





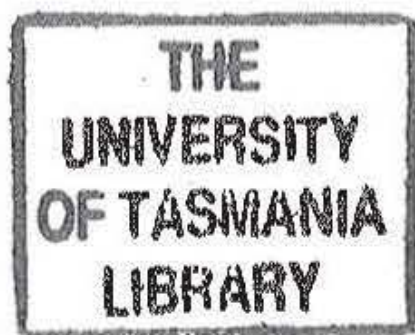
Open to Talent

THE CENTENARY HISTORY OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA
1890-1990

Richard Davis

HOBART
UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA
1990

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*To the memories of
James Scott and James Backhouse Walker,
Founding Fathers of the University of Tasmania*

The title of this history is taken from the University motto *Ingeniis patuit campus* ('The field lies open to talent') by the 4th Century Roman poet Claudian.

The University of Tasmania wishes to acknowledge with deep appreciation the assistance given by *The Mercury* newspaper, Hobart, towards the publication of this history.

Preface

The year 1989 is a traumatic time to conclude a centennial university history in Australia. The disappearance of the binary divide in higher education, the establishment of a unified national system, and pressure on many institutions to amalgamate, are intended to transform the parameters of academic life. The University of Tasmania will receive no centennial honeymoon. A history can, however, place the problems of the day in a longer perspective. Political expediency may delay, but not destroy, the long-term progress of a productive institution.

In assessing the achievement of the University of Tasmania little more than a cross-section of excellence can be provided. Many worthy and innovative projects must still be sought in Departmental research reports and specialist publications. Similarly, it is impossible to give adequate recognition to all those who have made this work, with all its imperfections, feasible. The extensive research of Alison Alexander provided an indispensable basis on which to build a narrative and enabled the book to proceed despite teaching and administrative commitments, plus overseas research obligations. Shirley King, the University Archivist, naturally bore the brunt of the pursuit of sources. J.B. Polya, Roy Chappell, Les Wood, John Bremner and Linda Weidenhofer provided collections of private papers and other items of interest. Michael Roe kept a watchful eye on the early drafts of the book; David Kearney, Ross Skinner, and Tim Jetson read the whole script on various occasions. Kati Thomson assisted in many ways. Dan Sprod as general editor exercised the meticulous attention to consistency and style characteristic of all his productions. Jim Cardno, Eric Guiler and Bruce Scott provided valuable advice on various sections. Etta Donaldson and Lyn Rainbird gave typing and correcting relief for a work originally composed on Tandy computers. The numerous colleagues, friends and acquaintances who supplied information, formally or informally, have been partly recognised in the bibliography. Hilary Webster's extensive taped and summarised interviews with University identities have helped to flesh out the skeletal framework of official minutes. Fred Koolhof has assisted with the photography. Finally, I again pay tribute to my wife, Marianne, for constant assistance and heroic willingness to read and correct innumerable printouts.

Richard Davis

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Chapter 1: Foundations, 1803–1892

OPENING CEREMONY

In June 1890 Hobart endured a spell of wet, blustery weather. Wednesday the 25th dawned with gales likely to mar the first 'commencement' or 'commemoration' of the new University of Tasmania. By 11 a.m., when the ceremony was due to begin, the rain had almost stopped and a considerable crowd, mostly ladies, assembled in the Town Hall to witness the novel proceedings. On the Governor's arrival, the organist struck up background music. The climax was the award, by the Chancellor, Chief Justice Sir Lambert Dobson, of the infant university's first degrees. The new Anglican Bishop, Henry Hutchinson Montgomery, whose small son, Bernard, was to achieve fame as the victor of El Alamein, was the first of thirty-one initial graduates ushered individually onto the stage. The Bishop looked 'very gorgeous' in the red gown with cream silk sleeves denoting a Doctor of Divinity. The others, wearing the robes of universities such as Oxford, Cambridge, London, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, New Zealand, Dublin, and Melbourne, were no less colourful. The local doctors, lawyers and schoolmasters flaunted their unaccustomed finery before an admiring feminine audience. There were then no lady graduates; with the lesser award of Associate of Arts (AA), equivalent to modern matriculation, came Miss Annie Georgina Hinks, the only girl in the batch of ten first class AAs.

While the graduates had qualified elsewhere, another first class AA of 1890, Samuel Picken of Launceston, later became the University of Tasmania's first locally produced BA. Other current award winners achieved future prominence. Lyndhurst Giblin, son of the former Premier, Dr W.R. Giblin, received one of the two annual scholarships providing four years at an English university; and a schoolboy, Ernest William Turner, of whom more anon, was awarded an exhibition for secondary education. The solemnity of university ritual, in a remote colony originally established to absorb the refuse of British society, was marred by some awkwardness. Several leading personalities suppressed their smirks with difficulty. The splendour of Sir Lambert Dobson's silk gown and gold tasseled mortarboard was tarnished by his speech. His lament, that the new university Senate would be forced to accept lowly AAs in the absence of sufficient local graduates, was regarded as an insult to the latter. Moreover, Dobson's pessimistic

comments on the difficulties of establishing a full teaching university, incurred criticism that he was 'a wet blanket', and had 'small faith in the future.'¹ There was something paradoxical in a non-graduate Chancellor of a university, without staff, students or buildings, admitting to degrees, *ad eundem gradum*, men who wore the robes of other institutions. Moreover, it was a particularly inopportune time for a new university in Australasia. Economic depression gripped; the Bank of Van Diemen's Land crashed in the following year, destroying many savings, including those of the Anglican Bishop; great strikes throughout Australia and New Zealand ended in the sullen defeat of the working classes.

After the ceremony in the Town Hall, James Backhouse Walker, one of the most articulate and energetic members of the University Council, asked himself anxiously, 'what is to become of the infant University? Is it an untimely birth doomed to an early death or a sickly existence? Or will it prove a robust child having before it maybe a struggling youth, but a vigorous manhood, and a venerated age? It is idle to regret the misfortunes which attended its entrance into the world. Parliamentary doctors and nurses did their best to disfigure the poor infant. We must take it with all its blemishes and weaknesses and try to rear it into health and strength.'² One hundred years later, it is time to answer some of Walker's questions.

WORLDS OF LEARNING

The aboriginal inhabitants of Tasmania, throughout the long centuries of their occupation of the island, lived simply and close to nature. Their education in tribal custom and environmental lore was acquired from elders without formal system. Spontaneous 'apprenticeship' is an educational ideal which has haunted scholars since Plato and Aristotle; in the modern world of high technology and bureaucracy it becomes increasingly difficult to realise in practice.

The first white settlers to upset the long peace of the Tasmanian Aborigines were convicts and keepers. They had little time or opportunity for anything but the most practical and earthbound instruction. But gaolers and gaolled came from a country where ancient universities had long been unchallenged. In England, Oxford and Cambridge derived from the high Middle Ages, while the one Irish and four Scottish universities were foundations of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the establishment of a new university was no light undertaking anywhere; in a penal colony at the ends of the earth a university seemed an outrageous absurdity, not 'an essential amenity of a civilised country'.³

As the nineteenth century wore on, the English monopoly of the then inefficient Oxford and Cambridge Universities broke down. The venerable colleges became privileged sanctuaries for oligarchies of indolent clerics; the historian Henry Gibbon discovered in the mid-eighteenth century that the professors 'have for these many years given up altogether even the pretence of teaching', while the fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, were noted only for 'their dull and deep potations'. Gibbon's tutor 'well remembered that he had a salary to receive, and only forgot that he had a duty to perform.'⁴ Furthermore, 'gross scandals, odd and not very defensible personalities and some very peculiar institutions and customs persisted till well on into the nineteenth century.'⁵ Worse still, non-Anglicans were barred from Cambridge degrees till 1856, and even matriculation at Oxford till 1854. The Scottish universities, however, were less restrictive and more utilitarian, without a corporate residential life. While instruction was more juvenile than in the English universities, the curricula were broader. New English and colonial universities tended to follow the Scottish model.⁶ An educational landmark appeared in 1836 with London University's charter to examine and award degrees. A number of colleges were federated under its aegis. After the Peel government's failure in 1845 to establish an acceptable Queen's University with constituent colleges, the Royal University of Ireland was set up as an examining body. It challenged the earlier monopoly of the sixteenth century University of Dublin. By the end of the nineteenth century, a number of English provincial institutions, of diverse provenance, had likewise achieved charters as independent 'red brick' Universities. The Scottish and newer English universities in the nineteenth century were not generally regarded as the educational equals of Oxford and Cambridge, but as glorified high schools. Before 1900 teachers at London University were not considered sufficiently responsible to organise or examine their own courses.⁷ There was little notion of 'academic freedom' or 'research' before the twentieth century.

Such precedents were vital in British colonies where free settlers wished to establish the civilised amenities they had known, or at least heard about, at home. There was the exciting prospect of securing a magnificent educational future by a generous endowment of cheap land soon after the establishment of a colony. Tempered by mid-nineteenth century government intervention, the famous Oxbridge Colleges still enjoyed the lavish donations of pious medieval benefactors; even more appropriately, Trinity College, Dublin, owed its origin to the confiscated lands of the colonised native Irish. In Australasia, some colonies took effective advantage of early opportunities to lay down a firm foundation for the higher education of subsequent generations. The University of Sydney proved the pathfinder in 1850. Transportation had just ended in New South Wales,

and, though there was little popular demand, a group of ambitious legislative councillors, led by the magnate who led the emancipist cause, W.C. Wentworth, secured a bill for a modest university. By citing the austere model of London's examining university, rather than the smug corporate splendour of Oxbridge, Wentworth disguised his elitism behind an ostensibly radical and democratic institution. To the *Hobart Town Courier*, Sydney, 'neglecting a more arduous and pressing educational task, *has* thought fit to establish a school of high and abstract learning.' However, the Irish rebel leader and Cambridge graduate, William Smith O'Brien, then languishing in Tasmanian penal exile, lamented in the same paper: 'We see around us evidence of augmented wealth in increase of revenue and expenditure, both public and private; but we are obliged to confess that no corresponding activity is to be discerned in the cultivation of Tasmanian intellect, or in the accumulation of literary treasure.' As O'Brien told his wife, 'Intellectual gifts and accomplishments are despised.'⁸

Meanwhile, brash gold rush Melbourne, to celebrate the independence of Victoria, created an institution to rival Sydney. Considerable private endowments, especially for church colleges, followed. Across the Tasman in 1869 a combination of Scottish Presbyterian educational zeal and gold discoveries blossomed into Dunedin's University of Otago. Based on E.G. Wakefield's vision of a cross-section of the old world replanted in the new, the Otago colony had cannily laid down educational reserves from the outset. Appropriately, the next two Australasian universities, Canterbury (1873) and Adelaide (1874), in colonies strongly influenced by Wakefield's cultural imperialism, likewise received substantial land grants.

Meanwhile, what of Van Diemen's Land, after New South Wales, Australasia's senior colony? It remained a penal settlement when transportation to New South Wales ended in 1840; governors, such as Sir George Arthur, insisted that the requirements of the convict settlement took priority over the ambitions of free settlers; the progress towards tertiary education was consequently slow. The ample supply of convicts, condemned to be hanged and dissected at the Colonial Hospital, might have formed the basis for a medical school, but Dr William Bedford failed to establish one in 1853.⁹ Anglican Bishop Broughton persuaded Arthur to attempt a more conventional classical college in 1834; his successor, Sir John Franklin founded another unsuccessful institution in 1840. The fear that the government and Anglican church would co-operate in constructing an exclusive institution was very real at the time. In 1846, the Anglican church, led by the determined Bishop Nixon, established its own Christ's College near Cressy. Launceston Church Grammar School and the Hutchins School, Hobart, were its feeder institutions. As a response,

£5,000 capital in £25 shares was raised to set up the Hobart High School, opened in 1850, on 'very unsectarian principles'.¹⁰ The promoters originally hoped that the eminent English historian and imperialist, J.A. Froude, would become its principal but Froude's sceptical *The Nemesis of Faith* appeared too dangerous.¹¹

As in other colonies it was thought that these colleges, though initially secondary institutions, might subsequently develop into universities. The Catholic lawyer, later a British MP, T.C. Anstey, opposed in 1840 the projected foundation of a college on the exclusive Anglican Oxford and Cambridge model. He argued instead for an examining body, like the newly chartered London University, to which institutions run by different churches could affiliate. The British government became involved in the issue, and the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, later to introduce his controversial secular Queen's Colleges in Ireland, was vaguely foreboding about the difficulties of state neutrality in religion.¹²

UNIVERSITY EMBRYOS: CHRIST COLLEGE V. HIGH SCHOOL

Two potential universities, Christ's College and the Hobart High School confronted each other in the 1850s. The former lasted ten years as a miniature academic corporation with a small quota of fellows, junior fellows and scholars studying theology, mathematics and the classics. The port could circulate at high table in approved Oxford collegiate style. Eventually, over fifty scholars took up residence. Christ's College had a generous grant of more than 4,000 acres of land, and finance was promised by several sources, including the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. A disciple of the great Dr Arnold of Rugby, the Rev. J.P. Gell, was appointed Warden. Alas, all was to no avail. Tasmania's first institution of higher education anticipated much of the future history of higher education in the island by failing to resolve its financial difficulties. Though individuals like Sir John Franklin contributed generously, other support in the colony proved insufficient. There were immediate threats of salary cuts. The College was improvidently administered and finally folded in 1856.¹³ The Sub-Warden in the last year, Thomas Stephens, an Oxford graduate, was destined to play a most important role in the foundation of the Tasmanian university.

The rival High School appeared more successful. Its shareholders contained a number of influential men, including the Governor, Sir William Denison, T.D. Chapman, a future Premier, and the Quaker missionary and wealthy businessman, George Washington Walker. An excellent site of four acres on Hobart's Domain was granted, and

sufficient money subscribed for the school to open in 1850.¹⁴ A three-storied Victorian Gothic edifice by Alexander Dawson was erected as a passable local version of an Oxbridge College. For a time it did well, but by 1855 the headmaster, R.D. Poulett Harris, an Anglican parson, was in failing health and the institution in a 'moribund state' Ironically, the High School council decided to lease the buildings to Christ's College, revived in the late 1870s. According to James Backhouse Walker (1831-98), son of G.W. and an influential member of the High School council, the lease was deliberately restricted to seven years to leave the building available for a new university. Moreover, under the terms of the lease, Christ's College was to operate as an undenominational institution. Despite these restrictions, J.B. Walker was compelled to defend his council's decisions against accusations that it was a 'shameful betrayal of a public and social trust.' One of the foremost critics was the outspoken and vigorous James Scott. The third son of Robert Scott, a shoemaker, Scott was born at Partick, near Glasgow. He spent four years studying Arts without graduating at Glasgow University before proceeding, as was usual, to take Theology at the United Presbyterian Hall in the same city. He was ordained a Presbyterian Minister after emigrating to Victoria in 1860. Ten years later Scott was called to St John's Church, Hobart, and in 1881 to St Andrews (now Scots), the oldest Presbyterian Church in Australia, where he remained till his death in 1905. Scott was influential in establishing the Presbyterian Officer College on the St Andrews glebe in 1898.¹⁵ Tension between Walker and Scott proved creative in the later debate on the establishment of a university.

THE TASMANIAN COUNCIL OF EDUCATION AND THE AA

In the 1850s, before the concession of full responsible government to Tasmania, one of the High School's promoters, Dr William Crooke, despite the religious rivalry which had destroyed the efforts of Arthur and Franklin, renewed the demand for a state initiated university. He asked the Legislative Council for what appeared a ridiculously large annual grant of £20,000 for a local university.¹⁶ The University of Sydney had recently started with a quarter of that sum, and by 1890 only £4,000 was available in Tasmania for a new university.¹⁷ Though Crooke did not succeed, his was precisely the type of grandiose vision required to inaugurate a strong university, able to withstand to some extent the buffetings of economic stringency, short-sighted politicians, and uncomprehending public apathy. Historians have demonstrated that some of the early Tasmanian land grants were unduly lavish; the aspirations of a Crooke might have secured a sizeable university reserve;

convict labour could have been exploited, in addition to private munificence, on the construction of splendid academic masonry; as in New South Wales, the interim before the concession of full responsible government might have established an institution difficult to initiate in the hurly burly of democratic politics. It was not to be. The Tasmanian university had to proceed the hard way, without any comfortable elitist buffer against political exigency. However, the debate continued during general educational progress.

Crooke's aspiration was attacked by Maxwell Miller, editor of the *Tasmanian Daily News*, a former Worcester College, Oxford, aesthete and briefly a school inspector in Victoria. Crooke's ideal of splendid buildings, colleges and professors Miller considered far-fetched. What was needed, he said, was a cheap, functional institution, on the London model. For the modest sum of £2,000 per annum an examining body could be established to process students prepared privately, or at existing secondary schools. This idea of a university on the cheap proved popular and influential in the colony. Miller, as a member of parliament after responsible government, publicised his views. But Miller was induced to water down his scheme. The word 'University' was dropped from a bill he introduced in the Tasmanian House of Assembly in 1858. Instead, a Tasmanian Council of Education (TCE) was established in 1859 to act as an examining body for a new qualification, borrowed from Oxford and Cambridge local examinations. This AA (Associate of Arts), given the much vaguer line of division between secondary and tertiary education at the time, was basically matriculation for fifteen-year-olds at the Tasmanian secondary schools. It led only to two highly competitive annual scholarships, contested two years later after preparation at Launceston Grammar, Horton College, Ross, the High School at Hobart, and subsequently Hutchins. Annually, the two victorious scholarship candidates were sent to take full degrees at English universities. The scholarships were certainly lavish, providing £200 a year for four years at a time when a professor at a Scottish university received little more. They were reinforced by two minor scholarships (£40 per annum) to prepare for the major awards, and five exhibitions (£20 per annum) to work for the AA.¹⁸ Between 1861 and 1889, forty-seven full scholarships were awarded, producing a sprinkling of high academic qualifications and blues, or the equivalent, for rowing, cricket and rugby.

The system was criticised from many angles. Some colonists were bitterly opposed to such an elitist extravagance, arguing that the scholars rarely returned to Tasmania. This contention was later challenged by James Backhouse Walker, who maintained that most scholars did return, at least for a time. Walker denied that the system favoured the rich. On the contrary, most scholars came from impecunious families, and some were genuinely working class. But Walker himself questioned

the scholarships as the ruin of many students who were transported to England without friends or relatives in that country.¹⁹ He was concerned, needlessly as it turned out, for young Lyndhurst Giblin, an 1890 scholar; Giblin's brother, however, was adversely affected. The chief examiner for the period, Professor M.H. Irving of Melbourne, considered the scholarship examination too specialised.²⁰ Another problem was the long-term failure of the TCE to adjust to the requirements of the English academic year; thus Tasmanians, according to one of the most successful candidates, had insufficient time to complete their courses.²¹

This singular solution to the problem of higher education was in fact equally unsatisfactory to those like Miller who sought a degree standard award, and those who wanted, if not a residential institution, at least a teaching university with its own professors. Demands for the extension of the TCE's functions continued but were offset by critics insisting on its disbandment.

The TCE system, nevertheless, in addition to its curiosity value, was a training ground for the founders and early administrators of the future university. It provided the means by which influential men of the next generation acquired their own university experience. The first fifteen members of the Council were chosen by the Attorney-General, Francis Smith, who appointed a satisfactory balance of religions and professions. It then became an influential closed oligarchy, with an Anglican church and Tasmanian Club majority, co-opting to fill each vacancy. Judges, premiers, archbishops and leading clergy were invariably brought in when opportunity arose. The Rev. George Clarke, a Congregationalist trained at a London theological college, not in a university, who became a missionary during the New Zealand Maori Wars, was an original member of the Council. He lived to become Chancellor of the University of Tasmania. Making up in public spirit and philanthropic zeal what he lacked in formal qualifications, Clarke proved an admirable founding father for a colonial university. Several scholarship winners were able to feed back their overseas experience to higher education in Tasmania. Neil Elliott Lewis, an 1877 scholar, obtained third class history honours at Balliol College, Oxford; he returned to become Premier of Tasmania and Chancellor of its university. Lyndhurst Giblin, scholar in 1890, represented England against Ireland, Wales and Scotland at Rugby Union as a forward, in 1896 and 1897, and also laid the basis for his career as a leading Australian economist; he later proved a formative influence on the University of Tasmania.

At first the AA had been for males only. In 1872 the Council decided unanimously to admit women, not only to the examination, as in Melbourne till 1879, but to the AA itself. This was an important decision as the question of female participation in higher education was never

subsequently raised. Initially, there were some difficulties. The girls, it was felt, could not sit the same examinations as the boys. Who then were to administer the tests, usually delegated to specialist examiners? With true colonial adaptability, Council members decided to do the preliminary job themselves. In ecumenical spirit, Anglican Bishop Bromby examined in English, and his Catholic opposite number, Bishop Murphy, in Euclid. The first intrepid females to apply were led by the redoubtable Miss Sarah Bourne, aged twenty-nine and able as a teacher to prepare herself for examination. There was some variation from the papers taken by the males: History was of equivalent standard, but Latin was somewhat easier. Five women passed, and Miss Bourne, who appeared more than equal to the occasion, received a first class award. Nevertheless, while males received their AAs at a public ceremony, such an ordeal appeared too great for tender ladies. By the mid-1860s the degree ceremony at the Town Hall had already been inflated into a major social occasion, complete with academic processions in cap and gown and noisy cheers. Accordingly, academic women were accommodated at a private meeting of Council. Miss Bourne's views on the arrangements are not recorded. The ice was now broken and the precedent of women's awards fully recognised. In 1875, Sarah Anne Weaver, at fourteen years nine months the youngest candidate, received an AA, second class. Originally, the aggregate marks required by girls to pass were set lower than those of boys. Altogether, sixty-eight, out of a total of 286 AAs, were awarded to women. The scholarship, however, was out of female reach. The case of Caroline Tynte-Browne in 1886 is instructive. In that year she took second place of all candidates, male and female. In Mathematics, she was the only candidate to achieve a first class pass. After receiving the silver medal for the best female candidate, Miss Tynte-Browne disappears from academic history. A male candidate, whom she had beaten into third place,²² experienced a different outcome. Two years later he won a scholarship to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and emerged with the coveted first in *Litterae Humaniores*. As Professor R.L. Dunbabin he was to prove one of the major forces in the University of Tasmania's first half century.

TENTATIVE STEPS TOWARDS ACADEMIA

Historian Maurice French has demonstrated that the TCE never lost its ambition to upgrade itself into a university.²³ Indeed, it drew some of the fire normally suffered by full-scale universities, in both Tasmania and other colonies. Cuts were threatened by unsympathetic premiers; the Council was accused of elitism, being a narrow coterie, and showing excessive sympathy to Anglican church interests.²⁴ The scholarship especially was depicted as charity to rich Tasmanians, unlikely to return

to the colony. Nevertheless, despite some apathy amongst Council members themselves, who sometimes found it difficult to provide a quorum of five, pride in the system grew. In 1875 there was a second attempt to establish a full university. Mr Justice Lambert Dobson originally drafted a bill, and a parliamentary member of Council, Dr Henry Butler, introduced the relevant bill in the House of Assembly. The Council, which included Catholic and Anglican bishops, unanimously supported the scheme. A sub-committee drew up a report for Governor Weld.

A forceful case was submitted. Tasmania, it claimed unreasonably, was the only Australasian colony without a university. Such deprivation was unjust to students who for fourteen years had sat local examinations 'which would have more than entitled them to the degree of BA in any British or Colonial University.'²⁵ Though at present consisting of unrelated fragments, the local system could easily be co-ordinated by converting the existing tests for exhibitions into a matriculation examination. The AA, which was advertised as equal to first year university, would then become just that. A second year course could be provided, and the structure crowned by the scholarship examination converted into a qualification for a third year BA. It was argued that the existing scholarship currently provided nothing for those who had achieved a high standard without obtaining a competitive award.

Assertion of this sort was useless unless accepted by the outside world. Could a fourteen-year-old girl really reach the standard of most first year university courses of the period? The Melbourne Chancellor, Sir Redmond Barry, warned that his university would not accept Tasmanian degrees unless from a chartered institution. However, the TCE had used external examiners where possible. For many years the chief of these had been Professor M.H. Irving of Melbourne. An early Professor of Classics at the University of Melbourne, the Balliol-educated Irving had migrated to Australia when his nonconformity blocked academic advancement in England. In 1871, after an unsuccessful demand for more adequate accommodation at the University, Irving accepted the headship of Wesley College, Melbourne. As a member of the Melbourne University Council, however, he continued to work for the reform of his late institution.²⁶ Irving was thus no mean guide for Tasmania's early steps towards academic recognition. Though sometimes critical of the syllabus, Irving's authority as an examiner inspired considerable confidence in the less expert members of the TCE. The TCE committee of 1875, headed by the Rev. A. Davenport, was therefore sanguine. Melbourne University, it argued, had been first constituted by the Victorian legislature; until receiving a royal charter some years later, its degrees had validity in the colony only. London University had been in the same position. It should not take longer than about ten years for Tasmania's high standards to achieve recognition.

With the charter, in reality unnecessary for the foundation of a British university,²⁷ as good as won, Davenport's committee turned to other arguments. The AA results showed that state school as well as 'public school' – the phrase being used in its English sense – had achieved exhibitions and first class results. Students from the former had participated for the first time in 1875. Therefore, the new university would be open to all social classes. Moreover, Tasmania's cooler climate would bring many students from the excessively hot mainland. Above all, the examining university, on the lines of London and France, would be cheap. In fact, 'the expenses of a University are not great.' Oxford and Cambridge, excluding the wealthy colleges, cost only £2,000 per annum apiece. The projected University of Tasmania 'would invoke no necessary expense beyond that of paying examiners, printing examination papers, and other small incidental charges.' Small fees would be charged to candidates. In the long term, 'it is not improbable that . . . endowments to aid teaching up to the required standard would be made.'²⁸

Though the latter suggestion implies a lingering hope for a teaching university, the Council was clearly hypnotised by the myth of cheapness. Even in the nineteenth century, the plan for a bargain basement institution was naive. The Anglicans clearly anticipated that their colleges would provide the flesh and blood for what was otherwise a grimly skeletal and unappealing structure. Bishop Bromby consequently worked for the revival of Christ's College.

Outside opposition was not appeased by the promise of a university for virtually nothing and the scheme was accused of being too ambitious for the colony. The bill actually passed the House of Assembly, but was introduced too late in the session for the Legislative Council. With the agreement of the TCE, Butler dropped the bill. The episode was nevertheless important. Several perennial arguments were aired. The estimate of £2,000 had been mentioned by Maxwell Miller and was to be taken up again. Similarly, the notion that Tasmania's equable climate made it a natural centre for higher education had already been suggested at the foundation of the Hobart High School. Moreover, the implicit strategy, despite changes in the TCE personnel, and individual rivalries among its members, remained virtually unchanged for the next fifteen years. It reversed the modern notion that a university begins with a large grant of public or private money to establish impressive buildings and a full range of courses, taught by staff of the highest qualifications. Rather it was progress by stealth. A very cheap examining university would quietly appear; then, gradually, it would gain public support; finally government grants and private donations would flow as the need to provide teachers and classes became generally accepted. It was a daring and dangerous strategy which paralleled that of the Tasmanian Catholic Church then endeavouring

to build a system of private schools without encouragement from the state. Bishop Murphy, an active member of the TCE before deafness forced his retirement in 1876, told his flock that after they had made an initial sacrifice to establish their schools, the government would pay.²⁹

MOMENTUM DEVELOPS, 1875-1882

Despite the disappointment of 1875, Tasmanian development in the next years revived interest in a university. The stain of convict transportation was fading.³⁰ Economic conditions improved; tin, copper and other minerals were discovered on the West Coast, and the sometimes short-lived ministries of the period contained men interested in higher education. In 1878, the Rev. George Clarke returned to Tasmania from overseas and was immediately re-elected to the TCE from which he had resigned in 1861. In June 1879 he became president, a position he held for two years.³¹ He worked closely with another Congregationalist member of the TCE, W.R. Giblin, Premier in the 'continuous ministry',³² October 1879 to August 1884. Another force working towards educational reform at all levels was the Minerva Club, patronised by the eminent lawyer and part-author of subsequent Hare-Clark voting, Andrew Inglis Clark, Philip Fysh, Premier 1877-78 and 1887-92, and other prominent men. As several were Unitarians, strongly opposed to religious tests, they worked for a secular university.

In 1882 there was a third attempt to secure legislation establishing a university. A committee of the TCE, led by Clarke, produced a new bill and compiled a memorandum. Few new arguments, except perhaps the suggestion that the system could be amended by the TCE without a formal act of Parliament, were advanced. This would indeed have been the creation of a university by stealth! Clarke's memorandum, however, was not debated. The bill presented to Parliament had only minor changes from that of 1875. The finance required was a mere £1100. The memorandum sought only £400 more than the TCE was currently receiving. A cheaper university had never been conceived. But the thin end of the wedge strategy, already apparent in 1875, was still in place.

The attempt to create a university in 'a fit of absence of mind' was again doomed. Though the bill was framed to confer more powers on the TCE, without actually mentioning a university in its title, it met strong opposition as being premature and ridiculous. Its parliamentary supporters were scarcely inspired, though Dr Henry Butler, the current TCE president, had carried the previous bill through the Assembly in 1875. One advocate simply suggested that a university

would do no harm; the Premier, Giblin, while praising his fellow Congregationalist, George Clarke, used the counter-productive argument that the latter's literary and oratorical powers required no academic labelling. The bill was heavily defeated, 19 to 6.³³

A FOURTH TRY, 1884

In the next two years all Tasmanian education came under review in a royal commission. The advocates of an examining university secured acceptance of their views in the final report of 1884. The commissioners included the former principal of the Hobart High, R.D. Poulett Harris. He used his position on the commission to air his scheme, already mooted in 1882, for a university without act of parliament. To save expense in the degree examinations, the TCE, Harris suggested, might employ the local university graduates and members of the professions as a pool of examiners, or 'Senatus Academicus'. In fact members of the TCE often did act as examiners, regardless of formal qualifications. The Rev. George Clarke, for example, examined in German for junior exhibitions.³⁴ Another member of the 1883-84 royal commission, was the Rev. James Scott, J.B. Walker's antagonist. Scott had long sought membership of the TCE; he was, however, considered too forceful an advocate of an immediate teaching university and compelled to bide his time as an external critic.³⁵

The royal commission of 1884 led in the following year to an important education act, consolidating 1868 legislation and establishing a ministry of education and a state primary system without grants to private schools. Education did not, however, become gratuitous, and this essential concomitant of compulsory schooling was not achieved till 1908, later than elsewhere in Australia. It had an adverse effect on the fortunes of tertiary education, as primary and tertiary education appeared locked in perpetual competition for funds which successive governments claimed to be non-existent.

The TCE, however, made another push for increased powers in 1884. Clarke, active once again, insisted that a university could be established at once. Giblin, still Premier, somewhat evasively introduced the old bill as a public, but not a specifically government, measure. A new memorandum, signed by the Premier himself, rehearsed the old familiar arguments. The examiners, Professor Irving and Dr J.E. Bromby had characterised the previous year's Tasmanian scholarship examination as higher in standard than the Oxford and Cambridge pass degrees. The old assertion that Oxford and Cambridge each cost little more than £2,000 to run was repeated. The 'thin end of the wedge' strategy was clearly expressed in 1884. An established university would attract the attention of wealthy colonists, wishing to emulate the benefactors

of academia in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. Funds would be provided for buildings and professorial chairs; the state could then be called upon for a much larger grant than envisaged in the present bill.³⁶ Bishop Murphy had used a similar argument on behalf of Catholic primary schools in his Lenten Pastoral, a few weeks earlier.

The legislators were not convinced. Edward Braddon, a future Premier, and B.S. Bird, subsequently Treasurer, were strongly opposed. Despite the conversion of the *Mercury* to a pro-university stance, the general requirements of education, settled in the 1885 Act, provided an excuse for shelving the university proposal. However, with the *Mercury*, controlled by the influential Davies family, and the Premier in favour, the ultimate success of the university scheme appeared assured. Unfortunately, Giblin lost office in October 1884, and the short ministries of Adye Douglas and J.W. Agnew which followed were not prepared to take up the matter. Not for the last time was politics a deciding factor in Tasmanian academic progress.

The TCE arguments in 1884 aroused the retrospective ire of a schoolboy, then four years from his own AA examination. R.L. Dunbabin as an academic elder statesman in 1939 considered them 'a striking example of ignorance and folly'. The notion that a university 'need not be . . . a body of teachers and scholars, but a body of persons empowered to examine' naturally infuriated a man who had devoted his life to teaching and scholarship. He easily demolished the oft repeated notion that Oxford and Cambridge cost only £2,000 annually, demonstrating that, exclusive of the colleges, Oxford cost £47,000 per annum in 1872. The TCE, he complained, must surely have heard of the Oxford and Cambridge colleges and known that those universities were not simply examining bodies. Had a university without teaching staff, but 'only a Council and a Senate and a scratch team of examiners' been established, 'its degrees would have been as certainly bogus as those of the Harvey Medical College in Chicago'.³⁷ Aware that ten of the fifteen members of the TCE had never experienced university education, the professor marvelled that the handful of Oxbridge members did not protest at such absurdities. He concluded that as most were clerics they had a professional tolerance of fools. Dunbabin might also have mentioned that the Royal University of Ireland, which *was* an examining body, was endowed with £20,000 per annum.³⁸

Modern academics may sympathise with Dunbabin's rhetoric. Lay Councillors with little knowledge of the real work of a university are often tiresome. But Dunbabin's own career provided a certain justification for some of the ideas he rejected. As a boy from a relatively impecunious home without a father, Dunbabin profited from the TCE system to win a minor award to study at Hutchins for a scholarship to Oxford. The fact that he obtained first class honours in an examination taken soon after reaching England did partly justify the

contention that the Tasmanian scholarship was close to Oxford pass BA standard. Moreover, the 1939 diatribe missed the point of the TCE strategy. Clarke and his colleagues simply wanted an examining university, not as an end in itself, but as a stepping stone to a teaching institution. Their propaganda may have been crude, but their knowledge of Tasmanian political realities was considerable.

The 1884 bid for a Tasmanian university failed badly. Bishop Murphy was no more successful in 1885 when the new education act refused to grant aid to Tasmanian Catholic schools. Unlike his erstwhile colleagues on the TCE, the bishop's church had to wait till 1967 before its strategy of erecting schools without government assistance was successful. But the TCE had to endure several frustrating years before a university could again be placed on the political agenda.

NECESSARY IMPETUS, 1888-1889

In 1888 there was some important new blood on the TCE. Fr Thomas Kelsh, a locally-born priest educated at the Propaganda College in Rome³⁹ and previously an examiner in Italian, was elected and represented the Catholic Church in the important debates which followed. Clarke secured the appointment of his 'crony', James Backhouse Walker.⁴⁰ In 1873, Walker, later a lawyer, had sat the AA examination at the mature age of thirty-one; despite his education at an English Quaker school, Walker achieved only the modest success of a second class pass. He later became a considerable local historian, writing relatively sympathetically of the Tasmanian Aborigines. Walker's friendship with Clarke, his interest in the establishment of a university, and the clarity of his prose made him a valuable acquisition on the TCE. As a bachelor, Walker had the time and energy to devote himself comprehensively to his enthusiasms. His curiosity, whether attending race meetings at Elwick, watching W.G. Grace batting at the cricket ground, enjoying the scenery at Eaglehawk Neck, or reflecting on the ladies' craze for bicycles with pneumatic tyres, was endless. Walker's diaries and contemporary notes provide a superb record of the infighting during the university's formation. Clarke and Walker were acutely aware of their own lack of formal degrees, and endeavoured to remedy the deficiency by wide reading and reflection. The young Lyndhurst Giblin came upon them discussing, he later felt somewhat incongruously, J.H. Newman's *Idea of A University* as a model for Tasmania. Walker was heard to declare that 'the true spirit and aims of a university had never been expressed better' than by Newman.⁴¹ The remark is revealing. Newman believed a residential college without examinations preferable to examinations without a college. The opposed ideal of Francis Bacon, contested by Newman but applauded

by a subsequent Vice-Chancellor of the University of Tasmania,⁴² might appear more appropriate for a colonial university. Bacon advocated research to discover the laws of nature and use them for human benefit, while Newman asserted individual self-development.

Walker's accession to the TCE was offset by the tardy election in October 1888 of the Rev. James Scott, on the nomination of Poulett Harris, and supported, despite strong opposition, by Clarke, Walker and their group. Walker's notes demonstrate a considerable irritation with Scott's push for an immediate teaching university. He portrays the TCE as divided into two clear factions: Clarke, Walker, Stephens, and the Chief Justice, Sir Lambert Dobson, demanding an examining university, while Scott, B.S. Bird, who had opposed the 1984 bill, and James Rule, Director of Education after Stephen's retirement in 1892, supporting a teaching institution.⁴³ But this division was tactical only. As Walker said, the examining university was the 'first step to a wider scheme'.⁴⁴ Clarke and his friends were not opposed to a teaching institution, but believed that only a step by step progress was possible at the time. The more sanguine Scott may, as French suggests, have acted as a 'catalyst'⁴⁵ in galvanising the others into action. However, as Clarke's biographer effectively demonstrates, Clarke's caution accurately anticipated some of the difficulties experienced by the early University of Tasmania.⁴⁶ Clarke and his friends realised that public opinion was not prepared for a university, that no endowments were promised, that students would be few, and that good staff were expensive. Clarke believed, as did London University administrators at the time, that external examinations would remain a necessary check on the teaching staff. Scott seemed to his opponents to be relying on the energetic canvass of politicians rather than on cool reason.

The final crisis in the foundation of the University of Tasmania was the result of the government's determination to scrap the long abused system of overseas scholarships. The ministry of Philip Fysh, 1887-92, had adopted a more democratic stance than its predecessors, removing archaic legislation prohibiting trade union activity and patronising the Australasian Trade Union Congress when it met in Hobart in 1886. To J.B Walker, Fysh was an opportunist 'of the worst type', submitting to Trades Hall dictation.⁴⁷ Initially Fysh's Minister for Education was Edward Braddon, a retired Indian administrator educated at London University. Braddon was strongly opposed to the TCE and its scholarship system. Ironically, in 1888 he retired from Parliament to take up the new Tasmanian Agent-Generalship in London. This position was itself under fire as an extravagance. J.B. Walker, who had refused Braddon's invitation to become a member of the new Technical School Board, claimed that everyone was indignant at the latter's appointment,⁴⁸ easily depicted as a 'scholarship' for superannuated politicians. Braddon's successor as Education Minister

was Bolton Stafford Bird, originally a Congregationalist minister like Clarke. Bird was closely associated with the Rev. James Scott, and, like Braddon, determined to abolish the scholarships. The government, in Walker's eyes pandering to the Hobart Trades Council, favoured a more practical and democratic technical school. This was opened in 1889, but soon incurred criticism for encouraging hobby-seeking ladies rather than genuine artisans.

THE TCE DIVIDED, 1889-1890

The senior TCE members, like Clarke, tried to head off Bird's opposition to scholarships by electing him to the Council in March 1889. Bird was, however, able to work with Scott for objectives somewhat different from those of the TCE majority, naturally proud of the good effect of their work in the past and unwilling to see it totally dismantled by what Walker opprobriously termed the 'revolutionaries' or the 'Officer College knot'.

Walker had no hesitation in attributing the worst motives to his opponents. Thus Scott was alleged to have 'never bothered himself about a University', or awoken to its necessities till he found that it could be used as 'a lever to oust Christ's College from the High School buildings for the benefit of Officer College'. He also unfairly claimed that Scott's academical qualifications were 'altogether wanting'.⁴⁹

Personal feuding aside, there was an important division on the very conception of a university. Clarke, Walker and their friends were influenced by Newman's collegiate ideal with its emphasis on one to one teaching, an aspiration rather than a reality in the Oxford of his day.⁵⁰ With such a high notion of academic necessity they doubtless believed that it was better to send two students a year to real universities abroad and provide an examining body for basic qualifications at home than to erect a second class institution. Scott, educated at a 'no frills' Scottish university, where many students plied their books in the ambience of a slatternly landlady's stale cabbage, rather than the aroma of vintage wines at high table, had different priorities. Moreover, as Scottish universities had a less exclusive notion of their functions, they provided a politically desirable scenario for the merging of technical education in the new Tasmanian university. The immediate scrapping of scholarships would release funds which could be applied to the appointment of Scottish-style professors, purchasable according to Scott at a mere £250-300 apiece. Here the Clarke group was more realistic, pointing out that no British academic would exile himself in Tasmania unless offered double the home salary. Had Bird and Scott achieved a premature abandonment of the Tasmanian scholarships, they would have cut short the careers of two of the colony's most brilliant academics,

L.F. Giblin, and R.L. Dunbabin. All in all, the Scottish precedent, rather than Newman's idealised Oxford, appears more relevant to Tasmanian conditions. The issue, whether a 'true university' should be based on the lecture room or the hall of residence, is a perennial one for all institutions.

Between May and September the 'moderates' and 'revolutionaries' thrashed out their differences in the TCE and its committees. Both sides were agreed on the establishment of a university, but the 'moderates' preferred to start with an examining body till adequate government funds were provided, while Scott's 'revolutionaries' wanted immediate teaching with whatever moneys could be eked out of existing funds.⁵¹ Bird, the Education Minister, was sympathetic to Scott, offering the establishment of a new university with no new funds whatsoever! Instead, an annual endowment was to be compiled from the grants to the existing TCE, the technical schools and the government analyst. As suggested, professorial salaries would replace overseas scholarships. According to Scott, local professors would then economise on external examiners.⁵²

After receipt of information on other institutions, the TCE formally resolved in favour of a University. Scott's demand for the immediate cancellation of scholarships to establish teaching received no support. Clarke's rejection of advance beyond an examining body before the legislature released adequate funds was successfully amended. The more positive objective of redrafting the 1884 bill with the appointment of staff when sufficient funds became available was accepted. The TCE somewhat reluctantly agreed to consider the amalgamation of university and technical education, as required by the Minister, Bird, and the Director of Education, Stephens.

Stephens and Walker, members of the committee which also included Bird, Clarke, Scott and Lambert Dobson, did most of the redrafting of the 1884 bill. Walker carefully investigated other Australasian university acts. The revised bill followed the 1884 precedent of an examining university with subsequent teaching dependent on finance. It enabled a maximum grant to the University of 30,000 acres of waste lands, in small scattered blocks so as not to impede settlement. Amalgamation with technical education was rejected. The new University Council was to be elected by a Senate consisting of at least fifty local graduates.

THE UNIVERSITY BILL BEFORE PARLIAMENT

Before Bird submitted the bill to Parliament, the Attorney-General, Andrew Inglis Clark, insisted on excluding all religious tests and

restricting clerics on Council to four. This stipulation, disliked by many TCE members, used to considerable clerical involvement, led to remonstrations by Walker and others. It eventually passed the House of Assembly by the narrow majority of nine votes to eight. Clark insisted that the churches 'had too much control of education and had exercised a narrowing and pernicious influence on it.'⁵³

Bird's compromise bill was introduced to Parliament in late October 1889. A grant of £4,000, reduced to £3,000 in 1890 and 1891, supported by the concession of waste lands, was modest indeed. Yet it aroused strong hostility. The Minister for Lands, A.T. Pillinger, and other members were so violently hostile to such an endowment that Bird timidly dropped it. Thus followers of Clarke, who considered £5,000 the minimum grant, were outmanoeuvred. As A.I. Clark perceived, a great opportunity had been lost for the University.⁵⁴ It was now too late to turn back. Many MPs were hostile to the whole university idea. Another minister, G.P. Fitzgerald, in what the disgusted Walker termed a 'violent diatribe',⁵⁵ aired the current prejudices against an aristocratic miniature Oxford certain to neglect science in favour of dead languages. The radical Col. Windle St Hill agreed. Launceston members repudiated a Hobart institution. Indeed, Walker maintained that the bill would have been wrecked in committee had the northern members arrived on time.⁵⁶ The bill, however, had doughty supporters in John McCall, Nicholas Brown and Dr Arthur Young.

Concessions saved the bill. Election of half the eighteen Councillors was transferred from the Senate to Parliament and first class male AAs, as well as male graduates, were enfranchised as Senators. The House of Assembly had wanted all male AAs, but the Legislative Council responded to the fears of Walker and his friends that such enlargement of the Senate would produce nonentities on Council and earn ridicule for the infant institution. After the Assembly had accepted Legislative Council amendments, on 5 December the Governor gave royal assent for the act to become operative on 1 January 1890.⁵⁷

Tasmania now had a university, but what a start! No endowments were made, only a minute annual grant subject to the whim of cost-cutting politicians in a recession. Public opinion was hardly supportive, though the *Mercury* and the *Tasmanian News* were now behind the university. A building had still to be found and financial prestidigitation was needed to acquire staff. Moreover, the protagonists of university education were divided amongst themselves and about to participate in a vigorous power struggle. Well might Walker lament the parliamentary doctors and nurses who had tried so hard to disfigure the infant university.

MODERATES VERSUS REVOLUTIONARIES

The University of Tasmania which was born on 1 January 1890 was only the idea of a university. To many Tasmanians it was, moreover, a ridiculous idea. In his perceptive pioneering study Maurice French has argued that the TCE, after trying for years to turn itself into a university, was finally frustrated.⁵⁸ However, it is arguable that the TCE did indeed succeed. The 'Revolutionaries', led by Scott, hoped in 1890 to clear out the old guard and wipe out the errors of the past, an aspiration to recur in a later crisis of the institution. The old guard, or 'Moderates', had no intention of being removed so easily, and were determined to set their stamp on the still hypothetical university. They had a strong hand to play. The old TCE, reinforced by three members, including the radical G.P. Fitzgerald, continued in existence as the Council of the University of Tasmania. It refused to take the mere caretaker role demanded by Scott. As French rightly demonstrates, J.B. Walker's voluminous papers give a fascinating picture of Moderate strategies, but the historian can approach the Revolutionaries only indirectly.

Though Walker expressed disgust at Scott's intrigues, his own side was well caucused. A few days before the old/new University Council met for the first time on 19 February, a small group gathered in the house of Dr J.W. Agnew, an Irish-born scholarly physician and former Premier, to organise proceedings at the meeting. Apart from the inevitable Walker, there attended Canon G.F. Archer, an Anglican, Fr Thomas Kelsh, representing the Catholics, and Thomas Stephens, now working closely with Walker.⁵⁹

The Council in the early months of 1890 had three tasks, first, to prepare for the new system to come into operation later in the year, second, to carry out the traditional examinations of the old TCE, and third, to decide who was to hold power in the future. New *ad eundem* graduates were admitted from time to time as the factions combed the local professions for likely supporters. Task one thus became closely related to task three. A premature applicant for a non-existent chair in Mathematics was sent about his business. A committee, dominated by Walker and Stephens and excluding Scott, was elected to devise the statutes of the new university. The lawyer, Walker, drafted them on the advice of Stephens. It was also decided to prepare standing orders for the Senate, to save time when it convened. The committee's report on 16 April evoked a lively discussion.

The Revolutionaries were duly voted down in their attempt to defer such weighty matters till the Council had been submitted to the will of its new electorate. Walker is very frank on the committee's determination 'as far as possible to preserve a continuity with the old Council of Education's work, and gradually reform it: to advance step

by step, first constituting an examining university and then as funds offered, gradually teaching with lecturers and then chairs.⁶⁰ Only a handful of Revolutionaries demanded the immediate appointment of cut-price Scottish professors.

A Board of Degrees, initially intended to arrange *ad eundem* conditions, was established as a useful standing committee. The draft statutes were passed with a few amendments. Without waiting for the new Council, Sir Lambert Dobson, president of the old TCE, was elected Chancellor of the University, with George Clarke as Vice-Chancellor. This gave the old guard a considerable edge over their opponents in the coming elections. The Revolutionaries' attempt to allow all AAs to become members of the Senate was rejected and a first class award became the minimum qualification. The decision created controversy in the local papers. The old guard insisted that Senate candidates appear in person to be admitted. This ensured that apathetic or country graduates could not be manipulated by ambitious friends. Graduates attending in person would also come more easily under the influence of the established authorities in Hobart and contain fewer disgruntled representatives from the north.

The Town Hall meeting of the University Council was thus a nostalgic farewell to the old TCE as much as a portent for the future. Walker, and those emphasising the good work done in the past, were saddened by the failure of more than four of the fourteen or fifteen graduates living in the colony who owed their degrees to the Tasmanian scholarship to attend the ceremony.⁶¹ Dobson who demanded university extension to all members of the community, rather than a teaching institution for internal students, was adhering to the traditional development by stealth strategy.⁶²

After the public meeting further graduates drifted into the Council meetings, enabling the minimum of fifty to be reached by September. The old Council completed its work in July when the old AA system was transformed into new senior and junior public examinations. To discourage excessive competition fewer raw marks were to be published; candidates were exhorted to concentrate on five subjects instead of attempting to increase aggregate scores from too great a diversity of options.⁶³ The TCE old guard could now congratulate itself on a job well done and face the future with equanimity.

Were the elections replacing the oligarchic TCE to achieve a genuinely new era? To the existing tensions between the rival factions was added the complication of A.I. Clark's clergy limitation. There had been five clerics on the old TCE; one would now have to go. Moreover, with the Anglican Bishop in the field, Canon Archer could scarcely keep his place without alienating other churches and hence reducing the already limited community support for the university. In the circumstances it was natural that Anglicans should have their own ticket

and that Scott should attend to the needs of his faction. Scott's expedient of using his ally Bird to ensure, not only his own election by Parliament, but the holding of the parliamentary election before that of the Senate, was basic self-preservation. Parliament in fact secured the election of George Clarke, unwilling to canvass for himself, and Fr Kelsh. Bishop Montgomery was thus the only cleric who stood for Senate election. Though Walker was disgusted by Scott's 'underhand plotting' and attempts to get MPs to vote for him, he himself left nothing to chance. His diary shows him canvassing and working out with N.E. Lewis strategies for the elections to Council by Parliament.⁶⁴ Walker felt that he deserved election: 'I have spent hours and days, almost weeks, in drawing Statutes and preparing Schemes . . . The fact is I am getting pretty full of it.'⁶⁵ Despite his own lack of a degree, or even a first class AA, Walker's efforts were rewarded when he topped the Senate poll with fifty-six votes, beating the Anglican Bishop into second place.⁶⁶ After the number crunching, Walker exulted that the Moderates had defeated the Revolutionaries by a large majority.⁶⁷ As so often happens when warmly contested electoral innovations are implemented, the new Council was not so different from the old. The chief casualties, Archer and Poulett Harris, the latter compensated as first warden of the Senate, were victims of A.I. Clark's exclusion rule. Walker considered 'Poor old Harris' a disaster as chairman, 'about as incapable a one as could be found'. Walker was soon in strife with Harris.⁶⁸ On the Council, new blood appeared in Bishop Montgomery and Dr E.L. Crowther, elected by the Senate, and Nicholas Brown, who had battled for the university bill in Parliament, N.E. Lewis, a former Tasmanian scholar soon to be Premier, and Justice J.S. Dodds, chosen by the legislature. The Bishop had experience of university extension work, emphasised in England by Bishop Brooke Foss Westcott of Durham, and, like Dobson, agitated for it in Tasmania.⁶⁹

Some weeks earlier the University Council had moved from the inconvenient old board room in what later became the post office to the Executive Council Chamber in the new public buildings facing Franklin Square. In May it had acquired, at £100 per annum, its first Registrar, George Richardson, also superintendent of the New Town Charitable Institution. At the end of the year the Council sought the part-time services of the Education Department's messenger. An academic empire was a-growing.⁷⁰

EXAMINING BODY OR TEACHING UNIVERSITY?

The high drama of the resounding victory of Moderates over Revolutionaries was reduced to anticlimax in 1891. The University had

acquired a Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Registrar, Council, Senate, and even a part-time messenger, but was no closer to obtaining staff, students, or premises. Its sole function was to continue the old TCE examinations. This was a poverty trap. The government had failed to grant money for any substantial activity, and the University became increasingly ridiculed for doing nothing. Only when the last Tasmanian scholarships ran out in 1892 could the funds be converted to teaching stipends. The efforts of Scott to secure an earlier termination had failed. As a gadfly, continually urging the appointment of staff, Scott's role was invaluable. The old guard were perfectly reasonable in their insistence on caution, realising the dangers of an institution without sufficient resources. Doubtless, they would have been prepared to administer the modified TCE system for some years to come. A real university in Tasmania might have had to wait till the expansion of higher education following World War II. Scott's rashness forced the issue, inaugurating a period of continuous crisis and a succession of near disasters, but at least ensuring a university presence in an otherwise isolated state.

In the years 1891 and 1892, though progress often seemed pitifully slow, the guidelines for the future were laid down. At first the Council was distracted by what unfortunately turned out to be an enticing will 'o the wisp. The substantial Arthur Leake bequest offered a dazzling prospect of £10,000 for scholarships in painting, sculpture, and astronomy. Unfortunately, Walker proved correct in his fear 'that there is very little chance of it being kept in Hobart.'⁷¹ For several years it seemed possible that a science faculty could be built round astronomy and many were the ingenious schemes devised for using the money to appoint lecturers. In the distant future the University was destined to become a major centre of astronomical research; meanwhile, the alleged certainty of Leake money was a powerful argument against the University's enemies in the community. Though ultimately legal difficulties appeared insuperable, Leake indirectly helped sustain the University when its existence was most precarious. At the end of its first decade, the University was able to cite the new Rhodes scholarships as an argument against its abolition. Ironically, the Rhodes bequest re-established with outside money the old system, albeit to only one annual graduate, of overseas awards previously administered by the TCE.

Apart from the Leake negotiation, the Council used 1891 to devise programmes for BA and BSc courses. This was the function of the long promoted examining university. To modern academics, accustomed to regard control over their courses as a *sine qua non* of 'academic freedom', the idea of a group of citizens, many of whom were not graduates, laying down course structures seems incongruous. In 1890, however, such academic freedom was totally unknown in most English universities. There was therefore no reason why enthusiasts

like Walker who thoroughly researched the practices and statutes of other institutions could not arrange good average programmes. By June 1891 the draft statutes for the BA and BSc degrees were tabled; a system providing for a three year degree of four options a year was established. Latin was made a prerequisite for BA, but not BSc, matriculation. Relaxation of traditional Latin requirements was used to justify the University as being in step with the modern colonial world. Stephens, the professional educationalist, supported the idea of compulsion, but the democratic Scott and Justice Dodds favoured what Walker called 'free trade — to go as you please — let boys choose themselves'.⁷² The permissive advocates eventually won the day. Steps were taken investigate the joint use of the Technical School laboratory for Chemistry, using W. F. Ward as an instructor in both.

The tireless Scott pressed for the early appointment of staff with a notice of motion in June. He was followed by Lewis's motion to consider law lecturers. Committees were duly appointed. By the end of the year it appeared that Science and Law, not Arts, would be most likely to attract students. More information was secured from other universities.

At the beginning of 1892 the pace of events quickened and the Council was buoyed by optimism. The overseas scholarships were due to expire in December, thus leaving £1,200 for teaching staff. Moreover, the Christ's College lease of the Hobart High School at a peppercorn rental expired later in the year. As this was what Clarke and Walker on the High School council had originally intended, their long-term strategy had succeeded brilliantly. Without a penny of government aid, the University acquired a purpose-built academic structure of some dignity. Scott, who had denounced the original lease to Christ's busied himself on the committee arranging for the transfer.

STAFF APPOINTMENTS AND RETRENCHMENT

There seemed no worry about student numbers; fees of £60 were anticipated to supplement the government grant. The committee on Law happily announced that there were thirty-two articled clerks in Hobart who could be regarded as certainties for law lectures, not to mention others who might be reached in Launceston.⁷³ The development of mining on the West Coast and elsewhere seemed likely to create an interest in all forms of science. A joint committee with the Technical School was established to consider affiliation and common use of facilities. Potential students had to be tapped, and there was no false pride in preserving the University as an institution aloof from banal occupations. Walker, attracted to Newman's less worldly ideals,

at least moved for that essential precondition of all learning, a library. The inevitable committee was established and £20 voted for books. With so important an initiative behind him, Walker could afford to take time off to watch W.G. Grace batting for Lord Sheffield's XI against Tasmania's well-beaten XVIII.⁷⁴ After all, Newman had accepted non-professional sport as a potentially liberal pursuit.

It was now possible to return to the exciting business of appointing staff, Scott, as usual applying the pressure. The money available allowed three academics at £500 each. Usually universities start with professorial chairs; Melbourne had appointed its foundation professors for life at £1,000 per annum. Such extravagance was clearly beyond Tasmania's needs. The Council talked sometimes of professors, and sometimes of lecturers, finally opting for the latter as, no doubt, they appeared cheaper and less permanent. Tenure was to be by three year contract, '*dum se bene gesserit*', so the Council could also dismiss earlier on grounds of misbehaviour. One lecturer was to cover Classics (Latin and Greek) and English Literature, a second would expound Mathematics and Physics, while the third would combine Law, History and Political Economy. According to Walker, the Technical School had been so badly mismanaged that the government was happy for University staff to use its laboratories.⁷⁵ The conditions of appointment were arranged by Clarke, Stephens, Lewis and F.J. Young, all graduates except the Vice-Chancellor, Clarke. Advertisements were placed in Australian and New Zealand papers only.⁷⁶

The information provided to applicants was very frank. They were warned that there were only 150,000 people in the colony and that their actual student numbers would be few. They must therefore be prepared for more general duties. They would be required to take evening classes, travel outside Hobart, give extension lectures to non-matriculants, set and mark examinations for schools as well as for the University, and be prepared to advise the Council or its committees. Later it had to be pointed out that they were ineligible for actual membership of the governing Council itself. As already suggested, the idea that academics should control their own professional activities was not then generally accepted in the English university world, though in Germany the principles of *Lehrfreiheit* and *Lernfreiheit*, liberty for the teacher and learner, were an aspiration which did not, however, save professors from dismissal by the government.⁷⁷ Three months vacation was mentioned but there was no reference to research. This again was hardly surprising at the time. Newman certainly talked of 'research', but it is arguable that he saw it only in the teaching context of an ideal university.⁷⁸

Applicants were not deterred by the salaries or the requirements of the new university. The Classics and English position attracted fifteen candidates, Mathematics and Physics another fifteen, and Law and

History seven.⁷⁹ An exacting system for election by Council was established. A preliminary ballot discovered the four best candidates for each position; a month was allowed to gather further information before the final election. Walker examined the prospects with his Cambridge-educated barrister friend George Waterhouse, and there were no doubt many similar private conclaves amongst Council members.⁸⁰ The final election took place in September and three Cambridge graduates were appointed. William Jethro Brown, a South Australian from a farming background who, after many vicissitudes entered St John's College, Cambridge, in 1887, easily obtained the History/Law lectureship. He had gained first class honours and was influenced by the eminent legal historian F.W. Maitland. Despite his excellent record and qualification as a barrister, Brown failed to find any permanent work in England and returned to Australia in 1892. He had narrowly missed the chair of Law in Melbourne. Alexander McAulay, appointed Maths/Physics lecturer, was according to Walker, 'a tall and gaunt fellow, very clever',⁸¹ and later nicknamed 'Angular Mac'.⁸² Born at Luton, England, in 1863, McAulay was the son of a Methodist minister. He studied engineering at Owens College, Manchester, progressing to Science and Mathematics at Caius College, Cambridge, where he became nineteenth Wrangler of his year and took a second in the Mathematic Tripos. Between 1888 and 1892 he was a tutor at Ormond College, Melbourne. Like Brown, McAulay had no near competitor in the final ballot. The third appointment, William Henry Williams, 'a little man' born at Birmingham in 1852 and a former scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, obtained the Classics/English lectureship by three votes. After teaching in England he had since 1884 been headmaster of Newington College, Sydney. Williams was also the brother-in-law of G.W. Waterhouse.

The satisfaction of obtaining three highly qualified lecturers was marred by a series of mishaps to the infant university. The Registrar, George Richardson, resigned after complaining that the Director of Education, who had rights to his office, had forced in another man and table, leaving the University documents and books in confusion. Richardson was replaced at the same salary by Lt.Col. Cruickshank, late of the Indian Army. His office was also inconveniently situated in the Public Buildings, but later a house, in very poor repair, attached to the High School, was made available for him. Cruickshank, despite some academic imperfections, was also used as an examiner in the school examinations.

The High School building, lately occupied by Christ's College, was found to need considerable repairs and alterations before being suitable for university use. One assessment was £2,000, not an unreasonable demand, but awkward in the current circumstances. Builders, moreover, fell behind schedule and it was thought necessary to book the Girls'

Industrial School Building in Barracks Square for the first classes. Though not ultimately needed, a school for neglected children, committed by a magistrate, might have been appropriate to initiate the university of a former penal colony.

With the aid of a Melbourne board of examiners, the University, acting for the first and last year as an examining body, held its initial BA examinations on 13 December 1892. Even this was not achieved without embarrassment. A complaint was levelled against the English paper, which had not tested knowledge of the set texts, but appeared to demand an honours, rather than a pass standard. The examiners admitted that they had misunderstood the requirements. The council finally decided to pass all the candidates in that section.⁸³ An examining body had its hazards, no less than a teaching institution.

The University Council certainly did not need such controversy when sufficiently embattled already. While the Council was preoccupied with choosing its lecturers in August 1892, the 'continuous' Fysh ministry which had set up the University fell from power, and was replaced by a government led by Henry Dobson. Though N.E. Lewis, a friend of Walker's and a keen supporter of the University, became Attorney-General, the new government's policy was 'drastic retrenchment'. Walker prevailed on the University Council to forestall a crippling cut by offering to manage with £3,000 of the parliamentary endowment of £4,000.⁸⁴ Accordingly, the Minister of Education, Adye Douglas, announced that he would be applying to Parliament for a reduction of the University grant from £4,000 to £3,000. This was bad enough, and possibly illegal. A petition to Parliament for £2,000 to cover additions to the High School had little result. Walker originally thought that only two lecturers could be appointed on £3,000; when all three were retained he anticipated great anger from the University's parliamentary enemies.

This funding crisis was indeed only the first of a series of financial attacks on the University, which at times came extremely close to forcing its closure, as many MPs always wished. The new institution was granted no honeymoon by the Tasmanian community or its representatives. For a start, there was no option but to press ahead with a pitifully tight budget, hoping desperately for private endowments like Leake's. Walker perforce became the chief public propagandist for the University, producing a stream of well-argued letters and pamphlets, refuting the misrepresentations of opponents and patiently detailing the positive advantages to the community, from all possible angles, of a University. It was a far cry from Newman's knowledge for its own sake, but vitally important nevertheless. Years later, speaking as an internationally acclaimed scientist, Alexander McAulay declared of Walker, 'had it not been for his efforts the University of Tasmania would never have been born.'⁸⁵

Chapter 2: Licking Things into Shape, 1893-1914

TEACHING AND LEARNING BEGIN

When Alexander McAulay arrived in Hobart on 1 January 1893, Walker wasted no time in inviting him to dinner and then whisking him off to Francis Young's to discuss University teaching and relations with the Technical schools. Young, a member of Council, was a Cambridge graduate and man of means who had accompanied his ailing brother, recuperating in Tasmania.¹ The following day Walker took McAulay to the Tasmanian Club, where, amongst others, he was introduced to the Attorney-General, N.E. Lewis. A few days later Walker called on Williams and invited him and McAulay to tea. Afterwards, they were taken to A.I. Clark's house to meet Nicholas Brown, who had so powerfully defended the University bill in 1889. Young was also present. The latter was willing to give up a day 'to save our youthful Profs from perversion!'² Acquaintance blossomed into life-long friendship. Young not only assisted McAulay with his public lectures, but donated a steam engine for the physics laboratory which was being established at the High School/University. McAulay, like Young, became a member of A.I. Clark's Minerva Club. There he later met socially one of his former students Miss Ida Butler, a handsome and strong-minded young woman. Though Young was also interested, in 1895 Miss Butler became Mrs McAulay, preferring the tousled scholar to the sleekly groomed Councillor.³ After Walker's immediate efforts, it was a formality for the Council on 16 January to instruct the Board of Degrees to consult with the newly arrived lecturers.

The rapidity with which Walker contacted the new lecturers was not the reaction of a lonely bachelor looking for entertainment, but a vitally important strategy in the circumstances. Staff and Council had to work closely together if the embattled University were to survive. The lecturers received little time for settling in as every action came under the scrutiny of a critical public. The early meetings no doubt emphasised the need for immediate extension lectures in both Hobart and Launceston to sell the university idea to the general population. For a start, the teaching of matriculated students was relatively unimportant.

FIRST LECTURES

Council struggled to prepare the new University for its opening on 22 March 1893. The building was in 'a very untidy condition' with Duff Bros., the contractors, in possession. A new laboratory with workshop, instrument and engine rooms, and stables were still under construction. Council laid down a three-term year of thirty-four weeks, beginning on the eleventh Wednesday of the year. With modifications, this pattern was to last till the introduction of a two-term system in 1989. The lectures were thrown open to all who could benefit and not restricted to matriculants. The fee for a course leading to a degree was ten guineas, with an additional two guineas for laboratory use; single non-degree courses cost £1.11.6d.

Less than a dozen, possibly as low as six, students attended to hear the first lectures delivered by Williams and McAulay. Courses in Latin, History, Mathematics and Greek were initiated. The *Mercury* remarked philosophically that a sister institution had started with only four students. It expected the enrolment of other students later in the year. There was, however, some annoyance amongst the students at a revision of the set texts which resulted in the purchase of the wrong books. The new Law course, intended to give theoretical underpinning to the practical experience of articled clerks, took longer to organise. By the end of April 1893 a three-year legal programme was laid down, the first year requiring a knowledge of Latin to translate Roman Law. Convocation voted to permit current unmatriculated legal practitioners to be admitted to Law degree courses before the end of 1896. Matriculation then required English, History, Latin and another language, Arithmetic and another science. There was then a strong belief that specialised degrees should not be conferred on people without an adequate general education.⁴

By the end of the year, eleven candidates, including four in second year Arts, sat degree examinations. All but J.R. Rule, later Director of Education,* who took Law, were in Arts; thus the optimistic assumption that Science and Law would prove particularly popular was immediately belied.

THE IMPORTANCE OF UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

The small initial enrolment of intramural students created a desperate need to win over the general community to the new institution. Though McAulay had proved unlucky in the degree student lottery, could he promote the university idea by exceptional extension lectures, rivetting

*Author's Addendum:

Correction - J.R. Rule was the son of a former Director of Education.

J.R Rule was later a Parliamentary Draftsman.

the attention of a sceptical audience? His offer of lectures on electricity in Hobart and Launceston seemed particularly relevant to local interests and needs.

With Francis Young's help, McAulay spent twenty hours preparing apparatus for his extension lectures. The newspaper report of the Hobart lecture indicates an interesting presentation, supported by appropriate experiments. Writing to Walker, Young stressed McAulay's good natured helpfulness when answering ignorant questioners. He was, Young averred, the sort of person who acquires learning to help others, not to demonstrate his own superiority. This apparently powerful recommendation was accompanied by the regret that the lectures 'have not more power over their hearers.' McAulay thus appears a patient teacher, but not the charismatic orator the Council needed so much. According to a student who subsequently became a Classics professor, McAulay was a difficult lecturer for those without a mathematical flair.⁵

THE PROBLEM OF LAUNCESTON

It was particularly important to create a favourable impression in Launceston where the local MPs had demonstrated such relentless hostility to the University. The lecturers, in rotation, were committed to two days there each fortnight. Unfortunately, if there were mixed feelings about McAulay in Hobart, the Launceston reaction was decisive. George Waterhouse, a Councillor living in Launceston, reported to Walker that 'McAulay has created a most unfavourable impression and has done his course a lot of harm by his opening lecture.' Waterhouse, though he felt that there was much to be said for McAulay, and that there were unfortunate circumstances beyond his control, sadly admitted that the constant complaints against him were well grounded. It was particularly worrying when all Launceston parliamentary candidates made a point of saying 'the University is an unnecessary expense, let it be abolished.'⁶ McAulay himself considered his lectures in Launceston a complete failure and lamented that they 'knocked him up for days.'⁷ Williams shortly afterwards obtained a much more favourable reaction; his lectures on the literature of Queen Anne's reign attracted an audience of two hundred. According to Waterhouse, who attended both courses as an example, Williams would have attracted twice as many had it not been for McAulay's failure.⁸ Brown, whose visit north, Waterhouse maintained, was too long delayed to maintain the required momentum, seems to have had even better success with his 1894 series on 'The Age of the Stuarts'. Indeed, Henry Dobson, who lost office as Premier in April of that year, claimed that the first lecture in the series convinced him that the University of Tasmania was worth maintaining, despite the depression.⁹ Unfortunately this desirable reaction came too late.

Extension lecturing in Launceston was always unpredictable. It is a moot point whether the lecturers were above the heads of their audience or the latter unreceptive. According to Waterhouse, 'there is an awful amount of indifference not only to the University but to culture to contend with in Launceston, which meets one at every turn.'¹⁰ Much the same could be said for most cities, but Tasmanian University Councillors in 1893 were in no position to be philosophical.

The problem worsened. Two years later, Waterhouse complained of a 'fiasco' involving Williams. Despite the initial interest in his lectures, only four people, including the faithful Waterhouse, turned up on a cold and wintry night to a well advertised Launceston lecture. When Waterhouse agreed to read the lecture on a later date, his audience consisted of two, a lady and a reporter! 'So far as Launceston is concerned', he told Walker, 'we seem to be casting pearls before swine. The people are desperately ignorant and as desperately contented with their ignorance.'¹¹ Next year, Waterhouse informed Council that Williams had obtained no audience at all for his extension lectures on English Literature.¹² After 1896 no extension lectures were reported in either Hobart or Launceston; thus ended the original dream of Lambert Dobson and Bishop Montgomery. Student tuition in Launceston continued. But Jethro Brown, who received a doctorate from Dublin in 1894, requested and obtained permission from Council to instruct Launceston law students by postal questions, rather than formal lectures.¹³ Later, he was required to give personal legal instruction in the northern city. Waterhouse, who assisted in the tuition of articled clerks, considered Brown's classes 'vigorous and enthusiastic'.¹⁴

Various expedients were adopted to encourage northern participation in both extension and degree courses. In 1896 an *ad eundem* degree ceremony was held in Launceston to attract interest. In the same year it was arranged to hold degree examinations there. Other courses and new lecturers were tried. While Williams failed to obtain an audience for literature, mining geology had a regular attendance of eleven; too small for excellence, thought Waterhouse. H.C. Kingsmill, government meteorologist and Council member on two occasions, volunteered to travel weekly to Launceston to lecture on experimental mechanics to non-degree students.¹⁵ Much in fact depended on northerners willing to act as managers preparing the ground for the lectures. A member of the Senate wrote in the *Mercury* that 'absence of local help' and an imperfect knowledge of local requirements explained why audiences in the north were sparse.¹⁶ Waterhouse's energetic assistance needed auxiliaries. Promised participants failed to appear on the day. The next step was to appoint local people to act as part-time tutors. Thus in 1895 Arthur Perceval, an Oxford B.A. and second master at the Launceston High School,¹⁷ was paid £40 to teach languages in Launceston.

The northern picture was not uniformly gloomy. Brown was usually reasonably popular; his topical lectures on Federation attracted an audience of sixty. Williams seems to have aroused some enthusiasm amongst his small group of northern degree students. When the very existence of the University appeared at stake in 1895, these were keen to sign a petition to maintain the status quo.¹⁸ One, Elizabeth Helen Wilson, became the University of Tasmania's first woman graduate. Amidst 'loud and sustained applause', she received her BA at the annual commemoration on 22 December 1896.¹⁹ Appropriately, she also became the first woman to teach for the University, when deputising in Launceston for Perceval in 1899.²⁰ Miss Wilson had been guided by the Launceston fortnightly visits of Williams earlier in her course and profited from Perceval's instruction later. The latter was concerned that there were objectionable passages in Fischart's *Dichtungen*, set for German III, but the new Board of Studies assured him that examiners never set such passages.²¹ Miss Wilson, picking her way through such noxious minefields, was thus a true product of a clumsy, though serviceable system. The first local *non ad eundem* graduate, Samuel Picken, who took his BA in December 1894,²² was also from Launceston. Successes like these partly compensated the lecturers for their tedious rail journeys north. Nevertheless, J.B. Walker's bleak words in 1893 sum up the University's position for some time to come: the 'half-hearted support of the South, and to say the least, absolute indifference of the North-west, and the hostility, violent and consistent, of Launceston, is enough to wreck it.'²³

LECTURERS UNDER PRESSURE

What was the reaction of the lecturers themselves? They had certainly been warned of the situation before their appointment, but specific difficulties can rarely be anticipated. As was made clear by their ineligibility for Council membership, they were in fact the servants, or less emotionally, the employees of that body, not constituent members of an endowed corporation. The three faculties of Letters (Arts), Science and Law which commenced operation in 1894, were very different from modern faculties, which consist predominantly of tenured academics. In 1894, each faculty comprised the Vice-Chancellor, *ex officio*, four representatives elected by Council, and the solitary academic, heavily outnumbered. The Board of Studies, which replaced the *ad hoc* Board of Degrees and provided the chief professional integrating body under the Council was similar in personnel. The first Board elected Stephens as president and contained those perennial rivals, Scott and Walker. In 1936, the replacement of the Board of Studies by the Professorial

Board marked an important stage in academic self-government. The original Professorial Board, which grew out of the Board of Lecturers, was relatively unimportant, except in matters of student discipline, and met infrequently. In the early years, though full-time academics were in a minority on the chief instruments of University government, this does not appear to have created much friction. As demonstrated by the relations of the lecturers with Councillors such as Walker, Young, and Waterhouse, there was a strong sense of identity and common interest in keeping a tenuous institution alive. Councillors could still examine and participate in part-time teaching. Kingsmill resigned from Council when he received a small stipend in 1895, and in 1907 was forced to do so again. The full-time academics seemed to receive a good hearing for their complaints, though Council lacked the means to remedy them.

Despite the small number of students who sat the degree examinations in 1893, the lecturers were kept extremely busy. Though McAulay had no takers for his degree exams that year, he still gave twelve lectures a week to a group which was allowed to attend, on payment of fees, for interest. He pointed out that twelve hours was considered the maximum by a Melbourne professor. Williams, who had the bulk of the degree students, taught them for fifteen hours. Possibly his possession of one of the houses attached to the University made him less critical of the situation than his colleagues. A report by Walker accepted that 'the two day a fortnight in Launceston is a severe tax on time and strength.' But extension work was even more strenuous for McAulay with his need to set up apparatus. Initially, he did not even have a laboratory assistant. Then the lecturers were expected to set and mark the senior and junior public examinations for schools. McAulay calculated that it took him eighteen hours to set six papers, seventy hours to mark them, plus another fifteen hours supervising the examinations. Additional fees were payable to the lecturers for some of these duties. Brown, however, complained that at Cambridge he had been paid £100 for work remunerated in Tasmania at fifteen guineas.²⁴ There was even a suggestion that the lecturers should act as inspectors of the Tasmanian secondary schools, all private institutions and then outside direct government control. The Council pointed out that this could only be done for a fee, and that it was not the duty of lecturers to provide detailed inspection but merely to offer advice. All in all, the lecturers appeared as busy public functionaries, rather than scholars advancing knowledge for the benefit of their intramural students and posterity. McAulay, as a scientist, was compelled to maintain a persistent demand for adequate facilities and equipment. On one occasion in the late 1890s he demanded the dropping of Physics from the curriculum until a satisfactory laboratory was provided. Equipment appeared in dribs and drabs, sometimes on loan. When

the Faculty of Science ultimately agreed that a microscope was essential, McAulay was at last authorised to obtain one, second-hand, from Burns Mart.²⁵

If conditions for lecturers were far from ideal in their first year, the offer of renewed appointment to those about to end their initial three year contracts, with a salary cut of ten per cent and six months notice either side, came as a shock. The two instructors in Chemistry and Modern Languages were abruptly retrenched.²⁶ The placid Williams accepted immediately, but his colleagues endeavoured to make terms. McAulay, obviously looking for another position, was allowed to delay his decision till the end of December. He then acquiesced with some questioning of the six months provision, which Council assured him, was as much in his interests as theirs. Brown asked for permission to practice law, contrary to a prohibition in his original contract. The Council, despite A.I. Clark's notice of motion to rescind the impediment, at first refused. Then Brown revealed that his request to increase his income by practice was intended to equal an offer to deputise for the Adelaide Professor of Law, with a good chance of the succession. This exhibition of academic muscle by the most successful lecturer achieved results. Brown was permitted to practice, though he had little time in fact to do so, and the next meeting of Council in December voted to upgrade the lecturers to professors. The Anglican Archdeacon Whittington strongly objected, clearly seeing the promotion as a type of bribe. Ironically, even greater poverty than that necessitating the original appointment of lecturers, rather than foundation professors, now forced their appointment to chairs.²⁷

ATTACK BY POLITICIANS

Council malevolence did not cause this crisis. In 1895 there was a very strong chance that the University would be wiped off the slate by Parliament. Like the ancient Greek Crone who lamented the death of a tyrant while others rejoiced, Council was aware that every new government appeared more hostile than its predecessor. As in more recent times, politicians, who out of office loudly asserted their belief in higher education, in power ruthlessly cut academic budgets to ribbons. Thus Henry Dobson's ministry had turned against the University in 1892; when in early 1894 it was replaced by the government of the returned Edward Braddon, the outlook was bleak indeed. As Minister for Education in the late 1880s, Braddon had determined to obliterate the elitist scholarship of the TCE. Now, taking office in more depressed conditions, one of the prime objects of the 'Braddon axe' was the struggling University. Moreover, Braddon, a theoretical advocate of free and secular primary education, had to contend with

Catholic opposition to educational gratuity while their schools remained unsubsidised. Meanwhile radical newspapers inveighed against the government for tolerating extensive illiteracy, 'the sign of the cross'.²⁸ Clearly the University, already opposed by so many legislators, was a far less dangerous nettle to pluck. Its destruction could easily be portrayed as the heroic action of a true democrat.

The difficulties involving teaching at Launceston and the small number of students enrolled made the University very vulnerable. By 1895 there were still only twenty-eight students studying degree subjects, the same number as in 1893.²⁹ Moreover, some of the University's own friends had hardly been tactful. The Chancellor, Sir Lambert Dobson, had insulted AAs in 1890; at the commemoration of June 1893, after some sensible remarks on the University's desire to keep in touch with 'the life-work of the citizens', Dobson broke into a tirade against the Australian 'low accent, which is to be met with in the East End of London'.³⁰ This was simply playing into the hands of the critics who depicted the institution as a sop to the pretensions of an affluent elite. Radicals responded in kind; according to the *Hobart Clipper*,³¹ denouncing money spent on the 'ornamental institution known as the University of Tasmania': 'it would be a pity to shut up the show and sack the beautiful professors who ride bikes so gracefully and give the correct Hinglish haw haw accent to our local society tea-parties.' It insisted on priority for a proper system of free, secular and compulsory primary education in a state which spent one-third (per capita) of its nearest neighbour on schools. Braddon adopted the same basic argument in refusing money to the University. Fortunately, the University of Tasmania had better spokesmen than Dobson.

