

Searching for a ‘First-Class Man’: The Appointment of the Inaugural Ritchie Professor of Economics¹

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Abstract: This paper recalls the extraordinary lengths to which the University of Melbourne went to fill one of its most prized and ambitious endowments – the Ritchie Chair in economic research. Following a rebuff from an eminent English economist, an international head-hunt was conducted by two committees. While there was some interest in the names put forward, it was D.B Copland who rather unselfishly solved the problem by suggested a local enigmatic figure who had been initially overlooked. The subsequent appointment proved a wise one and reflected well upon the man who initially suggested it.

1 Introduction

Whenever a chair in economics falls vacant in contemporary Australia, there is usually a rush of likely candidates submitting a bid. Usually the process is keenly contested, with the outcome sometimes controversial. If anything, chairs in economics have become as rare as hens’ teeth. Seventy-five years ago it was good economists who proved the rarer species. Australia at that time was, unlike now, handicapped by a shortage of economic expertise. There was a similar problem in Britain and America. Not long after the founding of the Economic Society of Australia and New Zealand in 1925, an economic research position known as the Ritchie Chair, funded by a private bequest, was established at the University of Melbourne. That university engaged in a wide hunt to fill the position with a first-class scholar. It went to an unlikely figure, namely Lyndhurst Falkiner Giblin, who grew into the job.

One irony was that Giblin was a statistician who did not command much initial knowledge of economic theory. In writing a letter to congratulate Giblin on his appointment, the Commonwealth Statistician, Charles Wickens, was correct to assert that ‘...the loss to statistics is a gain to economics’.² This paper uncovers the story of how both the Tasmanian and Deputy Commonwealth Statistician, not even an initial applicant, ended up being offered the Ritchie Chair. The process of finding a suitable ‘first-class’ man for the Chair reveals much about the early, sometimes accidental, influences that shaped early Australian economics. It also shows how the Australian economics profession in its infancy largely consisted of native stock. Despite a perception that overseas-trained expertise was better than the local equivalent, appointments at the professorial level were usually drawn from Australasia and proved meritorious ones at that. Interest from overseas was dimmed somewhat by inferior salaries and the distance factor. It also reveals how Douglas Berry Copland, the foundation Dean of the Faculty of Commerce at Melbourne University, played an instrumental part in getting the right man for the job, and at some personal sacrifice.

The first part of the paper conveys some of the pertinent background to the Australian economics profession in the late twenties. The narrative also discusses how the Ritchie Chair was established and the methods by which, at Melbourne University in particular, a selection committee of economists and other officials

went about securing a 'first-class man' who would provide research leadership and cement the foundations of economics at Melbourne. Their ambition for a big overseas name to fill the post, alas, exceeded the means to attract one. There was also the distance factor: Melbourne was a long way from Europe and America. The second part of the paper recalls the outcomes of these deliberations, the candidates who were considered and how, ultimately, Giblin was elected to the Chair.

2 The Early Years of the Australian Economics Profession

The mid- to late 1920s were perhaps the most popular and fertile time for Australian economics expertise in the sense of its being in great demand. The discipline and its exponents were to enjoy patronage from Prime Minister S.M. Bruce. Copland told the economic historian, Herbert Heaton, that Bruce had taken a 'fancy' to economists and had commissioned them to do a 'number of things'.³ Bruce's 'eyes and ears' in London, Major R.G. Casey, the Australian liaison officer with the Foreign Office, wrote of the rising power of economics: 'Economics was beginning to show signs of asserting itself', and 'being recognized as the sharp and effective tool of those in power' (Hudson and North 1980, p. 502). Inspired, Bruce took the opportunity to commission a definitive study of the Australian tariff. Five economists were selected to undertake the study. This marked the entry of Australian economists into the international arena. There was also a study on unemployment made under the auspices of the Development and Migration Commission. Bruce was also keen on the idea of establishing an independent Bureau of Economic Research with J.B. Brigden, Copland and the New Zealand economist, J.B. Condiff, all of whom were under consideration as its first director. The legislation was passed but the Bruce Government's federal budget of 1929/30 contained no funds to establish the Bureau. Australia's development strategy of 'men, money and markets' spelled demand for economic expertise (Cain 1973). There was something within the nature of the Australian economics profession that lent itself to giving practical advice rather than engaging in scientific research. The dire economic situation that would fall upon Australia in 1930 inadvertently assisted in the rise and acceptance of economic expertise. As G.L. Wood predicted, 'Perhaps the economist will come into his own for a while when the devil is sick'.⁴

