The dissemination of New Idealist thought in Australian print and radio media from 1885 to 1945

Margaret Van Heekeren
MA (Modern History), BA (Communication)

This thesis is presented for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Macquarie University
Department of Modern History, Politics and International Relations
2 December 2011

Contents

Abstract 3
Statement of Candidate 4
Acknowledgements 5

Introduction 6

New Idealism 10
New Idealism in Australia 13
Public intellectualism 21
Australian Media and Journalism History 27
Methodology 34
Organisation of the thesis 38

Chapter One - The "organic filament": New Idealist thought and the media 41

Philosophy and public intellectualism 42
New Idealist thought on journalism 46
Australian Idealist thought on journalism 52

Chapter Two - "Higher order journalism": Australian print journalism, talks programming and New Idealism 68

Australian New Idealists in the media 69
Newspaper management and editorships 1885 – 1945: *Sydney Morning Herald* 72
Newspaper management and editorships 1885 – 1945: *Daily Telegraph, Advertiser* and *Register* 85
Radio talks programming and New Idealist thought 90
Media coverage of philosophy and political thought including British Idealism 94

Chapter Three - "Fire, life, inspiration": Australian Idealists in the media on education 104

The development of education in Australia 107
The role of the state in education 111
School education for social and political citizenship 122
Teacher training and parents as teachers 128
University and Adult Education 137

Chapter Four - "The problem of today and tomorrow": Australian Idealists in the media on the state and society **149**

Historical context of the state and society in Australia 151
Liberty and rights 154
The Australian Idealist conception of state 160
State intervention 164
The role of the state – from theory to practice 172

Chapter Five - "The hand that turned the key": Australia and the world **179**

Foundations of internationalism 184
Patriotism and nationalism 197
Australia in the Commonwealth, the region and the world 201

Chapter Six - "Unite or perish": War and Post-war Reconstruction **210**

Australia and world war 212
Causes of War 215
The League of Nations 218
Post-Second World War reconstruction 229
Duty in time of war 235

Chapter Seven - "A bridge between minds": The media and public reception of Australian Idealism **243**

Readers and listeners 246
Response to Australian Idealist views on education 250
Response to Australian Idealist views on the state 257
Response to Australian Idealist views on international relations and war and post-war reconstruction 262

Conclusion **271**

Bibliography **284**

Archival Sources 284
Newspaper Articles 284
Radio Transcripts 295
Other Original/Contemporary Sources 297
Secondary Sources 301

Abstract

This thesis argues that journalism has been neglected as a major source in researching histories of ideas and public intellectualism in Australia. It responds to calls by historians for a close examination of journalism and undertakes an extensive survey of articles from 1885 to 1945 in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, *Daily Telegraph*, Adelaide *Advertiser* and *Register* newspapers and transcripts of Australian Broadcasting Commission talks programs.

The study focuses on one form of philosophical and political thought, New Idealism, which has received little detailed academic attention in Australia. New Idealism, also known as British Idealism, was a philosophical movement of the mid to late nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century that migrated to Australia with the former students of the British philosophers T. H. Green (1836 – 1882) and Edward Caird (1835 – 1908). New Idealism was very much a practical philosophy and its followers were just as likely to be found in public lecture halls and on school boards as in university offices.

In Australia this public face of New Idealism extended to the media. The thesis identifies a considerable body of previously unknown work in newspaper articles and radio broadcasts by five Australian Idealist thinkers: William Jethro Brown (1869-1930); Francis Anderson (1858 – 1941); Mungo MacCallum (1854-1942); Garnet Vere Portus (1883 – 1954) and Ernest Burgmann (1885 – 1967). Four areas of thought as revealed in the media are examined: on education; the role of the state; international relations and war and post-war reconstruction. The thesis finds a sympathetic media, particularly the *Sydney Morning Herald* under the proprietorship of the Fairfax family, facilitated coverage of these debates and enabled the Australian Idealists to have, at times, considerable influence as public intellectuals. This leads to a conclusion that an historical focus on the journalistic report is a highly successful research approach in intellectual history.

Statement of Candidate

I certify that the work in this thesis entitled "**The dissemination of New Idealist thought in Australian print and radio media from 1885 to 1945**" has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research and it has been written by me. Any help and assistance that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself have been appropriately acknowledged.

In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Margaret Van Heekeren (40500462)

2 December 2011

Acknowledgments

While researching and writing this thesis I was accompanied by a mental image of a mountain hike. Time after time, it seemed the summit was over the next rise but upon reaching a rise I would see, not the summit, but yet another alluring panorama. This image has become the metaphor of this thesis. At times it seemed insurmountable, but then, a panorama of unforeseen knowledge would appear, providing inspiration and stamina. The summit was always there, waiting - it was just of matter of following the signposts.

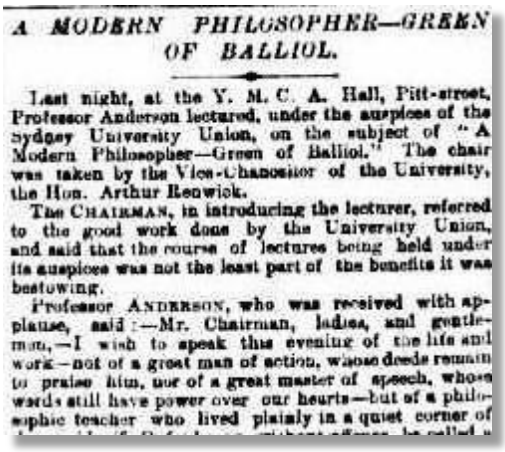
For this thesis the signposts and immeasurable guidance were provided by three inspiring supervisors: principal supervisor Ian Tregenza was a constant stalwart, providing calm insight and an expansive knowledge of the history of political thought; associate supervisor Bridget Griffen-Foley went above and beyond through her dedicated guidance, wisdom and unwavering support; adjunct supervisor Marnie Hughes-Warrington, formerly of Macquarie and currently of Monash University, serendipitously set me on this path and, in the words of Henry Jones, kept me "on the strain for better things". I thank them all for their dedication and belief. Appreciation is also extended to Murray Goot for his insightful comments and Rod Kirkpatrick for providing much needed assistance in South Australian newspaper history.

Institutionally, the support of Macquarie University, the Faculty of Arts and the Department of Modern History, Politics and International Relations has been instrumental in the production of the thesis. Acknowledgement is also due to my employer and colleagues at Charles Sturt University for their support and encouragement.

Much of the research for thesis was enabled by a wealth of librarians and archivists at the Mitchell Library and State Reference Library in Sydney, St Mark's Theological College in Canberra, the National Archives of Australia, the National Library of Australia, the State Library of South Australia, Fairfax Company Archives, the Archives of the University of Sydney, the Bodleian Libraries and Balliol College Archives, Oxford and, always, the Macquarie University Library and Charles Sturt University Library, Bathurst and Wagga Wagga campuses.

Incalculable and always substantial was the support of many friends and family, especially my husband Brett and children Roan and Anna. I thank you all for your enduring patience and love that provided much needed sustenance for this journey.

Introduction



A MODERN PHILOSOPHER—GREEN OF BALLIOL.

Last night, at the Y. M. C. A. Hall, Pitt-street, Professor Anderson lectured, under the auspices of the Sydney University Union, on the subject of "A Modern Philosopher—Green of Balliol." The chair was taken by the Vice-Chancellor of the University, the Hon. Arthur Renwick.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, referred to the good work done by the University Union, and said that the course of lectures being held under its auspices was not the least part of the benefits it was bestowing.

Professor ANDERSON, who was received with applause, said:—Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—I wish to speak this evening of the life and work—not of a great man of action, whose deeds remain to praise him, nor of a great master of speech, whose words still have power over our hearts—but of a philosophic teacher who lived plainly in a quiet corner of

[1]

As inquisitors of humanity, journalism and philosophy have much in common. Both disciplines are founded on inquiry, research and the interpretation and publication of findings. They share a responsibility to society by informing public debate on social and political issues.[2] Despite these similarities there has been little academic exploration of the relationship between the two disciplines.

This thesis details a particular convergence of philosophy and journalism, exploring the dissemination of New Idealist thought in Australian print and radio media in Sydney and Adelaide between 1885 and 1945 by five Australian thinkers, William Jethro Brown (1868 – 1930), Francis Anderson (1858 – 1941), Mungo

[1] Clipping from a *Sydney Morning Herald* article which gave the full text of a lecture by Francis Anderson on T.H.Green. Francis Anderson, "A Modern Philosopher - Green of Balliol," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 October 1890, p.7.

[2] Jay Newman, *The Journalist in Plato's Cave* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1989), p.17.

MacCallum (1854 – 1942), Garnet Vere Portus (1883 – 1954) and Ernest Burgmann (1885 – 1967).[3]

The thesis is a history and not a work of philosophy. Four historical fields of equal significance are traversed: the history of Idealist thought; the history of philosophy and political thought in Australia; the history of public intellectualism in Australia and, through the approach taken in the thesis, Australian journalism/media history. Histories of philosophy, political thought and public intellectualism are commonly united in scholarship yet media history is little used in such studies. This thesis demonstrates that a history of ideas can be found in journalism. Journalistic reports and broadcasts become a key, rather than anecdotal, source, revealing previously unknown tracts of philosophy and political thought. The need for such an approach in Australia was raised by the political scientist Geoff Stokes in 1994. Stokes suggested that scholars needed to broaden their sources to fully consider the history of political thought in Australia and nominated newspapers as a potential source.[4] This thesis takes up Stokes' suggestion. It is based on an extensive surveying of Australian print and radio media in two cities between 1885 and 1945.

Within journalism history there have been similar appeals for a new approach. In his noted 1974 article, "The Problem of Journalism History",[5] the American journalism historian James W. Carey called for a shift in journalism history away from the institutional and biographical towards cultural history that placed the journalistic report as the central focus.

---

[3] Further references to these Australian Idealists will either be by surname or the style adopted by each for their authored works. Thus: W. Jethro Brown, Francis Anderson, Mungo MacCallum, G.V. Portus and E.H. Burgmann.

[4] Geoff Stokes, "Australian Political Thought: Editorial Introduction," in *Australian Political Ideas*, ed. Geoff Stokes, (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1994), pp.7,8.

[5] Carey's article appeared in the first edition of the journal *Journalism History*. The version cited here is from the 1997 reprint: James W. Carey, "The Problem of Journalism History," in *James Carey : A Critical Reader*, ed. Eve S. Munson, Catherine A. Warren, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), pp.86-93.

> Our major calling is to look at journalism as a text that said something about something to someone: to grasp the forms of consciousness, the imaginations, the interpretations of reality journalism has contained. When we do this the presumed dullness and triviality of our subject matter evaporates and we are left with an important corner of the most vital human odyssey: the story of the growth and transformation of the human mind as formed and expressed by one of the most significant forms in which the mind has conceived and expressed itself during the past three hundred years – the journalistic report.

More specifically, the use of the journalistic report as a tool in intellectual history was suggested in a paper delivered in 1979 by another American historian, Catherine L. Covert.[6] In Australia, the journalism academic Penny O'Donnell has argued for a greater consideration of "intellectualism and the Australian media".[7] Most recently, the British journalism historian Martin Conboy argued there was a need "to extricate journalism from broader media history".[8] This thesis responds collectively to these appeals. It uses a focus on journalism as a major source in intellectual history.

In this thesis journalistic report or journalistic content refers to newspaper articles written by or about the Australian Idealists. The terms also refer to spoken word content on radio. This is primarily for convenience, however it stems from a view that a scripted radio broadcast serves a similar commentary role to opinion and feature content in newspapers.[9] The contemporary term "talks", short for

---

[6] Catherine L. Covert, "The Newspaper and Intellectual History: A New Approach," in *Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism* (Houston, Texas 1979).

[7] Penny O'Donnell, "Journalism and Philosophy: Remembering Clem Lloyd," in *Australian Media Traditions 2007* (Bathurst: Charles Sturt University, 2007. Accessible at: http://www.csu.edu.au/special/amt/publication/).

[8] Martin Conboy, "The Paradoxes of Journalism History," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 30, no. 3 (2010), p.413.

[9] Brian McNair, who notes the difficulty in defining journalism, uses a similar parameter: Journalism is "any *authored* text, in written, audio or visual form, which *claims* to be true (i.e. presented to its audience as) a *truthful* statement about, or record of, some *hitherto unknown* (new) feature of the *actual*, *social*, world." McNair similarly includes feature articles, commentary and editorials in print and broadcast as types of journalism, as well as news. Brian McNair, *The Sociology of Journalism* (London: Arnold, 1998), pp.4-6.

talks programming, is also used. The term media is also used to refer to print and radio collectively.