CASE FOR THE DEFENCE

The chief propagandist for the University was always J.B. Walker, ably assisted by Clarke. He had already made a study of the statutes of other universities to draft the initial act, and now continued his investigations. Searching the Parliamentary Library for him, N.E. Lewis could find nothing more relevant than an article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. The defence appeared in local papers, such as the *Mercury* and the *Tasmanian Mail*, which were generally supportive of the University, and in occasional pamphlets deriving from the newspaper correspondence. The debate began with the Dobson government's cut in 1892, stimulating one of Walker's pamphlets.³² It grew more intense in 1893 after the lecturers arrived. At the end of that year Walker trembled for the University. He believed his financial defence had inhibited an 1893 attack, but realised that the battle would be resumed in 1895 when

the lecturers' contracts came up for renewal. Meanwhile, with Stephens, Walker did 'an immense amount of work' in getting the lecturers started.³³

The specific arguments used by Clarke and Walker weather well even today. They evaded no issue, but played down Newman's contention that the training of intelligence is an end in itself. Both had the ability to see the issues in a wider perspective than Tasmania's immediate financial needs in the 1890s. There was of course no hope of eliminating by reasoned arguments the prejudices of inveterate opponents of university education — the old antagonistic clichés were still poured out — but Walker and Clarke may have influenced sufficient middle-ground legislators to weigh the scale narrowly in favour of the institution in its precarious first fifteen years. Even after Walker's death, the University defence was based on his arguments. Academics were themselves appreciative. In 1895, W.H. Williams wisely made a personal contribution to the printing costs of one of Walker's 'splendid' pamphlets.³⁴

The basic defence of the University was effectively summarised in seven points published by Walker in the *Tasmanian News*.³⁵ The University was, first, no extravagance; second, it was no novelty but an extension of the TCE with minimal extra funding. Thirdly, it would eventually attract private endowments, thus saving the public purse. In the fourth place, it was not a 'toy', but a necessity to preserve local talent from loss; similarly, fifth, it was not a perk for the rich, but, as he said elsewhere, 'a true leveller of classes' in that it provided scholarships and accessible local lectures.³⁶ Sixthly, the curriculum was organised on modern lines, without compulsory Greek and Latin. The seventh point denied competition with primary education, insisting that a local university was essential to keep all schools up to the mark, as the junior and senior public examinations did.

In other writings Walker expanded on these basic arguments. He and Clarke emphasised the exceptionally low cost of the institution. The initial £4,000, cut so savagely, was little more than the TCE had been spending since the 1860s. The salaries of three lecturers amounted to £100 less than the Tasmanian scholarships. The transfer of the High School building 'cost the country nothing'.³⁷ As for the low initial attendance, the first twenty-six students were more numerous than those attending Sydney and Melbourne Universities in their earlier years.³⁸

Indeed, more students would enrol if the existence of the institution was made more secure.³⁹ The experiment of lecturers making periodic visits to Launceston demonstrated that the University was not serving the needs of the south only. Walker used the nationalist argument that a university responded to local needs and manners, not British cultural imperialism as opponents claimed. He quoted Sir Charles Lilley's 1891 Commission on a Queensland university to this effect.⁴⁰

Both Walker and Clarke emphasised wider perspectives. As Clarke said bluntly in 1893, 'the world outside our little cabbage garden has really something to say to us.'⁴¹ Walker provided documentation in an analysis of the progress made in other countries. In an 1895 pamphlet, *The Example of the United States*, Walker ranged from Massachusetts to Bulgaria to demonstrate the standing of universities in the rest of the world. With obvious local reference, he showed how Massachusetts had begun the process of reserving land from the foundation of a colony for support of higher education. Closer to home New Zealand had provided a capital endowment of £292,410, and Adelaide 55,000 acres. There was no need to emulate great foundations like Oxford and Cambridge, or even Sydney and Melbourne; numerous small universities, at least one in every American state existed. A university was now 'one of the necessities of a civilised and progressive people'.⁴²

Walker and Clarke did not ignore the current political realities of economic depression. According to the latter, 'we all recognise the necessity of retrenchment for a time, and it is only fair that the University should share a proportionate and reasonable curtailment of its funds with the rest.'⁴³ However, both Clarke and Walker insisted that the government should avoid panic. In October 1893 it was revealed that the University Council in 1892 had 'voluntarily approached the Government with a suggestion to give up a quarter of their income as a sacrifice to the colony'.⁴⁴ Council minutes and the needs of the time do not give the impression that the University authorities were able to afford the cut, but the surplus from the funds of 1890, 1891, and 1892, when there was no teaching, and the phasing out of overseas scholarships after 1892 (last payment 1895), did enable the institution to carry on. Many legislators were demanding even more drastic cuts. Clarke deplored in August 1893, when Dobson was still in office, an attempt 'to throw our new-born offspring to the wolves'. He warned that in all countries the uncultured majority opposed universities, which would never survive a plebiscite. Therefore, 'to put it at the mercy of some passing whiff of popular disfavour or political exigency is a course from which all patriotic men should shrink'.⁴⁵ Walker in the previous year had been even more forthright. Economy, he declared in words relevant to modern politicians, meant the judicious management of a nation's affairs, not just 'drastic retrenchment' after a period of 'heedless extravagance' when money was thrown away like water on various 'lunacies'. 'Drastic retrenchment' might 'cut off some of the essentials of national progress and well-being'. Governments behaved 'like a little boy with a new hatchet. The more valuable the tree, the more it tempts the destructive axe.' In fact, 'wealth-producing power and facilities for obtaining knowledge go hand in hand.'⁴⁶

BRADDON THE AXEMAN, 1895

The argumentative efforts of Clarke and Walker may have partially stayed the blunter axe of Dobson, but seemed ineffectual against Braddon's sharper edge. Though the *Mercury* saw the University of 1895 as 'justified by its acts'⁴⁷ the arguments for it were essentially long-term and, as Clarke realised, extremely difficult to communicate to an uneducated public. The Braddon government proposed to cut the sapling to a mere splinter endowed with a ludicrous £1,500 per annum. As Waterhouse asked Walker, what could the University do on £1,500? Teaching would be impossible, but it would be 'folly' to revert to examining only. He considered it better to uproot the institution altogether and revert to the TCE. This might have been the secret wish of the government.⁴⁸

Walker and his colleagues, however, had no intention of giving up so easily. The academics found themselves organising petitions as much as teaching, and there was no doubt heavy lobbying of sympathetic legislators. As chief University propagandist, Walker was kept particularly busy. He showed that even a return to the TCE would be impossible as it had cost £2,649 in its last year, and the University was already cut to £2,800. He reviewed the work of the institution, its record as an examiner of students at all educational levels, and the excellent qualifications of its staff. While primary education in the colony had risen from £12,303 in 1858 to £36,864 it should not be impossible to provide £3,000 for higher education. A cut to £1,500 would cripple the University and end teaching, be unjust to the current students, affect the development of secondary schools, and in general be a 'disastrous and retrograde step', reversing half a century's development and demonstrating Tasmania's indifference to intellectual progress.⁴⁹

Though Walker took pleasure in disproving the figures of Treasurer Philip Fysh⁵⁰, formerly the Premier who supported the original university act, Braddon raised his axe for the decisive stroke in July. In the House of Assembly, a large majority of the members favoured the felling of the University, but the cabinet was not united. A.I. Clark, the Attorney-General, and William Moore were opposed to the destruction of the University. Braddon cunningly waited till Clark was absent in Sydney before approaching cabinet.⁵¹ On his return, the Attorney-General spoke eloquently in favour of the new institution, arguing like Walker that destruction would amount to breach of contract with the students. He was supported by Bird, the minister responsible for the University's foundation. According to the *Mercury*, while most of the legislators were unable to grasp the real issues, the only speaker against the University as such was the Premier,

Braddon, whose hostility seems consistent and unrelenting. He continued to insist that a university was the privilege of a minority, while technical education was a much worthier objective.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL TO THE RESCUE, 1895

There remained only Tasmania's notorious Legislative Council, one of the most powerful upper houses in the world and regarded by contemporary radicals as a 'dead house' and asylum for 'fossils',⁵² remorselessly opposed to progressive legislation. After lobbying by Walker and his allies the 'fossils' considered running the University under 'a jury rig' worse than the unthinkable total abolition.⁵³ The majority could not quite support Frederick Piesse, who wanted to increase, not cut, the grant; under Walker's watchful eye the Legislative Council agreed unanimously that the reduction should be a mere £300, thus leaving a workable £2,500, not a ruinous £1,500. Adye Douglas, who had justified cuts as Education Minister under Dobson, but became a parliamentary member of the University Council in 1895, objected to the murdering of the institution and moved the increase in the grant. Piesse even claimed that the colony was less depressed than some maintained. George Collins won the approbation of Walker by arguing that a university was a necessity and vital to the progress of the rising generation.⁵⁴ Walker and Stephens had not expected so good a result, the former noting that six of the seven northern members favoured the University.⁵⁵

The University was not yet secure as a determined attempt was made in the House of Assembly to reject the Legislative Council amendment. Braddon was as usual inexorable. In a vote to truncate Braddon's reasons for disagreeing with the Legislative Council, the thirty member House of Assembly was tied, fifteen all. The Speaker, now B.S. Bird, had a casting vote. Normally, he told the House, he would reserve his decision. On this occasion he could decide immediately for the amendment and the University.⁵⁶ With this moral defeat for the University's opponents, the Legislative Council duly insisted on a vote of £2,500.

The University of Tasmania was to experience a number of other such nail-biting political crises in the future. Nevertheless, as Walker said in late 1894, 'if we could pull through this year, its success and permanence would be secured'.⁵⁷ The longer the University remained in existence and the greater the number of graduates, the stronger the chance of its ultimate survival. Attacks tended to be periodic. The power of the local Legislative Council was clearly an important buttress, however much that house might impede progress in other

directions. As Piessé had pointed out in the debate, as early as 1864 'it had stood in the breach and saved the cause of higher education'. Walker was quite optimistic after the settlement, considering that despite reduction to £2,500 the University could continue teaching with 'very fair success'.⁵⁸ He could take lightly Braddon's cynical remarks whispered at a subsequent University commemoration: 'One feels inclined to pardon old Braddon, for his saving gift of humour.'⁵⁹

For the moment the University was safe. But Council continued to press for the restoration of the original £4,000 laid down by the initial legislation. The Braddon ministry did allow an increase of £400 in 1898, but resolutely refused to make up the full £4,000 before losing office in late 1899. The £400 increase infuriated working class spokesmen who denounced the condition of primary education. The government, therefore cited primary education needs as its justification for refusing the University more funds.⁶⁰ Having failed to destroy the University outright the ministry pressed the University Council to work more closely with state education and to share staff with the Technical Schools. After a virtual ultimatum from the Premier, courses in Chemistry and Mechanics by William Fowlie Ward ARSM (London) and Henry C. Kingsmill, MA (Cantab) respectively were accepted in 1898.⁶¹ The Council, however, was working for a separate chair in mining engineering. Walker as usual prepared the case, citing examples in other colonies like Otago. With the mini-boom mining on the Tasmanian West Coast, it was felt that this surely was something that would demonstrate the practicality of the University. However, like so many other apparently well laid schemes it went horribly awry.

EARLY STUDENTS

The Fee Problem

Before tracing the unhappy story of the University mining school, which leads into the twentieth century, other developments of the 1890s must be mentioned. Despite the total threat to the institution in 1895, optimists were already pressing for greater expansion. Archdeacon F.T. Whittington wanted development in music;⁶² in 1896, the eccentric Dr Harry Benjafield followed Dr Bedford's 1853 attempt and anticipated the 1960s by suggesting a medical school.⁶³ As was to be shown in mining, the poverty trap encouraged the proliferation of courses to gain students and the resultant fees, but left the University open to more bitter criticism if they failed. Higher fees might have raised more money; however, if poorer students were discouraged increases would be counterproductive. Moreover, Walker claimed that low fees (ten guineas per annum for a degree course) proved that

it was 'a poor man's University'.⁶⁴ His arguments were reiterated by others. Poverty in fact restricted extension lectures to Hobart in 1896,⁶⁵ and made the institution appear more worthless to Launcestonians. A suggestion, defeated in Council, that candidates sitting in Launceston pay a higher fee, would have made it even more unpopular.⁶⁶ The Vice-Chancellor, Clarke, suggested allowing unmatriculated students to obtain certificates for courses completed. Waterhouse in Launceston was keen that people should be allowed to enrol for single extension lectures. None of these expedients could be any real substitute for adequate funding.

Student Activity

But what of the students themselves, forty-six of whom had graduated by 1898? Their small numbers and the fact that they were stationed in both Hobart and Launceston naturally prevented the development of any close collegiate system, so dear to a Newman. Nevertheless, some *esprit de corps* was already in evidence. The first student organisation at the University of Tasmania appears to have been a tennis club, which in 1894 unsuccessfully petitioned the Council for the loan of £10 to construct a court.⁶⁷ By 1899 the University took on at cricket the officers of the Imperial fleet's Australian squadron, then conducting manoeuvres in Norfolk Bay. The Fleet won convincingly on first innings by 153 runs to a miserable 75. The 250 spectators included Rear-Admiral Hugo Pearson, officially received by Clarke and Walker.⁶⁸ Poor batting destroyed the publicity value of the game. Later that year the Tasmania University Union was formed to facilitate 'social intercourse' and sports for the thirty-five students in attendance. Five committees, covering cricket, tennis, football, social activities and debating, each sent a delegate to a general committee of lecturers and students. Membership was not compulsory, the fee being a guinea for men and five shillings for women.⁶⁹ The Registrar vacated his office in the University for use as a common room.⁷⁰

First Women

In 1901 the women students were provided with a separate common room and £5 towards its furnishing. Their request that it should be placed under the control of the new Tasmania University Union was, however, turned down.⁷¹ Instead, a separate women's organisation, under the patronage of the Chancellor's wife, was established.⁷² As wives of academics and University Councillors were included, the female students hardly secured much independence. The men's

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common room was out of bounds for many years to come.⁷³ In Tasmania, as in other contemporary universities, the 'co-existence rather than the mixing of the sexes' was hardly joyous for women;⁷⁴ they were often victims of male prejudice and hostility. From the start, however, women were vitally important as the University struggled for numbers. They held their own in Arts especially, obtaining forty BAs and seventeen MAs up to 1914. Miss Maud Ethel Leggett obtained an MA in 1899, only a year after the first male, E.W. Turner. In 1898 three of the four BAs and one of two BScs were women. The Chancellor was loudly applauded when he declared that the University did not recognise any distinction of sex.⁷⁵ He omitted, however, to mention that the Senate and Council were exclusively male. Indeed, the fact that a number of students were female helped to give the impression that the institution was not sufficiently 'practical', one hostile legislator complaining that an instructor was paid to teach two ladies. However, Miss A.M. Elliott in 1900 became the first MSc of either sex. The parliamentary defenders of the University also advertised the fact that a lady BSc had obtained an important post with the new Commonwealth government.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the idea of women as an academic distraction persisted. The *Mercury* epitomised a popular attitude in its description of the annual commemoration of 1905, when four (two BAs and two BScs) of the eight graduates were women. Beside elegant pot plants, 'a noteworthy feature was the number of "sweet girl graduates" garbed in their gowns, with their long hair escaping from under their trenchers, from which the tassels fell away with an airy grace. They occupied conspicuous seats on the platform in front of the men graduates, where for the remainder of the ceremony, they were the cynosures of neighbouring eyes.'⁷⁷ Up to 1914, women received 66 of the 175 degrees (37.7 per cent) awarded by the University of Tasmania. This was an improvement on the old AA system, only 19.2 per cent of whose awards between 1869 and 1890 went to women. Females were, however, debarred from the AA till 1872.

Cap and Gown

At a time when women were still portrayed as basically decorative, such advance in their education may have proved doubtful publicity for the University, still struggling to assert its credentials as a 'practical' institution. As Gardner has pointed out, 'cap and gown set students conspicuously apart from their wild colonial fellows, and symbolically at least gathered them into the ranks of Oxbridge undergraduates.' In Tasmania, the push for academic dress came from the students, backed by the Senate. This apparently minor issue occupied the Board of Studies and Council for considerable periods in 1896 and 1897. In 1899 a black stuff gown and trencher cap was laid down for

undergraduates, but despite a student petition and disagreement by the Senate, Council insisted that its use should always be optional.⁷⁸ The rule has remained to the present day. It wisely avoided fuelling the persistent accusation that the University represents an exotic elitist culture. Otago had similarly avoided compulsory gowns. For advocates of a closely knit collegiate system, creating the maximum 'esprit de corps'⁷⁹ amongst students the decision may have been disappointing. A more serious related issue had also to be faced: should the teaching be made compulsory, or should it be regarded as an optional aid in passing the essential exams?

Compulsory Lectures?

Originally, attendance at lectures was regarded as necessary. Thus in 1895 a law student, Herbert Nicholls, required special permission from Council before being allowed to sit his exams.⁸⁰ As will be demonstrated later, the Council's leniency proved beneficial to the University. However, in 1897 the Board of Studies laid it down that attendance at lectures was not compulsory (8 October). In 1904 Professor McAulay, influenced by a current royal commission on Melbourne University, wanted compulsion, at least in Science with its practical laboratory work, while Williams, with the more permissive approach of an Arts professor, disagreed. Williams was then victorious on both Board of Studies and Council.⁸¹ Ten years later the Board of Studies introduced new regulations requiring attendance at three-quarters of classes (15 May). Changed to two-thirds in 1942, this provided the basis for the present rule. It occasionally caused friction between Councillors, who consider enforcement essential to efficiency, and *laissez-faire* academics. In the institution's early days, and on many subsequent occasions, it was such an educational buyer's market that strict discipline was counterproductive.

A Recognised Charter

Embattled on the home front in its efforts to build up a viable University, Council strove for recognition overseas. The first step was to apply for Oxford and Cambridge affiliation. This was achieved by the early 1900s.⁸² The practical value of such recognition — two Tasmanian years being held equivalent to four Oxford terms — was minimal, but local morale received a boost. The Royal Charter, believed essential since the debates in the 1880s to ensure the acceptance of Tasmanian degrees outside the colony/state, proved more difficult to obtain. Though Nicholas Brown in the Council of 1894 moved its urgent acquisition⁸³, progress was desultory in the next two decades,

and the charter acquired only in 1914, shortly after the death of Clarke who had worked hard for it.⁸⁴ Heavy weather was also made of the efforts, stimulated by Clarke, to obtain a common seal and motto for the University.⁸⁵ The final seal was acquired only after several false starts.

LEADERSHIP CHANGES: CLARKE, WALKER AND SCOTT

Clarke, as Vice-Chancellor in an unofficial partnership with his close friend Walker, guided the University through its exceptionally difficult early years. Sir Lambert Dobson was largely a figurehead, whose official speeches had on occasion been embarrassing. Clarke had the ability, lacked by the more fiery Walker, to smooth over difficulties. The latter, theoretically a simple member of Council, had acted increasingly as a deputy Vice-Chancellor. His enthusiasm was so great that a friend habitually greeted him saying 'Here comes the University of Tasmania.'⁸⁶ When Dobson died in March 1898, Clarke's election to the Chancellorship was a certainty. His standards were known to be very high. As for the Vice-Chancellorship, despite some opposition from Scott, Walker's suggestion that he should act for the temporarily absent Stephens was rejected and he was elected on the voices in his own right.⁸⁷ He had wanted to withdraw as a non-graduate.⁸⁸ Though neither Clarke nor Walker held degrees, they possessed the dignity and love of learning to fit them pre-eminently for their positions at the head of a University, founded and maintained largely by their efforts. Sadly, the partnership in name as well as fact was not to last. In November 1899 Walker, in the midst of a continuing University crisis, died of pneumonia. Clarke's sad announcement to Council, 'their distress went very close to dismay', was no conventional hyperbole. It was indeed difficult to believe that Walker's passionate enthusiasm was lost to the cause. As James Scott, his exasperating rival who nevertheless claimed to have known him 'somewhat intimately', said of the University the day after Walker's death, 'in the future his name will be inseparably linked with its fortunes.'⁸⁹ A generation later, Professor Alexander McAulay considered that Walker deserved a monument from the Tasmanian community.⁹⁰

Thomas Stephens, somewhat reluctantly, replaced Walker, only to resign after little more than a year in May 1901; the position, he complained was too exhausting and left no time for his private affairs.⁹¹ For a brief period, that doughty parliamentary defender of the University, then a High Court judge, Andrew Inglis Clark, filled the post. George Clarke himself continued as Chancellor till the age of 85, resigning in 1907. Until the last few years in office he had regularly attended

Council meetings. Though completely realistic about the parliamentary opposition with its insistence on practical work, Clarke himself was not afraid to defend, as Chancellor, the much-abused classics as an intellectual training, giving 'accuracy in words without which thought is usually inaccurate.'⁹² The founder generation was coming to an end; James Scott died in late January 1905, having remained an extremely active Council member to the end. He had had the satisfaction of seeing the former opponents of a teaching university vigorously defending such an institution from parliamentary attacks. He too had received appropriate recognition when, in 1891, after he had been elected Moderator of the Presbyterian Federal Assembly of Australia, the University of Glasgow conferred upon him the high honour of its Doctorate of Divinity. The University of Tasmania was not yet empowered to grant honorary degrees. Scott's death was followed by an administrative change when the Council's finance committee, on which he was serving, was amalgamated with the house and grounds committee to become the all-important standing committee.

Regardless of the actual leaders of the Council, the University continued to live from hand to mouth after its nasty fright in 1895. The Launceston hostility remained intense. Extension lectures, as already shown, were abandoned in Launceston after 1895 and in Hobart after 1896. But the professors still continued their weekly visits till 1904. However, in 1896 and later they were supported by local assistants, such as Kingsmill and Perceval. Remarkably, in 1895, 1896 and 1897 (16:15, 19:16, 20:19) there were slightly more degree students in Launceston than Hobart. The advantage then slowly swung Hobart's way, 22:16 in 1898 and 25:10 in 1899. These figures can be read either as an indication that the University was doing its best for Launceston, or a demonstration that there should never have been a university in Hobart in the first place. Northern political aspirants had no doubts about their interpretation.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the University Council still needed to achieve some universally recognised practical result to justify itself to the whole community. A mining course, capitalising on 'the natural advantages of the colony' seemed a necessity, once some adequate finances were made available.

THE MINING SCHOOL DISASTER

Political Background, 1898-1901

The mining school proposal was mooted in Council in March 1898 and energetically discussed by the Board of Studies. The latter wisely decided not to rush into a new course before there was money to appoint

a professor; as temporary arrangements could easily be portrayed as permanent and further funding refused.⁹³ The required sum, £1,100, was exactly the shortfall from the University annual endowment which the government resolutely refused to pay. The strategy was to confront the ministers with a course whose need seemed obvious. It appears that the initial suggestion came from politicians currently on Council such as N.E. Lewis and Nicholas Brown. Both were out of office during the long Braddon reign. At any rate, Braddon, who had increased the £2,500 of 1895 by £400, was unresponsive to a Council deputation demanding the restoration of the full £4,000 grant established by law in 1889. He considered cooperation between the University and the Technical Schools sufficient for the present.⁹⁴ Despite Vice-Chancellor Walker's case for a mining school, based on the example of Sydney and Otago Universities, which could incorporate the existing Zeehan School of Mines,⁹⁵ the House of Assembly voted down a mining school grant, raised by Bird. It agreed with Braddon that the University and Technical Schools were sufficient. Braddon implied that the greedy University was attempting to take over the functions of the Zeehan School. Walker replied that the two institutions were complementary, not competitive: "The function of a university is not to teach professions or handicrafts, but to lay broad and deep the foundation of scientific knowledge'. He envisaged general scientific training by the University followed by practical professional training at the Zeehan School, with the former maintaining international standards.⁹⁶

Once again, the Legislative Council intervened. It insisted on increasing the University vote by £600 to make a mining school possible.⁹⁷ Its action aroused the fury of the weekly *Clipper*, eventually the organ of a state Labor Party. Members of the Legislative Council, elected by only 7,333 as opposed to the 30,335 Assembly voters,⁹⁸ were wasting the Zeehan School of Mines so that 'a few fatmen's sons may have their B.F. degree confirmed by a Professor of Dead Languages.'⁹⁹ The old prejudices died hard amongst those convinced that 'our alleged University is State education in the interests of the wealthy, providing for the culture and training of a ruling class, who, blinded by class distinctions, will continue to treat the uneducated workers with contempt and exploit them as wage-slaves.'¹⁰⁰ The Legislative Council was forced to compromise with the Assembly, and the increase was reduced to £300.¹⁰¹

Undeterred by the renewal of anti-University feeling, and buoyed by the Legislative Council's £300, the Board of Studies in early 1899 pressed ahead with plans for a mining course which would be open to students over sixteen years of age.¹⁰² The *Mercury* assisted with a lengthy article on 'Technical Education in Mining', giving a number of examples of mining schools affiliated with universities in the United States, Durham and London.¹⁰³ Basically, the idea implied a

qualification of sub-degree standard. In view of the current and subsequent efforts to claim the University of Tasmania as an elitist body, scornfully rejecting any connection with practical non-academic education, the experiment is particularly interesting. The type of invective exhibited by the *Clipper* condemned the University simultaneously for emphasising useless 'dead languages' and attempting to participate in practical instruction. Similar inconsistencies were to abound in the debates of the future.

With Nicholas Brown playing a prominent part, the Council made another attempt by deputation to persuade the Braddon government to restore the full £4,000 and thus provide adequately for Physics and mining science. Professor McAulay increased the pressure by threatening to discontinue Physics unless adequate equipment was provided. Braddon, however, after consulting his cabinet, was adamant that there should be no further increase in 1900 until primary education requirements were met.¹⁰⁴ A month after his final refusal, Braddon's government disintegrated, and he was replaced by a ministry led by that firm friend of the University and former Tasmanian scholar to Oxford, N.E. Lewis. Parliament, in late 1899, duly voted the additional £600 to restore the original £4,000 endowment.¹⁰⁵

As all members of the Lewis government, E. Mulcahy and B.S. Bird in the House of Assembly, and G.T. Collins and F.W. Piesse in the Legislative Council, had strongly defended the University in 1895, J.B. Walker on his deathbed may have felt that he had led his beloved University within sight of the promised land. Certainly, it was a relief to have the inveterate opposition of Braddon permanently removed. The Lewis government had enabled the mining course to proceed. But troubles were far from over. Hostility, especially in the north, was not appeased. Lewis, who resigned from the University Council after becoming Premier, soon found himself facing a deputation of his old associates.

The cause, on this occasion, was the fundamental issue of land endowments, nearly provided in the initiating act of 1889. Archdeacon Whittington moved the approach to government. It was certainly now or never. The Lewis administration had treated the University fairly, but it was still struggling to make ends meet on £4,000 a year. Adelaide (50,000 acres), Otago (200,000 acres) and Canterbury (300,000 acres) Universities had very large land grants, while Sydney and Melbourne had secure endowments from consolidated revenue. Whittington did not expect to obtain good land, but all would increase in value. Other leading members of Council agreed. Nicholas Brown had unsuccessfully sounded out the Braddon government about land in the Florentine Valley. Dr Scott pointed out that as New Zealand, that most democratic of countries, had so richly endowed her universities, local radicals should be sympathetic towards the idea. As the radicals were complaining

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at this time that crown land was being too rapidly alienated, R.M. Johnston, the Government Statistician, was certainly correct in his plea that something should be provided before it was too late.¹⁰⁶ Sadly, Lewis, for all his cordiality towards the University, was unable to give the delegation more than a sympathetic hearing.¹⁰⁷ There was so much anti-University feeling in the community that a positive decision on land endowments would have been tantamount to political suicide.

It was just as well for Lewis as the much vaunted mining course ran into immediate difficulties. R. Neil Smith, MA, BCE, Melbourne was elected after three ballots from fourteen candidates in August 1900 as professor of 'Mining Engineering', a title which caused strong dissent amongst several members of Council who thought 'Mining' more appropriate.¹⁰⁸

The first difficulty emerged in February 1901 when the Chancellor, Clarke, extended the deadline for the mining entrance examination as no candidates had appeared. He lamented that 'the public did not as yet appear to be alive to the advantages of the provisions of the course'.¹⁰⁹ Professor Neil Smith eventually obtained five students to instruct in 1901, a reasonable number for the time. At the end of the year he departed on a fact finding tour of mining schools in the United States, Britain and the European Continent. This gave rise to criticism in Parliament that he was travelling at the taxpayer's expense. The indefatigable MHA and University Councillor, Nicholas Brown, set the record straight. Like McAulay and Jethro Brown (now resigned) before him, Smith was required to pay his salary to a *locum tenens*, in his case G.H. Hogg of Melbourne. His departure so soon after his arrival still seemed strange to the public.

The 1902 Onslaught

By mid-1902 another full-scale attack on the University was in progress, fuelled by the mining school. The state was still depressed, despite its place in the new Australian Commonwealth, and the Lewis government was incurring criticism over its taxation policies. Northern resentment against the University surfaced again. In August Captain Jack Evans, a future Premier, raised once more the whole question of the institution. Treasurer Bird and Nicholas Brown tried to kill debate by arguing that the University was 'thoroughly established', serving many people, and the 'coping stone of our educational system'.¹¹⁰ However, a more vigorous debate took place over the estimates in October when two motions were proposed, first, to convert the University back into an examining body, and, second, to cut its grant from £4,000 to £3,000. As Premier Lewis and others pointed out these persistent attacks should be finally settled to end the indecision which was so harmful for the institution.

The tougher motion, introduced by Dr (later Sir) John McCall, East Devonport-born, with a Glasgow MD, was comfortably disposed of by nineteen votes to nine. McCall, who knew the bill would not be carried, protested against the waste of money on the University and reiterated the now hackneyed argument that an examining body like London was sufficient. Premier Lewis and Herbert Nicholls, proud to acknowledge himself a Tasmanian graduate, were effective in opposition. The second motion, to reduce the University grant by £1,000, moved by the Rev. J.B. Woollnough, an Oxford-educated Anglican parson and member of the University Council from 1898 to 1902, was more serious. Back in 1893 Walker had lamented that people like 'old Woollnough', vain about his own ceremonial dress, dismissed a local university as a luxury.¹¹¹ Woollnough in 1902 wished to eliminate the University mining course, which he considered less practical than the effective Zeehan School. His opponents later demonstrated that the Zeehan School, just affiliated to the University, provided practical mining instruction, not a rival engineering course. Though Woollnough initially won 11-9, his cut was defeated 16-11 a few weeks later. The Premier indicated the inconsistency of restoring to the University its original £1000 for a mining school and then withdrawing it when the school was established. Nicholls, Edward Mulcahy, Minister for Lands, and Robert Patterson backed the Premier most effectively.¹¹²

There had been little new in the debate; criticism of Professor Smith as incompetent was balanced by a eulogy from the civil engineer, Robert Patterson, trained at King's College, London. Launceston members were still opposed.¹¹³ Students again petitioned for the University. As for Council, when the new parliamentary threat became apparent in August, Nicholas Brown prepared a paper for distribution amongst MPs, consisting of extracts from the late J.B. Walker's earlier defence.¹¹⁴ One favourable sign was the softening of the Launceston Catholic *Monitor*, which had previously adopted the characteristically hostile northern position.¹¹⁵ During the debates of October 1902 it still questioned the institution's elitism, but quoted Coadjutor-Archbishop Patrick Delany in its favour. Like Lewis the Archbishop pointed out that it was absurd to persist in raising up and then pulling down the University.¹¹⁶ Delany's attitude was shared by his Anglican opposite number, Bishop Edward Mercer, who arrived in 1902. To Mercer, a ripe, if controversial scholar and philosopher, a university once disbanded could not easily be restored.¹¹⁷

Battle Renewed, 1903

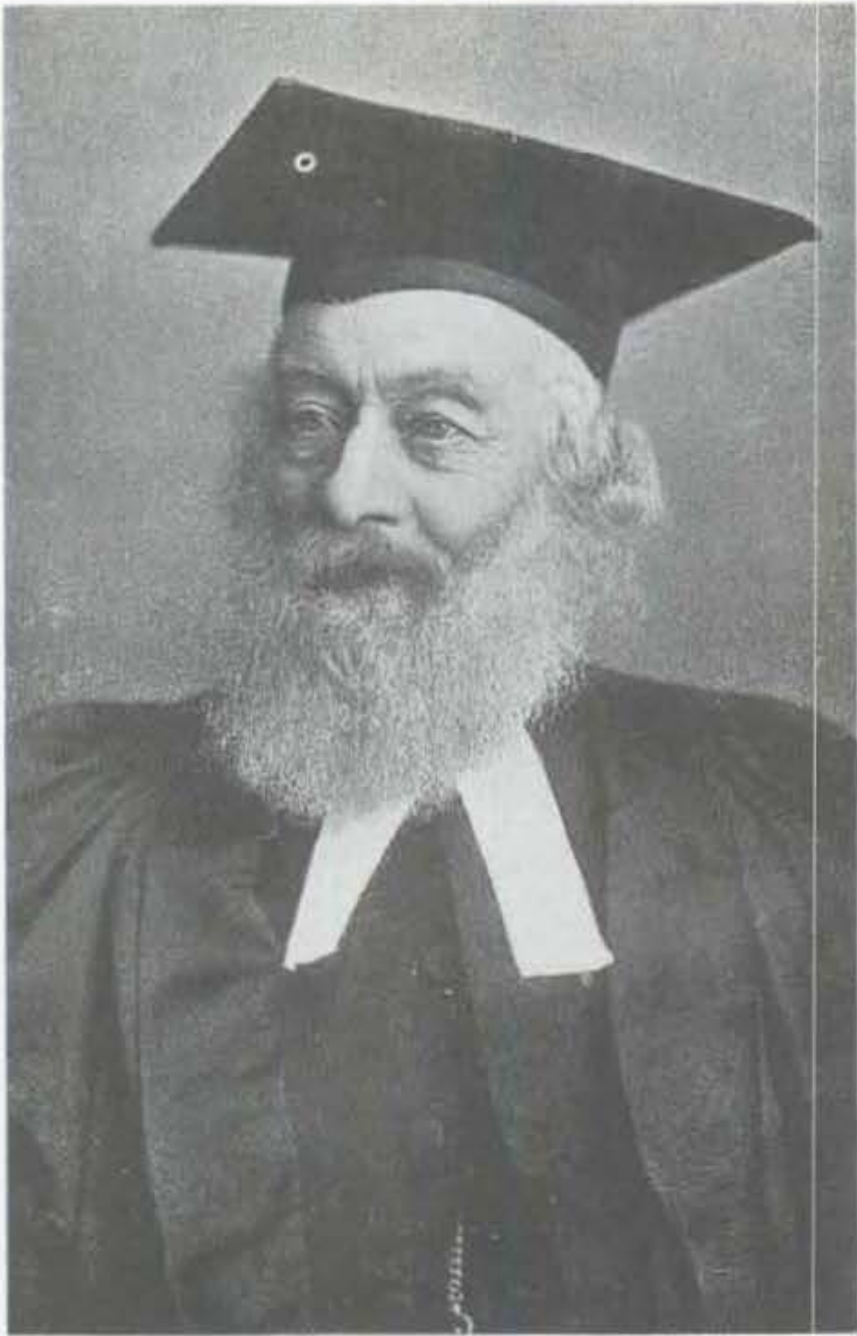
It was, however, too much to hope that the University was now an accepted part of the Tasmanian scene. There was another battle

to be fought in 1903. It was a crucial and potentially dangerous year as the friendly Lewis government was swept from office in an electoral defeat in which the Premier lost his own seat. He was replaced by a much more radical administration led by William Propsting. Moreover, to Propsting's left appeared the first four members of a new pledge-bound Labor Party, destined in later years to rule the state for a record period. Its supporting periodical was the *Hobart Clipper*, in the past savagely hostile to the Anglo-centred elitism it attributed to the University at Hobart. As for the mining school, the House of Assembly now had in James Long, a working miner, peremptorily dismissed by the Mt Lyell management on his election to Parliament. How was the University to respond to this new pressure of democracy?

With a state election in April, the 1903 anti-University season opened early. In the north, denunciation of the southern University was a safe tactic for potential legislators. But the *Monitor* was even more favourable to the University than in 1902. Though recognising that it was not a Catholic institution, the *Monitor*, edited by the erudite Dr John O'Mahony, a local priest, asserted that 'if there is one thing of which Tasmanians might pardonably be proud we should say it is her University.' Without it teachers would have to be imported. This would play into the hands of 'the monopolists and wealthy classes', while robbing 'the workers of one of the bulwarks of freedom and equality.'¹¹⁸ This argument was a radical adaptation of Premier Lewis's contention that a local university was a safeguard against the sign, 'No Tasmanians need apply', when important vacancies occurred.¹¹⁹ John O'Mahony's view had considerable influence on Irish workingmen in the state.

Scheduled for April, shortly after polling day, the University commemoration of 1903 was less significant as a day of celebration than as an occasion for public defence. Chancellor Clarke surveyed the graduate list to argue that nine out of ten would have been unable to attend a mainland university.¹²⁰ But such contentions were less important than the new ministry of Liberal Democrats, headed by William Propsting, a former schoolteacher who had obtained his training at the University of Adelaide. Propsting had supported the University in 1902. The Attorney General and Education Minister, Herbert Nicholls, had spoken strongly in the last University debate. The new Chief Secretary, however, was Dr McCall, author of an extremely hostile motion.

The attack proper was launched in August by John Gibson, a recently elected one-term MHA from Evandale, who demanded a return of University staff and courses. When supplied by the government, the results were indeed embarrassing. A staff of eight (four professors and four lecturers) was employed to teach a total of 61 students in 42 separate classes. This was a not unreasonable staff/student ratio of 1:7.75. The



1. The Reverend George Clarke, first Vice-Chancellor, May 1890 to May 1898; Chancellor from May 1898 to May 1907



2. James Backhouse Walker, persistent advocate for the University and its second Vice-Chancellor, 1898-1899 (Beattie photo)

3. The old Hobart High School; from the beginning of teaching in 1893, it became the central building of the new University (Beattie photo)

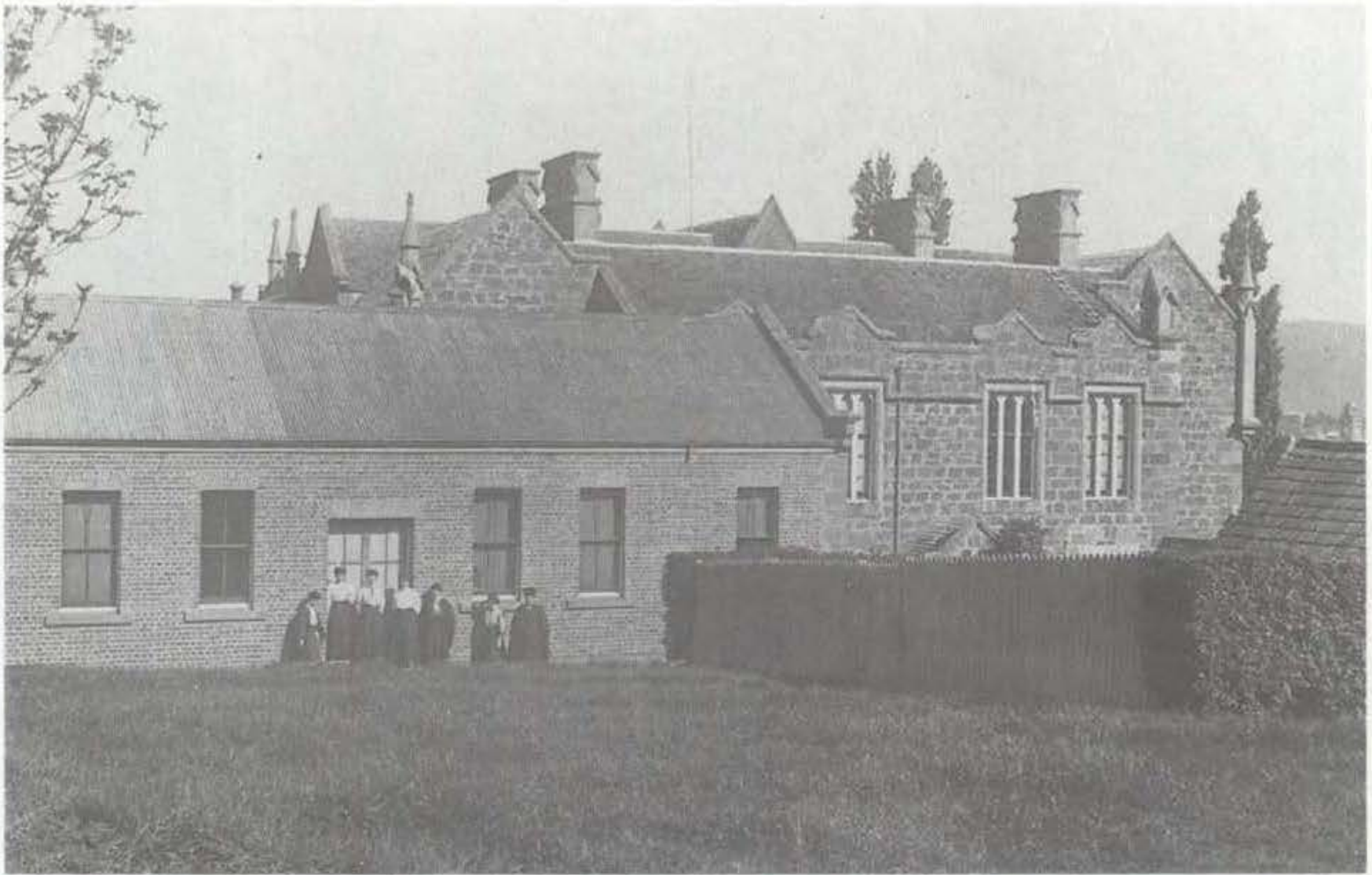




4. The first Library, c. 1900. Registrar J. H. R. Cruickshank stands in the doorway (Beattie photo)

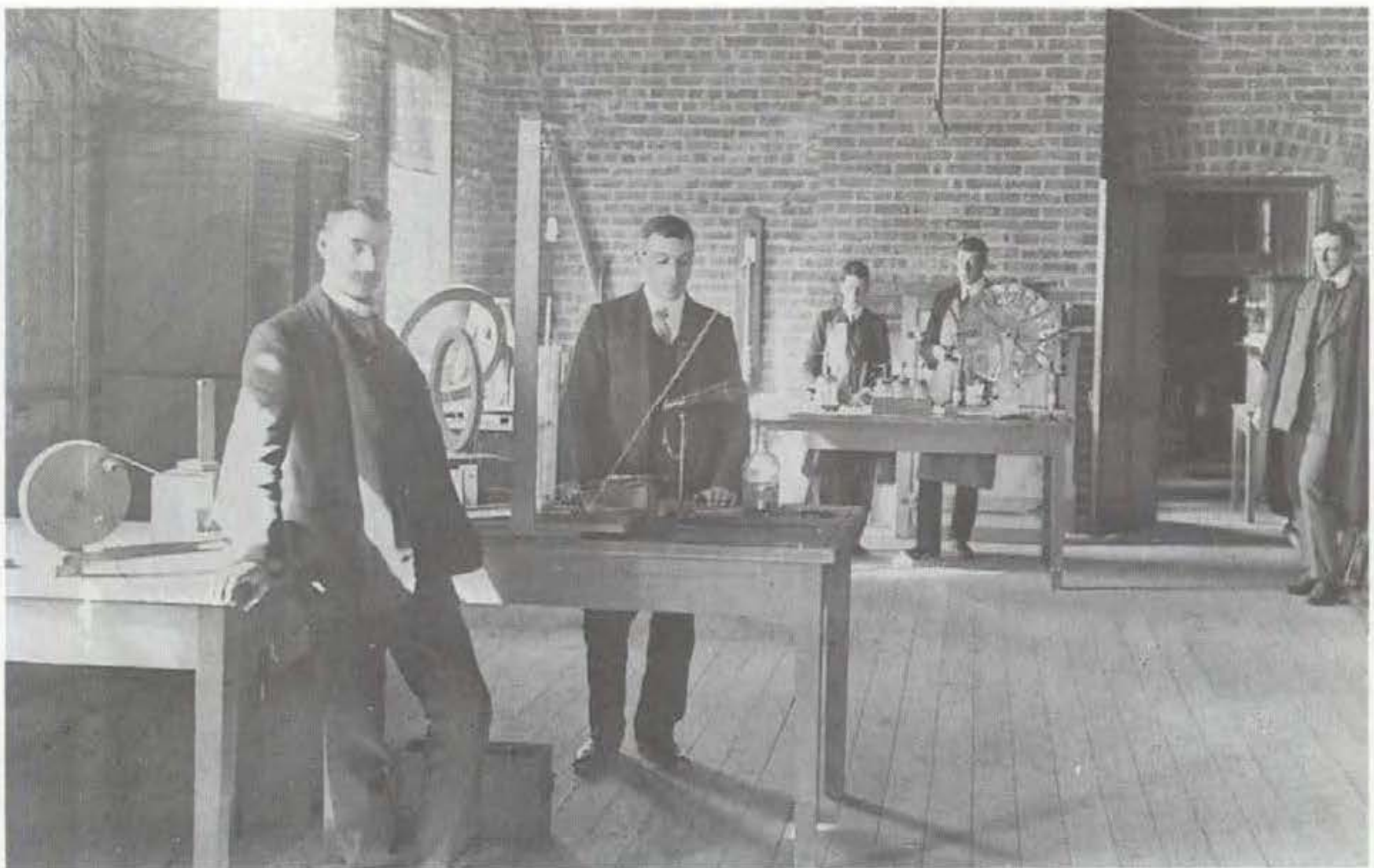
5. Staff and students outside the Registrar's Office (Beattie photo)





6. Physics laboratory, with the main building beyond (Beattie photo)

7. Interior of the Physics laboratory (Beattie photo)





8. The Chemistry laboratory, in use from 1905. When Chemistry was moved to the Technical School in 1913, the laboratory was taken over by Physics (Beattie photo)

9. Interior of the Chemistry laboratory (Beattie photo)



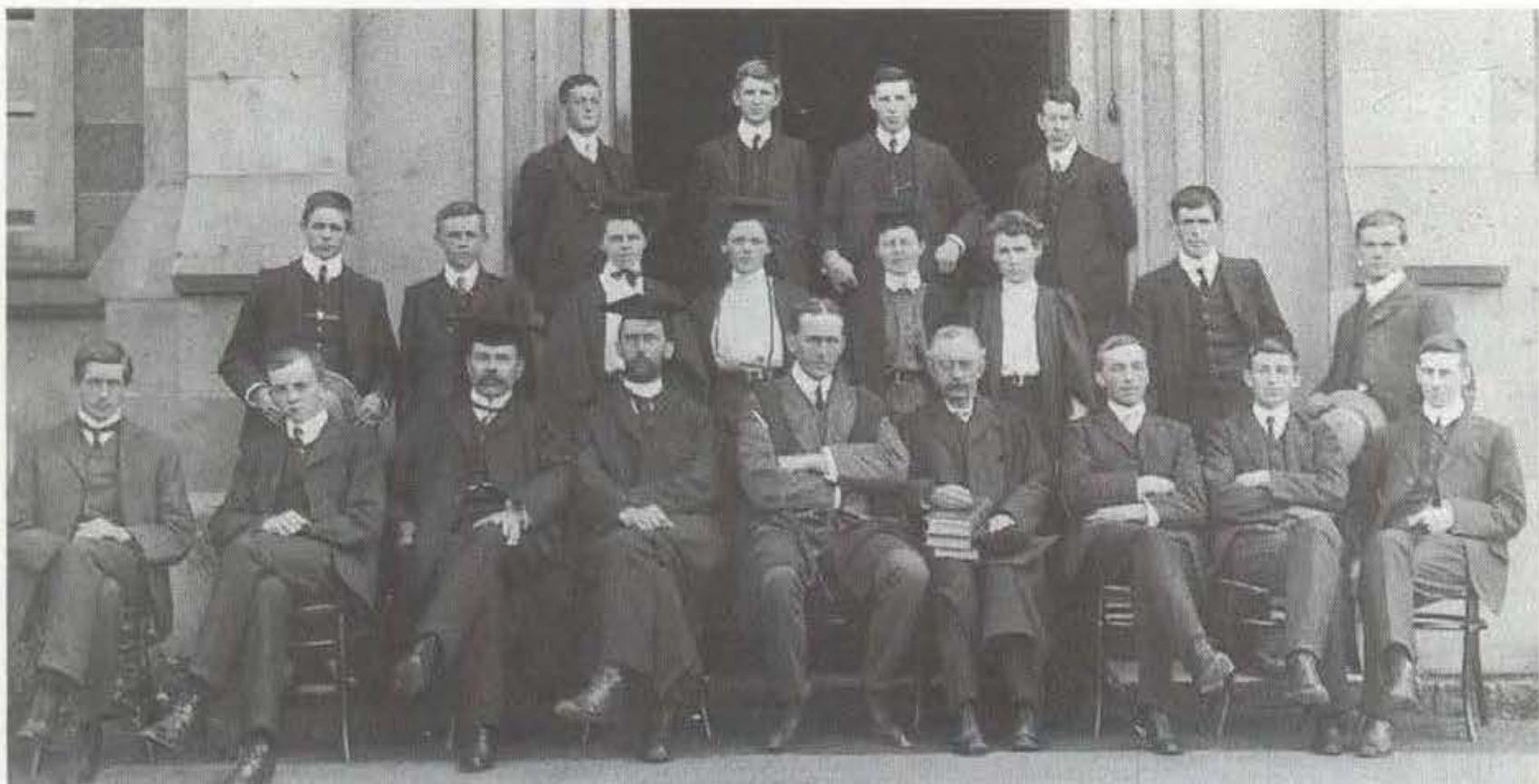


10. The Hon. Sir William Lambert Dobson, Chief Justice and first Chancellor of the University, May 1890 - March 1898



11. William Jethro Brown, appointed as Lecturer January 1893; from 1896 to 1900, Professor of Law and Modern History (Hammer & Co.)

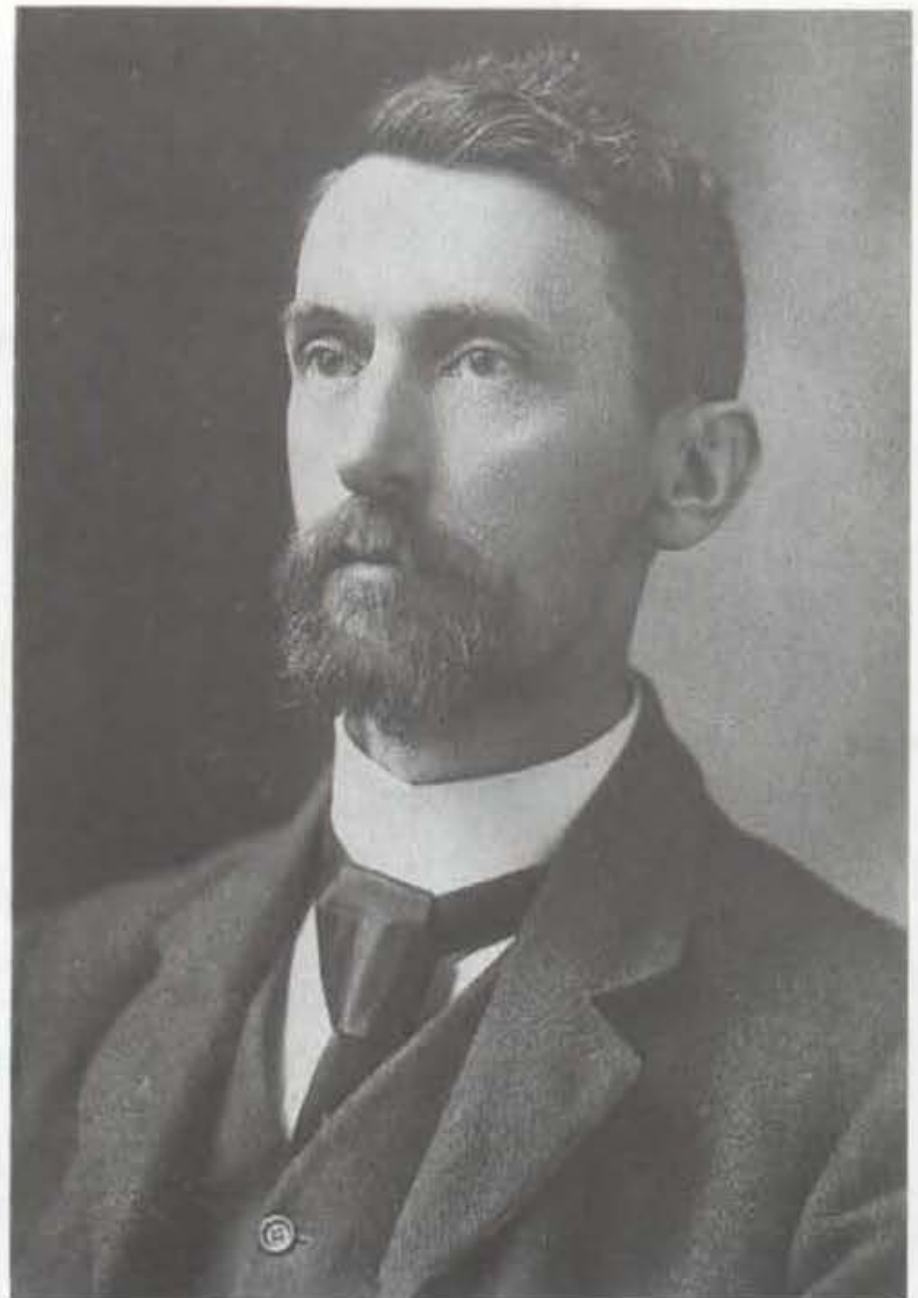
12. Group outside the main entrance, c. 1908; (top, l. to r.) G. F. Lovett, C. T. Butler, C. S. W. Rayner, Alan Burn; (centre) Eric Jeffrey, S. L. Hughes, Beatrice Beedham, Sarah Dunbabin, F. M. Z. McMahon, Caroline Walker, Alec D. Mackay, Thos. M. Crisp; (bottom) A. W. Clemes, H. D. Wright, R. L. Dunbabin, Alex McAulay, J. H. Mackay, W. H. Williams, A. P. Crisp, S. M. Johnston, D. G. Burn





13. Sir Herbert Nicholls, early law graduate and, as Chief Justice and Attorney-General, a powerful supporter of the infant University

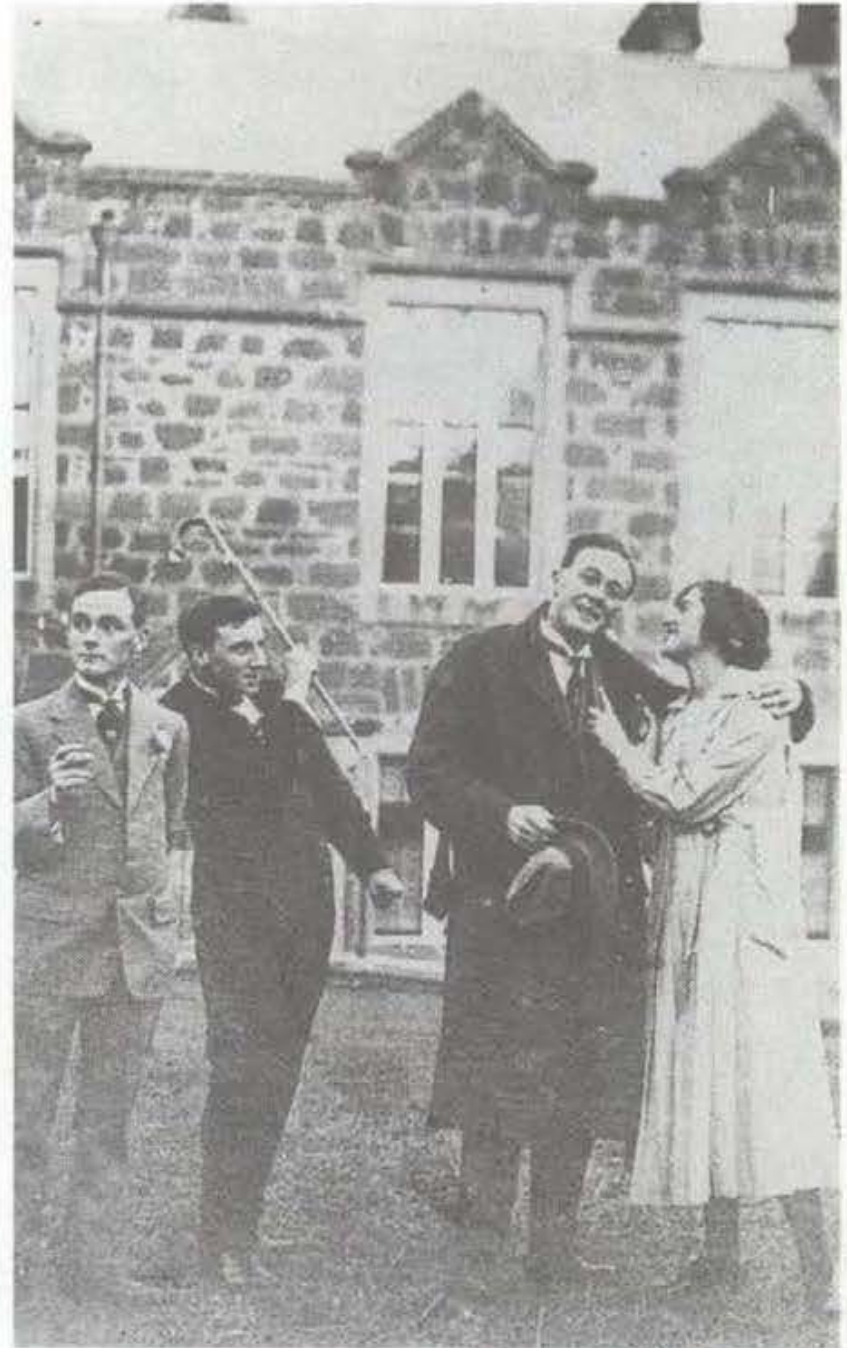
14. Robert Leslie Dunbabin, Lecturer from 1901, Professor of Classics 1917-39 and, briefly in 1933, Vice-Chancellor (Burgess Watts photo)



15. Alexander McAulay, first appointed 1893, Professor of Mathematics and Physics 1896-1924, Research Professor 1924-29



16. Dugald Gordon McDougall, Professor of Law, January 1901 to December 1932 (McGuffie photo, 1911)



17. The University Dramatic Club at rehearsal, 1924; (l. to r.) Terence Crisp, Mark Stump, Lance Geeves, Beryl Miller

18. The University Eight, 1924, on the Derwent; (l. to r.) H. Freeburgh (cox), J. D. L. Hood (stroke), F. F. Ford, D. M. Urquhart, H. T. Wright, C. E. Adams, J. Edwards, C. S. Gibson, A. M. Dougall





19. University staff, 1924; (l. to r., top) Dr A. L. McAulay, H. P. Tuck, C. Malthus, Prof. J. B. Brigden, J. A. Johnson, Prof. Burn, Prof. D. Copland; (centre) A. R. Hewer, P. L. Griffiths, Lt-Col. Thomas (Registrar), E. A. Counsel, C. C. Dudley, C. S. King, L. Rodway; (bottom) Prof. R. Dunbabin, Prof. Williams, W. J. T. Stops (Vice-Chancellor), Sir Elliott Lewis (Chancellor), Prof. McDougall, Prof. T. T. Flynn, Prof. Lucas.

20. At the unveiling of the University Honour Roll, August 1924; (l. to r., top) Lt-Col. Thomas, Registrar, Vice-Chancellor W. J. T. Stops, Lt-Col. W. E. Cass, Commander Macfarlane; (bottom) Col. J. E. C. Lord, Sir Herbert Nicholls, Sir John Gellibrand, Sir Elliott Lewis, Hon. Tetley Gant, Major Simmons



breakdown of class sizes, however, demonstrated that each contained on average only 3.3 students. Only Maths I had double figures (12), and there were no less than 12 containing a single student. The controversial Mining Engineering course, to which John Hilton Mackay was appointed in February as a second lecturer, emerged very badly. The single-student classes included, besides Latin and Greek, Mechanical Drawing, Surveying, Metallurgy I and II, and Mining itself. The University Council had already received letters complaining that its promises to the Zeehan School of Mines had not been honoured and threats to oppose the second appointment to Mining Engineering.¹²¹ There had even been an irregularity in Mackay's appointment, as the credentials of other candidates had not been properly circulated amongst councillors.¹²² Chief Justice Sir John Dodds attempted to allay criticism by moving successfully in Council that the new lecturer spend one third of his time at Zeehan.¹²³ In the midst of all this trouble, Andrew Inglis Clark, such a stalwart in the past, resigned as Vice Chancellor.¹²⁴ His surprising successor was none other than the recently defeated Premier, Sir Neil Elliott Lewis, who used six years in the political wilderness to work for the University.

The opposition media exulted in the mining school embarrassment. The day after Lewis's appointment, the Launceston *Examiner* jeered that 'the return furnished shows the farcical character of the institution.' Twenty-three classes had an average of only two students apiece. However, it declared with heavy sarcasm, it was treason to talk of removing anything that had taken root in the capital.¹²⁵ Nor was there any sympathy for the embattled academics, forced to prepare on average for five different courses, often in virtually unrelated disciplines, and pay their regular visits to Launceston, where popular opinion could hardly have been more antagonistic. It was another example of an under-endowed university, desperately extending its activities to attract more students. As Professor Jethro Brown, participating in the current debate from the safe haven of the University College of Wales, declared in the *Mercury*, the University's 'wise policy of broadening the curriculum with a view to more and more completely adapting itself to local wants' was not debatable. All existing departments should be maintained.¹²⁶ Yet a hasty effort to appease local wants had almost achieved disaster.

Having loaded his shotgun in September with the University returns, Gibson pressed the trigger in early October with yet one more motion to abolish the University of Tasmania. Herbert Nicholls, as Minister for Education, made another powerful speech on what he called the annual attack on the University. He lamented that the old arguments, so often refuted, were again repeated. Nevertheless, despite the harm done to the institution by persistent attacks, he believed it to be making as steady progress as any university in the world and raising the

Open to Talent

intellectual level of Tasmanians. No, it was not unfair to Launceston: 18 of the 54 degree candidates, a fair proportion on the numbers, had attended University lectures there in the previous year. No, it was not for the benefit of the few: most students could not have gone interstate. No, it didn't just teach Latin and Greek, but equipped local people for jobs which would otherwise go to strangers. Following J.B. Walker's strategy, Nicholls cited the example of the United States, where a state such as Ohio, with 100,000 people to Tasmania's 172,000 spent annually 2.5 times as much on higher education, in addition to land endowments of 48,000 acres. Another useful argument was that the allocation to Tasmania of a Rhodes Scholarship, due in the following year, required local universities. Nicholls was supported by other effective defenders. The engineer, Patterson, now elected by Parliament to the University Council and temporarily leader of the opposition in the House of Assembly, demonstrated that it would be an atrocious advertisement for Tasmania to abolish her university. He was also prepared to defend the mining school as very good, and claimed that there were twelve students from the Launceston Railway workshops. He showed that Professor Neil Smith had offered £200 from his own salary to employ another lecturer and additional money to establish exhibitions for impecunious students. The Council, however, had refused Smith's offer.¹²⁷ Another civil engineer, George E. (Brettingham) Moore, who, as director of Complex Ores Company, was one of the founding fathers of the Hydro-Electric Commission, ridiculed those who wished to pull the infant University up by the roots to see if it was growing. While Launceston derided Alexander McAulay's extension lectures on electricity, Moore later eulogised the Professor's contribution to the state's hydro-electric development.

As usual such arguments were ignored by the intransigent northern MHAs who rehearsed the tedious complaints of wastage and the prior needs of primary education. There was some bickering about members, including the new ministers, McCall and Carmichael Lyne, who now reversed their hostile votes: what had they told their electors? When McCall pleaded against annual attacks, C.J. Mackenzie, a Table Cape farmer, suggested abolition of the University as the best means of ending uncertainty. Another farmer from the north-west, John Hope, asserted that the demise of the University was the only pledge he had given to his electorate. Henry Dumbleton of Devonport was more original in his belief that it was better to educate students interstate, away from family ties. As family ties would be equally loosened by the boarding of northern students in Hobart, Dumbleton may have been unconsciously expressing the identification with Melbourne, rather than Hobart, felt by many northerners. His allied contention that Australian federation had made smaller universities unnecessary supports this interpretation. Preference for Melbourne was a barrier which no system

of extension lectures, practical instruction, or weekly professorial visits could overcome. In the 1903 debate, as in previous years, the location of nearly every MHA's electorate was an accurate indicator of his opinions on higher education.

Labor Takes a Hand

But what of the new pledge-bound Labor Party whose arrival had extended the range of the discussion? While conservative fears that Labor had replaced the gentlemanly tradition of debate with a group of parliamentary marionettes manipulated by sinister outside forces, the new party exhibited precisely the same division as the rest of the House. The three West Coast members, J.J. Long (Lyell), William Lamerton (Zeehan) and George Burns (Queenstown), despite misgivings about the mining course, held that their pledge to work for free education from kindergarten to university committed them to support the local institution. Jens Jensen, formerly a miner like his colleagues, but now a George Town orchardist, disagreed and voted for abolition on the standard ground that the University of Tasmania was a wasteful luxury. Jensen's position appears to have been that 'free university education' did not necessarily require a local university: subsidies could no doubt be provided for travel to the mainland. This idea was later taken up by a Labor MHA, J.E. Ogden.¹²⁸

George Burns, a mining union secretary who later sat in the Federal Parliament for a New South Wales electorate, showed considerable sympathy towards the University of Tasmania. The other states had their universities, so why not Tasmania? The recouping of £4,000 by abolition would not obtain free primary education, costing between £15,000 and £20,000. Moreover, with annual fees of only £10, it was the cheapest university in Australia. Burns could not, however, support the mining school at the University and wanted it to go to Zeehan. Lamerton, member for Zeehan, naturally agreed about mining. He also attributed the commercial and scientific advance of Germany and the USA to their excellent universities. Similarly 'Big Jim' Long opposed abolition as a retrograde step. However, he felt strongly that mining and £1,000 of the University vote should go to Zeehan and promised to move accordingly in the near future.¹²⁹

The House of Assembly finally rejected abolition of the University of Tasmania by fifteen votes to thirteen in what the *Mercury* correctly depicted as a north-south division.¹³⁰ The contention of Henry Murray, MHA for Latrobe that his opposition to the University had nothing to do with sectional differences fooled nobody. The *Launceston Examiner* complained that the University had been saved only 'by some unmistakable ratting on the part of two or three members.'¹³¹ While

the Legislative Council, currently cutting the Propsting government's radical programme to ribbons, would certainly have rejected a bill to abolish the University, it could hardly have kept the institution alive indefinitely without a supportive vote from the House of Assembly.

The new Labor Party in fact acted as arbitrator. Had Long, Burns and Lamerton maintained the Philistine hostility to 'haw haw' professors exhibited in the *Clipper* of the 1890s, the University might now have faced extinction. Instead, the first parliamentary representatives of the Tasmanian working-class confronted the issue in a principled and responsible manner. They were congratulated by the charismatic Bishop Mercer, who emphasised the need to maintain the University in an enormously popular series of lectures on social issues delivered to working-class audiences on the West Coast.¹³²

But Long and his colleagues had no intention of remaining nominal arbitrators. As in 1902 when an attempt at abolition was followed by an effort to reduce the University vote, Long gave notice of a tough motion to end the mining 'farce' by transferring £500 from the University to the Zeehan School. The *Examiner*, balked of its original prey, now supported Long.¹³³ This was enough for the University Council. On 25 November it held a special meeting on the mining school, presided over by Sir Elliott Lewis as Vice-Chancellor.

The Councillors were now very keen to rid themselves of the mining incubus and set up a committee to discover how it might be done. The motion to abandon mining was seconded by R.J. Sadler, who had voted in Parliament for University abolition, but who also represented Parliament on Council. W.J.T. Stops, a lawyer, complained that the establishment of the school had been premature and forced on Council by members who also sat in Parliament as a means of regaining the full annual endowment of £4,000. Dr Scott agreed they had been blackmailed into setting up a school in return for the full grant. Professor Williams, elected a Councillor in 1900 by Senate, felt that they had undertaken an unsuitable task.

Long, to the irritation of the *Zeehan and Dundas Herald*, which thought that he would have secured a majority, agreed to drop his motion for the present. But what was to happen to the mining engineering staff?

Vale Mining, Salve Engineering

The committee, containing Scott, Patterson, the mining school's parliamentary defender, Dr J.E. Wolfhagen, Stops and Kingsmill, considered the effects of the phasing out on students, staff and the resultant science course. Even this promise of drastic action was insufficient for the *Herald*, which virtually bayed for blood. To reclassify

the two staff members as engineers would lead to another 'rank' failure. These 'excellent social persons' were no substitute for adequate physics and chemistry laboratories. Students in those days were required to provide their own beakers, crucibles, blowpipes and other basic equipment.¹³⁴ Moreover, W.H. Baker, teaching two students Chemistry and Assaying for £150 in Launceston appeared extravagant, but not Smith and Mackay, whose three students cost £800. In words which anticipated bitter strife fifty years later, the Zeehan paper¹³⁵ pontificated: 'Personal friendship and kindred considerations must be swept on one side, and when it is found that they have no occasion for certain servants, why do they not dispense with unnecessary ones? Is the University to be made a sort of Benevolent Asylum for a favoured few?' The *Herald* was accurate enough in its facts; only five students sat mining course exams in 1903, two of whom were already BAs, and nearly all of whom were doing BSc courses concurrently.¹³⁶ The attempt to reach a new type of student had come hopelessly adrift.

After some debate, the Council, led by Vice-Chancellor Lewis, did act fairly ruthlessly. Ironically, Premier Lewis had been unable to provide an endowment which might have made hasty and ill-conceived initiatives like the mining school less urgent. Scott wanted to cut the losses completely and apply the £1,000 saved from the mining school to new Chemistry and Physics lecturers, eliminating Mining altogether.¹³⁷ Chemistry itself was insecure; in 1903, F.S. Ernst, later a geology lecturer, questioned the feasibility of its continuance. In a compromise, the BME course was ended in 1904 and the BSc widened to include courses in mechanical drawing, surveying and applied mechanics, with the pious hope that mechanical engineering be re-established when possible.¹³⁸ As for staff, Professor Neil Smith anticipated the abolition of his course at the end of 1904 by resigning in April. In another quixotic gesture he offered to continue teaching two students gratuitously. Council, however, paid him on an hourly basis.¹³⁹ Baker's appointment was also cut short; no Launceston students had in any case enrolled for his course in 1904. The arrangement with the Launceston Technical School for sharing Baker's time was terminated.¹⁴⁰ Mackay was much luckier. Redeployed in the revised BSc, amongst other courses, he was able to retain the 'engineering' title. Unlike Smith, he resisted salary cuts and additional teaching in Surveying without additional remuneration. When the University grant was at last increased in 1912, Mackay had himself upgraded as Professor of Engineering. On his final retirement in 1920, Council declared that 'from small beginnings and with inadequate material assistance, [he] raised the School of Engineering to a worthy place amongst the Universities of Australia.'¹⁴¹

The sorry story of the early mining engineering course had ended in 1904. Ultimately, only two students, one of whom had other degrees,

were awarded the BME. When the University received its royal charter in 1914, the BME was pointedly excluded from the degrees securing Commonwealth recognition. The entire episode was a classic example of the dangers of blindly following political exigencies and imagined local interests in the provision of instantly relevant courses. Thomas Stephens, former ally of J.B. Walker, was one of the few to point out that Mining Engineering never received a fair trial.¹⁴² The University Council was much criticised for its foolishness, but it ill became the very politicians who had insisted on practicality to complain. Labor's George Burns, who had entered politics too late to be responsible for the Council's 'highly unsatisfactory' condition, wanted a broadening of its basis by adding a considerably larger non-Hobart membership to the Senate.¹⁴³ This endeavour to make the University Council more representative of the state as a whole was to continue till the 1950s.

Some good may have come out of the crisis of 1902-03. Money was now released for improvements such as the attempt to establish a chemistry laboratory at the University, instead of relying on the facilities of the Technical School, and a new emphasis was placed on lecturers working full-time for the University rather than sharing them with other institutions. In 1905, for the first time since the foundation of the teaching University no lectures were given in Launceston. Only two students had enrolled, and they were provided with boarding allowances instead of lectures.¹⁴⁴ However, A.E. Solomon, an LLB of 1897 and LLM of 1902, soon to enter Parliament, offered law lectures in Launceston for the price of the boarding allowance.¹⁴⁵ The end of the weekly visits to Launceston was a considerable relief to the hard pressed professors, but it naturally fuelled northern resentment. It was a vicious circle; persistent Launceston antagonism ensured a poor response to the University facilities provided; the poor response resulted in the withdrawal of the facilities and increased hostility. Attacks on the very existence of the University diminished though there continued much complaint over its operation. The growing Labor Party had clear-cut ideas on what was required, Long following up his criticism of the mining school by the demand that examination fees be abolished and that all University and school public examinations be marked by the local lecturers.¹⁴⁶

TRAINING COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY

To some extent the heat was taken off the University by the state political and education crises of 1904-09. Premier Propsting, concerned about the quality of the state schools, appointed W.L. Neale, once headmaster of a South Australian school at which Propsting had once taught, to survey Tasmanian education. Neale's report was presented

in June 1904. Shortly afterwards, Propsting resigned in an ill-conceived attempt to overawe the Legislative Council which was rejecting much of his legislation. He was supplanted as Premier by Jack Evans, leader of the opposition, who also took the education portfolio till 1906, when, ironically, he gave it to Propsting. The latter secured election to the Legislative Council. The education policies of the two ministries hardly differed. Propsting had appointed Neale as a commissioner; Evans in 1905 made him Director of Tasmanian Education. Propsting had voted in favour of the University, and Evans when he attended the University Council, *ex officio* as Education Minister, quoted his nine years of parliamentary support for the institution.¹⁴⁷

Neale proved important to the University. His report exposed the low standard of Tasmanian state school teachers and advocated a training college to replace the existing pupil teacher system. As Director of Education Neale established the college. He also helped to persuade Evans to legislate for free primary education in 1908. The unavailability of free primary education had been used as an argument to cut the University grant. Neale later became embroiled with the teachers over his 'new education' programme and his importation of teachers from South Australia. After royal commissions he was forced to resign in 1909. His fall was a classic endorsement of the arguments in favour of a local university as a defence against well-qualified interlopers from other states.

The new training college impinged directly on University development. First, in 1907 Professor Williams was forced to move out of the University house he had occupied for thirteen years to make way for temporary occupation by Training College students. The permanent building was constructed in 1908 on an acre bought from the University by the state government. In the long term the removal of one of the five acres, constituting its only land endowment, acquired with the Hobart High School, was likely to cramp development; in the short term the £1,500 obtained in 1909 was vitally important in the establishment of laboratories. Even more important than the acquisition of money was the increase in student numbers. Though not degree candidates, the students at the Philip Smith College, set up beside the University, obtained various credits in University courses. They were allowed, by special arrangement between University and Education Department, to attend free of charge till 1913.¹⁴⁸ A number of teacher trainees completed degrees later. The principal of the Philip Smith College, J.A. Johnson, after 1913 lectured in Education at the University. Thus the wider, non-matriculant participation, sought by the ill-fated Mining Engineering course, was supplied shortly afterwards by the training college. In August 1905 Neale, as Director of Education, asked the Faculty of Science for Saturday morning classes for teacher trainees. The faculty was happy to provide laboratory work of a standard mid-

way between matriculation and university. Provision was also made for Arts subjects.¹⁴⁹ The government was generally pleased with the co-operation between the University and Education Department. As many of the trainee teachers were women, the balance of sexes was altered. Unfortunately, the combination of their gender and sub-degree character did not improve the status of women in the University. College students were barred from the University Union until 1931. Dr Christine Walch, George Clarke's grand-daughter, who studied Arts at Tasmania before 1914, remembered no discrimination against women as such. Dress was formal for both sexes. Women were required to wear blouses and skirts, and keep their hair up, while males dressed in suits and ties. Some academics, such as Williams, insisted on gowns.¹⁵⁰

Despite some setbacks, degree student numbers began to rise steadily before 1914. The turn of the century saw 51, increasing to a promising 69 in 1902, a year in which the University faced severe opposition. Possibly as a result of the controversy there was a fall in 1903 (62) and 1904 (57). With the mining engineering imbroglio out of the way numbers began to increase again in 1905 (67). There was a jump to 95 in 1906 and the century was just achieved in the following year. A small increase (110) to 1909 followed to a peak of 147 in 1910. Absolute numbers fell slightly, though the 104 actual examination entries of 1914 constituted a record. Moreover, by 1913 fifty-six Training College students were attending lectures in Chemistry and Geology four days a week. These numbers were certainly not large, but creditable in a small university. They no longer inspired ridicule, as after the embarrassing returns of 1903.¹⁵¹

STAFF DEVELOPMENT

With a steadily increasing student body, the staff became more cohesive. The existence of part-timers, shared with other institutions as far away as Launceston, could not be justified by anything but dire necessity. Of the three original lecturer/professors, Jethro Brown had returned to Adelaide, via Wales, as Professor of Law. He still served Tasmania as an external examiner. Williams had failed in a bid for a New Zealand post, and Alexander McAulay had also shown interest in other positions. Neil Smith had come and gone. There had been several acting professors, covering for the initial leave of the original appointments. Thus Evelyn Hogg had acted for McAulay in 1900, and again for Smith 1902, when he had been used to inspect the facilities at the Zeehan School of Mines as a prelude to affiliation. Most interesting of the replacements was Thomas R. Bavin, who acted for Jethro Brown in 1900 as Professor of Law and History. Bavin in the late 1920s held office as Premier of New South Wales, the only full-time member of

the Tasmanian academic staff yet to reach such a dignity. Brown's permanent replacement was a long-serving Dugald Gordon McDougall, born in Victoria and a graduate of Melbourne and Oxford (Balliol), who practised law in Melbourne before his appointment to Tasmania. In his early years McDougall played a very active role in the development of the University. He resented the need to lecture in History as well as Law, and there was a demand for a new appointment to take over the former discipline.¹⁵² When the original lecturers were appointed, they received aid from several part-time teachers, some of whom were prepared to donate their services gratuitously. Such part-timers were usually called 'instructors' before 1900, when, on Chief Justice Dodds' suggestion, they were termed lecturers.¹⁵³

By 1904, when W.H. Baker was axed, Herman B. Ritz, the Modern Languages lecturer, red-bearded, humorous, burly, sometimes unintelligible, was the only presence in Launceston. The following year Ritz remained in Hobart. He had replaced Mons. C. Naverne in Launceston when the latter obtained a post offering £600 per annum instead of the £50 paid by Tasmania.¹⁵⁴ Ritz agreed to make fifteen three-day trips to Launceston for £50, later increased to £70, and a free rail pass.

In Hobart already were P.J. MacLeod, a New Zealand graduate, who, shared by the Technical School, lectured in Chemistry and Assaying, and one of the last of the TCE scholars, R.L. Dunbabin. Ending his triumphant career at Oxford, Dunbabin had taught at Hutchins from 1897 to 1901. He also did some examining and other work for the University. In 1902 he was appointed lecturer in Mental and Moral Science. In 1905, Dunbabin acted as Professor of Classics in Adelaide, returning to Tasmania in 1906 as a lecturer in Classics, Mental and Moral, and History. According to an early student, Dunbabin was a most entertaining lecturer, contrasting somewhat with Williams who continued to help with Classics. The latter tended to stammer, especially when construing a risque passage.¹⁵⁵

Continued financial difficulties made the careers of lecturers precarious. Unlike the professors, they lacked even three-year contracts but were appointed each year, usually towards the end of the preceding session. Appointments were also terminable each year, usually towards the end of the preceding session. Three months notice could also be given, while professors enjoyed a whole year.¹⁵⁶ The problem was investigated by Council in 1907, when it was decided to follow Melbourne precedents.¹⁵⁷ There was little regularity in the salaries. The Chemistry lecturer with more students received only £250, while his colleague in Physics enjoyed £300. The Council, however, was aware that flexibility was only possible in salaries, and did not wish to relinquish that opportunity for savings. This was demonstrated in 1909 when a deficit seemed likely to result from a new course in Biology.