Copland was Australia's leading monetary theorist, having acquired a thorough grounding in the subject at Canterbury College in New Zealand. Keynes told Copland that the economics training there was as good as any other place of the same size.⁵ However, Copland was somewhat scathing of his Australian colleagues' competency, remarking to an American economist, Edmund Day, that '.... it is true to say that the economists in Australia have a common limitation in respect of their training and interest in pure theory'.⁶ Mills, Brigden, Shann and Benham had all received instruction from Edwin Cannan at the LSE. Apart from Alfred Marshall and the Cambridge school, Cannan (1861-1935) was regarded as the greatest influence upon Australian economics.⁷

Australian economics in the late 1920s was a fledgling university discipline, with only six chairs extant – Melbourne (1924), Sydney (1913), Hobart (1920), Adelaide (1929), Brisbane (1926) and the isolated post at Perth (1925).⁸ In terms of ranking, Melbourne had overtaken Hobart in prominence since it became, in 1925, the newly-established home of the Economic Society of Australia and New Zealand. This marked, as Heaton (1926, p. 235) noted, the first systematic study

and teaching of economics within Australia. Giblin's arrival to fill the Ritchie Chair would give Melbourne a further edge in research profile and national eminence. Before all this, Copland had wanted Melbourne to be the leading Australian school in economics, and had selected 'Cambridge blue' as the faculty's graduation colours to associate it with the Empire's greatest school in economics. Before his appointment to the Melbourne post, Copland held the chair at Hobart, which was the ancestral home of Australian economics with many interwar economists having taught or studied there (Castles 1996; Coleman and Hagger 2003; Roe 1994). In Tasmania, Copland had established an honours course in economics within the Faculty of Arts. He was aided in this by Giblin, who had a place on the University Council and was a 'wise counsellor and a great inspiration to the faculty' (Copland 1951, p. 68). For a brief period Hobart resembled the 'Edinburgh of the South' in terms of theoretical innovation (Coleman and Hagger 2003, p. 10). Scholars who hailed from the Hobart school and made their mark either in academe or public service were Roland Wilson, Arthur Smithies, Torleiv Hytten and Keith Isles. When Giblin left for Melbourne in 1928, one economist noted: 'There is clearly another island disability added through the drain to the mainland of the best Tasmanian blood'.⁹

In his inaugural lecture as Dean of the Faculty of Commerce at Melbourne, Copland looked forward to forging greater links between 'town and gown' (Spierings 1989, pp. 128-9; Hodgart 1975, p. 9). In developing the syllabus of the commerce degree, Copland, as in Hobart, eschewed narrow specialisation in economics for a broad-based education that would suit graduates entering the business world (Selleck 2003, p. 607). The commerce course proved dramatically popular when first launched, even if many of the students were part-time (Selleck 2003, p. 608). Copland invited representatives from business and finance houses and the Trades Hall to be on the Faculty Board.