The thesis covers the period from 1885 through to the end of the Second World War; six decades that correspond with a tumultuous era in Australian history. This includes federation of the former colonies in 1901; major economic depressions in the 1890s and 1930s, and the two world wars. Throughout this period Australia was defining itself as a nation, reassessing its relationship with Britain and attempting to comprehend the significance of its geographic proximity to Asia. It was a period of historical and geographical disjuncture as Australia reassessed its historical and cultural roots against the backdrop of its geographic location.[10]

It would be far beyond the space constraints of this thesis to examine the nature of all political thought as revealed in print and on radio during this period. Instead, the focus is New Idealism. In this way the thesis explores the relationship between journalism and philosophy in reference to public intellectualism and, simultaneously, tracks a mode of thought that has received little academic attention in Australia.

In order to achieve these aims the thesis proceeds as follows: this introduction outlines New Idealism and situates the thesis within histories of New Idealism in Australian. Public intellectualism, broadly and in the Australian context and Australian journalism history is also discussed. The research methodology is explained followed by brief summaries of subsequent chapters. The remainder of the thesis explores the relationship between New Idealism and the media and then, over four chapters, discusses four significant areas of Australian New Idealist thought as revealed in print and on radio. Finally, it assesses media and public reception of New Idealist thought.

[10] Neville Meaney, *Australia and the World - a Documentary History from the 1870s to the 1970s* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1985), p.2.

New Idealism

New Idealism is most commonly known as British Idealism because of its origins in Oxford and Glasgow. In this thesis the term New Idealism/Idealists and British Idealism/Idealists will be used interchangeably. British Idealism/Idealists and Australian Idealism/Idealists will be used when geographical context is relevant.

In 1964 Melvin Richter reawakened interest in British Idealism through his study of the philosophy of T.H. Green.[11] Since then a considerable volume of scholarship has emerged that has re-established the primacy of Idealist thought and influence from the mid-nineteenth century through to the 1940s, although its influence ebbed from the 1920s.[12] Despite the growing interest in British Idealism, the first full history of the philosophy was not published until 2011 – W.J. Mander's *British Idealism*.[13]

Also known as neo-Hegelianism, a simplified genealogy of New Idealism begins with the Idealist philosophy of Plato, later redefined by the German philosophers Immanuel Kant (1724 – 1804) and G.W. F Hegel (1770 – 1831) and then reinterpreted in Britain by Thomas Hill Green (1836 – 1882) at Oxford University and Edward Caird (1835 – 1908) at Oxford and Glasgow Universities. Green, Caird and their adherents - many were former students of the elder philosophers - collectively became known as the British Idealists.[14]

British Idealism emerged in response to the materialism and empiricism of the utilitarian philosophy of David Hume, Jeremy Bentham, Herbert Spencer and

---

[11] Melvin Richter, *The Politics of Conscience, T.H. Green and His Age* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964).

[12] David Boucher, ed. *The British Idealists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1997), p.vii; William Sweet, "General Introduction," in *Early Responses to British Idealism: Responses to B. Jowett, T.H. Green, E. Caird and W. Wallace*, vol.1, ed. Colin Tyler, (Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004), pp.ix-x.

[13] W.J. Mander, *British Idealism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[14] Ibid., p.5; Boucher, ed. *The British Idealists*, p.viii.

J.S. Mill, among others.[15] An atomistic conception of the individual had privileged few at the expense of the majority. Individuals who did not have the intellectual, social or financial capital to prosper had been left to flounder. This individualism, coupled with a laissez-faire economy, had led to unprecedented wealth but with serious consequences. Poverty was rife, living standards and educational opportunities were poor and alcohol consumption was stultifying opportunities for change.[16] Such conditions were incompatible with the Idealist vision.[17]

The British Idealists were among those who sought to correct the imbalance. Working from a Hegelian-style metaphysics that emphasised unity and the whole they accepted Hegel's rejection of dualisms. Unlike Kant they saw no distinction between mind and matter. However, as Boucher argues, British Idealist philosophy was not mind-dependent but it was through the mind that reality was made intelligible.[18] From this metaphysical position they developed a system of political and social thought that repositioned the status of the individual as part of the greater whole. The British Idealists argued that individuals were not atomistic but existed within and through society. F.H. Bradley captured this notion by arguing that the idea of the "mere individual" was a delusion as "man is a social being; he is real only because he is social, and can realize himself only because it is as social that he realizes himself".[19] Realisation, also termed self-realisation, was fundamental to all of British Idealist thought. Realisation was the path to freedom. After Hegel, freedom was further connected with spirit and, on occasion, Divine

[15] David Boucher and Andrew Vincent, *British Idealism and Political Theory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p.11; Boucher, ed. *The British Idealists*, p.xx; Sweet, "General Introduction," p.ix.

[16] Peter Nicholson, *The Political Philosophy of the British Idealists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp.13-14. For Green's views on the impact of alcohol on freedom see David Boucher and Andrew Vincent, *British Idealism and Political Theory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), pp.76-98.

[17] Boucher, ed. *The British Idealists*, p.xxiii.

[18] Ibid., pp.xii.

[19] F.H. Bradley, *Ethical Studies* (London: Henry S. King & Co., 1876), p.158.

Spirit; a universal goodwill that united the physical and the mental and led to the higher ideal of a moral human existence.[20]

The parallels with Christian imperatives are not coincidental and no discussion of British Idealism can ignore the influence of religion. Many of the British Idealists had either been ordained as ministers of religion, or had considered joining the ministry.[21] T.H. Green, for instance, was the son of an Anglican minister.[22] However, the British Idealists arrived at a time in the mid-nineteenth century when the organised churches were under attack. Scientific and intellectual challenges reappraising religious dogma and even the existence of God threatened the churches' influence. Charles Darwin's *Evolution of the Species* was published in 1859 whilst critical scholarship questioning the authority of the Bible had emerged out of Germany through F.C. Baur and D.F. Strauss.[23] While the bones of Christianity shook, the British Idealists reached into the marrow, refashioning core ethical and moral Christian beliefs into a deeply spiritual philosophy.[24] As Vincent and Plant emphasise, religion was structured by the British Idealists as the bridge between metaphysical theory and social practice.[25]

Central to social practice was the role of the state. The good life, or the best life, was now a social, rather than solely individual, ambition. The individual good and the common good were inextricable. In the words of one of Green's disciples, D.G. Ritchie: "This best life can only be realised in an organised society, i.e. in the State".[26] It was the state's role to facilitate realisation, to create opportunities for

[20] Boucher, ed. *The British Idealists*, pp.ix-x; Boucher and Vincent, *British Idealism and Political Theory*, p.5.

[21] Boucher, ed. *The British Idealists*, p.xi.

[22] Richter, *Politics of Conscience*, p.36.

[23] Boucher, ed. *The British Idealists*, p.x; Mander, *British Idealism*, pp.137-38.

[24] Boucher, ed. *The British Idealists*, p.x.

[25] Andrew Vincent and Raymond Plant, *Philosophy, Politics and Citizenship, the Life and Thought of the British Idealists* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), p.9.

[26] David G. Ritchie, *The Principles of State Interference* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co, 1891), p.102.

self-improvement and remove obstacles.[27] It is at junctures like this that the metaphysical and practical aims of British Idealism meet. In order to achieve the higher ambition of freedom, education and reform were necessary for moral and social progress. In what is termed practical Idealism, the British Idealists sought social reform through legislative change, government commissions and school boards and worked towards greater university access for women. Their belief in education as the key to realisation led to significant involvement in University Extension and the Workers' Educational Association (WEA).[28] Through such works the British Idealists promoted a moral citizenship which emphasised the interrelatedness of the individual and society.[29] It was this practical Idealism that was to become dominant when the philosophy arrived on Australian shores in the late nineteenth century.

New Idealism in Australia

Over the past decade there has been an increasing academic awareness of New Idealist philosophy beyond Britain, exploring the phenomena as a colonising or migrating philosophy in such countries as Canada, South Africa and Australia.[30] However, to date there is no major work dedicated to New Idealist thought in Australia. As Sweet notes, there has been little written about how British Idealism

[27] Boucher, ed. *The British Idealists*, p.x; Boucher and Vincent, *British Idealism and Political Theory*, pp.9-11; Vincent and Plant, *Philosophy, Politics and Citizenship*, pp.2-3; David Boucher, ed. *The Scottish Idealists, Selected Philosophical Writings* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2004), p.16; Nicholson, *The Political Philosophy of the British Idealists*, pp.2-3; Richter, *Politics of Conscience*, pp.225,344-45,354-355.

[28] Boucher, ed. *The British Idealists*, pp.xi,xiii; Peter and John White Gordon, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers: The Influence of Idealism on British Educational Thought and Practice* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1979), p.58. Richter, *Politics of Conscience*, pp.298, 344-45, 360-361.

[29] The individual's relationship to the whole was understood differently by various Idealist philosophers. This led to divisions known as Absolute Idealism, or Subjective, Idealism. Personal Idealists believed the individual was subjugated by the whole in Absolute Idealism. Boucher, ed. *The British Idealists*, p.xii.

[30] S.A. Grave, *A History of Philosophy in Australia* (St Lucia (Qld): University of Queensland Press, 1984), p.25; Boucher and Vincent, *British Idealism and Political Theory*, p.14; William Sweet, "British Idealism and its Empire," *Collingwood and British Idealism Studies* 17, no.1 (2011), pp.7-36. In this article Sweet outlines how British Idealism can be said to have a "migrating tradition".

engaged the philosophies, politics, and religious and cultural traditions it encountered on its migratory path.[31]

New Idealism arrived in Australia in the minds and books of British émigrés, more specifically, Scottish émigrés. The description that early philosophy in Australia can almost be called a branch of Scottish philosophy is apt.[32] As well as Francis Anderson at the University of Sydney, former Scottish students of philosophy took up teaching posts at other Australian universities, Henry Laurie (1837 – 1922) in Melbourne and William Mitchell (1862 – 1961) at the University of Adelaide. Mitchell, although often regarded as an Idealist, is also viewed in histories of philosophy as bringing a strong realist influence to his work.[33] Meanwhile, Mungo MacCallum, a professor of English literature, had, like Anderson, studied philosophy under the Scottish Idealist Edward Caird in Glasgow. During this period MacCallum also formed a friendship with the Welsh Idealist, Henry Jones then in Glasgow.[34]

Most of the other philosophers of the period had been exposed to British Idealism during studies in Britain. These included W.R. Boyce Gibson (1869 – 1935), who took up the Chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy at the University of Melbourne after Laurie's retirement. Gibson had attended Queen's College, Oxford but also studied philosophy at Glasgow. The only Australian-born Idealist of this generation, W. Jethro Brown, was a graduate of St John's College at Cambridge and the University of Dublin. Although Scottish born, Walter Murdoch (1874 – 1970) completed all of his university studies at the University of

[31] Sweet, "British Idealism and its Empire," p.8.

[32] Martin Davies, Stein Helgeby, "Idealist Origins in Australasian Philosophy," in *A History of Australasian Philosophy*, ed. Graham Oppy, Nick Trakakis (Dordrecht: Springer-Verlag, 2011 forthcoming).

[33] The realist influence in Mitchell's work has been noted by: W. Martin Davies, *The Philosophy of Sir William Mitchell (1861-1962)* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2003), p.13. Grave, *A History of Philosophy in Australia*, p.26; Boucher and Vincent, *British Idealism and Political Theory*, p.18.

[34] Boucher and Vincent, *British Idealism and Political Theory*, pp.16-20.

Melbourne, where he took philosophy under Henry Laurie. A later student of Laurie's, E. Morris Miller (1881 – 1964), was similarly inspired by his lecturer's Idealism and developed a life-long devotion to Idealist philosophy and Kant.[35]

These philosophers were the first in Australian universities as the sector was in the early years of development. An Australian professorship in philosophy did not exist until Henry Laurie took the inaugural chair at Melbourne in 1886. Sydney University followed in 1890 when Anderson was appointed as the first Challis professor of logic and mental philosophy, two years after he arrived at the university to lecture in philosophy. Idealism was therefore Australia's first formal philosophy. Its influence was long lasting, drawing a range of adherents. Among these adherents were an Australian Prime Minister, Alfred Deakin, and a later Labor Party leader, Herbert Vere Evatt, a former student and admirer of Anderson and MacCallum.[36]

Other students of MacCallum and Anderson, E. H. Burgmann and G.V. Portus, contributed to the longevity of New Idealism in Australia. Portus had been ordained as an Anglican minister but left the priesthood for a new vocation in education. Burgmann, two years his junior, remained in the ministry, becoming Bishop of the southern NSW-based Canberra and Goulburn diocese in 1934. The strong Anglican tradition within Idealism, noted in Britain, extended to Australia.[37]

From a historiographical point of view, recognition of the significance of Idealist philosophy in Australia has come almost full circle. The first historical summary of philosophy in Australia was written in 1929 by E. Morris Miller.

---

[35] John Reynolds, "Miller, Edmund Morris (1881 - 1964)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/miller-edmund-morris-7581/text13237).

[36] David Boucher, "Practical Hegelianism: Henry Jones's Lecture Tour of Australia," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 51, no. 3 (1990), pp.433-34, 451-452.

[37] For further discussion of the interaction between Idealist thought and religion in Australia see: Ian Tregenza, "The Idealist Tradition in Australian Religious Thought," *Journal of Religious History* 34, no. 3 (2010), pp.335-353.