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Lecturers were warned that they might have to accept a subsequent salary cut. All agreed, except Mackay.¹⁵⁸ The latter had just refused to take over the teaching of Surveying from the recently deceased Kingsmill unless he obtained the latter's full salary in addition to his own. Mackay now balked at a reduction to the £300 per annum he had received for six years. Fortunately, the cut proved unnecessary. Money for Biology was scraped together from a government grant and the sale of the acre of land to the Education Department. In April 1909 there arrived a Biology lecturer, Theodore Thomson Flynn, a distinguished Sydney graduate, recently a teacher in high schools at Maitland and Newcastle. Flynn brought with him his pregnant young wife who duly gave birth to a son, Errol, of Hollywood fame. According to his son, Flynn 'looked Irish. He had red, bushy eyebrows, black hair; he was lean, angular, full of charm, good will, and a certain professorial quietness. He spoke with a clipped British accent, tinged with touches of an Irish brogue.'¹⁵⁹ Naturally, the sins of the son have been visited on the father and uproarious stories, probably apocryphal, have been told of his relations with girl students.¹⁶⁰

At the time of Flynn's appointment, lecturers were refused seats on Council, even if elected by the Senate. In 1900 Williams, after elevation to professorial rank, was elected to Council and permitted to sit. There had been some latitude for Councillors like Kingsmill who did part-time teaching. However, in 1907 it was laid down that lecturers would have to choose between remuneration and Council membership. The choice was eventually imposed on Kingsmill.¹⁶¹ After World War I this restriction came to be resented, but there was then little opportunity for effective complaint. Staff could at least feel relief that their institution was unlikely to be abolished and that their jobs were more secure.

CHANGE FOR THE BETTER, 1910-1914

State Endowment Increases

Michael Roe has spoken of a 'mini boom in Australian tertiary education' between 1910 and 1913.¹⁶² Certainly things were looking up in Tasmania. The Evans government had proved friendly before falling in 1909. After a week of Labor rule, a new anti-Labor 'fusion' administration was established under the University's Vice-Chancellor, Sir Elliott Lewis. Lewis resigned his University position. His Minister for Education was the law graduate, A.E. Solomon, who had once sat at the feet of Jethro Brown. In June 1912 Solomon succeeded Lewis as Premier, retaining the education portfolio until losing office in April 1914. Solomon died tragically in the same year at the early age of 38, while Lewis remained a member of the University Council till 1933,

serving as Chancellor for nine years after 1924. Though friends of the University, once in political power, were apt to be more cautious in working for the institution, the Lewis and Solomon governments, with some prodding, proved helpful. £300 was provided for Biology, £500 for repairs to the buildings, and, best of all, in 1913 the annual endowment was at last raised by £1,000 to £5,000. The latter was not achieved without the pressure of a special Council delegation after the Solomon government's initial refusal.

The Ralston Bequest

Even better for University morale was the achievement, after 1910, of a really substantial private donation. Negotiations began in September 1910 with the trustees of the estate of John Ralston, a St Leonards pastoralist. Ralston had left £8,000 for scientific research. The attempt of relatives to upset the will failed in the High Court. The University Council first favoured Geology as the target, but this proved impracticable and the new department of Biology, with its laboratory, emerged as a satisfactory recipient. T.T. Flynn also seems to have played a subtle game with a well timed resignation threat. Persuaded to delay, he emerged in 1911 as the Ralston Professor of Biology on £500 per annum. The bequest amounted to a princely £600 for the first ten years. Subsequently problems arose, but initially it appeared exactly the type of private endowment so much missed in Tasmania. Even the *Mercury* assisted with an editorial supporting the argument that 'research for the sheer love of acquiring knowledge' achieved the greatest practical results.¹⁶³

Research Possibilities

An important feature of the bequest was that the trustees insisted on one of the three terms of the professor's year being devoted to research. This was something quite new in the University's history, and it is significant that research, regarded as an essential element of modern university activity, had not been mentioned at all in the early contracts. Nearly all the public controversy of the past years had presupposed that teaching was the only function and success was to be measured solely in terms of student numbers. Little was made of Jethro Brown's *The New Democracy* (London, Macmillan, 1899), after McAulay's the first scholarly book to emanate from the University of Tasmania. The book, which, despite some verbosity, rivals the classics in the field, could not have been of more 'practical' value. It discussed, as did Brown's extension lectures in 1896, the vital topical problem of Australian

federation. The Tasmanian movement for federation in fact owed much to Brown's students, Herbert Nicholls and the subsequent senator, J.H. Keating.¹⁶⁴ W.H. Williams' edition of the sixteenth century *Ralph Roister D'Oister* was more difficult to justify in the immediate context of Tasmania's practical needs, but as George Clarke had pointed out, it was necessary for Tasmanians to think beyond their local cabbage patch.

The most astonishing example of intellectual fertility in adversity was provided by Professor Alexander McAulay. Distracted by school and University marking and numerous other chores, struggling with virtually no assistance against totally inadequate laboratory facilities, and beset by persistent community hostility to the University, McAulay remained irrepressible. In 1898 the Cambridge University Press published his 250 page *A Treatise on Octonians*, followed by *Octonians, a Development of Clifford's Biquaternions* (London, Clay). Reviewers in French, German and English marvelled at such stark originality emanating from distant Tasmania, where only conventional textbooks could be consulted. In 1903 Macmillan produced McAulay's *Five-Figure Logarithmic and Other Tables*, a far cry from *Octonians*, but 'admirable in every way' according to the *Oxford Magazine*. Stimulated by Einstein's recent *Theory of Relativity*, McAulay made himself a world authority on subjects as diverse as elastic solids, electricity and magnetism, vortex atomic theory, and hydrodynamics.¹⁶⁵

This mental activity hardly fitted the stereotype of the professor wasting his time on dead languages, but was it of practical value to Tasmania? McAulay himself emphasised the importance of magnetic surveys of Tasmania that he and Hogg carried out in the early 1900s; the practical application of his work was considerably boosted in 1904 when he bought a holiday home, 'Kanna Leena' (noisy water), for his family in the central highlands. McAulay, convinced that the harnessed waters of the Great Lake could provide sufficient hydro-electric power to make Tasmania the manufacturing centre of Australia,¹⁶⁶ publicised his views in the *Mercury*.¹⁶⁷ Launceston had already established hydro-electricity at Cataract Gorge, and there had been a government report in the late 1890s; but McAulay's scientific expertise and calculations were taken up by the industrialist and entrepreneur, J.H. Gillies, when the latter visited the state in search of industrial power. In 1909 the relevant legislation passed through the Tasmanian Parliament despite attacks from a number of sceptical legislators. Next year, Mrs Ida McAulay turned the first sod of the Complex Ores Company power development on the McAulay property at Waddamana. Though McAulay was given shares in the Company, he approved of the government takeover in 1916 and the final metamorphosis into the Hydro-Electric Commission. Later he had misgivings about the scheme's environmental consequences. In 1970

his children donated to the University ninety-seven acres of McAulay land adjoining the Shannon for flora and fauna research.¹⁶⁸ All in all, McAulay would not have missed the traumatic University days of 'licking things into shape.'¹⁶⁹

A year before work started at Waddamana, Clarke's successor as Chancellor, Sir John Dodds, who had been well coached by Walker,¹⁷⁰ mentioned research, for almost the first time, in his speech at the 1909 commemoration. He insisted that the University was not a mere degree factory, concentrating on examinations. Dodds' Baconian approach to learning, which emphasised the need for Humanity to discover Nature's laws through experiment, in order to master her operation, was supportive of research interests. By 1913, the *Mercury* accepted that 'there are two sides to the work of a University – the cultivating of pure learning, and the teaching which has for its object the helping of men and women to pursue their careers in life in some or other of the professions.'¹⁷¹ It felt, however, that the latter had to predominate in a utilitarian age. The example of the Ralston bequest probably raised some public consciousness. But Flynn's privileged position must have chagrined his colleagues. After 1908, McDougall, representing that most utilitarian discipline, Law, was again visiting Launceston regularly to instruct local students, though the Council laid down that the class must consist of at least six students.¹⁷²

Library Improvement

An absolute necessity for any real research or effective teaching is the existence of a good library. The Ralston bequest unlocked the then huge sum of £300 in 1913 for library development. A subsequent University of Tasmania Librarian, D.H. Borchardt, wrote scathingly of the Library which received only 1.2 per cent of the University budget in 1911. Before 1900 there was no vote at all: 'we may well wonder what were the aims and aspirations of the Council when it endeavoured to run an institution of tertiary education without a library — indeed, one must admire the courage of those members of the faculty who endeavoured to teach in a University so poorly equipped with books.'¹⁷³

The members of the early Council were not such Philistines as Borchardt implies. J.B. Walker and W.H. Dawson donated seventy volumes in 1896.¹⁷⁴ There were similar gifts from others. Bishop Mercer, for example, gave some books, and in 1911, T. Stephens declared himself willing to hand over part of his collection if it could be suitably housed. Professor McAulay's recommendation in 1899 for the purchase of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, in whose 11th edition he described quaternions, was at least accepted by Council.¹⁷⁵ However, by 1911 the Faculty of Science was still urging the Council to obtain the *Encyclopaedia* at a specially cheap rate.¹⁷⁶ Accommodation was important. In 1901

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there was a proposal to put the Library into a smaller room and send the Registrar to an office in town. The Professorial Board resisted this proposal on the grounds that 'the shelves being roughly patched together from older shelves would practically be destroyed by removal.' Moreover, the Registrar was needed on campus to act as librarian and note missing books. The Board thought the larger room, which could also be used for other purposes, much more suitable than a small replacement.¹⁷⁷ The Council accepted the Board's arguments, and even paid £26 to have half the hall screened off for use as a Library.¹⁷⁸ In 1910 the Library room in the University building was converted into an ordinary classroom and part of the main hall was used exclusively as the Library. So it remained for many years, doubling on regular occasions as a meeting room and dance floor for student socials. In 1904 the Board of Studies had taken over direct responsibility. Students needed the signature of a professor lecturer before borrowing a book and were required to replace it on its proper shelf. £50 was requested for Library books.¹⁷⁹ By 1911, the Board, on the motion of the Modern Languages lecturer, Ritz, decided that the Library was the University's most pressing need.¹⁸⁰

The Library's lack of adequate progress can be attributed to the generally parlous state of the University, but more particularly to the emphasis on science and the constant demand for the provision of laboratories and their equipment. The condition of the latter was scarcely more satisfactory, students having to supply their own basic equipment. The sudden appearance of £300 for distribution began a scramble for funds. Flynn tried to pass a resolution through the Board allocating half to the Science Faculty; Law tried the same tactic, while Ritz for the Faculty of Letters suggested a more even distribution. Eventually the issue was returned to the Council for its decision¹⁸¹ which was to allot forty per cent to Science. At last there was some money to fight over.

The University Progress Association, 1912-1914

That the University was now on an upward spiral was demonstrated by the establishment of a University Progress Association in early 1912. The leading figure was Herbert Nicholls, who, though he had in 1909 retired from politics to the Supreme Court bench, becoming Chief Justice in 1914, remained a parliamentary representative on Council till 1922. The influential members were a blend of academics, University councillors and sympathetic citizens. Lyndhurst Giblin provided a valuable link with the Labor Party, in whose interest he sat in the House of Assembly from 1913 to 1916. Fr (later Monsignor) J.H. Cullen, a historian, pastor and religious journalist from Ireland, also played a useful role. The ebullient Professor T.T. Flynn secured

election to the committee.¹⁸² The Progress Association had the dual function of creating a public opinion favourable to increased endowment and campaigning for a new emphasis on university extension courses. The latter had lapsed since the 1890s. Now it was strongly revived. In 1913 Albert Mansbridge, head of the English Workers Educational Association visited Tasmania, and his ideas were taken up by the Progress Association and the University Council. It was a particularly timely interest as the local Labor Party was about to take office for its first effective period in government. The Progress Association undoubtedly played a part in persuading the Solomon government to grant the additional £1,000 in 1913. It resulted in the appointment of three new lecturers: J.L. Glasson, DSc (Adelaide) in Physics, P.L. Griffiths, in Law, and, most important of all, Edmund Morris Miller, MA (Melbourne) Philosophy and Economics. The staff now consisted of four professors, seven lecturers and three demonstrators in Chemistry, Surveying and Biology. Soon afterwards, John A. Johnson, principal of the Training College and an Otago graduate steeped in the 'new education', was appointed to give some lectures. In 1914, as the result of a government grant of £500 for extension lecturing, Herbert Heaton, a Yorkshireman (1890-1973) who subsequently became internationally recognised for his standard *Economic History of Europe* (1936) and many other works, joined the staff to lecture in History and Economics. Dunbabin, without additional remuneration, was raised to the dignity of Assistant Professor. After complex financial arrangements J.H. Mackay became Professor of Engineering. This led to the reorganisation of laboratories. Chemistry was sent back to the Technical School, Physics moved into the vacated chemical laboratory, while Engineering took over the old Physics space. However, learning was no longer the sole student activity at the University.

EARLY STUDENT FROLICS

There were now sufficient students for their high-spirited behaviour to attract attention. Some vandalism occurred in the male common room in 1910 and 1913, leading the Professorial Board on the latter occasion to close it temporarily for repairs. Complaints to the Students' Union led to countervailing demands for compulsory unionism to share the responsibility.¹⁸³ More important for the reputation of the new institution was behaviour at the annual commemoration. The *Mercury* in 1911 was initially tolerant of the 'uproariously noisy', student satirical songs and the overpowering toy trumpets and squeakers. In 1912, the Vice-Chancellor's speech was shouted down and a stink bomb of sulphurated hydrogen released. The *Mercury's* sarcasm now enraged the Students' Union. At the 1913 commemoration,

despite an attempt to exclude the unruly, students still contrived to make 'things pretty lively at times'.¹⁸⁴ More constructively, staff and students, shortly before the outbreak of war, co-operated in publishing the first University magazine, *The Platypus*. It had no successor till 1921.

The problem of student behaviour at commemoration was to persist for many years. For an embattled institution whose enemies avidly seized on anything discreditable, high-spirited students did short-term damage to the University. In broader perspective, however, their activity, corresponding to that of students elsewhere, was a sign of health.

THE NEW ACADEMIC GENERATION

While students grew assertive, a new generation was emerging. Dunbabin and Morris Miller were to dominate the University in the next thirty years. In many ways they were a complete contrast. Dunbabin was a Tasmanian, enabled by a scholarship to pursue a distinguished academic career at Oxford. Miller, born in South Africa but brought up in Victoria, worked his way through Melbourne University part-time. He became a professional librarian while developing a range of academic interests. Deeply influenced by the 'new education', he came to Tasmania with an enthusiasm for the university extension ideal which clearly irked the older academics, still oppressed by the shadow of Launceston duties. Though Heaton took over that particular role, Miller used his previous professional expertise to put some order into the Library, and indeed was honorary Librarian long enough to give his name to the new University Library. Not content with his wide range of teaching courses, Miller later established a state psychology clinic. He possessed the ability to win over politicians of all parties; the former Prime Minister, Alfred Deakin, had been a referee for his Tasmanian position. These characteristics did not endear him to his more traditional colleagues. Dunbabin criticised Miller's first examination paper and there was for many years constant rivalry between the two men and their followers.¹⁸⁵ In the light of the first twenty years of the University's history, the appointment of Morris Miller, able to move with panache through political and academic worlds with his message of education for the masses, was a stroke of genius.

1914: THINGS LICKED INTO SHAPE?

When war broke out in August 1914 the University had ended its teething period. There were still critics aplenty. The *Examiner*, speaking for unreconciled northern opinion, insisted early in the year that the

University, 'a comparative failure' remained 'in a comotose condition'. It was too conservative and insufficiently attuned to the practicalities of commerce, industry, applied science and extension work. In view of the early efforts to popularise extension lecturing in Launceston and the work of Alexander McAulay on electricity, a neglected area according to the *Examiner*, many of the criticisms were patently unfair, but characteristic of the University's abiding difficulty.¹⁸⁶ In general, the institution's existence was less precarious. Co-operation with the Education Department ensured a steady flow of students. The state endowment had risen and the Ralston bequest had demonstrated just what private benefactions could achieve. A Progress Association, which ceased its activities on the outbreak of war, gave the University an effective propagandist agency. Research was now a serious possibility. Energetic and dynamic new staff, such as Flynn, Heaton and Morris Miller, had been appointed. As the *Mercury* said of the three new lecturers of 1913, such men will probably do original work as well as teach, though research was not part of their contracts.¹⁸⁷ With a student body of over 100, organisation became more important. Lectures were made compulsory, and the system of grading examinations according to high distinction, distinction and pass was introduced in 1914. Even the embarrassing public behaviour of students indicated that a real university, rather than a cramming house, had been established. The University balance had swung away from a system of examinations, backed by some lectures from itinerant academics, to a youthful community, intent on its own interests. The University had not, of course, shed its examining role; much of the time of the Council and Board of Studies was still taken up with administering the junior and senior public examinations. Fr Kelsh and Archdeacon Whittington's opposition to the use of Scott's *Ivanhoe* as a school set text had taken up a great deal of Council and Board of Studies time in 1913. But now that the 'new education' was in vogue the University's control of the school curricula and insistence on languages was coming to be resented, instead of providing a sound argument for its existence, as in the days of J.B. Walker.¹⁸⁸

George Clarke and Thomas Stephens, the last of the Council old guard, died in 1913. In his financially straitened but relatively comfortable retirement, Clarke, at the advanced age of ninety-two, had the satisfaction of seeing the 'sickly infant' University grow into a still delicate, but not irretrievably stunted youth. It was now time for the younger generation of Dunbabin and Morris Miller to make its contribution.

Chapter 3: Limping Along in Acute Poverty, 1914-1939

THE NEW ERA

To Chancellor Sir John Morris, 'after the First World War the University advanced only by very slow steps, perennially without adequate funds'. Indeed 'it limped along in a condition of acute poverty'.¹ In 1914 just over 100 candidates sat the University examinations; by 1939 there were 457 enrolled students. Though staff-student ratios remained reasonably constant at about 1:18, one-man departments prevailed. Registrar Allan Preshaw agreed with Morris, 'by 1914 the ground had been marked out' with the establishment of most departments. The later 'period on the whole was one of frustration.'² The University was at least fully accepted, albeit with some criticism, in the community, and had long since lost its 'costly toy' image.

Though the quality of progress is debatable, the rising government grant is revealing. From 1914 to 1938-39, despite a fourfold increase in student numbers, the state endowment had little more than doubled (£6,000 to £14,525). The obvious result was an institution, still housed in a building too solidly constructed as a moderately sized mid-nineteenth century school to allow much scope for extension. It was, said Preshaw, as ridiculous as a youth grown out of the clothes of childhood. In the previous period, the existence of sufficient potential students to justify a university had been in doubt; now the problem was to persuade legislators to make reasonable provision for a slow but steady increase in demand.

The 1914-39 period saw crises as acute as those of 1893-1914, but public controversy had changed direction. In J.B. Walker's time there had been a relatively simple division between opponents and friends of the University. By the end of World War I debate emphasised the relations between school and university, the place of staff in academic organisation, and the working conditions of teachers and taught. Controversy was exacerbated by student pranks at commemoration; public irritation spilled over into parliamentary debates on University estimates. Anti-University feeling tended to be expressed in the Legislative Council, once the protector of the infant institution, rather than the House of Assembly. By the outbreak of World War II the necessity for a totally new site for the University of Tasmania was generally accepted, though little action had yet taken place.

EFFECTS OF WORLD WAR I

The outbreak of war with Germany in August 1914 created an immediate flurry when the Board of Studies postponed most science lectures to prevent a clash with summer military training.³ Arrangements were made for alternative examination times for students so affected. The emergency plans of Melbourne University were followed. Several students joined the army immediately. Staff involvement in the war was discouraged. Professor J.H. Mackay was refused leave to enlist. Dr Glasson, lecturer in Physics, was apparently dissuaded on the ground that it would be unfair to the students. In February 1918 the Council made it almost impossible for staff to join up. As with ordinary academic leave they were required to maintain a substitute and the Council refused to pay their wives and families the difference between Army and University salaries.⁴ Moreover, an Army directive prohibited the enlistment of teachers of technical subjects.⁵ Many staff members did war-related work. Dunbabin obtained some leave of absence to act as censor of letters; Mackay undertook an investigation of ship loading; Glasson represented the University on the Commonwealth Munitions Committee.

Approximately 107 Tasmanian students, graduates, or Councillors served in the war at theatres ranging from Gallipoli to Flanders. Fifteen, including the son of Sir Adye Douglas, sometime University Councillor and Education Minister, were killed, often in the bloody battles of attrition around the Somme. A.N. Lewis, son of Sir Elliott, was more fortunate; he survived as one of twelve University members decorated with the Military Cross. There were also four DSOs, two MBEs, and a DFC for an early airman. Most of the current Rhodes scholars enlisted. One of them, C.S. King, won the MC. He was subsequently a History lecturer and professor in the University. Dr James Sprent, a Councillor, secured the same honour. Another Councillor, Lyndhurst Giblin, served with even greater distinction, to win both MC and DSO before returning to play a dominant role in the University affairs of the 1920s. The future Chancellor, Henry Baker, also won the DSO.

Meanwhile it was business as usual in the University. A decrease in examination candidates between 1915 and 1918 (eighty-four) was followed by a strong upward movement in the immediate post-war years: 132 in 1919 and the 200 mark reached in 1922-23. In 1915 a Council deputation had asked the Education Minister in the 1914-16 Labor government for permission to raise fees to meet war-time financial difficulties. The Minister for Education and Treasurer, Joe Lyons, a former primary teacher and generally sympathetic to the University, refused the raising of fees as opposed to party policy, but granted an £125 increased grant. Students were compelled to do military training

and some, including Alexander McAulay's brilliant son, Leicester, joined the Fortress Engineers, charged with manning Hobart's gun emplacements against enterprising German raiders. So seriously was this duty regarded that members of the unit were sometimes debarred from enlisting for service in France. Generally, the University at this time ran under half steam. There was little sport, but K.C. Masterman, a future ANU professor, managed some lacrosse before enlisting to serve in Giblin's Company in France.⁶

Perhaps the most important function of the University during the war was to adapt its extension and WEA work to what Morris Miller called 'propaganda lectures to foster public morale.'⁷ Miller himself was active in this respect. Not all, however, went according to plan. In 1915, during a crucial by-election campaign, Miller called on Launceston to pressure the government to introduce degree work in the north as well as extension, and also provide scholarships for Hobart study. As Lyons himself had been most impressed by an extension lecture he had attended in Launceston, Miller believed that the government could hardly refuse grants for workers' education. The *Examiner*, so hostile the previous year, now depicted extension as an 'unqualified success', which had raised 'unflagging interest'. All the University now needed was new progressive men on Council. The existing University Council, however, censured Morris Miller for indiscretion.⁸ Miller was later to demonstrate more finesse as a master of internal academic politics. His extension colleague, Herbert Heaton, created a furore at Scottsdale in August 1915 when he was reported as saying that, as there had been atrocities on both sides, a draw would be the best result of the war. The Council warmly debated the issue, the future war-hero Giblin siding with Heaton who claimed misrepresentation. The incident provoked an outburst of indignation in press and parliament. The Labor government played it down when challenged by irate Liberals. The *Mercury* demanded Heaton's immediate dismissal.⁹ Council eventually decided to take no action, but Major Arthur Morrisby, a Legislative Councillor, and Dr E.L. Crowther, whose son William won a DSO, were dissatisfied. Heaton resigned in late 1916, being replaced by the equally distinguished economist, Douglas B. Copland, subsequently Vice-Chancellor of the Australian National University.

It was difficult for the University to dissociate itself from war hysteria. Creditably, it stood firm against the Denison local recruiting committee's attempt to prohibit the son of a 'notoriously disloyal' enemy alien from competing for a senior public examination scholarship.¹⁰ On the other hand, there were misgivings about tolerating the teaching of the German language. This issue developed from a controversy late in the war which raised for the first time in the University's history a serious issue of academic freedom.

THE RAAMSDONK AFFAIR AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM

After the death in 1916 of the first full-time lecturer in Modern Languages, H.B. Ritz, Council by ballot chose I.M. Raamsdonk, LittB, LLB. Raamsdonk proved a stormy petrel. Many Tasmanian staff members were then financially embarrassed; when D.B. Copland collapsed while presenting a thesis in Melbourne, Professor McDougall attributed it simply to overwork or the financial worries prevalent amongst Tasmanian academics.¹¹ Raamsdonk, starting on a lower salary than his peers, had it attached on several occasions and shocked the authorities by a public meeting of his creditors at the University. His major offence occurred in 1918. Raamsdonk then lamented in the public press the lack of specialised language teaching in the University. This raised the embarrassing fact that he taught German as well as French. The University Council over-reacted by publicly criticising Raamsdonk as its 'servant' who had no right to air his own opinions.

A number of prominent staff members, including Alexander McAulay, T.T. Flynn, Robert Dunbabin, Morris Miller, Douglas Copland and J.A. Johnson protested against the Council's public rebuke to Raamsdonk and failure to hear his defence. They emphatically rejected the use of the term, destined to become a staple of public controversy, 'paid servant'. This was 'a misrepresentation of the status of members of the University staff and is strongly objected to by us.'¹² They argued, moreover, that it was the common practice in other universities for staff to freely criticise the policy of their own institutions in matters of public importance. The Council's action over Raamsdonk 'is an infringement of this recognised right . . . such limitation of the freedom of University leaders is so highly detrimental to the work and influence of the University as to call for the strongest opposition on our part.' Raamsdonk's public rehabilitation was demanded. Dunbabin also used the Board of Studies to foreshadow a motion insisting that Council should never consider 'technical questions without first obtaining the advice of members of staff who, because of training and experience, are qualified to speak with authority on them.'¹³

The issue had moved far beyond Raamsdonk's incautious remarks. Raamsdonk's teaching was not generally popular amongst his colleagues or students, who resented his sarcasm.¹⁴ The Council proved conciliatory. Despite the strong views of members like Major Morrisby, it conferred with the teaching staff and agreed on a compromise. In theory academics were conceded the right to discuss University affairs, but without injuring the institution or obstructing the Council or Senate. Consultation with the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor was

required before controversial publication. The censure of Raamsdonk was rescinded and Council undertook to discuss staff wrongdoing in closed committee, not at meetings open to the press.

The staff had not fared badly in its first conflict with Council. Adherence to the agreed guidelines would have avoided future trouble. If, as Morris Miller claimed, the staff in about 1917 'did not feel itself a separate entity re things academic',¹⁵ the Raamsdonk affair had initiated staff assertion. Of the three senior professors, McAulay signed the protest, while W.H. Williams and Dugald McDougall were themselves Councillors elected by the Senate. Though these older men may not have associated with the newer academics,¹⁶ McDougall had complaints of his own. He considered the sometimes uneducated Councillors elected by Parliament quite unfit for their duties: 'the underhand intrigues and family influence brought to bear on staff appointments and even on elections to Rhodes scholarships thoroughly disgusted me' and he was glad to abandon the Council in 1920 and 1922.¹⁷ McDougall, apostrophised by *Togatus* as 'a superb teacher', was allowed to resign from the staff after an unfortunate incident in 1932;¹⁸ in the early 1920s he was still regarded as a staff leader, especially on superannuation.

THE CHANGED ADMINISTRATIVE ORDER

World War I coincided with the final establishment of an administrative order which was to remain till the 1930s. When Elliott Lewis had resigned the Vice-Chancellorship in 1909 to resume the Premiership, his replacement was almost equally preoccupied with state politics. Tetley Gant was an excellent figurehead for any university. Born in Yorkshire in 1856, he had been educated at Rugby before progressing to St John's College, Oxford, and the Inner Temple. As president of the Tasmanian Legislative Council he was a local grandee of particular importance, but he could not simultaneously fulfil the function of an administrative vice-chancellor as understood today. Early in 1914 Gant, finding even his limited role too great, announced his resignation; he was persuaded to wait.¹⁹ When Chancellor Sir John Dodds died a few months later, the 'debonair, affable, and courteous'²⁰ Gant was prevailed upon to take the largely ceremonial position. He continued till 1924. But who was to succeed as Vice-Chancellor? The choice fell on William Joshua Tilley Stops, an early graduate with an 1896 LLB. Stops had appropriately been a partner in the law firm of Chief Justice Sir Herbert Nicholls, and was later senior partner in the Hobart legal partnership of Walker and Hore. First elected by the Senate to Council four years after graduation, he continued to sit for the next forty-seven years. His enthusiasm for the University was considerable, though he

never sought an active role as Vice-Chancellor between 1914 and 1933. The academic staff regarded him as an absentee — he had no office at the University — and resolved their own difficulties, either by internal negotiation or political pressure. According to Morris Miller, no academic ever took a problem to Stops.²¹

The vacuum was filled by the Registrar, the main channel of communication between staff and Council. This was symbolised by the early division of the Registrar's time between the University and a town office accessible to Councillors. The first Registrar, Major George Richardson, has been depicted as 'fat, bullying, with a waxed moustache, and a wangler of government jobs'.²² Though several of those qualifications might have proved useful in the traumatic early days of the institution, Richardson was soon replaced in 1892 by a retired Indian Army colonel, who had seen service in the Mutiny, James Henry Robert Cruickshank. Cruickshank, starting on the far from princely salary of £100 a year, died in harness in 1916. Morris Miller regarded him as an ideal Registrar, being 'non-interfering and obliging'. Though he did not arrogate its authority, the public sometimes identified the institution, where the Registrar lived till 1901, as 'Cruickshank's establishment'.²³

Cruickshank's successor, M.M. Ansell, a BA of 1895 and a temporary exception to the initial sequence of military Registrars, was less self-effacing than Cruickshank. Ansell gave the impression that he was the academics' superior, rather than a co-ordinator. He resigned, however, in 1923. The next Registrar, Lt. Col. L.R. Thomas survived particularly testing criteria for appointment. He was an old boy of Mill Hill, a DSO who had seen service in the Gallipoli and Mesopotamia campaigns, and a Middle Temple barrister.²⁴ Thomas refused to remain an administrative cipher. According to Morris Miller, he won the confidence of the absent Vice-Chancellor, Stops, played a divide and rule game amongst the staff, and took full advantage of the public tendency to identify the Registrar as the director of the University.²⁵ Another academic, however, saw Thomas as a harmless raconteur.²⁶

COMMERCE: A NEW PRACTICAL COURSE

Before discussing post-war differences on academic philosophy and organisation, an important legacy of the 1914-18 period must be surveyed. Most curricular advance appeared in the diversification and specialisation of existing departments. But the establishment of Commerce and Economics was important both as a further manifestation of the University's determination to provide practical down to earth instruction and a relative innovation in Australia, still bound by the English classical and mathematical tradition. The way had been partly

paved by the new pre-war extension movement, stimulated by the University Progress Association. Morris Miller's appointment was in Philosophy and Economics. Heaton, an extension specialist, emphasised economic history; his successor Copland, though nominally required to incorporate History, was not particularly competent in that discipline.²⁷ In 1915 the Professor of Law, McDougall, finally divested himself of the history duties hitherto pertaining to his chair. The problem of History was resolved in 1919 by the appointment of the former Tasmanian Rhodes scholar and war veteran, C.S. King, to take up a lectureship in the subject which in due course metamorphosed into a chair.

Economics/Commerce was developed with the support of the Hobart Chamber of Commerce which raised £500 to help the new venture. McDougall, chaired the requisite committee and looked after commercial law, while Copland took responsibility for pure economics. The inauguration of the course was delayed until 1919, twenty-one students — a satisfactory number — were enrolled. Different levels of ability and interest were accommodated by a two-year certificate in Commerce, balanced by a more academic four-year BCom. There was considerable scope for part-time and external study. H.H. Cummins, FICA, a leading Hobart accountant, was appointed lecturer in Accounting and Business Practice,²⁸ and did effective work combining theory and practice in the early years of the course. By late 1919 Council was convinced that 'the success of the course in commerce is now assured' and had attracted favourable attention throughout Australia.²⁹ Professor McDougall was less happy with his role. As a number of his students were unmatriculated teacher trainees, 'I prepared beautiful lectures — too good for many of the Training College young women.'³⁰ Very soon Commerce ran neck and neck with Science as the second largest faculty after arts. Commerce went ahead in the mid-1920s; then Science rallied; but immediately before World War II Commerce led substantially with 96 students to 82. Its predominance was due to the enrolment of 37 women to Science's 17. Arts, by comparison, had then 125 females, a preponderance, in a total of 240. Despite McDougall's strictures on Training College girls, Commerce by the late 1930s brought in only a tiny handful of teacher trainees; the majority of its students being part-timers who attended in the evening after a working day. Though part-time work was a characteristic of the University as a whole, Commerce, not unnaturally, attracted more than the average. It was another demonstration of the willingness of the institution to adapt to local demand. Even a course for commercial travellers, as far from the Newman intellectual ideal as could be imagined, was seriously considered. Though a diploma in journalism was ruled out in 1920, a course of relevant studies was offered.³¹

In the 1920s and 1930s a succession of able economists, D.B. Copland, Torleiv Hytten, J.B. Brigden, Roland Wilson (later Secretary to the Commonwealth Treasury), F.R.E. Mauldon and E.R. Walker, gave the Tasmanian Economics Department a reputation for excellence.

ENGINEERING BOARD OF MANAGEMENT

The residuary legatee of the Neil Smith fiasco of the early 1900s was the new Engineering faculty, finally established after World War I. J.H. Mackay was formally Professor of Engineering after 1912, but the faculty, whose basis he had laid, was not created till 1921, after his departure. Effective engineering was a debtor to the intellectual fertility of Alexander McAulay whose initiative had helped create the Hydro-Electric Department (later Commission) which in turn stimulated and co-operated with Electrical Engineering at the University. Early cross-fertilisation was demonstrated by the appointment in 1918 of a recent Tasmanian BSc, A.P. Binns, as district engineer for the Hydro-Electric Department. In 1919 £3,000 was voted by Parliament for a new laboratory suitable for Electrical Engineering and a high tension testing department. The large sums of money required, as in the case of Commerce, the involvement of community interest groups. Representatives of the Hydro-Electric Department, the Electrolytic Zinc Company, the Tramways and the Chambers of Commerce were invited to join a University deputation to the Premier.³² In the following year a lecturer in Mathematics and Electrical Engineering was appointed. The University could not expect exclusive use of the new facilities provided, the original sharing of chemistry facilities with the Technical College still prevailed. Lyndhurst Giblin, re-elected to Council in 1919, believed that the necessity could be turned into positive financial advantage. The new Faculty of Engineering held its first meeting in September 1921. Mackay, highly praised by Council for his efforts in building up Engineering from virtually nothing, had resigned, leaving the chair to Alan Burn, his former student. In the following year Council came to an agreement with the government and Technical College to set up the Engineering Board of Management. This somewhat anomalous arrangement included Engineering as well as Chemistry in partnership with the Technical College, administered by the Department of Education. Its basic function was, according to Morris Miller, to disguise the extent of the University's grant by creating a body, with dubious legal standing, to receive government disbursements.³³ As such it served its purpose, but later became a drag on progress, when academics were distracted by the necessity of teaching at different levels. The academics involved lived in a hazy no-man's land between University and Education Department. Did academic

freedom apply to them, or were they 'servants' of the Engineering Board of Management? Some of the prominent local industrialists on the Board did believe it was their duty to direct academics and frowned on the latter's membership of the Board itself. They were eventually made aware of standard university procedures. A curious anomaly of the system of joint facilities, was the need for the Minister of Education to personally assent to promotions in Chemistry. The Engineering Board of Management was not finally wound up till 1961. In numbers Engineering approximated to Law. It rarely attracted thirty students before 1939. They were exclusively male; even Law in 1931 graduated its first woman LLB, Miss Helen Dunbar.

LATE ARRIVALS AND FAILURES: THEOLOGY, EDUCATION, MUSIC

During World War I a minor controversy arose over a course in theology. In 1916 the Senate voted to remove the ban on theology and divinity which Andrew Inglis Clark had been so determined to establish when drafting the original University act. Despite the support of clerics on Council and a letter from the Presbyterian moderator in favour, Council, by the narrow margin of 7-5 rejected the idea.³⁴ An even narrower 6-5 vote in 1928 notwithstanding,³⁵ the decision stood. In 1983 a Religious Studies interdisciplinary course on comparative religion was established by the Faculty of Arts.

The Anglican Church did, however, obtain some status in 1933 when Christ College, after another revival in 1929, was affiliated to the University as a hall of residence on condition that all its occupants were students of the University or divinity, and that there be no religious tests. Archdeacon, later Assistant Bishop, W.R. Barrett became the first warden. By 1939 there were twenty-three students, including four in divinity. Yet given the predominantly part-time evening class atmosphere of the University, this small leaven of corporate life was important. The student magazine, *Togatus*, was always well filled by news of Christ College activities. The 'tradition' of initiating freshmen, bound hand and foot and compelled to sing, began at this time.³⁶ The existence of one college created a demand for more, especially when the University as a whole finally moved to a more adequate site. The Catholics were not yet in a position to establish an institution of their own based on Cardinal Newman's ideas. A Newman Society for Catholic students was dramatically inaugurated in 1937 when Archbishop Justin Simonds used the occasion to reprimand a professor for anti-Catholic teaching.

For professional educationalists, the long delay in creating a Diploma in Education was almost as frustrating as the setbacks experienced by

religionists. Education had been included as a BA subject in 1914, and by the early 1920s secondary teachers campaigned strongly for a diploma.³⁷ Nothing, however, was achieved, the subsequent depression allowing a plea of 'financial stringency'. Finally the Diploma was established under a new academic regime in 1935. A full Faculty of Education had to wait till 1946. As the character of school education proved a particularly divisive issue on Council, it clearly delayed the Diploma.

In Music where standards were always high, the early enthusiasts on Council like Archdeacon Whittington had been unable to inspire more than the inclusion of music in pre-tertiary examinations before the 1930s. Tasmanian music lovers in the 1930s were extremely frustrated at the lack of opportunity for local studies beyond those provided by visiting examiners from institutions such as Trinity College, London. The depression cuts provided no opportunity for a new department. However, in 1933 Dr W. Arundel Orchard retired from the directorship of the New South Wales Conservatorium of Music and moved to Hobart. His arrival preceded the election of the Labor government of Albert Ogilvie which wanted the University to establish a chair or similar position for Orchard. With so many other departments facing stringency, the Professorial Board was naturally cautious, but the Council set up a committee in late 1934.³⁸ The following year, on an assurance from the Minister for Education that a lecturer's salary and £75 for necessary expenses would be made available, Orchard was appointed to a lectureship and a course for the MusB, in loose association with the Faculty of Arts, was introduced. A piano was donated.³⁹ To avoid interrupting other classes in the University building, tuition took place in upper storey rooms in Murray Street. Entrance requirements were exacting and there were only three, later two, students for the four year course. Two thus graduated. Dr Orchard seems to have been too demanding for local candidates of the period, and the course evaporated on his return to Sydney in 1939. Further progress in music had to wait till after World War II.⁴⁰

LIBRARY TRIBULATIONS

Though some library development had taken place before 1913, progress before 1939 was mainly due to the sometimes astonishing energy of Morris Miller, who, despite an overwhelming number of intra- and extra-mural interests and obligations, found time to act as part-time Librarian. He received after 1917 an honorarium of £50 for his leisure activity of laboriously cataloguing the collection. The great physicist, Sir Ernest Rutherford, condoled with Alexander McAulay that 'the absence of a Library is a drawback' to the latter's research. In 1934

a delegation of the Carnegie Trust reporting on Australian libraries found the Tasmanian University Library 'entirely inadequate' but progressing along approved lines. The qualified praise was due to Morris Miller's achievement in cataloguing three-fifths of the collection in twenty years. A trained assistant was urgently needed.⁴¹ Previously there had been only a seconded administrative assistant. Subsequently the Munn-Pitt Report softened its criticism, suggesting that the library stock was reasonably adequate for small student numbers and a restricted curriculum. D.H. Borchardt, a later Librarian, ridiculed the suggestion that a collection of under 30,000 volumes could ever have been adequate for a university. He demonstrated that Morris Miller, whose cataloguing was simple but efficient enough, worked effectively with the limited resources at his disposal to fill academic gaps in the collection and acquire current scholarly texts. He excelled in getting 'the most out of the least'. Despite the lack of local second-hand book sources, Miller possessed good commercial contacts and an ability to ferret out small collections.⁴² The annual reports show a steady development from 20,799 books and 5,313 pamphlets in 1928-29 to 40,849 books and 8,846 pamphlets in 1938-39.

Unfortunately the increase could not be completely housed in the University Library. Instead they spilled over into what were euphemistically known as 'departmental libraries'; in practice they cluttered the already inadequate professorial offices. Moreover, in the absence of suitable halls for meetings, lectures, socials and dances, the Library was still being used for these purposes, to the great inconvenience of those concerned with research and study. According to the Chancellor in 1935, the student common rooms were a 'disgrace', with the men's 'little more than a kennel' and the women's, though slightly less repulsive, grossly over-crowded.⁴³ The dirt, dilapidation and decay of the men's common room, decorated mainly by empty bottles hanging from the ceiling, made the Library one of the few places for constructive discourse. The needs of the Library were therefore basic to the development and expansion of the University as a whole.

LABORATORY CONDITIONS

The dismally slow progress of the Library was repeated *a fortiori* in the story of laboratory accommodation in the 1920s and 1930s. Biology provides a useful example. In 1920 Professor Flynn was embroiled with Council for insufficient attention to his school examination work, sketchy returns of purchases, financial embarrassment and neglect of income tax obligations.⁴⁴ He pleaded overwork and inadequate conditions for the teaching and the research required by his Ralston chair. In the classroom used for both lectures, practical work, and, apparently,

research, there was insufficient bench space to accommodate his first year class in a single sitting. As all science students in 1924-25 totalled only thirty-six, Flynn's numbers were not large. Moreover, he demonstrated that 'in the Museum, valuable specimens are being destroyed for want of cases to house them; and the valuable and growing collection of biological books and periodicals lies in heaps on the floor for want of shelf room.' The Council was prepared to provide shelving and laboratory assistance, but was more cautious about Flynn's suggestion for building another storey over the room.⁴⁵ Flynn's love-hate relationship with Council, which admired his research flair, ended in 1931 when the Ralston trustees unilaterally cut the funding for the Biology chair to a lectureship. Flynn took refuge in the chair of Zoology at Queen's University, Belfast, where he concluded a distinguished career as a researcher in 1948 and died ten years later.

Flynn's successor, Vernon V. Hickman, a local graduate and World War I veteran, did not find conditions very different in 1935 when he informed a Parliamentary Public Works Committee that laboratory accommodation existed for only seven students, while he now had twenty-six. Like Flynn he had to duplicate his lectures, a serious obstacle to the original research required by the Ralston trust.⁴⁶ The progress of Physics was cited by Council when Flynn complained of overwork, but Alexander McAulay was no less concerned by the inadequacy of his laboratory conditions and long hours of teaching. Ernest Rutherford was glad to hear in early 1923 that McAulay was getting a new laboratory and hoped to start some new work. When McAulay realised that he was losing his sight, he offered a salary cut of £260 in return for some more research time. On finally going blind, McAulay courageously used braille to carry on his investigations. He was appointed as a research professor in 1924 before final retirement in 1929.

STUDENT LIFE UNDER PENURY

The students who shared in these privations, though so many were part-time, now had the means to stage their own protest. An annual 'rag day' of some sort is an almost indispensable feature of most student life; however, it is impossible to dismiss the persistently provocative Commem frolics, which greatly irritated the local populace and posed such perennial problems for both the disciplinary Professorial Board and University Council, as simply high spirits. Sometimes specific grievances were included in the raucous interjections which upset the flow of the annual report, whose reading was wisely dropped in later ceremonies. As shown, male student misbehaviour on the solemn occasion of the annual commemoration, designed to integrate University and community by judicious advertisement, had begun before World

War I. There seems to have been little student activity during the war years or immediately afterwards. In 1918 a *Mercury* correspondent asked if it was necessary to make Commem Day 'the dullest, deadliest function of the whole year?'⁴⁷ In 1920 students prepared for Commem by driving around Hobart in two lorries and shocking the staid old cart-horses.⁴⁸ Soon their successors were to shock more than horses. Next year the Chancellor was interrupted by shouts of 'Give us a tennis court' when talking of an honours board for war work.⁴⁹

Compulsory student unionism after 1922 was expected to end the nuisance of non-members likely to 'muck up' the common room,⁵⁰ and provide for social activities and women's sport. A start was made by the introduction of ping pong.⁵¹ But public provocation continued. At that year's Commem the audience was convulsed by a bottle of stout and a crayfish suspended over the Vice-Chancellor's head.⁵² There was amused tolerance too in 1923 when the first Commem procession, marshalled by a bearded student on a grey horse, wound its 'elaborately grotesque way' through the Hobart streets satirising their 'masters and pastors'.⁵³ Practical jokes, as usual, were extended to the ceremony in the Town Hall. The *Mercury* took it philosophically. Commem Day was a special occasion when the student could 'look the most pompous professor in the eye and quail not, or indulge his propensity for broad humour and rough horseplay with impunity.'

The following year saw an abrupt reaction. To avoid trouble, Council attempted to streamline the 1924 Commemoration proceedings. The report was taken as read, space was reserved for undergraduates, and degrees were conferred in batches to save time. Nevertheless when the Chancellor, Sir Elliott Lewis, traced the steady progress of the University from its early tribulations, he was counted out by students in the back of the Town Hall. An activist's megaphone virtually halted proceedings. Cats, whose turpentine-induced squeals increased the uproar, were introduced and the platform invaded before the official party left. There was a storm of protest, ranging from the RSPCA to the police who objected to their officers being assailed with flour. The vulgarity of student songs shocked many sober citizens. The *Mercury* now called for censorship, complaining that there was 'something lacking in the University system in Tasmania'. Was the community getting full value for its payments? The influential Councillor, Lyndhurst Giblin, was rebuked for suggesting that the students were no bawdier than Shakespeare or local club-room raconteurs.⁵⁴ When the budget came under consideration later in the year, MPs, as in 1902 when Chancellor Lewis was Premier, seriously considered cutting the University grant.⁵⁵ Fortunately, the current Labor Premier, Joe Lyons, was sympathetic to the University. His Minister for Education, Law graduate Albert Ogilvie, in a flush of radical enthusiasm a few days later, proposed an alleviation of the accommodation problem by appropriating Govern-

ment House, then criticised by a parliamentary committee as being unnecessarily large.⁵⁶ Nothing came of the scheme. The Labor Party's commitment to abolishing the Governor was not intended to be taken even to the extent of moving him to less impressive lodgings.

Council and Professorial Board could not but react sternly. The official Union committee was fully aware that the worst feature of the student procession was 'the opportunity it has given those persons who would terminate the existence of the University'.⁵⁷ An agreement was made with the Union to keep matters under control in future, while the following year's procession was banned and male students excluded from the next commemoration. The uninviting male common room was closed for six weeks.⁵⁸ An irate student, disliking the tone of the Chancellor's letter to male students, demanded his money back.⁵⁹ Before the year was out, the Professorial Board, led by Flynn, took action against common room card players. Cards were then a persistent cause of professorial wrath.⁶⁰

Everything went well in 1925. The Union committee met members of the Professorial Board to discuss discipline and more cordial relations between staff and students resulted.⁶¹ The Union took control and organised a 'university week' to raise money for teams participating in the annual inter-varsity sports at Brisbane. Banned from Commem itself, now an afternoon function, the male students held their own 'official' evening Commem in the Library, followed by a dance. The Chancellor's report was parodied by a student. This was more acceptable to authority, though less fun than counting the Chancellor out.

Teams were duly sent to the Brisbane inter-varsity sports. The rowing eight covered itself with glory by winning the boat race against the stiff competition of the much larger mainland universities. It was only the second time that Tasmania had entered. Such excellent publicity for the University gained the commendation of both Council and Professorial Board. Other sports were developing satisfactorily. The men's football team and the women's tennis team won their respective premierships.⁶² By the end of the 1930s there was increasing criticism of the large proportion of student money that was devoted to the inter-varsity and the fact that insufficient sums were spent on women's teams. In 1925 goodwill prevailed. The women's common room put on a popular 'Underworld Cabaret' for all students in the ever-adaptable Library. In the same year, legislation removed the demeaning distinction between male and female graduates by allowing women to be members of the Senate. Though no events for women were organised in the 1925 inter-faculty sports, attended by the Governor, women competed in 1926.

The succeeding years were relatively quiet on the student front. In 1926 the Students' Representative Council (SRC) was formed; for a time its officers were formally distinct from the Union, but the two

merged in 1933-34. When Council in 1927 rescinded its prohibition⁶³ the procession coupled with the students' own 'mock commem', under Union or SRC surveillance, absorbed much of the energy or protesting zeal that had previously been manifested in commemoration disturbances. The official ceremony was preserved as an occasion for celebrating new graduates and the institution that had produced them. The annual magazine, *Platypus*, which attempted to provide a literary outlet for students as well as summarising the general University and graduate news declined in the late 1920s for want of sufficient contributions.⁶⁴ Despite assistance from the staff, and editors like R.G. Osborne, later parliamentary draftsman and after 1935 an important member of Council, *Platypus* was replaced in 1931 by *Togatus*, representing the SRC. At first cyclostyled, *Togatus* appeared fortnightly and was able to provide much more effective coverage of University events. Initially it was quite conservative in its tone, generally supporting the staff. The quieter period after the disturbances of 1924, however, led to a considerable drop in Union membership from 81 (56 men and 25 women) to 44 (34 men and 10 women) in 1928.⁶⁵ In 1931, the SRC at long last affiliated the Teachers' College to boost funds and sporting activities.⁶⁶ A power struggle later developed for control of the organisation.

In the depression year of 1931, no procession was organised. It had been a flop the previous year and no one wished to take responsibility. Without this safety valve, the attention of some students returned to the official ceremony. Precautions seem to have been relaxed, and further embarrassment was caused at a time when the University staff were again under pressure from the general community. This time it was fireworks: gas-bombs and jack-jumpers wreathed the Town Hall ceiling in smoke and set the audience coughing, while the noise, reinforced with motor horns turned the formal proceedings into a farce.⁶⁷ The old agreement between Professorial Board and Union was unknown to the new generation of students, and a fine of £20 was imposed on the SRC to distribute amongst those responsible.⁶⁸ Students were again banned from commemoration. *Togatus* considered the action of the Council justified in the light of current parliamentary opposition to the University. Other outlets could be found for student 'carnival spirit'. The SRC, led by its president, Roy Fagan, subsequently Deputy-Premier of Tasmania, repudiated the invidious responsibility for preventing Commem disorder.⁶⁹ Later in 1931 the University football team was accused of misbehaving in Launceston,⁷⁰ a most unfortunate place and time for semi-intoxicated frolics.

The Mock Commem of 1932 had most of the features of the subsequent University revue. It satirised local politicians, published a souvenir booklet, regaled viewers with choruses and dancers, and finally made a profit.⁷¹ Once again, this proved the calm before the storm. Though

Togatus considered the next Mock Commem very successful, the Professorial Board banned all student Commem activities in 1934. It had, in the absence of SRC responsibility, censored the projected Mock Commem scripts and found them unsuitable. This was regarded as an outrage; *Togatus* was prepared to challenge the authorities and an appeal was made to Council, over the head of the Professorial Board. In Council, several members sympathised with the student position. Walter Woods, a former MP and long-term Labor journalist and poet, believed the ban on the Mock Commem an infringement of the liberties of a citizen. E.W. Turner, a Nationalist MP and, briefly, minister, who, since his schoolboy award at the first commemoration had acquired the degrees of LL.M and MA, insisted that 'boys will be boys'. Dr J.F. Gaha, soon to take office in the next Labor government, summed up the perennial difficulty: 'It was all an interpretation of what was dirt and what was fun.' The chairman of the Professorial Board, E.J. Pitman, had no doubt that something very wrong had been done the previous year and the embargo remained.⁷²

The difficulty was no nearer solution. Students campaigned for representation on Council. The Mock Commem was permitted in 1935, 1936, 1937 and 1938. There seemed a slight improvement in the first year. The *Mercury* considered the 1936 version clever but too vulgar, and that of 1937, the twelfth, one of the best. Again it helped to raise funds to send the oarsmen to the Brisbane inter-varsity.⁷³ The Professorial Board was less happy. In 1938 it decided that the 'low standard' of recent years had culminated in 'filth and libellous matter' leading to widespread complaints, and even threats of police action. Nor was the problem restricted to the students' own activities. After several years of relative quiescence, tear gas had been smuggled into the official commemoration ceremony.⁷⁴ This was extremely bad for the University name and the Board insisted that the disruptive tradition be abandoned.⁷⁵ The problem was compounded by the publication by a student, Geoff Reading, of *Cactus*, a rival and more daringly satirical version of *Togatus*, whose cyclostyled pages are nevertheless prim by the standards of subsequent student journalism. *Cactus* criticised both Council and Professorial Board, and, according to the Tasmanian State Council of Churches, used 'filthy and suggestive language'.⁷⁶ *Cactus* criticised the hysterical reaction of councillors like E.W. Turner to the commemoration disturbance, and the Union abandoning, under the influence of staff, its demand for a new common room.⁷⁷

The SRC, when appealed to by the Professorial Board, was unwilling to take action against those it had tried to discourage. The president, D.M. Chambers, pointed out to Council that the disturbances were the work of a minority only; the SRC itself had resolved against the 'mere vulgarism of recent years', and asked for a revue to replace the Mock Commem.⁷⁸ This time it was Turner who demanded a full-

scale Professorial Board investigation of the Mock Commem, the procession, and *Cactus*. The Board demurred. Such investigatory discipline was no longer useful. As for *Cactus*, Professor Pitman, chairman of the Board, found no breach of discipline, but merely a breach of taste. Negotiations had begun for transferring disciplinary power to the Union.⁷⁹ This was insufficient for Premier Ogilvie, who warned the Council, during debates on the state estimates later in the year, that if indecent exhibitions and publications were not stopped in the following year, there would be a substantial reduction in the University vote.⁸⁰ Mock Commem accordingly remained banned and no review was permitted in 1939. As a *Togatus* editorial summarised the situation, there was no Mock Commem, no revue and no spirit.⁸¹ Complaints that the Professorial Board was treating students like schoolboys, were inappropriate in the current political atmosphere.⁸² Instead, students turned their disorder on themselves. The common room was wrecked. The Union's AGM became a shambles with shouting, electric horns and a black-out. Nevertheless, motions were passed demanding full representation on the University Council and supporting the war which had just broken out.⁸³ Earlier in the year, a *Togatus* editorial had declared against war and rejected participation.⁸⁴

Despite all precautions, the 1939 commemoration, immediately before the outbreak of war, did not pass off without embarrassment. A student, to the horrified indignation of Hobart citizens, succeeded in erecting a placard, anticipating the inevitable declaration of hostilities, on the *Mercury* building. At the commemoration ceremony, the Governor, Sir Ernest Clarke, exceeded his functions by threatening gaol for the perpetrator of the outrage. It turned out to be the Rhodes scholar of the year. His scholarship saved from the Governor's wrath by the common sense of the Rhodes trustees in England, the errant student, R.W. Baker survived war service to captain the Oxford tennis team and become Professor of Law in the Tasmanian University.⁸⁵ It was an appropriate end to two decades of provocative pranks and official over-reaction.

In due course a 1939 act of Parliament gave legal recognition to the SRC. It was accorded disciplinary powers and the University collected its fees. Observer status only was granted to a student representative on Council. This was substantially the formalisation of the agreement made after the 1924 trouble. It was scarcely a complete answer to student unrest or disorder, especially when student numbers increased after World War II. In 1940 the first revue was held. In substance it appears to differ very little from the old Mock Commem. However, the general conception of 'what is dirt and what is good fun' has changed dramatically over the years. By the 1980s the annual University revue usually played to full houses, recognising it as a rare local opportunity for contemporary satire and light-hearted bawdiness.

The significance of the commemoration disturbances in the inter-war years lay not in the actions or jests of the students involved, which faithfully followed precedents elsewhere, but rather in the reaction of the local community to the University itself. Few academics could afford to adopt a 'boys will be boys' philosophy when legislators, especially during the depression years, sought almost any excuse to apply the financial axe. Inadequate University facilities offset by pompous ceremonial encouraged the anti-social activity of a minority. The retiring Professor of Economics, F.R. Mauldon, explained in 1938 that small incidents obtaining undue publicity had 'no real relation to the permanent and valuable work of the University' in preparing young people for community leadership.⁸⁶ This may have been formally true, but in the current state of opinion the student minority could do considerable harm.

Though this minority of disruptors and exhibitionists provided a backdrop for the three-cornered struggle between staff, Council and government, there were many positive achievements in the inter-war period. Sport, very necessary for student physical health and social development, perhaps received disproportionate attention. The inter-varsity maintained a good level of interest for both men and women. Success was achieved not only in rowing but by tennis teams of both sexes, hockey (women), athletic, and debating teams.⁸⁷ Cricket was a relatively slow starter, there being no University team in 1932. Rugby Union football, a challenge to the Tasmanian dominance of Australian Rules, gained a club in 1933.⁸⁸ Rifle shooting was another University sport. The Rifle Club, with Australian Rules football, athletics, rowing, debating, social, tennis, dramatic, publicity, women's hockey and basketball, and women as such, had representation on the SRC. Women's basketball had been granted the old tennis court in 1928.⁸⁹ In 1938, sporting 'Blues', an Oxford derived symbol, were publicly awarded for the first time at the University. The future Rhodes scholar, R.W. Baker, officiated; athletic or games ability as well as academic achievement being then required by candidates for the prestigious scholarship.⁹⁰

Inter-varsity undoubtedly raised the consciousness of local students. As a 1938 *Togatus* editorial said bitterly, contact with other universities provided a sight of 'their wonderful union buildings'.⁹¹ Tasmanian representatives, such as John O'Driscoll, D. Chambers, Donald Gee and Ralph Harry, played a full part in the establishment of NUAUS (National Union of Australian University Students) after a special inter-varsity conference in 1937.

A number of departmental societies, ranging from English to engineering formed in the 1930s. Many were short-lived. Several religious organisations, SCM (Students Christian Movement), EU (Evangelical Union) and later the Catholic Newman Society were active. The Taylor

Open to Talent

controversy of 1937 made students think out their own positions. Professor Taylor was himself a regular contributor to *Togatus*, providing many challenging ideas. His contribution, 'The Higher Criticism', provoked a war of words with the Catholic Archbishop, backed by his Anglican counterpart, and the state Council of Churches. In the later 1930s *Togatus* produced a resident anti-clerical, Geoff Reading, when not writing for his own *Cactus*. As 'Horatio Blewbaum', his rationalist articles stimulated replies by committed Christians. In the controversial year of 1938, Horatio compounded the problems by publishing a 'grossly offensive' poem, from which the expletive 'bloody' was mercifully deleted.⁹² The opposition of committed Christians who ran *Togatus* led Reading to publish his brief *Cactus*.

Tasmanian students were not too remote to be aware of war clouds in Europe and Asia. An International Relations Society, organised by C.S. King, with about twenty members, debated a number of important issues.⁹³ *Togatus* disagreed profoundly with the Oxford Union's rejection of fighting for King and Country in 1933,⁹⁴ but pacifist opinions were also expressed. A debate on the Oxford Union motion between two women's teams resulted in the same decision as at Oxford.⁹⁵ There was, for a time, a Lenin Club which insisted on the right to free speech. Debating, with inter-varsity victory in 1928, 1929 and 1933,⁹⁶ was extremely strong at this time, Roy Fagan leading the successful 1933 team. The inclusion of women on the inter-varsity debating team was justified patronisingly as the expedient of a small university, yet women could beat men in local debates. Men versus women at various sports was becoming quite common as formality between the sexes was relaxed. Apart from the more ferocious examples of Mock Commem satire, drama of all sorts, so valuable for social relations, was also popular. The chairman of the Professorial Board, E.J.G. Pitman, produced a P.G. Wodehouse play for the Dramatic Club.⁹⁷ Women played an active role on SRC committees; the editor of *Togatus* in 1938-39 was Maida Williams, later a senior lecturer in History. She also became secretary of the SCM which she considered more exciting than her formal coursework.⁹⁸ Despite complaints that the University was becoming a glorified technical school,⁹⁹ there were, privations notwithstanding, many opportunities for student activities in the 1930s.

COUNCIL, GOVERNMENT AND STAFF, 1918-1939

Major Contestants

At the beginning of World War I, as already demonstrated, a new academic leadership was taking over. The early professors had all been

imports from England or the Australian mainland. Local academics initially played a subordinate role. The first to break this tradition was Robert Dunbabin, not, of course, a Tasmanian graduate but one who had used the TCE system to win academic honours at Oxford. Dunbabin eventually took over the Classics lecturing from Williams, whose real field was English Literature. By 1914, Dunbabin was sufficiently established to be promoted, without additional remuneration, to the somewhat unreal dignity of Assistant Professor of Classics. Three years later he was accorded a full chair and his place in the academic hierarchy assured. From this time, Dunbabin was well-poised to assert a tacit academic leadership. As seen already, the Vice-Chancellor was an absentee and the Registrar was the main co-ordinator between staff and Council. There was no leader amongst the senior professors. Alexander McAulay, who never sat on Council, was too involved in his own research. W.H. Williams was sixty-six in 1918. With no superannuation and little chance to save, Williams faced penury when finally obliged to resign and became entirely dependent on the goodwill of Council. As a Councillor elected by Senate, Williams could not afford to offend any powerful interests. His votes were usually given against staff demands. McDougall was younger and more alienated from the establishment, but, except in matters like superannuation, he did not present himself effectively as a leader and gladly vacated Council. Flynn sat briefly on Council, 1915-17, but was too engrossed in his research and financial problems. Mackay resigned at the end of the war after a single year as a Councillor.

According to Morris Miller, by no means an unbiased observer, Dunbabin, disliked by the seniors, Williams, McDougall and Flynn, was able to spread 'his Tasmanian influence'. In 1921 Dunbabin, nominated in his turn by staff for the Senate election, helped to form a 'block' on Council. This 'block' of about eight included Vice-Chancellor Stops, Lyndhurst Giblin, F.M. Young, Leonard H. Lindon, lay chairman of the Board of Studies from 1917 to its extinction in 1936. Despite his friendship with J.B. Walker and Alexander McAulay, Young had been too modest to sit on Council before 1919. 'Block' opponents, such as E.W. Turner, ignoring the Raamsdonk precedent, complained that academics like Dunbabin exceeded their functions on Council, being in reality 'servants' of that body.

Giblin was unofficial treasurer for 'the block'. As the economist Sir Roland Wilson, a student from 1922 to 1925, said, 'everything at the University more or less revolved round Giblin.' When K.C. Masterman substituted for Dunbabin in 1927, he endured some tense moments at meetings when challenged by opponents of 'the block', until Giblin came to his rescue.¹⁰⁰ Professors individually were forced to go cap in hand to Giblin for finance. 'The block', moreover, played down the role of the Council itself as a governing body. This was exemplified

in the apparently minor issue of whether examiners should be officially appointed by Council or Board. The Board of Studies, containing all staff and a number of lay members appointed by Council, did represent academic opinion at a time when the powers of the Professorial Board were almost exclusively restricted to student discipline. 'The block' also tended to be unsympathetic towards the demands of teachers who desired more flexible standards in the University-controlled public examinations.

Morris Miller, in his dangerously succinct and plausible account of this period, portrays himself as simply the assistant of opponents of 'block' dominance who desired to give Council its proper place as the University paymaster. 'The block' was weakened by the collapse and death, returning home after a Council meeting, of the stalwart Fred Young, who had done so much gratuitous work for the University. The departure in 1929 of Giblin to Melbourne as Ritchie Professor of Economics effectively ended 'the block' and left Council under the control of Morris Miller's friends.

Miller, as we will now call him, is very frank about his personal and policy differences with Dunbabin. Miller soon came to oppose the Tasmanian scholar, twelve years his senior. While Dunbabin had the advantage of local and family contacts, Miller was a naturally politicised academic before his arrival in Tasmania. His exceptionally wide extra-mural interests, Adult Education, the State Library, the Mental Deficiency Board, and the State Psychological Clinic, ensured that he would be well known in the general community. He won the support of local teachers by lowering the failure rate of fifty per cent to a manageable thirty per cent. He was particularly effective in liaising with politicians of all parties.

With Dunbabin blocking Miller's progress in every direction within the University, the latter, according to his own account, was forced to look outside for support. As already indicated, they had little in common. Dunbabin in 1918 was forty-nine and Miller thirty-seven. Every inch a Corpus Christi man, Dunbabin could also recreate himself in the production of tulips and pigs on his property at Bream Creek¹⁰¹. Students were disarmed by his enthusiasm for Mary Pickford and Charlie Chaplin.¹⁰² Dunbabin's academic ideal was Mark Pattison, the reforming nineteenth century rector of Lincoln College, Oxford,¹⁰³ unfairly portrayed by George Eliot as the pedantic absurdity, Mr Casaubon. Impressing his students with a 'tremendous fund of knowledge',¹⁰⁴ Dunbabin was an absolute stickler for scholarly precision and style, capable of outrage at slipshod English in *Togatus*.¹⁰⁵ Despite a tendency to corpulence, Dunbabin had the port and mien of a great scholar. Like many academic perfectionists, including Pattison, Dunbabin's published output was relatively slight. He did, however, suggest the Latin motto from an undistinguished poem by Claudian,

a Roman poet of the 4th century AD, *Ingeniis Patuit Campus* ('the field lies open to talent'). A successor in the Classics Chair, Professor Paul Weaver, facetiously rendered the motto in 1977 as 'The engineers have done their best with the University site.'¹⁰⁶ Indeed it is difficult to see why Dunbabin picked such an instrumentalist motto, emphasising careerism, rather than Newman's ideal of learning for its own sake. The motto was finally adopted in 1937 with a coat of arms based on the competition winning design by a graduate, Egbert Holder Harry.¹⁰⁷

Morris Miller, on the other hand began his university career the hard part-time way. His overseas experience was at a more utilitarian Scottish university. He was no stickler for scholastic precision and intellectually demanding compulsory subjects in university or school education. On the contrary, his standards were 'mossy' like his nickname. George Eliot herself, rather than Mr Casaubon or his original, was a significant influence.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, the range and extent of Miller's literary output, his other interests notwithstanding, was formidable. Modern critics may find flaws in his successive studies of Kant, but they were generally well reviewed. His papers on clinical psychology date, but his bibliography *Australian Literature from its Beginnings to 1935*, published in 1940, was an amazing *tour de force* for so active a man. Whatever their personal antipathies, the rivalry between Edmund Morris Miller and Robert Dunbabin represented two major interpretations of academic excellence.

Dunbabin had lectured in Philosophy before Miller's arrival and had no compunction about criticising the latter's examining methods to the extent of threatening a report to Council. Miller also complained that, despite his LittD degree, he was excluded by Dunbabin when in 1919 several lecturers were allowed to sit on the impotent Professorial Board. Dunbabin, belonging to an Oxford generation believing any qualification beyond MA a lapse from good taste, was unlikely to have been impressed by a brand new doctorate from Melbourne. Furthermore, said Miller, 'he kept me off university conferences.' What was to be done?

New Professors

Miller's progress to a chair was tortuous. He drafted a mental deficiency bill for the government and was allowed, contrary to normal practice, a year's partly paid leave to study related issues in the USA.¹⁰⁹ Back in Tasmania, in negotiations involving government and University, he obtained from the former a salary increase of £200 for directing the Psychological Clinic and sitting on the Mental Deficiency Board, becoming chairman of the latter in 1924. His efforts to raise his status were initially unavailing; meanwhile new professors were

selected. James B. Brigden, maintaining the University's succession of excellent economists, was appointed to the chair of Economics, created for, and just vacated by, Copland. As Alexander McAulay's failing eyesight rendered teaching impossible, and he became a research professor, a brilliant teacher at Hutchins and Miller ally, H.D. Erwin, was appointed part-time lecturer in Mathematics. In 1926 Edwin J.G. Pitman took over the mathematical half of Alexander McAulay's double portfolio. In the following year, McAulay's son, Alexander Leicester, was appointed to a new chair of Physics, having lectured in the subject since 1922. Leicester McAulay (1895-1969), whose education took him from Hutchins to Cambridge and Manchester Universities, was almost a carbon copy of his father, being tall, gaunt and indifferent to dress. Like his father again, he was to blaze new trails in physics. Having worked under Lord Rutherford he was fascinated by the social and environmental applications of his discipline, new approaches such as biophysics and even parapsychology. He was an exasperating lecturer in his informality, but sometimes enthused listeners by sheer inspiration. He was no more an academic politician than his father, and never served on Council. McAulay built up the research capacity of Physics and is to a great extent responsible for its subsequent strength. He began the policy of appointing local graduates to lectureships and established a close-knit team. His first major appointment, F.D. Cruickshank, was second in command of Physics from 1930 to 1973. Cruickshank's logical, coherent lectures provided an excellent foil to the abstruse genius of McAulay. In 1932 McAulay experienced a fearful personal tragedy on the accidental drowning of his wife of a few days and welcomed the solid support of Cruickshank on running the Department.¹¹⁰

The other two successor professors were, unlike Leicester McAulay, very intimately involved in the academic politics of the next decades. Albert B. Taylor, born in New Zealand in 1896, began his career at the University of Auckland before joining the World War I New Zealand Expeditionary Force in Egypt and France, where he was gassed and invalided home. He completed his education with first class honours in English at Oxford.¹¹¹ According to Morris Miller, the possibility that Professor Walter Murdoch of Western Australia, one of the great figures of Australian letters, might have accepted the Tasmanian chair of English by invitation was scotched by Dunbabin.¹¹² Taylor during his thirty-one years of service was a radical exponent of academic rights and staff-student relations. Despite a tendency to loquacity, Taylor was popular with the students. He brushed with E.W. Turner on the Council, as well as Archbishop Simonds in 1937. He was not a prolific researcher, but contributed many articles to *Togatus*. His chief published work, *An Introduction of Medieval Romance*, 1930, was attacked as anti-Catholic by the *Labor Voice*, edited by Edmund Dwyer Gray, a future

state Premier and long-time Treasurer.¹¹³ This was the antithesis of the type of reaction that Morris Miller liked to evoke from politicians, and it is not surprising that Taylor should have been classified with Miller's opponents. On the other hand, Taylor differed from Dunbabin over student representation on Council, the former in favour, the latter resolutely against.

Pitman, a Melbourne graduate, was appointed after complicated negotiations involving candidates in Britain as well as Australia. Alexander McAulay assured Council that, though Pitman was only twenty-seven, he was capable of the 'highest kind of Mathematics research'.¹¹⁴ Pitman's teaching created an immediate impact; 'brother, did he shake the place up', was the retrospective comment of a student.¹¹⁵ Pitman's standards were exacting and he kept the students reaching towards higher levels of abstraction. He was soon drawn into academic politics, astounding Fred Young by criticising Council at his first faculty meeting.¹¹⁶

Appointment Committee: Miss Lowenstern

In 1928 a serious matter of principle arose when the Council committee to appoint a new lecturer in Mathematics was found to contain no academic, not even Professor Pitman. The Staff Association protested vigorously that this neglect of a convention established in other universities 'could be interpreted as a complete want of confidence in the staff.'¹¹⁷ On the casting vote of the chairman after a 6:6 tie, Council resolved to add Professors Pitman, McAulay and Alan Burn to the committee.¹¹⁸ According to Pitman, when the applications were considered, the Vice-Chancellor, Stops, suggested putting one from a woman aside.¹¹⁹ The academics demurred and the committee finally presented to Council the name of Edith Rita Lowenstern, a Melbourne MA, for appointment as lecturer in Mathematics. Erwin, the disgruntled former part-time lecturer, attempted to have the nomination referred back. He and Professor Williams went on record as opponents of Tasmania's first female full-time lecturer.¹²⁰ During the depression, Pitman prevented Council from reducing Miss Lowenstern to part-time status.¹²¹ Miss Lowenstern joined the Staff Association and became its secretary for 1930-31.

The Council meeting which endorsed Miss Lowenstern turned down a demand for an administrative and curricular enquiry, partly stimulated by the remarks of John Orr, a former Tasmanian Rhodes scholar, who had achieved the distinction of the chair of French at Manchester University, and subsequently Edinburgh. Serious conflict was brewing. In May the academically-benign Labor government of Joe Lyons with its union base was succeeded by a Nationalist ministry of John McPhee which was to deal with the oncoming depression

by determined cost-cutting. A new Nationalist MP of 1931, who ultimately achieved the ministry, was E.W. Turner, the opponent of academic unionism.

Morris Miller and the Staff Association

In the early 1920s the staff had grown more determined. Sub-professorial staff refused to sign the contractual clause debarring them from Council membership and it was abandoned soon afterwards. C.S. King, war veteran and historian, elected to Council by the Senate in 1927, became the first full-time academic non-professorial Councillor.¹²² In 1933 King was promoted to associate professor, and in 1935 to full professor. In 1922, on Morris Miller's initiative, a University of Tasmania Staff Association was formed. Superannuation like that enjoyed by state teachers and greater staff representation on selection committees were early demands. The Melbourne association was taken as a model. Most of those involved in the Raamsdonk protest participated. For a start Dunbabin and Morris Miller worked together. Efforts were made to gain staff representation on Council through senate elections. Tough politicking ensued. Deals were done with other groups such as the teachers. The Staff Association selected its ticket; Dunbabin methodically worked through the graduate list with red pen to highlight supporters. An attempt was made to unseat the unco-operative Professor Williams.¹²³ Conservative Councillors were outraged by such action on the part of men they considered servants of the institution.

By 1926 staff unity broke down and Morris Miller became estranged from the organisation he had created. In 1926, 1928 and 1931 he stood against the selected Staff Association candidates. He lost in 1926, but after a flurry of staff electioneering activity, Miller along with the now unpopular Williams won a seat, though Pitman the official staff candidate topped the poll. To make matters worse, Miller acted as whip in Council for friends like Turner and Erwin, highly critical of the staff, in their contest against the declining 'block'.¹²⁴ A serious issue of principle emerged in 1929 when Miller's friends on Council secured Council, rather than Board of Studies, control over examiners. On the Staff Association Dunbabin moved a condemnation of Council action outside its competence as detrimental to the University and 'a direct insult to the staff'.¹²⁵

Though personalities were also involved, Miller considered the Staff Association insensitive to outside opinion when referring to public cynicism and hostility to the University. He attributed his electoral success to teachers who approved of his low failure rates.¹²⁶ On the other hand, Miller's extra-mural activities and close relations with politicians worried his academic opponents. Miller believed Pitman

an irreconcilable enemy, though the latter acknowledged no such vendetta. Miller's progress to a chair in 1928 was not affected by his breach with the Staff Association.

DEPRESSION CUTS AND ASSERTIONS

By now the Great Depression had struck. It intensified bitterness. The Staff Association was rendered impotent. The government refused to restore Flynn's salary when the Ralston trustees reduced it to a lectureship. Even worse, the general government grant was cut in late 1930 by £1,000. To avert worse things, staff receiving over £400 a year pledged themselves to a voluntary salary reduction of 5 per cent.¹²⁷ This proved pitifully inadequate. In 1931 the government's 15.5 per cent reduction was increased to 20 per cent (£12,841). An attempt on Council to terminate all appointments as a prelude to lower salary scales only just failed, the academic Councillors abstaining.¹²⁸ Staff now offered 'voluntary' salary reductions of 10 and then 20 per cent, while rejecting the right of politicians to interfere with the working conditions of scholars.¹²⁹ It was a decidedly inopportune time for the student high jinks earlier in the year. All Australian academics endured salary cuts during the depression, but those of Tasmania were among the very worst. There were other economies such as retrenching the northern lectureship, and the senior demonstratorship in Physics.

Though forced to accept cuts, the Tasmanian academics continued to assert their rights. Practical unity prevailed. A letter on behalf of all staff, signed by Dunbabin, Morris Miller, Roland Wilson and Torleiv Hytten was delivered to Council. It demonstrated effectively that local academic salaries had equalled neither mainland equivalents, nor the cost of living, nor the increase in the basic wage. The letter, moreover, bravely asserted that 'research is not a luxury; it is essential to efficient teaching.' It also rejected government control of the University and offered voluntary reductions instead. Academic security of tenure and adequate salaries were required as prerequisites for setting forth 'the results of unbiased enquiry' and 'pursuing knowledge for its own sake'.¹³⁰ Unfortunately, this spirited defence of perennial academic values played into the hands of opponents.

Correspondence in the *Mercury*, using pseudonyms such as 'Dissatisfied Graduate', attacked the alleged greed and self seeking of academics; H.J. Solomon, son of the former Premier and himself a law graduate, and R.G. Osborne, the former editor of *Platypus*, now a rising public servant, defended the University staff. Solomon, complaining that a correspondent was 'reviving the moribund "anti-staff" party', ridiculed the notion that five staff members could dominate in a Council of nineteen. Nevertheless E.W. Turner launched

into one of his most outspoken denunciations of staff membership of the University Council. Academic Councillors, he declared, inevitably supported proposals for increased grants and more staff, while rejecting economy. The entire staff had demonstrated 'shameless resistance' to accepting their fair share of a general salary cut. They should be relieved of all administrative functions. While no better than secondary teachers they had demanded a maximum of ten hours teaching a week. Nor was Turner impressed by 'research'; that was a 'blessed word implying so much or so little!'¹³¹

The staff were outraged again. Dunbabin complained to the Vice-Chancellor. Taylor, in an angry gesture, rejected Council's invitation to liaise with a federal body. In Council, Vice-Chancellor Stops moved a strong resolution censuring Turner, but the future Labor minister, Dr F.J. Gaha, softened it to a letter to staff dissociating Council from Turner's remarks.¹³²

The significance of Turner's outburst, which endorsed the most unfavourable stereotypes of academics, lay in his position, not only as a police magistrate and a recently elected MP, but as a graduate intimately connected with University work on Council and Board of Studies. At the peak of depression, such publicly expressed views could scarcely be shrugged off. Morris Miller's close association with Turner was difficult for the former to justify. But now Miller had fully identified with his colleagues' demands. In his autobiographical fragments, he plays down the utterances of friends like Turner, insisting that they were not accompanied by action;¹³³ on the contrary, said Miller, Council as a body 'never made decisions against the staff nor against the Board of Studies except as related to schools.'¹³⁴ Turner's bark might have been worse than his bite, but 1931 was a dangerous year for this particular pitch of barking. On re-election to Council in late 1931 Miller possibly received the second preferences of staff believing it wiser to work with him than continue a destructive conflict. He now topped the poll ahead of Pitman.

