)	

Trends in Australian Politics (1935)

*F.A. Bland (A)	*J.A. McCallum (P-L)	Dorothy Davies
*Maurice Blackburn (P-L)	*F.R.E. Mauldon (K)	W. Harrison Moore (A)
A.H. Charteris (A)	*E.L. Piesse (L)	P.D. Phillips (L)
*D.R. Hall (P)	F. Eggleston (L)	G.C. Remington (L)
		Lloyd Ross (A)

Educating a Democracy (1936)

*W. Macmahon Ball (A)	C. Badger (A)	D. Maughan (L)
*K.H. Bailey (A)	P. Board (E)	J. Metcalfe (LIB)
*W.H. Ifould (LIB)	D. Davies	K.S. McGill (J)
*A. Mackie (E)	H.D. Black (A)	J.C. Nield (E)
*N.H. MacNeil (E)	N. Cowper (L)	T.D. Oldham (P)
*B.H. Moleworth (A)	W.G.K. Duncan (A)	G.V. Portus (A)
F. Aarons (O)	R.S. Lee (R)	T. Inglis Moore (J)

What the Census Reveals (1936 Winter School)

*W.G.K. Duncan (A)	W. Macmahon Ball (A)	Mr. Anthoney (P)
*N.L. Cowper (L)	H. Burton (A)	Mr. Haydon (PS)
*John Curtin (P-L)	C. Badger (A)	Mr. Hogben
*E.W. Holden (B)	K. Dallas (A)	John Gray (P)
*L.F. Giblin (A)	G.T. Clarke (A)	G.V. Portus (A)
*J.A. La Nauze (A)	A.G.B. Fisher (A)	Mr. Spicer (L)

The Future of Immigration into Australia and New Zealand (1937)

*W.G.K. Duncan (A)	*S.M. Wadham (A)	C. Hartley Grattan
*A.G.B. Fisher (A)	*Latham Withall (B)	R.B. Madgwick (A)
*Sir Philip Goldfinch (B)	*W.J.V. Windeyer (L)	B.H. Molesworth (A)
*H. Burton (A)	H.C. Coombs (A)	P.A. Micklem (R)
*H. Gepp (B)	C. Badger (A)	L. Ross (A)
*W.B. Reddaway (A)	E. Higgins (A)	Beryl Rouch
		W.C. Wentworth (P)

(Some of the published papers were given not at Canberra, but at the Auckland Science Congress in the same year.)

Australian Foreign Policy (1938)

*D.A.S. Campbell (G)	*P.D. Phillips (L)	E. Higgins (A)
*J.G. Crawford (A)	F. Alexander (A)	Lloyd Ross (A)
*C. Hartley Grattan	Macmahon Ball (A)	

Social Services in Australia (1939)

*E.W. Easton (E)	D.H. Drummond (P)	R.B. Madgwick (A)
*T. Lewis Dunn	J.B. Brigden (A)	J. Metcalfe (LIB)
*F.A. Bland (A)	N.L. Cowper (L)	Kate Ogilvie
*G.V. Portus (A)	H.L. Harris (A)	G.C. Remington (L)
*E.R. Walker (A)	Mr. Holt (Vic.) (P)	C.E. Martin (L-P)
H.D. Black (A)	David Maughan (L)	R. Mendelsohn
		P.D. Phillips (L)

(* Presented a paper at the School. These lists are partial, giving only the names of those who gave papers or had their contribution to the discussion recorded in the final published volume. They amount to, on average, only 10-15% of those attending.)

Appendix II

Biographical Appendix

The Biographical Appendix seeks to provide basic information and give an indication of the background, training and interests of prominent reformists and students of public affairs. The first part (A) gives details of school, club membership, and suburb of several prominent academics and clergy, businessmen and professionals with this in mind. The second part (B) generally excludes these details.

(Abbreviations follow conventions used in Who's Who in Australia.)

Main Source: Who's Who in Australia 1933-4 (ed. Errol G. Knox), 1938 (ed. Joseph A. Alexander), 1947 (ed. Alec H. Chisholm), 1950 (ed. J.S. Legge) all published by the Herald, Melbourne.)

PART A

NEW SOUTH WALES

Business and Law

NORMAN COWPER b. 1896; B.A. LL.B., Sydney; Sydney Grammar School (later Chairman of Trustees); Officer, 2nd A.I.F.; 1931-U.A.P. Candidate for North Sydney; Chairman of A.I.P.S.; Executive, A.I.I.A.; Senior partner, Allen, Allen & Hemsley, Solicitors; Member A.N.U. Council; clubs-University, Australian (Pres. 1969-72); kt., 1967; residence-Wahroonga.

DAVID MAUGHAN b. 1873, educ. King's School, LL.B. Syd., M.A. Oxford and Sydney; K.C.; A.I.I.A. Executive; chairman N.S.W. branch Oxford Society; later kt.; clubs-Australian, University, Royal Sydney Golf; residence-Bellevue Hill.

H.S. NICHOLAS b. 1877; educ. Hutchins School, Hobart; M.A., Oxford; barrister and judge; counsel assisting Royal Commission on Commonwealth Constitution, 1926-7; early member R.I.I.A. (N.S.W.); founder Australian Quarterly; member Constitutional Association; Governor Sir Philip Game's constitutional adviser; M.L.C., 1932-1935; Pres., British Drama League; member Round Table-group; d. 1953; member, Australian and Union clubs; residence-Rose Bay.

R.W.G. MACKAY b. 1902; educ. Sydney Grammar School, Sydney University; solicitor, businessman; M.A., LL.B. Sydney; founder New Outlook (short-lived journal) and A.I.P.S.; lecturer, St. Paul's College, Sydney University and Sydney University Tutorial Department; solicitor, London; Labour M.P., U.K. from 1945; club-Reform (London); residence-(1950) St. John's Wood.

W.F.L. OWEN b. 1898; educ. Sydney Grammar, Sydney University; barrister, K.C.; Judge, from 1936, of the N.S.W. Supreme Court; first A.I.F.; clubs-Union, Royal Sydney Golf; later chaired 1954 Royal Commission into espionage; later member of Melbourne Club; later kt.; later Justice High Court.

G.C. REMINGTON b. 1897; educ. Armidale School; Chairman Free Library movement; later member Libraries' Advisory Committee, N.S.W.; Pres., Constitutional Association, 1937-9; Chairman, N.S.W. Regional Group, Institute of Public Administration; Director, A.I.P.S.; Assist. Director, War Organisation of Industry, 1941; Acting Director, United Nations Refugee Relief Association, South West Pacific, 1945; Pres., Rotary Club, Sydney, 1948-9; clubs-Union, Royal Sydney Yacht Squadron.

R.C. WILSON b.1896;State school;General manager,Graziers Co-operative Shearing Co.and director of several companies;first A.I.F.;later kt.

Academics and Clergy

F.A.BLAND b.1822;educ.Kogarah Public School;Sydney University;B.A.,LL.B., M.A.;member N.S.W.Public Service Board Examination Committee;acting director of Tutorial Classes,Sydney University,1927;lecturer,and then first professor of Public Administration,Sydney University,1935;several books; Liberal Party M.H.R. from 1951;club-University;address-Strathfield; active Anglican churchman.