Miller claimed Idealism as a core philosophy that had a fundamental role in the nation's philosophical development:

> (Realist philosophy) has never stood alone in the forefront of philosophical development; and where it has appeared to do so, it has rather been as a foil to idealism than as a power of independent standing. Behind it there ever lurks a background of idealistic presuppositions.[38]

Miller, of course, was an Idealist himself and was writing at the end of the Idealist dominance in Australian universities. The arrival in 1927 of Francis Anderson's replacement as chair of philosophy at the University of Sydney, John Anderson, heralded the beginning of the rise of realism in Australian philosophy.[39] By the time more general histories of Australian philosophy were published, some 60 years later, Idealism was relegated to a brief, passing fad that served merely as a precursor to Australia's "indigenous" philosophical tradition, realism.[40]

Idealism may have faded in the pages of histories of philosophy but around the same time many of its key thinkers were rediscovered in emerging histories of Australian political thought. However, particularly in earlier works, there was a tendency to read New Idealism through a utilitarian lens. Tim Rowse, for example, acknowledged the moral influence of New Idealism but ultimately found Australian liberalism was dominated by utilitarian principles.[41] Meanwhile, in two works, Gregory Melleuish drew a similar portrait of what he termed "utilitarian idealism", an essentially Hegelian inspired new liberalism with a

---

[38] E. Morris Miller, "The Beginnings of Philosophy in Australia and the Work of Henry Laurie," *Australasian Journal of Philosophy* 7, no. 4 (1929), p.246.

[39] Like Francis, John Anderson (1893-1962) had been educated in the Idealist tradition at the University of Glasgow, where he was a student of Henry Jones. However the later Anderson (no relation) quickly rejected his Idealist background and became a staunch realist and vehement critic of Idealism.

[40] James Franklin, *Corrupting the Youth: A History of Philosophy in Australia* (Paddington (NSW): Macleay Press, 2003), p.2; Maurita Harney, "The Contemporary European Tradition in Australian Philosophy," in *Essays on Philosophy in Australia*, ed. Jan Wood and David Srzednicki, (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992), p.127; John Passmore, "Australian Philosophy or Philosophy in Australia?," in *Essays on Philosophy in Australia*, ed. Jan Wood and David Srzednicki, p.10.

[41] Tim Rowse, *Australian Liberalism and National Character* (Malmsbury, (Vic): Kibble Books, 1978).

utilitarian emphasis on the individual that eventually failed.[42] Both interpretations reflect the legacy of W. K. Hancock who argued in 1930 that Australian political development had been dominated by material concerns.[43]

More recent scholarship has demonstrated a greater recognition of Idealist influence. Marian Sawer, in particular, details the impact of Green and British Idealism.[44] The utilitarian slant emphasised by Rowse is forcefully redressed by Sawer, who argues Rowse underplayed the role of New Idealism and fashioned the new liberalism into a utilitarian framework that accommodated the conventional Australian discourse.[45] Sawer concludes that the dominant thought was "social liberalism", which provided the structure for the "ethical state."[46] In Walter and Moore's recent exposition of the history of political ideas in Australia, there is strong recognition of the influence of Green and other British Idealists but little detail of philosophical Idealism. The focus, as in Sawer, is where New Idealism and the new liberalism converge.[47] Such treatment derives from the closeness of the New Idealist/new liberal relationship. As Moore argues, the influence of Idealist philosophy gave liberalism a "paradoxical quality" in Australia and more generally.[48] Due to its relevance within the Australian context, it is worth exploring in more detail how this relationship developed

---

[42] Gregory Melleuish, *A Short History of Australian Liberalism* (St. Leonards (NSW): The Centre for Independent Studies, 2001). pp.15, 18, 25, 28, 43; Gregory Melleuish, "Utopians and Sceptics: Competing Images of Democracy in Australia," in *Australian Political Ideas*, ed. Geoff Stokes (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1994), pp.114-131.

[43] W.K. Hancock, *Australia*, 1961 ed. (Brisbane: Jacaranda Press, 1930), pp.276-277.

[44] Marian Sawer, *The Ethical State? Social Liberalism in Australia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003).

[45] Ibid., pp.2-4,31.

[46] Ibid., p.3.

[47] James Walter with Tod Moore, *What Were They Thinking? The Politics of Ideas in Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010). An important chapter of the book, due to its relevance to this thesis in examining the interwar period, is authored by Tod Moore, "A Civic Order", pp.133-174.

[48] Tod Moore, "A Civic Order," in *What Were They Thinking?*, p.157.

The nexus between the new liberalism and New Idealism is a complex one and they cannot be extricated from each other. British scholars Andrew Vincent and Raymond Plant found the relationship between both modes of thought was not causal but convergent.[49] Mander also observes what he terms an "overlapping" of the two.[50] As Richter shows, even Green struggled with his development of Idealist philosophy amidst the concurrent emergence of the new liberalism.[51]

Technically speaking, the emergence of the new liberalism dates from the years 1906 to 1914 when a raft of welfare legislation was passed by the British parliament.[52] However, this was a manifestation of a mounting unease over many decades about the social effects of a laissez faire political and economic structure. As we saw earlier, New Idealist philosophy emerged out of similar concerns.[53] To those who were to become the new liberals such a transformation could only be brought about by the state. Yet, at the core of the earlier liberalism was the principle of minimal state intervention. Convincing many in the upper echelons of British politics and industry that the way forward was through an increased role for the state would not be an easy task. Enter the political and social philosophy of T.H. Green which, although derived from Idealism, shared a political exposition and a partial role for the state that had currency with broader new liberal thought. The ideas of Green were readily absorbed into a new liberal framework through which change could be promoted.[54]

---

[49] Vincent and Plant, *Philosophy, Politics and Citizenship*, p.44.

[50] Mander, *British Idealism*, p.35.

[51] Richter, *Politics of Conscience*, pp.207-08, 268.

[52] Peter Weiler, *The New Liberalism* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1982), p.14.

[53] Ibid., pp.17-18.

[54] Ibid., pp.35-40.

New Idealism gave the new liberalism a philosophical foundation.[55] The New Idealist tenet of moral citizenship was easily absorbed by the new liberalism which also sought reform to improve living and educational standards.[56] Both stressed the relationship between the individual and society. This led to assumptions that both were forms of socialism and gave rise to such terms as liberal socialism and ethical socialism.[57] The New Idealists were forced to negotiate between these forms. In the Hegelian tradition of overcoming dualisms, the differences in these theories were minimised. Such British Idealists as Henry Jones sought to find unity within the theoretical diversity, providing coherence to the principal aim of a better and just society.[58]

Despite this convergence in many areas of thought, scholarship on New Idealism has forged a dedicated path of its own in Britain. Such work is now emerging in Australia. The first treatment of New Idealism in Australia was undertaken in 1990 by David Boucher on the 1908 Australian lecture tour by Henry Jones. A decade later, Boucher revisited his earlier work in an introductory chapter to a broader examination of British Idealism and political theory.[59] It was almost another decade before further detailed scholarship emerged, but this time by Australian academics Marnie Hughes-Warrington and Ian Tregenza.[60] In a forthcoming history of Australasian philosophy, a detailed chapter, authored by Martin Davies and Stein Helgeby, explores Idealism. They conclude that Miller's

---

[55] Vincent and Plant, *Philosophy, Politics and Citizenship*, p.34.

[56] Stefan Collini, *Liberalism and Sociology, L. T. Hobhouse and Political Argument in England 1880 - 1914* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p.31.

[57] Vincent and Plant, *Philosophy, Politics and Citizenship*, pp.167-168.

[58] Ibid., pp.177-179.

[59] Boucher, "Practical Hegelianism: Henry Jones's Lecture Tour of Australia," pp.423-452; Boucher and Vincent, *British Idealism and Political Theory*, pp.15-21.

[60] Marnie Hughes-Warrington, Tregenza, Ian, "State and Civilization in Australian New Idealism, 1890-1950," *History of Political Thought* 29, no. 1 (2008), pp.89-108. Ian Tregenza, "The Idealist Tradition in Australian Religious Thought."

1929 judgement of the dominance of Idealism in early Australian philosophy was correct.[61] As all these authors agree more detailed research is needed. Davies and Helgeby claim the end of Idealist influence in Australia to the mid 1920s and 1930s when Idealist scholars had either retired from their university posts or died.[62]

This thesis responds to both claims. It extends research into New Idealist thought in Australia and it finds a greater longevity of the dissemination of Australian Idealist thought, through to the close of the Second World War. One barrier to research on Idealism in Australia, that goes some way to explain the lack of detailed scholarship, is the relatively small volume of publications by many of its key thinkers in such traditional forms as books and pamphlets. As discussed in more detail in Chapter Two and seen throughout Chapters Three to Six, this is where the media publications by and about the Idealists become crucial texts. Most significantly, the Australian Idealists, on the whole, published very little on Idealist metaphysics. Although this thesis includes just one professional philosopher, Francis Anderson, the remaining four - Brown, MacCallum, Portus and Burgmann - were all trained in Idealist philosophy. It becomes evident throughout the thesis that there is an overt metaphysical underpinning to their published thought. As Sweet argues, the British Idealist influence in Australia did not lead to a "coherent or consistent idealist philosophy" but a more publicly active Idealism that asserted the role of the individual within society.[63] As will be seen in the following two chapters, the Idealists themselves were aware of the need to communicate to a broad audience and, as such, fashioned their metaphysics into a form of thought that could be most easily understood. They undertook this exposition as public intellectuals.

[61] Davies, "Idealist Origins in Australasian Philosophy," p.24.

[62] Ibid., p.25; Hughes-Warrington, "State and Civilization," p.108.

[63] Sweet, "British Idealism and its Empire," pp.15-16.

Public intellectualism

One of the aims of this thesis is to position the five New Idealist thinkers - Brown, MacCallum, Anderson, Portus and Burgmann – as public intellectuals of their time. This builds on recent Australian scholarship that rebuts earlier conceptions of a paucity of public intellectualism in Australia. Furthermore, the thesis seeks to establish that the thinkers disseminated New Idealist thought to a broad audience as public intellectuals. Despite its convergence with new liberalism, this thesis explores New Idealism as an influential mode of thought in its own right. In so doing it provides evidence that philosophically-formed thought can enter the realm of public intellectualism.

There are several contested definitions of the term intellectual.[64] For our purposes here we will concentrate on the perceived difference between intellectual and public intellectual. The term intellectual came into the English language in the late 1800s, entering common usage after the 1898 Dreyfus Affair in France.[65] At around the same time the Russian term intelligentsia, which emerged in Russia and Poland in the 1860s to describe the educated class, also came into English usage.[66] Once in Britain, intelligentsia was used as a pejorative term to mock the cultured elite. Intellectual soon took on a similar tone, directed at those with a preference for theory and literature.[67] Concurrently, debate began to emerge as to

[64] For a detailed discussion of approaches to defining intellectual see: Craig Murray, Intellectuals in the Australian Press (PhD thesis, Queensland University of Technology, 2005), pp.16-28.

[65] The Dreyfus Affair concerns the conviction of a military officer, Captain Dreyfus, for treason in France in 1894. Around 1000 scholars and writers signed a petition in protest. Their action became known as "la protestation des Intellectuals". Stefan Collini, *Absent Minds, Intellectuals in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.20.

[66] Aleksander Gella, "An Introduction to the Sociology of the Intelligentsia," in *The Intelligentsia and the Intellectuals*, ed. Aleksander Gella (London: Sage Publications, 1976), p.13; Collini, *Absent Minds*, p.22.

[67] Collini, *Absent Minds*, pp.22-29.

the role of the intellectual. The most influential interpretation came from the Italian theorist Antonio Gramsci.[68]

Gramsci argued for the concept of the "organic intellectual", which suggested that everyone had the capacity to be an intellectual within their own area of expertise, although not all had the opportunity to practise. To Gramsci the traditional understanding of the intellectual was "the man of letters, the philosopher, the artist". Whether traditional or organic, Gramsci stressed it was the intellectual's function in society that determined whether or not they really were intellectuals: as an intellectual must "sustain a conception of the world or to modify it, that is, to bring into being new modes of thought".[69]

The nuance here is between intellectual and *public* intellectual. Whilst the unadorned noun of intellectual has sufficed in France to mean the second, the adjectival use of public has become normative in English-speaking countries.[70] More recently, this distinction has been explored by Collini who identifies several interpretations. In the sociological sense intellectuals are defined by occupation. He lists journalists and teachers, to which philosophers can easily be added. In the subjective sense the qualification rests on a person's receptiveness to ideas. Again, philosophers are easily inserted into the category. But in the cultural sense, which is Collini's preferred understanding, there is a requisite that the intellectual must speak out – "a scholar who only addresses other scholars in the relevant

[68] In what is generally regarded as the first significant discussion of the intellectual in western thought, four years prior to Gramsci, in 1927, the French philosopher Julien Benda outlined his view on the role of the intellectual. Benda argued the political actions of intellectuals in the Dreyfus affair were inappropriate as the intellectual should be disinterested in the concerns of "laymen", committed solely to speculative thought. Benda viewed improved communications as one cause of the intellectuals' partisan disgrace. People of all classes were now, he argued, seemingly closer than ever before, allowing them to feel they could share concerns that would previously have been remote. Julien Benda, *The Betrayal of the Intellectuals (La Trahison Des Clercs)*, trans. Richard Aldington (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955).