The depression did not lift in 1932. The assistant lecturer in Modern Languages was retrenched, though one lecturer was left to deal with sixty students.¹³⁵ Mrs Lesley Murdoch, elected by Parliament and the wife of a MLC, made her presence felt as the first woman Councillor, but her attempts to secure the appointment of an immediate replacement for Professor McDougall who, after thirty-two years' service, was induced to retire with an allowance of £340, were unsuccessful. She later demanded returns showing the low proportion of women employed as examiners, a tentative first step towards modern affirmative action.

At the beginning of 1933 Sir Elliott Lewis, embarrassingly beaten by Mrs Murdoch in the 1931 parliamentary election for Council,¹³⁶ ended an association with the University dating back to the year of

its foundation. The Vice-Chancellor, Stops, with Council service since 1900, was elected to replace him, not without certain misgivings from those looking for a figurehead of high judicial or political status. But Council was then precluded from recruiting outside its own ranks. The problem of Vice-Chancellor was more serious. Was an external official still satisfactory? Other Australian universities had already adopted the system of a specialist academic vice-chancellor. Dunbabin had just returned to Council which he had left in 1926. The Staff Association had decided to nominate a second member to stand with Burn, and Dunbabin was pressed into service at the last moment. He was now sixty-four. Pitman took the bold step of asking Turner, with whom he was personally on good terms, to sign Dunbabin's nomination for Council. None of the lay Council members wanted the position. Walter Woods, a former Labor Speaker of the House of Assembly, declined nomination. Dunbabin, on Pitman's motion, was the sole candidate and accordingly elected, despite a subsequent protest from Mrs Murdoch.¹³⁷ However, Dunbabin soon had second thoughts. On 7 April he announced his resignation, on medical advice, from the Vice-Chancellorship. The only achievement of his very brief reign from 2 February was the appointment of a new Registrar, Allan Sydney Preshaw, a former student in Western Australia of the eminent Professor of English, Walter Murdoch. More tactful in his treatment of staff than his immediate predecessor, Col. Thomas, Preshaw was later an applicant for the Vice-Chancellor's position. Miller, who had congratulated Dunbabin and offered full support, believed that the latter was 'not keen on the administrative side of the office.'¹³⁸ It is not, however, surprising that Dunbabin resigned in the circumstances. There was not even a Vice-Chancellor's office in the University building, and the suggestion that he be relieved of some teaching was a matter for grave consideration. But what was to be done now?

After some delay Morris Miller was elected decisively in a contest with Burn, nominated by Pitman. According to Miller, Pitman angrily anticipated a staff revolt if Miller were elected. Pitman denied such an outburst, insisting that his failure to lobby for Burn helped to account for his rival's success.¹³⁹ At fifty-two, Edmund Morris Miller had triumphed over adversity to become Vice-Chancellor of the University of Tasmania.

Miller claimed that he had nominated on the advice of friends such as Turner, E.M. Johnson, and the Anglican Bishop Hay, a member of Council. Most of his associates were 'anti-staff in a general sense', but he had not identified with them during the depression. King's move, not mentioned in Miller's account, to bring in an outsider (Woods) indicates the existence of further divisions among the staff, rather than Miller's bland view that now 'the staff rows had eased.'

NEW REGIME: MORRIS MILLER AS VICE-CHANCELLOR

First Steps

Miller lost no time in regularising his position. Meeting him in the street shortly after his election, Dunbabin pledged loyalty, as Miller had so recently done to him. According to the Miller account, it was Dunbabin who advised him to publicise the superiority of the Vice-Chancellor's position over that of Registrar. The divisive 'machinations' of Col. Thomas being exposed, Miller undertook a bizarre tour of the Tasmanian public functionaries to explain that the Vice-Chancellor, and not the Registrar, was the official representative of the University, standing to the Chancellor in the same relation as the Premier to the Governor. Dunbabin later admitted that he had seriously wronged Miller at the instance of Thomas who was allowed to depart forthwith for his new posting with the Australian Broadcasting Commission.¹⁴⁰ Miller also made his peace with the new Chancellor, Stops, pointing out his need for advice, now that his elevation made it impossible to have any confidant amongst the staff. This seems to have mollified Stops, who gave Miller no further trouble.

Most important, the new Vice-Chancellor came to an early working agreement with the staff. Ignoring the Board of Studies, an unwieldy body which had become almost a minor parliament, Miller called a meeting of the Professorial Board and the independent lecturers (those who headed a department without professorial status). He demonstrated that, far from being opposed to staff interests, he wished to raise the staff to their proper position. The Professorial Board was to be upgraded from its role of student disciplinary body to the chief academic voice of the University. This took time. Firstly Miller proposed to replace the old system of Departmental bargaining with Council by collective decisions of the Professorial Board, then enabled to present a united front to Council and distribute the moneys so acquired. Dunbabin, Chairman of the Professorial Board till the end of 1934, was happy to co-operate. According to Miller, a 'feeling of good will' developed amongst professors and heads of departments. 'I was amazed at the effect of my proposals. They won immediate favour.'¹⁴¹ As he was reaching the normal retiring age of sixty-five, Dunbabin needed Council endorsement to extend his tenure till seventy. As for Preshaw the new Registrar, he 'turned out to be an efficient officer', handling his accounts competently and being conscientiously attentive to the work of various committees. Pitman agreed that Preshaw was tactful and competent. Miller meanwhile spread the Vice-Chancellor's influence 'unobtrusively', keeping the Registrar's

authority within proper limits, judiciously securing the increase of a salary deliberately lower than the responsibilities of the position demanded.¹⁴² When Preshaw produced dubious evidence that other small universities made do without a Vice-Chancellor at all, he was well snubbed by Miller.¹⁴³

Miller has left an attractive picture of his view of the Vice-Chancellor's functions. He was not to be seen in any sense as a 'chief' or 'boss', but as a co-ordinator maintaining a balance of power between Council and academic bodies thus leaving staff free to carry out 'creative functions unrestricted by officialdom'. He accepted the Newman ideal of a university as a 'Corporation of professors, lecturers, graduates and students — all united in spirit in their search for truth in the forms of Knowledge, Beauty and Good.'¹⁴⁴ He desired to see the University break out of the early 'pass degree' stage and move into the era of 'honours' work with its greater emphasis on research for both staff and students.¹⁴⁵

Though such ideals are difficult to achieve in practice, Miller did seem to many staff to offer some hope out of their depression tribulations. Only Pitman, who 'was never "open" in any support he gave', appeared dubious.¹⁴⁶ In fact, to Miller, Pitman appeared 'almost obsessional in his opposition to me at all times.'¹⁴⁷ Throughout his period as Vice-Chancellor, Miller seems to have been uncomfortably aware of Pitman's independent power. Pitman, on the other hand appeared untroubled by Miller as Vice-Chancellor.

Advent of Ogilvie: a New Deal

Miller's streamlined system of financial requisitions emanating from the Professorial Board and then presented and argued by the Vice-Chancellor at the Council estimates committee may well have ended what E.W. Turner called the 'nightmare' of interminable meetings at Stops's house. Pitman, long remembered 'Turner's preliminary 'now we cut' at such meetings. Miller budgeted for a deficit, which enabled departments to obtain their finances before the end of the financial year, as opposed to Giblin's surplus budgeting which accumulated an inaccessible reserve.¹⁴⁸ However, Miller plays down the vital importance of the advent of a new government committed to expansionary finance. In February 1934, Morris Miller presented a very grim scenario. Academic salaries in Tasmania were markedly lower than in all other states. Only Western Australia had suffered as much as a twenty per cent cut. There was no University contribution to staff superannuation and no regular system of retirement allowances. Council awarded only nine scholarships for out of town students.¹⁴⁹ In such circumstances no financial juggling could disguise the parlous state of the University.

Open to Talent

In June 1934 the most dramatic and decisive general election of Tasmania's history was fought. The Nationalist government, now led by the veteran Sir Walter Lee, was the local agent of the drastic depression economies emanating from the 1931 Premiers' Plan. It confronted Ogilvie's Labor Party, dedicated to expansionary finance. It was Ogilvie's swashbuckling boast that he would abolish high school fees within twenty-four hours of assuming the Premiership. At first it appeared that the government had been returned; then drifting preferences to Labor-inclined independents enabled Albert George Ogilvie, LLB (1913), to inaugurate a thirty-five year period of unbroken Labor rule. With a flamboyant flourish he redeemed his school fee pledge to the letter. But what of the University?

Vice-Chancellor Morris Miller was in no way perturbed by the fall of a government which ended the brief ministerial career of Turner. He had worked well with Joe Lyons's Labor government in the 1920s. Though Lyons, having deserted Labor to become federal Prime Minister, was the sworn enemy of Ogilvie, Miller had no difficulty retaining the support of both.

Scarcely had Ogilvie taken office when a University staff meeting, chaired by Dunbabin, demanded that the Council approach the government for a restoration of their salaries. Morris Miller accordingly led a deputation to the new Education Minister, Albert's brother Eric, and the latter soon afterwards visited the University to be shown the deplorable congestion in Library, laboratories, student common rooms and staff studies. Eric Ogilvie, who had been a student for a time, was duly impressed. The possibility of a new site came under serious consideration. Alas, plans for a fine new students' union building had to be shelved when it transpired that the edifice would encroach seven feet beyond University property into the Domain. The Legislative Council blocked the necessary transfer to the University, and Ogilvie, disgusted at the political bias and unpractical attitude shown by some members of the University council, used the money in the building of what later became Ogilvie High School.¹⁵⁰ This disappointment should not obscure the fact that the state grant, which had been cut from £12,721 in 1929-30 to £9,663 in 1933-34, returned to £12,129 in 1934-35. By 1936-37 it had risen to £14,000. Salaries were restored in the first year of Ogilvie's government, which increased the University grant by twenty-five per cent. Staff were so pleased at the restoration that it was some time before they reflected that their salaries had not actually risen since 1921. An increase had to wait until 1944. Nevertheless, the University was able to develop long-awaited courses such as Music and the Diploma in Education, while extension work received a new boost.

Morris Miller was extremely fortunate to have taken office at such a time. In the honeymoon period with the Ogilvie government, much

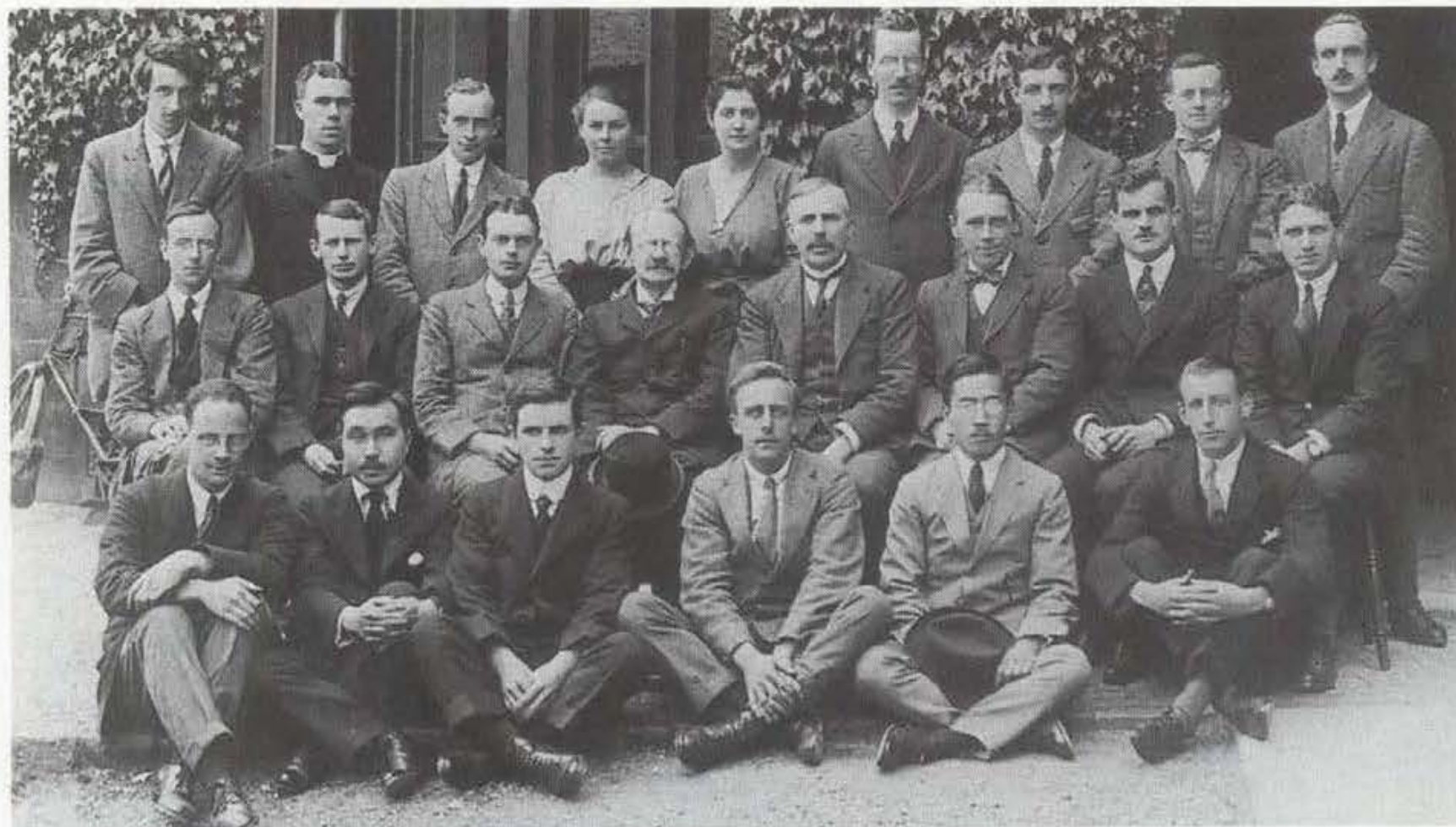


21. Albert Booth Taylor, Professor of English, 1926-57, and Acting Registrar, 1940-43

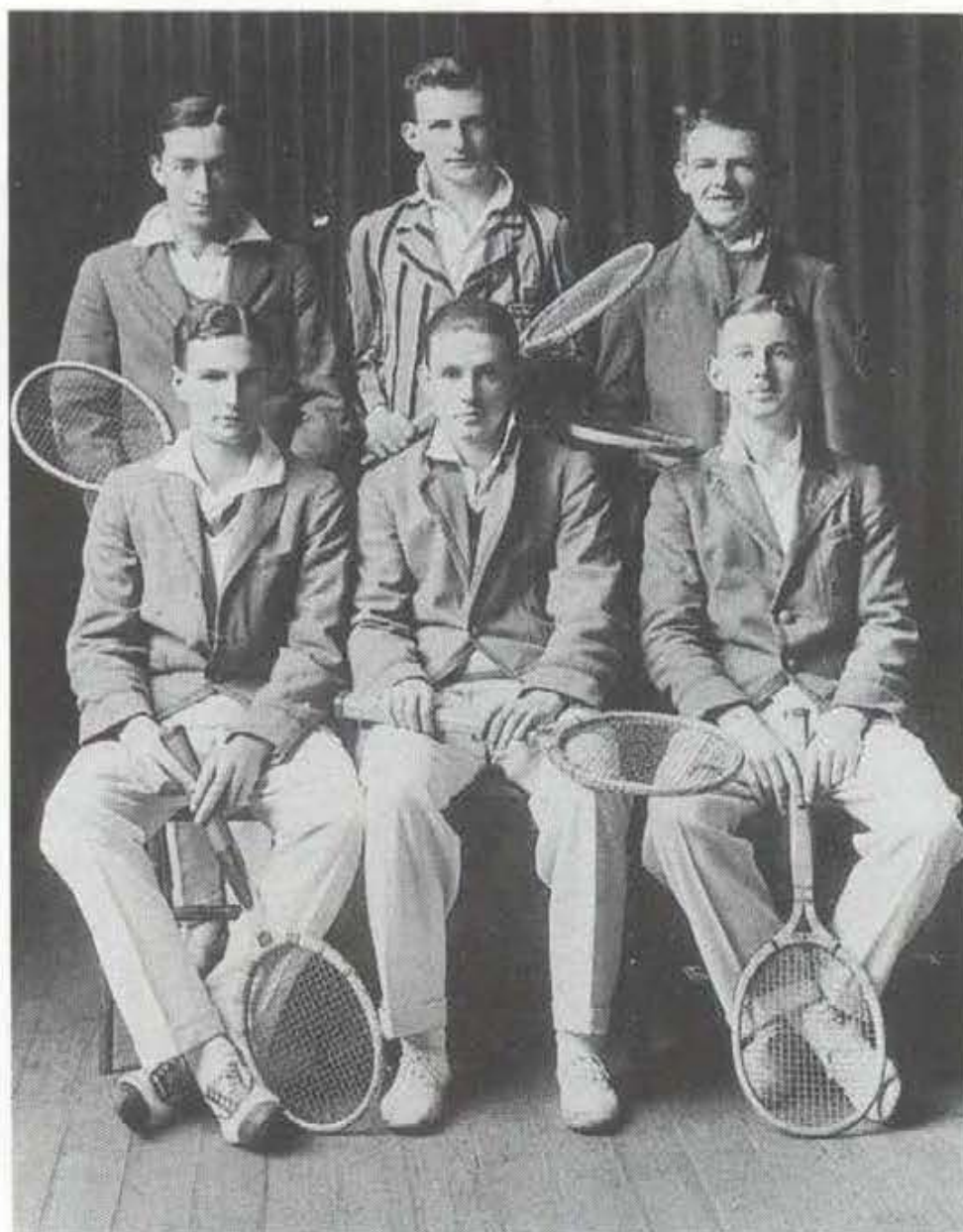


22. Alexander Leicester McAulay, the son of Alexander McAulay, Professor of Physics, 1926-59 (Caricature by Gurney)

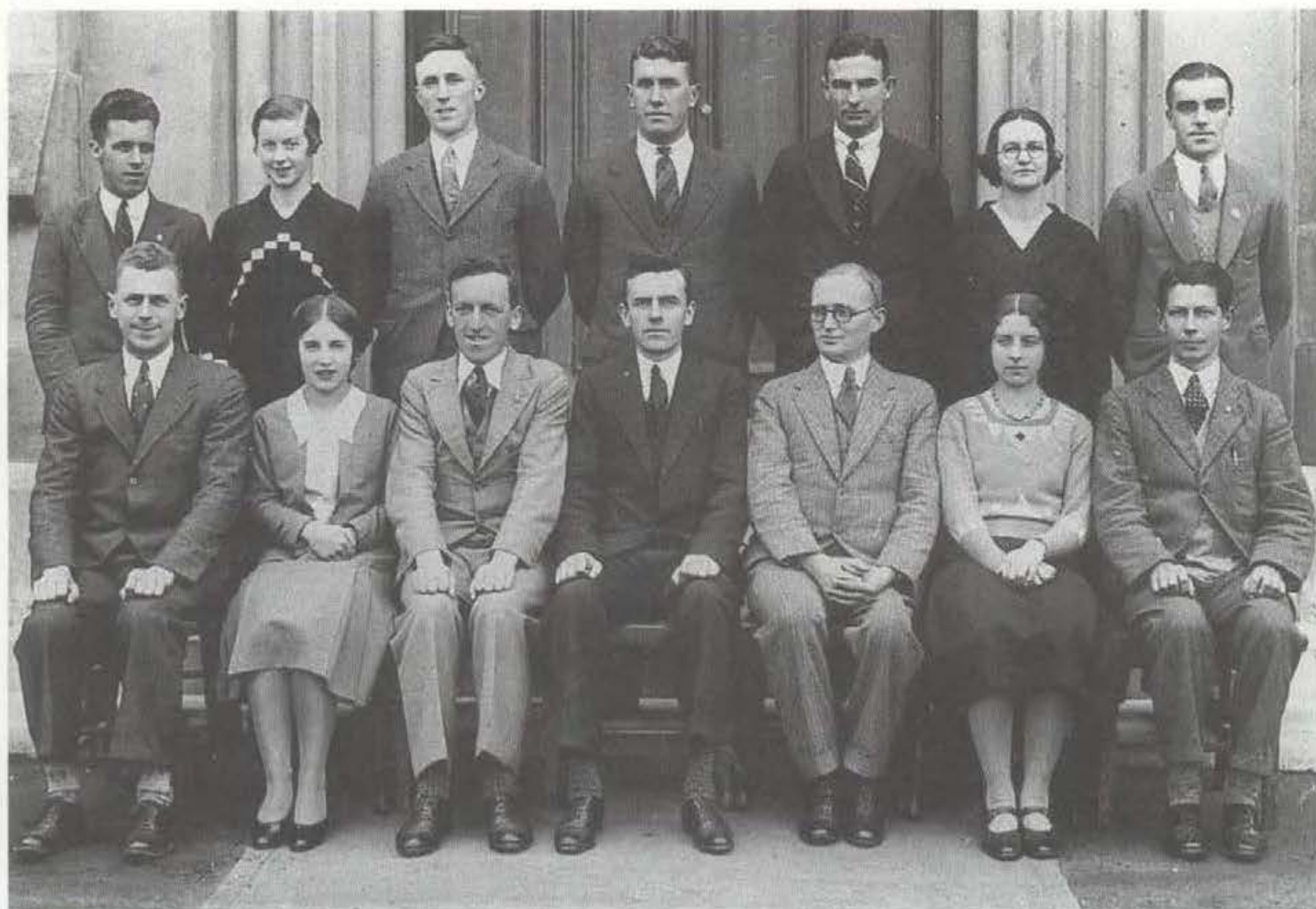
23. Staff of the Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge University, 1920. A. L. McAulay is back row, first left, with Sir Ernest Rutherford, middle row, fourth from right



24. Tasmania's inter-varsity tennis team, c.1929; (l. to r.) E. R. Henry, O'Neill (?), E. H. Boyd, A. W. Knight, K. M. Archer, C. A. S. Page (Courtesy Sir Allan Knight)



25. The Students' Representative Council, 1931-32; (l. to r., top) S. M. Sears, Miss B. Oldmeadow, M. W. Poulter, R. E. Harrisson, A. W. Knight, Miss J. Clemes, L. R. McIntyre; (bottom) N. O. Westbrook, J. M. Gould, M. W. Woods, R. F. Fagan (President), S. C. Burbury (Treasurer), Miss M. D. Unwin, B. B. Smith (Courtesy Sir Allan Knight)



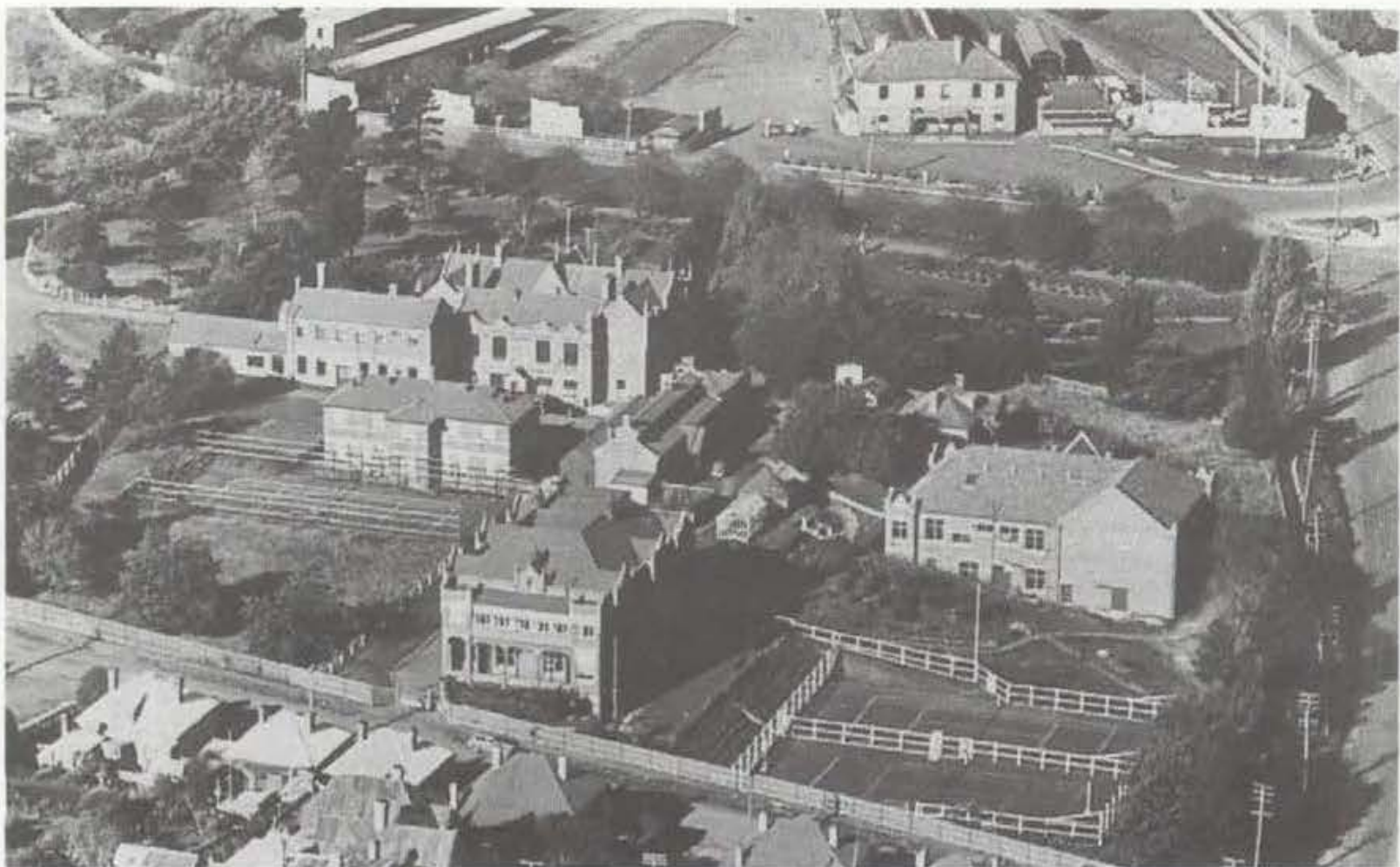


26. Edwin James George Pitman, Professor of Mathematics, January 1926 to December 1962



27. Edmund Morris Miller, first appointed March 1913, Professor of Philosophy and Psychology 1928-51, Vice-Chancellor 1933-45, and Acting University Librarian, 1919-45

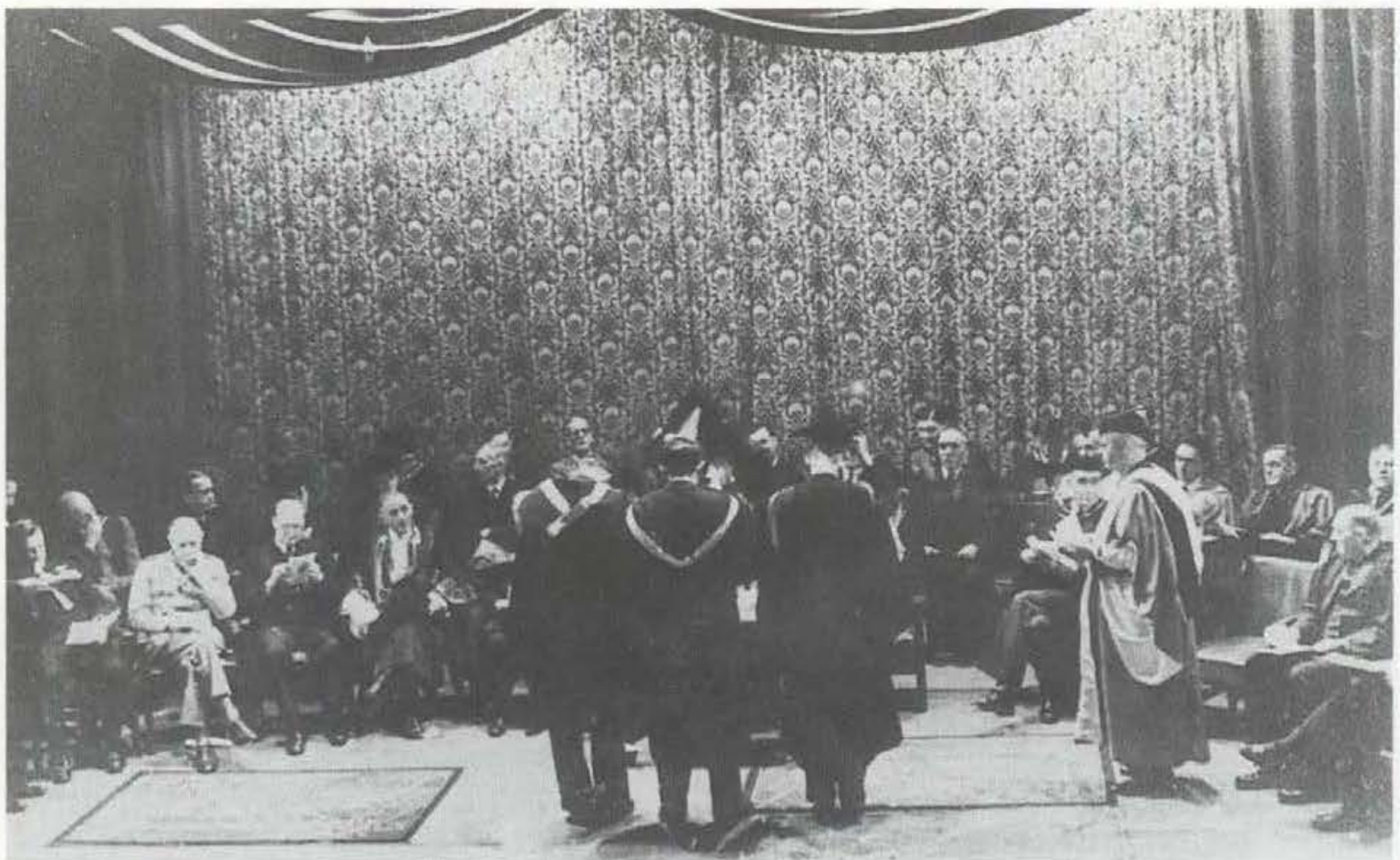
28. The Domain campus from the air, looking towards the Railway Station, c. 1939 (Aerofilms)





29. Chancellor Sir John Morris, addressing the 1948 Commemoration

30. The 1948 Commem ceremony



31. Vice-Chancellor Torleiv Hytten. First appointed as Lecturer in August 1926, Hytten was Professor of Economics (1930-35), later returning to the University as V-C (1949-57)



32. Vice-Chancellor Hytten, with the Governor, Sir Hugh Binney, and the Chancellor at a Commem ceremony (Mercury photo)





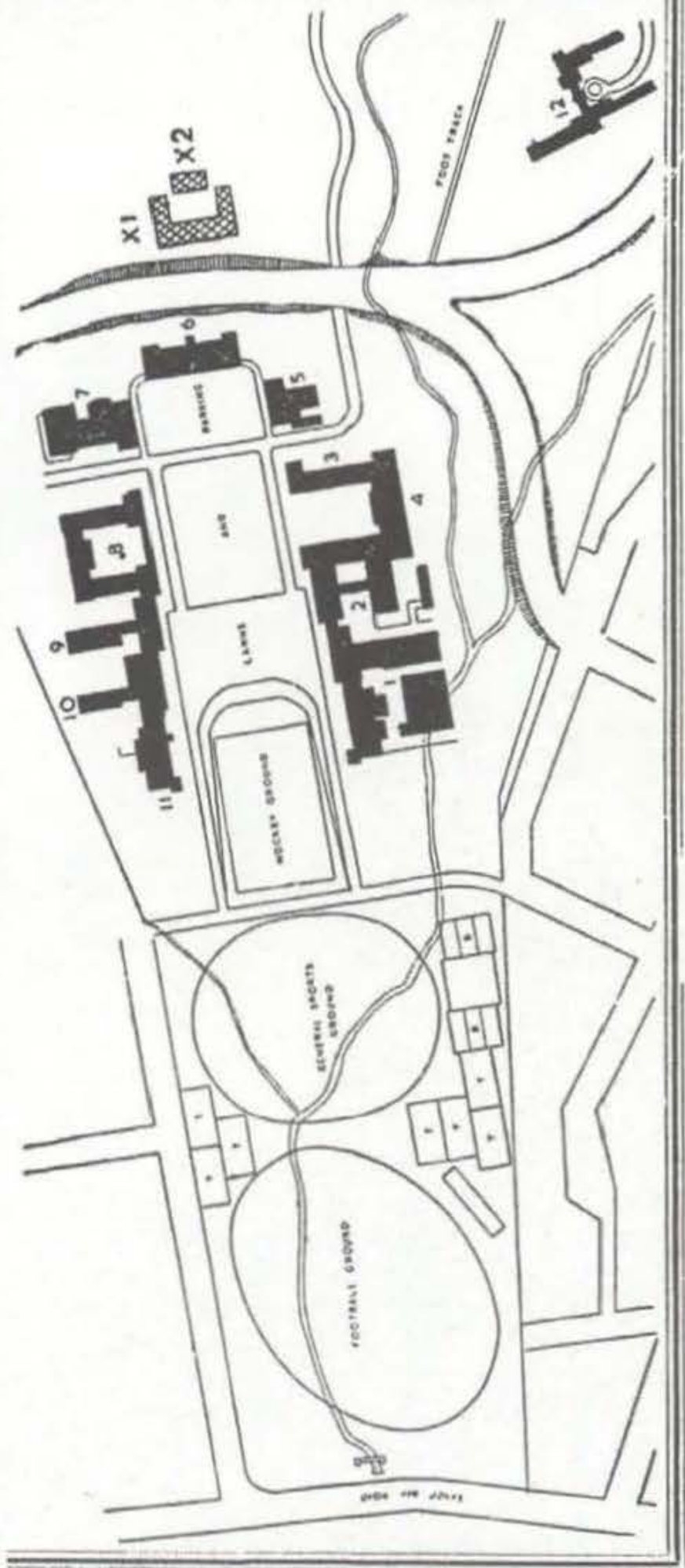
33. The Sandy Bay (Rifle Range) site, complete with army bell tents

34. The Rifle Range site from the air, before its redevelopment as the new campus





The top picture shows the front view of the proposed Great Hall, which will dominate the site of the new university. **BOTTOM:** This plan shows proposed development of the university site. The street shown in the top right corner is the extension of French St. planned to cross the area. The street joining it from below is Regent St. The site marked X1 is a site suggested for a possible hospital and X2 a possible medical school. The key to other features is: 1, engineering; 2, chemistry; 3, geology; 4, physics; 5, library; 6, Great Hall; 7, union building; 8, arts; 9, agriculture; 10, zoology; 11, botany; 12, hall of residence; T, tennis courts; B, basketball court. Behind the university will be sites for colleges and staff homes.



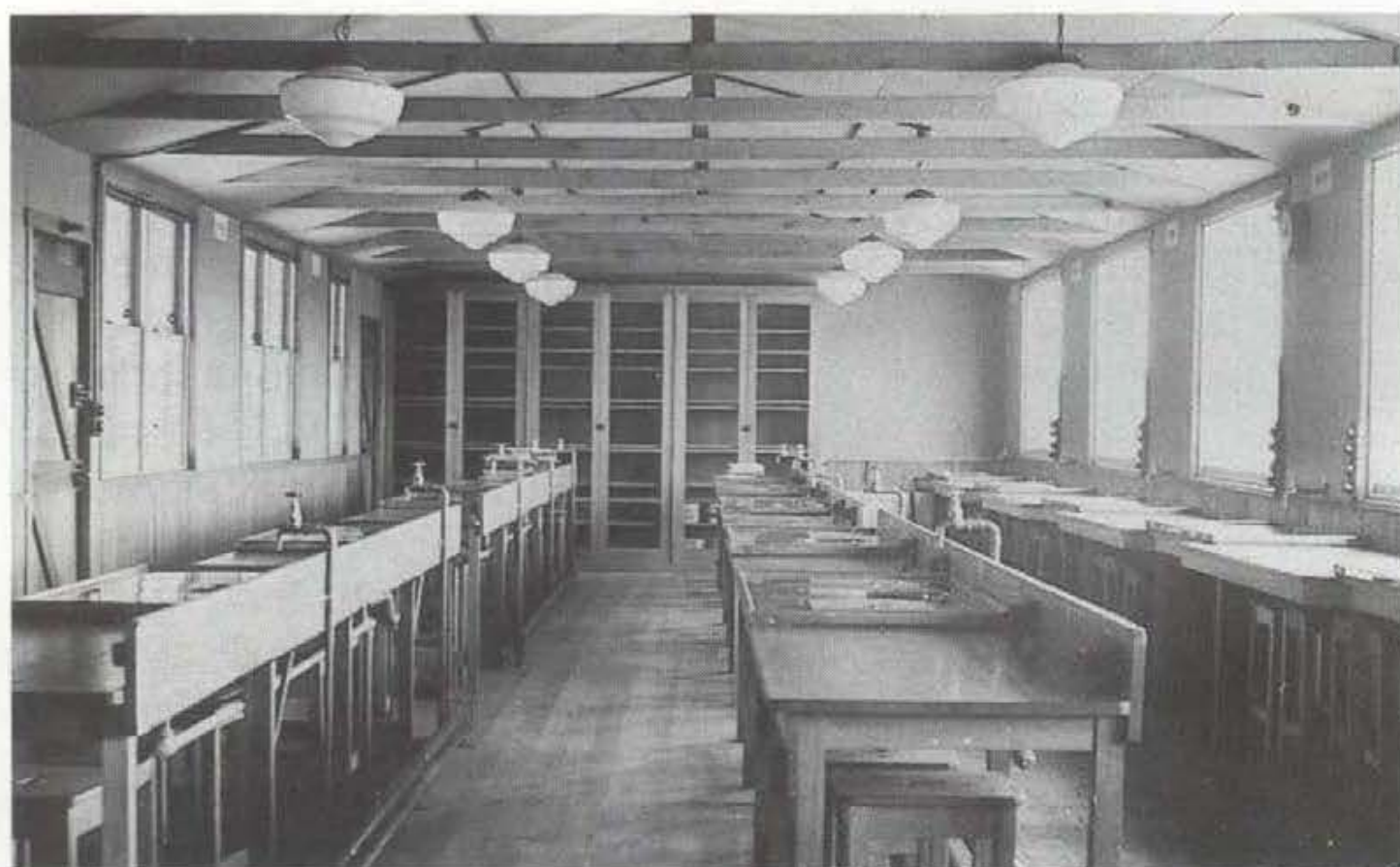
35. *Mercury* report of 22 June 1954, on the planned first stage at Sandy Bay. The proposed Great Hall in this design never eventuated

36. Biology Department staff, 1941;
Miss, later Dr, Winifred Curtis, Dr V.
V. Hickman, Dr H. D. Gordon



37. Interior of a Biology hut, 1946

38. Biology huts, Sandy Bay, c. 1946



of the political fire left the Staff Association. One of his former opponents, A.B. Taylor, followed Miller into resignation from that body. As Vice-Chancellor, Miller won staff endorsement in the 1934 Council elections. By 1937 the Staff Association was transformed into a staff club, containing all staff, including the Vice-Chancellor, and the Registrar.¹⁵¹ It was recognised by Council as controlling the staff common room. Though Dunbabin remained president, a politicised staff association was not revived until after World War II.

Passage of the 1935 University Act: Morris Miller's Apogee

The way now lay open to Miller to achieve a complete restructuring of the University which would not only ensure greater efficiency, but also eliminate some of the difficulties he had experienced in the past. The idea came from the Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee, formed at about the time of Miller's appointment. The views of Sir William Mitchell, Vice-Chancellor of Adelaide 1916-42, appeared particularly relevant.¹⁵² The first suggested reform was the elimination of parliamentary elections for members of Council. Instead, Councillors were to be appointed by the Governor-in-Council, or, in reality Ogilvie himself. Obviously, Ogilvie was strongly in favour of this increase in his patronage. He argued the necessity of ensuring that prominent people were represented on Council. In the past there had been excessive canvassing and contests leading to embarrassing results such as the defeats of the Catholic Archbishop and Sir Elliott Lewis. The Anglican Bishop was consequently reluctant to stand.¹⁵³ The second reform was direct representation of University teaching staff. This would avoid the need for lobbying Senate graduates which had increased contention in the past. Implementation would ease Miller's difficulties as Vice-Chancellor. Ogilvie agreed with him that professorial involvement in Senate contests was unseemly, and that 'professional representation was inseparable from University administration.' The fourth proposal enabled Council to look outside its own body when appointing the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor. Though Miller's own interests were involved, it was a necessary step towards the system of a full-time professional Vice-Chancellor. Fifthly, the Senate's power to veto Council's statutes and regulations was to be removed. Ogilvie shared Miller's view that the Senate was 'inept as a legislative body'. Finally, Miller wished to abandon the now unwieldy Board of Studies and replace it with a powerful Professorial Board as the chief academic voice of the University. Miller remembered his former contention with 'the block' which had apparently tried to use the Board of Studies to reduce Council's importance.

Supported by the Ogilvie brothers, Miller and his former student, R.G. Osborne, deputising for the parliamentary draftsman he later succeeded, framed the bill and it passed through the House of Assembly without amendment. Labor's support could be taken for granted but Miller was somehow able to prevail upon E.W. Turner, despite his perennial criticism of staff Councillors, to accept their direct representation. Similarly, the leader of the opposition, Henry Baker, a 1912 LLB and future University Chancellor, supported the act. Miller does not explain how this apparent miracle was achieved.

Problems arose in the Legislative Council, lobbied by Senators resentful of a diminution of their power, confusingly using the University letter-head. The bill was rejected. Ogilvie's suggestion that Miller's opposition friends Baker and Turner should lobby the nominally independent Legislative Council for him proved impossible. Miller eventually persuaded the choleric Ogilvie, 'in a generous mood', to reintroduce the bill, shorn of the abolition of parliamentary elections and the elimination of the Senate veto.¹⁵⁴ As the former provision was the one Ogilvie most wanted, Miller's influence appears considerable. According to the latter, Ogilvie wanted him to stand for either the Federal Senate or the House of Assembly, and even consulted him about removing the Labor Party's Catholic image.¹⁵⁵

In his own account, Miller, like his distinguished predecessor J.B. Walker, personally attended Parliament and acted as whip when the revised bill came before the Legislative Council. Thomas Murdoch promised to give him the bill in return for the unopposed election to Council of his wife Lesley when the new act was implemented. As a result of this neat deal the bill went through 'splendidly', Murdoch making short work of a Launceston representative infuriated by student Commem pranks. Miller, in the light of the intense public criticism so frequently levelled against the University, 'scarcely dared to hope that the teaching staff would be given legislative sanction.' With the bill through it mattered little that he was unable to keep his bargain with the Murdochs. E.W. Turner nominated another candidate in the parliamentary elections for the University Council and Mrs Murdoch, an ardent supporter of Miller for the Vice-Chancellorship, lost her seat. Murdoch's ire was assuaged when his wife regained her seat at the next election.¹⁵⁶

To his colleagues Morris Miller had achieved a tremendous coup. The talk of academics as 'servants' appeared to have been laid to rest by the institutional recognition of staff participation in University government. Academics had come a long way since the first lecturers were expressly precluded from standing for Council. Few could have felt disposed to dwell on Miller's alliance with fire-eaters like Turner. An informal staff meeting, convened by Dunbabin, decided to endorse the three sitting staff Councillors. It was agreed that a Vice-Chancellor

on the staff had the right to nominate. A decade later, however, this gentleman's agreement seemed insufficient to Miller, and was an important reason for his relinquishment of the Vice-Chancellorship.

Implementation of the 1935 Act

The passage of the Act required the wholesale recasting of University statutes into regulations and rules. Only the official statutes had now to be submitted to Senate.¹⁵⁷ Miller, Osborne and Pitman, as chairman of the Professorial Board, formed the committee to present drafts to the Council. Miller prepared the original draft, called in Osborne, a Councillor himself after 1935, and only showed the result to Pitman at a formal meeting.¹⁵⁸ This technique was characteristic of Miller's tactics as Vice-Chancellor. When a controversial issue appeared, he claims to have avoided seeking directives from Council or committee and presented a *fait accompli*. Though very successful administration short term, the tactic fomented some long-term resentment, and Pitman's insistence in 1944 that Miller 'had exercised too much authority' is understandable.¹⁵⁹

In the post-1935 restructuring, however, Miller had to make compromises. True, he achieved the change dearest to his heart, the formal recognition of the Vice-Chancellor's status as 'chief executive', but without the precise definition of powers found in some other institutions. In fact the chairman of the Professorial Board retained his old disciplinary powers and had the right to present the Board's business to Council, the Vice-Chancellor reporting on administration and enlarging on academic matters where necessary.¹⁶⁰ Though the latter was an elastic proviso, a type of dyarchy, VC and CPB (Chairman of the Professorial Board), was established. Miller was perhaps unfortunate that Pitman held office as CPB throughout most of Miller's period as VC. According to Pitman, Miller invited him to take the CPB position. Pitman, who sometimes worked out with Preshaw the division between Council business to be presented by VC or CPB, acquired considerable experience in a position which Miller himself had greatly strengthened by the elimination of the old Board of Studies. Lindon, its chairman who had done his best to preserve the old order, had to accept the inevitable.¹⁶¹ However much Miller might approve of academic checks and balances in theory, he did not always relish them in practice, resenting in particular the need to play second fiddle to Pitman in student discipline. As shown in the previous section, student behaviour ultimately led to threats of financial reprisals from Miller's good friend Ogilvie. The new Registrar, Preshaw, unlike his predecessor, acted as peacemaker between academics, bringing antagonists together in his bridge club. He drafted Council agenda

and then helped to decide whether the issue pertained to the Vice-Chancellor or chairman of the Professorial Board.¹⁶² In perspective, the tension between Miller and Pitman may have proved as creative for the University as that other great rivalry between J.B. Walker and Dr James Scott in the first years of the institution.

All in all, however, Miller's achievement in securing the passage of the 1935 Act, and thus laying the basis for a modern University, was generally acknowledged, certainly by Pitman.¹⁶³ A convention was developed by which Council sent all academic matters to the Professorial Board before making a decision. Only on issues connected with school education were serious differences to arise, leading after World War II to the establishment of the convention as a formal requirement. Generally Council was very reluctant to differ from the Board.¹⁶⁴

MILLER'S OTHER ACHIEVEMENTS

Miller has left careful notes to document his other achievements as Vice-Chancellor. These include the establishment of the first federal funding, the inception of the move to Sandy Bay, the defence of academic freedom in the Taylor case, the improvement in relations between University and Engineering Board of Management, and the phasing of the University out of its controversial role in intermediate examining, as well as the more general move to a modernised institution based on research and multi-member departments. Though some of these lead into the next period, they require brief comment before the teaching, learning, research and administrative experience of the 1914-39 period can be reviewed.

First Federal Funding

Morris Miller provides a lively, if not always consistent, account of the first meeting of the Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee in Melbourne in 1935. The driving force behind this vital initiative for Australian higher education was Raymond Priestley, the first professional Vice-Chancellor at Melbourne. Presenting a united front to the federal government, led by the Tasmanian Joe Lyons, the Vice-Chancellors asked for special admittance of graduates to the Commonwealth public service and a federal grant of £50,000 for research. Lyons, who had already shown sympathy to academic activity as Premier of Tasmania, agreed to provide £30,000. But how was it to be distributed? Tasmania's tiny institution made a grant appear uneconomic, but the Vice-Chancellors agreed to allocate money on the basis of population, rather than student numbers. In one account,

Miller gives the credit for the settlement to himself, in another to the Prime Minister who insisted on 'adequate minimum disbursement' to his home state to enable worthwhile research to be done. Clearly both Lyons and Miller had strong motives for boosting Tasmania.¹⁶⁵ Incredibly, Miller faced local opposition in accepting the relatively limited federal stimulus of £2,400. So great was Tasmanian fear of federal interference that a debate on Council would probably have led to the rejection of the grant. Consequently, the Vice-Chancellor, on the recommendation of his inter-state colleagues, simply announced the grant without inviting discussion or direction from Council. The expedient worked but the Vice-Chancellor's reputation for authoritarian action increased. The first tiny step towards full federal funding of tertiary education was a painful one at a time when there was strong secessionist feeling in Western Australia and the modern system of Commonwealth grants to the states was being slowly worked out by Lyons, advised by Lyndhurst Giblin.

The Sandy Bay Site Considered

The long, tangled story of the quest for an adequate site for the University of Tasmania epitomises those difficulties experienced by the institution in the 'limping along' period. As already indicated, the existence of the old Hobart High School had been a godsend to advocates of an almost unfinanced university in 1890, but by the 1920s it was clearly insufficient. Alternative sites in New Town, or even a recycled Government House had been mooted. The Ogilvie government's inability to construct a students' union building was a final demonstration of the total inadequacy of the existing site. There is some controversy as to the first suggestion of the Army rifle range at Sandy Bay as a potential site for the University, Pitman claiming the initiative in 1934. Morris Miller is probably correct in tracing discussion to the early 1920s. As Hobart suburbs spread south the rifle range not only attracted the attention of developers and the City Council but residents in the vicinity were outraged by the stray bullets making life hazardous as far away as Dynnyrne.¹⁶⁶ According to Miller, before 1920 he had discussed the rifle range as a potential University site with the ex-Premier, W.B. Propsting and the future Vice-Chancellor, W.J.T. Stops. In 1929, he and Stops interviewed the then Premier, J.C. McPhee on the subject, without success. In 1934, as Vice-Chancellor, Miller, perhaps under pressure from Pitman, brought the subject before Council for the first time. As in the case of the Commonwealth grant, he did not seek Council direction.

Apart from finance, there were two difficulties. One was the determination of the Hobart City Council to acquire the land for its own development; the other was the refusal of Ogilvie, as State Premier,

Open to Talent

to go cap in hand to his hated rival Lyons, who had once virtually sacked him from the state cabinet, to secure Commonwealth release of the land. In 1937, Pitman as chairman of the Professorial Board insisted that Miller lobby the government. Nothing was achieved till Albert Ogilvie's sudden death in mid-1939. His brother Eric, as Minister for Education, used a national fitness campaign as a face-saving method of approaching the federal government for better University sporting facilities. The Premier, E. Dwyer Gray, sent a letter, drafted by Miller, to the new Prime Minister, Robert Menzies. Though the Science Faculty was alerted in 1943, no official progress occurred until 1944 when, under the Curtin government, the transfer was suddenly gazetted. Even then the struggle was far from over, as will be shown in the next chapter. Meanwhile, University congestion continued as before.¹⁶⁷ Miller was concerned to establish his initiative over the site, but, as he himself demonstrates, the situation of the rifle range had been a public scandal for a number of years, and others had also perceived the Sandy Bay site as an answer to University overcrowding.

Academic Freedom and Taylor

Morris Miller regarded his assuaging of the 1937 public dispute between A.B. Taylor and Archbishop Simonds over the former's remarks on the Catholic Church as a considerable achievement. It showed him at his administrative best. Miller's defence of academic freedom — 'virtually beyond definition' but limited — was certainly judicious. With Council's excision of several passages it proved acceptable to the Archbishop. It was useful to point out that Council's condemnation of an academic opinion implied the right of prescription. Nevertheless, there was nothing inspirational in Miller's statement. Privately, he criticised the Archbishop for his intemperance and Taylor for his failure to read Ligouri's *Theologia Moralis*, seeing the issue as a question of administrative order rather than a vital confrontation of world views.¹⁶⁸

The Engineering Board of Management under Control

To a greater degree than the Taylor affair, relations with the clumsy and anomalous Engineering Board of Management required tact and finesse, rather than idealism. As already demonstrated, for political and financial reasons, academics in Engineering and Chemistry found themselves in a no man's land between the Technical College and the University, communication being solely through a secretary. Miller's remedy, a palliative rather than a cure, was to have himself

as Vice-Chancellor nominated to the EBM where he could resolve problems by interpreting the different worlds to each other and ensuring that proper appointments were made.

Phasing out of Intermediate Examining

The apparently peripheral issue of school examining lay at the heart of an important division between those who saw universities as 'service stations', and critics who insisted with Newman on learning as an end in itself. Miller sometimes veered to the former, while rivals like Dunbabin and Pitman were devoted to Newman's high standards and compulsory subjects. For Sol Encel,¹⁶⁹ the debate in Australia sometimes saw the professoriate devoted, in opposition to the Council, to the 'service station' ideal. In Tasmania the division was complex, supporters of both attitudes being found amongst Councillors and academic staff. The Intermediate Examination was particularly troublesome. Teachers and 'new educationists' in the state Education Department, wanted to remove University control to free up standards; academics for their part hated the extra chores involved in school examining which made research so difficult. Even more to the point, the potent Albert Ogilvie, disliking the high failure rate, was keen to take the Intermediate from the University. Morris Miller acted as facilitator in the debates between 1934 and 1938. Since 1920 the University had gradually relaxed its grip. In 1938 it let go. The Education Department and the Catholic schools set up their separate systems, while the Protestant secondaries went their own way. The University, however, retained control of the Leaving Examination as its matriculation requirement. Further dispute occurred later. Ironically, some teachers, critical as they were of University control, feared a complete loss of contact.¹⁷⁰ As J.B. Walker had argued in the 1890s, the University was important as a guarantor of standards. The resultant Schools Board examination eventually dwindled into a mere formality in an increasingly credentialist age. On the other side, though academics were undoubtedly relieved of a chore they had resented since 1893, the erosion of hard content at Schools Board level was likely to make it more difficult to recruit students in exacting non-professional courses.

ON THE EVE OF WORLD WAR II

By 1939, though Morris Miller still had more than five years as Vice-Chancellor before him, he was approaching the personal crisis that struck him at the end of the following year. His literary, political

and administrative exertions left him 'mentally wearied' and he began to cast off responsibilities. His difficulties symbolised the end of an era in which he had made himself a driving force. But despite his sometimes almost frantic energy, outwardly the University of Tasmania still 'limped along'. Considering the 1914-39 period as a whole the contrast between the dilapidation of the University environment and the vitality of its human resources is striking.

The comments by participants of this era are valuable. Charles Stephens, a science student in the 1920s, who obtained his MSc in 1931 and proceeded to doctoral research elsewhere, was immediately struck by the 'puny' nature of his original university. But puniness, he averred, referred only to the material facilities; the intellectual environment which enabled close contact with some inspiring teachers, was anything but puny. Similarly, J.C. Jaeger, a Cambridge graduate who replaced Miss Lowenstern as lecturer in Mathematics in 1936 and subsequently held a chair at the Australian National University, on receiving an honorary doctorate in 1975, declared that he had found in the under-financed institution his greatest intellectual stimulation. His head of department, E.J. Pitman, enjoyed his most productive research years while chairman of the Professorial Board after 1936. Jaeger, Pitman, along with Taylor of English and King of History, certainly impressed the students of what was then basically an evening institution. There were, indeed, positive advantages in the close relations between staff and students and the resultant small classes and tutorial style of much teaching.

Whether in student debating, rowing, and other sporting achievements, Commem extravaganza, passionate staff and Council infighting, prolific publication, or a rigorous attention to detail, members of the University of Tasmania had shown themselves very much alive in the 1920s and 1930s. With the affiliation of the new Christ College the University, albeit for a small minority, now possessed a Newman-style collegiate section. Indeed, the rival conceptions of the nineteenth century debate were all present in some form in the University of 1939. Christ College provided corporate life, other attending students experienced professorial teaching deriving from the Scottish system, while for the 130 exempted students of 1939 (total 457) the University was still little better than an examining body. The Professorial Board was most concerned that full-time undergraduate studies before professional training should become the norm, rather than the exception. In 1939 the 190 part-time students formed the largest group. Could the next generation, with the co-operation of the local community remove the financial and environmental obstacles to the growth of a mature full-time university?

Chapter 4: Rising Expectations, 1939-1954

CHARACTER OF THE PERIOD

Though the outbreak of hostilities in August 1939 appeared disastrous to the limping University, in the long term World War II had a stimulating effect. The War, moreover, created a need for training in science and engineering and encouraged research in military-related fields. Depleted numbers, reinforced by returned servicemen on special grants, soon picked up after 1945. Post-1945 there was, throughout the country, a more positive realisation of the importance of higher education, marked by the Commonwealth Government's increasing financial involvement. Specialised staff in expanding disciplines were required for modern tertiary education. Greater facilities for research by staff and students, many from overseas, working for the new PhD became essential and the demand for fully paid study leave to visit institutions abroad grew more urgent. New appointees to the University of Tasmania, especially those from other countries, were less willing than older colleagues, who had experienced the tribulations of the 1920s and 1930s, to tolerate the *status quo*. Thus undoubted improvements generated an accelerating momentum for change, leading to the clash of community and academic interests culminating in the 1955 Royal Commission on the University of Tasmania.

The related problems of accommodation and salaries provided a backdrop for all activity between 1939 and 1954. The transfer from the restricted environment of the Hobart Domain to the more commodious Sandy Bay Rifle Range was virtually decided by 1939. Yet despite the opportunities provided in the euphoria of post-war reconstruction, the final move was unaccountably delayed by a number of factors, including the complexities of Commonwealth-State financial manoeuvring and the continued ambitions of the Hobart City Council to acquire the Rifle Range for its own purposes. By 1954 a few Science departments had obtained temporary accommodation at Sandy Bay, described as 'a collection of mud huts in a paddock', while the rest of the University crowded onto the Domain and adjacent buildings. The Tasmanian government showed no urgency in completing the new University whose projected costs spiralled upwards. Similarly, it was in little hurry to bring the salaries of Tasmanian academics into line with those of mainland institutions. University staff, whose numbers rose from twenty-one in 1939 to forty-three in 1946, looked askance at self-sacrifice. The Staff Association reverted once more from

a morning and afternoon tea club, preoccupied with the purchase of biscuits, to an affiliate in 1948 of the new Federal Council of University Staff Associations (FCUSA, later to be FAUSA). Finally students, who normally proceeded stoically, with some ritualistic disorder, to their qualifications, learned to feel outrage at their working conditions and lamented the inability of poor salaries to attract the best staff.

WORLD WAR II

When war broke out the University authorities were considering the possible disbandment of the Department of Classics on the retirement of the veteran Dunbabin. Latin and Greek attracted few students: a fall from twenty-one to fourteen in Latin I enrolments since 1934, with interest in Greek negligible. However, the Professorial Board made a bold statement in favour of retaining the chair. Despite the greater popularity of vocationally oriented subjects, 'the importance of a subject should be judged, not by the number of students taking it in any given period, but by its value and significance in the general framework of university studies.'¹ The Council accepted this argument a few weeks before Britain declared war on Germany. It was well that the decision was made before hostilities turned attention towards war-related work. Appropriately, the new Classics Professor, J.R. Elliott, soon after his arrival in 1941, became the University's chief air raid warden, when, after Pearl Harbour in December 1941, a Japanese invasion was daily expected. Elliott, of Sydney and Cambridge, had lectured at Victoria University College, Wellington, New Zealand. He greatly increased numbers in 1943 by developing a course in Ancient Greek Civilisation, studied in English.²

War service and duties by staff and students created an immediate crisis, as in 1914. Professors King, K.O. Shatwell and L.A. Triebel at once undertook war work, which interfered with their academic duties. Shatwell voluntarily reduced his salary by £100 as a gesture of apology for insufficient reading. In 1942 his Law Faculty agreed to forgo £300 in the current emergency.³ By then Shatwell himself had joined the Navy. As two other Law lecturers also enlisted and another died, only one full-timer was left for the handful of Law students in 1941.⁴ Professor King in History was allowed essay marking assistance. The Registrar, Preshaw, caused equal inconvenience by joining the Navy, leaving Professor Taylor to double as chairman of the Professorial Board and Registrar. The Arts Faculty made special arrangements for students enlisting, even suggesting the possibility of lowering standards when necessary. The Faculties of Law, Engineering and Science did not consider major changes in courses warranted. Professor Leicester McAulay was permitted military optical work in his laboratory.

This proved one of the most remarkable episodes in the war. Responding with alacrity to a government request for gunsight components, almost unavailable in the country, McAulay, Cruickshank and their colleagues excelled themselves, outshining their counterparts at Melbourne University. An optical annexe was thrown up; staff and senior students supervised about 280 workers in two shifts. Cruickshank's hours of duty were 7.30 a.m. to 11 p.m. McAulay's efforts to establish a third shift almost brought on his physical collapse. A brilliant interned German, Hans Buchdahl, later a professor at the Australian National University, was recruited from Hayes Prison Farm. Third year students now concentrated almost exclusively on problems relating to optical processes. Not only was vital war-work splendidly performed but the Department broke new ground in optical astronomy after the war. Its subsequent national eminence in both optical and radio astronomy thus reflects the initial inspiration of Leicester McAulay.⁵

In general, staff enlisting received sabbatical leave conditions, which still meant the payment of a substitute from their academic and service salaries. A staff member called to camp for training was required to reimburse the University with his Army pay. By 1943 the savings made by the University, aided by some additional government finance, enabled the establishment of two further chairs, Biology, the restoration of Flynn's old position, to Vernon Hickman, and Modern Languages to Louis Triebel. Both were already 'Professors in all but name and salary.'⁶

A staff-student meeting in June 1940 fully endorsed the war effort and *Togatus* endeavoured to maintain a patriotic, if questioning attitude. All inter-varsity activities for 1940 were cancelled and the SRC donated £100 to the national cause.⁷ The University's jubilee celebrations were cancelled and replaced by a quiet at home in the adaptable University Library, with orchestra and supper, but no students.⁸

Despite the drain on staff and student personnel, some activities continued as usual. The Vice-Chancellor, Morris Miller, on 10 May 1940 took a *Mercury* reporter to see the 'dingy', 'badly lit' and 'damp' conditions in which the University was forced to operate. The students were pressing for a union building which would provide more scope for communal activities than the Library and make the eighty-three per cent part-time student contingent identify with the institution. Later in 1940 the SRC modified its constitution to establish a body of elected general representatives in place of the *ex officio* club secretaries, thus giving the organisation more representative status in pressing student demands.

Staff and students were, however, caught in a wartime bind. The state government refused to erect temporary buildings on the Domain site when a move to Sandy Bay was in the offing, yet there was no

possibility of obtaining the Rifle Range till near the end of hostilities. Nor was public opinion necessarily on the University's side. As in World War I, academics came out with statements interpreted as pro-German. One described the German people as 'lovable' in a radio broadcast, while Ken Dallas, the radical economist, later joining the Navy himself, declared that miners would have to be convinced of the reality of Australian democracy before co-operating fully with the war effort.

At a University Council meeting in June, E.W. Turner launched a diatribe against University students whom he told to 'win the war, not win a degree'. His motion to subordinate the University entirely to war necessities and close down all irrelevant departments was, however, voted down. The Vice-Chancellor showed that two-thirds of the staff were doing war work, while twenty students had already enlisted. Of the seventy regular students remaining, sixty were under twenty-one.⁹ As Canon Barrett pointed out, there were more ways of serving than shouldering a rifle. The optical work of the Physics Department was a sufficient answer to Turner.

Such was to be the task of the University of Tasmania throughout World War II. In March 1941 Adjutant-General Victor Stantke, in marked contrast to Turner, told the Australian Vice-Chancellors that University staff and students should continue their work during the war and after, as the country required a reservoir of men with full-time training.¹⁰ The Professorial Board instructed the Deans to advise students who could possibly change to a war-related course to do so.¹¹ The need for men with some technical training led to the temporary institution of a two-year BEngSc, available to boys as young as sixteen, instead of the normal BE. £750 was made available for science and engineering bursaries; finance, no longer available for building, was provided to convert the lectureship in Chemistry to a chair, filled by Ernest Edgar Kurth, lecturer since 1923. A committee, containing Taylor, Pitman and a representative of the Hobart Barracks, decided on students excused training outside the long vacation.¹² Some students, especially in faculties whose qualifications could be related to the war effort, were exempted from all military service. Professor Taylor, however, objected to training graduates for the Manpower Directorate.¹³

One of the conditions for exemption was enrolment in a University student squad. When bombing fears were at their height in September 1941, thirty-six of seventy full-time students replied to a circular asking for air raid precautionary work. Professor Elliott's University ARP boasted a demolition squad, a stretcher-bearer unit and messengers. The Vice-Chancellor was responsible for the removal of rare books from the Library to the trenches which all male students were supposed to dig in front of the building. By 1943, when the threat from Japan had partly receded, students were extremely reluctant to work on

trenches (only two volunteers in fifty-four male students) and the Professorial Board became insistent. Professor McAulay was likewise responsible for the apparatus and stock of the Optical Munitions Annexe.^{14*} *Togatus* warned students not to waste the time of staff preoccupied with war work when invasion threatened.¹⁵ It emphasised that students must work as hard as men in the army so that their training could benefit the country. A men's sewing circle was set up, apparently to produce bandages. Some women students helped at Claremont Convalescent Home. Chief Warden Elliott issued a grim warning to his assistants: always carry your armbands and don't be hasty; it was better to be late at University than early at the morgue.¹⁶ Fortunately, the greatest physical threat came from the Debating Club which left a gas fire on in the women's common room.¹⁷

Though fear of Japanese invasion caused the abandonment of the 1942 and 1943 Commems — all degrees being awarded in absentia — University life struggled on. The reduced numbers received reasonable teaching from the remaining staff. Sport and social life continued amongst the students, despite current austerity. Several clubs still operated, such as male and female hockey and the SCM. Balls were held and plays performed again after 1941. In the Arts Faculty, where there were few reserved places for men, the proportion of women students naturally increased. In 1942 a return of women's degrees, requested by Councillor Lesley Murdoch, showed women graduates, restricted mainly to Arts, varying from 5 to 14 between 1938 and 1942.¹⁸ By 1944, 14 (13 in Arts) of the 27 graduates were women. Overall, women students slightly outnumbered men in 1943, by 197 to 193. As there were only 60 full-time students and some 54 of these were men, the influence of women in University life was still slight. As Mrs Murdoch's figures demonstrated, no woman graduate since Jean Batt of French in 1929 had applied for a position on the University staff. However, an Englishwoman, Miss, later Dr, Winifred Curtis began her progress from part-time Demonstrator in Biology in 1939 to Reader in Botany in 1956, the most senior position then held by a woman in the University of Tasmania. In London, Dr Curtis had been taught by a student of the famous late nineteenth century pioneer of women's academic education, Miss Mary Buss, founder of the North London Collegiate School. Though Dr Curtis acted as head of her Department in 1947 and 1951, it was Miss Batt, representing Languages, who, in December 1951, became the first woman to sit on the Professorial Board.

* Author's Addendum:

E.N. Waterworth established and managed the Optical Munitions Annexe at the University of Tasmania during WWII.

PLANS FOR POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

Although World War II did not end till mid-1945, its impact on the University of Tasmania perceptibly lessened towards the end of 1943 when fears of defeat or invasion faded from public consciousness. Instead of dark foreboding, belt-tightening and appeals for sacrifice, a new era of euphoria and optimism dawned. Now at last a serious effort could be made to recruit staff for anticipated enrolment growth and improve conditions which, even in the days of foreboding, had still appeared outrageous. The congestion was disgraceful by modern standards. In Arts, Commerce, Law and Maths eight professors, a full-time lecturer, several part-time lecturers and two research students shared five private rooms. The Professor of Law used the Law Library, the Professor of Mathematics shared with the full-time lecturer, and there was no separate academic accommodation for the Vice-Chancellor, the part-time lecturers and the research students. The University thus asked for five full-time lecturers, seven private rooms and three adequate classrooms. The pressure in the sciences was equally urgent.

Early in 1943 there was renewed talk of a move to the Sandy Bay site. It increased during the year and was stimulated by the need to respond to the Universities Commission on Reconstruction Needs in September. As the whole Rifle Range was unavailable until six months after the end of the war, the Professorial Board demanded temporary accommodation without prejudice to Commonwealth assistance for the new site. Not only was a large influx of students expected after the war, but immediate action was essential.¹⁹ The Commonwealth government now finally released part of the Rifle Range and temporary building commenced at Sandy Bay. Physics, the first to move, with sixty first year undergraduates, had a 50 feet by 40 hut on the new campus location. In April 1944 Biology, with fifteen second and third year students, was housed in a 40 by 30 foot hut. Lecturers had sometimes to teach in gumboots, such was the state of the surroundings. Chemistry, with numbers equivalent to Physics, remained separate from the other sciences; a new building, eventually of 4,000 square feet, was constructed at the corner of Park and Bathurst Streets.²⁰

At last, fifteen years after first serious consideration, Leslie Wilkinson, Professor of Architecture at Sydney University, was commissioned to report on the Sandy Bay site. The new Chancellor, Chief Justice Sir John Morris, expressed himself personally humbled by the repellent conditions which left professors without a room. The gloom and damp exuded 'an atmosphere of chill penury.'²¹

The Wilkinson Report of July 1944 strongly recommended the Sandy Bay Rifle Range as ideal from every viewpoint. It contained a bold plan for a closed integrated campus centering on a Great Hall and

including a Union Building, Teachers' College and School of Music. The City Council was not overawed by the professional expertise of Wilkinson from Sydney, producing a counter-expert from Melbourne to argue that the Domain site was infinitely superior for University development to the land at Sandy Bay. The ground was firmer on the Domain, the location more convenient and likely to harmonise with North Hobart development. Sandy Bay could be more effectively used as a public recreation ground. The Lord Mayor, moreover, claimed that there was strong feeling in the community in favour of retaining the University on the Domain.

The tension between University and City Council over the Sandy Bay site was to be a constant irritant in the following years. Though the decision to remove to Sandy Bay seemed an established fact, as late as the 1950s the HCC still produced plans for the alternative, thus providing further opportunities for state government prevarication, despite Premier Robert Cosgrove's theoretical commitment to Sandy Bay. To the Council, residential expansion in the Mount Nelson area, which required an extension of Grosvenor Street bisecting the Rifle Range, was a top priority. Their emphasis on the Domain was blunted, however, by a reluctance to provide adequate space on it. The fear that the University would absorb the historic TCA cricket ground where Dr Grace and other greats had performed was exploited by supporters of Sandy Bay.²² Forty years later, Hobart's prospects of hosting Test cricket killed all sentiment for the TCA ground. Had the University Council itself been wholeheartedly in favour of the Sandy Bay site its pressure on the government might have achieved earlier results. But as Morris Miller pointed out, several members were themselves convinced by the arguments of Lord Mayor Ronald Soundy. Miller boasted that he worked for Sandy Bay without ever achieving a formal directive from the Council, and that this was necessary in the circumstances. It is arguable, however, that here at least his customary deviousness was inappropriate as open confrontation and a clear decision one way or the other might have forestalled years of frustration for the University. On the other hand, Miller's rival Pitman contended that, in 1937, Miller had a defeatist attitude to the acquisition and needed considerable pressure before approaching the government.²³

NEW REGIME: SIR JOHN MORRIS AT THE HELM

Sir John Morris, who succeeded the long-serving W.J. Stops as Chancellor in early 1944 and was to continue in office till his premature death in 1956 at the age of fifty-four, had been first elected to the University Council in 1939, when a puisne judge. A protege described

him as a 'man of keen intellect, very articulate and with very considerable personal charm.' Morris's initial judicial appointment had been made by Attorney-General Eric Ogilvie, brother of the recently-deceased Premier, Albert Ogilvie, in whose law firm he had originally worked. Like his patron, Morris began as a dynamic force working for the improvement of the University. There was a marked change from the days of Stops whose profile, as natural in a figurehead without the status of Chief Justice, had been much lower. Morris immediately addressed the chief problems facing the University, accommodation and salaries. He led a deputation to Cosgrove, persuading the latter to pressure Canberra for federal assistance in developing the new site. Morris, moreover, spoke out against the low remuneration of Tasmanian professors. A Daniel had apparently come to judgement. This new, influential, dynamic and youthful Chancellor was on many counts the ideal person to lead the University into a new age and address the demands proliferating in the age of post-war reconstruction.

Other significant changes occurred. E.W. Turner, that unabashed advocate of a small university of strictly controlled academics, died in late 1943, shortly before Morris took over as Chancellor. Morris Miller thoroughly approved of Sir John Morris and had organised the latter's election to the University Council in 1939. During 1944 the two men worked effectively together. Retrospectively, Miller admitted that in 1942 only his persuasion had prevented Morris and other Councillors peremptorily refusing to submit an important matriculation issue to the Professorial Board.²⁴ This suggestion of arbitrariness was to develop dangerously in the future. Meanwhile Miller had himself a plan to improve the Vice-Chancellor's status. Why must he submit to the indignity of going cap in hand to the Staff Association to obtain election to the Council? With Morris's support a committee was established to consider Council's direct appointment of a Vice-Chancellor. According to Miller, the committee was sabotaged by his old opponent Pitman, who passionately accused him of authoritarianism. As a result, Miller abandoned the committee, refused to nominate for Council, and resigned as Vice-Chancellor: 'From then I felt that the strain of office was not worth my enduring further. Morris was too "lively" as a chancellor even though I had held my ground in relation to him. Pitman had given him an opening.' The returned Registrar, Preshaw, entered the lists against Miller by stating that in small English universities, academic matters were controlled by the Chairman of the Professorial Board, while the Registrar handled other business.²⁵ Miller in fact illustrated a trend towards appointed academic managers, contrary to the practice of some of the oldest universities, whose chief executives were still elected by the staff.

Miller's retirement enabled his original rival, Alan Burn, to obtain the Vice-Chancellorship for what proved to be a short interlude of four and a half years, 1945 to 1949, before the appointment of the former Tasmanian professor, Torleiv Hytten, as the first full-time Vice-Chancellor. Miller's objective was thus realised as an aspect of the modernised specialist institution which had developed from the old University. The Registrar, Preshaw, who had intervened in 1944, staged another protest by taking legal action against the University when Hytten was appointed instead of him. Preshaw, supported by the veteran Dunbabin, claimed that while his qualifications were as good as Hytten's, he came within the provisions of the Preference to Returned Servicemen's Act. The implication, not accepted by the courts,²⁶ was that a modern Vice-Chancellor was a superior Registrar who should present only administrative business to Council, while the Chairman of the Professorial Board introduced academic matters. The University Act of 1951 settled the issue by empowering the Vice-Chancellor to expatiate on academic issues.²⁷ In the same year Morris Miller finally retired from his chair.

Meanwhile Burn, an efficient and popular choice, held office without incurring serious controversy. But according to Morris Miller, Burn was unable to hold the Chancellor in check.²⁸ Burn's powers, however, were so limited that an attempt to fine students for unruly Commem behaviour was criticised as *ultra vires* by a councillor.²⁹

BURN AND RISING EXPECTATIONS

Despite some volatility in the higher administrative reaches, demands, stimulated by developments in the rest of the country and the prospect of increased numbers from the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme (CRTS), proliferated from the faculties. A new degree, the PhD, an essential part of continental European and United States higher education, but still regarded with scepticism in Anglo-centred institutions, was partially introduced in 1946 for Science and Engineering, but not in Arts, Law or Commerce. According to the Professorial Board, the new MA and the LLM were sufficient for such research facilities as existed. 'The PhD would not only be superfluous, but would spoil the MA and cheapen the LittD'. There was no parallel with the science faculties. There the PhD 'has become the recognised mark of a certain research standard', while, as 'full-time research is not a part of the routine professional training in Arts', PhDs in that area had a poor reputation.³⁰ Such condescension towards alleged dilettantism, which lingered into a period when the Arts PhD was as rigorous a prerequisite for academic appointment as those of the sciences, was to cost the Humanities dear in lost grants.

Open to Talent

The LittD, at a minimum of seven years after BA, based to a large extent on published work, was out of the range of all but highly distinguished scholars. Without the PhD a Department could lay few claims to research facilities. In 1949 the University of Tasmania graduated its first PhD, Dr Joan Ford, who, working on plant cells, demonstrated that women could hold their own at higher research levels. For those faculties without the PhD there were, however, opportunities to develop more structured full-time honours courses, rather than an extra paper or two appended to the pass degree. Invariably in Arts, and often in Science, these papers had been taken part-time. With some dissent from Arts, the old uniform system of grading by Pass, Distinction and High Distinction was restored at this time.

Polarisation between the cheaper disciplines, retained in the old Domain buildings and the burgeoning sciences, was exemplified by the temporary huts for the latter at the old Rifle Range. Soon all the sciences except Chemistry were located at Sandy Bay. The Army commandant proved co-operative and allowed the University to take over six huts before the final transfer of the site to the State. Ex-Army cafeterias proved useful. Between July 1945 and 1949 wooden buildings were erected for Physics, Botany and Zoology, the two latter bifurcating from Biology according to modern practice.³¹ Geology was established at Sandy Bay in 1947.³² Two years later £2,000 worth of geological equipment was destroyed in a Sandy Bay fire.³³ Much of the University's CRTS money was spent on this accommodation.³⁴ These huts soon appeared bleak in their muddy surrounds, competing with grazing cattle, social cricket and Girl Guides. *Togatus* reminded visitors to wear gum boots. Some indication, however, was now given of an institution on the move, although fellow feeling between the scientists at Sandy Bay and the more literary inhabitants of the old Domain, where there was scarcely a spare square inch, was further eroded. C.P. Snow's 'two cultures', as *Togatus* pointed out, were certainly divided in Tasmania. Students who tried to bridge them in their courses were forced to travel across Hobart. Their problems were not alleviated by the new 4,000 sq. ft. brick Chemistry building at Park Street. This housed first and fourth year students. The others still shared what Kurth described as the 'disgraceful and highly dangerous' accommodation at the Technical College.³⁵ Engineering had first priority with a permanent building on Sandy Bay, to release space at the Technical College and the Domain. For the present, however, engineering students had to travel to three sites.³⁶ For the staff, Burn as Vice-Chancellor nevertheless tried to maintain *esprit de corps* by persuading staff to meet in the Common Room for tea breaks.³⁷

In the aggregate University, despite all privations, development proved rapid when the war ended in mid-1945. Staff sometimes prided themselves on successful research in the most adverse conditions. Student numbers rose in 1946 to 586, which included 200 returned servicemen. Staff appointments increased even more rapidly, doubling since 1939. Charles Hardie, a precise Scottish Cambridge-educated logician, became foundation Professor of Education. However, the Faculties of Arts and Science, preferring the DipEd after BA or BSc, resisted in 1947 his demand for a BEd as a first degree, studying pedagogy and academic subjects concurrently. As Hardie pointed out, the raising of the State's school leaving age to sixteen made the expansion of teacher education an urgent necessity.³⁸ This battle was not won by Education till the 1970s. Hardie's rejection of university extension shows the new awareness of academic professionalism, contrasting with the early days of the University. To Hardie a university teacher was properly concerned with undergraduates, post-graduates and original research. 'Extra-mural activities would overload the teacher and distract him from research which would advance knowledge.'³⁹ The ghost of Alexander McAulay would have said an emphatic 'amen'. Hardie's supporters prevailed. Extra-mural work was consigned to Adult Education. In the new Department, Hardie had the support from 1948 to 1972 of Tom Doe, a local science graduate. Doe, who played a considerable part in general University affairs, became Supervisor of Practice Teaching in 1956. Doe's son, Peter, later became a stalwart of the Engineering Department.

An even more significant landmark was the appointment of the first full-time Librarian, announced in 1946. Ernest Hayden Clark (1945-48) and his successor Lester Milburn (1949-1953), a South African, had a daunting task. The latter retired to his native South Africa in 1953 and relinquished his position to Dietrich Borchardt (1953-March 1965), assistant librarian since 1950, but originally from Otago University.⁴⁰ In 1945, despite the part-time efforts of Morris Miller, the Library represented disorganised chaos. Of its 55,000 volumes, 15,000 were in branch libraries and others were scattered in thirteen different places, including Professor Pitman's office and that of Shatwell, which doubled as Law Library. Shatwell moved in 1947 to the chair of Law at Sydney. He was replaced as professor by Bob Baker, the controversial Rhodes Scholar of 1939. In the main Library 30,000 books were still uncatalogued, and another 10,000 from Dunbabin's bequest were not even classified. Stock had not been checked for many years. An assistant librarian, a senior assistant and two juniors were essential.