Copland founded and co-edited the *Economic Record*, the regimen of which reflected the applied, business-oriented aspect of the Australian economics profession (Scott 1988, p. 14; Perlman 1977). The special problems of the Australian economy – the tariff, demography, economic development and cyclical fluctuations – formed the main focus of enquiry (Cain 1974). Typically, Copland wrote on monetary and banking matters while Brigden specialised on tariffs and population. Mills and Giblin wrote on public finance and federalism, while Wickens was the authority upon statistical matters (Scott 1988, p. 14). Its audience was not just academics but also 'responsible men of political and commercial affairs' (Perlman 1977, p. 219). According to Copland, the average reader of the journal was a 'fairly intelligent person but not with a scientific interest in economics and one who would quickly lose his interest if the Record became too dull'.¹⁰

Apart from Copland at Melbourne, the other luminaries within the Australian economics profession were R.C. Mills in Sydney, Edward Shann in Perth and L.G. Melville at Adelaide University, who took up his appointment there in late 1929. Melville held the foundation chair – a position denied to Heaton, who had apparently fallen foul of the local business interests. Heaton was invited to take a chair at a Canadian university but kept links open with his Australian colleagues. Giblin felt that Heaton's departure was a tragedy for Adelaide and the economics profession (Bourke 1990, p. 70). Brigden occupied the Hobart chair vacated by Copland before moving to become, with Bruce's blessing, an economist with the Oversea Shippers Association. At Sydney University, Mills diligently set about

building a 'factory' of local economic expertise, allowing it to later boast that it had Australia's only ensemble of professionally-trained economists. To achieve this, Mills encouraged his staff to further their studies abroad, usually on Rockefeller scholarships, either in England or America (Turney *et al.* 1991, p. 576).

Melbourne could boast, however, the best research job in Australian economics. It came by way of a bequest. A grazier from Western Victoria, R.B. Ritchie, had donated funds to the University of Melbourne to establish a chair in economics in honour of his son, Captain Robert Blackwood Ritchie, who was killed in the Battle of the Somme. The gift was unconditional and consisted of a benefaction of £30,000 dedicated to the provision of further economic studies at the University. The gift meant that Melbourne University Council was in the position to offer a generous salary to a 'first-class man to research the economic problems of Australia'.¹¹ It was a research position, meaning that the incumbent would be largely free of administration and teaching duties.¹² The position was duly advertised in the *Economic Journal*, but it met with a disappointing response.

The University Council established a selection committee led by Copland but chaired by the Chancellor, Sir John MacFarland. Among the other members were E.C. Dyason and R.B. Lemmon, both members of the Economic Society, the Commonwealth Statistician, Charles Wickens, and Mr A.B. Ritchie, son of the patron. In a meeting held in early March 1928 a proposal was advanced to offer the Chair, for a short time, to someone of international eminence who had just retired or was about to retire, in order that Melbourne get the wisdom of his experience.¹³ Copland was authorised by the committee to approach, as he put it, a 'distinguished old boy'.¹⁴ He had written to the Harvard economist, Frank Taussig, J.M. Keynes and W.J. Layton, Editor of the *Economist*, asking whether it was a sound idea. Copland told both Keynes and Layton that Melbourne wanted to do this in order to 'procure a first-class economist who would stimulate economic study generally in Australia'.¹⁵ Layton replied that Melbourne's attempt to hire an eminent figure would probably not be fruitful because economists in England were very 'scarce', with plenty of openings for first-class economists.¹⁶ Keynes's advice was even more forthright and, as it turned out, tellingly accurate:

My own expectation would be that you would find stronger candidates in Australia than from this country or America. There has been such a run lately on first class men that they are all nearly accommodated in Chairs which they would be probably reluctant to leave. It is, however, almost impossible to predict with any certainty for what men an offer of this kind might have an attraction. I should certainly suppose that the offer of a temporary 3-5 year appointment would be most likely to attract a good candidate from outside than a more permanent offer. I can imagine men, who want to get time for research which they would be glad to do in a new environment finding such an offer attractive'.¹⁷