[69] Antonio Gramsci, "Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci," ed. Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), p.9.

[70] Collini, *Absent Minds*, pp.46-47.

specialism does not qualify".[71] Furthermore, Collini argues that an intellectual's role will not just rest on scholarly and analytical abilities. Intellectuals must also express interesting and enlightening views in an engaging manner through media on topics that are relevant to public concerns.[72] Collini's depiction has recently been reinforced by Misztal as the most workable of definitions.[73] Elsewhere, Said's belief in the intellectual as an independent purveyor of change is based on the implicit assumption that the intellectual engages with a broad public.[74]

This thesis will provide further evidence that Idealist philosophers in Australia not only performed as public intellectuals but that they made a conscious decision to do so based on the New Idealist emphasis on education. Through such public dissemination of their thought they contributed significantly to ideas on politics and society in the Australian media.

Historical analysis of public intellectualism in Australia remains a developing field. Up until 1988, when Brian Head and James Walter published their influential work, *Intellectual Movements and Australian Society*,[75] the dominant belief was that Australia had lacked an active intellectualism or, to borrow from Collini, that intellectuals had been "absent" in the nation's history.[76] We will now take an historical look at perceptions of intellectualism in Australia from 1900 to the end of the Second World War as it is during this period that the five Australian Idealists in this thesis were the most active in the media.

---

[71] Ibid., p.48.

[72] Ibid., p.52.

[73] Barbara A. Misztal, *Intellectuals and the Public Good* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p.21.

[74] Edward W. Said, *Representation of the Intellectual, the 1993 Reith Lectures* (London: Vintage, 1994), p.57.

[75] Brian Head and James Walter, eds., *Intellectual Movements and Australian Society* (South Melbourne: Oxford University Press Australia,1988).

[76] Collini, in his history of public intellectualism in Britain, *Absent Minds*, wryly states that the concept of a British intellectual has often been regarded as an "oxymoron". Given the dominant interpretation of Australian culture as practical and material, the question arises: if a British intellectual is an oxymoron then what is an Australian one?

For a large part of the twentieth century it was presumed that Australia was bereft of intellectuals. In 1936 editor, writer and Oxford politics and philosophy graduate P. R. Stephenson lamented the lot of the Australian intellectual:

> In the absence of facilities for publishing sophisticated or even moderately intelligent books; in the absence of any critical magazines or reviews comparable with the *New Statesman*, the *Spectator*, or with any of the English monthlies; in the absence of any great newspapers with the traditions of fair reporting and fair play such as the *Manchester Guardian* or the *Times*, and in the overwhelming presence of our dreadful, venal, sycophantic, partisan, or screaming and stunting Australian press (edited by promoted cadet reporters and office boys), there has been no opportunity for our Australian intellectuals to do anything else except lurk in isolation, withdrawn from the life about them.[77]

Stephensen's *The Foundations of Culture in Australia* has been heralded "as one of the most influential books of the decade".[78] It picked up on a theme in D.H. Lawrence's Australian novel *Kangaroo*, published in 1929. Within its pages came the image of coarse and "indifferent" Australians who were "rudimentary individuals with no desire of communication".[79] In 1930 Hancock's sweeping portrayal *Australia* identified an "intellectual laziness" and "capricious Press".[80]

What may be regarded as the greatest blow to the cause of the intellectual in Australia came in 1950, with A. A. Phillips' 1950 article "'The Cultural Cringe". The cultural cringe, in effect, described a national inferiority complex. It reflected the belief that Australia, as a young, dependent nation, was unable to engender a quality high culture of its own. Artistic, cultural and intellectual output was seen

[77] P.R. Stephensen, *The Foundations of Culture in Australia* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1936; reprint, 1986), p.128.

[78] Craig Munro, "Introduction," in *The Foundations of Culture in Australia* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1986), p.xxiv.

[79] D.H. Lawrence, *Kangaroo* (London: William Heinemann, 1923; reprint, 1970), p.353.

[80] Hancock, *Australia*, pp.128,131,296,304.

as inherently derivative and/or inferior to that of other countries, particularly Britain. Amongst this perceived mediocrity the Australian intellectual stood aloof, refusing to engage.[81]

The lament for the Australian intellectual re-emerged in the 1960s. Donald Horne's ironically titled *The Lucky Country* denied that the public intellectual existed in Australia.[82] Horne quoted Vincent Buckley's 1962 argument that most Australian intellectuals were isolated and "job-bound" in universities and, with very few exceptions, were "undistinguished" in public life.[83] Buckley had similarly noted intellectuals were barely recognisable as a group and had been hibernating in "inertia" for much of the century. Overall, there was a markedly anti-intellectual tenor of Australian society: "Socrates, stay in your grave, you won't be needed for a long time yet".[84]

Against this backdrop emerged Head and Walter's 1988 reassessment. The edited volume takes a Gramscian view of the organic intellectual and challenges the widely held perception of twentieth century Australian anti-intellectualism through its identification of individual intellectuals and intellectual movements in a range of occupations throughout the twentieth century. Head explained the previous denials of intellectualism as typical of a tendency of intellectuals to see themselves as "under siege", the lone warriors in a mire of mediocrity. This self-portrait reaffirmed their intellectual and cultural authority.[85]

---

[81] A.A. Phillips, "The Cultural Cringe," in *On the Cultural Cringe* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1950; reprint, 2006), pp.1-9.

[82] Donald Horne, *The Lucky Country*, 3rd ed. (Sydney: Angus & Robertson Publishers, 1964; reprint, 1978), p.209.

[83] Ibid. p.202; Vincent Buckley, "Intellectuals," in *Australian Civilization*, ed. Peter Coleman (Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1962; reprint, 1967), pp.100.

[84] Buckley, "Intellectuals." pp.89-104.

[85] Brian Head, "Introduction: Intellectuals in Australian Society," in *Intellectual Movements and Australian Society*, ed. Brian Head and James Walter (South Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1988), p.15.

Unfortunately, philosophy is not afforded a chapter. Head argued the book's intention was to broaden the "traditional meaning" of intellectuals out of "the 'ivory tower' of academia, philosophy and high culture.[86] Nonetheless, Francis Anderson, by any measure a professional philosopher, is featured in the book. He appears, not in relation to philosophy, but in discussion of his role in developing sociology at the University of Sydney. Portus and Brown are also noted as social scientist contributors to a pioneering collection of essays on Australian economics, politics and sociology.[87] Yet Brown, Anderson and Portus were not just organic intellectuals. As academics they also conform to the concept of the "traditional" intellectual. It is in bridging the traditional and organic divide that they, and MacCallum, become public intellectuals. In so doing they also negate claims of the "job-bound" university intellectual of the period. Burgmann, who is discussed as a publicist due to his work with the quarterly periodical, the *Morpeth Review*,[88] corresponds most with the Gramscian concept of organic intellectual as he took advantage of his ecclesiastical role to engage as a public intellectual.

Later reassessments of twentieth century intellectualism in Australia include the work of Dennis Altman, who found little difference in intellectual activity in Australia and other western countries, and L.J. Hume, who wrote a polemical paper arguing that the cultural cringe never existed. The idea of the cringe fallacy had been accepted in Australian literature without close

[86] Ibid., p.2.

[87] Helen Bourke, "Social Scientists as Intellectuals: From the First World War to the Depression," in *Intellectual Movements and Australian Society*, ed. Brian Head and James Walter (South Melbourne: Oxford University Press Australia, 1988), pp.47,48,52.

[88] Stephen Alomes, "Intellectuals as Publicists 1920s to 1940s," in *Intellectual Movements and Australian Society*, ed. Brian Head and James Walter (South Melbourne: Oxford University Press Australia, 1988), p.72.The *Review* will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

examination of evidence.[89] Subsequently, those who have examined the evidence have found a thriving intellectualism throughout the twentieth century, during wartime and in niche areas, including labour history.[90] This thesis is an extension of such works in a field that, as we have seen, has received little academic attention. Furthermore, the thesis develops a new approach in Australian journalism history.

Australian Media and Journalism History

Media history in Australia has come a long way since 1956 when the visiting American academic W.M Corden admonished historians for their "neglect" of Australian press history.[91] Over the five decades since, a growing body of work has explored an eclectic range of print, radio, television and, most recently, internet histories. What remains though, as John Henningham pointed out in 1988, is a lack of histories that explore the mediating role of journalism in Australian society.[92] In the main, the writing of media history in Australia can be divided into two approaches, those that explore the frameworks that surround journalism, therefore taking a structural approach - that is, how and where journalism is done rather than the content of journalism itself - and, secondly, the biographical/autobiographical.[93] The first approach features overview histories:

[89] Dennis Altman, "Australian Political Culture: No Space for Intellectuals," *Australian Book Review*, no. 138 (1992), p.90; L.J. Hume, *Another Look at the Cultural Cringe* (Sydney: The Centre for Independent Studies, 1993).

[90] See: Terry Irving and Sean Scalmer, "Australian Labour Intellectuals: An Introduction," *Labour History*, no. 77 (1999), pp.1-10; Frank Bongiorno, "Introduction [Paper in Special Issue: Mars and Minerva: Australian Intellectuals and the Great War]," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 53, no. 3 (2007), pp.337-343.

[91] W.M. Corden, "Towards a History of the Australian Press," *Meanjin* 15 (1956), p.171.

[92] John Henningham, "Two Hundred Years of Australian Journalism: A History Waiting to be Written," *Australian Cultural History*, no.7 (1988), p.50.

[93] The examples that follow are selective and for illustrative purposes only. They feature some of the key works that relate to the period and/or context of this thesis. For substantial listings of Australian media and journalism histories see: Henry Mayer, "Press, Radio and Television," in *Australians: A Guide to Sources* (Sydney: Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates,1987), pp. 446–51; Henningham, "Two Hundred Years of

including Henry Mayer's landmark 1964 work *The Press in Australia,* Rod Kirkpatrick's chapter in the 2007 international compilation *The Rise of Western Journalism, 1815 – 1914* and Robin Walker's two detailed histories of press development in New South Wales;[94] company and institutional histories, for example Gavin Souter's two extensive volumes on the Fairfax company, Bridget Griffen-Foley's works on the Packer family's Consolidated Press and Australian commercial radio and Ken Inglis' studies of the Australian Broadcasting Commission (later Corporation).[95] A further structural approach is Clem Lloyd's study of the journalist's union, the Australian Journalists' Association.[96]

More numerous are autobiographical and biographical works. Former editors and journalists tend to scribe autobiographies, for example the *Sydney Morning Herald* editors Charles Brunsdon Fletcher's *The Great Wheel* and John Douglas Pringle's *Have Pen Will Travel*.[97] Media proprietors are usually found in biographies, including portraits by R. M. Younger of Keith Murdoch, Bridget

---

Australian Journalism," pp. 49–64; Bridget Griffen-Foley, "Australian Press, Radio and Television Historiography: An Update," *Media International Australia*, no. 119 (2006), pp.21-37 and Bridget Griffen-Foley, "Australian Press, Radio and Television Historiography: An Update," *Media International Australia*, no. 124 (2007), pp.23-44.

[94] Henry Mayer, *The Press in Australia* (Melbourne: Lansdowne Press, 1964); Rod Kirkpatrick, "Australia: Shaking Off the Shackles to Earn the Badge of Independence," in *The Rise of Western Journalism, 1815-1914*, ed. Ross F. Collins, E. M. Palmegiano (Jefferson: McFarland & Company Inc., 2007). pp.11-41; R.B. Walker, *The Newspaper Press in New South Wales 1803-1920* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1976); R.B.Walker, *Yesterday's News: A History of the Newspaper Press in New South Wales from 1920 to 1945* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1980).

[95] Gavin Souter, *Company of Heralds* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1981); Gavin Souter, Heralds and Angels: the house of Fairfax 1841-1990 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press 1991); Bridget Griffen-Foley, *The House of Packer: The Making of a Media Empire* (St Leonards (NSW): Allen & Unwin, 1999); Bridget Griffen-Foley, *Changing Stations: The Story of Australian Commercial Radio*. (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2009); K.S. Inglis, *The Beginnings of Radio in Australia* (Adelaide: University of Adelaide, 1981); K.S. Inglis, *This Is the ABC: The Australian Broadcasting Commission 1932-1983* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1983).

[96] Clem Lloyd, *Profession: Journalist* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1985).

[97] C. Brunsdon Fletcher, *The Great Wheel: An Editor's Adventures* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1940); John Douglas Pringle, *Have Pen Will Travel* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1973).