STUDENT LIFE UNDER BURN

What was it like to be a Tasmanian student in this period of expectation qualified by adversity? Surprisingly, there was only occasional protest at the physical defects of the institution. Students were less responsive to the issues that most concerned staff and administrators. There was, however, a desire to escape from wartime conditions when the institution was little more than a glorified technical college. Staff still looked to the development of Colleges at Sandy Bay as most productive of academic *esprit de corps*. Preshaw recommended the imposition of occasional dining on extra-collegiate students, but the Professorial Board resisted the idea.⁴¹ *Togatus* meanwhile pontificated on the necessity for activity and condemned perennial apathy. The returned servicemen under the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme (CRTS) added a welcome leaven of maturity and considerably boosted the numbers. Despite the initial assumption that they would find study difficult and perhaps need special concessions, like the institution of additional tutorials, their results were somewhat better than those of the younger students.⁴² This is, however, usually the case with older students whose experience has taught them the value of time. Despite initial reluctance to admit CRTS students to the SRC, one of their number was sufficiently integrated to win a Rhodes Scholarship in 1946.⁴³

Student criticism in the immediate post-war years concentrated on excessive work, leaving little time for anything but study. It was only indirectly linked with the cramped conditions. A deputation to the Engineering Faculty complained that too much material was crammed into the restored BE course, eventually extended to four years. Though little appears to have been changed in 1945, several years later the Faculty itself accepted the validity of the complaints.⁴⁴ Professor Taylor wanted a review of written work in Arts which he considered excessive.⁴⁵ The head of Engineering, Vice-Chancellor Burn, was, however, placed alongside Kurth of Chemistry and Triebel of Languages as one of the few good lecturers in the University.⁴⁶ The latter, whose elevation to a chair had been as an enthusiastic propagator of French culture rather than original research, here lived up to his reputation. A student poll, a few years later, showed relative satisfaction with University teaching, but a large majority favoured a review of pedagogical methods in Arts. Professor Taylor, however, evoked little response to *Togatus* articles challenging the notion that lectures were an efficient method of teaching. Small group learning in tutorials was encouraged now that numbers of both staff and students were increasing. Previously much teaching, with few classes larger than twenty, had necessarily been in seminar form. *Togatus* recognised the problems posed by the habitually taciturn student. There was sometimes concern at the lack

of easy staff-student relations. Lack of space and privacy for staff could cause irritability. After what appeared to *Togatus* as the gloomy Commem of 1945, the pre-war tradition of student disruption erupted in 1946 with catcalls, whistling, soap bubbles and paper aeroplanes⁴⁷ at the Theatre Royal, where the degree ceremony was now held. Even so august and dominant a personality as Sir John Morris was subjected to the humiliation of being parodied by a student before the ceremony, and, much worse, having his speech drowned out by ritual undergraduate uproar. The establishment of the Old Nick Society in 1948 and the beginning of its very successful annual revues had not yet replaced student high spirits in public processions.

Student opinion in these years was still conventional by the standards of subsequent decades. *Togatus* criticised student dress, complaining that polo necked sweaters had replaced collars and ties. Girls were advised to hold their men by lipstick and pretty frocks. The advent of the first woman Union president, Cynthia Johnson, the great granddaughter of George Clarke, in 1941, and several female *Togatus* editors had not changed traditional attitudes, though no discrimination against women students has been reported. Discussion of topics like birth control were considered daring. Words like 'damn' and 'bloody' still shocked. Though staff were often criticised the more radical academics still set the pace in the introduction of new ideas. According to Miss Johnson, who subsequently married Ross Alexander, the 1940 Union president, students did not then meekly tolerate bad lecturing but complained to the Professorial Board. In 1947 the Staff Association considered means of developing student corporate life and appointed a committee to liaise with the SRC. Professor Pitman suggested a club embracing staff, students and graduates.⁴⁸ Professor Taylor continued his pre-war sceptical *Togatus* articles on religion, to the consternation of devout students. There were complaints that the University's annual religious service was ill-attended.

In the Cold War era the problem of Communism naturally attracted much attention. A large gathering heard a debate between the Liberal MP R.C. Wright and a Communist spokesman. Acting Professor Ken Dallas, returned from naval service, was again in the forefront of controversy, being attacked in a leaflet for trying 'to instil pernicious socialist doctrine into the economics class'. The student involved was suspended.⁴⁹ A Legislative Councillor and later Liberal Senator, Alexander Lillico, also attacked staff for disseminating Communism. Premier Cosgrove had similar concerns. They need not have worried. The Staff Association failed to consider a petition against the Menzies Government's Communism dissolution bill, which some members feared had implications contrary to academic freedom.⁵⁰ In 1945 the University Council accepted the freedom of academics to engage in all political activity, short of sitting in Parliament. On the student

side, the Labor Club, inaugurated soon after the war, was assaulted by right-wing students at its opening meeting. A Liberal Club was soon established in opposition, while a Political Science Society testified to the growing interest in politics. These were stirring years with the Chifley Labor government about to fall after attempts to nationalise the banks and repress striking miners, while State Labor's long period in office was shaken by the unsuccessful indictment of Premier Cosgrove for conspiracy. On the subsequent Menzies anti-Communist referendum the Tasmanian Students' Union offered low key opposition. A packed meeting denounced the notion of Cosgrove and Lillico that there was any student interest, apart from academic, in Communism. Thirty-one per cent of a poll of students, however, believed there was some Communist influence in the institution. The curiosity aroused by the Chinese Communist Revolution in 1949 had been anticipated in the University of Tasmania by the establishment in 1946 of a pioneering course in Pacific history under George Wilson, a New Zealand graduate of the Universities of Canterbury (N.Z.) and Cambridge, who had served with the Air Force in World War II. One of Wilson's students, Stephen FitzGerald (graduating in 1960), subsequently became the first Australian ambassador to Communist China. Debating matriculation, the Chancellor, Sir John Morris, laid down an important principle, which incurred the ire of two Catholic Archbishops and, ironically, Professor A.B. Taylor. To Morris the University was a trainer of intelligence, not a custodian of morality.

Students in general, however, did not conduct their lives at such levels of abstraction. Soon after the war the full range of student clubs and societies re-emerged. In April 1946 *Togatus* counted thirteen sports clubs: athletics, hockey, basketball, football, Rugby (greatly stimulated by George Wilson), rifles, rowing, skiing and tennis for men, athletics, hockey, basketball and tennis for women.⁵¹ Inter-varsity competition was re-established, though Tasmania did not at first achieve any great success as Tasmanian sport appeared to lag behind that of the mainland. Sometimes it was difficult to find players to fill the teams for scheduled matches. However, the Old Nick's play won the 1949 inter-varsity drama competition.⁵² On the other hand, critics complained that the money donated by the Union to inter-varsity was unjustified in a starving world.⁵³

On the whole, student life at Tasmania in the immediate post-war years seems to have been as lively as the restricted opportunities and numbers permitted. Enthusiasts found adequate scope for activity, sporting, social or academic. Lectures might not always be inspiring, but there were staff participating in the chief controversies of the day and acting as lightning conductors for new ideas. Rish, in his history of the Tasmanian University Union, attributes student complacency towards their deplorable physical environment partly to the Tasmanian

University Student Teachers' Association (TUSTA). Student teachers, uninterested in the new University, influenced the SRC and *Togatus*. Radical and conservative division on wider issues such as Communism, and student ignorance of the building negotiations also prevented agitation for better conditions. The student representative, or observer, on Council not only had no vote but was expected to maintain confidentiality.⁵⁴ In addition, students, enrolled for a relatively short period, usually concentrated on immediate objectives. Removal to a new site scheduled for the distant future aroused little enthusiasm, while mid-course disruption was dreaded. Cramped staff accommodation and lack of research facilities were not student problems. The old Library alcoves provided more opportunity for cosy confidentiality at student functions than the activities room of a modern Union. While a satisfactory Union building had long been demanded by Tasmanian students, sordid cramped surroundings suited the macho cults and beer-drinking rorts which frequently rendered the men's common-room a shambles. In the early 1950s, alcoholic indulgence was said to have left students disoriented for days. Part-timers required little excuse to retire the moment their classes were over. William Smith O'Brien had summed up the problem a century earlier when complaining that at German universities 'beer drinking and smoking are reduced to a regular system and that a young man becomes a marked character if he does not waste great portions of his time in practices which everyone ought to be taught to shun.' For their part, Tasmanian students in the 'fifties protested against overloaded courses and the State Education Department's meanness towards teacher trainees: when low grants compelled part-time work, the Department fined trainees for missing lectures.⁵⁵

STAFF VERSUS COUNCIL ONCE AGAIN

If students were less agitated over their conditions than might have been expected, the rapidly increasing staff now flexed their muscles. Those, old or new appointments, who had seen war service expected considerable improvement on their return. The new Departments, Education, Geology, Botany, Zoology, and Psychology and the forestry course, attracted men who had experience of modern university development overseas. These tended to be impatient with the local stalwarts, who, after graduating in Tasmania, served for many years as University Councillors, local school principals, and occasional part-time lecturers at the University. Members of the latter group liked many aspects of the pre-war small University. A typical example was H.J. Solomon, a locally-graduated magistrate and son of a former Premier, who had taught part-time in the Law School as well as sitting for a number of years on the Council. Solomon assumed E.W. Turner's

role of chief critic of academic pretensions. To such men, academics were hired by Council to do a particular job, and were far from being masters of their own destiny or the equals of their employers. It was out of order for them to criticise local institutions. The new staff, however, were even more assertive of the principle expressed in the Raamsdonk case, that it is an academic duty to exercise free intelligence without fear or favour. In June 1950, for example, the criticism of a school by an Education lecturer, W.H. Perkins, was dismissed by Premier Cosgrove as 'utter rot'. But the Chancellor insisted that lecturers must be allowed freedom of speech.⁵⁶ Sir John Morris was not always to be so supportive of academic assertion.

With the post-war staff demonstrating greater self-confidence, it was time to convert the socially-oriented Staff Association into a more powerful body. In November 1947 Professor Hardie introduced the idea of a federal union of academics. In early 1949 Tasmania had become a founder member of the Federal Council of University Staff Associations (FCUSA).⁵⁷ Thus the Association, as in its early days, acted as a trade union, a development reaching fruition in the 1980s. The chief issues for negotiation were superannuation and the raising of salaries to maintain parity with other institutions. A new category of the latter problem was the Council decision in 1948 'that the salary rates of women be differentiated from those of men'.⁵⁸ The Staff Association took up the issue, without total conviction as some of its members felt that males with family responsibilities should receive higher remuneration. A Staff Association committee recommendation favouring parity on the ground that the academic status of women was otherwise impugned and that, as there were only five women on the staff, the concession would not be costly, was defeated 11-9. Miss Batt, the Association's secretary, was absent from the vote.⁵⁹ As for staff in general, Council members who agreed with Solomon believed that too much money was being spent on salaries and insufficient on building. Though some improvements were achieved, by late 1949 Tasmanian professorial and lecturer salaries still lagged behind those of their mainland equivalents.⁶⁰ In 1950, the new Professor of Geology, Sam Carey, suggested an application to the Arbitration Court, but it was felt impolitic to do so while current negotiations continued.⁶¹

The other essential issue of superannuation and the rate of the University's contribution to the fund required negotiation in every period. In 1940, when the University made no contribution to staff superannuation, Council informed the Minister of Education that Tasmania was an exception to other Australian universities. Academics hesitated to apply for positions 'which carry practically no provision for old age.' Anomalously, staff under the Engineering Board of Management were eligible for the government scheme.⁶² In 1947 the Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee recommended a University contribution

of ten per cent; in 1940 only five per cent had been requested, and obtained in 1943.⁶³ After many heartburns, the issue was finally settled only by the inauguration of a national scheme in the 1980s. In the late 1940s the Staff Association concentrated on sickness and invalidity benefits in their negotiations with the Council. Another important problem taken up by the Staff Association, of particular relevance to the greater emphasis on research, was paid sabbatical leave. The issue had been broached in the 1930s but was now urgent. Pitman, a somewhat special case, was accorded leave on full pay, but in 1948 Vice-Chancellor Burn informed the Staff Association that the Council recognised the principle. Council in 1950 resolved in favour of study leave at its discretion to maintain teaching standards, still insisting that the leave taker be required to meet part or all of the cost of a *locum tenens*, should one be necessary.⁶⁴ It was still some time before provision for regular outside studies was recognised as an essential requirement for academics keeping up with advances in their disciplines. The Association does not appear to have been involved in another landmark in the progress of research when, in 1946, Miss Whitesides was appointed secretary to the academic staff.⁶⁵ A more immediate problem was the plight of staff unable to find adequate personal accommodation in Hobart. By 1953 the Staff Association was pressing for the building, promised by the Premier in 1949, of half a dozen staff houses at Sandy Bay.⁶⁶

COUNCILLORS, PROFESSORS AND STANDARDS

Awareness of modern research and staff development needs did not extend to Councillors of the old school who still believed that academics needed to be kept in close rein by their paymasters. The Council had traditionally contained school principals extremely critical of the standards which the University endeavoured to maintain for matriculation and for its students. In the late 1940s Councillors were concerned at high failure rates in the University. Was failure the product of the lax attendance standards tolerated by some academics? An attendance return was consequently demanded from the Vice-Chancellor. This proved embarrassing to Burn as such returns were difficult to obtain. Lecturers considered that calling the roll in a large class wasted too much teaching time. The Professorial Board, however, laid down in 1942 that two-thirds of all lectures as a minimum must be attended.⁶⁷ Some Councillors considered this proportion too low. Burn and Kurth assured Council that most students attended regularly. The issue was a touchy one. Teachers feared for professional freedom; a New Zealand

professor in the 1880s had rejected roll keeping as contrary to 'the traditional freedom of University life'.⁶⁸ Conversely the stereotype of the insouciant professor who appeared at 10 a.m. and returned home soon afterwards still existed. In fact, a great deal of the teaching took place in the evenings.

Student pass rates were linked to the perennial issue of matriculation standards which so incensed the Council headmasters. In 1942 a Council committee on early specialisation containing the leading principals, H.V. Biggins of the Hobart High School, E.E. Unwin of Friends and W.H. Clemes of Clemes, as well as the future Sir John Morris, declared against the University's fixing of standards without co-operation with secondary educationalists, and demanded a Higher School Certificate a year before the period of University preparation.⁶⁹ The Professorial Board, which had already reduced matriculation standards for engineers during the war, did not protest immediately, but the Vice-Chancellor felt that the Council had exceeded its role.⁷⁰ In 1943, however, the Board disagreed 'with a good deal of the Report', considering that 'some of its statements are actual misstatements.'⁷¹ After discussing the Board's response and accepting some of its recommendations, Council asserted that secondary education was not the province of the University and its insistence on an entrance examination restricted 'the freedom to plan for adolescents the type of education to which we have referred in our report.' Some manoeuvring by Pitman narrowly secured a compromise acceptable to the University.⁷²

Battle was now fairly joined. The school principals of the Council committee, quoting the English *Spens Report*, saw the University as a pedantic obstacle to the realisation of modern progressive ideals and were determined to break its dominance. Thus the resentment against the scholars who acted like masters, while 'servants' in fact,⁷³ was given some pedagogical content. As Morris Miller pointed out, the University in any case failed to justify its assumed prestige as 'the maker and preserver (guardian) of knowledge — its creation and continuity.'⁷⁴ The University of the 1940s was caught in a variant of the old academic trap. Lack of facilities and opportunities for research reduced staff to marathon essay marking, deadening to initiative and productive of that nit-picking fussiness associated with cloistered academia. As Professor Shatwell argued, shortly before his translation to the greener pastures of the Sydney chair of Law, all that was needed for legal research was 'a little leisure for further study in the fields in which one is engaged in teaching.' Though generally recognised that teaching and research in Law go together, excessive lecturing demands forced the neglect of ideas raised by teaching itself. The long vacation 'can't replace the broken chain of ideas.' Morris Miller, who contrived to maintain extensive research interests while undertaking a wide range of teaching and administrative duties, was well aware of a problem

affecting more disciplines than Law.⁷⁵ His own progressive educational views gave him a foot in both camps and probably facilitated the compromise in 1943, secured by the vital vote of Chancellor Stops.

The post-war regime of Sir John Morris and Vice-Chancellor Burn saw matriculation raised in a more intractable form. Burn had hardly taken office in February when H.V. Biggins and Henry Baker, the former Liberal leader, challenged the Professorial Board on matriculation.⁷⁶ Before the year was out the Chancellor opposed the Board's attempt to obtain a certificate of good conduct at matriculation with his famous statement divorcing learning and morals. Though the issue had become a test of strength with the Council, the Professorial Board was not fanatical in its desire to maintain standards. In 1944 it was happy to make entrance concessions to returned servicemen, while emphasising its authority over matriculation. Four years later, however, when staff were agitating for sabbatical leave, improved salaries, superannuation and an end to the discrimination against women, a really serious dispute over matriculation blew up between Council and Professorial Board.

A proposal was put to Council to lower, or 'relax', matriculation standards by allowing entrance to candidates who were unable to pass Mathematics or a foreign language, provided they had made some effort to study the subjects. The Professorial Board sounded out the faculties. Science and Arts were predictably against the change. Engineering also rejected any lowering of standards, but Law was in favour. The Council's advisory committee, which contained Sir John Morris, opposed relaxation. The Chancellor nevertheless put the proposed change to Council, which not only adopted the proposal without referring it back to the Board but even amended it to make it less acceptable to the latter.

The Professorial Board reacted sharply with a memorandum to Council stating that as a fundamental principle of University government, 'the governing body (in this University the Council), should in all cases in which it is not in agreement with the resolutions of the Board on academic questions, refer those questions back to the Board for a full statement of its reasons for its recommendations, and further that, except in most exceptional circumstances, and after full consideration, the Council should not reject such recommendations of the Board.' Just as the Council had quoted authorities like Spens in favour of less restricted secondary education, the Professorial Board made its case with reference to the works of R.M. Hutchins and 'Bruce Truscott' of *Red Brick University* fame. When Professor King moved the receipt of this memorandum, the Chancellor added 'without comment'.⁷⁷

The issue dragged on through 1949. The Science Faculty took the lead in pressing for the retention of a foreign language, insisting that this was in accordance with British practice. The Professorial Board

delighted in emphasising anomalies in the Council scheme, particularly those relating to the certification of effort in subjects passed. In May, Henry Baker secured an amendment adjourning the issue for a year and thus gagging the Board. However, the topic was soon raised again by local principals. The Science Faculty tried a backdoor approach and made foreign language a prerequisite. Eventually a compromise was arranged by which lower passes were substituted for four years of study. Out of the issue arose a celebrated incident in 1951 when the Chancellor persuaded the Professorial Board to alter minutes of a previous meeting which implicitly criticised him for intervening personally on behalf of a student without full matriculation requirements. The student in question, Christopher Koch, not only obtained first class honours, but later became a distinguished novelist.⁷⁸

In such an atmosphere Burn's spell as the last part-time Vice-Chancellor ended. A real polarisation between academics and local Councillors had occurred. Complaints against failure rates and lack of academic record keeping appear part of a counter-attack. Accusations of Communist influence in the University were another aspect of local disapproval of the growing institution, which, according to the 1955 Royal Commission, had 'really reached university status' since Morris became Chancellor. It was most unfortunate that a bitter conflict should have developed between Councillors and academics when every effort should have been made to force the government to move the whole University to Sandy Bay. Sir John Morris was not only a determined advocate of the transfer but a warm supporter of improved salaries, superannuation and study leave which the Council was also tackling at this time.⁷⁹ In August 1949, Professor Triebel thanked Council for its superannuation scheme for older staff.⁸⁰

THE ADVENT OF HYTTEN

The appointment of the first full-time Vice-Chancellor, despite the embarrassment of the Registrar's challenge to his appointment, appeared a timely injection of vitality into the unevenly developing University. Burn remained an influential professor till 1956, being appointed Assistant Commissioner of the all-powerful Hydro-Electric Commission in 1951. His predecessor, Morris Miller, though losing interest in teaching, had his professorial appointment extended to the latter year.

Torleiv Hytten was born in Norway in the same year as the University of Tasmania, 1890, but only entered the institution as a student at the late age of thirty, while working as a journalist on the Hobart *Labor World*. Too mature and too busy to associate with fellow students, Hytten became a protege of Copland, for whom he acted as *locum*

tenens when only a third year student. Hytten was also a close friend of the flamboyant Flynn. After a few years of journalism in Adelaide, Hytten was appointed to a lectureship in Economics at Tasmania. Defeating forty opponents for the post of Acting Professor in 1929, Hytten was tenured in 1930, retaining his position till 1935 when his reputation as an economist won him an appointment as economic adviser to the Bank of New South Wales. Invited to apply for the Tasmanian full-time Vice-Chancellorship in 1948, Hytten accepted the challenge of building a new University on a splendid new site.

Hytten soon discovered, however, that the job was more demanding than he supposed. The money for the move was not forthcoming and there were complications over the plans. Moreover, though his background seemed ideal for the job, Hytten had been out of academic life for fourteen years. His experience had been gained when the University of Tasmania was a minute institution and he had little direct knowledge of a large university.⁸¹ According to his own retrospective account, Hytten was dissatisfied with some University staff. Though two professors, one an epileptic, the other a 'lazy hound', gave him considerable trouble, most of the professoriate were 'good solid men'. A number of the junior men, however, were 'no-hopers'. Used to working in private industry and making quick decisions, Hytten disliked academic red tape which he tried to short-circuit on occasion by going over the head of the Professorial Board and straight to Council.⁸²

Hytten's account of the Tasmanian staff and his methods for dealing with them may have been coloured by subsequent conflict. But given the relations between Professorial Board and Council which had developed under Burn, his businessman's resentment of bureaucracy and due process were unlikely to assuage feelings. Ironically, the criticism of Hytten by the 1955 Royal Commission stresses his 'tact, patience and skill in negotiations', which seemed 'ideally fitted to restore harmonious relations' but ultimately useless in a situation requiring 'a more forceful approach'. Attempting initially to work equally for staff (the Staff Association voting him thanks for work on salaries)⁸³ and Council, when conflict escalated, Hytten, instead of taking an independent line, 'preferred to cleave to the Council and to the Chancellor'. Hytten thus totally alienated the staff and appeared the catspaw of the Chancellor. According to a professor, Hytten could not withstand Morris's 'strength of character and dominant personality'.⁸⁴ The roles, said Hytten's enemies, were reversed. The Chancellor dealt with day-to-day academic issues; the Vice-Chancellor, a remote figure, represented the University to the outside world. Hytten in his own account stressed the great support given to him by Morris in his unhappy life as Vice-Chancellor of an institution which was a breeding ground for dissent.

HYTTEN'S FIRST YEARS

With the extra-mural community, Hytten achieved exceptional initial success. Putting all his energy into collecting private donations for the Hall of Residence at Sandy Bay, long regarded as a *sine qua non* for a genuine community of scholars, Hytten raised £96,000 between 1949 and 1955. As the Royal Commission pointed out, in the whole preceding history of the University donations and benefactions had amounted to less than £9,000.⁸⁵ When the Electrolytic Zinc Company donated £50,000 for the hostel in 1951, *Togatus* apostrophised Hytten as 'Our Favorite Vice' and Council extended congratulations. £10,000 from Cadbury's followed shortly afterwards. A like sum was donated by the Australian Newspaper Mills in 1954.⁸⁶ It was a sad quirk of fate that Hytten Hall, finally opened in 1960, was, a mere twenty years later, totally refitted as a teaching Centre. The women's college, Jane Franklin, on the other hand, which opened in 1950 with fourteen students, shortly after Hytten's arrival, reached the centenary as a mixed hostel.

In his early years, then, Hytten seemed likely to achieve his objectives. An 'Open Day' to destroy public misunderstanding of the University, was held and planned biennially. In 1951 the University conferred its first honorary LLD on the Chief Justice of India, Sir Harilal Jeksundas Kania. A new Geography Department, at first part of Geology, was established, and the staff association accepted in good grace the Vice-Chancellor's insistence that it must have priority over salary claims. In the perennial remuneration negotiation Hytten's initial efforts, in Tasmania and on the mainland, to achieve increases were appreciated. New staff of ability were appointed. Peter Scott came as Lecturer in Geography and, after a brief sojourn at the ANU, 1955-56, was appointed Professor in the enlarged Department. Scott (born 1922), who retired in 1982, was educated at the London School of Economics and served during World War II in the RAF, before taking a post at the University of Cape Town.

Morris Miller's Department hived off Psychology, which, after a brief period was placed, in 1950 under James Cardno, like Hardie a Cambridge-educated Scotsman, but differing in his religious rather than rationalistic orientation. Cardno (born 1915) had served in the British Ministry of Information during the War, and came to Tasmania via Sydney University. The chair of Philosophy itself, relinquished by Morris Miller, went to a Scots-Irishman, Sydney Sparkes Orr, from Queen's University, Belfast, then lecturing in Melbourne. Though the selection committee was initially divided, Sir John Morris and Morris Miller achieved Orr's appointment. They were impressed by Orr's interest in university extension, which some modern academics considered an interference with original research. Orr's philosophical

idealism, less dangerous to religious belief, was considered preferable to the logical positivism of other candidates. Apparently an ideal selection for a University like Tasmania, Orr immediately threw himself into a host of activities and made himself prominent in the Professorial Board, Staff Association, Faculty of Arts, and the SCM. According to a colleague, though not naturally quarrelsome, Orr, 'once he got his teeth into something that he believed deserved his all, he showed every intention of not letting go.'⁸⁷

Also a Queen's University man, who had worked under Flynn, was Eric Guiler, a former serviceman who completed one of Tasmania's first PhDs in Zoology with great aplomb and continued as a popular lecturer till 1983. Another overseas scholar to begin a Tasmanian academic career with a local doctorate, was the Hungarian organic chemist, John B. Polya. He successfully attracted private funds for his research. Education gained faculty status in 1950, but despite the pleas of the local Teachers' Federation and the school principals, continued objections by the Faculties of Arts and Science prevented the establishment of a first degree in the discipline. Phillip Hughes, then negotiating with the University as a representative of the Teachers' Federation, when Professor of Education thirty years later, administered a University of Tasmania BEd. In 1950, despite the lack of a BEd, the Tasmanian Faculty of Education was unusual in that it trained most teachers, either through the graduate diploma or its two-year Certificate of Education for unmatriculated primary teachers not wishing to attend the Launceston Training College.⁸⁸ Schools of Agriculture and Medicine were, however, rejected at this time, the Tasmanian population being considered too small to justify the latter. Doctor members of the state government, Reginald J.D. Turnbull and John F. Gaha, were keen advocates of medicine, undeterred by the urgent need for funds to maintain existing faculties.

STUDENTS ON THE EVE OF CRISIS

Before the crisis peaked in late 1954, students for the most part continued their normal pursuits. The 1952 *Togatus* editor, Lloyd Robson, subsequently a distinguished historian, described these as sleep, radio, the odd lecture, rest and drinking. Commem disruption persisted, though 1951 was a quiet year. The 1952 Commem was held in orientation week to provide less scope for trouble; the Vice-Chancellor was then authorised to put students on their honour not to misbehave.⁸⁹ Such tactics worked to some extent in 1953 when there were what *Togatus* dismissed as 'only a few tootles'. But in 1954 there was a fullscale Commem disturbance, in which the Chancellor was heckled and drowned out by song throughout his speech.⁹⁰ This led to the

establishment of a committee suggesting heavy fines and the presence of lecturers to report offenders. Already a sense of outrage was in the air.

In these years there was semi-jocular criticism of staff teaching methods and student apathy. But it was also maintained that staff-student relations were good. Students were troubled about reconciling the demands of the new national service with lecture requirements. There was little enthusiasm, now that the war years were receding, for the University Platoon or Air Corps, though these were still recommended by *Togatus*.⁹¹ Staff and students co-operated to revive the literary *Platypus*, to which Lloyd Robson and Chris Koch (whose celebrated novel on growing up in Tasmania, *The Boys in the Island*, was first published in 1958) made contributions. Neal Blewett, subsequently Federal Health Minister, contributed alongside academics like Morris Miller and A.B. Taylor. The Tasmania University Union followed the usual turbulent, unpredictable course of student organisations. A newly elected president censured his predecessors; there was tension between *Togatus* and the SRC. In 1952 an experiment was made with compulsory voting for Union elections, but only forty-two per cent turned out in 1953.⁹² In 1950, apparently without compulsion, there had been a record vote of sixty-five per cent. The modern Union had to take account of a post-war influx of overseas students, who formed their own association in 1953. In the previous year Asian students had won the prize for the best float at the Commem Parade.⁹³ Fijian students were welcomed in 1953.⁹⁴ Despite Commem activity, Charlie the gardener saw students in the 1950s as very quiet compared with their pre-war predecessors. Then 'there was a lot of life around the place'.⁹⁵ The SRC was sufficiently puritanical to ban poker and fine students for indulging in such a suspect pastime. *Togatus*, far from being incensed at the slow progress of the move to Sandy Bay, in early 1954 was still demanding the development of the Domain site instead. Physical separation had created a distaste amongst the Arts, Commerce and Law students for the distant boffins on their muddy paddock. It was, as *Togatus* admitted, difficult to cover them at all. George Dickens, later a dignified Yeoman Bedell leading academic processions, served his apprenticeship at Sandy Bay, moving huts and tending horses and grazing cattle.

HYTTEN AND THE SANDY BAY SITE

As Hytten himself realised, his first and greatest objective was to end this disastrous division which the 1955 Royal Commission portrayed as the worst in any Australian university. His success in winning the support of private enterprise for hostel accommodation was undoubted.

Could he achieve similar results with public authorities and retire as the chief executive of an impressive modern institution, fully equipped to meet the demands of the late twentieth century?

The omens appeared favourable. After delays and frustrations since the Wilkinson Report of 1944, an apparently decisive move was at last made in 1949, the year Hytten took office. After the Parliamentary Standing Committee reported favourably on the five-year-old Wilkinson Plan and the Sandy Bay site, a consequent Public Works Execution Act of 1949 authorised the borrowing of £369,360 for works on the Sandy Bay site. This was not a direct grant to the University as a sensational *Togatus* article in late 1954, denouncing the neglect of the Council, maintained, but potential building money. In fact, when the Royal Commission on the University of Tasmania began its hearings in early 1955, not a single pound had been spent on permanent buildings at Sandy Bay. Inflation already made £369,390 appear a ludicrously small sum. What had gone wrong? Who was to blame?

As the full-time chief executive of the University of Tasmania, Hytten must shoulder considerable responsibility. His difficulties should not be underrated. Morris, the Chancellor, was enthusiastic about the move, but his time was limited. Nor did Hytten have the backing of a standing Council committee charged with moving the University to Sandy Bay. As the Royal Commission subsequently pointed out, Council itself was ineffectual as a pressure group. It had no spokesmen in cabinet, like Health and Education, neither had it the enormous clout of the semi-autonomous Hydro-Electric Commission. In 1952-53 expenditure was increased on HEC works by nearly £1,300,000, but reduced on hospital and school building. Nevertheless, the latter two received £860,000 from loan funds, while the University secured a pitiful £5,000.⁹⁶ As Hytten told Professor Wilkinson, an inconveniently distant adviser, tenders could not be put out for the Engineering Building in 1952 as most of the government money was going to the HEC, and cuts were being made elsewhere, leaving schools half built.⁹⁷ The University was particularly unlucky, having practically nothing to cut. Well might the subsequent Royal Commission complain, 'unto him that hath shall be given'.⁹⁸ In such a competitive situation, members of the University Council representing other levels of education, as one frankly told the Royal Commission, did not regard Sandy Bay a particularly high priority.⁹⁹ Mistrust and antagonism bred by the long-standing dispute over matriculation thus considerably reduced the effectiveness of the Council as a united pressure group securing the immediate use of the £369,360 theoretically available since 1949.

Hytten's task, competing for finance with the HEC in the heyday of hydro-industrialisation, regarded by most Tasmanian politicians as an all-purpose panacea, was virtually impossible. The University, moreover, lacking building capacity of its own, was dependent on the

Public Works Department, which easily fobbed off the Vice-Chancellor with pleas of lack of staff or finance.¹⁰⁰ Hytten was reduced to expedients like persuading Cosgrove to allow cheaper temporary huts for Mathematics than allocated, thus enabling the surplus to be used for an additional Library hut.¹⁰¹ The Premier excused his niggardliness on the ground that Tasmania received less per capita Commonwealth assistance than larger states.¹⁰² Had Hytten been a stronger and more aggressive leader it is difficult to see how he could have succeeded with a half-hearted Council, a prevaricating government, rivals like the Hobart City Council, and a public still dubious about the value of tertiary education.

ROAD TO A ROYAL COMMISSION

The final crisis began in 1953. In late September there was pressure on the government to move at least part of the University to temporary accommodation in Sandy Bay but the University refused to allow finance from the allocation for permanent buildings and nothing was achieved. Meanwhile tenders had at last been called for the permanent Engineering Building combined with an essential drainage culvert. The Master Builders now approached the Premier, and for the first time since it was drawn up nearly a decade earlier, denounced the Wilkinson Plan *in toto* as unsuitable for the local conditions and modern building techniques. The Premier accordingly cancelled the plan.

Everything was now back in the melting-pot. The Vice-Chancellor and Professor Sam Carey of Geology, who had a particular interest in the new site where his Department had long languished in temporary quarters, requested the Premier to reconsider. Several conferences took place. A decision in favour of an 'open campus', with *ad hoc* buildings erected when possible, was revoked when the Chancellor returned from overseas in early 1954. After discussions with Carey, Morris persuaded the Premier to call in another expert, Professor Gordon Stephenson of Liverpool. Stephenson's report of November 1954 considerably modified Wilkinson's 'tiny, compact eighteenth century Italian town or monastery', allowing greater scope for future expansion, reversing the layout and replacing heavy brick and elaborate carpentry with steel and concrete frames. Stephenson, in a considerable underestimation, anticipated 3,000 students by 2000 AD, the Wilkinson plan allowing for only 1,000.¹⁰³ The closed campus on the Wilkinson site was therefore retained. The approving Royal Commission gave the credit to the Chancellor and Professor Carey, who had thrown himself into the struggle without official standing.

Before Stephenson could report, general academic dissatisfaction produced the worst ever confrontation of staff and students with Council.

To Hytten the real issue was remuneration. In April 1954 the Staff Association thanked Taylor, its president, and the executive for their efforts on behalf of salaries, but voted down attempts to show similar appreciation of the Council. Despite the efforts of members like the Chancellor to bring Tasmania into line with other universities, a number of Councillors believed academic salaries should depend on current financial exigencies. The Vice-Chancellor's announcement that plans for staff housing had been shelved because of the current total uncertainty over Sandy Bay plans caused similar concern.¹⁰⁴ The obvious answer to such uncertainties, dependent on governmental whims and the prejudices of University Councillors antipathetic to modern academics, was arbitration, already suggested, against his better judgement, by Professor Carey in 1950. At a special general Staff Association meeting on 20 September, Professor Elliott proposed an application for a State wages board. There was only one dissentient. A new law lecturer from Scotland, Dr J.J. Gow, who resigned shortly afterwards, saw low salaries as but an aspect of low public esteem for the University. According to Roy Chappell, secretary of the Staff Association and a former school principal, 'It is not possible to live in Hobart as a University lecturer and preserve the living standards of a country school master.'¹⁰⁵ After the Chief Secretary, Alfred White, promised arbitration like that for teachers, a well-attended (forty-five present) special Staff Association meeting on 13 October 1954 authorised the executive to obtain immediate arbitration if likely to succeed quickly, otherwise to press for an academic wages board, still apparently supported by Carey. A motion by the Professor of Economics, Gerald Firth, demanded that the whole University, if necessary in temporary accommodation, be transferred to Sandy Bay within two years. A few weeks later, however, the Premier rejected further temporary building at Sandy Bay.¹⁰⁶ The Association meeting was attended by a student delegation which expressed solidarity with the demand for salary increases, pointing out that low salaries meant weak teachers.¹⁰⁷ A week later, a flamboyant young Australian History lecturer and local graduate, Malcolm McRae, soon to be secretary of the Staff Association, carried four resolutions linking staff and student demands for immediate temporary buildings at Sandy Bay, including a sports ground and hall of residence. The motions were sent to the press and ABC as well as the Council.¹⁰⁸

The adhesion of students to the cause was relatively slow. The influence of academics such as George Wilson, Malcolm McRae and Professor Firth¹⁰⁹ was said to be considerable. The debate in the *Mercury* and Launceston *Examiner* raised consciousness. Firth, Polya and Orr, the latter on 12 October suggesting a royal commission, were backed by anonymous correspondents denouncing the intolerable conditions. Even the conservative *Mercury* regarded it as important to cultivate brain power as electric power.¹¹⁰ The visiting English poet, Stephen

Spender, was met by student demonstrators bearing placards, 'Welcome to the worst University in Australia' and 'Beware of falling masonry'. Staff Association Secretary Chappell was no less scathing: the buildings exuded 'an atmosphere of decay and sordidness reminiscent of tenements rather than a University.' A memorandum submitted by the Staff Association to Cabinet pointed out that 'some of the staff and students have to work in overcrowded, dilapidated and unhealthy' classrooms and laboratories. The students' common rooms on the Domain site can only be described as slum hovels.¹¹¹ *Togatus* now insisted on an immediate move to Sandy Bay, increased salaries and proper sports facilities. Currently there was only one tennis court. It quoted Professor Orr's view that Hobart's University could become the Oxford of the Southern Hemisphere.¹¹² One hundred and fifty students picketed the next Council meeting with placards asking 'Who are the Guilty Men?', and declaring 'We Demand a Reunited University'.¹¹³ The *Togatus* editor was eventually allowed to address a hostile Council.

Orr had been very active at the Staff Association and Professorial Board in the preceding weeks on a number of issues, ranging from new promotion procedures to resistance of the Vice-Chancellor's request for efficiency returns from the departments. However, he did not hold any official position: Baker of Law was chairman of the Professorial Board, and Taylor president of the Staff Association. On 29 October Orr followed his earlier letter with a dramatic challenge to the Premier, co-signed by thirty-seven colleagues, about half the staff. The only other full Professors to sign were Firth, Carey and V.V. Hickman of Botany. Taylor did not. Several signatories, moreover, disliked Orr's tactics, believing in negotiation rather than confrontation, but feared a demonstration of disunion. Polya later complained privately that 'Orr forced us to abandon a reasoned, moderate yet strong, public letter so that his banshee wails' took the limelight. Peter Scott of Geography was probably typical of many when he signed Orr's letter, despite misgivings about the attack on Council, as the lesser of two evils.¹¹⁴ On the other hand, Baker, who did not sign, later admitted that Orr stated extremely well 'fundamental questions as to the true nature of a University and as to the rights and responsibilities of its professors, readers, lecturers and students.' The president of the University Staff Association, Taylor, resented the suggestion that Orr had obtained the Royal Commission. Taylor later claimed that he had put the idea to the Attorney-General and gained the support of his executive before Orr's letter appeared.¹¹⁵

Orr's renewed demand for an independent inquiry was certainly comprehensive in its criticisms. Denying that staff demands were purely pecuniary, he denounced the Council as responsible for the current situation, rejected their claim that academics were 'servants' and attacked their overriding of the Professorial Board on important matters like

matriculation standards. The rejection of criticism by the Chancellor was duly castigated. Orr quoted a recent statement by Professor Pitman on Council that the Professorial Board no longer believed that the former body would give the Board the hearing it merited. Solomon's preference for the small University of 1938 was repudiated, and Orr contrasted the current expansion in immigration, hydro-power and school building with the failure to provide for tertiary progress. The *Mercury* supported the letter in a leader.

Though Orr's second letter added some Ulster gunpowder to an already volatile situation and made him a natural target for establishment resentment, it hardly altered the course of events, except perhaps to bury the idea of arbitration or a wages board. The Staff Association had already gone public and some members helped to finance a special edition of *Togatus* on 10 November describing 'The Eruption of Vesuvius'. It published photographs of the sub-standard state of the men's toilets and common room, plus the demonstration against the Chancellor. It ridiculed the plea that money was short with the sensational accusation that £369,360 had been allocated but never used. Technically incorrect, the charge had emotional substance.

Opinions now hardened. The academic row was escalating unpleasantly for Cosgrove's government. With a paper-thin majority, the Premier had to fight a general election in 1955 at the very time when federal Labor leader, Dr H.V. Evatt, seemed likely to split the party with his denunciation of the anti-Communist Industrial Groups.

The state opposition had now an excellent opportunity to out-manoeuvre a Labor government, continuously in office since 1934. On 23 November a Liberal MHA, H.W. Strutt, moved for the enquiry into the University demanded by the staff. Other opposition members rehearsed familiar details of University misery. Cosgrove, who accused the academics of making mountains out of molehills and advised them against politicising their complaints, was now embattled in the only arena that counted to a seasoned politician, an election campaign. In a long debate Attorney-General Fagan defended the Council. Fagan, a former president of the Union and part-time law lecturer who acknowledged the influence of A.B. Taylor on his debating skills, claimed that an enquiry would set the University back a decade. The independent, Leo McPartlan, on whom the government relied for its majority, finally voted for the enquiry.¹¹⁶ The University staff had after years of bickering and frustration carried their point against both Council and government. But the victory was to prove dearly bought in the decade which followed.

Chapter 5: Royal Commission, the Orr Case, and Sandy Bay, 1955-1966

It was a tragic irony that just before achieving modern university status the University of Tasmania became notorious throughout the world as an institution which blatantly denied fair play to its staff. The Orr case of 1956 was a by-product of the antagonisms which led to the Royal Commission of 1955. The issue continued to fester till 1966 when the University, shortly before Orr's death, made a financial settlement with him. Though too late to help Orr, 1966 also saw the introduction of procedures by the University of Tasmania which, had they existed in 1956, would have rendered the Orr case impossible. The federal government, following the 1957 *Murray Report*, which cited the deplorable condition of the University of Tasmania, had by then assumed responsibility for University funding. The perennial three-cornered conflict between academics, Council and State Government became obsolete. Salaries, negotiated nationally, became uniform. The great Tasmanian academic grievance of 1955 was finally overtaken by events. Moreover, the whole University was now located at Sandy Bay. In a relatively short time the privations of the Domain days became totally irrelevant to the new generation of staff and students.

But the parturition period, before the University of Tasmania emerged as an up-to-date institution on an attractive site, proved particularly painful and left scars hardly healed by its centenary year. Of course, while dramatic events bringing the University to world notice received excessive publicity, teaching, learning and research persisted without undue concern for extraneous matters. Dr Winifred Curtis probably spoke for many academics in placing a higher priority on the collection of specimens for dissection by her Botany class than attending a briefing on the latest developments in the Orr saga. For many individuals the period, 1955-66, was a time of intellectual awakening and developing powers. To them we will return after a survey of the events which finally placed Tasmania on the academic map.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION OPENS

Orr's open letter of October 1954 and the volatility of state politics brought about the Royal Commission. It opened in Parliament House on 22 February, adjourned *sine die* at the end of March, and concluded its report on 26 May. Though Orr had demanded a Royal Commission in his first letter, a number of academics had misgivings about so formal an enquiry and the opposition motion in the House of Assembly had

not insisted on one. However, the government decided to appoint a Royal Commission headed by Justice James L. Walker of the Supreme Court of Western Australia, assisted by Professors A.D. Trendall of the ANU and J.S. Turner of Melbourne. E.H. Barber, a Victorian barrister (later Sir Esler Barber, a Victorian Supreme Court judge) advised the commissioners. The University Council engaged its own counsel, R.C. (later Sir Reginald) Wright and Mervyn G. Everett (later Tasmanian Attorney-General and finally a state and federal judge), a most formidable combination of lawyer-politicians, Liberal and Labor. The Staff Association, after preliminary discussions with Wright, lost his services to the Council. Incensed that the Council refused them funds for legal representation, the Staff Association and the Professorial Board retained Dr James John (Hamish) Gow, who had recently resigned in disgust from the Law School and gone into private practice in Devonport. Though his heart was in the cause, Gow was unable to match the ruthless cross-examination of Wright. Hobart lawyers were generally unwilling to take the case. The Professorial Board subsequently retained J. McL. Young, a Melbourne barrister, later Chief Justice of Victoria.

The briefing and counter-briefing of counsel undoubtedly heightened the conflict. It was ironic that the University Council, after rejecting wage arbitration as inappropriate, should have set up an adversarial contest before the Commission. Perhaps they had no choice. The terms of reference covered virtually every aspect of University life, and specifically addressed the adequacy of Council's handling of the existing situation. Orr's open letter, moreover, roundly condemning the Council's 'apathy, neglect and maladministration' had left little room for compromise. It was thus not surprising that the legal representatives of the University Council were instructed to pull no punches in demolishing the evidence of representatives of the Professorial Board and Staff Association.

Hindsight suggests that cross-examination should have been left to Barber on behalf of the Commission. The internecine combat between academics and Councillors obscured the fact that the Tasmanian government was ultimately responsible for the condition of the University. Yet no minister was called to give evidence. Perhaps the most revealing cross-examination was that of Under-Treasurer K.J. Binns who explained the complexities of State and Federal finance in its Tasmanian context. After Barber's probing, Binns admitted that the federal Grants Commission system gave 'the Government of Tasmania a motive to be somewhat reluctant with the University'.¹ Money for the University, said Binns, could only come from a greater deficit, increased taxation or the reduction of other social services.² The Royal Commission ultimately rejected the claim that there was no finance available from the loan fund to rehouse the University, pointing to

the large sums paid for hydro-electric development.³ It omitted to mention, however, that Cosgrove, forced into undignified expedients to maintain power with a miniscule majority in the 1950s, could not obtain the requisite votes by expenditure on the University.

With no Cosgrove evidence, Morris as Chancellor and Hytten as Vice-Chancellor demonstrated the very considerable improvement in the University's condition since World War II. In another vivid description of the University conditions when he became Chancellor in 1944, Morris sounded like a radical academic: 'There were one-man departments, men who were starved — they could not do the research they wanted to, they could not give Honours courses, and they were reduced, as I say somewhere here, to lecturing hacks. In fact, we called it the University of Tasmania, but except for the character of those men (who carried it on their backs), you might have called it the Hobart High School. It was as poor as that.'⁴

If the Royal Commission did nothing else, it at least ensured that the bitter criticisms circulated by academics against the Council were properly aired, checked and answered. This might have brought the contestants together, but the confrontationist situation created more ill-feeling. With leading Council lawyers totally immersing themselves in the relevant minutes, representatives of the Staff Association and Professorial Board needed very good briefing indeed.

The case put by Gow for the Staff Association and Professorial Board was certainly comprehensive. Salaries, housing, leave, superannuation, the condition of the University, the interference of Council in academic decisions, especially the enforced lowering of matriculation standards, and the apparently authoritarian behaviour of the Chancellor were ventilated in detail with many submissions. Six senior professors demanded that Sir John Morris should act like a British figurehead chancellor, and not like the chairman of a board of directors. Snide remarks by Councillors who ridiculed study leave as 'a pleasure trip' or who dismissed the University itself as an unnecessary luxury were scrutinised. The problems of the Engineering Board of Management and the sharing of chemistry facilities between Technical College and University were seriously addressed. The editor of *Togatus* explained his special number; there were submissions from the Librarian for professorial status, and the Accountant for equality with the Registrar.

The first casualty of the Commission was that veteran of academic contention, Professor Albert Taylor. As president of the Staff Association he was required to present a log of complaints, largely the work of others, such as the Association secretary, historian Malcolm McRae, and endure the cross-examination of R.C. Wright. Taylor's claim that there had been continued dissatisfaction with University conditions for twenty-nine years proved impossible to sustain in the face of probing counsel. The Professor found himself unable to remember even the

facts about his own Department. As Chairman Walker commented, 'we have heard a lot about your memory or loss of memory today.'⁵ Walker was even more scathing towards the Acting Dean of Law, R.P. Roulston, apparently responsible for omitting a paragraph favourable to Council from a quoted Professorial Board resolution.⁶ Roulston's evidence, ruled the chairman, could be disregarded as evading 'candour or honesty'. Professor Carey, who admitted and defended the excision, fared somewhat better, though probed on apparent inconsistencies. Professor Firth excused a lapse of memory as 'an example of what can happen to an academic mind under cross-examination.'⁷ Orr, forced to document his 'maladministration' claim, was shocked when Wright bluntly accused him of plagiarising the lectures of Professor Boyce Gibson of Melbourne and required him to table his notes.⁸ So tough was the attack on academic competence and integrity that a special meeting of the Professorial Board was held in the presence of its counsel, Young. As Polya, one of the Commission witnesses, said, opponents of Council were examined like 'petty criminals'.⁹

Several members of Council put their case. Morris went painstakingly through all the contentious issues. He was unable to believe that there was anything seriously wrong with the University and defended his high profile role as analagous to the chairmanship of other governing bodies. He denied that the appointment of a permanent Vice-Chancellor made any difference to his responsibility.¹⁰ Morris also rejected claims that he overawed other Councillors. On the vexed issue of matriculation he was unrepentant. After a day and a half of cross-examination, Barber obtained evidence from Morris himself of an unusually activist conception of his duties.

An important issue of principle emerged. Members of the Professorial Board like Carey believed matriculation part of a degree: brilliant subsequent results did not justify easing standards. Morris totally disagreed, seeing matriculation as a mere preliminary.¹¹ Against this, Polya insisted that 'higher and broader matriculation standards would force the sub-academic schools to accept their proper duties: dissemination of *systematic knowledge* over a *wide range of subjects*, stimulation of *intellectual interests* and training to better *mental discipline* and other features of good working habits.' He believed 'the standards of academic teaching are based on matriculation standards.'¹² Others agreed that easing entry raised failure rates. The Government Geologist and sometime Councillor, Dr C. Loftus-Hills, considered that relaxed matriculation created 'a casual attitude' to first year study. Significantly, his insistence in Council that the weak Tasmanian school system was responsible for a recent doubling of the tertiary failure rate had been attacked by Premier Cosgrove himself,¹³ who diverted by questioning the University tutorial system and, that old favourite, non-compulsory lectures.¹⁴

Morris and other Councillors were more subtle than Cosgrove, but pointed in the same direction. To the Chancellor the real cleavage between Board and Council was that while everyone thought it a good thing for students to qualify with Mathematics and a foreign language, the Council was not prepared to hold back a candidate deficient in one. It would, Morris pointed out, be difficult to justify such exclusion in an institution dependent on the public purse.¹⁵ The community only grudgingly tolerated the University as a means to provide graduates for the professions. Parliament as the representative of the people opposed restrictive standards. Morris surprised the Commission by suggesting that the Council had to intervene to prevent Parliament laying down matriculation standards by legislation.¹⁶

Other Councillors displayed a similar desire to mediate the needs of the political community to the University, rather than pressing the requirements of the latter on the government. H.S. Baker, former Liberal leader, was sufficiently critical of the Cosgrove ministry to suggest that too much money was earmarked for hydro-electric development¹⁷, but, like Morris, insisted that the public finance involved made it impossible to leave matriculation to the Professorial Board. In general, Baker felt that the Board should control academic matters, but opposed any definition of them.¹⁸ Salaries, moreover, should be assessed according to the availability of finance.¹⁹ Noel Kirby of the Electrolytic Zinc Company did not want a blank cheque given to the Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee to decide Tasmanian academic salaries.²⁰ He insisted, in fact, that teachers and lecturers 'should all work for the love of the work and not for the reward.'²¹ Harold Solomon saw nothing wrong in Tasmanian salaries being lower than those of the mainland and advocated the 'Young Men' theory by which bright academics would come briefly to Tasmania for experience before moving elsewhere. He feared a public outcry if the University were granted too much money.²² Chairman Walker saw Morris and Solomon defining their role as seeking what money could be justified in comparison with the government's other social expenditure, sub-tertiary education in particular.²³ As E.H. Barber pointed out in his summing up, there was a clear distinction between those who believed it the Council's duty to recommend adequate salaries for the government to implement, and the view of Solomon and Baker that the Council should limit its requests for fear of antagonising government and community.²⁴ It was well that such divergences be brought into public debate, especially as most Councillors claimed that they had been totally unprepared for the outburst of October 1954. Justice Malcolm Peter Crisp, for example, was completely unaware of the appalling student conditions until the *Togatus* editor, John Richard Clark, was in that month permitted to address Council.²⁵

In its concluding sessions the Commission heard from Professor Wilkinson and some of the opponents of his building scheme. Even

at this late hour submissions from the Hobart City Council and the Tasmanian Chapter of the Royal Institute of Architects demanded the new University, not at Sandy Bay, but at an extended site on the Domain.²⁶ Such persistent antagonism helps to explain the reluctance of politicians and University Councillors to force on the building programme.

BARBER GIVES A BALANCED SURVEY

Academics, Councillors and other interested parties had now endured a grilling on their attitudes and actions which left many seriously bruised. Albert Taylor's health soon broke down and he resigned both his Staff Association presidency and his chair.²⁷ The rival counsel finally addressed the Commission. Young, for the Board, complained of Council tactics before the Commission, instancing the attempts to discredit witnesses and in particular the insult to Orr. Gow and Wright followed, the latter claiming that as nothing had been proved against the Council there was no case for altering its constitution. Barber's address balanced the conflicting claims of Young and Wright before turning to the three areas under review, University organisation, staff, and buildings. Barber recommended that the moribund Senate, shorn of its veto over Council statutes, be revived as a Convocation. Council itself needed considerable reorganisation to give it a broader base. Though many of the criticisms of Council were exaggerated, Barber maintained that it must bear much responsibility for the current academic breakdown. Barber also wanted the demarcation of academic matters for prior determination by the Professorial Board, but insisted that Council should always have the last word. On the Chancellor, Barber again dismissed the evidence of arbitrary behaviour, but argued that the Chancellor's own statement of his functions suggested more the role of a modern Vice-Chancellor. Without being an impressive cipher, a modern Chancellor should be a chairman and facilitator rather than an executive leader. Barber accepted the general view that Hytten and Morris could profitably have changed places. Hytten was criticised for sins of omission rather than commission.

Regarding the staff, despite the atrocious physical conditions, Barber maintained that the available evidence indicated that little was wrong with the actual teaching. Appointment contracts were clearly inadequate, as was the haphazard promotions system. Barber also considered the lack of housing for new staff a very serious defect. On salaries, now approaching the mainland level, the Commission's counsel was cautious, while inclining to the view that Council, despite Tasmania's low wages, should press the government for adequate salaries. He saw no objection to arbitration, despite Wright's insistence

on behalf of Council that it established an employer-employee relationship and deprived academics of 'intellectual freedom and independence'.²⁸ The Royal Commission Report was less sympathetic to arbitration but, contrary to the views of many Councillors, insisted that Tasmanian salaries keep pace with the smaller mainland states and asserted the Council's duty to press the government for adequate salaries regardless of current finances.²⁹ The Commission also agreed with Barber's firm repudiation of salary discrimination against women, despite the pretext that women live more cheaply than men. Barber thus reinforced Dr Curtis's description of the 'blank horror and amazement' expressed by American academics on hearing of the Tasmanian women's salary differential.³⁰

On study leave Barber could find no clear evidence of meanness by the Council. He accepted that Councillors like H.S. Baker might be tetchy because of the failure of academics to provide adequate reports of their work overseas. Barber also agreed with Wright that provisions for superannuation and invalidity were now satisfactory.

Barber was more controversial on the vital issue of buildings and the move to Sandy Bay. He ridiculed Wright's contention that the University had no money as equivalent to the argument 'of the man who, being charged with neglecting his family, claims that he has no money because he does not work for it, or because he does not collect his debts.' Barber virtually accepted as valid the much reviled argument in the November 1954 *Togatus* that £369,360 had been allocated to the University but never used.

Barber concluded with a plea for unity to restore the University. Most ironically in the light of subsequent events, he quoted Professor Orr's belief that such unity might make Tasmania the St Andrews of the South.³¹

RECEPTION OF THE COMMISSION REPORT

The three commissioners followed Barber very closely in writing their report, though sometimes differing in detail. They presented an articulated plan for remodelling the Senate as Convocation, and the Council to widen its base. A standing committee with a suspensory veto was suggested for Convocation; recommendations were made for reducing Convocation's representation on Council to four, for including a sub-professorial representative in the academic membership of three, with the Chairman of the Professorial Board an *ex officio* Councillor, for including a voting graduate representing the students, and for adding, through the Governor-in-Council, representatives of vocational groups and the north. Reorganised committees were also proposed.

The Commission wished to see the Professorial Board restricted to full professors and become the final authority on examinations and awards.³² As for the cumbersome Engineering Board of Management, despite Professor Kurth's willingness to continue the separation of Chemistry from the rest of the University and remain linked with technical education at Bathurst Street, the Commission insisted that Chemistry must be located at Sandy Bay as an ordinary department. The Engineering Board of Management, the Commission felt, should be abolished.

On the positions of Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, the Commission approximated Barber's recommendation for a non-executive Chancellor who was something more than a cipher. The difficulties of a Vice-Chancellor sandwiched between Professorial Board and Council were appreciated, but the Commission asserted that 'Universities of the highest quality have survived and continue to exist without Council; they cannot even exist without academic men.'³³ After Hytten's imminent retirement, the Commission recommended a selection committee containing both academics and non-academics. As for Hytten himself, the Commission referred to his lack of experience of large universities and regretted, like Barber and Young, his failure to take an independent line between Board and Council.³⁴

Regarding teaching and research the Commission emphasised the necessity of attracting the best staff with good facilities as well as adequate salaries. The Library 'is the real heart of the University' as teaching and research alike 'depend upon it for their life-blood'. The Commission insisted that, despite recent improvements, the University of Tasmania Library was still 'totally inadequate'. A number of recommendations were made for remedying the situation, including a high-powered Library Committee and the raising of the Librarian to the status and remuneration of a professor. Adequate laboratory conditions were also seen as essential. In all subjects, 'research is a fundamental part of University life; it differentiates tertiary education from secondary and some forms of Technical College teaching; its support is essential.'³⁵

The Commission advocated a coherent system for staff appointment and promotion. As noted, it differed from Council in the raising of salaries. On sabbaticals, the Commission emphasised that 'the staff members of a small and somewhat isolated University have a particular need of regular study leave to enable them to further their own researches, renew contacts with scholars overseas, bring themselves up to date with the latest developments in their own field and give themselves the mental refreshment which will prevent their teaching from becoming stale and uninspired.'³⁶ Elsewhere the Report spoke sympathetically of the problem of Arts research 'in a country so isolated from the old world.'³⁷ As University assistance it suggested the cost of return fares for academics without other funding.

The Commission recommended a number of schemes for staff housing, at least for new staff. This was justified according to the Chancellor's insistence that the University expected 'the whole of his life' from an academic. The staff, moreover, should have part of the new Students' Union as their common room. The students themselves needed more responsibility to encourage them to break with the now archaic practice of ragging at degree ceremonies. The new union should therefore be controlled by the students. The Commission also emphasised that the enlarged modern students' union was increasingly becoming a substitute for the type of collegiate apprenticeship beloved by Cardinal Newman and Associate Professor Polya. So far, this type of union had been non-existent in Tasmania.

Finally, the Commission dealt at length with the finances of academic impoverishment and why at Sandy Bay 'not a single brick of the University's permanent structures has yet been laid; the ovals have not yet been started, and construction of the essential drain has only recently been begun.' Like Barber it refused to exonerate the Council, questioning whether the 'full strength of the University's case' had been put to the government with 'the active support of Council members'. It cited Councillors who denied that it was Council's duty to obtain as much as possible for the University rather than what could be justified in terms of the government's other priorities, especially in school education. The Commission, given the very considerable government expenditure on hydro-electricity and other forms of education, denied that the delay was caused by financial problems. It recommended immediate action, the general scapping of the Wilkinson Plan, but the retention of a Wilkinson-style 'closed campus', which would encourage a corporate life, an end to temporary buildings, and an enlarged panel of architects.

Though the Commission had criticised all parties to the dispute including professors 'inured to present conditions' and a Staff Association driven by frustration to unwise measures, as well as a Chancellor and Councillors who had mistaken their functions, it concluded on a positive note. There was little wrong that could not be put right in a few years with co-operation. As Professor Trendall subsequently pointed out, the Commission could have said more but was bending over backwards to be conciliatory and pour oil on ruffled waters. It hoped Council would accept the recommendations as a 'package deal'.³⁸

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

Co-operation was easier to seek than obtain. Though the staff and students had not been very successful in establishing the validity of their individual complaints against the Council, the final report came

out very much in their favour. The Staff Association, the Professorial Board, and the SRC demanded implementation of the Report in full, while *Togatus* rejoiced that all the student demands had been endorsed. Only occasional academic critics, like Professor Charles Hardie of Education, complained that the Report was based on an outdated and unacceptable model of academic organisation which would enable excessive government intervention. The initial triumphalism of the students and staff may have stiffened the resolve of the Council and government to drag their feet over reform.³⁹

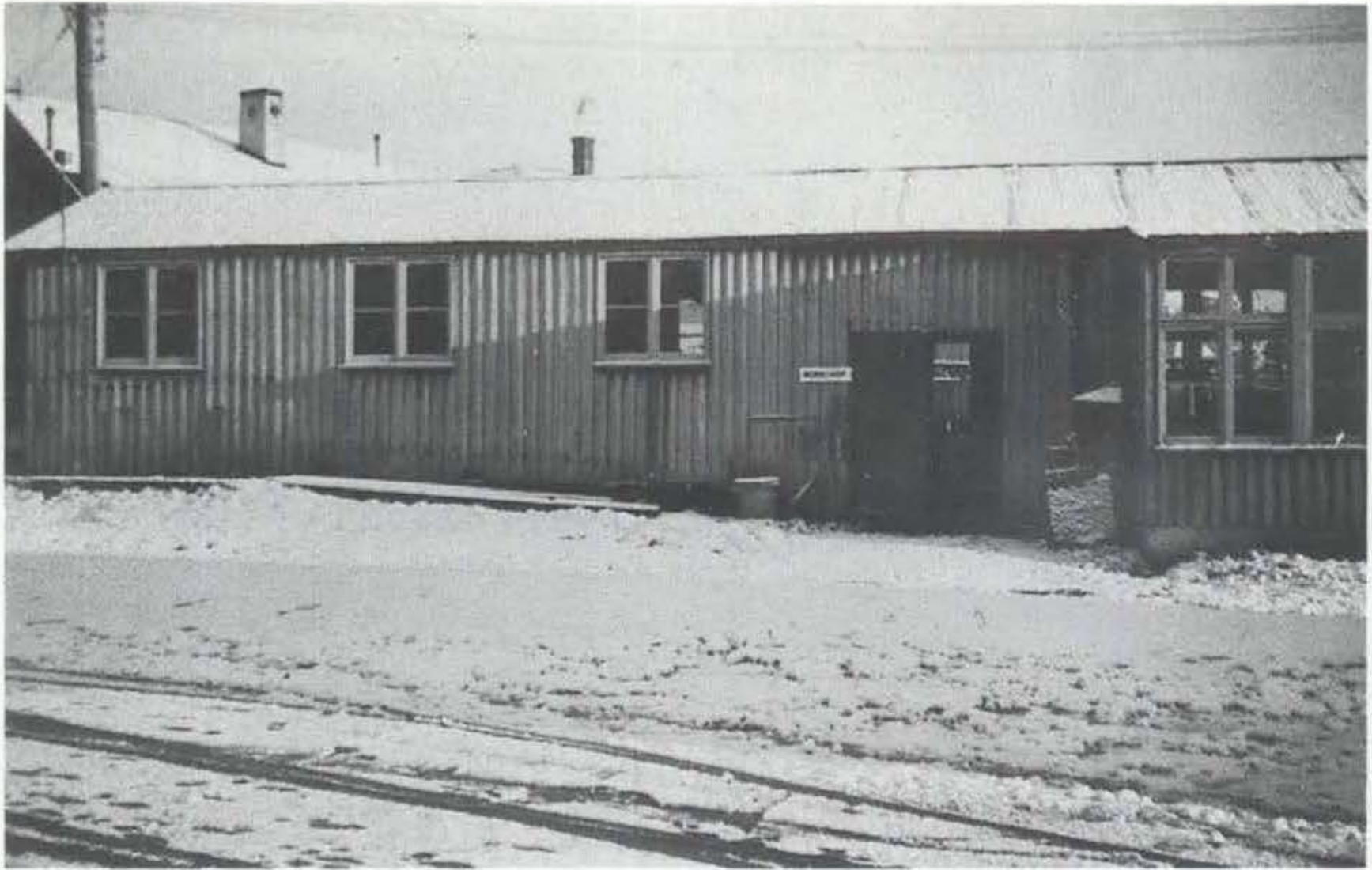
Members of Cosgrove's ministry and the leading University administrators soon realised that the Report, far from being an unalterable blueprint, or 'Delphic oracle', for the future, was basically a set of generalised recommendations which required the co-operation of the very people criticised. To say that the government should have spent more money on the University in the past was no guarantee that it would vote abundant funds in the future. Acting-Premier Fagan played down the Report on its publication by claiming that it indicated that little was amiss. While promising to consider the recommendations he demonstrated that there was no chance of the Report being implemented *in toto*. Councillor H.S. Baker complained that it had been compiled by men living in ivory towers, while true administrators had to deal in the real political world. Another Councillor, the future Chief Justice Stanley Burbury, insisted that as the Report was not legally binding Councillors need not abandon their own opinions.⁴⁰

Staff counted on the early establishment of a reformed Council. But the attitude of government and Council made this unlikely. Nor did the chief officers melt away. Sir John Morris showed every indication of remaining indefinitely as Chancellor. Professor Polya's motion in the Professorial Board for proceeding to the appointment of a new Vice-Chancellor in place of Hytten, whose failure had been documented by the Royal Commission, received no support. Hytten was not finished yet.

The immediate result of the Royal Commission Report was to stimulate another round of the old conflict. The Staff Association and Professorial Board challenged the Council, which had been the chief object of the Commissioners' scrutiny. Fagan assured Council that as legislation to implement relevant aspects of the *Report* would not be introduced for six months, it should not see itself as a mere caretaker. The prospects of the 'package deal' faded. Council duly set up committees to consider new legislation and administrative changes. These committees contained Professors Carey, Elliott and Pitman.⁴¹ The legislation committee accepted many of the Commission's recommendations for the restructured Convocation and Council, but rejected the notion of sectional representation on the Council and demanded that the retirement of the present Council be staggered.⁴²

The Board was concerned that Council had not adopted the Report's recommendations on the reconstitution of Council, the recognition of the Professorial Board, the division between academic and non-academic matters, internal adjustments such as the final decision on examinations and awards by the Board, and the suggested widening of the staff and establishments committee to include the deans and the new sub-professorial representative on Council. A staff petition for such implementation was signed by 10 Professors, 2 Associate Professors and 48 sub-professorial staff. K. Buckley, secretary of the Federal Council of University Staff Associations of Australia (FCUSA), expressed concern to Tasmanian MPs in September at the Council advice not to implement the Report on the election of government nominees by Parliament and the early retirement of the present Council.⁴³ Backed by the Staff Association and the students,⁴⁴ the Professorial Board, to the irritation of Council, unprecedentedly appealed directly to Parliament to implement the Report and legally recognise the Board.⁴⁵ The Board informed Council that it 'deplores the refusal of Council to implement the recommendations' of the Report.⁴⁶ It was of no avail. In October, however, the government decided to accept the staggering of Council retirements and at the same time positively refused to pay the costs of counsel for Board or Staff Association at the Royal Commission.

Another crisis as virulent as that of the previous year had now blown up. *Togatus's* headlines screamed, 'COUNCIL MUST GO'.⁴⁷ Working energetically to raise money for the new union building at Sandy Bay, student activists were disgusted to find the Vice-Chancellor, despite the recommendation of the Royal Commission, still negotiating with the government for temporary buildings at Sandy Bay. The staff attempted direct negotiation with the government, and was backed by the Federal Council of University Staff Associations. Sixty members of the Staff Association signed an appeal to the Minister for Education in favour of full implementation of the Commission's Report. Tempers rose. A projected staff march in academic regalia to Parliament House was abandoned, the *Mercury* sneering that 'public reaction to such a demonstration is best left to the imagination.' The Royal Commission, it argued with some plausibility, had intended to improve relations between Council and staff but had achieved the reverse.⁴⁸ There were signs of division in staff ranks. The Staff Association executive, now headed by Botany's Professor Newton Barber, turned down a draft from its publicity committee demanding the retirement of the Chancellor. Three leading Professors, Pitman, Carey and Elliott, had been bound by the Council decision not to implement the Report in full. Many other academics had little stomach to continue the fight. Some may have been frightened by talk, emanating originally from the Anglican Bishop, that some of the academic troublemakers would have to go.