E.H.BURGMANN b.1885;educ.St.Paul's College at Sydney University;M.A., Th.Soc.Th.D.;Warden,St. John's College,Armidale and Morpeth,1918-1934; Bishop of Goulburn,from 1934;W.E.A.lecturer;editor Morpeth Review; several short books.

IAN CLUNIES ROSS b.1899;educ.Newington College,Sydney University,London and Cambridge Universities;D.V.Sc.; research in Japan,1929-30;Director McMaster Animal Health Laboratory,C.S.I.R.,1931-37;executive,A.I.I.A.; Australian Member,International Wool Secretariat,London,1937-40;Professor of Veterinary Science,Sydney,1940-1946;Director of Scientific Manpower,Directorate of Manpower,1942-5;Chairman,C.S.I.R.O.,from 1949,kt.

W.G.K.DUNCAN educ.Sydney University,L.S.E.;M.A.(Sydney),Ph.D.(London); Assistant Director of Tutorial Classes,Sydney University,1932-4;Acting Director and Lecturer in Economic History,1934;travelling scholar,U.S., early 1930s;later Professor of History and Political Science, Adelaide University.

A.P.ELKIN b.1891;educ.East Maitland High School,St.Paul's College at Sydney University,(M.A.,D.Litt.),London University(Ph.D.);anthropologist and clergyman;editor Morpeth Review;many books;Fellow A.N.Z.A.A.S. from 1937 and Social Science Research Council from 1953;residence-Lindfield.

R.S.LEE b.1889;State school;St.Paul's College,Sydney University;M.A.,Sydney, B.Litt.,Oxford,Th.L.;International Student Service Secretary at Paris, 1926-7;editor,Morpeth Review,1927-1934;Vice-Warden St.John's College, Morpeth,N.S.W.,1928-1938;W.E.A.Tutor,1928-1937;with Burgmann,Rev.John Hope and Rev.H.Chandler;later Curate,St. Martin in the Fields,London;B.B.C. Overseas Religious Broadcasting Organiser,and Fellow and Chaplain of Nuffield,and then St.Catherine's College,Oxford.

G.V.PORTUS b.1883;educ.St.Paul's College at Sydney University,B.A.,Rhodes Scholar;Oxford M.A.,B.Litt.;Rector of Cessnock,1912-1914;Australian Military Censorship,1915-18;Director,Tutorial Classes and Lecturer in Economic History,Sydney University,1918-1934;Professor of History and Political Science,Adelaide University from 1934;several books;English Rugby Union international;club-University(Sydney).

LLOYD ROSS b.1901;educ.University High School and Melbourne University; M.A.,LL.B.,D.Litt.;Australian Railways Union(N.S.W.) Secretary,1935-43; Department of Tutorial Classes,Sydney University and W.E.A. Tutor;Director Public Relations,Department of Post-War Reconstruction,1943-49; Later;President Australian Congress for Cultural Freedom from 1961; Director,Elizabethan Theatre Trust,Vice-President Australian Productivity Council;club-Journalists'(Sydney);residence-Hunter's Hill.

E.R.WALKER b.1907;State school;M.A.Sydney,Ph.D.,Cambridge (Rockefeller Fellowship);economics lecturer;League of Nations Assembly delegate,1937; government adviser 1930s and later;diplomat;member of United Nations committees and kt.

VICTORIABusiness and Law

TRISTAN BUESST b.1894;educ.Melbourne Grammar,Trinity College,Melbourne University(LL.B.);Oxford(M.A.);British Army,World War I;barrister and company director;secretary,Oxford Society(Vic.);executive A.I.I.A. Victoria and Commonwealth 1930s and 1950s until 1970s;clubs-Bath(London); Melbourne,Australian,Naval and Military(Melbourne);residence-Domain Road, South Yarra.

F.W.EGGLESTON b.1875;educ.Wesley College,Melbourne University;first A.I.F.; Australian delegation,Versailles Peace Conference;Victorian M.L.A. and Cabinet Minister,1920s;chairman,Australian delegation I.P.R.Conferences, Honolulu 1927,Kyoto 1929,Yosemite 1936;Chairman Commonwealth Grants Commission;Australian Minister to China and to U.S.A.,1940s;clubs-Yorick and Constitutional(Melbourne);several books;kt.1941;residence-Caulfield.

HERBERT GEPP b.1877;educ.Prince Alfred College and University of Melbourne; General Manager,Electrolytic Zinc Co.,1917-26;Chairman Development and Migration Commission,1926-30;managing director,Australian Paper Manufacturers Ltd.;member numerous Royal Commissions;kt.1933;several publications; club-Australian(Melbourne);residence-Armadale.

P.D.PHILLIPS b.1897;educ.Melbourne Grammar,Melbourne University;M.A.,LL.B.; barrister and K.C.;Vice-pres.Vic.Regional Group,Institute of Public Administration;Vice-President Victorian League of Nations Union;chairman, Victorian Transport Regulation Board;editor and writer,A.I.I.A.,later kt.

ALFRED STIRLING b.1902;educ.Scotch College,Melbourne University(B.A.), Oxford University(M.A.,LL.B.);barrister;Private Secretary to R.G.Menzies (Attorney-General),1934-5;Department of External Affairs from 1936 (first stationed in London);later C.B.E. and C.B.E.;several slight books;clubs-Melbourne,Caledonian(London);residence upon retirement-South Yarra.

Academics

K.H.BAILEY b.1898;educ.Wesley College,Queen's College at Melbourne University,Oxford University;LL.M.,Melbourne;M.A.,B.C.L.,Oxford;first A.I.F.; Rhodes Scholar;Professor of Law,Melbourne University;from 1946 Commonwealth Solicitor-General;Australian delegate at international conferences;Canberra residence-Forrest.

W.MACMAHON BALL b.1901;educ.Melbourne University(M.A.);Research Scholar in Psychology,1923-4;Rockefeller Travelling Fellow 1929-31 in Europe,U.K., U.S.;lecturer in Political Science,Melbourne University;chairman,Book Censorship Abolition League;executive member,Australian Council for Civil Liberties;Professor from 1949;Australian Minister in Japan,1946-7; residence-Kew;several books.

HERBERT BURTON b.1900;educ.Ipswich Grammar,University of Queensland(B.A.), Oxford(M.A.),Rhodes Scholar;Senior Lecturer in Economic History,Melbourne, 1930-1946;Vice-President Council for Civil Liberties;Principal and Professor of Economic History,Canberra University College,1949-60;Fellow Australian Social Science Academy;Life Member of Australian Institute of Urban Studies(1972);Rockefeller Fellow(1935);C.B.E.(1962).

J.R.DARLING b.1899,England;educ.Repton School,Oxford;M.A.Oxford;British Army;headmaster Geelong Grammar from 1929;secretary Headmasters' Conference(of private schools);Melbourne University Council member;later:member Universities Commission,chairman A.B.C.,President Melbourne Club;kt.

F.R.E. MAULDON b.1891;educ.Sydney High School,Sydney University;N.S.W. Public Service professional division officer;extension Tutor Newcastle; Melbourne University economics lecturer,1926-35;Prof.of Economics, University of Tasmania,1935-39;Fellow,Institute of Public Administration, Victorian Regional Group;later Professor of Economics,University of Western Australia;several publications.

WILLIAM HARRISON MOORE b.1867,London;B.A.,Cambridge,LL.B.London University;Professor of Law,Melbourne University,1893-1927;Australian delegate to League of Nations Assembly;kt.;club-Melbourne.