Griffen-Foley of Sir Frank Packer, E.J. Prest of Sir John Langdon Bonython and Sandra Hall of the *Truth* proprietor Ezra Norton.[98]

The journalistic report does feature, to some extent, as the focus of Neville Petersen's exploration, *News Not Views: The ABC, the Press and Politics, 1932–1947;* Rod Kirkpatrick's *Country Conscience*, which looked at the role of the regional press in the development of New South Wales and, similarly, Elizabeth Morrison's *Engines of Influence* on Victorian press development.[99] In 1999 Ann Curthoys and Julianne Schultz took a cultural focus through their edited history, *Journalism, Print, Politics and Popular Culture*. They rightly argued that historians frequently use newspapers as an historical source but without contextual understanding.[100] However, the majority of chapters align with the dominant themes of the structural approach. One exception is Pat Buckridge's chapter, "Editors as Intellectuals", which argues that Australian daily newspapers have rarely been seen as having an intellectual input of their own.[101]

The "intellectual input," or contribution, of Australian daily newspapers to society is extended in this thesis to include radio. As the following outline reveals, the arrival of radio in Australia in the 1920s continued a liberal tradition of media

[98] R. M. Younger, *Keith Murdoch: Founder of a Media Empire* (Pymble (NSW): Harper Collins, 2003); Bridget Griffen-Foley, *Sir Frank Packer: the Young Master* (Pymble (NSW): Harper Collins, 2000); E.J. Prest, *Sir John Langdon Bonython, newspaper proprietor, politician and philanthropist* (North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2011); Sandra Hall, *Tabloid Man, The Life and Times of Ezra Norton* (Pymble (NSW): Harper Collins, 2008).

[99] Neville Petersen, *News Not Views: The ABC, the Press and Politics, 1932–1947* (Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1993); Rod Kirkpatrick, *Country Conscience – A History of the New South Wales Provincial Press 1841 – 1995* (Canberra: Infinite Harvest Publishing, 2000); Elizabeth Morrison, *Engines of Influence, newspapers of country Victoria 1840 – 1890* (Carton (Vic): Melbourne University Publishing, 2005).

[100] Ann Curthoys and Julianne Schultz, eds., *Journalism, Print, Politics and Popular Culture* (St Lucia (Qld): University of Queensland Press, 1999), p.2.

[101] Pat Buckridge, "Editors as Intellectuals," in *Journalism, Print, Politics and Popular Culture*, eds. Ann Curthoys and Julianne Schultz, pp.185-204.

development in Australia that emerged out of British press ideology, traced by historians to John Milton's *Aeropagitica* and John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*.[102]

Australian press and, therefore, media history began in 1803 with publication of the government controlled *Sydney Gazette*. The first independent newspaper, the *Australian*, was not published until 1824. The next week the *Gazette* was 'set free' from its government leash and development of an Australian press industry began in earnest. Amidst the fervour there were commercial pressures. Newspaper publishing in the nineteenth century was a precarious enterprise with many papers folding, sometimes after just one edition. In Sydney, the wild fluctuation did not settle until the end of the 1880s, by which time there were two morning dailies and three evening papers. The morning papers, the *Sydney Morning Herald* (first published 1831) and the newer *Daily Telegraph* (first published 1879) are still in press today.

In Adelaide press development in the nineteenth century was similar although on a smaller scale. The flurry of change lasted longer with a number of new papers appearing and disappearing throughout the 1890s. The one constant was the *South Australian Advertiser*, first published in 1858 and still published today as the *Advertiser*. For most of the period the *Register* was also published. It began in 1836, the year the colony was founded but was merged into the *Advertiser* in 1931.[103]

In Australia, as in Britain, greater literacy and technological advances in printing buoyed nineteenth century expansion of newspaper publishing rapidly and transformed the press from an "elite to democratic institution".[104] The press

[102] Fred S. Siebert, "The Libertarian Theory," in *Four Theories of the Press*, ed. Fred S. Siebert (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1957). p.23; George Boyce, "The Fourth Estate: The Reappraisal of a Concept," in *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*, ed. George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1978). pp.44,152. W. Sprague Holden, *Australia Goes to Press* (Debroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 1961). p.31.

[104] Alan J. Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press 1855-1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1976). p.139.

was viewed as an agent of democracy amidst an almost devout belief in the press' ability to enlighten, educate and reform. Arguably, only the steam engine challenged the press as the greatest perceived influence on the progress of civilisation.[105] Often referred to as an engine or organ of influence the press was credited with a superlative ability to affect change. In Australia, such sentiment was echoed by the outspoken *Sydney Monitor* (1828-1838) editor Edward Smith Hall. Hall believed the press was an essential civilising influence on a chaotic colony.[106] This social democratic function remained at the fore of press ideology despite the rise of commercial imperatives and the arrival of the New Journalism by the end of the twentieth century.

The term New Journalism was introduced in 1887 by the writer and poet Matthew Arnold. Arnold described the style as "full of ability, novelty, variety, sensation, sympathy, generous instincts; its one great fault is that it is *feather-brained*".[107] The New Journalism introduced changes to writing and layout and redefined the relationship between newspapers and their readers.[108] News reports became briefer and used brighter, more immediate language. The vast slabs of text that had dominated newspaper pages for the past century were broken up by newly introduced design elements of larger headlines, sub-heads and cross-heads in a larger text to break up the paragraphs. Illustrations, initially line drawings, were introduced into daily newspapers.[109]

---

[105] Erin Leon Ihde, *Edward Smith Hall and the Sydney Monitor 1826 - 1840: A Manifesto for New South Wales* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2004). p.21.

[106] Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press 1855-1914*. p.246.

[107] J.O. Baylen, "The 'New Journalism' in Late Victorian Britain," *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 18, no. 3 (1972). p.280. For a detailed analysis of the New Journalism see Joel Wiener (ed.), *Papers for the millions: the new journalism in Britain, 1850s to 1914* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988).

[108] Martin Conboy, *The Press and Popular Culture* (London: Sage, 2002), pp.94 – 96.

[109] Henrik Örnebring, Anna Maria Jönsson, "Tabloid Journalism and the Public Sphere: An Historical Perspective on Tabloid Journalism," *Journalism Studies* 5, no. 3 (2004), pp.283-295.

The introduction of the New Journalism into Australia is a matter of dispute. Commentators disagree as to when Australian publications began to adopt the New Journalism style. H.M. Green argues the New Journalism was not apparent in Australian newspapers until well into the 20th century and even then it was used inconsistently.[110] Mayer argues this is a myth, citing examples of such content as early as 1826.[111] Walker partially agrees with Mayer but argues his view is too extreme and the serious daily newspaper was still a feature of the Australian press at least up until 1900.[112] More recently, Cryle has determined that the critical period for modernisation in Australia was between the 1920s and 1930s.[113] What is agreed is that, in Sydney, the *Daily Telegraph* introduced New Journalism styles much earlier than the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Despite Mayer's belief that elements of the New Journalism were evident in the Australian press in the early nineteenth century, he argues that, in the main, Australian journalism in the 1920s was seen to be the "dullest in the world".[114]

In regards to the purpose of this thesis it is perhaps opportune that such newspapers as the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Sydney Morning Herald* were slower to adopt the New Journalism. The continuation of the nineteenth century style of long reports facilitated the type of articles by and about the Australian Idealists, as will be seen throughout this thesis. Similarly, belief in radio as an educational tool enabled the Idealists to take advantage of spoken word broadcasts in disseminating their thought.

---

[110] H.M. Green, *A History of Australian Literature. Volume 1*, Revised ed. (Sydney: Angus & Robertson Publishers, 1984), pp.903-905.

[111] Mayer, *The Press in Australia*, p.289.

[112] Walker, *The Newspaper Press in New South Wales 1803-1920*, pp.20-22.

[113] Denis Cryle, "'Old Tales, New Techniques': Popular Journalism 1860 – 1930," in *Journalism, Print, Politics and Popular Culture*, eds. Curthoys and Schultz, p. 69.

[114] Mayer, *The Press in Australia*, p.29.

In the 1920s the emergence of radio broadcasting perpetuated the democratic ideals first associated with newspapers. Initially the domain of wireless enthusiasts, radio was viewed as a "popular science".[115] As a science the new medium was shrouded in mystery, the 'unseen voice", a spirit from the ether.[116] As to radio's ideological place in society, debate was divided. At the same time radio was promoted as an essential consumable for the home, it was being upheld as a progressive symbol of democracy that could bring communities together in a new social relationship.[117] Structurally, Australian radio developed as a dual system until the formation of the Australian Broadcasting Commission in 1932. The ABC absorbed what were formerly known as the A-class stations. These stations were distinguished from B-class stations in that they received revenue from licence fees. After 1932 the former B-class stations became known as commercial stations, receiving the bulk of their revenue from advertising. The ABC stations did not carry advertising and were funded by the federal government.[118] Under its founding legislation the ABC was required to take on a role as a public educator and program cultural and educational broadcasts.[119]

The extent to which the public and private sector stations fulfilled the early educational aspirations for radio will be considered in further detail in Chapter Two. It is worth noting here that the liberal and civic tenor of the discourse surrounding Australian press and radio development was compatible with New Idealist concerns. Thus, the structural and biographical approaches in Australian

---

[115] Lesley Johnson, *The Unseen Voice: a cultural study of early Australian radio* (London: Routledge, 1988), p.12.

[116] John Potts, *Radio in Australia* (Kensington (NSW): University of New South Wales Press, 1989), p.15.

[117] Johnson, *The Unseen Voice*, pp.14,18,54; Potts, *Radio in Australia*, p.17.

[118] Griffen-Foley, *Changing Stations*, pp.7-13.

[119] Thomas, *Broadcast and Be Damned*, p.132; Inglis, *This Is the ABC: The Australian Broadcasting Commission 1932-1983*, pp.7-9.

media and journalism histories, together with some forays into journalistic content, pave a contextual path for the style of research being undertaken in this thesis.

Methodology

As noted at the outset this thesis takes an historical approach. Discussion of philosophy is undertaken in order to provide historical context. As such the thesis does not aim to offer a detailed comparative approach between British and Australian Idealist philosophy. Similarities and differences are observed but within a contextual framework. Yet, in bringing to light a large body of previously unknown writings and lectures of the five thinkers, there is ample fodder on which philosophers may graze in the future.

There are four factors that define the shape of the thesis: the five thinkers; the 1885 to 1945 timeframe; the selection of newspapers and radio programs surveyed; and the process of examining editorial content in these media.

As established earlier, adherents of New Idealist thought held postings at all Australian universities by the end of the nineteenth century. Since it was not possible, due to time constraints, to examine in detail the media publications of all Australian Idealists across the country, a representative sample was selected. For comparative purposes it was decided to select Idealists who were prominent in one of the major cities of the time, Sydney or Melbourne, and one of the three smaller capital cities. Sydney was selected due to its geographical proximity for research, while the prominence of G.V. Portus in radio broadcasting meant Adelaide was a logical choice. Portus, like Burgmann, was a former student of Anderson's and MacCallum's. This generational link also influenced selection. With Anderson, MacCallum and Burgmann all in New South Wales, it was felt that study of a second New Idealist thinker from Adelaide would be beneficial. William Mitchell was discounted because of conflicting readings of his work (see

page 14). It was decided to concentrate on thinkers who had been previously established as Idealists. W. Jethro Brown thus became the fifth thinker selected.

Whilst only one of the five, Francis Anderson, was a professional philosopher, all had studied philosophy at university. Meanwhile, two Australian Idealists, Henry Laurie and Walter Murdoch, did have careers as professional journalists.[120] As a major aim of this thesis is to explore New Idealists as public intellectuals in the media, it was decided to concentrate on thinkers who did not have such ready access to media publication, for example, G.V. Portus. Whilst Portus became a broadcaster as well as an academic, he was motivated by the New Idealist belief in education, as will be seen in the following chapter.

With the five thinkers selected it was then necessary to establish the timeframe in which media research would be undertaken. As MacCallum was the oldest of the five and the first to hold an academic post in Australia, it was decided to begin the research period in 1885, the year before his arrival. The concluding year, 1945, represented a drop-off in the media output of Portus and Burgmann. Brown had died many years before and MacCallum and Anderson had died in the earlier years of the war.

These parameters were then used to determine archival and primary source research. Personal papers of each of the five thinkers were examined at libraries and archives in Sydney, Canberra and Adelaide. The most extensive and complicated part of the research was, however, the examination of media content.

In order to fully evaluate the media coverage of Brown, Anderson, MacCallum, Portus and Burgmann, it was decided to survey two newspapers in each city as well as transcripts of public and commercial radio. The major newspapers identified were the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *Daily Telegraph* and, in

[120] Davies, "Idealist Origins in Australasian Philosophy," p.10; Fred Alexander, "Murdoch, Sir Walter Logie Forbes (1874 - 1970)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/murdoch-sir-walter-logie-forbes-7698/text13477).

Adelaide, the *Advertiser* and *Register*. The *Register* closed in 1931, however, by this time the *Advertiser* was the dominant newspaper in that city.