Copland had meanwhile made an audacious move to fill the Ritchie Chair by sending a cable, via the Agent-General's office in London, to Cannan at the LSE:¹⁸ 'Would you accept invitation new Chair economic research, Melbourne University, see Economic Journal September, Salary 1350 pounds, two years tenure, travelling expenses, 200 pounds each way, two lectures per week during term.'¹⁹ There was little time to speculate on how the presence of the doyen of the London School of Economics would have further shaped Australian economics. Cannan quickly cabled back to Copland: 'Cannan regretfully declines on account of age and desire to proceed with literary projects.'²⁰ In a subsequent letter, Cannan

explained that his age (67 years) meant that he would find the proposed two years in Melbourne too 'strenuous'. He applauded the idea, however, of approaching a near-retiring professor like himself with the offer of a limited term. He said this because many near-retiring professors but younger than himself would consider the offer. Younger men, however, were another matter. They would be reluctant to go to Australia and, if they did, when they returned home 'influential people' would have forgotten them. He concluded: 'This may be got over if Australia is continuously kind to the few who do venture, but it will take time.'²¹

Following this somewhat patronising rebuff, the committee decided on a more discreet approach. The idea was to establish two selection committees of distinguished economists, one in England and the other in the United States, and give them authority to approach certain individuals and ascertain whether they were willing to be considered for the Ritchie Chair. Each committee was asked to forward three names. These applicants would then be considered by the Melbourne committee in relation to the economists from Australasia. Copland asked G.L. Daniels of the University of Manchester to be the convenor of the committee that would include D.H. MacGregor of Oxford University and Keynes. Copland told Daniels that the selection committee in Melbourne was prepared to make a short-term offer to a distinguished scholar or, preferably, to make a life-time commitment to a younger man whose capacity was assured. He explained the ill-fated attempt to entice Cannan and mentioned that the best local candidates were Mills, Benham and himself but the preferred strategy was to find an overseas appointee to strengthen economic research.²² Copland had thought of applying for the job himself. It would also be awkward, as the Ritchie Chair commanded a higher remuneration than any other chair at Melbourne. Copland, moreover, was genuinely interested in strengthening the Melbourne school. Another possible reason for Copland's reluctance to petition for the job was that he had one eye on the directorship of the proposed Bureau of Economic Research. He had written to Bruce's personal secretary, Julian Simpson, 'bluntly' requesting to be kept informed if ever the post would be made available, stressing that he was not unhappy in Melbourne.²³

Copland asked Edmund Day, Frank Taussig and Wesley Mitchell to serve on the informal American committee and be given the same powers as their English counterparts. Copland casually asked Taussig about the availability of Jacob Viner. Taussig replied that Viner was indeed one of the 'most promising men of his age' and for that reason was unlikely to leave Chicago.²⁴ He further informed Copland that, as in England, there was a strong demand for economists, and perhaps Melbourne's 'best chance' was to secure a young man who had not yet 'arrived'. In that regard, Taussig forwarded a few names, one a labour economist, M.B. Hammond of Ohio State University, and the other Herbert Feis at Cincinnati, a trade theorist. Neither name was advanced by the American committee, though Copland had expressly asked Taussig to 'induce' Hammond to apply.²⁵

3 Finding the Right Man

The English committee reported back to MacFarland in August. It was not heartening news, since it had found no one suitable. It had been in touch, however, with one Philip Sargant Florence (1890-1982), an American-born lecturer in economics at Cambridge University with a Ph.D from Columbia, who was willing to be considered. Daniels informed the Chancellor that Sargant Florence 'has

gained an established reputation among the economists of this country and made many notable contributions to the literature of economics'.²⁶ While Daniels reported that the committee did not think he was a 'brilliant' candidate he was the 'best available'. Sargent Florence's *oeuvre* was industrial fatigue and employment relations. Earlier Daniels confidently told Copland that Sargent Florence was 'quite the type of man' Melbourne was after. He added his surprise that Sargent Florence had put his name forward, as he was a likely candidate for a chair in England.²⁷