G.L.WOOD b.1890;educ.University of Tasmania(M.A.);Master,St.Peter's College,Adelaide,1919;Associate Professor of Commerce,Melbourne University from 1931;member Commonwealth Grants Commission from 1936;several books;Rockefeller Fellow;club-Athenaeum.

INTERSTATE

R.J.F.BOYER b.1891;educ.Newington College and Sydney University(M.A.); Queensland grazier;Officer first A.I.F.;M.A.Sydney;A.I.I.A.Executive; became A.B.C.Chairman,kt.

J.B.BRIGDEN,M.A.(Q.);b.1887;Director,Queensland Bureau of Industry;M.A., Oxford;first A.I.F.;later Federal Government administrator and economic adviser.

T.P.FRY b.1904;C.M.F.Officer;barrister and law lecturer;A.I.I.A.Executive; degrees from Queensland,Oxford,Harvard.

C.A.S.HAWKER b.1894;educ.Geelong Grammar;Officer,British Army in World War I;grazier;M.A.,Cambridge;conservative M.H.R.for Wakefield from 1929; Minister for Commerce, 1932.

WALTER MURDOCH b.1874;educ.Scotch College,Melbourne University;M.A.Melbourne;Professor of English,essayist and broadcaster;several books;later Chancellor of University of W.A. and kt.

PART B

J.P.ABBOTT b.1891;Pres.N.S.W.Graziers Association;A.I.I.A.,E.S.member; vice-chairman Australian Wool Board,1936;1940 M.H.R.(Country Party).

T.R.BAVIN b.1874;B.A.,LL.B.,Sydney;Nationalist Premier of N.S.W.,1927-1930; A.I.I.A.President;kt.

HERMAN BLACK Sydney University economic lecturer;broadcaster on international affairs;later Pres.,Econ.Society,Pres.A.I.I.A.(N.S.W.)Chairman University Extension Board;later Chancellor of Sydney University and kt.

PETER BOARD b.1858;N.S.W.Director of Education 1905-1922;B.A.,M.A.,Sydney.

HERBERT BROOKES Vice-Chairman,A.B.C.;manufacturer;B.S.& I.A.financial supporter.

D.A.S. CAMPBELL Sydney woolbroker;Australian Quarterly editor;became A.I.I.A.President.

R.G.CASEY b.1890;Australian-British liaison officer in London,1924-1931; U.A.P. Government Minister 1933-1940;first Australian Minister to Washington,1940;Liberal Cabinet Minister 1949-1960;later kt.,Lord and Governor-General.

A.H.CHARTERIS b.1874,Scotland;M.A.,LL.B.,Glasgow University;Professor of International Law,Sydney University,from 1921;press commentator.

D.B.COPLAND b.1894;State school(in N.Z.);Prof.of Commerce;M.A.,D.Sc.,N.Z.; later Commonwealth government and university administrator, diplomat and kt.;residence-Canterbury,Melbourne;several books.

J.G.CRAWFORD b.1910;Economics lecturer,Sydney University;State school; M.Ec.,Sydney;later Ministry of Post-War Reconstruction,Head of Department of Trade,A.N.U.Vice Chancellor and Chancellor and kt.

L.F.CRISP b.1917;S.A.Rhodes Scholar,1938;M.A.Adel.and Oxford;founding member of National Union of Australian University Students;later Ministry for Post-War Reconstruction, and A.N.U. professor of political science; several books.

K.S.CUNNINGHAM b.1890;Director A.C.E.R.;M.A.,Ph.D.Columbia;several publications.

A.C.DAVIDSON b.1882;General Manager,Bank of N.S.W.;kt.1938;financial supporter,A.I.P.S.

NORMAN H.DICK Manufacturer;A.I.P.S.Class member;Secretary,Housing Council of N.S.W.

A.CONSTANCE DUNCAN b.1896;ex-S.C.M.Travelling Secretary;M.A.Melbourne; Secretary,B.S. & I.A. and League of Nations Union;became chief United Nations Refugee welfare officer for South West Pacific.

E.C.DYASON b.1886;B.Sc.,Melb.;stockbroker and company director;founder and Chairman B.S. & I.A.;Pres.Vic.branch Economic Society,1930-32;member of Council,Chamber of Mines;financial supporter of the study of international affairs.

J.D.FELL b.1899;B.A.Cambridge;first A.I.F.;A.I.P.S.Director,Constitutional Association member and later President.

A.G.B.FISHER economist,Bank of N.S.W.and academic,several universities; took up a position with the R.I.I.A.,Chatham House.

W.D.FORSYTH b.1909;State school;M.A.Melb.,B.Litt.Oxford;school teacher, researcher;Rockefeller Fellow;later External Affairs Department.

A.H.GARNSEY b.1872;Warden St.Paul's College,Sydney University 1916; committee International Peace Campaign;clubs-University,W.E.A.

PHILIP GOLDFINCH b.1884;Gen.Manager C.S.R.Co.;M.L.A.for Gordon;kt.; financial supporter of the A.I.P.S.;member of the Old Guard

C.HARTLEY GRATTAN b.1902;American publicist;visited Australia,1927,1936-8 (as Carnegie Fellow);articles and books on Australian literature and society;a regular post-war visitor and commentator.

W.K.HANCOCK b.1898;academic;expatriate,1933;M.A.Oxford;several books; later Prof.of History and Director,Research School of Social Sciences, A.N.U.;later kt.

H.L.HARRIS b.1889;Sydney Teachers'College lecturer;M.A., LL.B.,Sydney; author of several school texts.

KENNETH HENDERSON Perth;Morpeth Review contributor;Special Talks Officer, A.B.C.,1940s.

P.R.HEYDON b.1913;B.A.,LL.B.Sydney;A.I.I.A.Executive;barrister and secretary to conservative politicians;Department of External Affairs;later Head of the Immigration Department and kt.

ELEANOR HINDER Former science teacher,and Staff Welfare Superintendent; Farmer's Department Store,Sydney;Y.W.C.A.industrial secretary,China,1925-1942;International Labour Organisation,Geneva,1932;wrote articles for the S.M.H.and Newcastle Morning Herald.

FREDERICK HOWARD b.1904,London;Melbourne Herald journalist;travelled extensively;editor Austral-Asiatic Bulletin;writer.

R.F.HOLDER b.1913,England;Economic Department,Bank of N.S.W.;later A.I.I.A. executive and Economic Society executive and member Sydney University Extension Board.

P.F.IRVINE Sydney solicitor and writer on international affairs.

J.G.LATHAM b.1877;U.A.P.Deputy Prime Minister,Attorney-General,Minister for External Affairs,1931-1934;kt.;Navy(World War I);became Chief Justice of the High Court,Chancellor of Melbourne University.

FRANK LOUAT b.1901;LL.D.Sydney;President Constitutional Association; barrister;press and radio publicist.

J.A.McCALLUM b.1892;State school;B.A.,Sydney;school teacher;first A.I.F.; A.B.C.broadcaster;A.I.P.S.Director;Member of the Federal Labor Party in N.S.W.;Liberal Party Senator from 1950.

DAVID McLELLAND b.1881,Scotland;Blacksmith's Society secretary 1918-30, 1939-44;Labor M.L.A.for Drummoyne;secretary A.I.P.S.until 1939.