From a historian's point of view this investigation coincided with a decisive period in newspaper research. At the beginning of the research period, in 2009, none of the newspapers being used had been digitised. In Sydney, articles by and about the five Australian Idealists were identified in the *Sydney Morning Herald* index and the *New South Wales Parliamentary Index of Newspapers*; the latter source was used to identify *Daily Telegraph* articles as there is no index of that newspaper. Fairfax Company Archives, which contains *Sydney Morning Herald* material, and the University of Sydney Archives, which holds historical files of newspaper clippings about university activities and people, were also used. More than 600 articles were then viewed on microfilm copies of the newspapers.

Several months after this research was completed, in mid 2010, the National Library of Australia (NLA) completed its digitisation of all copies of the *Sydney Morning Herald* from 1842 to 1954. Due to the speed of digitised searching, a check search was undertaken. A number of additional articles, which had not been listed in the *Sydney Morning Herald* index, were identified. Unexpectedly, the digitised search failed to identify several articles that had been sourced via the index. This anomaly can be explained by the use of Optical Character Recognition (OCR) technology. If the original newspaper page has blurred ink or other faults surrounding the keywords used they are not recognised. Over time, as volunteer transcribers undertake translation for the NLA, this problem will be overcome. However, for the foreseeable future, researchers using Australian digitised newspapers will need to remain aware that no method, apart from viewing every page of every edition of a newspaper over a period in question, is infallible.

Articles from the *Advertiser* and *Register* were sourced from the NLA's digital archive. *Daily Telegraph* articles were therefore the only material sourced by index alone. As will be seen, there is less editorial content in the *Telegraph*

pertaining to the five thinkers, however I argue that this is not due to the difference in the research process. Admittedly, there is likely to be more relevant content in the *Telegraph* than that identified for this thesis. However, the commercial nature of the *Telegraph* and other factors which are detailed in Chapter Two, mean the volume of such content would still be substantially less than that within the opposition newspaper, the *Sydney Morning Herald*.

Accessing radio broadcasts is a far more difficult undertaking for the historian. Early programming was rarely taped and where tapes do exist they cannot be used due to their fragile nature. Researchers must rely on program transcripts, where they exist. No program transcripts of the pre-ABC era could be sourced for this thesis and there is no evidence to suggest that there are any extant, except in archives of individuals. For example, this thesis uses transcripts of a radio lecture series broadcast by W. Jethro Brown in 1929. The transcripts were not retained institutionally but in Brown's personal papers, held at the State Library of South Australia. The ABC, as a government-funded organisation, kept detailed archives, including program transcripts. These extensive holdings are retained by the National Archives of Australia. Transcripts of broadcasts by Portus and, to a lesser extent, Anderson and Burgmann form a significant part of the source material for this thesis. While this creates an inherent bias towards ABC material, I would argue again, as in relation to the *Daily Telegraph*, that the availability of material is not a contributing factor to the volume. An examination of copies of the listener program guide, the *Wireless Weekly* from 1922 to 1943 identified a number of non-ABC broadcasts by Portus and Anderson. However, the vast majority of their broadcasts were delivered over ABC stations. The reasons for this difference are given in Chapters Two and Seven of the thesis. Finally, a search was also undertaken of the National Film and Sound Archive (NFSA) holdings which yielded two early newsreels, one featuring Anderson and the other, Burgmann.

The decision to focus on education, the state, international relations and war and post-war reconstruction in Chapters Three to Six reflects the fact these topics dominated content found in articles and broadcasts. No further themes emerged due to the diversity of remaining material, which was also small in quantity. For example, it was surprising to find there was just one mention of federation of the Australian states – a brief report of a speech given by W. Jethro Brown.[121] Also, despite the strong religious influence in Idealist thought, theological argument is not found in any substance in the Australians' journalism or in their reported lectures.[122]

While this thesis does not claim no to have uncovered *all* the material in print and radio media by or about Brown, MacCallum, Anderson, Portus and Burgmann, the substantial nature of the material does, however, leave no doubt that the five Australian Idealists were prominent public intellectuals of their time and used the media extensively.

Organisation of the thesis

Chapter One explores the connection between New Idealism and journalism. The earlier discussion in this introduction on public intellectualism is extended to include scholarly opinion that specifically considers whether or not Idealist philosophy was predisposed to public engagement through the media. The chapter then considers the opinion of New Idealists themselves towards journalism. It considers in detail Henry Jones' treatise on journalism and the opinion of the five Australian Idealists on journalism and the media.

[121] "Science Congress," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 January 1898, p.4. Brown said federation would ensure peace and prosperity for Australia internally and in its relations with other countries.

[122] For the religious influence in non-media publications of the Australian Idealists see: Tregenza, "The Idealist Tradition in Australian Religious Thought."

Chapter Two argues that the New Idealists needed a sympathetic media in order to successfully convey their thought. It undertakes a detailed examination of the propensity of editors and proprietors of the era towards the publication of philosophical and political thought. It contains a detailed examination of the philosophical thought of (later Sir) Warwick Oswald Fairfax, the *Sydney Morning Herald* proprietor, a Balliol College graduate.

Chapter Three marks a turning point in the thesis - four chapters that examine the thought of the five Australian Idealists as expressed in the media. This chapter is concerned with their views on education. Against a backdrop of the history of education in Australia it explores the reported speeches, authored newspaper articles and radio broadcasts of the five in relation to the role of the state in education; education for citizenship; school education; teachers and training; and university and adult education.

The role of the state is one of the main features of New Idealist thought and Chapter Four investigates the published views of the Australian Idealists on the state and society. An overview of understandings of the historic role of the state in Australia is given. The thought of the Australian Idealists is then considered in relation to liberty and rights and their conception of state and state intervention. Instances where the Australian Idealist theory of state was put into practice are then considered.

Chapter Five establishes the thought, as expressed in the media, of the five thinkers on international relations. It examines the ways in which they believed internationalism could be achieved and the barrier created by nationalism. Finally, it considers how they perceived internationalism was an extension of Australia's relationship to the British Commonwealth and the world.

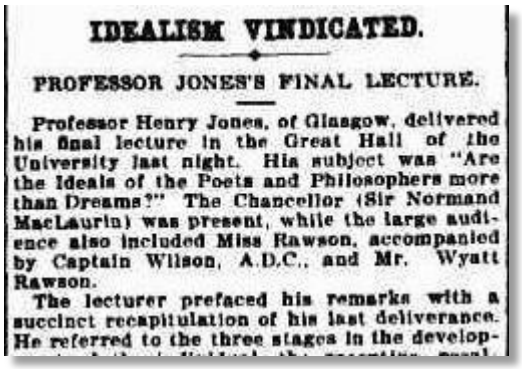
Having established Australian Idealist thought on international relations, the obstacle of war in achieving a peaceful and just internationalism is considered in Chapter Six. Firstly, the thinkers' beliefs as to the causes of war are considered,

followed by a lengthy discussion of their aims for post-war reconstruction after both world wars. Finally, the Idealist concept of duty is examined in relation to military conscription in wartime.

In Chapter Seven we return to the media and discuss the impact of the published thought of the Australian Idealists. This chapter draws from media reception studies to explore the response of the media, as seen in newspaper editorials, and audience reaction, using letters to editors and archival sources. The difficulties encountered in such media reception are considered. However, several conclusions can be drawn about the public intellectualism of Brown, MacCallum, Anderson, Portus and Burgmann and its effect on the dissemination of New Idealist thought in Australian print and radio media.

Chapter One

The "organic filament":[1] New Idealist thought and the media[2]



IDEALISM VINDICATED.

PROFESSOR JONES'S FINAL LECTURE.

Professor Henry Jones, of Glasgow, delivered his final lecture in the Great Hall of the University last night. His subject was "Are the Ideals of the Poets and Philosophers more than Dreams?" The Chancellor (Sir Normand MacLaurin) was present, while the large audience also included Miss Rawson, accompanied by Captain Wilson, A.D.C., and Mr. Wyatt Rawson.

The lecturer prefaced his remarks with a succinct recapitulation of his last deliverance. He referred to the three stages in the develop-[3]

The New Idealist desire to foster community and educate could not be achieved without a facilitating apparatus. The key facilitator was the state. There was no other structure that had such a far-reaching ability to affect the lives of each and every individual. Through the state individuals could be brought together in community and the ideal of ongoing universal education could be achieved. At the same time Hegelian and New Idealist belief in interconnection meant the state did not operate in isolation but in co-operation with other social institutions.[4]

Australian Idealist perspectives on the state will be considered in detail in Chapter Four. In this chapter we will explore the attitude of New Idealists to what

---

[1] Henry Jones, "Journalism and Citizenship," in *Social Powers, Three Popular Lectures on the Environment, the Press and the Pulpit* (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1913), p.64.

[2] A substantial part of this chapter has been published as a journal article: M Van Heekeren, "The 'Organic Filament': New Idealist Thought and the Media," *Collingwood and British Idealism Studies* 17, no. 1 (2011), pp.37-61.

[3] Copy of a clipping from a *Sydney Morning Herald* report on Henry Jones' final Sydney lecture."Idealism Vindicated," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1908, p.9.

[4] For example, in regards to education, the state was not viewed as the sole means of formal instruction. Education was an endeavour that could equally be undertaken through other institutions including the church, families and workplaces. Gordon, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, p.64.

emerges as one of these co-operating institutions, the media. This exploration will be made in three parts. Firstly, broader discussions of the relationship between philosophy and public intellectualism will be explored, including a specific examination of perceptions of the media exposition of Idealist philosophy. Secondly, the role of Edward Caird's social philosophy in informing Idealist thought on the media will be discussed in reference to a speech delivered by Henry Jones on journalism. Thirdly, the thought of the five Australian Idealist thinkers, W Jethro Brown, Mungo MacCallum, Francis Anderson, G.V. Portus and E.H Burgmann, in relation to journalism and the media will be examined.

Philosophy and public intellectualism

Before we explore the attitude of Idealist thinkers to the media it is worth exploring broader opinion as to the perceived relationship between Idealist philosophy and public intellectualism. As discussed in the introduction (page 22) the preferred definition of a public intellectual is one that engages with a broad public through the media. We will now see that many commentators do not regard philosophers as public intellectuals, with the consequence that philosophical thought is not expected to be found in editorial content. Although disputed, one exception does emerge, philosophical Idealism.

Philosophy is regarded to have been one of many academic disciplines housed in the 'ivory tower'. The notion of the ivory tower emerged out of a belief that the professionalisation of the academy from the mid-1800s led to a withdrawal of academics from the public arena or, as Randall Collins puts it: a withdrawal from the "writers' marketplace".[5] This isolation was intensified by a

[5] Tibor Huszar, "Changes in the Concept of Intellectuals," in *The Intelligentsia and the Intellectuals*, ed. Aleksander Gella, (London: Sage Publications, 1976), p.102; Randall Collins, *The Sociology of Philosophies* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1998), pp.754-756.

mutual suspicion between philosophers and journalists.[6] According to the Canadian philosopher Jay Newman, philosophers have resented journalists and media commentators who, they perceive, usurped the philosophers' role as the sages of their time.[7] Journalists, on the other hand, believed philosophy was irrelevant to their "real" world domain.[8] One frequently cited exception to the notion of the tower-bound philosopher is the utilitarian philosopher John Stuart Mill.[9]

As to whether Idealist philosophers were also an exception is a matter of debate. Of two competing opinions one has it that the media was incongruent with New Idealist function and thinking. Contrary opinion believes New Idealists were distinguished among philosophers for being media savvy.

An early reference to the public engagement of Idealist philosophers is found in Gramsci who, as discussed in the introduction, created the concept of the "organic intellectual".[10] Gramsci believed Idealist philosophy had contributed to the formation of the remote, elite, intellectual.

> The whole of idealist philosophy can easily be connected with this position assumed by the social complex of intellectuals and can be defined as the expression of that social utopia by which the intellectuals think of themselves as "independent", autonomous, endowed with a character of their own.[11]

In coming to this conclusion Gramsci looked to early Idealist philosophy, as his description owes more to Plato's notion of philosopher kings, the all-knowing yet remote elites, than his compatriot Italian Idealists: the very publicly engaged,

---

[6] Tony Coady, "The Public Philosopher," *Meanjin (Melbourne)* 50, no. 4 (1991), pp.479-492.

[7] Newman, *The Journalist in Plato's Cave*, p.17.

[8] John Merrill, C. and Odell, S. Jack, *Philosophy and Journalism* (New York: Longman Inc., 1983). p. ix. These authors, like Newman, are principally concerned with the issue of a philosophy *of* journalism, rather than philosophy in journalism, which is the question being addressed here.

[9] Coady, "The Public Philosopher," p.481.

[10] See page 22.

[11] Gramsci, "Prison Notebooks," pp.7-8.