39. Physics Department workshop

40. Physics Department staff in 1951. Professor A. L. McAulay and Dr F. D. Cruickshank, Associate Professor, are seated on the steps, below the 'Lecture Theatre' sign, with Lecturers Dr A. G. Fenton and B. Scott to their right



41. Allan Sydney Preshaw, Registrar. Apart from three years of war service (1940-43), Preshaw served from May 1933 to June 1964



42. Geology Department staff, during a 1950 research excursion to investigate Precambrian lavas at City of Melbourne Bay, King Island. Dr Max Banks, on left, Beryl Scott, later Professor Nashar of University of Newcastle, second left, Professor S. Warren Carey, with hat, centre, and with hosts Mr and Mrs Skipworth, far right, Edith Smith, Geology graduate





43. The Royal Commission on the administration of the University, at its opening session, Tuesday 22 February 1955; (l. to r.) Professor A. D. Trendall, Mr Justice Walker, Chairman, Professor J. S. Turner (*Mercury* photo)

44. Professor Sydney Sparkes Orr, central figure in the stormy Orr case, leaves the High Court of Australia building, 22 May 1957 (*Mercury* photo)



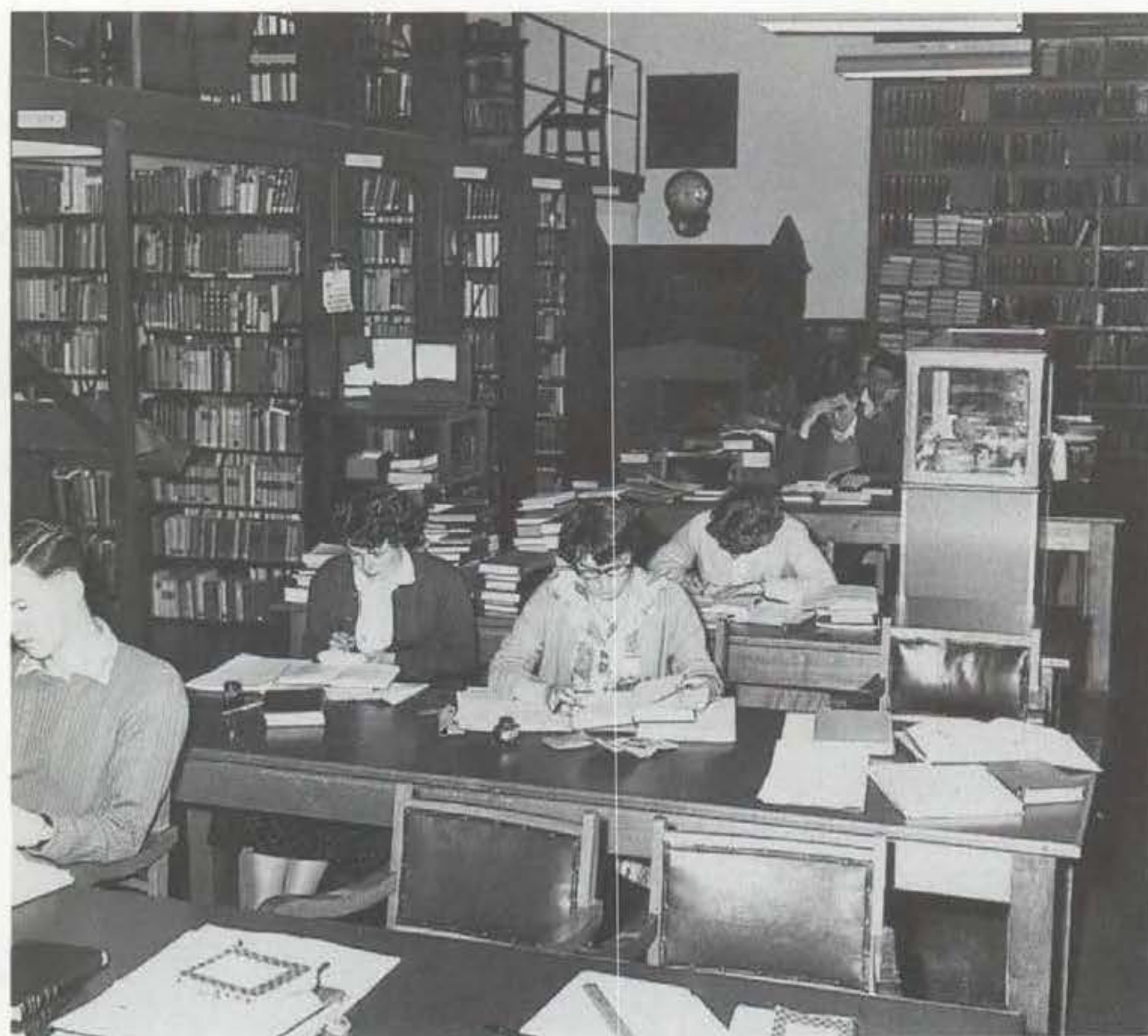
45. Professor Keith Sydney Isles, Vice-Chancellor, 1 July 1957 to 31 December 1967, talks to students attending Orientation lectures, 1959

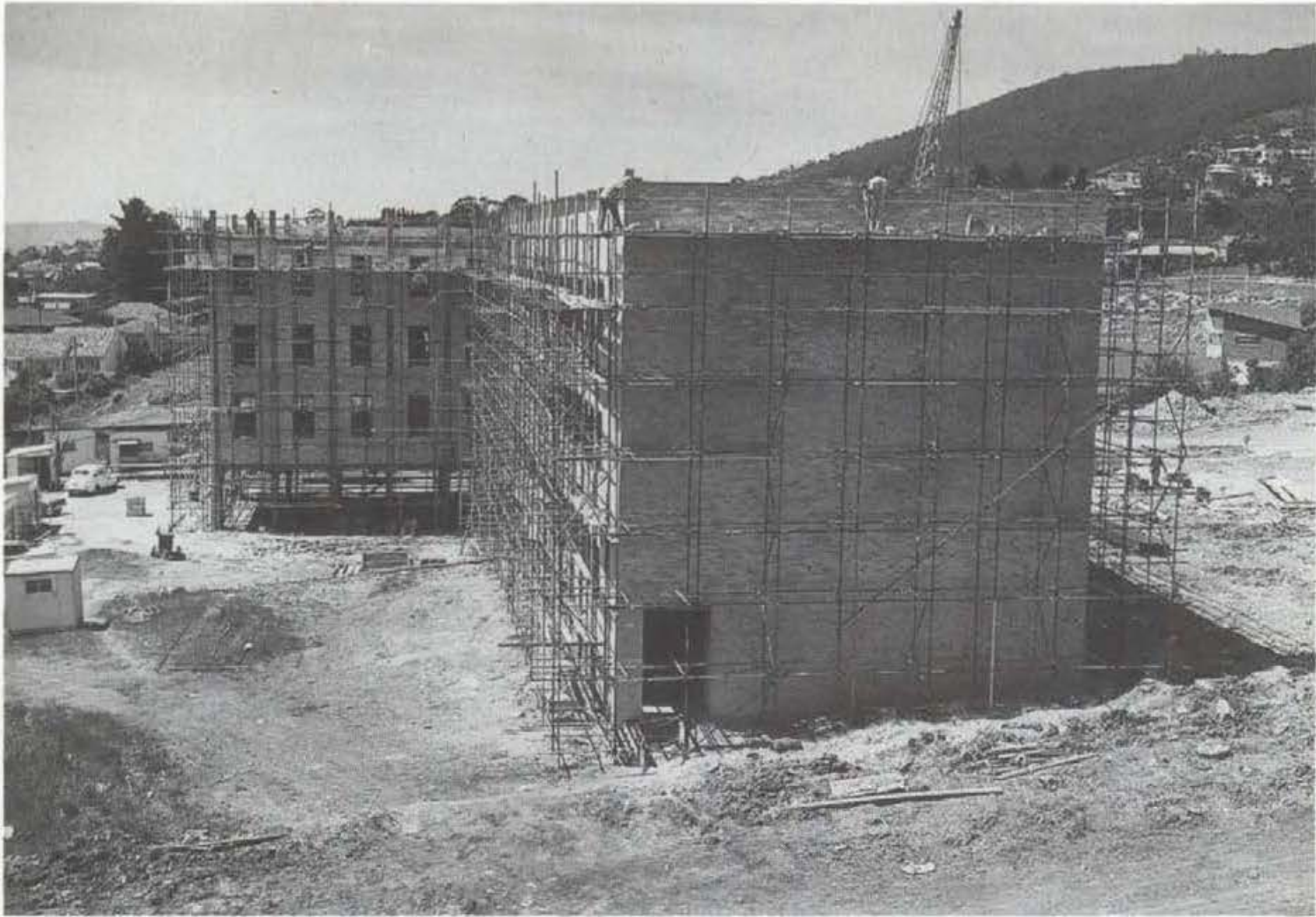


46. Loans Desk at the Library, Domain campus, with the University Librarian Dietrich Hans Borchardt (to right). Borchardt served from 1953 to March 1965



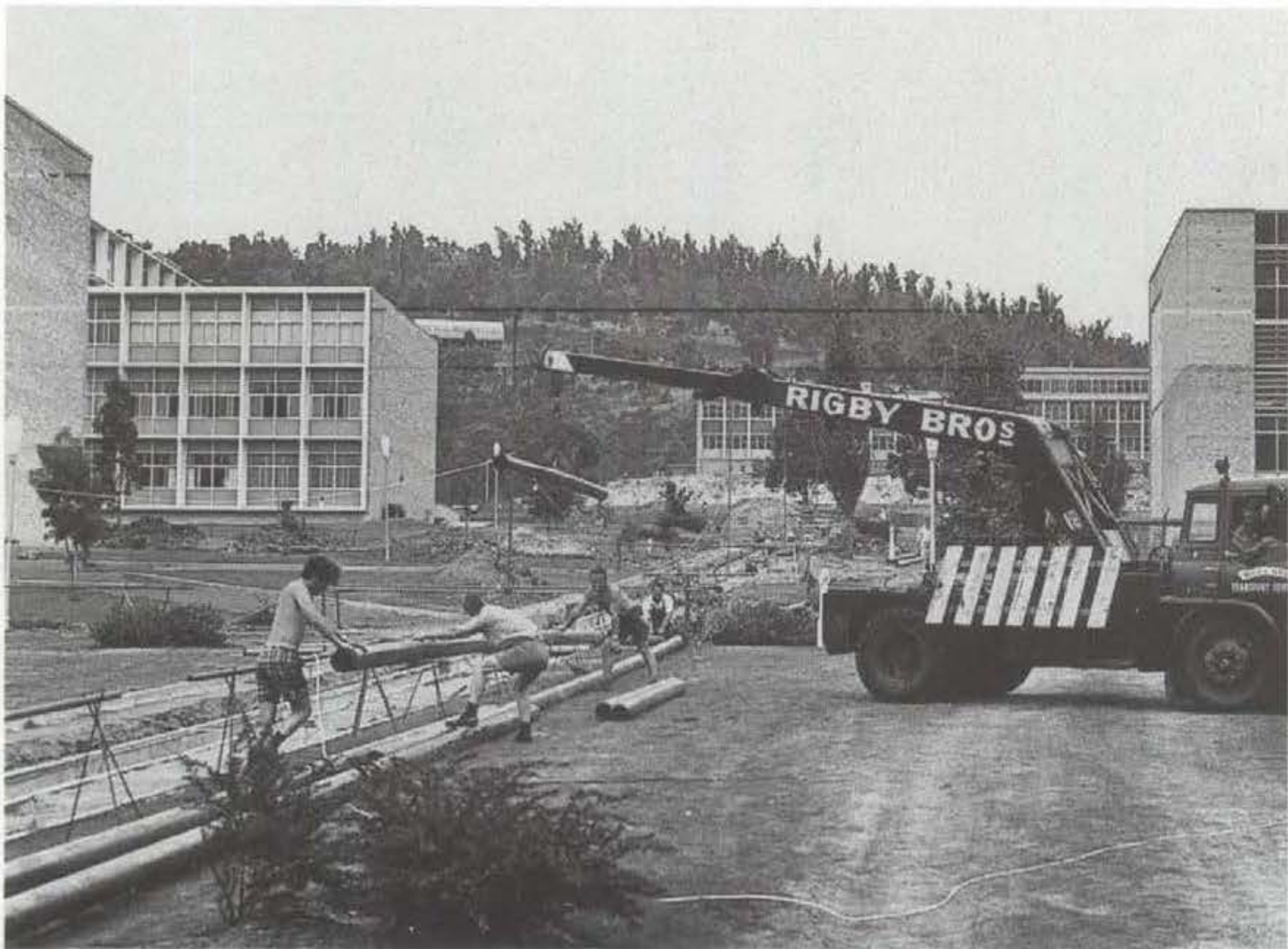
47. Domain Library reading room, November 1960





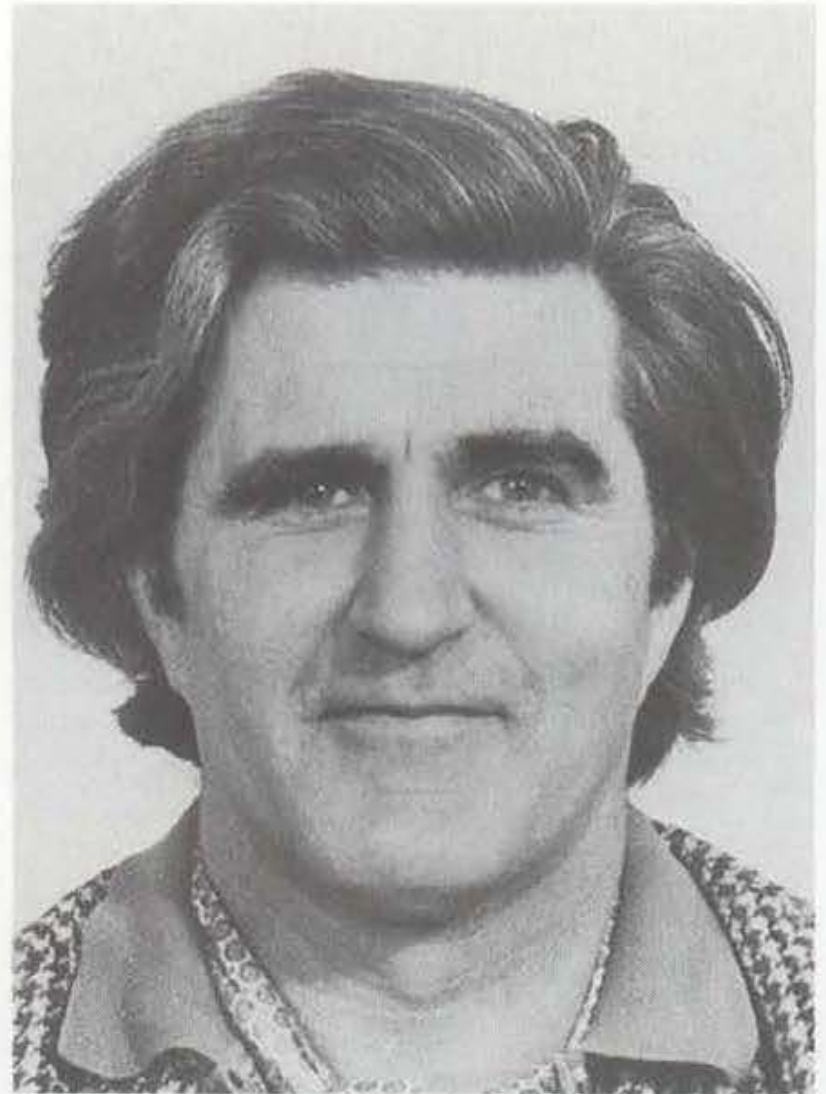
48. Physics building under construction, Sandy Bay

49. Installation of campus drainage. The Arts building is to the left and the Library, with its second stage completed, to the right





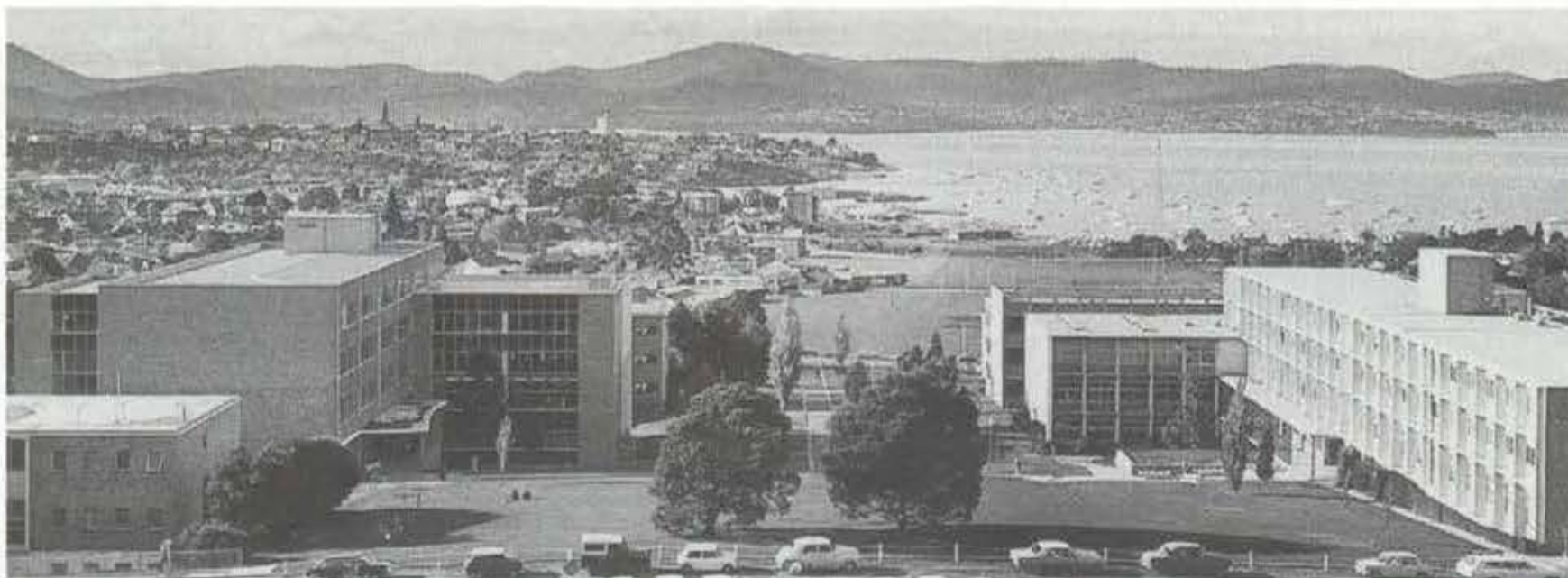
50. George Wilson, Senior Lecturer in History and a notable Warden of Hytten Hall



51. Malcolm McRae, Staff Association Secretary during the Royal Commission, later Reader in History

52. Dr Eric Guiler of Zoology (right) with Bob Green, marking swan's eggs at Moulting Lagoon, East Coast, August 1960





53. The Sandy Bay campus, with Battery Point and the Derwent River beyond, 1972

54. The campus from the air, before the erection of the University Centre and the Arts building extension



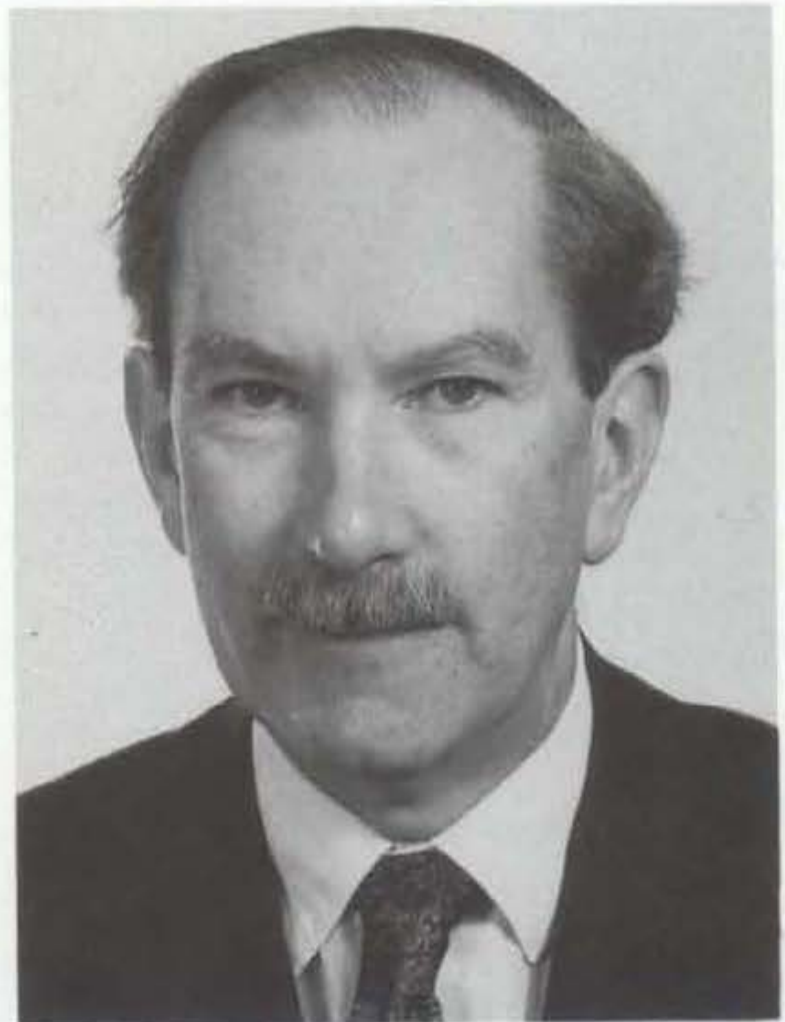


55. Two Vice-Chancellors, Sir George Cartland (1968-77), standing, and Professor David Caro (1978-82), seated to his right, at the ceremony awarding Sir George the honorary degree of LLD, 1978

56. Sir John Cameron, Deputy Chancellor, 1964-72, Chancellor, 1973-81



57. Professor Peter Scott of Geography, 1956-82, and first occupant of the position of Pro Vice-Chancellor, 1972-74, 1979-82



Professor Orr, still active in attempting to implement the Report, was so disgusted by its irresolution that he tried to resign from the Staff Association. Meanwhile the government's amendment to the University Act passed through Parliament in November.

THE ORR CASE

Opening Moves

In October 1955, as tense as the preceding October, Orr heard rumours about himself of sexual improprieties with female students and talk of a previous liaison in Melbourne.⁴⁹ Hytten had learnt of the latter during the Royal Commission. At the same time the Vice-Chancellor asked W.A. Townsley, a History lecturer, soon to become Professor of Political Science, to provide a written report of a dispute with Orr in 1954. Townsley, after further prompting, complied in September 1955. When the Royal Commission adjourned, Orr asked Hytten to discipline his sole Philosophy lecturer, Dr K. Milanov, subsequently informing the Vice-Chancellor that the problem had been resolved. Hytten later admitted keeping a dossier on Orr for future use.⁵⁰ Towards the end of November, one of Orr's students, Edwin Tanner, an engineer and artist of note, complained to Hytten that Orr had importuned his free assistance in decorating Orr's new house and had marked him down in his examination. Though Orr made a full reply to Tanner's charges, Hytten brought the Townsley, Milanov and Tanner cases before Council on 16 December and was empowered to investigate the accusations with the assistance of professors of his own choice. Chancellor Morris opposed this decision. The Tanner complaints merited no action, he argued, while the others should have been settled when they occurred. Morris's fairness towards a leading academic opponent shows undoubted magnanimity and suggests that had he not died suddenly in mid-1956 some of the subsequent trauma of the Orr case might have been averted.

In January and February 1956 Hytten held some meetings with Pitman, Carey, Elliott and Barber, but Orr was not summoned and his legal adviser Dr Gow was refused the detailed allegations. On Gow's advice, Orr issued, but did not serve, defamation writs against Townsley, Carey, Pitman and Elliott. He claimed not to know that these men, to whom he attributed the whispering campaign against him, had been chosen for the investigatory committee. On 26 February Reginald Kemp, a timber merchant, was informed that his daughter Suzanne, a Philosophy student, was having an affair with Orr. He visited the Professor's house and assaulted him. Orr threatened legal action. Kemp, after seeing Hytten, despite the advice of his own solicitor and Professor

Carey that publicity would tarnish the family name, accepted the Vice-Chancellor's suggestion that he put his complaint to a special meeting of Council on 2 March.

Orr meanwhile submitted his resignation, not he claimed as a confession of guilt, but to save his family from public exposure of the Melbourne liaison. After Kemp had been allowed to address the Council at some length on his daughter's seduction, Orr's resignation was refused; he was suspended from duty and required to face investigatory committees, not only on the Kemp charge, but also on the Townsley-Milanov-Tanner complaints. Orr was refused legal representation in the investigation, and denied transcripts of the proceedings. On the advice of his new counsel, W.C. Hodgman, QC, later president of the Tasmanian Legislative Council, Orr did not present evidence in denial of the Kemp charges. He did, however, question the student and her father. As Orr was barred from the University before the investigation, he could not contact possible student witnesses. The Kemp committee was chaired by Henry Baker and contained five other Councillors, including Pitman and Hytten. It concluded that Miss Kemp was correct in her statement that, beginning in early July 1955, she had had intercourse with Orr on a number of occasions. When the other committee reported Orr guilty of conduct unfit for a professor, Council, without circulating the reports of the committees of investigation, summarily dismissed Orr at its meeting of 16 March. Only the new student representative, Peter McManus, dissented.⁵¹

The Case Develops

When S.S. Orr received a curt note from the Registrar on 17 March 1955 informing him that his services were terminated from that day, few realised how serious the Council's error of judgement would prove. Regardless of Orr's guilt or innocence on the Kemp charges, it is difficult to believe that another academic, who had played no part in the Royal Commission dispute, would have had his resignation rejected in similar circumstances. Summary dismissal can only be interpreted as pure vindictiveness or a final assertion, contrary to the Royal Commission findings, that academics were indeed the servants of Council. Acceptance of Orr's resignation would have removed what many Councillors considered a dangerous trouble-maker and would to a considerable extent have discredited his cause. Miss Kemp's name need never have been publicised. Even with six months notice and salary Orr would have found it difficult to obtain another job. Summarily ejected, Orr had no option but to fight back with a lawsuit for wrongful dismissal, though it was apparently calculated that without salary he would be unable to pay legal costs. W.H.C. Eddy, in his monumental book on the case, argues strongly for an anti-Orr conspiracy. There is no doubt

that Orr's enemies were determined to crush him if they could find evidence against him; whether any of that evidence was fraudulently concocted has not been proved.⁵²

The extent of anti-Orr feeling was demonstrated during the Royal Commission when the Council's legal advisers accused him of plagiarism. Colleagues and the lawyer Esler Barber warned him to be particularly careful in all his actions. Though he denied sexual intercourse, Orr admitted to driving Miss Kemp about Hobart at night in his car, even for a lengthy discourse at Bellerive. To Orr's friends, he 'played with fire' regardless of advice. Indeed the belief that Orr had 'endangered the gains made by the progressive minority of the staff' through 'downright foolishness'⁵³ helps to explain why, immediately after the dismissal, which rendered the University of Tasmania an academic pariah for a decade, there was so little staff reaction. A group of about fifteen academics formed a 'Dining Club' for mutual protection after the Royal Commission. It met in places like the Waratah Hotel. Before becoming a somewhat exclusive set, the Dining Club was mainly concerned with the Orr case. Amongst staff in general, Orr supporters were always a minority, estimated by one at twenty-five per cent. The Professorial Board, briefly incensed that W.A. Townsley had been appointed Professor of Political Science without advertisement, made no comment on Orr's dismissal. The Staff Association, though required by FCUSA to report on the case, rejected a motion by historian George Wilson, himself concerned at Orr's indiscretion, that Orr's litigation against the University involved important matters of academic principle.⁵⁴ One of the first signs of dissent appeared in *Togatus* which insisted that it was outrageous for the University to invite applicants for Orr's chair before the latter had tested the validity of his dismissal in the courts. On the Professorial Board's advice Council deferred advertisement.⁵⁵

The nature of the Kemp charges made it difficult to see the true principles at issue. R.H. Thorp and K. Buckley, 1958 president and secretary of FCUSA respectively, later defined them as whether, first, the charges were 'fairly tested and proved', and, second, whether the summary dismissal was warranted. In the 1950s it was generally agreed, as much by Orr himself and FCUSA as by members of the University Council, that a professor who had intercourse with a student could not retain his academic post.⁵⁶ This applied even where the student was a willing and even initiating party. Only rare individuals, like Professor John Anderson of Sydney, doyen of Australian philosophers, and to some extent Morris Miller, were prepared then to maintain publicly that there was no evidence that sexual relations between a professor and student 'would affect a professor's academic integrity.'⁵⁷ Anderson thus approached the more modern view that, unless there is sexual harassment, intimate relations between staff and students are

a private matter. Morris Miller, however, supported Orr on the solemn understanding that there had been no liaison with Miss Kemp.

Given the attitudes of the 1950s, it is easy to see why the Kemp charges made initial defence of Orr difficult. The issue for many was reduced to one of simple fact, Orr's word against Miss Kemp's. In such matters it is easier to believe a young girl than a middle-aged academic, especially if, for any reason, the latter is disliked. Orr, moreover, was known to have had an extramarital affair in Melbourne. By a reasoning, akin to that denounced by feminists in some rape cases, the guilt of a proven 'immoral man' was assumed on a seduction charge. Orr could thus be comfortably adjudged worthy of dismissal. Neither the nature of the investigation, nor the harshness of the punishment could make much impact on those convinced that Orr had received his just deserts.

Orr had no option but to submit his case to the courts. In the meantime he found temporary work mixing paints for Claudio Alcorso's Silk and Textiles factory at £14 per week to keep his wife and three children.⁵⁸ This was the first of several temporary jobs before Orr was forced to rely on the dole. To fight his legal battles he was compelled to borrow and seek donations from supporters. In September, 162 students signed a petition against Hytten who banned a meeting of the Socratic Society which had invited its sacked founder to speak.⁵⁹ But Hytten's term was coming to an end. The new Vice-Chancellor was Keith Isles, a Tasmanian, ironically Professor of Economics at Orr's alma mater, Queen's University, Belfast. Isles was assured on accepting appointment that the Orr case was well and truly finished; he was to discover on arrival that it was only in its early stages and that much of the responsibility was vested in him. The inevitable retirement of Hytten was balanced by the sudden death in July of the still youthful Sir John Morris. Rumours suggested that his health had been undermined by the opposition of Orr and other academics. Despite criticism of his attitude to academic government, Morris had been in a number of ways an excellent Chancellor, who had fought hard for improved conditions and the establishment of a modern University at Sandy Bay. It was poetic justice that he should be spared the turmoil of the Orr case, having taken a sensible line on the initial charges and being absent from Council when the fateful decision was made to refuse Orr's resignation. Sadly *Togatus* noticed Sir John's passing without a single word of praise. Morris Miller was approached to stand as Chancellor, but considered himself too old at seventy-five. As Miller was convinced of Orr's innocence on the Kemp charges, his acceptance of office might have saved the University some embarrassment. Henry Baker, a firm believer in the rectitude of Orr's dismissal, was, however, chosen as a compromise. On him devolved the full rigours of the Orr case.

The Courts Decide

Orr's case against the University for wrongful dismissal was heard by Mr Justice Kenneth Green between 16 October and 20 November 1956. Green had formerly acted as counsel for the University when Preshaw contested Hytten's appointment. Esler Barber later regretted that he had not challenged the propriety of Green presiding over the case. He also regretted that he had not opted for a jury, fearing at the time that the irrelevant 'Melbourne story' would create prejudice against his client.⁶⁰ In perspective the contest appears less important as the effort of an individual to clear his name than as a second round to the confrontation between academics and University Council before the 1955 Royal Commission. The University was represented by the same counsel, Wright and Everett, as had appeared for the Council in the earlier enquiry. Orr was represented by Hodgman led by Barber, counsel assisting the Royal Commission of 1955. Exchanges between Barber and Wright in 1955 had demonstrated some tension between the two lawyers.

Before the case opened the University Council made a second error of judgement. Barber persuaded Orr to accept a compromise by which the summary dismissal would be revoked and the contractual six months notice and salary were given instead. Orr agreed only when persuaded that the highly divisive litigation would set back the University a decade. Council, however, rejected the offer.⁶¹ The ultimate issue was not Orr's relations with Miss Kemp but whether a university Professor was a 'servant' who could be dismissed summarily or a contractual agent who required six months notice.

The court proceedings produced twelve folders of transcripts as all the major figures in the saga were cross-examined in detail. In his evidence Orr continued to deny sexual intercourse with Miss Kemp. The latter, despite Barber's lengthy cross-examination, maintained her insistence that intercourse had occurred on a number of occasions. Only one of these was backed by supporting evidence. On this occasion, however, Orr was proved to be in Melbourne. Evidence not previously available was produced, such as Miss Kemp's diary and an emotional letter written by her to Orr from Orford. The Tanner-Milanov-Townsley accusations were also dealt with in detail. A mass of information on a variety of incidents was presented to the court. Basically, the issue was still the credibility of Orr versus Miss Kemp. Despite Barber's efforts to prove the latter an unreliable witness, Green's judgement found her truthful and Orr less convincing. The Tanner-Milanov-Townsley incidents were dismissed as insufficient justification of summary dismissal, but as Eddy argues, the evidence, such as that of Milanov on psychoanalytic sessions with Orr, created the atmosphere which

made Miss Kemp's charges credible. Barber's determined efforts to prevent drafts of Orr's dreams, retained by Milanov, being used in evidence failed.⁶²

But Green's judgement had an additional sting in the tail. Barber had maintained that, regardless of the factual evidence, Orr could not be summarily dismissed as his contract was for services as a lecturer and a researcher, not personal service according to the dictates of an employer. While not convinced that the University committees of enquiry had been in accordance with the statutes, Green decided that the University did have power to dismiss its 'servants' summarily. Thus the old issue, fought since the days of Raamsdonk, appeared to have been finally settled in favour of Council, despite all the efforts of the Royal Commission. Council's refusal of Barber's compromise, which skirted the 'service' definition, appeared vindicated. R.C. Wright had apparently turned the tables on his rival, Barber. As *Togatus* put it graphically, University staff were shown to have as much security of tenure as a ' "gut-runner" at the abattoirs'. After many years on the Supreme Court Bench of Victoria, Sir Esler Barber was convinced that no Victorian court would have handed down Justice Green's findings in 1956.⁶³

Orr appealed to the High Court of Australia against the judgement. Before the appeal was heard, Barber was appointed a judge of the Victorian County Court. It is doubtful if his presence would have made any difference. Deliberating from 20 May 1957, the High Court on the 23rd threw out Orr's appeal. It refused to challenge Green's view that Orr had capitalised on Miss Kemp's 'turbulent eroticism'. The High Court considered that 'there can be little doubt that she was eager to initiate an intimate personal relationship with the appellant, but there is not the slightest doubt, upon the facts as found, that the appellant, having observed her feelings, became only too ready to take advantage of them and seduce her.'⁶⁴ The £9,000 costs were contributed by friends in Belfast, British and mainland Australian academics as well as individual Tasmanian staff. The eminent British philosopher, Bertrand Russell, himself dismissed from academic posts in England and the United States for his political and sexual views, responded to the appeal. The Tasmanian Staff Association, on Elliott's motion, declined, 15-11, to contribute to Orr's appeal, though other Associations were more forthcoming.⁶⁵ Apparently defeated, Orr announced that he would fight on.

Things looked bleak for the former professor. Though Barber had given his services gratuitously, the University was awarded costs against Orr and maintained an attachment on his house which prevented him from selling and leaving the state. In late March stones were thrown through his windows. Miss Kemp's brother, Andrew, was later fined £5 for the offence; Andrew's father was constrained to replace the

windows. Protesting that the newspapers gave inadequate reports of the assault, students marched from the Domain to the City centre, carrying placards with captions such as 'Orr Stoned: Print the Facts', and distributing pamphlets. *Togatus* supported the renewed fight after the High Court judgement. The Staff Association on FCUSA's recommendation, engaged a lawyer, subsequently a judge, F. Neasey, to monitor Orr's legal action and compile a pamphlet on the case, and set up a committee to prepare an objective statement of the initial University investigations. The Neasey Report, disseminated in February 1957, advised the Staff Association to work for the type of due process in academic cases currently demanded by the American Association of University Professors in the wake of Senator Joseph McCarthy. This necessitated a preliminary investigatory committee, legal representation, allegations in writing and transcripts of evidence. Though the Staff Association began the long negotiations for satisfactory dismissal procedures, it refused Orr's request to initiate a new enquiry into his case as the courts had decided against him and there was no new evidence.⁶⁶

Surely this was the end of the Orr affair? On assuming office in July 1957 Professor Isles could reflect that as the highest court had endorsed the University's position, no further action was feasible and a new Professor of Philosophy could be appointed. In reality the initial resolution of the legal issue cleared the way for a serious examination of the implications of the University's actions by the world academic community.

By late 1957 Orr's personal plight seemed so desperate that Roy Chappell, the second (the future Engineering Professor, Gordon Newstead, served briefly) sub-professorial representative on the Council, appealed for assistance for the family to avert the ex-Professor's suicide. He received no support on Council. Chappell became acutely aware of the human face of summary dismissal when he gave Orr a lift at this period: 'He was shaking with emotional disturbance, smoking furiously, and could speak only with difficulty. He told me he was finished — he was breaking up — he couldn't get work — his last hope of a retrial of his case and of proving his innocence was gone.' His children were hungry, his wife cracking under the strain and job applications were greeted by whistles of the popular tune, 'If you knew Suzie like I know Suzie.' After one heavy labouring job, Orr gave up trying. He nevertheless contrived to write a well-argued analysis of the court evidence presented in his case.⁶⁷

The Tide Turns

In late 1957 mainland academics were inhibited from taking further action while most members of the local Staff Association wished to

forget the whole affair. It appeared that Council might proceed with the appointment of a new Philosophy Professor, instead of making do with short-term visitors. Then, in May 1958, Orr received the powerful backing of the Scots Kirk Session in Hobart. The Session, using the device of Orr's request for readmission to the Presbyterian Church, conducted its own investigation and concluded that there had been a gross miscarriage of justice. It appealed to both the government and the University to reopen the case. Fagan, as Attorney-General, claimed that he had no power to intervene and refused to look at the 'new evidence', alleging perjury and fraud, which the deputation submitted. The University Council was similarly adamant, its legal adviser, R.C. Wright, depicting the new evidence as 'a fringe of straws that any wind is likely to blow from a haystack.' The Professorial Board was no more willing to see a new enquiry. Although the Tasmanian Presbyterian Church was ultimately divided, the Scots Kirk Session received the powerful endorsement of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Hobart, Dr Guilford Young, who had arranged for a high-powered mainland counsel to study the court transcripts. In late 1959 the Anglican Bishop, Dr Geoffrey Cranswick, publicly denounced the manner in which he had been served with a *sub poena* to supply private letters from Orr in the Supreme Court case.⁶⁸

Events moved rapidly after mid-1958. In June the Australian and New Zealand philosophers condemned the University's proceedings and imposed a ban on the Tasmanian chair of Philosophy. In July the Staff Association of Newcastle University College declared the University of Tasmania black and this move was followed by other institutions. The University of Tasmania's Staff Association's president was now the youthful Professor of English, Francis Murray Todd, who like his predecessor, Taylor, came originally from New Zealand. Todd was constrained to tour a number of critical mainland institutions: in Melbourne, Canberra, Newcastle and Sydney. He put the case for the University of Tasmania based on a recent article by John R. Kerr and J.H. Wootten, which, in view of the decision of two courts, denied the necessity of a new enquiry. As Governor-General of Australia in 1975, Kerr was involved in a more famous sacking. A draft of the Kerr-Wootten pamphlet was circulated to Tasmanian staff for their pre-publication comments. The University Council also widely distributed its own booklet, *The Dismissal of S.S. Orr by the University of Tasmania*.⁶⁹

The efforts of Todd and the Council booklet were of little avail. Todd reported back from the mainland that 'the hostility felt by academics there to the University's handling of the Orr case is deep-rooted and widespread.' He advised submission to a report by trustworthy outside academics. On 20 August the annual meeting of FCUSA at Adelaide resolved that the enquiries resulting in Orr's

summary dismissal 'were not properly conducted, were not of a kind befitting the proper relationship between a university and a member of its academic staff and denied Professor Orr natural justice.'⁷⁰ FCUSA did not expect Orr's reinstatement, but rather that he should be cleared by an independent enquiry and that the University abandon its false 'master-servant' attitude to staff.

The Tasmanian academics were now galvanised into greater action. Vice-Chancellor Isles on 8 July held a six-hour staff meeting. The demand for an enquiry into the new evidence was defeated by only five votes. After the FCUSA decision, the University Staff Association, on the motion of Wilson, one of the first to see the implications of the case, decided by a large majority to invite Professor R.H. Thorp and K. Buckley, president and secretary of FCUSA to Hobart to investigate the situation at source. Primed by a thorough reading of the transcripts, Thorp and Buckley visited the University of Tasmania from 8 to 11 October. They talked to academics, some fearful of reprisals if they spoke out, others resentful of uninformed mainland interference, and several strongly antagonistic to Orr personally. Emboldened perhaps by Thorp and Buckley's presence, the Staff Association on 10 October, by a 22 to 13 vote, for the first time since the dismissal denounced the Council committees which had condemned Orr and refused to whitewash their procedures. Meanwhile Orr himself walked the Hobart streets distributing a leaflet, 'Challenge to Suzanne Kemp' in an endeavour to provoke a new action.⁷¹

The University Council was now in grave difficulties. If the academic boycotts held, there was not only no chance of filling Orr's chair but the unfavourable publicity made it difficult to find suitable candidates for all other posts. There was talk of a total ban on the University. Most of the Law Faculty resigned in 1959, two publishing derogatory portraits of the University. The existing staff was racked by division: the mutual hostility of pro- and anti-Orr academics made social and professional relations almost impossible. Orr's domicile in Hobart heightened the bitterness. Owing, as a result of his litigation, £14,000, including £3,200 in costs to the University, and without any hope of a regular job, he had no option but to remain in his new house at Derwentwater Avenue. Ironically this was but a stone's throw from the new Sandy Bay campus, to which the entire University finally moved in 1963. With student support, Orr's presence was felt continuously, and was sometimes seen on campus. In 1963 he provided excellent tutorials for Philosophy students under the auspices of the Union. The initial attempt to bar him from campus proved abortive and he was invited to speak at student societies, write for *Togatus*, and even to address 'freshers' on the nature of University life. Michael Hodgman, the student son of Orr's counsel and later a federal Liberal minister, played a considerable part in reminding the student body

of the claims of the ex-Professor. Orr insisted, moreover, on Library rights and expected Staff Association support. An attempt in December 1959 to eliminate the trouble-maker for good narrowly failed when two shots fired through his window merely grazed the side of Orr's face and cut a finger.⁷²

This disastrous conflict, which had continued to escalate to the grave disadvantage of the University since the initial mistake of refusing Orr's resignation, could only end in some concession by the Council. But as time passed, compromise and the admission of error became increasingly painful for people so long involved in the conflict between Council and academic staff. In 1961, those daunted by the sheer volume of evidence obtained a summary in W.H.C. Eddy's 764 page *Orr*.⁷³ Despite rhetorical attacks on Orr's opponents, Eddy provided massive documentation on the court cases and a full reproduction of the conclusions of FCUSA's own committee of inquiry into the Orr affair. Established in September 1959, this committee reported in February 1961. The FCUSA inquiry concluded, not only that Orr had been denied natural justice by the University, but also that Mr Justice Green's judgement on the Kemp affair was not in accordance with the evidence. The publication *The Dismissal of S.S. Orr by the University of Tasmania* exposed Council to a libel action wherever it had been distributed. In the probable absence of its key witness, judgements were unlikely to duplicate that of Mr Justice Green in 1956. In September 1961 Orr sued Vice-Chancellor Isles, who had written the pamphlet's introduction, in the Supreme Court of New South Wales for £50,000. According to *Togatus*, Orr's action had only been delayed by lack of funds, now supplied by a number of staff associations.⁷⁴ Meanwhile, no member of the University Council took legal action against Eddy's derogatory portrayal of their actions. Though Chancellor Baker duly castigated Eddy's book, Convocation, like much of the rest of the Tasmanian community, was badly split on the issue.

The impasse continued. In 1962 the University visitor, the Governor, Lord Rowallan, was formally approached. Though refusing to reopen the issue after such delay, his report suggested the need for improved dismissal procedures. The Association of Australasian Philosophers (AAP) retained their ban. However, by April 1963 its Council agreed to lift the ban if compensation were paid to Orr and satisfactory new dismissal procedures were introduced by the University. Hobart clergy, represented now by Bishop Cranswick, and the Revs. Merlyn Holly (Baptist) and A. Christie-Johnston (Presbyterian) continued to demand action on the Orr case. Tasmanian students added to the pressure by a May Day strike against the empty chair, followed by a vigil with demonstrators carrying placards demanding 'Justice for Orr'. In June the Tasmanian Staff Association rejected the Council's proposed sacking procedures.⁷⁵

The first moves were made towards a detente in August 1963 when the Acting Vice-Chancellor flew to Sydney to negotiate with the Association of Australasian Philosophers. Peter Boyce, a recently appointed Tasmanian lecturer in Political Science, later Vice-Chancellor of Murdoch University, called on Henry Baker, the Chancellor, to resign as the only means of resolving the dispute. In December 1963 Chancellor Henry Baker and five others, including H.J. Solomon, A.W. Knight and C.R. Baker did resign when Council at last offered Orr £16,000 and a remission of the costs awarded in 1956. Seventy Tasmanian staff members (another twenty absentees were believed to be in favour) signed a memorial supporting the settlement, but seven professors publicly lamented the 'capitulation'. At first reluctant, Orr finally agreed. The *Examiner* complained of 'industrial blackmail'. Academic bargaining, backed by writs, had certainly come a long way.⁷⁶

But the case was not over. The AAP was not yet satisfied with the dismissal procedures, and *Togatus* reported that the University Council had tried to trap the AAP into agreeing to the abandonment of security of tenure. For Orr, the stumbling block was future employment. It was not till early 1966, exactly a decade since Orr had been summarily dismissed, that FAUSA (the former FCUSA) at last satisfied with the 'tenure statute' painfully negotiated between the Tasmanian Staff Association and Council, lifted all bans on the University of Tasmania. In May Orr, now a very ill man, accepted his compensation. The efforts of FAUSA and friends such as Malcolm McRae and John Polya for his job rehabilitation proved too late. Sydney Sparkes Orr died on 15 July 1966 of a combination of pneumonia and heart disease, protesting to the last his innocence on the Kemp charges. The compensation was swallowed up in legal debts. Mrs Orr had been compelled to work as a part-time cleaner. The Staff Association, now presided over by Professor Carey, initiated a Friends of the Orr Family Society to provide assistance. FAUSA also contributed. The case had many of the elements of a Greek tragedy.⁷⁷

The Legacy of Orr

However Orr and his supporters had won a great battle, not over the University, but for it, and indeed for other English-speaking universities. As the 1955 Royal Commission demonstrated, great universities have existed without a Council, but never without academics. In an ancient richly-endowed foundation it is indeed possible for the governing body to comprise the fellows and scholars of the institution. The University of Tasmania, totally dependent on government finance, required a non-academic Council to mediate with its political paymasters. However, to avoid the type of infighting so characteristic of the 1948-56 period, clear rules and procedures were

urgently needed. These the 1955 Royal Commission had endeavoured to provide. Unfortunately, certain Councillors were not yet convinced that a new modern University required a system of organisation very different from that of the minimal college on the Domain. The Orr Case, stripped of sexual titillation, can be depicted as an attempt to reverse the progress of academic self-government. It also pinpointed the essence of academic freedom and security of tenure which ensure that academics fulfil their essential functions, if necessary criticising their own society, without fear of reprisal. Like the idea of responsible government, academic freedom is a nebulous concept unless embodied in statutory procedures enforceable at all times. A mere gentleman's agreement is worse than useless.

What precisely was achieved? Though many Tasmanian academics, in their terms of duty on the Staff Association Executive, played a part, the chief forces were Gerald Firth, Ian Smith, Professor of French and Abraham Harari, a Law lecturer who drafted the new disciplinary procedures. These procedures followed item by item the errors made in the Orr case. An initial committee investigated each alleged offence. If satisfied that there was a case to answer, the complaint was referred to a second committee which decided whether dismissal was warranted. The composition of these committees was standard and predictable. Personal enemies were excluded. The accused was allowed legal representation and given details of the charges. If the finding went against him or her, immediate resignation was permitted before formal dismissal. The grounds for dismissal were 'gross incompetence', 'gross dereliction of duty', or 'gross misbehaviour'. Each provision passed judgement on the procedures used to dismiss Orr. They denied in effect if not substantive law that an academic was a mere 'servant' of the University Council, thus lessening the impact of the High Court's endorsement of Justice Green's judgement. In a classic instance of nemesis, the University, which had refused Orr the concession, now lost its right to give six months notice to its staff.⁷⁸ After so much agonised conflict these new procedures were only invoked once before their supersession.

In recent times there has been criticism of academic tenure, believed, according to the anti-academic stereotype, to provide soft and lucrative occupations for the slothful and inefficient. The Orr Case documents the dangers of such opinions. Orr came under threat, not because he was lazy or inactive, but because he was too energetic in opposition to certain interests. Such people will always be the most at risk if tenure is relaxed, not timeservers ingratiating themselves with current power brokers. As suggested above, tenure is vital to the role of the university as conscience keeper for the community.

All in all, the Orr case may be seen as a painful, though necessary purgatorial suffering for the developing University. After the Royal

Commission the Professorial Board sought a definition of the University which included staff and students as well as Council. This was not achieved till 1980. The Orr case, with the help of the outside academic community, made such definition a reality. The students, long criticised for childish Commemoration idiocies, were among the first to see and adhere to the real issues. Though the staff was slower to react as a body, individual academics sacrificed promotion and advancement in their defence of Orr and scholarly values. George Wilson, however, became Warden of Hytten Hall and J.J. Gow was offered the chair of Law in 1963, rejecting it in favour of advancement at McGill University, Montreal. Many of Orr's opponents also felt impelled to put their beliefs before personal convenience. Friends and foes alike were subjected to great pressure from outside academics, and were sometimes embarrassed when travelling abroad.

The dismissal procedures, won at such cost in Tasmania, were not, as expected, made general throughout the Commonwealth. Ironically, FAUSA, which had censured the University of Tasmania until its Staff Association achieved the strongest tenure rules in the country, in 1988 called on its Tasmanian members to accept new procedures which it was negotiating with the Australian Universities Industrial Association (AUIA), representing the vice-chancellors. Registered before the Commonwealth Industrial Commission as part of a four per cent salary increase, the new tenure rules have legal effect for Universities and Colleges of Advanced Education throughout the country, superseding all existing tenure provisions. The new 'four per cent' procedures differ from the Tasmanian post-Orr system in several important features. Judgement, implemented according to the discretion of the Chief Executive, is given by a single tribunal of three, appointed by the University and the President of the local FAUSA branch. Appeal is however possible to the State Industrial Commission. Rules of evidence do not apply and the defendant cannot be represented by his or her own lawyer. He or she can however call on a colleague with legal qualifications or a FAUSA officer specialising in such matters. There is also provision for suspension with pay while the charges are considered. This had not been available under the post-Orr procedures. All in all, the new procedures are not quite the 'fast track' dismissal system many had feared, but are union-based, rather than professionally oriented. Unluckily, Tasmania, in early 1989, became the first institution to initiate in part the new procedures.

THE NEW UNIVERSITY IS BORN

While the Orr case attracted attention throughout the academic world, the University of Tasmania slowly and painfully metamorphosed from an antiquated institution to a modern campus. In the year of Orr's sacking the student body was only 1,000; when he died a decade later, numbers had doubled and all departments were housed, with the exception of the new Medical Faculty's huts, in modern buildings on the Sandy Bay campus.

This transformation was achieved despite a series of disappointing setbacks. As demonstrated, the Royal Commission insisted on an immediate integrated plan for the new campus and a rapid relocation of the whole institution at Sandy Bay, but the Tasmanian government remained obstinate. The dream of a Wilkinson-style closed campus, radiating from an impressive central block was shattered when Fagan announced in August 1955, soon after the *Royal Commission Report*, that the government could only afford £60,000 a year for buildings which would have to be erected piecemeal as an *ad hoc* assemblage of edifices by different architects. Though in 1956 the government in fact granted £300,000 in November, Council was dismayed by Cosgrove's response to its demand that the University be treated as a single major project, equivalent to an HEC dam. The Premier retorted that finance could only be supplied on an annual basis, dependent on the availability of loan funds. Thus the arguments of the Royal Commission went for naught. Council resolved that the Premier's letter 'does not provide a sufficient answer to the urgent problems arising from overcrowding, division of activities between the Domain and Sandy Bay, and the need to find additional accommodation for increasing numbers of students applying for admission each year.'⁷⁸ It was particularly galling for Council in that the government, led by a minister, Dr Reginald Turnbull was pressing for the establishment of a medical school. In its submission, jointly compiled by Council and Professorial Board, to the all-important Murray Commission of 1957, the University emphasised the need to complete the projected Sandy Bay buildings before popular innovations like Faculties of Agriculture and Medicine. The Commission, reporting in September 1957, strongly supported Agriculture, but rejected Medicine as 'too heavy a burden on the University during a difficult period of consolidation and reconstruction.'⁷⁹

Given building delays, temporary accommodation at Sandy Bay enabled an earlier transfer from the Domain. The Royal Commission, hoping that the government would now press ahead with permanent works, opposed such interim edifices. The *Mercury* agreed by criticising further expenditure on HEC development when University conditions were such a disgrace.⁸⁰ But Council was forced to face realities and seek more huts in 1955. Two were transferred from Cornelian Bay

to augment the Science area in Sandy Bay, the Hobart City Council (HCC) graciously waiving its own rules. There were complaints of leaking huts and Geology enduring fowl-house standards. Council was not prepared to transfer the whole Domain establishment to such an environment. *Togatus* regretted this decision, believing that the staff Councillors were willing to try the move and that the old Army huts could not be worse than the current Domain facilities. Peter McManus, student representative on Council, likewise pressed for an immediate transfer.

The State government appears to have marked time till 1957, the year of the *Murray Report*, meeting requests for greater speed on Library progress and other developments with hints of federal money to come. Tenders were called in that year for the Union and Engineering, the sports fields on the soft-surfaced lower site were levelled, and the University administration and Law Faculty moved to buildings near the Sandy Bay Road at the base of the site. Only the Engineering block was designed by Wilkinson; the other buildings had different architects. In a new report in 1972, Professor Gordon Stephenson regretted that 'no official plan exists for the Campus as a whole.'⁸¹

By 1958, though it ominously transpired that the Public Works Department had no power to enforce the penalty clauses for late completion, real progress was at last made on contracts for Chemistry, Engineering and the Vice-Chancellor's Lodge, while plans for Arts, the Great Hall, Hytten Hall and landscaping were advanced. The Great Hall, the centrepiece of the Wilkinson Plan, intended to provide a focus for a traditional University, was, after many efforts to get it started, finally abandoned in 1969. Vice-Chancellor Cartland argued that a single-purpose Great Hall was outdated and a multi-purpose centre needed. In 1976 the University Centre opened as a convenient venue for lectures or large meetings. A totally functional edifice, with no pretensions to style or beauty, it was described by *Togatus* as 'PWD-inspired architecture'.⁸²

Even the privately initiated buildings suffered setbacks. £102,000 was subscribed for Hytten Hall by 1955. However, the HCC caused delay by its inability to construct an access road. In April 1957 the foundation stone of the Hall was laid, but the government announced that it could not make available the finance necessary to continue the work. Eventually in the wake of the *Murray Report* the federal government agreed to contribute £55,000 to its state counterpart's £45,000. Then, after some progress, it was discovered that the electrical wiring was defective. Though the construction of both Hytten Hall and the Students Union building were given lower priority than the Vice-Chancellor's Lodge, they opened in early 1959. Hytten Hall, with capacity for 120, attracted at first only 36 students. According to *Togatus*, 'it has been a botch from planning to building.'⁸³ Nor was its subsequent history

happy. It achieved capacity occupancy in 1960, and progressed under the wardenship of historian George Wilson (1961-74) and later under educationalist Russell Porter; then Hytten Hall was closed in 1980 as a residential college. The Murray Commission found in 1957 that Tasmania with sixty-one (6.8 per cent) students resident in colleges and hostels was below the national average and the lowest apart from the New South Wales University of Technology. It considered it vital for Universities like Tasmania to have 'residential provision for a substantial proportion of the student body.'⁸⁴ Tasmania's rural character and low tertiary retention rate outside the capital underlined the need for an attractive College system.

The Murray Commission also emphasised the importance of a student union in creating a corporate spirit, especially for students living in lodgings. It praised student efforts to raise funds for a Union. Aided by a government pound for pound subsidy, the Tasmanian Students Union, like Hytten Hall, opened in early 1959 and its refectory later in the year. Partly as a result of the dispositions of the original Wilkinson Plan, designed before the construction of Churchill Avenue, the Union found itself cut off from the main teaching areas. It also suffered a series of delays, due to the flooding of its foundations, the absence of an access road, and the late delivery of building materials.⁸⁵ *Togatus*, edited by the future State Labor leader, Neil Batt, was pleased with the new Union, but drew attention to the lack of atmosphere. The staff had contributed £1,000 to the Union, and negotiating through a Chemistry lecturer, Geoffrey Cheesman, were granted a common room on the upper floor of the Union, as suggested by the 1955 Royal Commission. There had not then been a particularly strong demand for the establishment of a separate staff house, though the Murray Commission underlined its importance in 'the essential cohesiveness and fellow-feeling in the teaching body'.⁸⁶ The original compromise, with some hiccups in periods of student militancy, lasted reasonably well until 1973 when, again through Cheesman's agency, a separate Senior Common Room, which changed its name in the 1980s to the University Club, was opened. In the opinion of academics like Winifred Curtis, there was more socialising between academics on the congested Domain than in the more widely distributed new University.⁸⁷ The same argument has been applied to student life when cramped conditions were replaced by a large modern Union building.

Other student residential colleges were negotiated or re-adapted in the 'sixties. Christ College, which had experienced so many manifestations, re-opened on land leased from the University above the main development area in 1962 with forty-seven students. On an adjacent block, a Catholic men's college, St John Fisher, authorised in 1958, was opened in 1963, under Jesuit control till 1987. After 1968 it was associated with Ena Waite, a small women's college, run first

by the Dominican Sisters and later by the Loretto Sisters, catering for about twenty-five students in Goulburn Street. At the end of 1979, following the integrating trend which had overtaken the other Colleges, Ena Waite was merged in Fisher. Jane Franklin remained on its Elboden Street site, somewhat closer to Sandy Bay than the Domain, and opened a new wing in 1958. The warning by the Governor's wife, Lady Cross, that degrees were insufficient preparation for marriage, seems to have been accepted with equanimity by the women students of the day.

It was Tasmania's good fortune to be engaged in creating a virtually new University while the Murray Commission was laying down national norms for higher education. To the Commission itself Tasmania's situation in 1957 'almost beggars description'. It rehearsed the traditional complaints about the threefold campus division, lack of building progress till 1955, the shocking conditions, unworthy of a secondary school, on the Domain, and the 'confused jumble of old Army huts' at Sandy Bay. Such 'intolerable' conditions seemed to explain Tasmania's low tertiary retention rate and the fact that half the student body was bonded to the Education Department.⁸⁸

Unlike other critics, however, the Murray commissioners were in a better position to obtain immediate change. Their *Report* recommended the establishment of a permanent Australian University Grants Committee and triennial federal funding. Recurrent grants were to be distributed by individual universities according to national guidelines, but immediate capital grants were to be made available to meet the present tertiary education crisis. For Tasmania was recommended a generous building grant of £1,510,000 in the years 1958, 1959 and 1960, before the first academic triennium was scheduled for 1961-63. While Commonwealth payments in other states matched state grants in the ratio of pound to pound, the special needs of Tasmania and Western Australia obtained twenty-five shillings Commonwealth aid to every state £1. Tasmania was even more in need of federal sustenance than Western Australia. Between 1911 and 1959 Tasmania, with 50 per cent of the Western Australian population, obtained only 10 per cent (£132,475 to £1,390,184) of the latter's private donations.⁸⁹

The first steps had now been taken in replacing state with federal finance for Australian universities. The change was phased in slowly; only in the late 1960s did Commonwealth finance finally outstrip that of the State. Though Councillors like the Chancellor, Sir Henry Baker, were concerned at the loss of control over the University, the state cabinet, which had ever proved its reluctance to provide adequate finance, was overjoyed. From the academic viewpoint, the change appeared altogether good in the first years, but it was subsequently found even more difficult to negotiate with cost-cutting federal administrations than with the locally accessible Cosgrove at his most miserly.

Open to Talent

As already indicated, 1959 was an important year with the formal opening in May of the Union, the Engineering School and Hytten Hall. But the crucial year of transfer was 1961 when the whole University, with the exception of Psychology and part of Education, which remained at the Domain till the end of 1962, was, after fifteen years in the wilderness, finally united at Sandy Bay. Furthermore, as planned in 1959 when the new Chemistry and Engineering buildings were ready at Sandy Bay, the Engineering Board of Management was now liquidated leaving the two disciplines at last fully integrated with the University. Staff and equipment were divided between University and Technical College, but the 1959 agreement at least left open the possibility that joint University/Technical College appointments could be made in the future.

The official University opening on 15 April was marred by the fact that the building for the largest faculty, Arts, plus Education and Commerce, was not complete. Designed by the architects R.B. Howroyd and M.G. Vincent, the building's first contractor had gone into liquidation, and a second, A.B. Moore, was required to finish the job. Meanwhile students were squeezed into Engineering, Chemistry and the Library, the latter then without heating. Commerce obtained a small building behind the administration. The Library itself had suffered flooding just before the beginning of term. Considerable damage occurred, forcing a week's closure as repair work was done.

Stage one of a planned two-stage Central Library building, the necessity for which had been emphasised by the Murray Commission, was erected in 1961, providing two levels of accommodation but, by 1964, it was already overcrowded. A 'sit-in' was planned in the following year against 'excessive' fines and the shortage of facilities. The Librarian, Dietrich Borchardt, resigned early in 1965, when appointed Librarian of the new La Trobe University. An uneasy interregnum followed, in which the Library at one time had an academic located elsewhere on campus, acting as its head. The new Librarian T.D. Sprod, did not take up duty until December 1966, coming to Tasmania after holding a series of senior positions within the National Library of Australia, Canberra. Sprod immediately pressed strongly for work to proceed on the completion of the Central Library building, which Council had in 1965 named after Morris Miller, recently deceased. Work was not to commence until November 1968.

Despite continuing problems such as overcrowding, staff shortages, and the tension provoked by the perennial Orr case, 1963 was a promising year. It began with the formal surrender of the Domain site to the Crown. Though Arts had moved in June 1962, its building was finally opened for use in the following year. The Arts Lecture Theatre, a modernistic half-conical structure, with an extension for Music, capable of housing large first year classes of over 200 students, and even

conventions, was completed later in the year. Geology at last took over its impressive new building and the removal of temporary huts began. The Administration building was scheduled for completion in early 1964. Arrangements were made with the HEC for the joint establishment of a £20,000 computer.

The building crisis was by no means over. The piecemeal approach was criticised in the *Mercury*⁹⁰, which complained that vital buildings like the Union were not centrally located, that there was too great a distance between the buildings, and that they were unattractive squat match-box edifices. In fact, care had been taken to avoid high-rise blocks, and the growing student numbers soon ensured that the spaces were not excessive. But already the University of Tasmania's mini-boom seemed over. In September 1965, Vice-Chancellor Isles warned that there would be no money for development in the next five years. Enrolments were not increasing as fast as had been expected.⁹¹ While the *Murray Report* had been benevolent towards Tasmania, the succeeding *Martin Report* of 1965 was less helpful and recommended no additional grants.⁹² Finance was still a perennial headache.

The two new developments, foreshadowed in the *Murray Report*, Medicine and Agriculture, now came to fruition. Agriculture, strongly recommended by Murray as essential for a largely rural state, was initiated with the appointment of George Wade as professor in 1962. A Victorian, Wade graduated at Melbourne University. While Chief Pathologist at the Tasmanian Department of Agriculture, 1947-62, he was awarded a Tasmanian DSc for work on crop diseases. In 1963 the EZ Company donated £2,500 for two years for soil science and three years later a more substantial \$60,000 (£30,000 before 1966) for a Horticultural Research Centre. Constituted as a separate faculty, lectures in agriculture began in 1964. Student numbers took some time to build up. In 1967 the first eight Agriculture degrees were conferred, one to a woman, Penelope Brettingham-Moore.

Medicine had long enjoyed powerful supporters, such as the Councillor Dr Douglas Parker, and medical members of the state government like Drs Turnbull and Gaha. Convocation was also strongly interested in a Medical School, especially as mainland universities were making it difficult for Tasmanians to obtain medical qualifications elsewhere. As already indicated, other academics endeavoured to delay the advent of medicine till the move to Sandy Bay was completed, and the Murray Commission emphatically agreed. Vice-Chancellor Isles played his part in checking precipitation. In 1960, when the enthusiastic Dr Parker attempted to persuade Council to guarantee the establishment of Medicine before 1964, Professor Pitman, soon to retire, amended the motion: Medicine was now to be introduced as soon as possible. In October 1963 the Professorial Board held a special meeting on the subject and decided that, to enable preclinical teaching to commence by 1966,

appointments in Anatomy, Physiology and Biochemistry were required in 1964.⁹³ The Melbourne Dean of Medicine recommended Dr Cyril H. Barnett, a Cambridge graduate who had served in the Royal Army Medical Corps in World War II. Then Reader in Anatomy at St Thomas's Hospital, London, and a specialist on rheumatism, Barnett (Anatomy) and Arthur Cobbold (Physiology), a London graduate, authority on heart disease, and reader at St Thomas's Hospital, London, were appointed in 1964, Barnett retiring in 1967. Eric Holdsworth came from Leeds, via Adelaide, to Biochemistry in 1965. Despite the enthusiasm of earlier Labor ministers, the state parliament balked at the expense of a Medical Faculty and there was even some consternation at the Anatomy Bill enabling the dissection of corpses.⁹⁴ However, the Medical School finally opened in 1966 as planned with twenty-four students in the 'dreary surroundings' of little weatherboard huts used by the RAAF in World War II. An unpromising start certainly, but in keeping with the privations endured by the rest of the University. The huts were soon replaced with the Medical Science building above Churchill Avenue, completed, like its Mathematics and Agriculture equivalents, in 1968. In 1970, eighteen of the initial intake graduated, G.A. Brugler and G.C. Farrell with first class honours, while Ruth Bentley and Eva Rottman were the first women.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGETH

Along with the transfer from the Domain, the furore of the Orr case, and the tertiary financial revolution stemming from the *Murray Report*, the decade 1955-66 saw the departure of a number of personalities who had become institutions in themselves to the preceding generation. Sir Henry Baker, so closely involved in the Orr case, was replaced as Chancellor in 1964 by the tactful conciliator, Sir Henry Somerset, who, with experience as chairman or director of a number of big companies, Pulp and Paper, Goliath Cement, Tioxide, as well as the CSIRO, held office till 1972. Vice-Chancellor Isles retired at the end of 1967. Of the senior professors, Burn, King and Triebel all departed in 1956, and Taylor the following year. Burn's Engineering chair was divided into internally appointed chairs of civil and electrical, Archibald Oliver filling the former and Gordon Newstead the latter till leaving for the ANU in 1965. King was succeeded by three relatively short-term History Professors, John McManners (1956-60), Douglas Pike (1961-63), and Gordon Rimmer (1964-69). Triebel, on the contrary, gave way as Professor of French to Ian Smith, whose wit enlivened academic meetings until 1988. The veteran Taylor was succeeded by the

appointment of another New Zealander, Francis Murray Todd, at thirty-two one of the youngest professors since Pitman (29). Tragically, Todd was to die a mere four years later, but not before he had secured the appointment of James McAuley, a major Australian poet, as Reader in Poetry. McAuley then succeeded Todd as Professor. John Elliott, Professor of Classics, continued till 1966.

Another venerable figure to retire was Leicester McAulay in 1959. Disillusioned with administrative frustrations, he asked in 1956 to be reduced to the status of research professor or reader. In his turn, F.D. Cruickshank, Associate Professor of Physics, had himself converted to a reader from 1962 to 1973, thus avoiding attendance at the Professorial Board. G.R.A. Ellis, a local graduate specialising in upper atmosphere physics, who had served with the RAF and RAAF in World War II and had worked for the CSIRO, was appointed Professor of Physics in 1960. In 1956 Council had accepted the Professorial Board's decision following the Royal Commission, to scrap associate professors for the future and appoint only readers. The latter, according to the Royal Commission, should be 'primarily interested in research'. The botanist, Winifred Curtis, along with Oliver and Hans Buchdahl of Physics, was a member of the first group appointed in 1956. In 1962 Dr Curtis, the first woman to act as a departmental head, questioned whether reader rather than associate professor was the appropriate designation in view of the administrative duties involved. Her own research before retirement in 1966 on Tasmanian flora fortunately did not suffer. Her publications earned her a DSc from London and, in 1987, an honorary doctorate from Tasmania. Her original head of department, Vernon Hickman, an authority on spiders, who had succeeded the legendary Flynn as head of Biology, retired as Professor of Zoology in 1959. With a 'quiet, unassuming manner', Hickman had first taught at the University in 1914, before war service. He did not obtain a lectureship till 1932. Placing the interests of his students first, Hickman, with virtually no technical assistance, daily collected specimens for dissection along the Derwent at New Town.⁹⁵ H.N. Barber, of Botany, the University's first FRS, left in 1964. Botany and Zoology then had short-term professors before 1966. In 1960 the keen conservationist Harry Bloom, a Melbourne graduate who was associate professor at Auckland, took over from the veteran administrator, Kurth, as Professor of Chemistry.

An important link with the preceding period now broken was the death of Registrar Preshaw.⁹⁶ He was succeeded by the Assistant Registrar, David Kearney, a Corkman whose influence was to persist as a Councillor well into the 1980s. In a relatively short time the generation of academic leaders whose main experience derived from Domain conditions were replaced by those focusing mainly on the new University.

GENERAL ISSUES OF THE ORR YEARS

With the Orr case centre stage there appeared little room for other controversies. There was a brief flutter when Council rejected an appointment on political grounds in 1959 and the Professorial Board, on the motion of Ian Smith, resolved that 'any political belief or affiliation which the law tolerates should not in itself be made an automatic disqualification for academic employment.' The candidate in question accepted another post before the issue could be resolved. Of more long-term significance were the debates about teaching and learning, the demand for academic facilities in northern Tasmania, and the decision to locate a new sub-university Tasmanian College of Advanced Education in Hobart.

On teaching and learning, the *Murray Report* had demonstrated that high tertiary failure rates were a national problem. The Tasmanian levels certainly caused concern: in 1958 fifty per cent of first year students in Engineering and Law failed; by 1966, of seventy-nine students taking first year Science in 1961, only six were found to have completed in the minimum three years, and seventeen after five years. According to Professor Scott in 1959 there was less gross wastage than on the mainland, but, except in Arts, there were fewer minimum time graduates than in the rest of the country. Nevertheless, students, lay Councillors and Convocation blamed poor lecturing, and required a reduction of research time, while academics argued that the increase in student numbers had created unwieldy first year classes and introduced fewer undergraduates capable of coping with traditional standards. The old matriculation argument was revived. The Malaysian editor of *Togatus*, Bin Salleh, suggested in 1966 the grading of lecturers by students. After several abortive attempts, the system was institutionalised in the *Alternative Handbook* of 1985.

Teaching methods were already changing in the early 1960s. Historian George Wilson was one of the pioneers in introducing small participatory tutorials to supplement passive note-taking lectures. With the increase of staff, tutorials became general in Arts and related disciplines, while demonstrations had long been an essential aspect of Science teaching. Engineering failures in 1958 had been attributed to over-large tutorials. Academics naturally varied in their effective handling of small groups, and not every student wished to be relieved of the safe passivity of the traditional lecture-room. It became important for academics to demonstrate, rather than merely assert, the close links between a passion for original discovery and that infectious enthusiasm which every student recognises as the hallmark of a good lecturer. Foreign students posed particular problems. Of forty-two first year students in Engineering in 1962 twenty-three were from overseas, mainly from Asian countries. The first female graduates in Engineering were

Indonesians, Trismiati Harsono and Koesmarihati Koesnowarso, in 1966. It was difficult to ensure the adequacy of the scholastic backgrounds of foreign students. The University, however, was committed to participation in the Colombo Plan which required tolerance and understanding, not only from academics but the general community. In 1964 Oliver, as Professor of Engineering, insisted that without two new lecturers and three technicians, it would be impossible to continue to take Colombo Plan students. His department was duly reinforced.⁹⁷

The problem of Launceston had existed ever since the foundation of the University. There was now a strong demand for a university college in the northern city or at least provision for first year lectures there. Having with such difficulty finally established themselves at Sandy Bay, neither staff nor students were keen on an immediate diversion of emphasis to the north. Only sixteen per cent of students, it was demonstrated in 1963, came from Launceston. The Law Faculty, for example, insisted that attendance at Hobart was essential. The *Murray Report* had recommended the opening up of more Hobart residential colleges, but Jane Franklin was bursting at the seams in 1964. In 1966 an enquiry into University extension in Tasmania, by mainland professors, H. Burton and J.F. Clark, concluded that there would be no case for a Launceston College till the University population reached 5,000 to 6,000.⁹⁸ The problem was compounded by the decision, based on the *Martin Report*, which advocated a binary system of tertiary education, to locate a College of Advanced Education in Hobart at Mt Nelson, up the hill from the University. Academics resented the implied competition, while to some of their critics in the general community, the new College appeared an opportunity to provide courses and standards previously rejected by the University. The resolution of this issue was to be a major feature of the final phase in the University's development before its centenary.

STUDENT LIFE DURING RAPID CHANGE

Though the daily preoccupations of students infrequently correlate with the higher strategies of academic administrators, the move from the Domain to Sandy Bay affected significantly both staff and students. Yet the student body took it very much for granted. There were few complaints concerning disruption of study; the new facilities were clearly superior or, as in the case of Library overcrowding, old problems were transferred to the new site.

Sporting facilities showed the most dramatic improvement. According to George Dickens, whose experience dated back to 1950, sports clubs were originally poorly supported. The soft swampy surface of the lower tiers of the old rifle range inhibited building and these were laid out

as sports ovals with tennis courts between. The upper oval was dedicated to cricket and Australian Rules football, while other sports such as rugby, soccer, and sometimes hockey, made do with the lower and originally less maintained sports field. In November 1959, Vice-Chancellor Isles was asked to bowl the first ball on the new cricket ground.⁹⁹ Old huts continued to serve as dressing rooms for many sports. A modern gymnasium, adjacent to the upper oval, was not opened till 1975, while a full-scale cricket pavilion came into use in 1987. Hockey facilities were less conveniently provided at Olinda Grove on the Mt Nelson end of the University site.

Though not so publicised a sport, the men's hockey team won the 1955 inter-varsity competition, the first such victory since 1938 when women's hockey was successful. The women won again in 1957. The Rugby Club won both their local knockout cups in 1961. In 1965 the Boat Club was victorious at inter-varsity for the first time since 1925. Cricket and Australian Rules have made steady progress since the move to Sandy Bay. In 1962 the Cricket Club joined the Tasmanian Cricket Association.

Student publications were less dependent on major changes in the environment. *Togatus* was rivalled by the more literary *Diogenes* between 1955 and 1965. It provided an outlet to poets, academics, educationalists, and budding politicians. Future Liberal and Labor Parliamentarians such as Nick Evers and Terry Aulich competed for space with A.E. Sturges, from 1948 to 1979 an instructor in the Engineering School and prize-winning short story writer, Bruce Poulson, later principal of Elizabeth Matriculation College, and Tim Thorne, teacher, journalist and political activist.

Meanwhile, almost oblivious of the environmental changes, traditional Commem Day activities continued with varying degrees of intensity and public disruption. 1959 saw the Hobart traffic stopped, red dye thrown into the Franklin Square fishpond and widespread flour-bombing. The next year was quieter, with the Old Nick Company's first professionally produced review establishing a popular annual entertainment. In 1966 the Old Nick Company won the Olive Wilton Trophy at the Hobart Drama Festival with Edward Albee's 'The American Dream.'¹⁰⁰ The director, Helene Chung, later became a distinguished radio and television journalist. Less constructively, in 1965 student frivolity reached a new peak with the much-resented hijack of the Speaker's Chair from Parliament and the publication of the ribald *Pist*. Very wisely Union leaders decided in 1966 to abandon the Commem parade in favour of a 'work-out' at local schools, helping with teaching and projects like carpentry. The Colleges provided increasing opportunities for high spirited behaviour. Initiations spread to the then all-female Jane Franklin, where there were complaints in 1966 that freshers were subjected to embarrassingly intimate

interrogations with males present, before immersement in icy water. In 1965 it was claimed that the buttery established at Christ College had decreased student drinking. Butteries were now becoming an inevitable aspect of College life.

As elsewhere, student fashions were changing. By the 1960s long-haired males were appearing at lectures, and the old uniform of tie, sports jacket and flannel trousers was giving way to more casual dress. Colleges made an effort to maintain formal dining, even with gowns, but they were swimming against a tide of informality. George Wilson of History and Orr's successor, W.D. Joske, were among the last academics to wear gowns. In 1964 'Beatlemania' invaded the Sandy Bay campus. Students debated Apartheid, the White Australia Policy and Vietnam. By 1965 forty-three per cent of Tasmanian students admitted to having no religious faith. Attitudes, however, were in general far from radical. In 1965 fifty-seven per cent of Tasmanian students polled believed that the Australians should be in Vietnam; in the following year the Union was split on conscription, the SRC being opposed, but many individual members being in favour. According to Rish, staff and SRC opinion on Vietnam coincided, while general student opinion, slightly more radical than in Melbourne, reflected the rest of the country which supported the war.¹⁰¹ Professor James McAuley, an outspoken supporter of Vietnam involvement, later complained that staff were trying to brainwash students. The new Union, with its impressive premises, was becoming a big business in itself with 1,450 members in 1963. Lindsay Brown was appointed full-time executive officer and Rae Wiggins the accountant. A year later Union elections attracted thirty candidates. Phillip Hughes, subsequently Professor of Education, argued in 1960¹⁰² that the threefold increase of students since 1947 contained many unlikely to succeed academically. Extra-curricular activities in the Union, creative or destructive, grew increasingly important in the future. In 1957 the versatile George Wilson became the first part-time student counsellor, and in the following year Dr Wilma Scott, a psychologist, was appointed adviser to women. In 1962 two chaplains were nominated by the University. Such services, to be fully expanded in the future, were now essential.

RESEARCH ACHIEVEMENTS DURING TRANSITION

Whatever the external impediments, dedicated researchers will find a way to maintain their productivity. The University of Tasmania had many outstanding achievers in its most difficult decade. Despite the retirement of Leicester McAulay, the Physics Department continued

its influence. In 1964 an agreement was worked out with the Fund for Astrophysical Research for joint use of a projected observatory, and in 1966 the *Mercury*¹⁰⁸ was able to claim that the University had become the major Australian centre for optic astronomical research. Physics became pre-eminent in a diversity of research achievements of which only a handful of examples can be cited. Dr Geoffrey Fenton initiated cosmic ray research soon after moving to the old Army huts at Sandy Bay. Since then investigation has expanded mightily with observatories established at many locations in Australia and the Antarctic. A distinguished graduate from this school is Kenneth G. McCracken, who has held posts in the USA and Australia. Most recently he has worked with the CSIRO on mixed physics and space research. In Chemistry, the outspoken but highly productive John Polya was somewhat inhibited by the 1965 decision, despite favourable outside assessors, against appointing him Professor of Organic Chemistry. In microbiology, Kevin Marshall attracted world-wide attention in 1966 for work on peas and soya beans, while Winifred Curtis in the same year published the first part of her acclaimed *Endemic Flora of Tasmania*. In the same year Frank Kelly published *Practical Mathematics for Chemists* in Japanese. In the Humanities, James McAuley, who attempted to keep his creative writing separate from purely academic publication, nevertheless greatly enhanced the reputation of the University with publications like his epic poem on the original European discovery of Australia, *Captain Quiros* (1964).

Quiet and efficient research meanwhile progressed in a number of other departments. Now securely established at Sandy Bay, with the Orr case at last concluded, the University of Tasmania could approach the next twenty-five years with some confidence.

Chapter 6: *The Contemporary University, 1967-1990*

CHARACTER OF THE PERIOD

The modern age in the history of the University of Tasmania opened inauspiciously with the 'Black Tuesday' bushfires on 7 February 1967. Thirty members of staff were affected, including ten who lost their homes. They required salary advances, loans and sometimes transport. The Staff Association obtained \$350 from FAUSA for the fire victims and donated a similar sum itself. Affected students were promised exemption from fees, but there were subsequent complaints that the authorities reneged on this undertaking. In fact, ten of the sixteen applicants were approved. Flames leapt perilously close to the University buildings whose construction had been achieved with so much difficulty. Ultimately the bushfire receded just short of Hytten Hall where staff and students waited grimly with wet sacks to save the College. One hundred and fifty chains of fencing and an overhead powerline in the upper campus was destroyed. Research was hit by the destruction of the Cosmic Ray laboratory at the Springs on Mt Wellington and the Radioastronomy Station at Penna. A zoological project on the potoroo, or rat kangaroo, was also lost. The University rebuilt the laboratory at the Springs, but not the station at Penna. Dr Roger Wettenhall of the Political Science Department produced an important analysis of the catastrophe and efforts to combat it in his *Tasmania's Bushfire Disaster*.¹

Though the fiery depredations were soon made good, the episode was a symbolic reminder of the unforeseen problems from acts of God or men still awaiting the University on the threshold of an exciting new era which saw the payroll triple in sixteen years. The grants for the 1967-69 triennium offered no new developments to the University of Tasmania whose undergraduates in an early count in 1967 numbered 2,222. 1,072 (48 per cent) came from Hobart, 286 (13 per cent) from the mainland or overseas and 864 (39 per cent) from the rest of Tasmania.² At the beginning of 1967 accommodation for out of town students was short by 500 places. Such figures explain the strong demand for a College in the north. As the Centenary approached, the total student enrolment reached 5,768 (1986). Of these 60 per cent came from Hobart, 14 per cent (evenly divided) from the mainland and overseas, and 18 per cent from the rest of Tasmania; 45 per cent were now women. In 1967 women, though a majority in Arts, had made up only 34 per cent of the student population.

Both the increase in student numbers, making Wilkinson's 1944 estimate of 1,000 by year 2000 absurd, and the increasing predominance of Hobartians in the student body, can be explained by the major developments of the period. These included the establishment of the Tasmanian College of Advanced Education, with campuses in Hobart and Launceston, and, in quick succession, the takeover of the southern campus by the University and the establishment of the Tasmanian State Institute of Technology in the north. The final amalgamation of the University with TSIT begins in the centenary year. A solution has thus been found to the vexed question of higher education in the north which troubled the University ever since the day when Launcestonians rejected Alexander McAulay's efforts to interest them in electricity.

The period between the death of Orr and the centenary can be divided into three main phases. The first expansive phase ended symbolically with the embattled Whitlam Labor government's initial refusal in late 1975 to roof the half-completed Humanities Building. After a belt-tightening start, it was a time of rapid, almost euphoric, progress. The second phase, late 1975 to 1981, saw a reversion to the financial stringency characterised by the pre-Murray era, but this time at the behest of a more remote and less approachable federal government. It was accompanied by the highly controversial amalgamation of the University with the Hobart TCAE. This was to prove a useful precedent for the subsequent abolition of the binary divide between Universities, funded for research, and Colleges of Advanced Education, originally intended to provide instruction of a more technical nature. Desperate financial stringency and fears for their student numbers finally overcame the scruples of academics who anticipated diluted standards. The final period, from 1981 to the Centenary, were if anything more oppressed by financial cuts, exacerbated by a rapidly declining Australian dollar. Far from bringing relief, amalgamation with the Hobart TCAE was accompanied by a new set of difficulties and increasingly unsympathetic federal governments. The further amalgamation with the Launceston-based Institute, clearly no panacea, appeared a painful inevitability to forestall worse punishment. However, though the problems to be faced in the 1990s seemed uncomfortably like those negotiated by J.B. Walker and his colleagues a hundred years before, the infrastructure for progress was at least in place.

'GOLDEN PERIOD OF ACADEMIC GROWTH', 1967-1975

The so-called 'golden period' of the University's growth, as the *Mercury* anticipated it in 1968,³ can be defined according to the new

essential yardstick, the triennium. This troika of triennia, 1967-69, 1970-72, 1973-75 did not open well for Tasmania. In the earlier years there was considerable belt-tightening. In 1971 the Vice-Chancellor, now Sir George Cartland, appealed to staff for economies on telephones, lights, stationery and postage. Unexpected salary increases proved difficult to meet as non-teaching salaries were drawn from general University grants. *Togatus*, with characteristic hyperbole, lamented that while the impoverished University underwent its worst crisis, education was all but dead.⁴ At the same time, the Professorial Board adopted the 'greenlight' project for adequately housing all faculties in the next triennium. The University now experienced a stroke of luck in what had originally appeared a misfortune. In 1971 enrolments reached 3,444 and were expected to gain another 1,000 by 1975. Instead, with the opening of the TCAE at Mt Nelson, they dropped to 3,124 in 1972 and did not recover their 1971 level till 1976. In the meantime, however, the University's grants were not cut, and a number of new developments became possible. In late 1972 the Whitlam Labor government was elected and almost immediately embarked on a determined campaign to boost education at all levels. In 1974 the Commonwealth took over full responsibility for University education from the states and proceeded to abolish fees, already the subject of student protest in Tasmania. Though the alleged Whitlam largesse was not quite so abundant as its critics claimed, there was no doubt that the University of Tasmania experienced a period of confident expansionism. As the Registrar, David Kearney, told new administrators in 1976, the complex institution of that period with its commercial ventures, investment portfolios and roles as builder, landlord and provider of community services, bore 'practically no resemblance to the University of Tasmania in 1945.'⁵

Innovations in the Period

Most of the new projects now adopted or considered were not the product of ambitious affluence but based on long-term needs or modern necessity. The development of student counselling and the establishment of a Teaching and Learning Unit were examples of the former, the Department of Information Science typified the latter.

The problem of high failure rates and the possibility of improving university teaching was more a long-debated national issue than a problem peculiar to Tasmania. With the growth of general student militancy, to be discussed later, in the late 1960s pressure mounted for new welfare services. In 1967 the Joint Advisory Committee of staff and student representatives considered, *inter alia*, the need for a full-time health service with a doctor and nurse, a creche, a careers' officer and student advisers in the next triennium. These were all eventually

achieved. A housing officer had already been appointed in 1966, and a careers' adviser followed in 1967. After part-time academic counsellors and an unsuccessful experiment in 1968 of allocating new students to volunteer staff advisers, Roy Davies, a graduate of Edinburgh and London with previous experience at the University of Western Australia, was appointed student counsellor in 1972 and provided a valuable service to staff as well as students. The Student Health Service, with a doctor and sister-in-charge opened in the old administrative building on the Sandy Bay Road in 1974. It appropriately moved, under Dr Suzanne Atkins, to the old Vice-Chancellor's Lodge; the new Vice-Chancellor, Alec Lazenby, in 1982 preferred to live off campus. An essential buttress against ill-health, the long awaited gymnasium with facilities for sports, body building and later squash, was opened in 1975 under the direction of Ken Box, a former English Olympic sprinter. The creche, so important for women's educational opportunity, was established, on a user pays basis, at a house on the Sandy Bay Road in April 1973 and transferred to a University building adjacent to the Sports Oval in 1975.

Parallel with these developments was the advent of a Teaching and Learning Unit in 1975. In response to pressure from Convocation and the SRC, a University committee on teaching, learning and examining was set up in 1969. A seminar was addressed by Barbara Falk of the Melbourne Teaching and Learning Unit and the committee recommended a similar unit in Tasmania. After some opposition from those who believed the replacement of part-time staff a better solution and insisted that each discipline had its own methods, the Professorial Board accepted the idea.⁶ It was not, however, till 1975 that the Unit opened under Dr Harry Stanton, with experience at Melbourne and Adelaide. Stanton, himself a formidable publicist in education and psychology, emphasised teaching rather than research and questioned, like Professor Albert Taylor in the 1940s, the role of formal lectures. Though changed to HERAC (Higher Education Research and Advisory Centre) the attempt to centralise advisory services, visual aids and graphic arts in the unit proved over-ambitious and it was disbanded in 1981. Dr Stanton continued as a higher education consultant, pursuing teaching improvement through regular newsletters and seminars.

If student welfare services and improvements in teaching techniques had long been in the pipeline, rapid progress in the outside world ensured innovations such as Computer or Information Science. The cumbersome joint arrangement with the HEC was rendered obsolete when computers became smaller, cheaper and more user-friendly. Arthur Sale was appointed foundation Professor of Information Science in 1974. In his early thirties, Sale was born and educated in Durban, where he lectured at the University of Natal before transferring to Sydney University in 1965. In 1975 the University Computing Centre, dissolving the HEC partnership, was established, separate from, though located

in the same building as, the Department of Information Science. Computerisation spread rapidly through the University with the administration taking the lead, to the irritation of some conservative academics, in processing student returns. By the middle 1980s many academics were dependent on their personal computers, and the University Computing Centre completely altered its image to accommodate them with advice and technical equipment.