N.H.MacNEIL b.1893;M.A.,Oxford(Rhodes Scholar);British Army Officer,World War I;writer on education;became headmaster of Knox Grammar School, Sydney from 1924.

J.F.MANT Lawyer;Sydney;executive C.A.and A.I.P.S.;A.O.reviewer;A.I.P.S. involvement until 1970s.

EDWARD MASEY Accountant;Sydney;A.O.reviewer;briefly involved with Australia First movement during 1940s;active A.I.P.S.member in the 1970s.

L.G.MELVILLE b.1902;B.Ec.,Sydney;economics professor(Adelaide)and Treasury adviser;later member of government commissions,Commonwealth Bank Board; Vice-Chancellor A.N.U.

RONALD MENDELSON b.1914;State School;Labor Party member;Ph.D.,L.S.E.; Bank of N.S.W.Economic Department;became senior public servant;writer on social security;later member Board of Management,Australian Institute of Urban Studies.

R.G.MENZIES b.1894;LL.M-Melbourne;K.C.;U.A.P. Attorney-General;later Prime Minister and kt.

JOHN METCALFE b.1901;librarian;writer on libraries and Free Library Movement campaigner;State school;B.A.,Sydney,

DR.P.A.MICKLEM b.1876,England;Anglican minister,St. James,Sydney;Doctor of Divinity;theological scholar;later Provost of Wells Cathedral,England.

R.C.MILLS b.1886;D.Sc.(Econ.),London University;Professor of Economics, Sydney;later member of government commissions and Director Commonwealth Office of Education.

B.H.MOLESWORTH b.1891;M.A.,Oxford and Queensland;economics lecturer; A.B.C.Director of Talks from 1937.

J.S.MOYES b.1884;M.A.Adelaide;Bishop of Armidale;delegate 1943 U.S. conference on Post-War Reconstruction.

MILDRED MUSCIO Member Board of Social Studies,Sydney University;M.A., Sydney;member Royal Commission on Child Endowment;President National Council of Women,Sydney University Women's Graduates Association;later O.B.E.

GERALD PACKER b.1900;accountant and company director;Army(1920-1931),Air Force(World War II);A.I.I.A.Executive.

G.W.PATON b.1902;M.A.Melbourne,B.C.L.Oxford;Melbourne University law professor;League of Nations Assembly delegate 1938;later kt.

BRIAN PENTON b.1904;journalist,editor,writer;Sydney.

D.K. PICKEN b.1879,Scotland;mathematician;Master of Ormond College, Melbourne University;A.S.C.M.Chairman.

RAYMOND PRIESTLEY b.1886;M.A.D.Sc.;M.A.Glasgow;Vice-Chancellor of Melbourne University 1930-37;later Vice-Chancellor Birmingham University, England,and later kt.

G.S.REICHENBACH Sydney;Lawyer;partner of G.C.Remington;Director,A.I.P.S.

S.H.ROBERTS b.1901;M.A.Melb.;D.Sc.London;Professor of History,Sydney University;author of books on Australian history and contemporary international relations;broadcaster and press commentator;later Vice-Chancellor, Sydney University and kt.

GEOFFREY SAWER b.1910;lawyer;former member Melbourne University Labour Club;Ormond College member;later Professor of Law at the A.N.U.

ERNEST SCOTT b.1868,England;Melbourne University Professor of History.

E.O.G.SHANN b.1884;Melbourne University M.A.;Acting Prof.of Philosophy, Adelaide,1906;economic adviser to Bank of N.S.W., 1931-33;Professor of Economics,W.A.

W.S.SHELDON Lawyer;A.I.P.S.executive;Sydney.

A.E.SYMONS b.1891;A.I.P.S.Director and later Chairman;B.Ec.,Sydney University;Accountant and Businessman;Rotarian.

FRANK TATE b.1863;M.A.,Melbourne;Director of Education,Victoria,1922-28; Pres.,A.C.E.R.

S.M.WADHAM b.1891,England;M.A.Cambridge and Melbourne;Melbourne University Professor of Agriculture;member Royal Commission on Wheat Industry, 1934-6,Commonwealth Nutrition Committee,from 1937;later member of other government committees and kt.

ALAN WATT b.1901;State school;barrister;Department of External Affairs;
later head of Department;later kt.

L.C.WILCHER b.1908;B.A.,Adelaide and Oxford;Rhodes Scholar;B.Litt.Oxford;
Dean,Trinity College,Melbourne University;later principal of Gordon
College,Khartoum.

K.C.WILSON b.1900; LL.B.;Senator,1938-1944;Young Liberal League Chairman;
Major,2nd A.I.F.;later kt.

ROLAND WILSON b.1904;State school;B.Com.,Tas.;D.Phil.,Oxford;Ph.D.,
Chicago;Rhodes Scholar;Commonwealth Statistician;head Commonwealth Depart-
ment of Labour and National Service, 1940-1946;later kt.

W.J.V.WINDEYER b.1900;B.A.,LL.B.,M.A.Sydney University;barrister and law
lecturer,2nd A.I.F.officer;attended Toronto(1933)British Commonwealth
Relations Conference;company director;later Justice High Court,member
Sydney University Senate,A.N.U.Council;later kt.

Appendix IIIInternational Connections

Reformists and students of public affairs, unlike most Australians, had studied or travelled abroad and had contact with visiting academics, publicists and politicians. This list seeks to give basic details of these international connections.

A. Travel Overseas, 1927-1939

W. Macmahon Ball	E.C. Dyason	Walter Murdoch
K.H. Bailey	F.W. Eggleston	Mildred Muscio
W.D. Black	W.D. Forsyth	Keith Officer
R.J.F. Boyer	H.W. Gepp	J. Oldham
Tristan Buesst	Margot Hentze	G.W. Paton
Herbert Burton	P.R. Heydon	P.D. Phillips
A.H. Charteris	Frederick Howard	G.V. Portus
D.B. Copland	J.G. Latham	S.H. Roberts
H.C. Coombs	R.W.G. Mackay	Lloyd Ross
Norman Cowper	L.G. Melville	Ernest Scott
Ian Clunies Ross	John Metcalfe	Jack Shepherd
L.F. Crisp	R.C. Mills	A. Smithies
K.S. Cunningham	T. Inglis Moore	Alfred Stirling
J.R. Darling	William Harrison Moore	Georgina Sweet
W.G.K. Duncan	B.H. Molesworth	E.R. Walker
		Roland Wilson

B. Visiting Academics and PublicistsGeneral:

Lapstone British Commonwealth
Relations Conference (1938):

J.F. Cramer (American
educationist)
Frank Fletcher (Chairman, Head-
masters' Conference, U.K.)
C. Hartley Grattan
H.V. Hodson (R.I.I.A.)
Dr. Frederick Kaepfel (Pres.
Carnegie Corporation)
Malcolm MacDonald (U.K. - M.P.)
Ralph Munn (U.S. - Librarian)
H.G. Wells

Ernest Bevin (trade union secretary -
U.K.)
Lionel Curtis (Academic - U.K.)
P.E. Corbett (Professor - Canada)
H.V. Hodson (R.I.I.A.)
Iverson S. Macadam (R.I.I.A.)
Alfred Zimmermann (Professor - U.K.)