Benedetto Croce (1866 – 1952) and Giovanni Gentile (1875 - 1944).[12] Gramsci, who was heavily influenced by both philosophers, did in fact, in the same passage, cite both as exceptions to the Idealist influence on the rarefied intellectual.[13]

More recently, the philosopher Mary Midgley has also taken an historical view to argue Idealist philosophers had no public impact. According to Midgley the German inheritance of the British Idealists bequeathed a complicated vocabulary that made the movement "an exotic hot-house plant in Britain". She claimed philosophy only became "paroled from the ivory tower" through the analytic movement.[14]

The past can of course be interpreted in many ways and, by contrast, Alan Montefiore has looked to Kantian philosophy as a reason *why* later Idealists did engage publicly and, in fact, were obligated to do so. Montefiore argues that in Kant's transcendental Idealism full knowledge and truth were achievable only through an understanding of the interrelationship between environment and personal behaviour.[15] Therefore, claims Montefiore, through Idealism the intellectual was obliged to engage with environment, that is, to take a public role. Philosophers working from an Idealist framework had no choice but to engage publicly in the search for truth.[16]

Montefiore's rationale is supported elsewhere. Eyerman outlines a convergence of post-Enlightenment progressivism and Christian liberalism in

---

[12] Although they held differing views on Fascism, Croce and Gentile were two of a number of prominent intellectuals that influenced public opinion in Italy from the 1920s to the 1940s. For more information see: Emiliana P. Noether, "Italian Intellectuals under Fascism," *The Journal of Modern History* 43, no. 4 (1971), pp.630-648.

[13] Gramsci, "Prison Notebooks."

[14] Mary Midgley, *Wisdom, Information, and Wonder: What Is Knowledge For?* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp.204, 239.

[15] Frederick Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*, vol. VI (London: Burns and Oates Limited, 1964), pp.382-386.

[16] Alan Montefiore, "The Political Responsibility of Intellectuals," in *The Political Responsibility of Intellectuals*, ed. Ian Maclean, Montefiore, Alan, Winch, Peter, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp.203-217.

creating the "dissenting intellectual" of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Furthermore, the university reforms of the late nineteenth century produced graduates with an "idealist and reformist mission" to improve society.[17]

Fuller, meanwhile, uses a teasing, hypothetical dialogue to illustrate the public intellectualism of Idealism. In the dialogue an "intellectual" argues to a "philosopher" that Idealist philosophers were pre-eminent among their discipline for making the transition to public intellectual:

> As masters of rhetoric they treated the combination of speech and writing as a multimedia activity….the idealists were willing and able to appeal directly to the audience by recasting their ideas for maximum impact.[18]

Den Otter and Sweet also agree that Idealist philosophers engaged a general audience. In separate works they identify public lectures, discussion groups and such leading newspapers as the *Times* and the *Scotsman* as forums for philosophical discussion.[19]

How can such diametrically opposite views have arisen? The difference in interpretation cannot just be explained by reliance on antecedents. As we saw, Montefiore, a believer in 'public' Idealism, used historicity to reach his conclusions, just as Gramsci and Midgley did in arriving at their counter viewpoints. While Gramsci's view can be rationalised by its Platonic viewpoint, Midgley's argument remains anomalous amongst the weight of contemporary opinion that Idealism was a publicly engaged philosophy. As we will now see it is also contrary to the views expressed by Idealists themselves.

---

[17] Ron Eyerman, *Between Culture and Politics, Intellectuals in Modern Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994). pp. 101-104.

[18] Steve Fuller, *The Intellectual* (Cambridge: Icon Books, 2005), pp.70-71.

[19] Sandra den Otter, *British Idealism and Social Explanation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp.166,205-206; Sweet, "Early Responses to British Idealism," pp.xi-xii.

New Idealist thought on journalism

Philosophers have a tradition of neglecting journalism[20] and the British Idealists differ little from their colleagues in that regard. As Jay Newman points out, journalism may well be a relatively recent phenomenon but this alone does not explain the neglect. Newman argues that there have been several generations of philosophers who were well placed to reflect upon journalism and its influence, undertaken as an extension to Plato's writings on poets and sophists.[21] Yet, for all except one of the leading British Idealists, journalism's role in society was ignored as an object of study. However, the thoughts of that one, the Welsh philosopher Henry Jones, provide an important insight. Jones outlined a strongly Idealist vision of journalism in a 1913 lecture titled "Journalism and Citizenship", part of his "Social Powers" lecture series.[22] We will shortly look at this lecture in detail but firstly establish its philosophical context, found in the social philosophy of Edward Caird.

Caird, as Chair of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University, was a teacher, mentor and influence on three of the thinkers being considered in this chapter: the Welshman Henry Jones and the native Glaswegians (later Australians) Mungo MacCallum and Francis Anderson. Jones, the recipient of a Clark fellowship in philosophy following his graduation in 1878, worked mainly as Caird's assistant for the next four years. Anderson, four years younger than MacCallum, studied under Caird during this time. From 1883 to 1885 Anderson, as a later recipient of the Clark Fellowship, also worked as Caird's assistant. Meanwhile, in 1883, Jones had gone to University College at Aberystwyth, joining MacCallum, who had taken up a lectureship there in 1879. Jones moved, in 1884,

[20] Newman, *The Journalist in Plato's Cave*, p.15.

[21] Ibid., p.16.

[22] Jones, "Journalism and Citizenship."

to the new university at Bangor, before returning to Scotland, at St Andrews, in 1891. In 1887 MacCallum had left Scotland for Australia, a year after Anderson's departure for Melbourne. In 1888 the two émigrés were reunited when Anderson accepted the philosophy lectureship at Sydney University, where MacCallum was lecturing in English literature.[23] In 1908, the year of Caird's death, Jones was in Australia on a lecture tour and visited his former colleagues in Sydney.[24] Jones would replace Caird at Glasgow as the Chair of Moral Philosophy the following year.

Jones, Anderson and MacCallum were strongly influenced by the elder philosopher, who was considered by MacCallum as "by far the greatest man with whom I have had anything like an intimate personal acquaintance" and a philosopher who made an "indelible impression on all who heard him...his influence rather enveloped one like the air".[25] MacCallum similarly admired his friend Jones. As students, the pair, with James Lambie, had founded an influential philosophical society in Glasgow, "The Witenagemonte".[26] In his later years MacCallum recalled Jones as "the eager soul, who, with his Celtic fire kindled enthusiasm for the driest problems of Metaphysics".[27] Jones, like MacCallum and Anderson, adopted Caird's passion for social and political issues and it is here we find, in Caird's public role for philosophy and its social purpose, the antecedent for their approach to journalism and the media.

---

[23] David Boucher, Andrew Vincent, *A Radical Hegelian, the Political and Social Philosophy of Henry Jones* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993), pp.2,10; Boucher, ed. *Scottish Idealists*, pp.104-105; W.M. O'Neil, "Anderson, Sir Francis (1858-1941)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 7, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1979), pp.53-55; K.J. Cable, "MacCallum, Sir Mungo William (1854 - 1942)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol.10, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1986), pp.211-213.

[24] For a detailed study of Jones' Australian lecture tour see: Boucher, "Practical Hegelianism: Henry Jones's Lecture Tour of Australia," pp.423-452.

[25] M.W. MacCallum, "Jottings Genealogical and Reminscential", 1937, Personal Archives of Mungo William MacCallum, Series 5, Box 13, Item 3, University of Sydney Archives, Sydney.

[26] Boucher, ed. *Scottish Idealists*, p.104.

[27] MacCallum, "Jottings Genealogical and Reminscential."

Caird, an Absolute Idealist, believed in a Hegelian unity that rejected dualisms. He saw philosophy as the means of synthesising the multifaceted milieu of existence into a universal oneness. Philosophical reflection, argued Caird, was necessary to repair the fracture of inner and outer life, that is, to "enable us to reconcile ourselves to the world and to ourselves".[28] Such reconciliation was being thwarted, however, by contentment with a material life that sought no greater knowledge. This, wrote Caird, was not sustainable and would lead to a descent into chaos. It was therefore the role of philosophy to go beyond "abstract principles" and to work among all people to create knowledge of the universal that, in turn, would lead to unity.[29] As will be shown, Jones and MacCallum sought a similar improvement of the individual for the betterment of the whole but co-opted journalism into the mission. Their demarcation of journalism's role in universal social progress is more explicitly revealed in Caird's social philosophy and his tripartite division of labour - the agricultural, the commercial and the professional. It was through individuals working in the particular of each but for the greater good that social unity was achieved. Such professionals as teachers and "literary men" were a group that "sub-serve the general or common interest of the social state".[30] This is the role that Jones, as we will see, allocates to journalists.

Caird's engagement with social and political issues was adopted by Jones, a well known orator and opinion leader who took his Idealism out of the halls of academia into the public arena.[31] Jones aimed to ensure as broad an

[28] Edward Caird, "The Problem of Philosophy at the Present Time," in *The Scottish Idealists: Selected Philosophical Writings*, ed. David Boucher, (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2004), p.28.

[29] Ibid., pp.41-44.

[30] Edward Caird, "Social Ethics No.4. The Divisions of Labour in the Social and Economic Spheres," in *Unpublished Manuscripts in British Idealism* ed. Colin Tyler, 2, (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2005; reprint, 2008), pp.64-78.

[31] David Boucher, "Henry Jones: Idealism as a Practical Creed," in *The Moral, Social and Political Philosophy of the British Idealists*, ed. William Sweet, (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2009), p.138.

audience as possible for his "creed" and in 1913, as Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University, addressed the Glasgow Institute of Journalists on journalism and citizenship.[32] This address, later published in pamphlet form, is the longest treatise of any Idealist thinker on journalism and, as such, provides a philosophical position from which to understand Fuller's perception of New Idealism as a "multimedia activity".

It is Caird's raison d'être for philosophy and his associated social philosophy that sits as a framework for Jones' more specific study of journalism. The same philosophical underpinning, it will be shown, is also recognisable in similar beliefs articulated by Anderson and MacCallum and, in turn, two of the next Australian generation of Idealist thinkers, E.H. Burgmann and G.V. Portus.

Jones' lecture was one of three which aimed to "help plain men to realise the significance of the invisible world of moral and social and religious facts, by which they live; and to induce a fuller use of earnest thought upon them".[33] This statement is the key to Jones' perception of the journalist's mission. The role of journalists was very much that of "plain men". Whilst recognising likely latent capabilities of journalists in literature and the realm of ideas it was not their role to be thinkers. They were the "workers in the rough quarry of the world who release the marble from the rubbish".[34] It was for others to shape the extracted marble into forms of beauty. The skill of the journalist was the ability to recognise and publish material that best served society and to ignore the rest. In this role the journalist was bound to accuracy and impartiality in order for such others as historians and philosophers to use the daily recordings of journalism to interpret higher meaning.

[32] Jones, "Journalism and Citizenship."

[33] Ibid., p.4.

[34] Ibid., p.54.

In this function the press directed "the mind" of the times through its distillation of facts and relevance.[35]

It was within this frame of interrelation that Jones assigned the press its fundamental purpose:

> It seems to me that amongst the organic filaments which make modern society with its multitudinous life into one, we must reckon the journalistic press. Without it, civilized society, except on rare occasions, would for all practical purposes be disintegrated once more into parochial units, and we should never have felt the throb of the larger citizenship.[36]

Through its unifying role Jones believed the press had the ultimate power in binding peoples and nations to end wars and promote peace. Meantime, the press' democratic function made it a vanguard against sectionalism. This was not achieved through one newspaper alone but through the balance of all newspapers in which, cumulatively, all varying opinions were published. Yet, this was not ideal. Jones' sole criticism was of the political bias of individual newspapers. He argued that while people of a particular persuasion may prefer to read a paper that complemented their views, it was equally probable that others would be driven away by partial coverage. Jones estimated the power of the press would be much greater if newspapers were as impartial in their political reporting as in their financial reporting.[37] Jones balanced this criticism and argued that if all things were to be of the nature of economics and commerce, morality and higher order needs of humanity would be ignored. The press, he argued, did work at the higher level

[35] Ibid., p.55.

[36] Ibid., pp.64-65.

[37] Ibid., pp.67-69. Jones comments reflect the journalism of the era, which was still emerging from the partisan dominated journalism of the previous century. See: Martin Conboy, *Journalism: A Critical History* (London: Sage, 2004), pp.119-121,125-127.

and, particularly, placed the role of the state in its service to the ideals of citizenship at the fore.[38]

Jones did, however, recognise that many aspects of newspaper content did not fulfil this greater function. Yet it was too easy, he said, for sensationalist and trivial content to be criticised. In a lengthy argument Jones, typically, as a fervent denier of dualisms,[39] aimed to unite serious and sensational journalism. He gave the latter type of content value and saw its provision as part of journalism's civic role. It was a journalist's duty to satisfy desires for news. People (Jones included himself in his evaluation) liked to gossip and learn about events that held no greater meaning. The role of this type of news gave necessary respite from strenuous thought and helped to weave the fibres of society. Despite sensation, the press did cover developments in education and welfare and "on the whole, while you work upon the common mind, and give it what it wants, you still keep it on the strain for better things".[40]

Such compliments are not surprising, given Jones was addressing a group of journalists. However, the extent of Jones' thought and its correlation with Caird's concept of social unity, the role of education in achieving it and the denial of dualisms reveal his opinions were genuine. It is not being suggested here that Jones' unifying role for journalism is directly interchangeable with Caird's task for philosophy. Rather, Jones has applied to journalism the same Idealist imperative for facilitating structures to work with the state for social cohesion. Throughout his life Jones emphasised citizenship and the role of education in developing freedom through good citizenship.[41] Journalism, to Jones, is therefore one of society's educational tools. This application of journalism to the Idealist

[38] Ibid., pp.73-74.