Copland, however, remained unimpressed. He told A.G.B. Fisher, a New Zealand economist, that the committee would probably not appoint Sargent Florence and that it was waiting to hear back from the Americans. Another member of the selection committee, A.B. Ritchie, found that although Sargent Florence was not quite 'what one might have expected he may produce some fairly startling things if he comes here'.²⁸ Copland told Day that the selection panel in Melbourne was unlikely to be 'altogether satisfied' with Sargent Florence and consequently were interested in the names his committee would put forward. Copland told Day that the conditions of the Chair were such that the travel allowance could not be supplemented, nor could the teaching load be reduced.²⁹ Eventually the American committee came up with just one nominee. They sent the Melbourne University Chancellor the following cable: 'Nominee three year appointment, Raymond Taylor Bye, Professor of Economics at University of Pennsylvania, 36, Ph.D. author of a principles text'.³⁰ Actually Bye had written three textbooks and a monograph on capital punishment. He also had articles in the leading American journals on cost theory. The selection committee met in late October to weigh up the two overseas nominees. Copland felt that it would be a 'mistake' to invite over either of the gentlemen and believed that a local candidate would be more suitable. Dyason favoured Sargent Florence because 'he will impart new blood into our economic life'.³¹ Copland had already informed Wickens that Bye would not be a 'hot competitor' to Sargent Florence.³² Possible Australasian contenders for the Chair were Fisher from Otago and Mills from Sydney. Copland insisted that the Chancellor wanted him to take the post, but he was wary of taking it. He told Fisher: 'I would have gone over to the chair had Giblin's name not been introduced'.³³

Like Dyason, Copland wanted new blood. And it was here that Copland, unsettled with the candidature of Sargent Florence, suggested that Giblin be approached by the committee. Copland later explained to Taussig what drove him to suggest that Giblin take the Chair: 'He [Giblin] has been assisting with us on our tariff enquiry and has again demonstrated his ability to find a way of measuring economic phenomena which has baffled the rest of us'.³⁴ The selection committee decided to offer the job to Giblin before any other local aspirant. It was a bold move, given Giblin's background and idiosyncratic nature. Copland would later reflect that, were he to stay at the university for fifty years, this was his most 'revolutionary step'.³⁵ The Chancellor sent a letter of offer to Giblin, telling him that he was the unanimous choice of the committee.³⁶ To expedite the matter Copland sent a hand-written letter to Giblin asking him to 'Picture yourself as the doyen of Australian economists!'.³⁷ Copland explained why he had put Giblin's name before the committee, knowing beforehand that he was 'quite averse' to the idea. He told Giblin that he had read Sargent Florence's book and concluded that he was simply 'not good enough' to invite out for three years. Copland reminded Giblin how Brigden and Mills had fared, even though they too did not have a thorough background in economics, so 'Why not you?' Copland cajoled Giblin to

think of the post as his duty and to think of the time he would have to think about real economic problems. It was, he added, 'the best economics job in Australia'.³⁸

It was a position Giblin approached with some trepidation. At first Giblin cabled to Copland his acceptance of the job. Then on the same day he cabled 'Have decided with great regret against Melbourne'.³⁹ An unfinished draft of a letter to the Chancellor spoke of his 'amateurish equipment' in coming to grips with the professorship. Copland made reference to this letter and cables having caused 'a little stir' at Melbourne.⁴⁰

It was only with Brigden's and, of course, Copland's encouragement that Giblin accepted the challenge. His wife, Eilean, recalled how an anguished Giblin told her 'They have offered me the Ritchie chair and I have not read any of their damn textbooks'. When she later conveyed this to J.H. Clapham, the English economic historian, he replied: 'Economics is mathematics and common sense. We all know about the first and he has more of the second than anybody I know'.⁴¹ Apparently Giblin had been writing a letter to Clapham when the offer came in the mail (Downing 1960, p. 40). Even after Giblin had decided to accept the offer, he had to pass the ritual of being acceptable to the Chancellor and University Council. Copland recalled that MacFarland was 'astonished' by Giblin's appearance, but he quickly appreciated that he was dealing with someone of formidable intellect. After that hurdle it was 'twilight' for Giblin.⁴² Once ensconced in the Chair, Giblin wrote to his benefactor, R.B. Ritchie, thanking him for funding the post and assuring him that economics research undertaken by him and his successors would benefit Australia (Downing 1960, pp. 40-2). At his inaugural lecture as Ritchie Professor, Giblin (1930) regaled his audience by announcing his discovery of the export multiplier. It met with acclaim.