(U.K.):	23 delegates
Canada:	19 "
Ireland:	5 "
South Africa:	6 "
India:	4 "
New Zealand:	14 ")

New Education Fellowship
Conference (1937):

Salter Davies

(Educationist - U.K.)

I.L. Kandel (Educationist - U.S.)

and over a dozen other education-
ists from the U.K., the U.S., and
Denmark.

Visiting Expatriate Australians:

H. Duncan Hall (U.S.)

W.K. Hancock (England)

R.W.G. Mackay (England)

Other Expatriates:

Persia Campbell (U.S.)

A.G.B. Fisher (England)

Eleanor Hinder (China)

R.S. Lee (England)

P.A. Micklem (England)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Bibliography is divided into the following sections:

- I Private and Institutional Papers
- II Official
- III Newspapers and Magazines
- IV Journals
- V Theses
- VI Books
- VII Articles, Pamphlets and Reviews

I Private and Institutional Papers

- A.B.C. Talks Advisory Committee Minutes
A.B.C. Archives, Sydney.
- A.C.C.L. Papers, held by Mrs. Dorothy Fitzpatrick, Melbourne.
- A.I.I.A. Papers, A.I.I.A., Canberra.
- A.I.P.S. Papers, ML MSS 1835, Mitchell Library, Sydney.
- Herbert Brookes Papers, MS 1924. Series 26, National
Library of Australia.
- Tristan Buesst Papers, MS 2821, National Library of
Australia.
- A.H. Charteris Papers, Sydney University Archives, Fisher
Library, Sydney.
- Constitutional Association Papers, Sydney University
Archives, Fisher Library, Sydney.
- William Harrison Moore Papers.
- Walter Murdoch Papers, MS 2987, National Library of
Australia.

II Official

- 'Royal Commission on Money and Banking', Report (1937).

III Newspapers and Magazines

Age

Argus

Australasian

Book Censorship Abolition League, Press Cuttings, Vol. 201, Mitchell Library.

Stead's Review

Sydney Morning Herald

IV Journals

All About Books

Austral-Asiatic Bulletin

Australian Highway

Australian Intercollegian

Australian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy

Australian National Review

Australian Quarterly

Australian Rhodes Review

Economic Record

Journal of Public Administration (Australia)

Manuscripts

Morpeth Review

Pacific Affairs

The Peacemaker

Proletariat

V Theses

- Andrews, E.M., 'Australia and the European Crises 1935-1939', A.N.U. Ph.D., 1965.
- Bryson, D.B., 'Hartley Grattan : An American Intellectual and Reformer, 1925-1945. An Evaluation', B.A. (Hons.), Flinders University, 1974.
- Carroll, B.M., 'The Premiership of William Forgan Smith', M.A., Melbourne University, 1967.
- Cottle, A.R., 'A Study of the Rich of Woollahra during the Great Depression, 1928-1934', B.A. (Hons.), University of N.S.W., 1976.
- Eyers, John S., 'Herbert Brookes : A Political Biography', B.A. (Hons.), Sydney University, 1971.
- Harding, Florence, 'A Sociological Study of Sydney's Cultural Life', M.A., Sydney University, 1947.
- Howard, Michael, 'The Growth in the Domestic Economic and Social Role of the Commonwealth Government in Australia from the late 1930s to the Early Post-War Period', Ph.D., Sydney University, 1975.
- Lamour, Constance, 'Judge Foster - A Socialist Judge : Aspects of His Life and Work', M.A., Monash University, 1973.
- Lewis, Milton, 'A National Research University : The Origins and Early Years of the Australian National University', M.A., A.N.U., 1972.
- Lonie, John, 'Conservatism and Class in South Australia during the Depression Years, 1929-1934', M.A., Adelaide University, 1973.
- McCarthy, J.M., 'The Stevens-Bruxner Government, 1932-9', M.A., University of New South Wales, 1967.
- McDonald, Ian, 'Towards Cohesion : The Development of a National Student Union', B.A. (Hons.), LaTrobe University, 1973.
- Mitchell, Pamela, 'The Development of the Australian Broadcasting Commission News Service, 1932-1942', B.A. (Hons.), Sydney University, 1974.
- Oakes, H.R.G., 'The Episcopate of Bishop E.H. Burgmann to 1947', A.N.U., M.A., 1966.
- Osmond, Warren, 'The Education of a Victorian Liberal : Frederick Eggleston 1875-1916', M.A., Sydney University, 1974.
- Peter, P., 'Social Aspects of the Depression in New South Wales, 1930-1934', A.N.U., Ph.D., 1964.
- Friday, Chris, 'Sane Democracy in N.S.W. 1920 to 1940', B.A. (Hons.), Macquarie University, 1973.
- Willis, Sabine, 'The Formation of Australian Attitudes Towards China : 1914-1941', Ph.D., University of New South Wales, 1974.

VI Books

A.I.I.A., Australian National Preparatory Paper for the British Commonwealth Relations Conference, Sydney, 1938.

A.I.P.S., Marketing Australia's Primary Products, Sydney, 1937.

Alexander, F., Campus at Crawley, Melbourne, 1963.

Amos, Keith, The New Guard Movement, Melbourne, 1976.

Anchen, J.O., Frank Tate and His Work for National Education, Melbourne, 1956.

Anderson, John, Education and Politics, Sydney, 1930.

Atkinson, Meredith (ed.), Australia : Economic and Political Studies, Melbourne, 1920.

Australian Council for Educational Research, A Record of Council Activities, 1930-1955, Melbourne, 1955.

Bailey, K.H., Charteris, A.H. and Fry, T.P. (eds.), Proceedings of the Australian and New Zealand Society of International Law, Melbourne, 1935.

Ball, W. Macmahon, Possible Peace, Melbourne, 1936.

Ball, W. Macmahon, (ed.), Press, Radio and Foreign Affairs, Melbourne, 1938.

Barcan, Alan, A Short History of Education in N.S.W., Sydney, 1965.

Barnes, John, (ed.), The Writer in Australia, 1856 to 1964, Melbourne, 1969.

Barnett, F. Oswald, The Unsuspected Slums, Melbourne, 1933.

Bayne, Mollie and Lazarus, Mary, The Australian Community, Melbourne, 1940.

Binns, K., Library Services in Tasmania, Hobart, 1943.

Blainey, G., A Centenary History of The University of Melbourne, Melbourne, 1956.

Bland, F.A., Planning the Modern State, Sydney, 1934.

Bland, F.A., Shadows and Realities of Government, Sydney, 1923.

Beehm, E.A., Twentieth Century Economic Development in Australia, Melbourne, 1971.

Bolton, G.C., Dick Boyer : An Australian Humanist, Canberra, 1967.

Bostock, John and Nye, Leslie, ('A Psychologist and a Physician'), Whither Away, Sydney, 1934.

Bottomore, T.B., Elites and Society, Harmondsworth, 1966 (second edition).

Bowie, John, Politics and Opinion in the Nineteenth Century, London, 1963 (second edition).

Bradshaw, F. Maxwell, Salborne Chambers Memories, Sydney, 1962.

Branson, Noreen and Heinemann, Margot, (eds.), Britain in the Nineteen-Thirties, St. Albans, 1973 (second edition).

Brigden, J.B. et al, The Australian Tariff : An Economic Inquiry, Melbourne, 1929.

Brigden, J.B., Escape to Prosperity, Melbourne, 1930.