This was the period of most rapid change ever experienced by Australian universities. In response to the growing social and ecological awareness of the period, a Department of Environmental Studies was created. Supported by the Committee of Deans in 1970, Environmental Studies was to a considerable extent the brainchild of a Botany lecturer from Queensland, Dr Richard Jones, who had previously worked for the CSIRO. Jones became heavily involved in the unsuccessful Tasmanian battle to save Lake Pedder from inundation in the interests of a new HEC dam. He also helped to inspire the later successful campaign, joined by many students and some staff, to save the Franklin River from another dam in 1982-83. In 1974 a new Master's degree in Environmental Science was established, with tuition from members of different faculties and departments under a special board. Jones became part-time co-ordinator. In 1978 he was appointed Director. His accidental death in 1986 precipitated a review of the Centre for Environmental Studies leading to a decision, by a paper-thin majority on Council in 1987, to amalgamate it with Geography. A large proportion of the Centre's graduates came from other universities. The new Professor of the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, James Kirkpatrick, was like Jones, a distinguished environmentalist.

Numerous other projects were mooted in 'the golden age'. Not all came to fruition. Zoology acquired a station at Koonya on the Tasman Peninsula in 1973; Agriculture had to wait till 1984 before obtaining its farm at Cambridge. In the Arts Faculty there was competition between Japanese, Sociology and Indonesian for establishment in the 1973-75 triennium. The two Asian languages were promoted as an essential response to Australia's urgent economic and strategic needs. Sociology, a top priority since 1970, was also popular with student leaders during the militancy of the late '60s and early '70s. Eventually, Japanese and Sociology were established in 1975 and 1977 respectively. History, which had expanded so rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s that quotas appeared for a time necessary, dropped sharply in numbers with the advent of Sociology which catered for students with similar interests. In 1973 Mrs Maida Coaldrake, a local graduate who had taught at Sydney University, was appointed lecturer in Japanese History. Declining History numbers prevented replacement when she retired in 1984. Similarly, the push for Indonesian, losing its initial contest with

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Sociology and Japanese by a whisker, weakened in the stagnant years after 1975. Some of the advances in the golden period of hope exacted a price in the succeeding era of gloom.

Rise of the Student Estate

The period between 1967 and 1975 saw the international movement of student militancy peak in influence and then gradually decline. Tasmania could no longer expect to be isolated from the excitement generated in Paris or Berkeley, California. The SRC was affiliated with the radical National Union of Australian Students (NUAS) and followed its general left-wing stand. As already suggested, the student leaders were more advanced in their thinking than the rank-and-file, many of whom shared the conservative attitudes of the general community. The new Vice-Chancellor, Sir George Cartland, had his baptism of fire in the climactic year of world student unrest, 1968. His previous background of historical training at Manchester, the Colonial Service, concluding as Acting-Governor of Uganda during independence negotiations, and finally Registrar of Birmingham University, well equipped him for his initial role. At the end of the first year Cartland could report relatively good relations with the students, with whose leaders he had kept in contact. The National Service Act, which imposed a ballot for conscription to serve in Vietnam, was the natural focus of the main demonstrations of the year. A sit down protest occurred in May and subsequent demonstrations took place outside the Department of Labour and National Service. Nine students were charged and fined. The Union voted non-compliance with the National Service Act. Sympathetic staff, like Malcolm McRae of Orr case fame, participated in these protests. There was also a twenty-four hour vigil for Aboriginal Land Rights. The editor of *Togatus*, Dennis Rider, had a considerable reputation for militancy, and kept his readers abreast of student revolt in Germany and the U.S.A. Commem activity took the form of a wild scavenger hunt leading to a flour battle with police. Generally, however, there was little confrontation between staff and students in the lecture rooms and virtually no attempts to take over classes, as happened elsewhere. Tasmanian academics gained their basic knowledge of student revolt from quality overseas weeklies. It was the same story in 1969, 1970 and 1971 with more demonstrations by those strongly committed against conscription. Dennis Rider and an ally, John Tully, were arrested for distributing anti-draft leaflets. Rider's *Togatus* was seized by the police for publishing a photograph of interracial copulation under a union jack, bawdiness being a current device for delegitimising authority. A local branch of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was formed to oppose the War. A leading member, Nick Beams, presented the Governor with six symbolic

tomatoes. So it continued. Nick Beams in 1970 was sentenced to four months imprisonment for hurling stones through fourteen Department of Labour and National Service windows. There were two Vietnam moratoriums, supported by some hundred students, a number of academics, several Labor party leaders, and other members of the public like Anglican Bishop Cranswick, who had been so prominent in the Orr case. Advocates of Vietnam involvement set up their own Indo-China Defence Committee, backed by sixty-eight students.⁷

Though Nick Beams in 1970 claimed that the University of Tasmania stood third in Australia for the strength of its radicalism, this was clearly an exaggeration. There were more rallies in 1971 and an attempt to suspend classes to coincide with a Vietnam moratorium march. When the Librarian's son, Tim Sprod, became a draft resister, his trial provided the focus for a new demonstration. Considerable publicity was given to the SRC's donation of aid for North Vietnam, which seemed likely to provoke the intervention of the Commonwealth police. The year also saw the formation of a Women's Lib group.⁸ However, by 1972 and 1973 the heat had gone out of protest over major issues like Vietnam. The advent of the Whitlam government late that year quickly ended Australia's involvement in the war. The Union had earlier supported the Save Lake Pedder movement with a donation of \$300 and backed the conservationist United Tasmania Group, a forerunner of subsequent 'Greens' parties, led by Dr Richard Jones, which unsuccessfully contested the State election of 1972.

Throughout the period, the issue which most involved Tasmanian students was not Vietnam or Apartheid, or even the draft, but the rapid traffic on Churchill Avenue which separated the Students Union from the teaching departments and the Library. This was a clear legacy of the haphazard piecemeal establishment of the new campus at Sandy Bay. A special crossing was mooted in 1967, but nothing was done. In 1971 Council accepted Professor Carey's suggestion for an overpass, but neither the government, the HCC nor the Australian Universities Commission were prepared to supply the money. A series of student sit-ins began. When a girl was knocked down on the road, feeling ran high and a delegation visited Parliament House in August 1971. During the following year agitation peaked with the formation of SIVRAR, Students in Violent Revolt Against the Road. Demonstrations blocked the road, sometimes with a bands thundering rock music. There were clashes with the police and seven students were arrested, receiving good behaviour bonds. The Union president, Julian Amos, himself a member of the state cabinet before the end of the decade, negotiated with the ministry on the road and even the Vice-Chancellor led a delegation. Interest in the issue had already declined when an underpass, which became the Union's advertising and graffiti outlet, was finally constructed. In 1978, the retiring Registrar, David Kearney, suggested

that the bisection of the campus by Churchill Avenue was advantageous in that it brought the community into closer touch with the University.⁹

If the road was the most dramatic Tasmanian issue in the age of protest, students had numerous other grievances and needs. The Library, despite a recognition that things were better ordered under Sprod,¹⁰ continued to attract criticism. Students wanted a smoking room.

In 1967 it was maintained that the University Library had the worst ratio of seats to students in Australia¹¹, but the completed stage two of the central library building, commenced in November 1968, became available from the beginning of first term, 1970, when reader seating increased dramatically from 200 to 700 places. Stack space for the shelving of 200,000 volumes was also available. Elsewhere on campus, library services were reorganised into a strong central library, supported by integrated branch subject libraries. Work proceeded on a new Biomedical Library (commenced April 1972, occupied 1973), and a Law Library within a new Faculty of Law building (commenced April 1972, occupied 1973). The Librarian, Dan Sprod, resigned in 1975 and established the high-quality publishing house Blubber Head Press.

Another student demand was for a bar in the Union to eliminate the ten minute trek to the Travellers' Rest Hotel. The bar finally opened in the Union at the end of 1976. More important was the problem of fees which seemed excessively high at \$500 per annum. The Whitlam government provided effective relief in this instance, but less improvement was obtained in TEAS (Tertiary Education Assistance Scheme) for older students or those without parental support. A TEAS rally was held in 1975 and a one-day strike in the following year. Student housing continued to be a serious problem and the Union was persuaded to provide a scheme by which it bought or sub-let suitable houses. This at first resulted in serious financial difficulties for the SRC but soon proved its value.

Of considerable importance for the future was the Tasmanian agreement with contemporary student criticism of the annual examination system and associated demand for continuous assessment to replace or supplement the traditional one-off system. Though academics sometimes pointed to the increasing bureaucratisation and formalisation of teaching under continuous assessment, there was no swimming against the tide and many departments introduced fifty per cent term marks to supplement final examinations. Nervous examinees were soon replaced as the lecturer's chief bugbear by students congenitally incapable of submitting regular assignments. There were also moves at this time for student representation on the Professorial Board and faculties. By 1971 five of the eight faculties had student representation. Tasmanian academics, especially in Arts till 1975, held out longer than counterparts elsewhere against what turned out to be an inevitable change of little consequence. Few student representatives

had the endurance for lengthy academic meetings, though their occasional participation sometimes enlivened debate.¹²

While students were increasingly involved in serious political issues, or at least the improvement of their own conditions, traditional wild behaviour, now concentrated on Commem Day scavenger hunts, persisted. As already indicated, these caused considerable disruption, especially in 1967 when MTT buses were hijacked, and sometimes clashes with the police. When combined with parodies of the Crucifixion, the tolerance of Hobartians became strained. In 1972 it was decided to discontinue the scavenger hunt, but it maintained an on/off existence into the 1980s. After 1976 the University Centre became available for conferring degrees. Graduation had by then been transferred from the Theatre Royal to the City Hall, where, according to Yeoman Bedell Dickens, student intervention had declined. Before 1970 there had been a single annual graduation; now increasing graduates were accommodated in a number of ceremonies on University premises. Thus ended the old-style Commem. Students still enjoy an annual day on the town collecting for charity, and the University Review of the Old Nick Company retains its popularity in the Theatre Royal. Colourful degree ceremonies, safely on campus, enable participants, their relatives and friends to enjoy a taste of academic pageantry, and thus enhance the University's image in the community.

Sport in the 1967-75 period experienced something of the boom foreshadowed by the new facilities at Sandy Bay. University Australian Rules football had been in the doldrums in the early 1960s, with more emphasis on post-match conviviality than pre-match training. Under the coaching of Brian Eade after 1967 there was a remarkable revival. In 1970 the senior team experienced its greatest season, remaining undefeated. In the following year both the first and third teams won premierships. The men's Hockey Club, always strong, fielding ten teams in 1972, could claim to be the largest in Tasmania, if not Australia. It won its premiership in 1975 and 1976. Women's hockey was not far behind. The Cricket Club, for the first time in its thirteen years of first grade membership, won the senior premiership for 1974-75. Captained and coached by Graeme Mansfield the team enjoyed, on the lower campus with the Derwent as a backdrop, one of the most beautiful grounds in Tasmania.

Other sports also progressed. The opening of the gymnasium, or Sport and Recreation Centre as it was officially named, provided opportunities for those without the ability to flourish in senior grade championships. Five-a-side soccer, basketball, volleyball, badminton, weights and pulleys, fitness classes and tests were available to staff and students. Nervous breakdowns through overwork and lack of exercise became less excusable.

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In the midst of all these developments the SRC and the Union worked for their own growth. Some of the ventures of this period burnt the Union's financial fingers. There were disappointments like the taking over in 1967 of the University Bookroom, still housed in an old hut. Alas, not only were there complaints about unsatisfactory service but the unpredictability of textbook orders resulted in a loss, not the expected profit. Ironically, when in 1977 the Bookshop was rehoused in the new Union extension, convenience required its takeover by Birchalls. The mixed shop also ran at a loss. In 1974 the Union had to cut its budget. Inflation, reduction in fees for part-timers and the levelling off of student numbers were responsible. The Union had started a printing centre, a sound lounge and, as mentioned, had begun leasing houses to accommodate students. A full-time Activities Officer was appointed in 1973. After that year the University itself financed the new Union Welfare Officer.

The Union experienced several setbacks in its praiseworthy efforts to improve the quality of student life. The classes it sponsored in yoga, karate, pottery, dance and films received insufficient support. Equipment was stolen from a new sound lounge. The SRC faced a campaign against compulsory Union fees, inspired partly by part-timers who used virtually no Union facilities, and partly by conservative students who disliked the SRC's left of centre stance. An attempt to lower Union fees was, however, defeated by a considerable majority in April 1975.¹³ Criticism that the Union was forcing its employees to work in sweated conditions was rejected. In the age of protest Union officers faced difficulties similar to those experienced by the executives of other established institutions.

Academic Arrivals and Departures

While students learnt the requirements of modern large-scale organisation, after the resolution of the Orr Case potential staff lost any reservations about taking posts at the University of Tasmania. As Vice-Chancellor Isles told Council in March 1966, 'thick and fast they came at last, and more, and more, and more.'¹⁴ Presiding over this movement was the Chancellor since 1964, Sir Henry Somerset. Somerset differed from his predecessors in that he assisted the University in business and public affairs, but took no part in academic politics. Until 1972 he thus played a much needed calming role. Somerset was succeeded by Eustace John Cameron (Sir John from 1977), a Tasmanian pastoralist, owning Lochiel at Ross and closely related to the Camerons of the adjacent Mona Vale property. The new Chancellor was educated at Geelong Grammar School and Trinity College, Cambridge. He worked briefly with ICI and the ANZ in Victoria before seeing active service with the RANVR in World War II. Until his retirement at the end

of 1977, Cameron served with Sir George Cartland as Vice-Chancellor. The latter, despite the need to cut costs periodically, was *par excellence* the Vice-Chancellor during what later appeared a period of phenomenal growth.

The most welcome symbol of a new era was the advent of a new Professor of Philosophy in 1969. William D. (Bill) Joske had, like his predecessor Morris Miller, taken his original degree at Melbourne University part-time while working as a librarian, and had then lectured at the same University, Western Australia and Monash. The retirement of Kajika Milanov in 1970 was followed by the building of a new Department of Philosophy, with a staff of six, all unassociated with the Orr case. However, Joske, like Orr, was interested, not in linguistic analysis, but in the big traditional philosophical questions. Students were enthralled by a scepticism which suggested that life was a meaningless absurdity. Joske was also influential in the higher counsels of the University. Memories of Orr, who had raised the number of philosophy students in a smaller institution from a handful to over one hundred, were slowly fading.

Two prominent Orr supporters left the History Department in 1974, Malcolm McRae and George Wilson, in McRae's case through premature death, in Wilson's by postponed retirement. Both had injected a new dynamism into the institution, Wilson pioneering Asian studies and McRae dramatising Australian History. Under Professors Barrie Rose (appointed in 1971), a Manchester educated authority on the French Revolution who had lectured at Sydney, and Michael Roe (promoted to a second chair in 1977), an Australianist educated at Melbourne, Cambridge and the ANU, the Department experienced a boom in research productivity. In Classics Paul Weaver, a Cambridge and Otago graduate and authority on Roman History, transferred from Western Australia to carry on the Elliott's work. In Law, Derek Roebuck from 1969 to 1978 held the second chair alongside Professor Norman Dunbar, who, educated at Sheffield University, had lectured in Wales before coming to Tasmania. An Oxford graduate who practised Law in England before taking a lectureship at Wellington, New Zealand, Roebuck earned a reputation for radicalism. His books ranged from *The Law of Contract* to a Penguin on modern mercenaries, *The Whores of War*.¹⁵ Roebuck resigned in 1978 for a position with Amnesty International. With a different perspective was Harry Gelber, a Cambridge graduate who had worked for Reuters and the BBC before taking a lectureship at Monash. In 1975 he succeeded as Professor Wilfrid Townsley who had built up an effective Political Science Department from scratch. Townsley himself had pioneered the study of Tasmanian politics. Gelber's writings emphasised problems of national defence and international affairs, while other members of the Political Science and Administration Department published on issues such as

conservation, foreign aid, Aboriginal health and multiculturalism. Administrative advice became available for local politicians and local elections were monitored.

In the sciences there was less movement at the top in this period, but Medicine exhibited a considerable advance. Colin Wendell Smith, a London graduate who had been an Associate Professor at New South Wales, succeeded Barnett in the chair of Anatomy in 1968. A founder of the Family Planning Association of Tasmania, Wendell Smith served as national president of FAUSA, 1972-74, and subsequently as Pro-Vice-Chancellor. Ian Lewis, educated in Sydney, London and Edinburgh University, came from a Readership at Western Australia to be foundation Professor in the Department of Child Health in 1968. Albert Baikie, Tasmanian foundation Professor of Medicine and educated at Glasgow before taking a post at Melbourne University, died in 1975. He had specialised in genetic factors in disease. His successor, Graham William Boyd, an authority on hypertension, had been trained at Melbourne and later returned to that University after six years lecturing in London.

The Medical School achieved an important first in 1975 when Jean Norelle Lickiss, originally appointed a lecturer in Medicine in 1970, was promoted to the chair of a new Department of Community Health in 1975. Professor Lickiss, a Sydney graduate and member of a Catholic religious order, specialised in the treatment of cancer patients. She held the chair till 1983. By 1975 the Medical School had a full range of courses: Obstetrics, under J.C. Correy, Surgery, originally headed by Professor Robert M. Mitchell from Otago, and Psychiatry were established at this time. Pathology, the preserve of another Otago academic, Roland Rodda, had been set up in 1965. In 1969 the preclinical departments abandoned the huts for the new Medical Sciences Building above Churchill Avenue; in December the Medical Clinical Building beside the Royal Hobart Hospital was opened for occupation by the Departments of Medicine, Pathology, Surgery and Child Health. Accommodation now existed for forty-eight students. The Medical School had achieved full stature.

Overall, between 1967 and 1975 the number of full-time academic staff had doubled from 150 to 300. As students had only increased from 2,443 to 3,399 their increase was 139 per cent as opposed to 200 per cent for staff. Though pockets of difficulty remained, the pressure on staff eased somewhat after 1971 when the staff/student ratio had worsened for the third successive year.

Academic Issues of 1967-1975

The rapid growth of staff and the accompanying changes meant that University government would need rethinking. Despite the

doubling of staff, the number of professors had increased only from twenty-nine to thirty-three. Most were still *ex officio* Heads of Department, but the Professorial Board usually contained several Acting Heads and, in the 1950s, representatives of sub-professorial staff were introduced. Sub-professorial delegates on Council also sat on the Board, and by a natural progression others were elected directly by the Faculties. The Board officially co-opted such newcomers rather than conceding their membership as of right. As early as 1965 Ron Hood of Classics, citing the *Martin Report*, raised a number of these issues, maintaining that some academic reorganisation was essential in view of the decreasing proportion of professors to other staff. Regular departmental meetings, the circulation of Board minutes, more Faculty representation, the possibility of an Academic Board rather than a Professorial Board, and the incorporation of non-professorial Heads of Department were mooted. The latter suggestion, and the proposal by the Staff Association in 1970 and supported by a number of academics in 1971 that Associate Professorships be revived for senior academics heavily involved in teaching and administration, were then rejected by the Board. The principle of multiple chairs was accepted in 1970 when Departments with over ten staff were considered entitled to a second professor. Very few Departments did, however, achieve their second chairs before increasing financial stringency made it difficult to fill vacant chairs, let alone establish new ones.

Such issues were closely related to the problems of promotion and a general formula for academic development, much discussed at this time. With senior lecturer increasingly becoming the career grade for academics, most debate centred on the readership. Sub-professorial representatives wanted more precise specifications, including information on referees. A system, requiring a *prima facie* decision by the Promotions Committee before submitting an application to outside referees, was established in 1971. Readers by teaching excellence as well as research excellence were now appointed. A category of clinical reader was introduced in 1981 to entice highly qualified people to medical positions. An appeals system for unsuccessful candidates was also established. Student pressure through the Joint Advisory Committee, which had been particularly active in the 1960s, resulted in a three-year probationary period for many new lecturers.

As Professor Gordon Rimmer of History showed in 1966, the triennial system, requiring regular applications for Commonwealth finance, necessitated a formula to ensure justice in the allocation of resources and staff positions. It proved difficult, however, to calculate a generally acceptable Index of Relative Need when some Departments, especially those in Arts, had large numbers of students, but relatively inexpensive equipment requirements, and some scientific Departments with small, select numbers worked with most sophisticated modern technology.

Nor was it easy to incorporate research activity into the general formula. The conversion of simple EFTS (effective full-time students) into more complex SWSUs (scaled weighted student units) required considerable thought.

The creation of a Formula Sub-Committee to refine the system and monitor Faculty or Departmental proposals was but one aspect of a vast increase in administrative work created by the exploding University. In 1967, Vice-Chancellor Isles, regretting that no satisfactory procedure had been devised for the University's submission for the previous triennium, suggested a joint Council/Board committee to prepare a unified submission.¹⁶

During the Cartland years, partly the result of the *Murray Report's* recommendation of the English system, the Vice-Chancellor acted as chairman of the Professorial Board. This partly removed the balance of authority, existing especially in the Pitman/Morris Miller era. The idea of the Vice-Chancellor's chairmanship had been suggested by the Staff Association and was backed by Professor Scott, Board chairman, who considered it important for the Vice-Chancellor to act as advocate for the Board. He believed the current task for Board chairmen too great.¹⁷ A Deputy Chairman of the Board was duly created and the position of Pro-Vice-Chancellor (later Deputy Vice-Chancellor) was established in 1972, Scott being the first incumbent. By 1967 there were thirty-four members of the Board, not a very marked increase over the twenty-seven of 1959. Milanov was in 1959 the sole non-professorial Head of Department. But in 1975 there were fifty-two members, including thirteen sub-professorial Heads of Department or Faculty representatives. By 1987 a slight majority of the seventy-one members were sub-professorial.

A larger staff and more exacting business meant more organised committee work. Before 1958, the Committee of Deans had acted as the Standing Committee of the Professorial Board. Yet this became patently unsatisfactory. As was pointed out, two of the Deans, Arts and Science, were elected by large Faculties; three, however, represented 'pocket boroughs' and one 'a rotten borough'. The new Standing Committee of the Board, consisting in 1967 of the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Chairman of the Professorial Board *ex officio*, and four members elected by the Board, emerged as the chief administrative agency of the University. The Board itself by the late 1980s, with over seventy members became, like most contemporary parliaments, more a platform for canvassing general opinion and a rubber stamp than an initiator of new and complex policy. As Isles had pointed out, neither it nor the Council had seriously considered the submission for the 1970-72 triennium. The latter body, maintaining its membership between twenty and thirty while the Board expanded, proved more flexible. The old polarisation between the academic values maintained

by the Board and the pragmatic or social considerations favoured by lay members of Council became less evident, especially with the increase of staff and student membership. More important was the fact that after full Federal funding, lay members of Council no longer acted as a buffer between the requirements of the University and the exigencies of State government.

By 1967 there were seventeen major University committees, not including others set up by Faculties or Departments. In 1975 these had increased to twenty committees of Council, most of them containing a large proportion of academics of all ranks, twenty-three committees of the Professorial Board, and three Vice-Chancellor's committees. Though staff had doubled in the period, committees had more than kept pace. The pressure on the chief officers of the University, no longer *ex officio* members of all, was very considerable indeed. Deans and Heads of Department found paper-work proliferating. Professorial Heads of Department grew so encumbered by the chores of middle management as to leave little time for research or dynamic teaching. Even administratively unambitious academics, who attempted to insulate themselves in a world of teaching and research found it difficult to avoid the duties that hard pressed Heads of Department endeavoured to delegate. It was an ominous innovation in 1974 when agendas, minutes and reports from the central administration appeared, not in foolscap or traditional A-4, but reduced to A-5, to enable more sheets to be handled at once. At the same time, senior administrative staff, growing from fifteen in 1967 to twenty-four in 1975 and thirty-one in 1987, became increasingly important and influential. By 1985 the full-time general staff outnumbered the full-time academic staff by 485 to 375. Many general staff, such as research assistants, secretaries, typists and technicians were of course employed in academic, rather than purely administrative activity.

These changes and their consequences led to the *Green Paper* of 1975 which endeavoured to transform University administration. Since 1967 there had been a number of discussions on a radical reform of the whole system. Most of these had been quietly abandoned. However, the *Green Paper* was not so easily set aside. Established in 1974, the Academic Development Committee ignored the Council as unlikely to interfere in academic matters; it was in any case scheduled for restructuring itself. The committee addressed the problems of Departments, Faculties and the Professorial Board. Pointing out that Departments had only come into effective existence after World War II, the *Green Paper* recommended circulating headships and properly constituted Departmental Committees. It did not, however, recommend an outright system of election but suggested a curious compromise by which the Vice-Chancellor consulted the Departmental Committee and, if necessary, other academics, before making a recommendation

to Council. Again, though the Departmental Committee was to be consulted by the Head, he or she retained the authority to overrule it. Thus the Adelaide system of Heads elected by the Departmental Committee, *tout court*, was rejected. The *Paper* also made recommendations for Faculty and Professorial Board committees charged with final determination of a number of routine matters. It accepted the need for the numerous existing University committees, distinguishing between those that were autonomous, advisory and managerial.

The recommendations dealing with Faculties and the Professorial Board aroused relatively little interest, though the issues were to resurface in the later 1980s. After circulating through the University in 1976 and 1977 the Committee's proposals on Departments were finally accepted by the Professorial Board in late 1978. Much was said about the administrative inroads into professorial time: it was 'anomalous that a person who was usually the best qualified scholar in the Department had less time for scholarship than most of his colleagues.' Thus *ex officio* headship until retirement seemed an unattractive proposition to some Professors. Indeed, many sub-professorial staff were less than enthusiastic about the opportunity to administer their Departments. They believed with the veteran John Polya, who retired in 1978, that the salary differential, far greater than the additional duties allowance between Readers and Professors, could only be justified on administrative grounds. The final decision gave professorial *ex officio* Heads the opportunity to forego their rights if they wished. On the motion of Ron Hood, acting Head of Classics, Heads were required to be at least Senior Lecturers and were to be formally appointed by Council on the recommendation of the Vice-Chancellor, who retained a right to consult Departments and, if necessary, make his own decision. Departments decided their own system of election, but frequently none was required. However, Professors relinquishing their *ex officio* rights lost the power to resume them. It was indeed an evolutionary, rather than a revolutionary change containing certain ambiguities. For example, some Readers, supposedly preoccupied with research, now became administrators. Despite the misgivings of some, a number of academics gained greater understanding of administrative problems.¹⁸

Research and Cultural Development, 1967-1975

Though researchers had been active in the 1960s the Cartland years saw greater emphasis and publicity for the essential work of the University. In the 1950s the *University Calendar* had still printed the entire publication lists of all members of staff. This gave way to a separate booklet. By the end of the 1960s this report contained only the publications of the current year. General introductions were amplified in the 1972 Report by accounts of the research of each

Department by the Head. In many cases the results were impressive. In 1973 Professor Bloom, Chairman of the Research Committee, reported healthy development with increasing projects 'geared to the needs of the community'. His successor, Professor Weaver, underlined the same message, citing Agricultural Science, Commerce, Law, Education, Engineering and Medicine in particular, praising in addition the Science Faculty's contribution to the study of conservation and the range and quality of publication in Departments like Geography and History. Exciting work was being done in Physics with the new low frequency radio telescope which received its baptism of fire in 1972. Meanwhile the observatory building and dome complex for a 100 cm optical telescope was handed over to the University. The telescope was not completed till 1976; a cosmic ray observatory was established in 1975 and work was also done on X-ray astronomy. In 1974 the Universities Commission enabled the University to establish a Central Science Laboratory, providing equipment of vital concern to research in a wide variety of science departments. By 1983 the Commission strongly endorsed the outcome: the CSL being the only central laboratory in Australia offering such a range of equipment and assistance.¹⁹

Cultural progress was demonstrated in the development of the John Elliott Classics Museum and the establishment in 1968 of a Fine Arts Committee. The former grew out of a collection of Greek vases and Greek and Roman coins (some obtained by Dunbabin) begun by Professor Elliott in 1954. After being housed for a time in the new Library it was relocated, after 1976, in the University Centre. Under Ron Hood as Honorary Curator, it is recognised as one of the best collections in the country. The Fine Arts Committee by the centenary year had its own curator for over 1,000 works of art, mainly Australian, displayed around campus.

Both research and cultural activity die without finance. In 1975, of \$786,140 research finance to the University of Tasmania from all sources, most came from the Australian Research Grants Committee and the National Health and Medical Research Council. Though a glance at the research record of the University of Tasmania in these years immediately destroys the popular canard that academics fritter away their time on futile projects, it was research funding which received the first savage cut from the embattled Whitlam government in September 1975. The initial attempt to reduce Australian Research Grants Committee (ARGS) funding across the board by a swingeing sixty-six per cent was later modified, but the University of Tasmania entered 1976 with much reduced research grants.²⁰ Hopes that federal financial control would prove more reliable than the old state system were shattered. The University's so-called golden years had turned to brass. Fortunately, as the *Annual Report* demonstrated, by 1976 all the major building projects, Arts extension, Union extension (with

bar and bookshop), and University Centre were complete, and the underpass to the Union scheduled for opening in 1977. No new buildings were started or under construction. An infrastructure was in place to withstand a long period of retrenchment.

YEARS OF AMALGAMATION, 1976-1981

The two triennia, 1976-78 and 1979-81, were dominated by the long protracted struggle which ended in the absorption by the University of much of the Hobart TCAE and the resultant increase in the student body, between 1980 and 1981, from 3,500 to 5,000. Apart from Sir George Cartland's final year in 1977, the Vice-Chancellor for this period was David Caro, an eminent physicist who had been Deputy Vice-Chancellor of Melbourne. Caro, with a razor sharp intelligence and some impatience with the slow or mediocre, was widely tipped to succeed to the Vice-Chancellorship in Melbourne and fulfilled predictions in 1982. Caro took over in Tasmania during a period of intense crisis when the University faced particularly threatening external problems. One was the general decline in government finance. Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser could block Whitlam's budget, but perpetuated its reduction of University funding. Another not unrelated difficulty involved the rival TCAE.

TCAE Amalgamation Effected

The TCAE imbroglio was a classic example of the explosive mixture of ambivalent government higher education policy and political expediency so notable in the early years of the University of Tasmania. Following the 1965 *Martin Report* State and Federal politicians became enamoured of a binary divide in higher education. Let the Universities continue their traditional research and instruction of academically-minded students, but let the government also provide a more practical, down to earth education for others, no less gifted in a different way. An advisory committee duly visited Tasmania in 1965 and the Commonwealth announced a pound for pound grant to the State government for the erection of a College of Advanced Education on sixty-eight hectares of Mt Nelson above the University. In 1966 the plan was adopted by the Reece Labor government, in which W.A. Neilson was Education Minister. The victory of the State Liberals in 1969 made no difference. Responding to an outcry in Launceston that it should have had the College, the Liberal government in September 1971 announced the establishment of a northern CAE branch at Newnham in Launceston. The Hobart CAE campus incorporated the Hobart Teachers College, the School of Art and the Conservatorium of Music. The University

abandoned its certificate for primary teachers. The Launceston campus was based on the local Teachers College and part of the Technical College. Mt Nelson also offered courses in Librarianship, Social Work, Environmental Design, Pharmacy, Surveying and Commerce, and Law Practice was mooted. It duly opened in 1972 under the direction of Professor R. Selby Smith, a graduate of Rugby, Magdalen College, Oxford, and the wartime RNVR, in which he was a Lt-Commander. After a decade as Principal of Scotch College, Melbourne, Selby Smith moved to the Education Faculty of Monash, where he was Dean when appointed by the TCAE. Considerable embarrassment was caused by Selby Smith's resignation from the TCAE in June 1972, protesting against financial and planning restrictions. In January 1973 he became the second Professor of Education at the University of Tasmania and a powerful force in working for a merger of the two institutions. Selby Smith subsequently complained that the TCAE had set out to compete with the University, not to complement it, citing an attempt, which he prevented, to establish a Liberal Arts School, and the absurdity of two Engineering Schools. His successor, Dr Paul Wisch, argued however that the University had rejected Pharmacy, Applied Chemistry, Surveying and Accounting, only to find itself losing numbers.²¹

Theoretically there was no competition between the University and TCAE, which was supposed to appeal to an entirely different type of student. In fact, competition was inevitable from the outset. The old issue of standards versus community needs, which had been fought out in the clashes between Council and Professorial Board in the 1940s and 1950s, resurfaced. To many Hobart business and commercial leaders the TCAE seemed everything the University had refused to be. It was directly controlled by the State government, it was not funded for research; its courses were apparently always 'relevant', its teaching techniques were more relaxed and the distinctions between staff and students were deliberately minimised. University academics for their part were horrified at the unconventional architecture, which eschewed windows, and the reputedly casual standards of both staff and students.

While many ordinary University staff were little concerned at the TCAE's competition, believing that the better students would prefer tighter University qualifications, the leading University administrators thought otherwise. They were painfully aware that while University numbers at this time were slightly declining, those of the TCAE gathered momentum in the 1970s. Both institutions were competing for the same small pool of students. Moreover, there was the problem of Education. In 1976 the University at last established the BEd which had been so long resisted. This four-year course simply combined Education units with units taken in other faculties. But could the University compete now with the TCAE BEd? Though a qualification mainly for primary teachers, the TCAE BEd might eventually challenge the

University's postgraduate DipEd with courses, integrating pedagogy and subject matter, deemed more relevant by the State Education Department.

Politics now took over. In 1975 Federal government's Education Minister, Kim Beazley, and his State counterpart, Neil Batt, set up a comprehensive commission on Tasmanian tertiary education under the chairman of the Universities Grants Committee, Professor Peter Karmel. Batt, a Tasmanian honours History graduate, and sometime PhD candidate and part-time tutor, last seen as editor of *Togatus*, outlined his own position in much quoted 1975 speeches. One was given to the AGM of the Federation of Staff Associations of Colleges of Advanced Education, while the Karmel Inquiry was conducting its investigations. Batt rejected the elitist British University for the American multiversity and opposed any distinction between universities and CAEs. He praised the Colleges for their open access, contrasting with university restrictiveness the CAEs' greater relevance to the business and administrative communities. Universities, on the other hand, lacked 'intellectual stimulus' and 'there is a lot of intellectual triviality within the universities as typified by the pattern of the Ph.D.' On the basis of such remarks a perceptive *Mercury* journalist, Wayne Crawford, argued that Batt was primarily motivated by an educational philosophy opposed to institutional demarcation and the belief that the University needed 'a touch along'. Crawford concluded that issues like rationalisation, economy and an independent institution for the North were irrelevant to the real issue, and Batt did not disagree with the interpretation.²²

Meanwhile, a University committee, consisting of Cartland, Pro-Vice-Chancellor Wendell Smith, the Deputy Chairman of the Professorial Board, C.H. Miller, Selby Smith and the Registrar, David Kearney, made what appeared an ambit claim. Their submission maintained that TCAE courses in a number of areas overlapped those of the University, and that to avoid the disaster of two small institutions locked in a mutually destructive conflict, the functions of the Mt Nelson College should be divided between the University and Newnham, which should become an independent CAE.

In February 1976 the *Karmel Report* accepted the substance of the University submission. Citing Tasmania's low tertiary retention rate (about the national average in the Hobart area, but very much lower in the rest of Tasmania) the *Report* agreed that the TCAE at Mt Nelson was otiose. It found very considerable overlap in Commerce, Education and Engineering. About 1,000 University students also took courses likely to lead to the DipEd and hence competed with the TCAE's BEd, available for both primary and secondary teachers. Though there was some difference in pedagogy and philosophy, both institutions vied for the same pool of students. The numbers were too small to

justify the competition which might be healthy between larger institutions. Karmel therefore recommended that Applied Chemistry, Business Studies, Education, Engineering, Medical Technology, Music, Pharmacy and Surveying be located at the University, while Art (excepting some taught at the Hobart Technical College), Environmental Design and Physical Education be transferred to Newnham, which was to become the new TCAE centre. The fate of Librarianship and Social Work was to be decided later. Karmel anticipated that by 1978 the University, with another 1,300 students would reach 5,000, while the Launceston TCAE would acquire an additional 500.

Implementation proved difficult. Students and staff at the TCAE launched an immediate protest, insisting that their philosophy was totally different from that of the University which could not be trusted to maintain initiatives developed in the newer institution. Business and other supporters of the TCAE, who considered the University too elitist and inflexible, supported the College. A campaign of protests, leaflets, petitions, full-page advertisements and letters to the press gathered momentum. The University itself was divided as in the days of Orr. Indeed, several academics who had been active in the earlier conflict drew analogies linking the two periods.

As Karmel had reported during the long vacation, opposition developed gradually on the Professorial Board. In March it was decided to co-operate with other bodies in rationalisation²³, but in April Professor Ian Smith objected to talk of consensus on the Board. The real battle began over the H.E. Cosgrove Committee, charged with preparing for implementation of the *Report*. In July the presentation of a statement for Cosgrove drafted by a University Special Advisory Committee, chaired by Wendell Smith, evoked dissent from Professors Joske, Smith, Sale of Information Science, Bruce Johnson of Zoology and others. There was a fear that a four year integrated BEd, long resisted by Arts and Science, might be imposed on the University, thus undermining the traditional BA/BSc followed by the one-year DipEd. It was resolved to formally notify Council of division on the Professorial Board.

A compromise produced by Cosgrove, debated by the Professorial Board on 18 and 25 August 1976, enabled the TCAE's overlapping disciplines to be absorbed directly by the University. Others, such as Art and Music, were to be grouped in an Institute administered by the University which would nevertheless eschew responsibility for the academic content of courses so different from its own. The sticking point was TCAE staff *vis-à-vis* the University. Hard times had already arrived: in July Standing Committee had warned of a financial moratorium on all vacancies in the University, requiring a special case for filling any post. Were TCAE staff, believed to possess deficient qualifications, to be accepted *en bloc* by the University? Cosgrove,

following Karmel, demanded sympathetic consideration for TCAE staff when the transferred positions were formally advertised. In a vigorous discussion on the Board in response to Council's request for 'a satisfactory interpretation of sympathetic consideration' a number of definitions were proposed and rejected. An attempt to substitute preference to TCAE staff 'of equal merit' to other candidates for 'comparable or similar merit' was lost. The motion finally passed 20-12 with the minority voters recording their dissent. The final decision to accept full University responsibility for Applied Chemistry, Business Studies, Surveying, Pharmacy and Engineering, but only administrative and financial responsibility for Art, Education, Legal Practice, Librarianship, Music and (with reservations) Environmental Design was passed 16-14, again most of the minority voters felt strongly enough to dissent publicly. In September the *Cosgrove Report* was accepted generally, 26-12 with the opposition demonstratively unappealed. An attempt by David Elliott of Mathematics to refer the issue first to the Policy and Planning Committee and the Faculties was narrowly defeated, 22-18. The Arts Faculty subsequently rejected the Board's blanket endorsement of Cosgrove, and welcomed the Minister for Education's assurance that the University would not be responsible for Advanced Education courses. The Science Faculty, however, questioned how it would carry out its responsibilities to the semi-autonomous Institute or Centre envisaged.

Immediately after the August Professorial Board debate a letter signed by 109 academics, led by Ian Smith and including eleven professors, was presented to Council rejecting the *Karmel Report's* basic recommendation. In the following month the Staff Association held a dramatic meeting on the issue in the new University Centre. It was attended by the chief Karmel critics as well as the architects of the University's successful case. The latter won 73-55. The battle within the University was formally lost, but the fact that such a large body of academics was opposed to the takeover was an important factor in delaying the final decision till 1980.²⁴

Peter Scott of Geography, Sam Carey and Max Banks of Geology, and A.J. Hagger of Economics signed both Orr's momentous letter to the Premier in 1954 and the protest against Karmel in 1976. There was, however, no correlation between Orr supporters and opponents of Karmel amongst those academics still on the staff. Nine available Orr signatories did not openly oppose Karmel, one, the Registrar David Kearney, being a leading advocate of the TCAE takeover. Several notable opponents of Orr, such as Professor Hardie of Education, differing from his colleague, Selby Smith, and Mrs Charlotte (Lottie) Wilmot, also of Education, signed up against Karmel.

Nevertheless, the historian may still perceive an implicit correlation, disguised by the fact that the TCAE issue meant different things to

different people. The need to increase votes in Launceston, the attraction of bringing all forms of education under the State Department, the use of the TCAE as a battering ram to open up the University, and the desire to protect the University from competition, all played a part. To some there were financial gains from rationalisation; to others the elimination of the Hobart TCAE absolved the Federal government from its commitment to provide Advanced College funding at the rate of 8:10 for Universities, thus depriving the State of additional grants. But despite these conflicting motivations or rationalisations, the long-term issue of standards, facing the University at every stage in its existence, had returned in an updated form. That the opposition represented a significant opinion is demonstrated by the fact that Elliott, Joske and Sale were subsequently Chairmen of the Professorial Board, while Scott was Pro-Vice-Chancellor, 1980-82.

On this interpretation, hostile critics of the University could adopt two diametrically opposed positions, viewing the TCAE takeover either as the destruction of an 'open' and non-elitist alternative to the University, which had refused to bow to local wishes in the entire period of its existence, or as a means to infiltrate new attitudes and values into the allegedly moribund University. University supporters were similarly divided between those who saw the takeover as a defence of traditional academic standards, and those who feared that the relaxed standards of the TCAE would prevail in a merger. The comments in Orr's 1954 letter about efforts to impose weakened matriculation requirements on the University, and the subsequent investigation of the issue by the 1955 Royal Commission, addressed an essentially similar problem. Orr's supporter, John Polya, highlighted the academic dilemma at this time. In his submission to the Karmel Inquiry, he strongly emphasised the dangerous lowering of standards in both University and TCAE, suggesting that the existence of the two institutions was absurd. He appears to have played no part in opposing the *Karmel Report*.

It seems, therefore, that most academics decided on pragmatic grounds, believing the TCAE takeover likely either to defend or destroy traditional academic standards. Some, no doubt, shared the view that the University needed a 'touch along' from Batt, and some undoubtedly felt the abrupt termination of a new and promising institution a serious threat to the whole scholarly community. There appears little correlation between innovative teaching and support for the takeover amongst University of Tasmania academics. An unfortunate result of the controversy was to inflate differences between the University and the TCAE out of all proportion to their real nature. Thus the University was portrayed as a grimly archaic citadel of repressive educational practices, while the TCAE was rhetorically depicted as an institution where half educated staff, oblivious of research, purveyed gross

simplicities in conditions reminiscent of a play-school. In reality, the TCAE was, like other Colleges, striving for academic equality with, and the research funding of, a university.

The State election of December 1976 did not, as some expected, see feeling aroused on behalf of the TCAE in the Hobart electorate of Denison. Both parties supported Karmel. Only the Labor backbencher, John Green, was prepared to campaign openly against Karmel. Losing his deposit in 1972, Green was now comfortably elected, but other factors explain his success. Sufficient opposition had been built up in the community to give the re-elected Neilson government reason to pause before totally eliminating the Hobart TCAE. Neilson, whose 1975 promise to preserve the TCAE was used by the latter's supporters, soon gave way to Doug Lowe as Premier. Batt, however, remained influential in the government. His successor as Education Minister, Harry Holgate, who had struggled as an MP and Speaker of Parliament to complete his Arts degree, shared Batt's educational objectives.

In 1977 two more reports dealt with the University/TCAE takeover, the *Tertiary Education: Next Decade (TEND)* and that of the University Registrar, David Kearney. These reports likewise insisted on the need for teacher education to go to the University. On the suggestion of the retired Hobart businessman, wine-grower and philanthropist, Claudio Alcorso, the redundant Henry Jones Company jam factory on Hobart's historic waterfront was proposed for conversion into an Arts Centre, housing the Schools of Art and Music under University auspices.²⁵ Meanwhile, though the TCAE staff continued their struggle for survival as best they could, morale plummeted, resignations multiplied and student numbers dropped off. Surveying and Pharmacy were transferred to the University in 1978, while Physical Education, Applied Chemistry, Administrative Studies and Engineering courses went north to Newnham.

When David Caro took over as Vice-Chancellor in early 1978, the amalgamation issue was still not resolved. The TCAE centre of gravity had certainly shifted north. A new TCAE Director, Dr Coleman O'Flaherty, was appointed in August 1978. Debating the TEND Report in September, an unsuccessful attempt was made at the Professorial Board to demand the incorporation of Mt Nelson's Teacher Education into the University's existing structures. The issue became more pressing when the new Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission, uniting control of Universities and Colleges of Advanced Education, produced a depressing *Report for the 1979-81 Triennium*. Both the prospects for recurrent funding and annual capital grants for building looked bleak for the University. Incremental creep, as ageing staff, denied outside promotional opportunity in a period of zero growth, reached the top of their respective scales, required savings on salaries or the disestablishment of further posts.²⁶ Possibilities such as retraining, the

voluntary demotion of Professors to Readers, early retirement with a lump sum and secondment were considered. The University was particularly unfortunate in that its superannuation scheme, based on an earlier optimistic view that large numbers of contributors would retire in other institutions, was approaching collapse as existing retirees were paid at high rates. University of Tasmania academics were in no position to be generous to new applicants from the TCAE.

In December the Tasmanian government set up its own Tertiary Education Committee of Tasmania (TECT), which, though it included the Vice-Chancellor alongside the TCAE Director, appeared to many academics as a renewed attempt by the State government to assert its control over the University. During the following year an attempt was made to thrash out the remaining problems of Mt Nelson. Dissatisfied with the submissions of both University and TCAE, TECT set up its own inquiry at the end of 1979. The State Education Department caused a final flurry by proposing the closure of the University's Education Faculty and the transference of all teacher training to the TCAE. Vice-Chancellor Caro warned the Professorial Board that if TECT decided against the University its Arts and Science Faculties could be decimated and 600 effective full-time students lost. A University Working Party, containing, *inter alia*, the Karmel opponents Smith and Joske, was established to put a case during the long vacation.²⁷ In February 1980 TECT accepted the revised University proposal, and a hurriedly convened meeting of University staff endorsed the new proposals with only two dissentients.

Holgate, as Education Minister, announced the closure of the Mt Nelson campus and the establishment of a Centre of Education with three Departments, Educational Studies, Teacher Education and Special Education, at the University. The projected decline in teaching positions was an effective justification for unifying the two Education schools. The University's final submission had promised to maintain the TCAE BEd degree, with its concurrent instruction in pedagogy and subject material, alongside the end-on DipEd which followed a BA or BSc. Thus the old battle over the BEd had been finally won. Staff from the TCAE and the University were spread over the three Departments as Education personnel rose from sixteen in 1980 to forty-seven in 1981. Most of the TCAE staff were transferred, though occasionally without full tenure. Phillip Hughes, a Tasmanian science graduate (1946) and former Rhodes scholar and lecturer, was appointed Professor of Teacher Education. Hughes, with further qualifications from Oxford and New England, had been for ten years Head of the School of Education at the Canberra CAE. Previously, he had served as Principal of the Hobart Teachers' College and Deputy Director-General of Tasmanian Education. Kevin Collis, who, before Selby Smith's retirement, had succeeded Hardie in 1977, headed the Department of Educational Studies

and Merrill Jackson from Melbourne that of Special Education. Like his colleague, Phillip Hughes, Collis was an expert on mathematical education and the psychology of education. He had been an associate professor at Newcastle.

To house the new Centre, Hytten Hall, which had been losing money as the residential Colleges found it difficult to fill all their places, was converted for the purpose, with the initial cost defrayed by State and Federal governments. It was an ironical end to a College on which such high hopes had been set in the 1950s. On the other hand, the government was embarrassed by the existence of the redundant \$40 million institution on Mt Nelson, of which \$25 million was estimated to have been spent on buildings. Various proposals, including the establishment there of a Defence Academy and the Antarctic Base, instead of at Kingston, were considered before it was finally turned over to the Hobart Matriculation College.

Librarianship became an affiliate of the University's Faculty of Arts. The School of Art was eventually located in the old Jones Factory as planned. The University also took over Music, though its ultimate location was not decided for several years. Following Professor Orchard's efforts in the 1930s, since the early 1950s some tuition in music had been given in the Faculties of Education and Arts by Rex Hobcroft (1961-69) and Ian Cugley since 1967. Arts had abandoned its Music unit to avoid clashing with the TCAE. Cugley was incorporated in the new University Conservatorium of Music, directed initially by the celebrated Czech violinist, Jan Sedivka. When Sedivka in 1983 became Master Musician in Residence, the solo flautist David Cubbin from the Northern Rivers CAE in New South Wales was appointed first Professor of Music. Thus the aspirations for a Music chair in the 1930s belatedly bore fruit. The Conservatorium provided regular lunch-hour and other concerts in the University Centre, thus contributing effectively to the cultural environment of the University.

Social Work, Environmental Design, and Legal Practice, apparently given the option of staying with the University, were eventually located in Launceston, though the latter two continued to maintain a shadowy and somewhat anomalous presence in Hobart. The 1981 takeover immediately raised University student numbers, as projected, from 3,500 to 5,000 students. The minimum number for a decentralised college in Launceston, as stipulated in the Burton/Clark Report of 1966, was thus reached. While Vice-Chancellor Caro rejoiced that 'fruitless competition' was now over, Dr O'Flaherty of the TCAE believed that an unequal contest between a weakened CAE and a comprehensive University would be worsened by the University's takeover of so many Mt Nelson facilities.²⁸ O'Flaherty reportedly requested that the University incorporate Newnham as its northern campus.²⁹ Though not immediately successful, in 1987 negotiations for a merger began

between the administrations of the University and the Tasmanian Institute of Technology, as the TCAE had become. Again staff on both sides had misgivings, but the University of Tasmania will open its second century as part of a new amalgamated institution.

The actual outcome of the warmly contested merger between University and Mt Nelson CAE fully justified neither the fears of its enemies nor the hopes of its friends. The TCAE academics were easily integrated into University life. Admittedly, there was some physical segregation of Education at Hytten Hall and Art at the Jones Factory, and problems arose of equating merit in academic publication with the performance of artists and musicians. But when staff came together on boards and committees, divisions on policy rarely correlated with University or TCAE background. Nor is there any evidence that the changing standards, so lamented by Professor Polya, who retired in 1978, were introduced by former TCAE staff. On the other hand, many of those who believed that the merger would force the University to radically change its character were probably disappointed. Throughout its history the University has been closely linked with the general community. Far from being elitist and exclusive, the Chemistry and Engineering Departments had till the 1950s been physically located at the Hobart Technical College and their staff had frequently given school-level instruction. Sub-degree level instruction had been provided for teacher training students whose College had been virtually part of the University in the early 1900s. Morris Miller's links with the community as a psychologist, government adviser and member of countless boards and committees were widely celebrated. The Faculty of Law had once been accused of losing its academic independence by meeting in the Chief Justice's chambers. After World War II some new staff advocated a more restrictive concept of their role, but the historical tradition of the University was certainly one of close integration with the general community and other branches of education. The merger with the TCAE can be seen not only as an early response to the demands of the Williams Report for tertiary rationalisation, and an initial step towards the destruction of the binary divide in the late 1980s, but as a reassertion of the University of Tasmania's historical continuity.

Other developments of the Caro period

Any hopes raised by the supporters of the University/TCAE merger that it would ease the financial burdens of the University were soon dashed. The period of grim penury inaugurated in 1975 now intensified. Fed by some sensational articles in the popular press, calculated to give the impression that academics were overpaid and underworked, retrenching governments found academic cuts a popular, if unluccrative,

response to the economic downturn accelerated by the 1973 oil crisis. The later Cartland and the Caro years were a period of considerable despondency. Economies like the elimination of typing pools (eventually replaced by personal computers and word-processors), the substitution in 1981 of a brief weekly newssheet, *Contact*, for the ampler *University News* providing for reviews, controversy and useful information, and the abandonment of comprehensive *University Calendars*, were symptomatic of belt-tightening. Nevertheless, there were several new developments and a number of constructive responses to the difficulties faced by the University.

In 1980 the Tasmanian Parliament substantially amended the University Act for the first time since the Royal Commission year of 1955. Appropriately, a member of that Commission, Professor A.D. Trendall, had been awarded an honorary DLitt in the previous year. He sagely warned that present problems were not entirely new, citing Aristophanes's *Clouds* on the dangers of newfangled education. The new Act conceded an important demand of the Professorial Board in 1955, that formal membership of the University be extended from Council and Convocation to include all staff, teaching and general, and the student body.

The Act gave democratic impetus to the new definition by increasing the Council from twenty-one to thirty members. Not only was the Pro-Vice-Chancellor made a full member, but staff representation was raised from three to six. The Union President became a full member *ex officio* and students, undergraduate and postgraduate, were enabled to elect two members instead of one. The General Staff also obtained a representative. Other changes of historical interest were the elimination of long outdated references to Associates of Arts and the requirement that the State government pay the University an annual \$20,000.³⁰

Academic government also required reorganisation. Caro, not wishing to be *ex officio* Chairman of the Professorial Board while Vice-Chancellor, secured a return to the old system. The Chairman was thus restored to something of his former role. In 1979 A.R. Oliver of Engineering ascended from Deputy Chairman to Chairman of the Board. He was succeeded in 1980-82 by Professor David Elliott of Mathematics, influential and witty in Board deliberations. Much energy was expended at this time in devising a new formula to provide some basis for Departmental slices of a diminishing cake. The 1978 formula became so complicated as to require mathematical training. It now expressed staffing in financial terms based on student numbers. To the dissatisfaction of some, research was not included but funded separately. The Board's Standing Committee in 1979 insisted that it was 'essential for the University to increase its research output' or it might slip into a lower category of institution and suffer a reduction in grants.³¹

Another important change occurred in matriculation requirements. Since 1969 the University, though strongly represented on the various tiers of control and in the provision of chief examiners, had resigned formal authority over what now became the Higher School Certificate. Four level three passes were required to gain University entrance. At the same time, the University eased entry conditions for adults without matriculation. In 1979, however, it was decided to prescribe six HSC passes for matriculation. The intention was to force Tasmanian students to stay two years in matriculation classes and thus better prepare themselves for University studies. Tasmania still possessed the lowest tertiary retention rate in Australia but the Vice-Chancellor maintained that the Universities Council was moving away from a rigid correlation between student numbers and size of grants.³² In 1987 further changes in the Higher School Certificate were discussed. While an apparently inexorable movement towards total flexibility in subject requirements was in train, relatively little ire was manifested on the Professorial Board or the Faculties of Arts and Science.³³ Despite some discussion of a mandatory subject requiring a reasonable level of written English, gone were the days in which Board and Council could battle for years over relaxing matriculation standards. The associated issue of improved teaching suffered something of a setback with the conversion of HERAC to Harry Stanton's one-man consultancy on higher education in 1982. Many similar units established in the 1970s experienced difficulties in the penurious 'eighties. Stanton, soon to develop an international reputation with his popular 'Factor' books on personal development,³⁴ had endeavoured to popularise ideas such as examination anonymity and staff evaluative questionnaires. His regular newsletter, *The University Teacher*, continued to challenge academics in Tasmania and elsewhere to upgrade their teaching techniques.

The two triennia produced their crop of natural changes. Twelve professors, James McAuley, English (by death in 1976), Samuel Carey, Geology (1976), Charles Hardie, Education (1978), Robert Mitchell, Surgery (1977), Paul Bolton, Surgery (by death after less than a year in 1978), Gerald Firth, Economics (1978), John Polya, Chemistry (1978), Derek Roebuck, Law (1978), Richard Selby Smith, Education (1979), James Cardno, Psychology (1980), Harry Bloom, Chemistry (1981), and Norman Dunbar, Law (1981) left the University stage.

Law was vacant for three years before the appointment in 1984 of Roger Brown, a specialist in computer crime who had graduated at the ANU and Cambridge before lecturing at the New South Wales Institute of Technology; most of the other chairs were filled without much more than the usual delay, but this ceased after retirements in the post-1981 period. The practice was then institutionalised of reviewing each Department on the departure of a Professor or Director and saving money by delaying advertisement of the position.

Open to Talent

In Arts there were a number of important changes and developments. James McAuley was replaced in 1978 by Adrian Colman, a Scottish Shakespearean scholar, then an Associate Professor in Sydney, who encouraged the Department's growing interest in drama. The Arts Faculty's boldest innovation was the introduction in 1976 of Sociology under Rodney Crook, an Englishman professing his discipline in Canada. Despite a shortage of staff, Sociology produced important research in areas such as industrial relations and nineteenth century population analysis. In Languages the establishment of a new first year course in French for beginners encouraged community response. Italian was also introduced at this time. The Psychology chair went in 1981 to Don McNichol, an Adelaide and Cambridge graduate who in 1986 became a member of CTEC and in 1987 was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Newcastle. He was replaced in 1989 by David Siddle from Queensland, via Southampton and Macquarie. The History Department acquired a second chair (Michael Roe) and the balance between local and wider interest was shown in the publication of books on the Australian constitution, Australian women's history, and the biographies of a medieval English bishop and a French Revolutionary socialist.

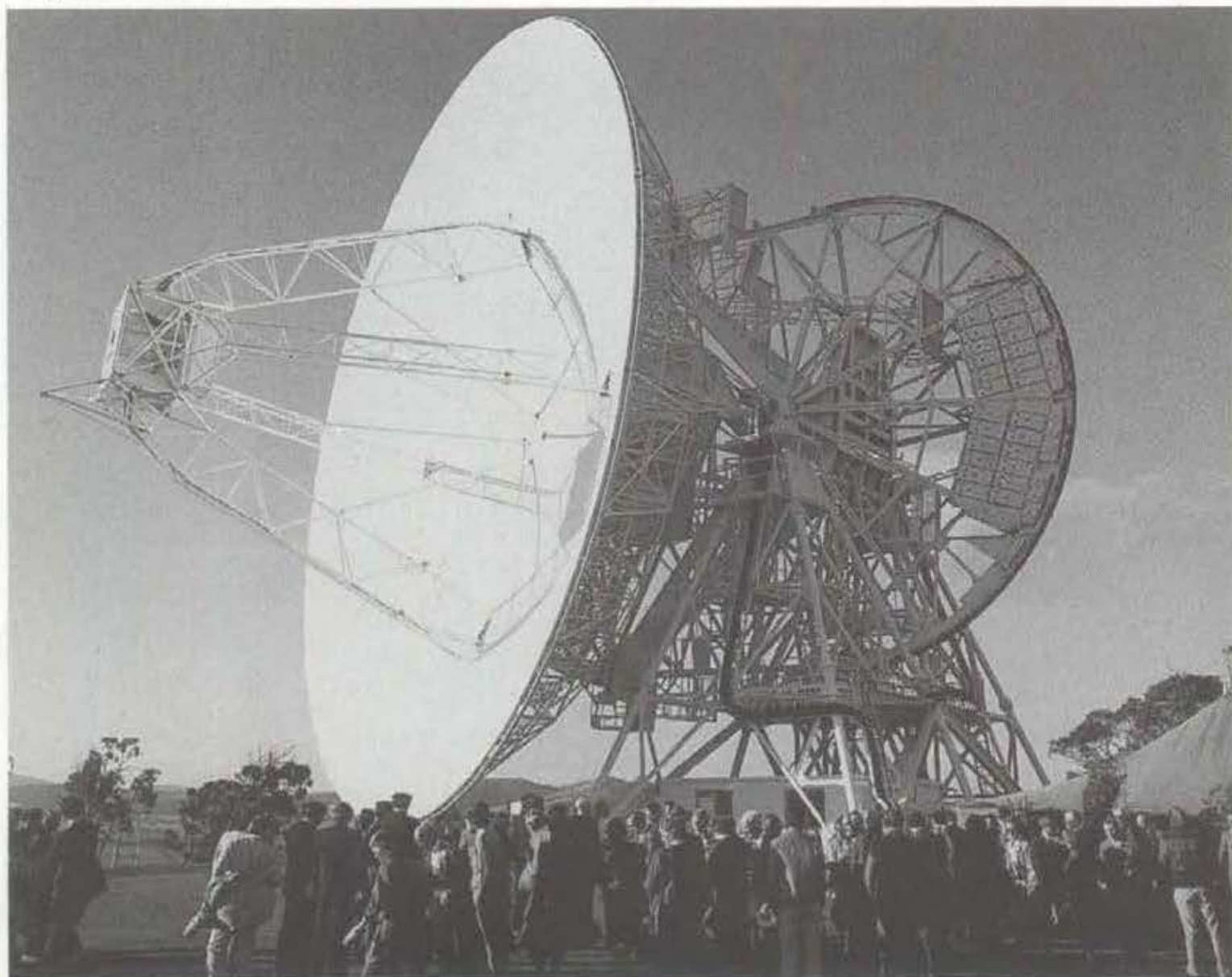
In the Sciences and Medicine, the influential Sam Carey's successor in Geology was an experimental petrologist, David Green, a Tasmanian and graduate in the year of Orr's dismissal who continued to Cambridge for his PhD, returning to Tasmania in 1977 to take the chair after fourteen years at the ANU. The Chemistry chair was filled in 1983 by Frank Larkins, a graduate of Melbourne and Oxford, who had been teaching at Monash. His research interests included the conversion of low grade coals into transport fuels. Robert Delbourgo, a Reader at Imperial College, London, where he had previously been trained, took the chair in Physics. The Department's long-term administrator was a Reader, Phillip Hamilton. Mathematics, allocated a second chair in 1958 with the appointment of L.S. Goddard, obtained its second professor with the appointment of Rudolf Lidl. Head of the Applied Algebra Unit in the University of Vienna, Lidl at 27 was slightly younger than E.J. Pitman in 1926. Three holders of the Mathematics chair, Alexander McAulay, E.J. Pitman and David Elliott, have virtually spanned the University's first century. Surgery in 1979 was settled under Joseph J. Shepherd, educated at Manchester, and Senior Lecturer at the University of East Africa before taking a similar post in Tasmania in 1970. He published *The Foundations of Gastroenterology* in 1980.

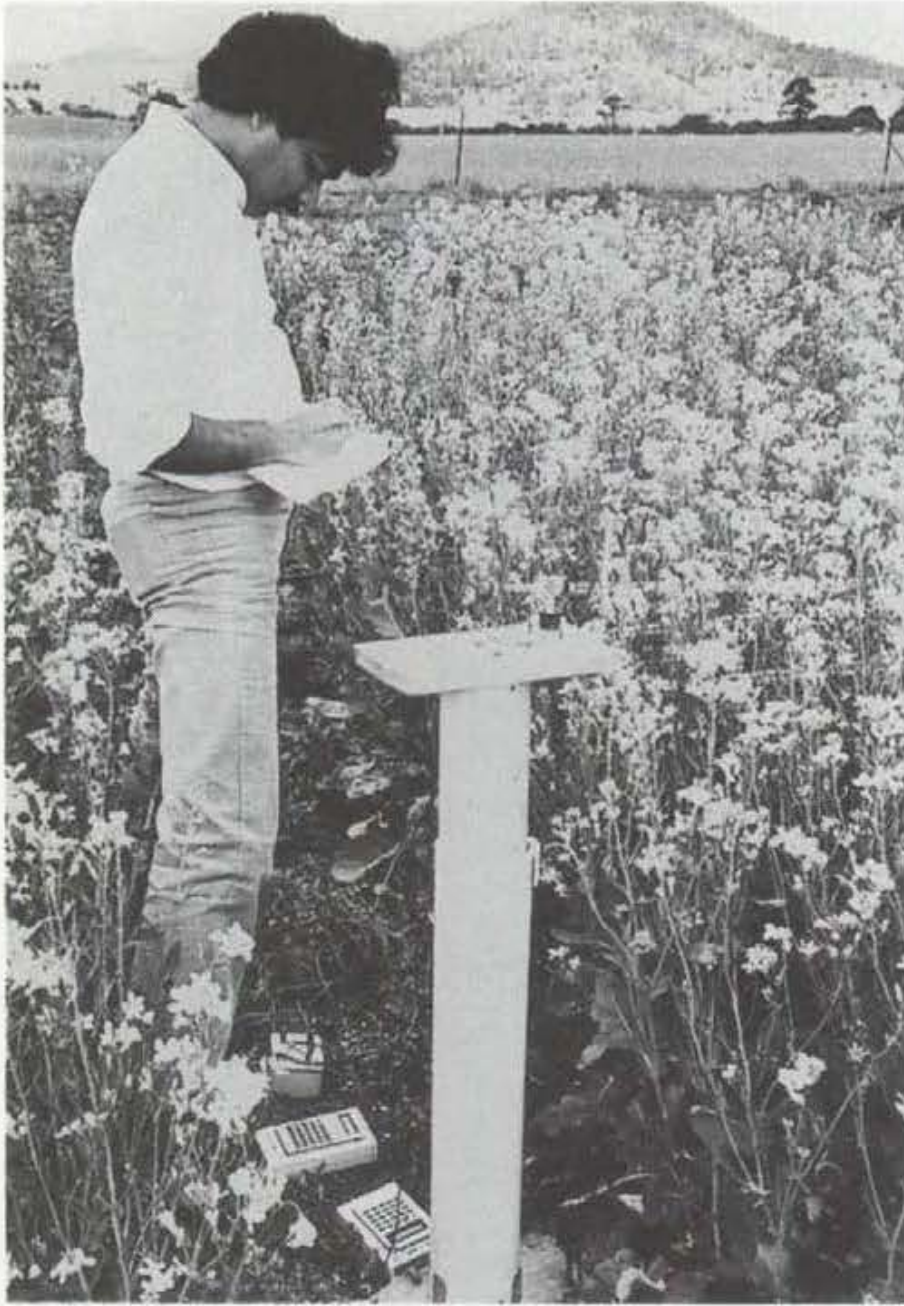
Economics and Commerce were divided into Accounting and Economics. Peter Standish, a Sydney and ANU graduate, recently a professor at the London Graduate School of Business Studies, was first Accounting Professor from 1978 to 1989. There was a delay between the departure of the second professor, John Grant, to the Trade Practices



58. Chemistry laboratory, 1973

59. The 26 metre parabolic antenna of the radio telescope, formerly at Orroral Valley, ACT, presented to the University by United States NASA. Re-erected on the University Farm, Cambridge, it was handed over to the Physics Department on 13 May 1986





60. Postgraduate PhD student from India, Srinivasa Rao, measuring varieties of oilseed Brassica crops for solar radiation effects, on the 340 hectare University Farm, Cambridge

61. Professor Archibald R. Oliver, of Engineering, demonstrating before a group of matriculation students, 1976





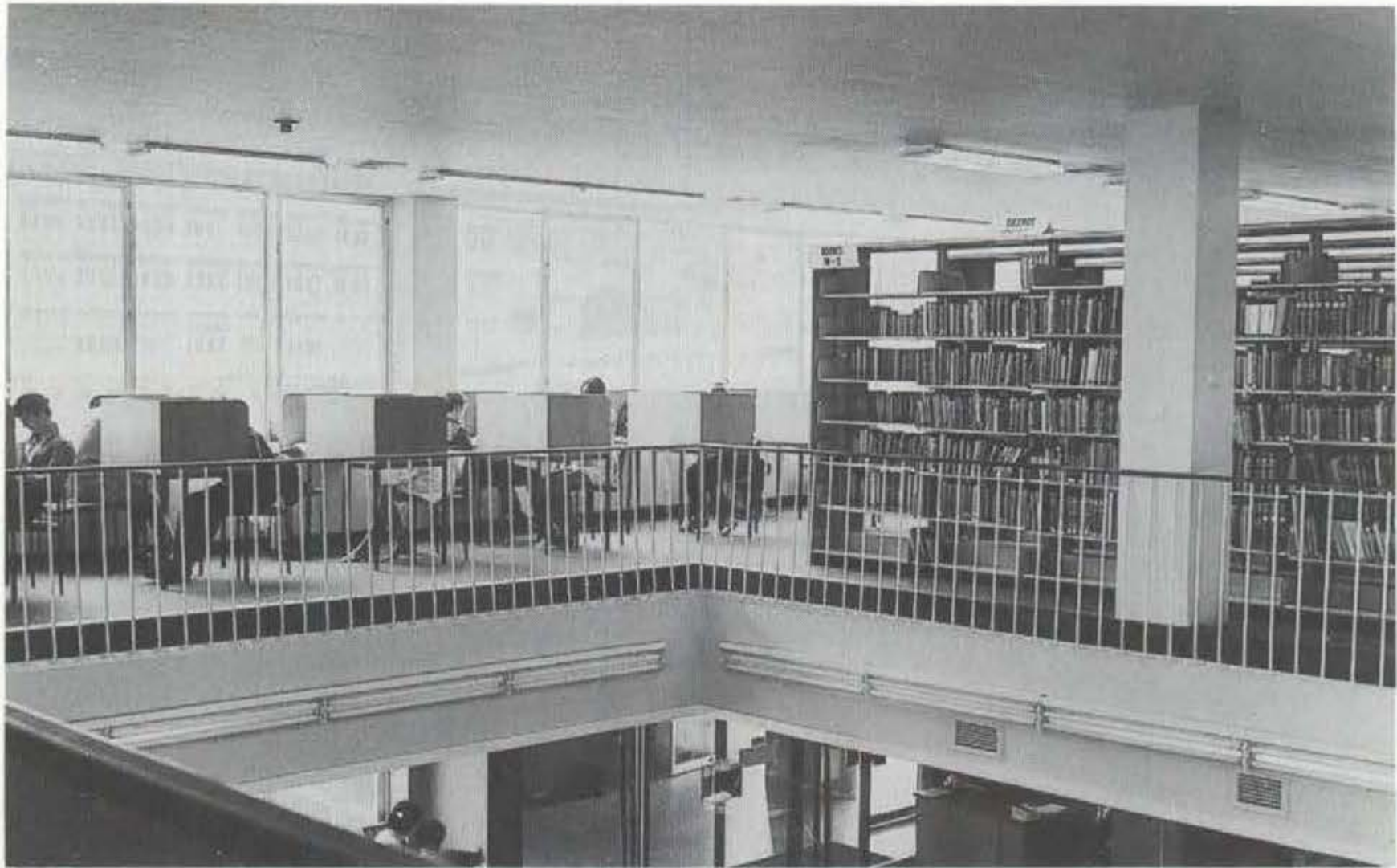
62. Students examining the geotectonic globe, in foyer of the Geology building



63. Professor Arthur Cobbold, Physiology, talks to new medical students. Neville West, Administrator of the Medical Faculty, is to the left

64. An advanced medical trainee, under instruction by a senior consultant, assisting in vascular surgery at the Royal Hobart Hospital, July 1989





65. Mezzanine Floor of the University Library, showing student study carrels and, below, a glimpse of the front doors

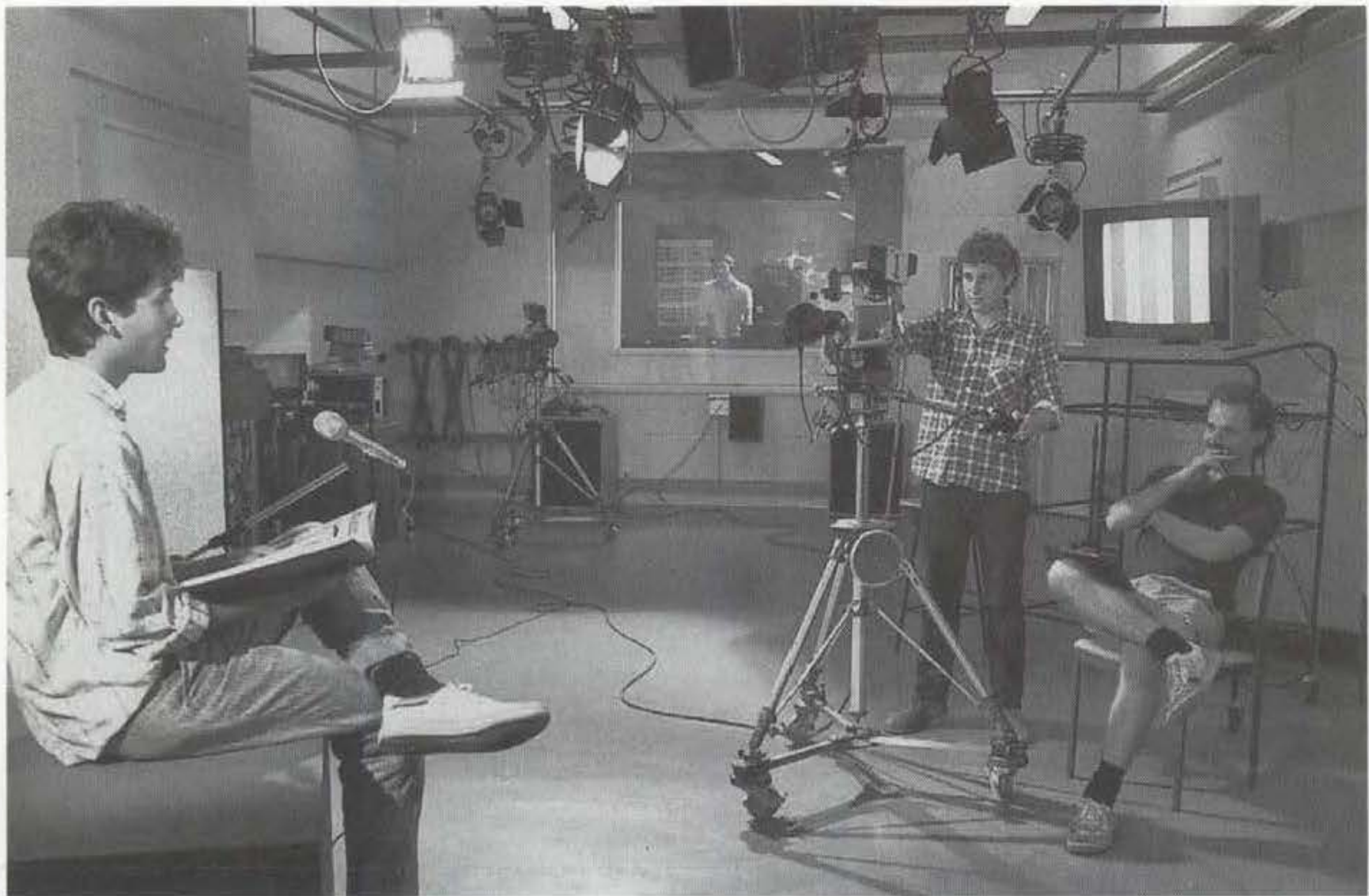
66. University Council inspects the Library bindery, May 1975; (l. to r.) A. Chalmers and A. Cole of the Bindery, Dan Sprod (University Librarian), Prof. W. B. Baker, Sir George Cartland (Vice-Chancellor), Sir Peter Lloyd, David Kearney (Registrar), Alan Rees (Deputy Librarian), George D. Brown, Gollan Lewis, Eric Waterworth, Sir John Cameron (Chancellor)





67. Student work exhibited in the sculpture area, Centre for the Arts, Hunter Street

68. Students of the Tasmanian School of Art making a video feature. The control room is in the background





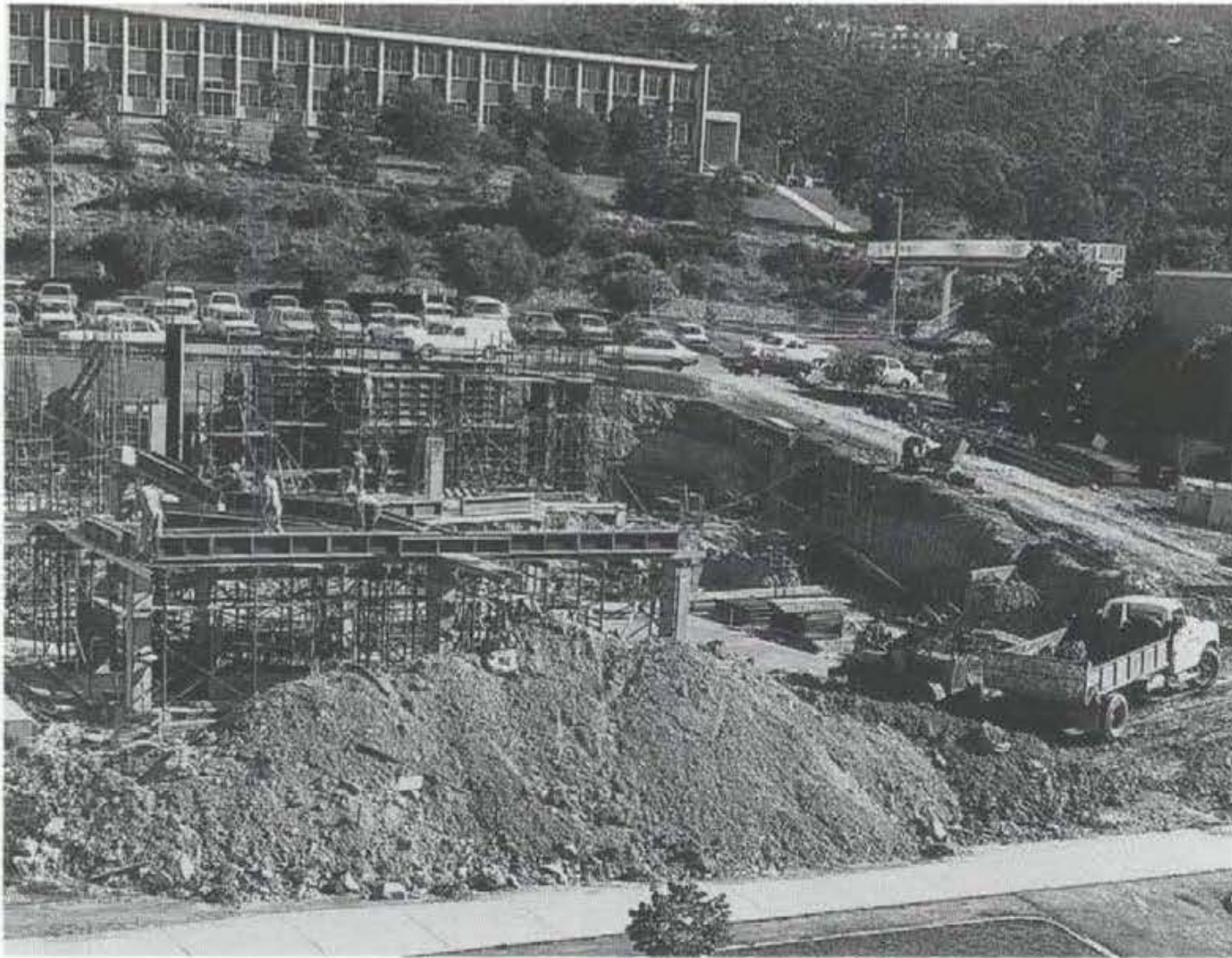
69. Second year Zoology students on a field excursion, Fortescue Bay. Professor Michael Stoddard holds a trapped Golden-bellied Water-rat (*Hydromys chrysogaster*)

70. Zoology PhD students measuring a Tasmanian Devil, captured by trapping at Penstock Lagoon



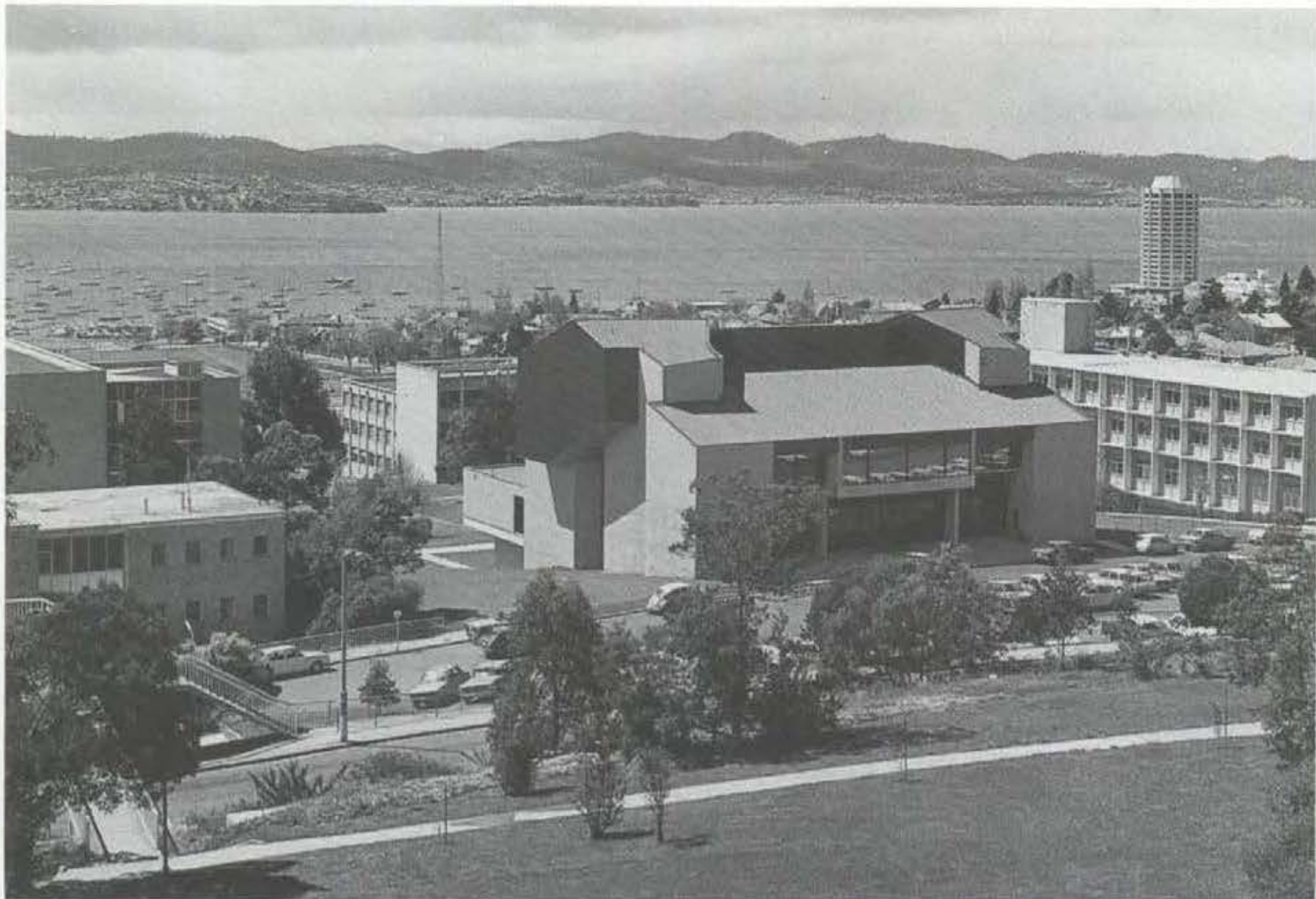
71. The Tasmanian Devil (*Sarcophilus harrisii*)





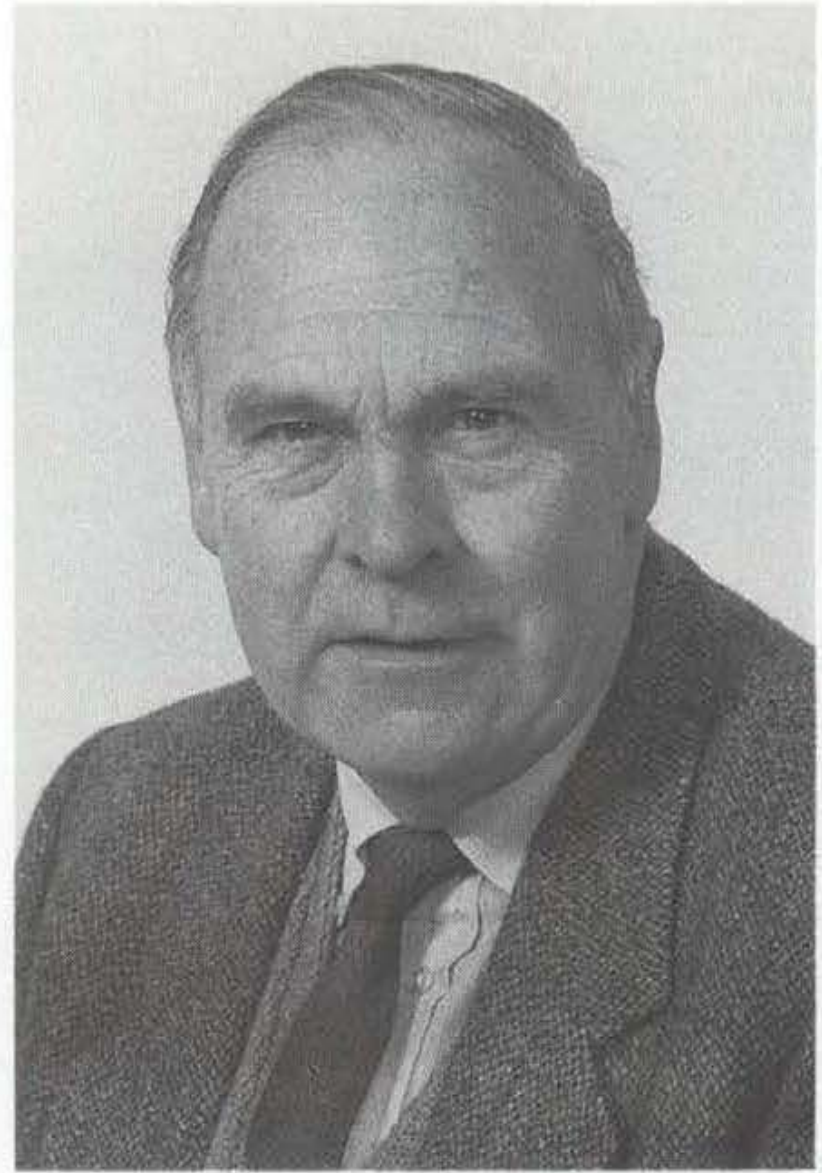
72. The University Centre under construction, 1975, with the Life Sciences building beyond Churchill Avenue

73. The completed University Centre, 1975



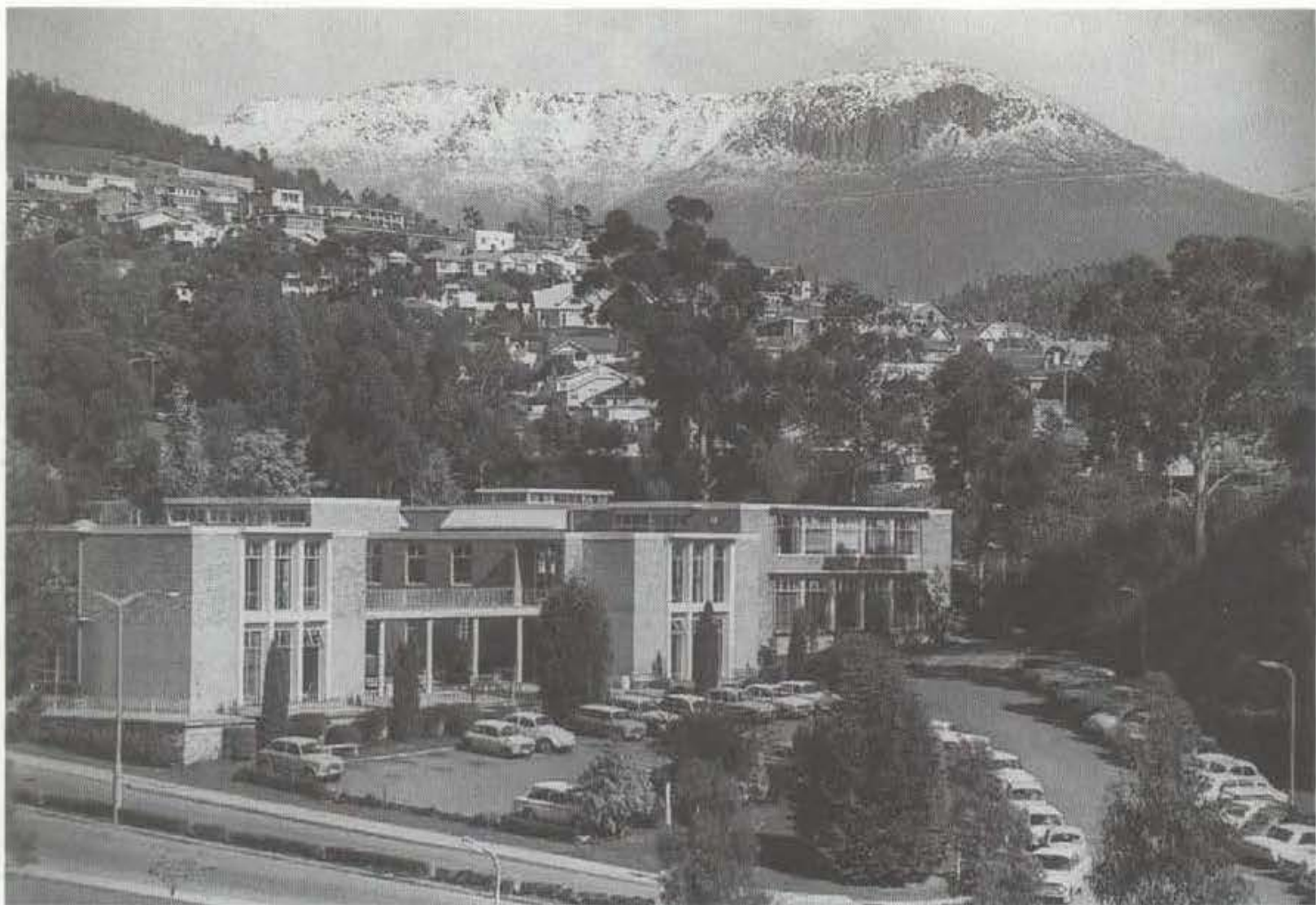


74. Prince Charles, the Prince of Wales, during his October 1974 visit to campus, with SRC President, Bill Bowtell (left)



75. Professor Alec Lazenby, Vice-Chancellor from 1982 to date

76. The Union building in 1969, with a backdrop of a snow-covered Mount Wellington



Commission in early 1982, and the appointment of Harry Campbell, a St Andrews graduate and Associate Professor at British Columbia, to the Economics chair in 1984. The Economics Faculty, with increasing student numbers, also obtained in 1979 a short-term Professor of Transport Economics, financed by the State government, John Taplin, a graduate of New England and Cornell, who had been Secretary to the Australian Department of Transport. He resigned in 1982 to become Co-ordinator of Transport in Western Australia.