There is an interesting postscript to this tale of local talent accidentally filling the breach as overseas applicants fell by the wayside. Copland was eager to have another English committee head-hunt someone to fill the first full-time economic history position at an Australian university. Copland again asked Daniels to serve on a committee along with J.H. Clapham and Wood, who was writing a dissertation at the LSE.⁴³ At least three Australian candidates were considered including Lloyd Ross and Herbert Burton.⁴⁴ The latter, a Rhodes scholar, was considered worthy of appointment but the English committee forwarded the name of H.M. Robertson, a Cambridge graduate then teaching at Leeds University. Robertson, aged 24, had the 'most exclusive decoration' of having been a member of the Keynes's Political Economy Club, and Keynes thought highly of him.⁴⁵ Robertson had expertise in the economic history of the woollen industry.⁴⁶ This was enough for Copland; a senior lectureship was offered to Robertson. Copland meanwhile wrote a press statement informing the local papers of Melbourne's latest acquisition. It was not to be. Before Robertson received the letter from Melbourne, he received a job offer from a South African university. As Robertson later explained to Copland, he had embarked for Cape Town before the Melbourne letter arrived.⁴⁷ Copland quickly turned to Burton, who graciously accepted.⁴⁸

4 Conclusion

The University of Melbourne would eventually entice three Englishmen to visit and lecture at its campus during the 1930s. Its early attempts to entice a distinguished scholar to fill the Ritchie Chair had failed miserably. Equally, an attempt, managed by Herbert Heaton, to invite the Cambridge economic historian, C.R. Fay also to

come to Australia and give a series of lectures at Melbourne and other Australian universities failed due to the Englishman's ill-health.⁴⁹ For all that, Australian economics was not overly disadvantaged by giving the Ritchie Chair to Giblin. It proved indeed a masterstroke and, as Copland had predicted, despite his own self-doubts, Giblin earned the sobriquet of 'the grand old man of Australian economics' (Wilson 1952, p. 1).

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Notes

- 1 The author is deeply indebted to the two anonymous referees who read and commented upon an earlier draft of this work.
- 2 C. Wickens to L.F. Giblin, 29/10/1928, University of Melbourne Archives, Faculty of Economics and Commerce (hereafter UMA FECC), Box 214.
- 3 D.B. Copland to H. Heaton, 11/5/1928, UMA FECC, Box 4.
- 4 G.L. Wood to A.G.B. Fisher, 20/6/1930, UMA FECC, Box 8.
- 5 'A professor peregrinates' (extract from Copland's diary of his 1927 trip to study economic education abroad), *The Margin* 3(1), p. 7. Visiting London, Copland had lunch with Keynes, whom he encoded in his diary as a 'leading British economist', 19/6/1927.
- 6 D.B. Copland to E.D. Day, 20/4/1928, UMA FECC, Box 5.
- 7 Cannan was also an examiner for G.L. Wood's thesis on Australian borrowing, subsequently published, which had been undertaken at the LSE in 1930.
- 8 Two of these chairs, at the University of Queensland and the University of Western Australia, occupied by Alcock and Shann respectively, were joint chairs in economics and history.
- 9 A.G.B. Fisher to D.B. Copland, 9/11/1928, UMA FECC, Box 3.
- 10 D.B. Copland to H. Belshaw, 20/10/1937, Economic Society of Victoria Branch, UMA FECC, Box 139.
- 11 'The Ritchie Chair of Economics', *The Margin* 3(1), p. 13.
- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 Agenda Item on the meeting of the Ritchie Committee, 17/3/1928, UMA FECC, Box 4.
- 14 D.B. Copland to H. Heaton, 11/5/1928, UMA FECC, Box 4.
- 15 D.B. Copland to J.M. Keynes, 13/2/1928, UMA FECC, Box 5.
- 16 W. Layton to D.B. Copland, 26/3/1928, UMA FECC, Box 5.
- 17 J.M. Keynes to D.B. Copland, 21/3/1928, UMA FECC, Box 5.
- 18 I am indebted to Selwyn Cornish for alerting me to this. He uncovered the letter in the Cannan Papers held at the British Library of Political Science at the LSE. The same letter is also held in the UMA FECC collection.
- 19 D.B. Copland to E. Cannan, 24/3/1928, UMA FECC, Box 4.
- 20 E. Cannan to D.B. Copland, 26/3/1928, UMA FECC, Box 4.
- 21 E. Cannan to D.B. Copland, 26/3/1928, UMA FECC, Box 4.
- 22 D.B. Copland to G.L. Daniels, 16/4/1928, UMA FECC, Box 4.
- 23 D.B. Copland to J. Simpson, 29/6/1928, UMA FECC, Box 4.
- 24 D.B. Copland to F. Taussig, 5/3/1928, and F. Taussig to D.B. Copland, 13/4/1928, UMA FECC, Box 5.
- 25 D.B. Copland to F. Taussig, 25/5/1928, UMA FECC, Box 5.
- 26 G.L. Daniels to J. MacFarland, 30/8/1928, UMA FECC, Box 4.