Browne, G.S., (ed.), Education in Australia: A comparative study of the education systems of the six Australian States, London, 1927.

- Burgmann, E.H., Religion in the Life of the Nation, Morpeth, N.S.W.
- Burgmann, E.G., The Regeneration of Civilization, Melbourne, 1942.
- Burnham, James, The Managerial Revolution, Harmondsworth, 1962 (Pelican edition; first edition published in 1941).
- Butts, R. Freeman, Assumptions Underlying Australian Education, Melbourne, 1955.
- Campbell, Persia, Mills, R.C. and Portus, G.V. (eds.), Studies in Australian Affairs, Melbourne, 1928.
- Campbell, Ruth (ed.), A History of the Melbourne Law School, 1851 to 1973, Melbourne, 1977.
- Carr, E.H., The Twenty Years Crisis, London, 1935.
- Chisholm, A.R., Men Were my Milestones, Melbourne, 1958.
- Clark, C.M.H., A Short History of Australia, New York, 1963.
- Cleverley, J. and Lawry, J. (eds.), Australian Education in the Twentieth Century : Studies in the Development of State Education, Melbourne, 1973.
- Clunies Ross, Ian (ed.), Australia and the Far East, Sydney, 1935.
- Clunies Ross, Jane (ed.), Ian Clunies Ross : Memoirs and Papers, Melbourne, 1961.
- Coleman, Peter, Obscenity, Blasphemy and Sedition, Brisbane, N.D.
- Condliffe, J.B., The Development of Australia, Sydney, 1964.
- Cooksey, R. (ed.), The Great Depression, Canberra, 1970.
- Coombs, H.C., The Fragile Pattern, Sydney, 1970.
- Coombs, H.C., Other People's Money, Canberra, 1971.
- Copland, D.B., Australia in the World Crisis, Cambridge, 1934.
- Copland, D.B., Credit and Currency Control, Melbourne, N.D.
- Coven, Zelman, Sir John Latham and Other Papers, Melbourne, 1965.
- Cramer, J.F., Australian Schools Through American Eyes, Melbourne, 1936.
- Crawford, R.M., An Australian Perspective, Melbourne, 1960.
- Crawford, R.M., Ourselves and the Pacific, Melbourne, 1941.
- Crisp, L.F., Peter Richard Heydon, 1913-1971 : A Tribute From His Friends, Canberra, 1972.
- Crowley, F.K., A New History of Australia, Melbourne, 1974.
- Cunningham, K.S. (ed.), Education for Complete Living, Melbourne, 1938.
- Cunningham, K.S., The Australian Council for Educational Research and Australian Library Services, Melbourne, 1961.
- Cunningham, K.S., The Social Science Research Council of Australia 1942-1952, Canberra, 1967.
- Cunningham, K.S., McIntyre, G.A. and Radford, W.C., Review of Education in Australia 1938, Melbourne, 1939.
- Cunningham, K.S. and Pratt, J.J., Review of Education in Australia 1939, Melbourne, 1940.
- Darling, J.R., Richly Rewarding, Melbourne, 1978.
- Davies, A.F., Essays in Political Sociology, Melbourne, 1972.
- Docker, John, Australian Cultural Elites, Sydney, 1974.
- Duncan, W.G.K. (ed.), Educating a Democracy, Sydney, 1936.

- Duncan, W.G.K. (ed.), The Future of Immigration into Australia and New Zealand, Sydney, 1937.
- Duncan, W.G.K. (ed.), National Economic Planning, Sydney, 1934.
- Duncan, W.G.K. (ed.), Social Services in Australia, Sydney, 1939.
- Duncan, W.G.K. (ed.), Trends in Australian Politics, Sydney, 1936.
- Duncan, W.G.K. (ed.), Australia's Foreign Policy, Sydney, 1938.
- Dutton, G. (ed.), The Literature of Australia, Melbourne, 1964.
- Eggleston, F.W., The Reflections of an Australian Liberal, Melbourne, 1953.
- Eggleston, F.W., Reflections on Australian Foreign Policy, Melbourne, 1957.
- Eggleston, F.W., State Socialism in Victoria, London, 1932.
- Elkin, A.P., A Goodly Heritage, Sydney, 1972.
- Elkin, A.P., Morpeth and I, Sydney, 1937.
- Emy, H.V., Liberals, Radicals and Social Politics, Cambridge, 1973.
- Encel, S., Equality and Authority, Melbourne, 1970.
- Evatt, H.V., Injustice Within The Law, Sydney, 1937.
- Fisher, A.G.B., The Clash Between Progress and Security, London, 1935.
- Fisher, Galen M., A Bird's Eye View of The Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1937.
- Fitzpatrick, Brian, A Short History of The Australian Labour Movement, Melbourne, 1968 (second edition).
- Fry, T.P. (ed.), Proceedings of the Australian and New Zealand Society of International Law, Melbourne, 1935.
- Gepp, H.W., Democracy's Danger, Sydney, 1939.
- Gibson, Ralph, My Years in the Communist Party, Melbourne, 1966.
- Gollan, Robin, Revolutionaries and Reformists, Canberra, 1975.
- Gollin, Alfred M., Proconsul in Politics, London, 1964.
- Goodwin, Craufurd, D.W., Economic Inquiry in Australia, Durham, 1966.
- Goodwin, C., The Image of Australia, Durham, 1974.
- Grattan, C. Hartley (ed.), Australia, Berkely, 1947.
- Grattan, C. Hartley, Introducing Australia, New York, 1944.
- Grattan, C. Hartley, The South West Pacific Since 1900, Ann Arbor, 1963.
- Green, H.M., A History of Australian Literature, Vol. II, 1923-1950, Sydney, 1961.
- Greenwood, G. (ed.), Australia : A Social and Political History, Sydney, 1955.
- Hancock, W.K., Australia, London, 1930.
- Hancock, W.K., Country and Calling, London, 1954.
- Harris, H.L., Australia's National Interests and National Policy, Sydney, 1938.
- Henderson, K.T. (ed.), Searchlights on Life and on Australia, Sydney, 1944 (Australian Broadcasting Commission).
- Hobhouse, L.T., Liberalism, New York, 1964 (edition introduced by A.P. Grimes).
- Hodson, H.V. (ed.), The British Commonwealth and the Future, Oxford, 1939.