A member of the Economics Faculty, Peter Byers, was seconded in 1980 to assist the Vice-Chancellor in integrating the Mt Nelson Faculties. Byers, a New Zealander who had served as President of both the local Staff Association and FAUSA (President, 1977-79) and then assisted the Vice-Chancellor in the integration of Mount Nelson, in 1984 became the University's Business Manager and four years later Deputy Principal. Administrative responsibilities were now reshuffled between the Registrar, concentrating on academic matters and student services, and the newly established Business Manager, dealing with buildings and services such as photography, printing, the University Centre and the general office.³⁵ The long-serving David Kearney had been succeeded as Registrar in 1978 by Ross Skinner, a New England graduate from New South Wales, who had worked his way up the administrative hierarchy since the days he had supervised the retrieval of the dismissed Orr's library books. When Skinner opted to transfer to the new post of University Secretary, Chris Chapman, a local graduate who had risen rapidly through the administrative structures, succeeded as Registrar in 1989.

The Librarian's position in this age of retrenchment went (1976-87) to Jeffrey Scrivener, a 1952 graduate, who had worked in the University Library from 1958 to 1963 before taking positions in Flinders and La Trobe University Library, Victoria. After 1957 the Librarian had been a member of the Professorial Board, but only achieved a professorial salary, as recommended by the 1955 Royal Commission, in 1966.³⁶ Scrivener was succeeded in 1989 by Alan Rees, originally from Sydney, who had long experience in the Tasmanian University Library. Rees's father, the distinguished artist Lloyd Rees, was awarded an honorary doctorate in 1984.

Students in the 1976-1981 Years

During these years there were few signs of the militancy of the previous period. The Tasmania University Union in 1979 ended its affiliation with the AUS, a stimulator of radicalism in the past. In 1981 the Staff-Student Joint Advisory Committee, which had sometimes proved useful was abolished in favour of informal meetings. With greater representation on Council, and membership of the Faculties, students,

had less trouble in communicating with the administration. Jobs were tight and the State Education Department was imposing quotas on its teacher intake. Students seemed more intent on obtaining their qualifications in a highly competitive environment than in righting the world's wrongs. Library opening hours and improved teaching techniques became more important than foreign issues. There was a rally for better TEAS (Tertiary Education Assistance Scheme) in 1976,³⁷ a mass meeting containing staff as well as students against cuts in October 1981. As Vice-Chancellor Caro then pointed out, all governments since 1975 had reversed a twenty-year policy of maintaining University funding.³⁸ The trials of the TCAE attracted some sympathy from *Togatus*, which sometimes worked in tandem with the TCAE *Feral Gazette*, producing an occasional *Feratus*.

It was not a happy period for the SRC. A chaotic TUU Annual General Meeting in 1979 was followed by an almost empty room in 1980. While one president faced drugs charges, funds deteriorated and there was further opposition to compulsory Union fees, the only significant charge at this time. The discovery in 1979 that a Union president received a salary over \$20,000 created a furore. A year earlier it was reported that the Union was technically bankrupt. In 1977 \$74,000 had been lost on the mixed shop and housing schemes. Now that the Colleges were less popular, the latter was an essential service, and, after the closure of Hytten Hall the scheme was enlarged. The Union sub-let suitable accommodation, some purchased by the State government and the University itself, and acted as a buffer between tenants and landlords, to their mutual advantage.³⁹

Recreational exercise was stimulated by widening the range of activities provided by the Sports Centre. Gymnastics, scuba diving, archery and dance were all taught. The University hosted the Australian Universities' Squash championship in 1981. Intramural five-a-side soccer, volleyball and basketball grew in popularity and the intramural cricket, begun in the middle '70s became institutionalised. These helped to mix, outside the classroom, staff and students of both sexes. They also provided common interests for academic and administrative staff. Of more formal sport, the men's hockey titles of 1975 and 1976 have already been mentioned; the cricket team followed up its 1975 success with a second State premiership victory in the 1977-78 season. The Rugby Club won the Berkeley Cup and the state premiership in 1978, after reaching the final in the previous year. The captain appropriately was Oliver Wilson, son of the club's patron, George.

Though women students still had their problems in what was still a male oriented world where very few senior staff were women, there was a growing awareness of the dangers of sexual harassment, conscious or unconscious. The University established a formal policy on the question and contact officers were appointed.⁴⁰ More positively, the

publications of Dr Kay Daniels, who joined the History Department in 1967, made her a nationally-recognised pioneer in women's history. Opportunities were opening for women. The Association of Women Employees of the University of Tasmania, combining academic and general staff, was established in 1984. In 1989, a Women's Studies course was offered in the Arts Faculty. The Women's Club, open to female academics and the wives of male staff, continued its useful work of helping newcomers to the University. The liberalisation of the Rhodes Scholarship in 1976 paved the way, four years later, for Fiona McConnell, a zoologist who also achieved excellence in German, to become the University's first woman Rhodes Scholar. She was followed in 1984 by Lisa Hill from Political Science.

Despite the threatening clouds of retrenchment looming over Australian and other English-speaking universities in this period, the life and work of staff and students at the University of Tasmania had probably never been so satisfactory.

LAZENBY LEADS ON TO THE CENTENARY, 1982-1990

On the return of David Caro to Melbourne in April 1982, Peter Scott acted as Vice-Chancellor until the arrival of Alec Lazenby in November. The new Vice-Chancellor, a bluff Yorkshire agronomist, who, educated at the Universities of Wales and Cambridge, had lectured at the latter before appointment to a chair at New England. A popular Vice-Chancellor of New England between 1970-77, Lazenby had been Director of Grasslands Research Institute in Berkshire before appointment to Tasmania. He could not have come at a worse time for Australian university education. In September 1981 Professor Caro had announced that the Federal budget had reduced its general grant by \$25,000, despite an increase of 900 unexpected students. As a result thirty academic and twenty-five support staff would have to be eliminated by natural attrition. Part-timers, reduction of services, and lower-level appointments would be required.⁴¹

Governments proved no more generous during the Lazenby years. While the Fraser Liberal government had threatened second degree fees, a charge on all students, rising from \$250, was imposed in 1987 by the Hawke Labor government which took office in 1983. In 1989 this was replaced by full-scale fees payable 'up-front' or in the form of a deferred graduate tax. Especially hard hit were the mature students, often married women with domestic responsibilities, who made up twenty-nine per cent of the Tasmanian student body and stimulated the University through their enthusiasm. The Hawke government's

philosophy threatened to reduce university grants while requiring the system to educate more students. The old cry of practicability and relevance was revived to facilitate control over research. The binary division of universities and CAEs was abolished in 1988. Academic tenure came under review.

The University of Tasmania, like most other tertiary institutions, was impelled to join the new unified national system with its increased government control of higher education. It was Lazenby's task to organise the playing out of time, against a hostile government attack, till the Centenary, waiting for the right ball to notch a boundary. Lazenby took office at the same time as Sir Peter Lloyd, an Oxford graduate and chairman of Cadbury Fry Pascall Australia, 1953-71, who served as Chancellor till 1985. He gave place to the Chief Justice, Sir Guy Green, who, as a Law student leader had played a part in the aftermath of the Orr case. As Chancellor, Green did not attempt to emulate the high profile of his judicial predecessor, Sir John Morris.

Defensive expedients were very much determined by national developments. An attempt in 1983 to alleviate financial difficulties by a reduction of Tasmanian salaries and the restriction of other conditions was eventually replaced by alternative economies negotiated with the local Staff Association and FAUSA representatives. Provision was made for fractional leave without pay, and sometimes for early retirement, though the new national academic SSAU superannuation scheme, conveniently established in 1983, a year after the dissolution of the University's scheme, made retirement before sixty-five years unattractive. Great emphasis was placed on attracting funds from industry, always relatively difficult in Tasmania, though some companies supported the University nobly. In 1980 Caro had launched a public appeal for \$1,200,000, in which academics were encouraged to participate, for a University farm and the upgrading of the University Centre. The farm was opened in 1984 at Cambridge, near Hobart, with the additional assistance of the State government. It facilitated research projects for soil rehabilitation, new barley strains and numerous other projects relating to every aspect of Tasmania's primary production. Better public relations, with more sophisticated open days, media releases, glossy and attractive annual reports after 1985, the encouragement of outside organisations to use University facilities for sport, recreation and even worship, all helped to identify the local community increasingly with its University. A University Research Company was established to coordinate and develop profitable research.

The maintenance of first class staff was essential. With the development of university education in the last two decades and the paucity of academic posts available, there was no shortage of excellent applicants when any chair or lectureship was advertised. Apart from those already mentioned, the Lazenby years saw the appointment of

Michael Davis (Southampton via New South Wales) in 1984 to replace Archibald Oliver in Civil Engineering, H. Konrad Muller (Monash) in 1984 for Roland Rodda in Pathology, Terence Dwyer (New South Wales) in 1986 for Lickiss, in Community Health. Michael Stoddart (King's College, London) in 1985 for Bruce Johnson in Zoology, and Michael Clark (CSIRO) in 1985 for Holdsworth in Biochemistry. John Lovett, who succeeded Wade in Agriculture in 1984, returned to New England in early 1987. Most of the new professorial appointments were young, in their early forties or even thirties. They thus balanced older staff, unable to obtain opportunity elsewhere because of the decline of tertiary funding. In 1983 there was only one tenured academic under thirty. Some Tasmanian academics, such as the prolific Frank Bates in Law, Eric Colhoun in Geography, Michael Roberts in Pharmacy and Bill Lovegrove in Psychology did obtain mainland or New Zealand chairs in this period. The now customary interlude between professorial resignation and replacement at least provided experience for non-professorial Heads of Department. In 1988 Professor Ivor Jones succeeded to the Psychiatry Department. His predecessor D. W. Kay, who had succeeded the first incumbent, A. S. Henderson in 1976, retired in 1983. Directors of Schools like Pharmacy and Surveying had not yet been accorded professorial status.

Several notable links with the past were now broken. Bill Jackson, a member of staff since 1952, retired as professor of Botany in 1986. Peter Scott of Geography, whose appointment dated back to the same year, retired in 1982. Charles Harcourt Miller, a student in the 1940s, and Professor of Electrical Engineering since 1966, who had in trying times served as President of the Staff Association and Chairman of the Professorial Board, departed in 1986. The physicist, John Fox, who in 1987-88 followed Colin Wendell Smith and Peter Byers as President of FAUSA, died tragically in the latter year.

The Lazenby years saw some remarkable developments, despite the cold winds from Canberra. The University farm has been mentioned. The Physics Department achieved a notable coup when NASA (National Aeronautical and Space Administration) of the United States donated to the University its \$9 million radio telescope previously located near Canberra. The telescope became operational in 1986 on the University Farm. In 1981 Drs P.M. McCulloch and Phillip Hamilton of the Physics Department, in conjunction with the CSIRO, discovered a radio pulsar outside the Milky Way. The Chemistry Department was meanwhile working, *inter alia*, on the vital problem of synthetic fuels. In 1986 the Jones Factory opened for the School of Art on the Hobart waterfront, becoming what the Vice-Chancellor described as 'an excellent "shop front" for the University'. A major extension to the University's Clinical School opened in the same year. In 1985, after ten years of service, the Computing Centre replaced its outdated Burroughs system with

a Prime 9955. In the late 1980s the Computing Centre became an advisory agency for the proliferation of Macintosh and other personal computers throughout the University.

Important social changes were taking place. In 1985 the University appointed its first Aboriginal Tutor and Counsellor in Education, Ms June Sculthorpe, an ANU graduate. In the following year three University Ombudsmen were set up to assist students in difficulty and Margaret Thurstans, an experienced trade union official, became the University's first Equal Opportunity Officer until 1989. Student representation on the Professorial Board was also achieved in 1986. Progress and democratisation proceeded steadily.

For the future, projects like the establishment of an Institute of Antarctic and Southern Ocean Studies and the possibility of obtaining full fee-paying students from overseas to increase available finances buoyed administrators' hopes. Major reorganisation of the internal financial procedures was mooted to husband decreased funds. Amalgamation with TSIT appeared likely to achieve the increased grants promised to institutions with over 8,000 students. With good staff already working on numerous projects of vital community interest, and a student body capable of supplying the same level of trained intelligence as the best mainland universities, backed by efficient administrators, the University of Tasmania has already achieved international recognition as a small but productive institution.

1890 AND 1990

If James Backhouse Walker, from that corner of the Elysian Fields reserved for great Vice-Chancellors, could return in 1990, what would he think of his 'infant University' so disfigured in 1890 by 'parliamentary doctors and nurses'? One hundred years after his 1890 graduation reflections, he could certainly rejoice that his fears of an early death or sickly existence had been unduly pessimistic. Nearly 6,000 students, almost half of whom were women, and teaching staff of nearly 400, many with international reputations representing virtually every branch of knowledge, which had exploded spectacularly in the ninety-three years since his death, would greet him. As for backup staff, virtually unknown in Walker's day, he would find almost 500 administrative and forty maintenance, ground staff and caretaking personnel. Despite economies worsened by the disastrous fall of the Australian dollar in 1985, threatening essential book orders and periodicals, Walker would marvel at the size and extent of the Library collection of 633,190 volumes and 8,525 periodicals. He might look in vain for a commanding 'Great Hall', dislike the utilitarian architecture of some of the buildings, and regret the decline of Newman's collegiate ideal of academic

apprenticeship, and emphasis on knowledge for its own sake. Further investigation, however, would demonstrate a compensating enthusiasm, sometimes in part-time mature-age students. But Walker would be confused by the computerisation of much of University life and dazzled by the complexity of modern scientific and engineering technology. How different from Alexander McAulay's public experiments with electricity! In the Law Faculty and the Humanities Walker might feel more comfortable, though still haunted by ever-present electronics and unfamiliar language laboratories. Conversation with the best staff and students, however, would reassure Walker that the excitement of discovery and the interplay of ideas which he had found in men like Alexander McAulay and Jethro Brown had persisted in these unfamiliar surroundings. The recognition of the Physics Department as a major centre of astronomical research and the flourishing School of Art at the old Jones Factory would show the former Vice-Chancellor that the loss of the Leake Bequest in the 1890s did no ultimate harm to his beloved University. Unfortunately, perusal of the rhetoric of modern cost-cutting politicians might persuade Walker that little had changed in a hundred years. He could dismally re-cycle his pamphlets and letters to the *Mercury* to defend the University of the 1990s. But to lobby the Upper House against adverse legislation, Walker would now require jet-travel to Canberra, where he would represent only a small state, not a short walk to his friends and acquaintances in the Hobart Parliament Buildings. On balance, however, Walker might return to the Elysian Fields a reasonably satisfied shade, assured that after a hundred years the University of Tasmania had at least reached 'vigorous manhood' and, through the combined efforts of its Council, graduates, academic, general and other staff, could reasonably anticipate 'a venerated age.'

Notes and References

ABBREVIATIONS USED

AA	Associate of Arts
AAP	Association of Australian Philosophers
AOT	Archives Office of Tasmania
AUS	Australian Union of Students
B of S	University of Tasmania Board of Studies – Minutes
C	University of Tasmania Council – Minutes
F of A	University of Tasmania Faculty of Arts – Minutes
F of E	University of Tasmania Faculty of Engineering – Minutes
F of L	University of Tasmania Faculty of Law – Minutes
F of S	University of Tasmania Faculty of Science – Minutes
FAUSA	Federation of Australian University Staff Associations
FCUSA	Federal Council of University Staff Associations
HERAC	Higher Education Research and Advisory Centre
JBW	James Backhouse Walker
PB	University of Tasmania Professorial Board, and its Minutes
PWD	Tasmanian Public Works Department
RC Rep	Royal Commission on the University of Tasmania 1955 – Report (Parliamentary Paper no. 18, Hobart, 1955)
RC Trans	Royal Commission on the University of Tasmania 1955 – Transcripts of Evidence
SC	Supreme Court of Tasmania – Orr Case Transcripts
SCM	Students Christian Movement
SRC	Students Representative Council
TCE	Tasmanian Council of Education, and its Minutes
TEAS	Tertiary Education Assistance Scheme
THRA	Tasmanian Historical Research Association
TUU	Tasmanian University Union
UN	<i>University Newsletter</i>
UT	University of Tasmania Archives
UTSA	University of Tasmania Staff Association (Note: although the Association’s name varied over the years, this version has been adopted for convenience).

CHAPTER I

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21. R.L. Dunbabin's summary and comments, 1939, at end of Tasmanian Council of Education Minutes, 1882-90.
22. TCE, 1882-90, 15 June 1886.
23. French, *The Founding*, p. 78.
24. French, *The Founding*, pp. 50, 52, 54, 56.
25. TCE, 15 Feb. 1875.
26. Blainey, p. 42.
27. Bell and Grant, p. 99.
28. TCE, 10 June 1875.
29. *Catholic Standard*, Hobart, 1 March 1884.
30. French, *The Founding*, p. 66; H. Reynolds, *The Island Colony, 1880-1900*, University of Tasmania, MA thesis, 1963, p. 47.
31. Alexander, p. 140; TCE, 18 June 1879, 8 July 1881.
32. French, 'The Prehistory', p. 195.
33. Alexander, p. 242; *Mercury*, 12 Aug. 1882.
34. TCE, 20 May 1885.
35. French, 'The Prehistory', p. 196.
36. TCE, 18 June 1884.
37. Dunbabin Memorandum, TCE, 1882-90.
38. T.W. Moody and J.C. Beckett, *Queen's Belfast, Vol. 1*, London, Faber, 1959, p. 287.
39. T. Southerwood, *Planting a Faith: Hobart's Catholic story in word and picture*, Hobart, n.d., p. 98.
40. TCE, 23 May 1888.
41. Giblin's annotation on copy in University of Tasmania Library.
42. Dodds, *Mercury*, 19 April 1913.
43. French, *The Founding*, pp. 81-3.
44. Walker, Notes, p. 29.
45. French, 'The Prehistory', p. 197.
46. Alexander, pp. 243-4.
47. Walker, *Prelude to Federation*, p. 87.
48. Walker, Diary, 31 Oct. 1888, UT.
49. Walker to G.W. Waterhouse, 1 Sept. 1890, UT 12/2.1.
50. Bell and Grant, p. 102.
51. Walker, Notes, p. 25.
52. Walker, Notes, pp. 29, 33, 39.
53. Walker, Notes, pp. 47, 57.
54. Walker, Notes, p. 59.
55. Walker, Notes, p. 41.
56. Walker, Notes, p. 59.
57. French, 'The Prehistory', p. 199.
58. French, *The Founding*, p. 78.
59. Walker, Notes, p. 63.
60. Walker, Notes, p. 71.
61. Walker, Notes, p. (91).

62. *Mercury*, 26 June 1890.
63. Walker, Notes, p. (109).
64. Walker, Diary, 29 Aug., 2, 6 Sept. 1890, UT.
65. Walker to Mary Walker, 8 Aug. 1890, UT W9/11/2(1).
66. Walker, Diary, 10 Sept. 1890, UT.
67. UT 12/8-12, other JBW notes.
68. Walker to Mary Walker, 22 Aug. 1890, UT W9/11/2(1).
69. *Zeehan and Dundas Herald*, 24 Nov. 1903.
70. C, 1, 17 Nov. 1890.
71. Walker to Mary Walker, 16 July 1890, UT W9/11/2(1).
72. UT 12/8.12.
73. C,1, 18 Jan. 1892.
74. Walker, Diary, 4 March 1892, UT.
75. Walker to Mary Walker, 7 May 1892, UT W9/11/2(2).
76. C,1, 21 March, 20 April 1892.
77. J. Sparrow, *Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University*, Cambridge University Press, 1967, p. 113.
78. Bell and Grant, p. 105.
79. C,1, 4 July 1892.
80. Walker, Diary, 1 Aug. 1892, UT.
81. Walker to Mary Walker, 2 Oct. 1892, UT W9/11/2(2).
82. *Platypus*, 1914.
83. C, 1, 31 Dec. 1892.
84. Walker to Mary Walker, 14 Aug. 1892, UT W9/11/2(2).
85. Ida McAulay papers, AOT NS 374/7 — extract from *Sun* in 1920s.

CHAPTER 2

1. C,1, 30 Jan. 1893.
2. Walker, Diary, 1, 2, 9, 12 Jan. 1890; UT 12/1.1 (10 Jan. 1890).
3. Ida McAulay, jr, 'Kanna Leena' (Noisy Water), MS Vol. 1, pp. 93-5,
AOT Ida McAulay papers, NS 374 14/1.
4. *Mercury*, 11, 23, 25 March, 3, 27 April, 5 May 1893.
5. UT 12/1.1 (10 May 1893); See Professor K.C. Masterman,
UT 388/2 (32).
6. UT 12/1.1 (28 April 1893).
7. UT 12/2.7 (12 June 1893).
8. UT 12/1.1 (30 April 1893).
9. O.M. Roe, *William Jethro Brown: An Australian Progressive, 1868-1930*, p. 5.
10. UT 12/1.1 (30 April 1893).
11. UT 12/1.1 (7 July 1895).
12. C,1, 18 May 1896.
13. C,1, 17 Sept. 1894.

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14. Waterhouse to Walker, 7 July 1895, UT 12/1.1.
15. C, 1, 22 April 1895.
16. *Mercury*, 26 Sept. 1896.
17. C,1, 22 April 1895.
18. Waterhouse to Walker, 7 July 1895, and L.S. MacDougall to Walker, 19 July 1895, UT 12/1.1.
19. *Mercury*, 23 Dec. 1895.
20. C, 2, 17 April 1899.
21. B of S, 31 Oct. 1895.
22. C,1, 21 Dec. 1894.
23. French, *The Founding*, p. 99.
24. UT 12/2.7.
25. F of S, 6 April 1904.
26. C,1, 21 Oct., 7 Nov. 1895.
27. C,1, 7 Nov., 26 Nov., 16 Dec. 1895.
28. *Clipper*, 11 Dec. 1897.
29. J.B. Walker, *Is the University a Luxury?*, 1895, p. 3.
30. *Mercury*, 23 June 1893.
31. *Clipper*, 11 Dec. 1897.
32. UT 12/8.12.
33. Walker, *Prelude to Federation*, p. 114, 28 Nov. 1892.
34. Williams to Walker, 17 July 1895, UT 12/1.1.
35. *Tasmanian News*, 29 Aug. 1893.
36. UT 12/9.11, p. 2.
37. Clarke, *Mercury*, 24 Aug. 1893; Walker, *Prelude to Federation*, pp. 114, 126, 26 and 30: students good.
38. Walker, *Mercury*, 28 Aug. 1893.
39. Walker, *Is the University a Luxury?*; UT 12/9.11, p. 3.
40. Walker, *Can We Afford it?*, p. 3.
41. *Mercury*, 24 Aug. 1893.
42. Walker, *Can We Afford it?*, p. 1.
43. *Mercury*, 24 Aug. 1893.
44. *Walch's Literary Intelligencer and General Advertiser*, 1893, pp. 145-7.
45. *Mercury*, 24 Aug. 1893
46. Walker, *Can We Afford it?*, p. 2.
47. *Mercury*, 20 Dec. 1895.
48. Waterhouse to Walker, 7 July 1895, UT 12/1.1.
49. Walker, *Is the University a Luxury?*; UT 12/9.11.
50. Alexander, p. 255.
51. Walker, *Prelude to Federation*, p. 129, 15 Sept. 1895.
52. *Clipper*, 3 Aug. 1903.
53. *Tasmanian News*, 4 Sept. 1895.
54. *Tasmanian News*, 4 Sept. 1895.

55. Walker, *Prelude to Federation*, p. 129, 15 Sept. 1895.
56. *Mercury Supplement*, 14 Sept. 1895.
57. Walker, *Prelude to Federation*, p. 126, 17 Nov. 1894.
58. Walker to Chief Justice May, South Australia, 21 Sept. 1895, UT 12/1-2.
59. Walker to Sarah Walker, 19 Dec. 1898, UT W9/8/1.
60. C, 2, 18 Sept. 1899.
61. C, 2, 20 June 1898. P. J. MacLeod was now lecturer in Chemistry.
62. C, 1, 21 Oct. 1895.
63. C 1, 17 Aug. 1896.
64. *Mercury*, 28 Aug. 1893.
65. Alexander, p. 256.
66. Alexander, p. 257.
67. C, 1, 18 June 1894.
68. Walker to Sarah Walker, 30 Jan. 1899, UT W9/8/1; *Mercury*, 2 Feb. 1899.
69. Ben Rish, *The Tasmania University Union*, University of Tasmania, BA Hons thesis, 1981, p. 1.
70. C, 2, 17 July 1899.
71. C, 2, 25 June, 16 July 1901.
72. Alexander, p. 260.
73. Rish, pp. 2, 6.
74. W.J. Gardner, *Colonial Cap and Gown: Studies in Mid-Victorian Universities of Australasia*, Christchurch, 1979, p. 103.
75. Alexander, p. 257.
76. *Mercury*, 10 Oct. 1903: Nicholls pro, Stewart anti.
77. *Mercury*, 6 March 1905.
78. C, 2, 4 & 28 Dec. 1899, 19 March 1900.
79. *Mercury*, 27 Nov., 15 Dec. 1899, 19 March 1900.
80. C, 1, 18 Dec. 1895.
81. B of S, 19 May, 21 July, 5 Aug. 1904; C, 3, 21 June (compulsory like other Universities), 22 Sept. (Williams rescinded) 1904.
82. C, 2, 16 July 1900 (Cambridge), 21 July 1899 (Oxford).
83. C, 1, 16 July 1904.
84. C, 2, 17 April 1901; C, 3, 25 Aug. 1904; C, 5, 24 Nov. 1914.
85. C, 1, 16 Aug. 1897.
86. Walker to Mary Walker, 26 Sept. 1890, UT W9/11/2(1).
87. C, 2, 18 July 1898; Alexander, p. 257.
88. Walker, *Diary*, 18 July 1898, UT
89. *Cyclopedia of Tasmania*, vol. 1, (1900), p. 385.
90. Ida McAulay papers, AOT NS 374/7.
91. C, 2, 19 March 1901.
92. *Mercury*, 20 Dec. 1899.
93. C, 2, 28 March 1898; B of S, 12 May 1898.
94. C, 2, 10 June 1898.

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95. *Mercury*, 21 Sept. 1898.
96. *Mercury* (?) dated 3 Oct. 1898.
97. *Mercury*, 19 Oct. 1898.
98. C, 2, 15 Oct. 1898.
99. C, 2, 22 Oct. 1898.
100. C, 2, 27 Aug. 1898.
101. Walker to Sarah Walker, 31 Oct. 1898, UT W9/8/1 (part illegible).
102. B of S, 7 March 1899.
103. *Mercury*, 20 Feb. 1899.
104. C, 2, 14 & 21 Aug., 18 Sept. 1900.
105. C, 2, 28 May 1900.
106. C, 2, 16 July 1901.
107. C, 2, 17 Sept. 1901.
108. C, 2, 21 & 28 Aug., 17 Dec. 1900.
109. C, 2, 18 Feb. 1901.
110. *Mercury*, 8 Aug. 1902.
111. Walker, *Prelude to Federation*, p. 114, 28 Nov. 1893; Walker to Mary Walker, 6 June 1890, UT W9/11/2(1).
112. *Mercury*, 26 Nov. 1902.
113. *Mercury*, 31 Oct. 1902.
114. C, 2, 19 Aug. 1902.
115. *Monitor*, 2 Oct. 1896.
116. *Mercury*, 31 Oct. 1902.
117. *Zeehan and Dundas Herald*, 24 Nov. 1903.
118. *Monitor*, 13 March 1903.
119. *Mercury*, 31 Oct. 1902.
120. *Mercury*, 8 April 1903.
121. C, 3, 30 March 1903.
122. C, 3, 5 May 1903.
123. C, 3, 14 May 1903.
124. C, 3, 16 June 1903.
125. *Examiner*, 8 Sept. 1903.
126. *Mercury*, 24 Oct. 1903.
127. C, 3, 13 July 1903.
128. UT 122, Press Cuttings, p. 56.
129. *Mercury*, 10 Oct. 1903; later withdrew motion to cut funds by £500, *Zeehan and Dundas Herald*, 3 Dec. 1903.
130. *Mercury*, 10 Oct. 1903.
131. *Examiner*, 15 Oct. 1903.
132. *Zeehan and Dundas Herald*, 24 Nov. 1903.
133. *Examiner*, 5 Nov. 1903.
134. C, 3, 5 Oct. 1905.
135. *Zeehan and Dundas Herald*, 3 Dec. 1903.
136. C, 3, 2 Feb. 1904, p. 97.

137. C, 3, 2 Feb. 1904.
138. C, 3, 1 March 1904.
139. C, 3, 8 & 19 April 1904.
140. C, 3, 1 March 1904.
141. C, 5, 17 Aug. 1920.
142. *Mercury*, 26 Nov. 1903.
143. *Mercury*, 15 Nov. 1903.
144. C, 3, 9 March 1905.
145. C, 3, 23 March 1905.
146. *Mercury*, 14 Dec. 1903.
147. C, 3, 7 Nov. 1904.
148. C, 4, 16 Dec. 1913.
149. F of S, 10, 24 Aug. 1905.
150. Rish, p. 9; Dr Walch, UT 388(2) (50). Dr Walch, a medical practitioner, was the second woman to serve on Council.
151. *Mercury* 9 April 1908, 55 Training College students, *Annual Report*, 1913, 56 Training College students.
152. F of L, 5 Feb. 1914.
153. C, 2, 19 Sept. 1900.
154. C, 2, 4 March 1901. For Ritz, see Masterman, UT 388/2 (32).
155. C, 1, 14 Feb. 1901. For Williams and Dunbabin, see UT 388/2 (32)
(Masterman) and (50), Dr Christine Walch.
156. C, 3, 5 Sept. 1907.
157. C, 3, 18 July 1907.
158. C, 4, 12 August, 23 Sept. 1909.
159. Errol Flynn, *My Wicked, Wicked Ways*, New York, Berkley, 1974, p. 24.
160. C. Higham, *Errol Flynn: the Untold Story*, London, Granada, 1980, pp. 17-18, 20-1, 161; C, 3, 20 Oct. 1907.
161. C, 3, 20 Oct. 1907.
162. O.M. Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives: Vitalism in Bourgeois Social Thought, 1890-1960*, p. 288.
163. *Mercury*, 14 Feb. 1910, 28 Jan. 1911 (Ralston); 11 Jan. 1911 (on undirected research).
164. Roe, *William Jethro Brown*, pp. 8, 11.
165. For reviews, Ida McAulay papers, AOT NS 374/7, see also *Mercury*, 6 July 1931.
166. Ida McAulay, 'Kanna Leena', I, pp. 103, 108.
167. *Mercury*, 26 June, 3 July 1905.
168. *Mercury*, 7 March 1970.
169. AOT NS 374/7.
170. Walker to Mary Walker, 26 Sept. 1890, UT W9/11/2(1).
171. *Mercury*, 19 April 1913.
172. C, 4, 27 April 1909.

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173. D.H. Borchardt, 'The University of Tasmania Library', *Australian Library Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 4, Oct. 1960, p. 2.
174. C, 1, 18 May 1896. Macmillans also donated some books.
175. C, 2, 30 Aug. 1899.
176. F of S, 21 March 1911.
177. PB, 20-25 March 1901.
178. C, 2, 4 June, 17 Sept 1901.
179. B of S, 5 May, 13 Oct. 1904.
180. B of S, 28 Sept. 1911.
181. B of S, 2 May 1913.
182. *Daily Post*, 30 April 1914.
183. PB, 19 Sept. 1910, 11 July 1913; Rish, p. 3.
184. *Mercury*, 25 March 1911, 20, 24, 27 April 1912, 19 April 1913; PB, 3 March 1913.
185. Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives*, pp. 280-91.
186. *Examiner*, 30 April 1914.
187. *Mercury*, 19 April 1913.
188. For compulsory attendance, see B of S, 15 May 1914. For 'New Education', see D. Phillips, *Making More Adequate Provision: State Education in Tasmania, 1839-1985*, Hobart, 1985, p. 127.

CHAPTER 3

1. *Mercury*, 25 Feb. 1955.
2. UT 87/11 (ii).
3. C, 4, 10 Sept. 1914; B of S, 25 Sept. 1914.
4. C, 5, 19 Feb. 1918.
5. C, 5, 20 June 1916.
6. C, 5, 29 June, 20 July 1915.
7. E. Morris Miller, Notes on the History of the University, Crowther Collection, State Library of Tasmania, p. 12.
8. *Examiner*, 7, 10 June 1915; C, 5, 20 July 1915.
9. M. Lake, *A Divided Society: Tasmania During World War I*, pp. 24-5.
10. C, 5, 20 Nov. 1917.
11. McDougall to Preshaw, 1 July 1938, UT 87/11 (ii).
12. C, 5, 16 & 25 July 1918.
13. B of S, 26 July 1918.
14. F of L, 21 April 1921.
15. Miller, Notes, p. 12.
16. Miller, Notes, p. 10.
17. McDougall to Preshaw, 10 August 1935, UT 87/11 (ii).
18. *Togatus*, 16 March 1933; C, 8, 29 Nov. 1932.

19. C, 4, 17 Feb. 1914.
20. F.C. Green, ed., *A Century of Responsible Government, 1856-1956*, Hobart, [1956], p. 282.
21. Miller, Notes, p. 19.
22. Preshaw broadcast, 19 Feb. 1940, UT 87/11 (ii).
23. *Clipper*, 10 Oct. 1903; Mrs Scott interview (daughter of Col. Cruickshank and mother of Dr Bruce Scott, Physics), UT 388/2 (53).
24. C, 6, 15 Feb. 1922; *Platypus*, 1922.
25. Miller, Notes, p.7.
26. Interview with Professor E.J. Pitman, 26 Sept. 1984 (Pitman interview).
27. McDougall to Preshaw, 1 July 1938, UT 87/11 (ii).
28. C, 5, 29 April 1919.
29. C, 5, 16 Sept. 1919.
30. McDougall to Preshaw, 1 July 1938, UT 87/11 (ii).
31. C, 5, 21 Sept. 1920.
32. C, 5, 20 May 1919.
33. Miller, Notes, p. 57.
34. C, 5, 25 August 1916.
35. C, 7, 17 April 1928 — Arch. Barry and Williams.
36. *Togatus*, 23 March 1932.
37. C, 5, 22 March 1921; B of S, 8 April 1921.
38. C, 8, 23 Nov. 1934.
39. C, 8, 22 Feb., 22 March 1935.
40. See J.S. Luckman, *Some Notes on Events Leading to the Establishment of A Conservatorium of Music in Tasmania*, 1981, UT.
41. *Mercury*, 25 June 1934, UT M 9/176.
42. D.H. Borchardt, 'The University of Tasmania Library', p.3. See also Borchardt, UT 388/2 (3).
43. Morris Miller, UT M 9/176.
44. C, 5, 16 Dec. 1919.
45. C, 5, 17 Aug 1920. Flynn died in Belfast on 23 Oct. 1968.
46. Morris Miller, UT M 9/176. See also Hickman, UT 388/2 (22). Hickman, a protege of Flynn, was a student, 1912-15. He originally studied Engineering.
47. *Mercury*, 26 April 1918.
48. *Mercury*, 18 Feb. 1920.
49. *Mercury*, 20 April 1921.
50. *Platypus*, 1921.
51. *Platypus*, June 1922.
52. *Mercury*, 28 April 1922.
53. *Mercury*, 18 April 1923.
54. *Mercury*, 14 and 15 May 1924.

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55. *Mercury*, 24 Oct. 1924. For Lyons's commendation of the University's 'splendid record', see *Mercury*, 14 May 1924. The *Mercury* itself in two articles, 6 and 12 Sept. 1924, strongly defended the University for both its direct and indirect influence on the community.
56. C, 6, 21 Oct. 1924.
57. PB, 20 June 1924.
58. C, 6, 20 May, 17 June 1924.
59. C, 12 Aug. 1924.
60. PB, 5 Dec. 1924.
61. *Platypus*, 1925.
62. *Platypus*, 1925.
63. C, 6, 7 June 1927.
64. *Platypus*, 1929.
65. *Platypus*, 1928.
66. Rish, p. 9; *Togatus*, 15 Sept. 1931.
67. *Togatus*, 28 April 1932.
68. PB, 14 May 1931.
69. PB, 12 April 1932.
70. *Togatus*, 15 Sept. 1931.
71. *Togatus*, 16 June 1932; *Mercury*, 13 May 1932.
72. Morris Miller, UT M 9/176.
73. *Mercury*, 16 May 1936, 14 May 1937.
74. *Togatus*, 10 June 1938.
75. PB, 15 July 1938.
76. C, 9, 28 Oct. 1938.
77. *Cactus*, 28 June 1938, 29 March 1938.
78. C, 9, 22 July 1938.
79. C, 9, 12 Aug. 1938.
80. *Mercury*, 4 Nov. 1938; UT 88, 11/2.
81. *Togatus*, 11 May 1939.
82. *Togatus*, 23 March 1939.
83. *Togatus*, 11 Oct. 1939.
84. *Togatus*, 27 April 1939.
85. Morris Miller, UT M 9/176; R.W. Baker, *Tasmania Now and Again*, Hobart, [1983], pp. 24-8.
86. UT 88, 4 (2), 163.
87. *Platypus*, 1928.
88. *Togatus*, 10 Aug. 1933.
89. C, 7, 19 June 1928.
90. Morris Miller, UT M 9/176.
91. *Togatus*, 29 Oct. 1937, 10 June 1938. See also R. Harry and C. Alexander (Cynthia Johnson), UT 388/2, 21-2.
92. *Togatus*, 24 March 1938.
93. Rish, p. 16.

94. *Togatus*, 13 April 1933.
95. *Togatus*, 24 April 1936.
96. *Togatus*, 21 Sept. 1933.
97. *Togatus*, 4 May 1933.
98. Rish, p. 25. See Maida Coaldrake (Williams), UT 388/2 (15A & B).
99. *Togatus*, 1 Nov. 1935.
100. Morris Miller, History, UT M 9/173, p.15. See also W.T. Masterman and Sir R. Wilson, UT 388 (2), 32, 57.
101. Alice Macfarlane, Memories of the Years 1920-1924 (September 1985), UT 447.
102. *Platypus*, 1922.
103. Dunbabin in *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 16 Aug. 1923.
104. Macfarlane, Memories.
105. *Togatus*, 25 June 1937.
106. *UN*, 6 April 1977.
107. C, 9, 26 May 1937. Col. Cruickshank apparently suggested the motto.
108. Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives*, p. 282.
109. Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives*, p. 293.
110. Bruce Scott, Alexander McAulay and Alexander Leicester McAulay, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 10, 1891-1939, Melbourne, 1986, pp. 202-04. See also F.D. Cruickshank, Bruce Scott, Professor Bruce Mainsbridge, Barbara Ostberg, A.G. Fenton and E.N. Waterworth, UT 388/2 9, 17, 60, 53.
111. C, 6, 21 April 1925.
112. Morris Miller, UT M 9/176. For Taylor see Masterman (32), Coaldrake (15), Fagan (14), J.G. Wilson (?), UT 388/2.
113. Miller, Notes, p. 63.
114. C, 6, 21 April 1925.
115. UT M 9/176.
116. Interview with Dr Charles G. Stephens, MSc, 1931.
117. UTSA, 21 Sept. 1928. The University of Tasmania Staff Association went through various name changes, but UTSA will be used for convenience.
118. C, 7, 18 Sept. 1928.
119. Pitman Interview.
120. C, 7, 20 Nov. 1928.
121. C, 8, 22 Sept. 1931.
122. UTSA, 25 Oct. 1927.
123. UTSA, 7, 21 July, 18 Dec. 1922, 14 Sept. 1925; Miller, Notes, p.15.
124. Miller, Notes, p.15; UTSA, 18 Oct. 1928.
125. UTSA, 15 April 1929.
126. UTSA, 5 July 1928; Miller, Notes, p.22.
127. C, 7, 16 Dec. 1930; *Mercury*, 17 Dec. 1930.
128. C, 8, 16 June 1931.

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129. C, 8, 21 July, 22 Sept. 1931. Professors were cut 20 per cent, other staff proportionately less. See F.D. Cruickshank, UT 388/2 (9).
130. C, 14 July 1931, pp. 8, 334.
131. *Mercury*, 7 Nov. 1931; Turner, *Mercury*, 5 Nov. 1931; Osborne, Solomon, *Mercury*, 19 Oct. 1931; see also *Mercury*, 3, 6 Nov. 1931.
132. C, 8, 17 Nov. 1931.
133. Miller, Notes, p.16.
134. Miller, Notes, p.19.
135. F of A, 2 May, 28 Oct. 1932.
136. *Mercury*, 9 Oct. 1931.
137. C, 8, 21 Feb., 21 March 1933.
138. Morris Miller, UT M 9/176.
139. Pitman Interview. Morris Miller, Newspapers and Cuttings with MS additions, Vol. 2, 1929-1940, UT, M 9/176. MS pages on how he became Vice-Chancellor. He claimed that 'Pitman was almost obsessional in his opposition to me at all times.'
140. UT M 9/176.
141. Miller, Notes, p. 28, M 9/176.
142. Miller, Notes, pp. 32-3.
143. Miller, Notes, pp. 50-1.
144. Miller, Notes, pp. 34-5.
145. Miller, Notes, p.27.
146. Miller, Notes, p.18.
147. UT M 9/176.
148. UT M 9/176.
149. 1 Feb. 1934, UT M 9/176.
150. E.J. Ogilvie to Morris Miller, 9 April 1957, UT M 9/176.
151. UTSA, 14 April 1937.
152. Miller, Notes, p.19.
153. Miller, Notes, p. 38.
154. Miller, Notes, p. 41. See also Journals of Parliament, House of Assembly, 1 Aug. 1935.
155. UT M 9/176.
156. UT M 9/176.
157. Miller, Notes, p. 27.
158. Miller, Notes, p. 42.
159. Miller, Notes, pp. 52-2a.
160. Miller, Notes, p. 43.
161. Miller, Notes, p. 43.
162. Pitman Interview.
163. Pitman Interview.
164. Pitman Interview.
165. Miller, Notes, pp. 53-4; UT M 9/176.
166. *Mercury*, 14 July 1931, etc.
167. See esp. Morris Miller's memo to Burn, 12 May 1949, UT M 9/

- 176 and Miller, Notes, p. 49; Pitman Interview. The first mention of Sandy Bay in the F of S was 19 Jan. 1943 when Botany, Zoology and Chemistry were told to define their requests.
168. *Mercury*, 14 Aug. 1937; Miller, Notes, pp. 63-4; UT M 9/176.
169. E.L. Wheelwright, ed., *Higher Education in Australia*, Sydney, FAUSA, 1965, p. 5.
170. C, 9, 18 July 1938 memo (Miller?) and Miller, Notes, pp. 37-8. For a more detailed examination of the move against University control and the desire for accreditation, see D. Phillips, pp. 186-201.

CHAPTER 4

1. PB, 24 July, 11 Aug. 1939.
2. PB, 22 April, 16 June 43.
3. PB, 25 Feb. 1942.
4. F of L, 16 Jan., 12 June 1941.
5. See C, 11, 10 Aug. 1945. For graphic accounts of the optical annexe, see Cruickshank (9), Scott (17), Fenton and Waterworth (53), UT 388/2.
6. C, 10, 25 June 1943; PB, 16 July 1943.
7. *Togatus*, 13 June, 3 Oct. 1940.
8. *Mercury*, 20 Feb. 1940.
9. *Mercury*, 29 June 1940; UT 84/4 (2), 1940.
10. C, 10, 28 March 1941.
11. PB, 11 Feb. 1942.
12. PB, 20 June 1941.
13. *Togatus*, 13 March 1942; M.M. Fogarty, *University in Difficulty: a Study of the University of Tasmania in the 1940s and 1950s*, BEd thesis, Tasmanian College of Advanced Education, 1977, p. 18.
14. *Togatus*, 2 March 1943; PB, 19 Sept. 1941.
15. *Togatus*, 13 March 1942.
16. *Togatus*, 19 June 1942.
17. PB, 7 Aug. 1942.
18. C, Vol. 10, pp. 200-1, 16 May 1942.
19. PB, 6 Aug. 1943; UT 47/24 (41).
20. PB, 18 April 1944; RC Trans, p. 843.
21. UT 88/4 (3), 10 May 1944.
22. UT 47/24 (41), 1949.
23. Miller, Notes, p. 49; Pitman Interview.
24. Miller, Notes, pp. 45-6.
25. Miller, Notes, pp. 51-2a.
26. UT 88/4 (3), 13, 23 April 1949.
27. Miller, Notes, pp. 43-4.

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28. Miller, Notes, p. 52a.
29. UT 88/4 (3), 16 May 1949.
30. C, 12, 19 Nov. 1946.
31. RC Trans, pp. 973-4 (Burn).
32. UT 47/24 (47).
33. UT 88/4 (3), 6 Aug. 1949.
34. Fogarty, p. 21.
35. *Report of the Royal Commission on the University of Tasmania*, Parliamentary paper No. 18, Hobart, 1955, p. 19; RC Trans, p. 856.
36. RC Trans, p. 980.
37. UTSA, 9 Nov. 1946.
38. Fogarty, p. 19; PB, 14 Sept. 1950.
39. PB, 15 April 1947.
40. C, 14, 27 Feb. 1953.
41. PB, 15 Oct. 1947.
42. *Togatus*, 27 March 1947: 83.1 per cent pass for returned servicemen, 70 per cent for other students.
43. UT 88/4 (3), 46. 23.1; *Togatus*, 9 July 1946.
44. F of E, 3 Oct. 1945.
45. F of A, 14 May 1947.
46. *Togatus*, 28 Oct. 1946.
47. *Togatus*, 21 June 1946.
48. UTSA, 14 May, 6 Nov. 1947. For Mrs Cynthia Alexander, see UT 388/2 (2).
49. UT 88/4 (3); Melbourne *Herald*, 16 Nov. 1946.
50. UTSA, 22 June 1950.
51. *Togatus*, 8 April 1946.
52. *Togatus*, 19 Sept. 1949.
53. *Togatus*, 8 April 1946.
54. Rish, pp. 35-6.
55. *Togatus*, 22 July, 19 Sept. 1949; Smith O'Brien Papers, National Library of Ireland, MS 449.
56. UT 88/4 (3).
57. UTSA, 6 Nov. 1947, 10 Nov. 1948 (appointment of delegates to meeting January 1949).
58. C, 22, p. 174, 25 June 1948.
59. UTSA, 20 Oct., 29 Nov. 1948 (Firth), 4 April 1949.
60. UTSA, 28 Nov. 1949.
61. UTSA, 22 March 1950.
62. C, 10, p. 85, 19 July 1940.
63. PB, 20 Nov. 1942; C, 12, p. 73, 28 March 1947.
64. UTSA, 20 Oct. 1948; C, 13, p. 64, 28 April 1950.
65. PB, 13 May 1946.
66. C, 12, p. 31, 23 Sept. 1949.

67. PB, 18 Sept. 1942, rules 6 and 8.
68. Fogarty, p. 30; R. Davis, 'Free Academics or Council Servants? Tasmanian University Staff before the Murray Report', *Vestes: The Australian Universities' Review*, Vol. 28, No. 2, 1985, p. 31 (quotes Morrell, p. 73).
69. C, 10, p. 220, 16 May 1942.
70. Miller, Notes, p. 45.
71. PB, 12 March 1943.
72. C, 9, 22 Oct., 26 Nov. 1943.
73. Miller, Notes, p. 24.
74. PB, 7 Aug. 1946.
75. See Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives*, pp. 289-304, for Miller's teaching and research.
76. C, 11, p. 167, 10 Aug. 1945.
77. C, 12, pp. 172-3, 25 June 1948; p. 202-3, 22 Oct. 1948, Professorial Board protest; PB, 14 April 1948, p.198; RC Rep, p. 16.
78. RC Rep, pp. 1063, 1118, 1375-6, 1731. According to Barber, it was not inaccurate to maintain that the Chancellor had asked the Board to falsify its minutes. See also PB, 20 Feb., 19 Sept. 1951.
79. RC Rep, pp. 22, 18.
80. C, 13, p. 28, 12 Aug. 1949.
81. RC Rep, p. 18.
82. T. Hytten, 'To Australia — with thanks', Written in 1971 for his grandchildren, p. 197, UT.
83. UTSA, 25 July 1951.
84. Baker, p. 73.
85. RC Rep, p. 24.
86. *Togatus*, 20 July 1951; C, 12, pp. 157, 162, 29 June, 20 July 1951; C, 14, p. 197, 24 Sept. 1954.
87. Baker, p. 75.
88. C, 13, 15 Dec. 1950; Roy Chappell summary, Roy Chappell papers, UT. Some teachers were trained at the Launceston Teachers' Training College.
89. *Togatus*, 5 March 1952 (Robson); C, 13, p. 231, 27 June 1952.
90. *Togatus*, 6 May 1954.
91. *Togatus*, 26 Feb. 1951.
92. *Togatus*, 13 Aug. 1953.
93. *Togatus*, 26 June 1952.
94. *Togatus*, 8 May 1953.
95. *Togatus*, 26 June 1952.
96. RC Rep, p. 49.
97. UT 47/24 (53), 26 June 1952.
98. RC Rep, p. 49.
99. RC Rep, p. 48.
100. UT 47/24 (52), 1952.

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101. UT 47/ 24 (53), 1951.
102. UT 88/4 (3), 3 April 1951.
103. UT 47/24 (40), 1954.
104. UTSA, 26 April 1954.
105. UTSA, 20 Sept. 1954. Chappell, Salaries 1953-4, and Minutes of Staff Association on Salaries, 4 April 1951 to 6 Dec. 1954, in Roy Chappell papers, UT.
106. UT 88/4 (4), 9 Nov. 1954.
107. UTSA, 13 Oct. 1954.
108. UTSA, 20 Oct. 1954.
109. Rish, p. 37.
110. *Mercury*, 19 Oct. 1954.
111. *Mercury*, 15 Oct. 1954.
112. *Togatus*, 21 Oct. 1954. Chappell, Notes on University building, Chappell Papers, UT.
113. *Togatus*, 10 Nov. 1954.
114. RC Trans, pp. 664-5; Polya to Chappell, 5 Dec. 1956, Chappell papers, UT.
115. Baker, p. 71.
116. See Fagan, UT 388/2 (14).

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1. RC Trans, p. 306.
2. RC Trans, p. 304.
3. RC Rep, p. 48-50.
4. RC Trans, p. 1385.
5. RC Trans, p. 483.
6. RC Trans, p. 784.
7. RC Trans, p. 630.
8. RC Trans, p. 1227.
9. J.B. Polya, 'The State and the University', *Australian Journal of Science*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 21 Aug. 1955, p. 6.
10. RC Trans, pp. 1353-5.
11. RC Trans, p. 1344.
12. RC Trans, p. 1163.
13. *Mercury*, 30 July 1954.
14. RC Trans, pp. 737, 745.
15. RC Trans, p. 1312.
16. RC Trans, pp. 1347A, 1348.
17. RC Trans, p. 1433.
18. RC Trans, pp. 1444-5.
19. RC Trans, p. 1437.

20. RC Trans, p. 1496.
21. RC Trans, p. 1508.
22. RC Trans, p. 1531.
23. RC Trans, p. 1531.
24. RC Trans, p. 1751.
25. RC Trans, p. 1572.
26. RC Trans, pp. 1766, 1787.
27. UTSA, 27 June 1955.
28. RC Trans, p. 1675.
29. RC Rep, p. 34.
30. Curtis submission, RC Trans, p. 731.
31. RC Trans, pp. 1754-5, 1758. Orr varied his parallels between Oxford, St Andrews and other institutions.
32. RC Rep, p. 15.
33. RC Rep, p. 23.
34. RC Rep, pp. 23-4.
35. RC Rep, p. 29.
36. RC Rep, p. 35.
37. RC Rep, p. 29.
38. A.D. Trendall Interview, 28 August 1987; UT 388/2 (48).
39. The *Mercury* summarised the recommendations on 4 June 1955, and published a leader two days later, emphasising criticism of Council over the move to Sandy Bay and the demand for the government to match with University grants its enormous expenditure on primary and secondary education; PB, endorses, 15 June 1955; UTSA, 27 June 1955 (Hardie opposed); *Togatus*, 21 June 1955; Rish, p. 44.
40. *Mercury*, 18 June 1955 (report of Council meeting). *Togatus*, 21 June 1955, editor Jill Carington Smith, cited Fagan and Morris's contention at Commem that the Royal Commission had done more harm than anything else in the University's history.
41. C, 15, p. 1, 17 June 1955.
42. C, 15, p. 10, 15 July 1955.
43. PB, 55-7, 44, 14 Sept. 1955. For petition and Buckley letter, 5 September 1955, see Chappell papers, UT.
44. *Togatus*, 20 Sept. 1955.
45. C, 15, p. 42, 23 Sept. 1955.
46. C, 15, p. 51, 28 Oct. 1955.
47. *Togatus*, 14 Oct. 1955.
48. *Mercury*, 15 Oct. 1955.
49. Orr Case, SC, p. 76.
50. SC, p. 1358.
51. C, 15, pp. 87, 90-9, (2, 16, 23 March 1956) for Orr dismissal. For Orr's own account, see S.S. Orr, *The Orr Case — A Critical Examination of the Evidence*, Nov. 1957 (typescript) Chappell

- Papers, UT. The University's subsequent justification was provided in *The Dismissal of S.S. Orr by the University of Tasmania*, issued by the Vice-Chancellor with the authority of Council, Hobart, (1958). According to the president and secretary of FCUSA, R.H. Thorp and K. Buckley, it was 'selective, distorted and misleading'. *Vestes*, Vol. 1, No. 5, Dec. 1958 also carried an 'Appendix — A critique on 'The Dismissal of S.S. Orr by the University of Tasmania' ', pp. 5-9.
52. W.H. C. Eddy, *Orr*, Brisbane, 1961, p. xxvi: 'As far as I am able to judge, the central feature of the techniques exhibited in the framing of Orr was the subversion of the will to truth.'
 53. Interview with Sir Esler Barber, 28 August 1987 (Barber Interview); Roy Chappell to George Polyani, secretary of the Committee for Science and Freedom, 17 Dec. 1956; Polyani to Chappell, 5 Dec. 1956, Chappell Papers, UT.
 54. UTSA, 21 June 1956.
 55. *Togatus*, 4 May 1956 (Editor, Jim Brassil); C, 15, 11 May 1956.
 56. *Vestes*, I, 5, Dec. 1958. When cross-examined during his Supreme Court action, Orr declared it immoral for a married professor to have sex with a student, but it would not necessarily affect his impartiality in exams, SC, pp. 23-6, 16 Oct. 1956. On TV, 15 June 1958, however, Orr categorically accepted the necessity of dismissing a professor who seduced a student, UT 471, 126(2-3).
 57. *Observer*, 28 June 1958; UT 471, 126 (2-3).
 58. *Togatus*, 4 May 1956. For Alcorso see UT 388/2 (1).
 59. *Togatus*, 14 Sept. 1956.
 60. Barber Interview.
 61. Barber Interview.
 62. According to Eddy, p. 572, the dreams 'made people more ready to believe Miss Kemp's stories, and helped to overcome the glaring weaknesses and patent falsehoods in the allegations which made up the Kemp affair'.
 63. *Togatus*, 27 Nov. 1956. Green's judgement, however, maintained that the Kemp affair would have justified summary dismissal, even if it had been a contract for services. The former Staff Association secretary, Roy Chappell, apart from the acceptance of summary dismissal, thought Green's judgement 'a reasonably fair summary', Memorandum, 20 Nov. 1956, Chappell papers, UT; Barber interview.
 64. UT 471, 126 (2-3).
 65. UTSA, 28 Feb. 1957. See Sydney Staff Association, 24 April 1956, for support and liaison with the British Philosophical Society.
 66. UTSA, 27 Nov. 1957; *Togatus*, 12 April, 9 May (Tasmanian academics too demoralised to distinguish between persons and

- principles), 14 June 1957. For Neasey Report and Murray Todd, chairman of the Staff Association, to Orr, 22 Nov. 1957, see Chappell papers, UT.
67. UT 471, 126 (2-3), 10 Dec. 1957. For Chappell's impression, see his account in Chappell papers. Also included is Orr's own detailed typescript, *The Orr Case: A Critical Examination of the Evidence*, (Nov. 1957).
68. UT 471, 126 (2-3), 17 June 1958. See also 'Formal Findings and Observations of Scots Kirk Session, Hobart, on the Fama Clamosa Anent Professor Sydney Sparkes Orr', delivered 27 June 1958. Hector L. Dunn, Moderator. For Archbishop Young see *Mercury*, 13 May 1958. B.A. Santamaria's *News Weekly*, 18 June 1958, also came out in favour of Orr. For Cranswick in 1959, see *Mercury*, 5, 11, 14, 24, 28 Nov. 1959 and *Examiner*, 5 Nov. 1959. *Nation*, 9 April 1960, also gave a good analysis of the Cranswick issue. It pointed out that Archbishop Guilford Young would have made a public protest had Cranswick been forced into the witness-box in 1956.
69. J.R. Kerr and J.H. Wootten, 'Reopening the Orr Case', *The Free Spirit*, Vol 4, No. 10, Aug. 1958, pp. 3-15. They justified Orr's summary sacking on the ground that he had writs out against so many people. In the same issue was A.K. Stout's 'The Academic Point of View', pp. 1-3, which pointed out that the *Murray Report (Report of the Committee on Australian Universities, Canberra, Sept. 1957)* had rejected the idea of academics as 'servants'.
70. Todd reported back to the Tasmanian Staff Association on 29 July 1958. For FCUSA, see *Vestes*, I, 5, Dec. 1958.
71. As *Togatus*, 29 Oct. 1958, pointed out, the Tasmanian Staff Association was now in line with those of mainland states. Orr's challenge that Suzanne Kemp 'GAVE FALSE EVIDENCE', claimed 12 reputable witnesses against her only specific accusation of intercourse (16 Dec. 1955 at Kingston).
72. Hytten's ban of Orr's talk to the Socratic Society resulted in a SRC protest, signed by 162 students, *Togatus*, 14 Sept. 1956. In 1961 Orr talked to the students for two hours, *Examiner*, Sept. 1961; in 1961 Hodgman, as editor, gave him the *Togatus* front page for an article welcoming freshers, *Togatus*, 9 March 1960, and 22 July 1960 for Hodgman article justifying his support for Orr. Orr addressed the Socratic Society in 1963, *Examiner*, 10 April 1963. See *Nation*, 13 Feb. 1960, for analysis of murder attempt. The ballistic evidence was considered insufficient to convict the suspect, Harry Robertson, defended by the University Councillor, H.J. Solomon. For Orr's tutorials, information supplied by one of his students, Mary McRae.

73. Reviewing Eddy's book for *Togatus*, 19 Sept. 1961, William Ginnane concluded that 'no matter what really occurred between Orr and Miss Suzanne Kemp, he was framed.'
74. See *Vestes*, March 1961, for 'Formal Finding of the Special Committee of the Federal Council of University Staff Associations of Australia', quoted in full by Eddy, *Orr*, pp. 743-64. FCUSA imposed its censure when the Council refused reinvestigation, 17 March 1961. Professor Colin Howard, *Vestes*, Vol. 5, No. 1, March 1962, pp. 57-9, (quoted from the *Australasian Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 39, No. 3,) believed that Eddy had made an 'overwhelming' case for an anti-Orr conspiracy, predating the Kemp charge. He also pointed out that Eddy had made 'a large number of statements about individuals which, if untrue, are undoubtedly seriously defamatory; but no one has yet sued him for defamation.' For Chancellor Baker, *Examiner*, 14 Nov. 1955. For Convocation, UT 88/4 (7), 1961 - press cuttings. At a meeting on 13 Nov. 1961 a number of research students and academics, including John Greenhill, Malcolm McRae, Alexander Porteous, and Ian Newman, almost secured a motion requesting Council to take action on Orr. For Orr versus Isles, *Togatus*, 19 Sept. 1961.
75. For visitation, see TUU, *A Brief History of the Orr Case*, 19 July 1963. For clergy again, *Togatus*, 15 May 1963, *Examiner*, 22 April 1963. For student strike, *Togatus*, 17 April, 15 May 1963; staff, UTSA, 14 June 1963.
76. For initial negotiations, see *Examiner*, 1 Aug., 12 Sept. 1963 and *Mercury* and *Examiner*, 16-21 Dec. 1963. The seven professors were H.N. Barber, N. Dunbar, J. Elliott, C. Hardie, G. Newstead, A.R. Oliver, W. Townsley.
77. *Togatus*, 22 June, 21 July 1964, on breakdown of negotiations with Orr and AAP; for settlement, *Togatus*, 12 May, 13 July, 8 Sept. 1966; PB, 16 Feb. 1966 for lifting of censure by FAUSA Council and acceptance of tenure rules by Staff Association. Death of Orr, *Mercury*, 16-19 July 1966.
78. The new 'Rules of Tenure', after protracted negotiation involving the Council, FAUSA and UTSA, were finally drawn up by a joint Council/Professorial Board committee in December 1965. For preliminary negotiations, see C, 19, 22 Oct. 1965, censure of the University by the Federation of Australian University Staff Associations, pp. 146-52. The Professorial Board, 8 Dec. 1965, accepted the rules, but the Staff Association had misgivings about the power of the Vice-Chancellor to overrule negative findings by the Preliminary Committee, and the ability of both investigatory committees to overrule membership challenges by the accused. Council accepted the rules on 10 Dec. 1965 and the Staff Association finally followed by Feb. 1966, (PB, 16 Feb. 1966). For further details,

- see R. Davis, 'The Royal Commission and the Orr Case: The University of Tasmania in the 1950s and 1960s: Problems of a university historian', *THRA Papers and Proceedings*, 35, 4, December 1988, pp. 146-70.
79. C, 15, 28 Sept. 1956. *Murray Report*, p. 69.
 80. *Mercury*, 19 Sept. 1955.
 81. The PWD architect, S.F. Morton, aided by C.D. Rose, had general control but S.W.T. Blythe was responsible for the Union and the Administrative block, J.F.D. Scarborough for Arts, Library and Law (though Cooper, Vincent and Howroyd were also involved in the Arts Building), L. Parkes for Physics, D. Hartley Wilson and D. Bolt for Chemistry, etc. Joint Advisory Building Committee, 30 June, 21 Aug. 1957, 21 July 1958, 15 Feb. 1960, 17 April, 6 June 1961. University of Tasmania: Campus Development. Report of Professor Gordon Stephenson, July 1972. According to Tom Henderson (UT 388/2 (14B)), Buildings Officer, 1957-79, the PWD was responsible for the lack of overall planning and lack of supervision by the architects. The government shared the work around the local architects.
 82. C, 20, 29 Aug. 1969 (Cartland); *Togatus*, 11 April 1973, 'The Folly on the Hill'.
 83. *Togatus*, 2 Nov. 1959.
 84. *Murray Report*, pp. 54, 56.
 85. Rish, p. 46. *Murray Report*, pp. 52-3.
 86. *Murray Report*, p. 57.
 87. Winifred Curtis, UT 388/2 (10).
 88. *Murray Report*, pp. 50-1.
 89. Fogarty, p. 87
 90. *Mercury*, 17 May 1965. The order of occupation was: Temporary Administration (1957), Vice-Chancellor's Lodge (1958), Hytten Hall, the Union and the Engineering Workshops (1959), the main Engineering Building and the Dressing Rooms (1961), Arts, Commerce and Education (1962), Geology and Geography (1962).
 91. *Examiner*, 9 Aug. 1965.
 92. *Mercury*, 25 March 1965.
 93. PB, 30 Oct. 1963.
 94. *Mercury*, 8, 15 Jan. 1965.
 95. *Contact*, 26 Nov., 10 Dec. (Dr Curtis comment) 1984.
 96. PB, 17 June 1964.
 97. F of E, 4 Nov. 1964.
 98. UT 339/81, 1966.
 99. *UN*, 20 July 1979 (Dickens); *Togatus*, 2 Nov. 1959 (Isles).
 100. *Mercury*, 1 Aug. 1966
 101. *Togatus*, 15 June 1965 (33 of 65 students pro-Vietnam involvement), 15 Aug. 1965 (43 per cent without religious faith); *Mercury*, 24

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- Sept. 1966 (row in Union); Rish, pp. 57-8. A 1966 survey showed 57 per cent for Australian troops in Vietnam, but only 37 per cent for conscription, *Togatus*, 8 Sept. 1966.
102. P. Hughes, 'University Failure Rates', *Gazette*, Sept. 1960, pp. 165-7.
103. C, 18, 11 Dec. 1964; *Mercury*, 9 March 1966.

CHAPTER 6

1. C, 20, 25 Aug. 1967 for compensation approval. R.L. Wettenhall, *Bushfire Disaster: An Australian Community in Crisis*, Sydney, 1975.
2. For payroll, see *Contact*, 19 Sept. 1984. Student proportions, Convocation, 17 April 1967.
3. *Mercury*, 17 Jan. 1968.
4. *Togatus Newsheet*, n.d., probably June 1971.
5. [D. Kearney], 'Talk on History of the University for the second staff induction course', 13 Dec. 1976, Linda Weidenhofer Papers.
6. PB, 12 March, 23 April, 9 July, 6 Aug. 1969.
7. *Togatus*, 1 Aug. 1968 (Rider, editor) Hobart anti-conscription demonstration; *Mercury*, 7 April 1971 and *Togatus*, May 1970 (Tully gaol); *Togatus*, March 1970 (Nick Beams on Tasmanian radicalism).
8. *Togatus*, 23 Sept. 1971 and *Togatus Newsheet*, 28 Sept. 1971 (Tim Sprod); *Togatus*, 25 March 1971 (Women's Lib).
9. UN, 14 July 1978 (Kearney). For road agitation, see *Togatus*, May 1970.
10. *Togatus*, 14 Nov. 1967.
11. *Mercury*, 27 Sept. 1967. For Dan Sprod's difficulties, see Borchardt, UT 388/2 (3).
12. F of A, 29 Oct. 1975, 4 reps.
13. *Togatus*, 7 April 1975.
14. *Mercury*, 9 March 1966.
15. For Joske's philosophy, see interview in *Togatus*, April 1984. D. Roebuck and W. Burchett, *The Whores of War: Mercenaries Today*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1977. There was also a French edition, published in Paris.
16. PB, 7 June 1967. By 1982, the Registrar, K.R. Skinner, demonstrated that only 1 p.c. of University finance came from non-federal sources. Annual capital grants amounted to \$1,380,000 and recurrent, three-yearly grants to \$30 million per annum, *Contact*, 13 Sept. 1982.
17. PB, 11 Oct. 1967.
18. PB, 26 April (debate), 14 Dec. (passing) 1978.
19. *University in Focus*, Aug. 1983.

20. See *University of Tasmania Annual Report and Financial Statement for 1975*, p. 11; C, 22, 17 Oct. 1975.
21. For Selby Smith and Wisch, see UT 388/2 (42) and unnumbered.
22. *Mercury*, 18 Sept. 1976.
23. PB, 31 March 1976, *Report of the Committee on Post-Secondary Education in Tasmania*, 19 Feb. 1976 (*Karmel Report*).
24. The letter was dated 27 Aug. 1976. For Staff Association, *Mercury*, 18 Sept. 1976.
25. *Mercury*, 20 May 1978 (Wayne Crawford).
26. PB, 12 April 1978.
27. PB, 15 Dec. 1979.
28. *Mercury*, 22 Feb. 1980.
29. *Australian*, 20 Feb. 1980
30. For summary of amendments, see UN, 25 April 1980.
31. PB, 26 Sept. 1987.
32. *Mercury*, 17 Sept. 1968; PB, 14 March 1969. There was a temporary drop of enrolments from 5,210 in 1983 to 4,700 in 1984.
33. The issue focused on whether some form of English expression should be compulsory in a system 'based on a minimum of prescriptive content', PB, 15 April 1987, p. 5.
34. H.E. Stanton, *The Plus Factor: A Guide to Positive Living*, Collins, 1969; *The Healing Factor: A Guide to Positive Health*, Fontana (Australia), 1981; *The Stress Factor: A Guide to More Relaxed Living*, 1983; and *The Fantasy Factor: Using your Imagination to Solve Everyday Problems*, 1985; *The Success Factor: Succeeding in Business and Life*, Collins, 1988. See Stanton's account, UT 388/2 (43). He believed that he was able to reach about one-third of the academic staff. The University seemed to him short in zest and innovation.
35. *Contact*, 9 April 1984.
36. A.L. Rees, Appendix to Council Agenda, 16 Oct. 1987.
37. For withdrawal from AUS, see Rish, p. 58. For TEAS, *Togatus*, 30 Sept. 1976.
38. Caro in *Contact*, 19 Oct. 1981.
39. *Togatus*, No. 2, 1978, 29 March 1979; *University of Tasmania Annual Report, 1985*, p. 22 and *Annual Report, 1986*, p. 24.
40. By 1985 there were 19 contact persons for sexual harassment complaints, nominated by UTSA, HAREA and the SRC, plus the staff of the Students' Services, *Togatus*, July 1985.
41. *Contact*, 28 Sept. 1981.

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(Additional interviews not included in University transcripts. Many other casual discussions are not included)

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