- 27 G.L. Daniels to D.B. Copland, 6/7/1928, UMA FECC, Box 5.
- 28 A.B. Ritchie to J. Bainbridge, 2/9/1928, UMA FECC, Box 5.
- 29 D.B. Copland to E.D. Day, 16/8/1928, UMA FECC, Box 5.
- 30 Cable, E.D. Day to J. MacFarland, 29/8/1928, UMA FECC, Box 5.
- 31 D.B. Copland to C. Wickens, 4/10/1928, UMA FECC, Box 5.
- 32 D.B. Copland to C. Wickens, 3/9/1928, UMA FECC, Box 5.
- 33 D.B. Copland to A.G.B. Fisher, 29/10/1928, UMA FECC, Box 5.
- 34 D.B. Copland to F. Taussig, 3/12/1928, UMA FECC, Box 5.
- 35 D.B. Copland to L.F. Giblin, 24/10/1928, UMA FECC, Box 214.
- 36 J. MacFarland to L.F. Giblin, 17/10/1928, UMA FECC, Box 214.
- 37 D.B. Copland to L.F. Giblin, 16/10/1928, UMA FECC, Box 214.
- 38 *Ibid.*
- 39 L.F. Giblin to D.B. Copland, 22/10/1929, UMA FECC, Box 214.
- 40 D.B. Copland to L.F. Giblin, 24/10/1928, UMA FECC, Box 214.
- 41 E. Giblin to J.M. Garland, 6/6/1954, GJG -59-5 RBA.
- 42 D.B. Copland to R.I. Downing, 26/6/1959, UMA FECC, Box 220A.
- 43 D.B. Copland to W.J. Daniels, 1/7/1929, UMA FECC, Box 7.
- 44 The same Lloyd Ross who would later become a leading Labour intellectual and write a biography of John Curtin.
- 45 It was Robertson, too, whom Keynes had admonished for specialising in economic history. Keynes cautioned Robertson ‘against “antiquarian pursuits”....When he (Keynes) was old and no longer alert enough for difficult and exact analysis he, too, would like to give his time, as a refuge and diversion from more exacting studies, to take up economic history and the history of economic thought’ (cited by Skidelsky 1992, p. 676).
- 46 G.L. Wood to D.B. Copland, 24/10/1929, UMA FECC, Box 7.
- 47 H.M. Robertson to D.B. Copland, 8/1/1930, UMA FECC, Box 8.
- 48 D.B. Copland to J. Burton, 12/12/1929, UMA FECC, Box 7.
- 49 H. Heaton, Staff File No 182, University of Adelaide.

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