- Hofstadter, R., Anti-Intellectualism in American Life, New York, 1963.
- Holder, R.F., Bank of New South Wales, a History (2 Vols.), Sydney, 1970.
- Horne, Donald, The Education of Young Donald, Sydney, 1967.
- Howard, Frederick, Kent Hughes : A Biography, Melbourne, 1972.
- Howells, A.F., (ed.), Kisch's Censored Speech, Melbourne, 1934.
- Johnston, G. (ed.), Australian Literary Criticism, Melbourne, 1962.
- Johnston, George, My Brother Jack, London, 1964 (second edition).
- Kamp, C.D., Big Businessmen, Melbourne, 1964.
- Kevin, J.C.G., Some Australians Take Stock, London, 1939.
- Kisch, E.E., Australian Landfall, Melbourne, 1969 (second edition).
- Knibbs, G.H. (ed.), Official Yearbook of The Commonwealth of Australia, No. 5 - 1912, Melbourne, 1912.
- Lang, J.T., The Great Bust : The Depression of the Thirties, Sydney, 1962.
- La Nauze, J.A., Walter Murdoch : A Biographical Memoir, Melbourne, 1977.
- Lawrence, R.J., Professional Social Work in Australia, Canberra, 1965.
- Louis, L. and Turner, D., The Depression of the 1930s, Melbourne, 1968.
- Lucy R. (ed.), The Pieces of Politics, Melbourne, 1975.
- Iyng, Jens, Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific, Melbourne, 1939.
- Lynravn, N., Libraries in Australia. London, 1948.
- MacFarlane, Bruce, Economic Policy in Australia : The Case for Reform, Melbourne, 1968.
- MacGregor, Craig, People, Politics and Pop, Sydney, 1968.
- McGuire, P., Australian Journey, London, 1939.
- McLeod, A.L. (ed.), The Pattern of Australian Culture, Melbourne and Ithaca, New York, 1963.
- MacMillan, Harold, The Middle Way, London, 1939.
- McPhee, E.T. (ed.), Official Yearbook of the Commonwealth of Australia, No. 28 - 1935, Canberra, 1936.
- Mansfield, Bruce, Knox : A History of Knox Grammar School 1924-1974, Sydney, 1974.
- Martin, A.H., Industrial Psychology, Sydney, 1931.
- Mauldon, F.R.E., The Use and Abuse of Statistics, Melbourne, 1933.
- Mayer, H. (ed.), Australian Politics : A Reader, Melbourne, 1967(second edition).
- Maynard, Jean, Technocracy, London, 1968.
- Mill, J.S., Utilitarianism, On Liberty, (ed.) M. Warnock, London, 1962.
- Mills, R.C., The Colonisation of Australia, 1829-42, London, 1915.
- Mills, R.C., The University and Business, Sydney, 1940.
- Muirden, Bruce, The Puzzled Patriots, Melbourne, 1978.
- Munn, R. and Pitt, E.R., Australian Libraries, Melbourne, 1935.
- Murdoch, Walter, The Australian Citizen, Melbourne, 1912.
- Murdoch, Walter, Collected Essays, Sydney, 1938.
- Murdoch, Walter, Loose Leaves, Melbourne, 1911.
- Murdoch, Walter, Lucid Intervals, Sydney, 1936.

- Murdoch, Walter, Moreover, Sydney, 1935.
- Murdoch, Walter, Steadfast, Melbourne, 1941.
- Murdoch, Walter, The Wild Planet, Sydney, 1934.
- Murtagh, J.G., Australia : The Catholic Chapter, Sydney, 1959.
- Needham, L., Charles Hawker : Soldier, Pastoralist, Statesman, Adelaide, 1969.
- O'Brien, Patrick, The Saviours, Melbourne, 1977.
- Parkin, Frank, Middle Class Radicalism : The Social Bases of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Manchester and Melbourne, 1968.
- Penton, Brian, Censored, Sydney, 1947.
- Penton, Brian, Advance Australia - Where?, London, 1943.
- Penton, Brian, Think - Or Be Damned, Sydney, 1941.
- Phillips, P.D. and Wood, G.L., The Peopling of Australia, Melbourne, 1928.
- Phillips, P.D. (ed.), The Peopling of Australia : Further Studies, Melbourne, 1933.
- Pike, Douglas, Charles Hawker, Melbourne, 1968.
- Playford, John, Neo-Capitalism in Australia, Melbourne, 1969.
- Playford, J. and Kirsner, D., Australian Capitalism, Melbourne, 1972.
- Portus, G.V., Australia : An Economic Interpretation, Sydney, 1933.
- Portus, G.V., Australia Since 1606 : A History for Young Australians, London, 1932.
- Portus, G.V., Communism and Christianity, Morpeth, 1931.
- Portus, G.V., Happy Highways, Melbourne, 1953.
- Portus, G.V. (ed.), Studies in the Australian Constitution, Sydney, 1933.
- Portus, G.V. (ed.), What The Census Reveals, Adelaide, 1936.
- Potter, B. (ed.), The Aberystwyth Papers : International Politics, 1919-1969, London, 1972.
- Price, A. Grenfell, Libraries in South Australia, Adelaide, 1937.
- Radi, H. and Spearritt, P. (eds.), Jack Lang, Sydney, 1977.
- Raison, Timothy (ed.), The Founding Fathers of Social Science, Harmondsworth, 1968.
- Rees, Leslie, The Making of an Australian Drama, Sydney, 1973.
- Richter, Melvin, The Politics of Conscience : T.H. Galen and His Age, London, 1964.
- Rivett, Rohan, Australian Citizen, Melbourne, 1965.
- Robson, Lloyd (ed.), Australian Commentaries, Melbourne, 1975.
- Rodd, L.C., John Hope of Christ Church St. Laurence, Melbourne, 1972.
- Ross, Lloyd, Tickets Without Goods, Dunedin, 1932.
- Rossiter, Clinton, Conservatism in America, New York, 1962 (Vintage edition).
- Rowley, C.D., The Destruction of Aboriginal Society, Melbourne, 1972.
- Rowse, Tim, Australian Liberalism and National Character, Malmesbury, Victoria, 1978.
- Sabine, G.H., A History of Political Theory, New York, 1937.
- Salter, A., The Framework of an Ordered Society, Cambridge, 1933.
- Salter, A., Recovery, London, 1932.

- Sawer, G., Australian Federal Politics and Law, 1929-1949, Melbourne, 1963.
- Schedvin, C.B., Australia and the Great Depression, Sydney, 1970.
- Scott, Ernest (ed.), Cambridge History of the British Empire, Volume VII, Cambridge, 1933.
- Scott, Ernest, A Historical Memoir of The Melbourne Club, Melbourne, 1936.
- Serle, G., From Deserts the Prophets Come, Melbourne, 1973.
- Shann, E.O.G., An Economic History of Australia, Cambridge, 1930.
- Shaw, A.G.L., The Story of Australia, London, 1955.
- Shaw, A.G.L., The Economic Development of Australia, Melbourne, 1969 (fifth edition).
- Stanner, W.E.H., After the Dreaming, Sydney, 1969.
- Stephensen, P.R., The Foundations of Culture in Australia, Sydney, 1936.
- Stretton, Hugh, Ideas for Australian Cities, Melbourne, 1975 (third edition).
- Taylor, T. Griffith, Australia : A Geographical Reader, New York, 1931.
- Terrill, Ross, R.H. Tawney and His Times : Socialism as Fellowship, Cambridge, Mass., 1973.
- Tiver, P.G., The Liberal Party : Principles and Performance, Brisbane, 1978.
- Tregenza, J.M., Australian Little Magazines 1923-1954, Adelaide, 1964.
- Turner, Ian (ed.), The Australian Dream, Melbourne, 1968.
- Wadham, S.M. and Wood, G.L., Land Utilization in Australia, Melbourne, 1939.
- Walker, D.R., Dream and Disillusion, Canberra, 1976.
- Walker, E.R., Unemployment Policy, 1936.
- Walkom, Margaret (ed.), Report of the 24th Meeting of the A.N.Z.A.A.S., Canberra, January, 1939, Sydney, 1939.
- Wallas, Graham, The Art of Thought, London, 1926.
- Wallas, Graham, The Great Society : A Psychological Analysis, New York, 1920 (first edition London, 1914).
- Wallas, Graham, Human Nature in Politics, London, 1908.
- Waten, Judah, The Depression Years, Melbourne, 1971.
- Watson, Don, Brian Fitzpatrick : A Radical Life, Sydney, 1979.
- Welsh, William A., Studying Politics, London, 1973.
- Wheelwright, E.L. and Buckley, Ken (eds.), Essays in the Political Economy of Australian Capitalism, Vol. I., Sydney, 1978.
- Whitelock, Derek, The Great Tradition, Brisbane, 1974.
- Who's Who in Australia, 1933-4, 1938, 1947, 1950, 1971, 1977, (Herald), Melbourne.
- Wood, G.L., Australia : Its Resources and Development, New York, 1947.
- Wood, G.L., The Pacific Basin, Oxford, 1930.
- Wood, G.L. (ed.), Problems of Industrial Administration in Australia, Melbourne, 1937.
- Woolf, Leonard, Downhill all the Way : An Autobiography of the Years 1919-1939, London, 1967.
- Zimmern, Alfred, The Greek Commonwealth, Oxford, 1911.
- Zimmern, Alfred, The Prospects of Democracy and Other Essays, London, 1929.

VII Articles, Pamphlets and Reviews

Altman, Dennis, Review of Turning Points by Lord Wolfenden, Australian, 24/7/1976.

Arena, Symposium on Intellectuals, (Contributors: Lloyd Churchward, Brian Fitzpatrick, Robin Gollan, Geoff Sharp, Ian Turner) Arena No. 5, 1964.

Australian Council for Civil Liberties, 'Six Acts Against Civil Liberties', Melbourne, 1937.

Australian Labor Party National Committee of Inquiry 'Social Change and the Future of Australia', Canberra, 1976.

Barcan, A., 'The Decline of Citizenship as an Educational Aim', Quadrant, Vol. XVI, No. 2, April, 1972.

Beer, Samuel H., 'The Webbs Confront the Twentieth Century', Politics IX(2), November, 1974.

Bell, Colin, Review of Tim Rowse, Australian Liberalism and National Character, Malmesbury, 1978, in the Australian, 13-14/5/1978.

Boyer, R.J.F., 'G.V. Portus - The Passing of An Australian Liberal', A.Q., Vol. 24, No. 3, September, 1954.

Cain, Neville, 'The Economists and Australian Population Strategy in the Twenties', Australian Journal of Politics and History, December, 1974.

Clark, Andrew, Interview with Sir Norman Cowper, National Times, 24-29/10/1977.

Clark, C.M.H., Review of Richly Rewarding by J.R. Darling, Age, 22/4/1978.

Connell, R.W., 'Images of Australia' in D. Edgar, 'Social Change in Australia', Melbourne, 1974.

Cook, Terry, 'George R. Parkin and the Concept of Brittanian Idealism', Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. 10, August, 1975.

Darroch, Robert, 'The Man Behind Australia's Secret Armies', Bulletin, 2 May 1978.

Davis, S.R. and Hughes, Colin, 'The Literature of Australian Government and Politics', Australian Journal of Politics and History, Vol. IV, No. 1, August, 1958.

Elkin, A.P., 'Aboriginal Policy 1930-1950 : Some Personal Reflections', Quadrant, Vol. I, No. 4, 1957.

Forsyth, W.E., 'The Pre-War Melbourne Group of the A.I.I.A. : Some Personal Recollections', Australian Outlook, September, 1976.

Hawthorn, Geoffrey, 'The New Intelligentsia in Britain', New Society, Vol. 38, No. 734, 28 October 1976.

Hancock, W.K., 'Hartley Grattan : An Australian Appreciation', Meanjin Quarterly, Spring, 1974.

'Have Degree Will Travel', National Times editorial, 27/11/1972.

Hearshaw, E., 'F.A. Bland and Politics', Journal of Public Administration (Australia), Vol. VII, No. 2 (new series), June, 1948.

Heseltine, H.P., 'C. Hartley Grattan in Australia : Some Correspondence, 1937-1938' Meanjin Quarterly, Vol. 29, No. 3, September, 1970.

Heydon, Peter, 'Keith Officer (1889-1969) Pioneer and Symbol', Quadrant, No. 66, Vol. 14, No. 4, August, 1970.

Hutchison, Jim, 'The Lang Plan and Its Designs', 'Lang and His Times' Conference Paper, Sydney, 1976.

- Kumar, K., 'The Salariat', New Society, Vol. 38, No. 733, 21/10/1976.
- J.G. Latham, 'The Hon. H.S. Nicholas', A.Q., Vol. 25, No. 3, September, 1953.
- Lindsay, Jack, 'The Alienated Australian Intellectual', Meanjin Quarterly, Vol. 22, No. 1, March, 1963.
- Lonie John, 'Good Labor Men : The Hill Government in South Australia, 1930-1933', Labour History, No. 31, November, 1976.
- MacLachlan, Noel, 'The Australian Intellectual', Meanjin Quarterly, Vol. 26, No. 1, March, 1967.
- Mansfield, Bruce, 'Australian Radicalism : A Neglected Influence', Twentieth Century, XV, Winter, 1961.
- Marwick, Arthur, 'Middle Opinion in the Thirties : Planning, Progress and Political 'Agreement' ', English Historical Review, Vol. LXXIX, No. CCXI, April, 1964.
- Metcalf, John, 'Ralph Munn and Australia', Australian Library Journal, May, 1975, Vol. 24, No. 4.
- Millar, T.B., 'The Role of the Institute', Australian Outlook, April, 1976, Vol. 30, No. 1.
- Murdoch, Walter, 'A Creed for Australia', A.B.C. Annual, Sydney, 1939.
- Osmond, Warren, 'Australianism and the Sociologist', Sociology Association of Australia and New Zealand Conference, Sydney, August, 1972.
- Osmond, Warren, 'The Political Thought of F.W. Eggleston c. 1930', Sydney University Department of Government Colloquium Paper, 5 April 1976.
- Parker, R.S., 'F.A. Bland's Contribution to Public Administration in Australia', Journal of Public Administration (Australia), Vol. VII, No. 3, (new series), September, 1948.
- Portus, G.V., 'Bland and Adult Education : A Personal Memoir', Journal of Public Administration (Australia), Vol. VII, No. 3 (new series), September, 1948.
- Raffo, Peter, 'The League of Nations Philosophy of Lord Robert Cecil', Australian Journal of Politics and History, Vol. XX, No. 2, August, 1974.
- Richardson, Len, 'Lang and the Wollongong Labour Movement', 'Lang and His Times', Conference Paper, Sydney, 1976.
- Sabine, G.H., 'The Historical Position of Liberalism' in Caroline F. Ware (ed.), The Cultural Approach to History, New York, 1940.
- Spearritt, P., 'Sydney's Slums : Middle Class Reformers and the Labor Response', Labour History, No. 26, May, 1974.
- Thomas, Alan, 'The Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1932-48 : First Thoughts', A.N.U. History Seminar Paper, 29/9/1976.
- Thomson, Dick, 'The Unimportance of Being Chairman' (Review of G.C. Bolton, Dick Boyen : An Australian Humanist, Canberra, 1967, Arena, No. 15, 1968.
- Ward, J.M., 'The Dismissal of Lang', 'Lang and His Times', Conference Paper, Sydney, 1976.