[39] Boucher, *A Radical Hegelian*, p.31.

[40] Jones, "Journalism and Citizenship," p.76.

[41] Boucher, *A Radical Hegelian*, pp.21,102,106.

tenets of unity and progress through education was further articulated in Australia by Brown, Anderson, MacCallum, Portus and Burgmann. As we will now see, the philosophy of Caird continued to resonate.

Australian Idealist thought on journalism

Jones' negation of the apparent dualism in media content, the serious and sensational, can also be seen in the writings and broadcasts of some of the Australian Idealists. W. Jethro Brown was the first of the thinkers being studied in this thesis to make a similar observation, which appears in an article he wrote for the first edition of the *Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy*. In a highly ironic article written around a hypothetical Socratic discussion of modern life, Brown invoked the sensationalist image of the press in spreading news of disasters and crime - the "stranger" telling Socrates the press had enabled humanity to advance "towards a life of excitement". The role of the sensational press, Brown suggested, was diversionary. Its content was designed to create anxiety and it offered a forum for public argument, where disputes and grievances could be aired to a large market.[42]

Francis Anderson also demonstrated a considered interest in the press and its role in society. Like Jones, his discussions reveal a degree of knowledge about the press. The most detailed articulation of Anderson's thought is found in an article he contributed to the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1931.[43] Taking, as his argument, the statement of British prime minister (1916 – 1922) David Lloyd George that the "platform will always beat the Press", Anderson evaluated the strengths and weaknesses of the two public discourses. He argued it was not the form of the discourse that mattered. Rather, it was how it was used.

[42] Jethro Brown, "Strife," *Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy* 1, no. 1 (1923), pp.35-36.

[43] Francis Anderson, "Passion or Reason. Platform or Press," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 February 1931, p.8.

Equating the platform with politics and politicians, Anderson determined that it was often ill-used. He wrote of how the platform had been used to passionately rather than reasonably address voters by "appealing to their fears, their hatreds, and their greeds". The true hero as leader, argued Anderson, was rare and leadership in politics had been "seriously marred by personal greed, egotism and passion…Leaders as well as lieutenants, require to be watched". And this is where the press came in: "The journalist does not profess to be a saviour of society. He leaves that to the politician, and is content with Stead's more modest claim to be society's watchdog".[44]

W.T. Stead (1849 – 1912), the progressive editor of London's *Pall Mall Gazette*, believed the press had a moral and educational duty to society.[45] Anderson's mention of Stead is revealing on two counts. Firstly, it shows an awareness of journalism history that could be viewed as unusual for a philosopher. Secondly, through the favourable tone afforded to Stead, a correlation is evident between Stead's vision for journalism and Anderson's ethical and educational beliefs. Anderson was further salutary in his introductory article as founder and editor of the inaugural (1923) edition of the *Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy*.[46] The press, wrote Anderson, was a "restraining and guiding influence" that diminished the danger of a "half-educated public". Collectively, the half-educated posed a much greater threat to democracy than the uneducated masses. The press, through its commitment to freedom of speech, acted as a safeguard from the potential excesses of modern democracies. Like Jones, Anderson dismissed criticisms the press had failed to perform its duty. He argued that it had been faithful in promoting the "welfare

[44] Ibid.

[45] For further discussion on Stead see: Alan J. Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press 1855-1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1976), p.119; Conboy, "*The Press and Popular Culture*," pp.96-99.

[46] Francis Anderson, "From the Editor's Chair," *Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy* 1, no. 1 (1923), pp.59,60.

and enlightenment of society". So strong was his belief in the press that he wrote of his desire for the journal to join its "honourable company".[47]

The inclusion of such comments in such an important tract – the editor's introduction to a new academic journal – is notable. The very mention of the press, let alone a wish to share its company, is highly unusual. Anderson's admiration for the press stemmed from his belief in education, while the straightforward manner of journalistic writing would have appealed to him. According to a tribute published upon his retirement in 1921, Anderson was a master of the plain word:

> In his lectures he was never obscure. A learned man may lecture learnedly, but in words that are respected rather because they are 'over the heads' of the student: that could not be said of Professor Anderson…Prof (sic.) Anderson could make even the profound plain. He had a mastery of that essential simplicity which makes clear the greatest difficulties.[48]

The symmetry between Anderson's personal style and the plain language of journalism is further suggestive as to why Anderson believed the press to be an effective educator.

Yet his comments in the journal introduction display an unwavering, perhaps naïve faith that is not evident in the more circumspect *Herald* article on "The Platform or the Press", written eight years later. Was it the press that changed during the period or was it Anderson? Certainly throughout the 1920s the effects of syndication and greater commercialisation of the press, as noted by Anderson, were becoming more evident. However, there is also evidence that Anderson began to think more analytically about the press during this period. A notebook kept by Anderson contains brief musings about journalism and the newspaper industry. Although undated, other material in the book suggests a

[47] Ibid., p.60.

[48] "Tribute to Professor Anderson," *The Arts Journal of the University of Sydney* 4, no. 3 (1921), pp.78,80.

provenance of the 1920s. These notes reveal Anderson contemplated the concept of public opinion and whether public opinion was articulated or formed by the press. He also considered the influence of statesmen compared to journalists, a line of thought that is evident in the 1931 article.[49]

In Anderson's later papers it is evident his opinion of the press had begun to sour. One note, perhaps a quote from elsewhere, or Anderson's own reflection, is telling: "Journalism not a profession but a brawl of conmen".[50] Again undated, neighbouring material suggests this was written in the mid to late 1930s. By this time, Anderson was battling a press hostile to the efficacy of the League of Nations, one of his most passionate causes. Anderson was a long term president of the New South Wales branch of the League of Nations Union.[51] In a speech to the Demosthenes Club in Sydney, most likely given in October 1938, his former admiration had become animosity:

> I expect that some of you, if not most of you, are more acquainted with the failures of the LGNU (League of Nations Union) than with its successes. That certainly will be true of those of you who are dependent for their knowledge of the LGNU on what they read in the newspapers. What the papers say, as always, depends on the editors' estimate of "news value", based on his general contempt for the intelligence of the average reader. It is not his business to raise the standard and he would probably be dismissed if he tried to.[52]

But while Anderson's admiration for the practices of journalism may have waned, his support for a free press had not. In 1940, the year before his death, Anderson was one of several people interviewed after it was revealed news of air raids in London was delayed in Australia. At the time Australian newspapers and

[49] Francis Anderson, "Notebook", n.d., Anderson, Francis [1858-1941], Box 3, The University of Sydney Archives, Sydney.

[50] Ibid.

[51] O'Neil, "Anderson, Sir Francis (1858-1941)," p.55.

[52] Anderson, "Notebook."

radio stations were banned from using news that had been broadcast by foreign radio stations. The ban was viewed by critics as a de-facto form of censorship. As Anderson told the *Sydney Morning Herald*:

> The true interests of the public are served only by the publication of the truth. Every attempt to restrict unfairly the publication of news, except when for military reasons, it is a clear case of facts which not be disclosed, is harmful and useless and should be condemned.[53]

Anderson said the regulations were excessive, unnecessary and marked another stage in the process by which the rights of free speech, free assembly and a free press might be curtailed and perhaps abolished. He argued that the multiplication of regulations and decrees meant the multiplication of dictators, great and small, especially small. This led, Anderson claimed, to power without responsibility which corrupted those who governed and degraded those who were governed. The ultimate result was that criticism was not suppressed, but only repressed until it exploded. Revolutions, according to Anderson, were really made from above, not from beneath: it was only the match which was lit from beneath.[54]

Anderson's contemporary Mungo MacCallum was similarly interested in the media's potential for education. In 1924 MacCallum had been appointed vice chancellor of Sydney University, was later deputy chancellor, and from 1936 to 1939 sat as chancellor.[55]

In 1924 the Institute of Journalists, under the presidency of MacCallum's friend, the *Sydney Morning Herald* editor Charles Brunsdon Fletcher,[56] held a luncheon in honour of MacCallum prior to his departure to Britain. The journalists acknowledged MacCallum's interest in journalism and the professor responded

---

[53] "Limits on War News," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 September 1940, p.6.

[54] "The Liberty of the Press," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 July 1940, p.8.

[55] Cable, "MacCallum, Sir Mungo William (1854 - 1942)," pp.211-213.

[56] See pages 81-82 for discussion of the friendship between MacCallum and Fletcher.

by congratulating the gathering on the high standard of journalism in New South Wales. Referring to the (then) proposal for a University Diploma of Journalism, MacCallum mocked: "In my opinion your case would be very much strengthened if your achievements were not so good....make your argument convincing and write as slovenly and unintellectually as you can".[57] MacCallum extended his praise to Fletcher, describing the editor's appointment to the University Senate as indicative of the "class of men that journalism in New South Wales included and attracted".[58]

In 1927 MacCallum made two speeches to journalism organisations. The first, in June, was again to an Institute of Journalists' luncheon. A month later he gave the opening speech at the NSW Country Press Association annual conference. On both occasions MacCallum repeated his fulsome praise for the Australian press. But amongst these accolades were some insights into MacCallum's broader view of the role of the press in society. MacCallum believed the academy and journalism had a complementary mission to further knowledge:

> There were no better means of advancing the claims of the University and of creating the necessary atmosphere than through the Press...no means [should] be left unused that might result in creating the atmosphere that would make for wider knowledge. [59]

The press, MacCallum believed, was similarly essential as an instrument of progress: "...all must rejoice because there could be no better agency for safeguarding and promoting the prosperity of the whole country and the Commonwealth".[60] MacCallum revisited this theme in a tribute he wrote in 1928, upon the death of *Sydney Morning Herald* proprietor, Sir James Fairfax. MacCallum revealed Fairfax had been closely involved with the University and had used his

[57] "A Great Scholar," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 November 1924, p.16.

[58] Ibid.

[59] "The University," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 June 1927, p.16.

[60] "Country Press Annual Conference," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 October 1927, p.17.

influence as a newspaper proprietor for the betterment of Australia and the Commonwealth: "We feel that Australia has lost one who had exceptional opportunity and exceptional desire to further her real good."[61]

These anecdotes, brief though they are and steeped in flattery, are valuable in their thematic sympathy with Jones' and Anderson's more fulsome discussions of the press as an agent of education and progress. MacCallum embraced radio with similar enthusiasm in an interview with a *Wireless Weekly* magazine reporter following the announcement of plans to broadcast University Extension lectures:

> We feel that wireless offers an opportunity to spread education, and that the University ought to take its share in helping such a movement for a spread of culture. We must remember that there is no definite line between recreation and instruction; the recreation of many people is extending their knowledge and understanding, and our lectures should be very useful to these people.[62]

An even stronger advocate for the media as educator was the later New Idealist, G.V. Portus. In a series of lectures delivered in England in 1937 and later published in book form, Portus presented the press and broadcasting as two of four "agencies" of informal post-academic education. The other two were cinema and books. He believed all four were undervalued as agents of democracy.[63]

While diffident about the press, Portus was most optimistic about radio's potential for education. Radio was still relatively new at the time of his English lectures but Portus believed many people would listen to political content on the radio where they would not bother to read it in newspapers: "broadcast talk is more a stimulus to education than anything else".[64] Despite Portus' commitment to university education he rejected ideas that universities set up their own radio

---

[61] "Tributes," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 July 1928, p.14.

[62] "Uni, A.B.C. And *W.W.* To Co-Operate," *Wireless Weekly*, 9 May 1930, p.9.

[63] G.V. Portus, *Free, Compulsory and Secular, a Critical Estimate of Australian Education* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), pp.53,71.

[64] Ibid., pp.67,68.

stations, preferring the Australian Broadcasting Authority to retain control, but in consultation with education authorities.[65]

Portus envisaged a far-reaching role for radio in education, from schools through to adult education. In a 1943 broadcast on the ABC, titled "Is Ignorance Bliss?", Portus outlined his vision.[66] In schools, radio broadcasts could be complemented with follow up lessons. Similarly, educational broadcasts to adults could act as a stimulus for further discussion among listeners and lectures. Portus recognised that generating and maintaining adult listenership would be more difficult than sustaining the captive audience of school students. Therefore, he argued, broadcast educators had to present their information entertainingly. The Australian Army, Portus said, had developed a popular and valuable education broadcast service during the war, which could be adapted for peacetime education. But if non-military broadcasters were to take on such a massive education program there would have to be strong demand from the public and an equally strong will from authorities. Portus was not optimistic that such emphasis would be given.[67]

Meanwhile the press, according to Portus, had already strayed from its educational role. Rather than fulfilling a service as a public tutor, as when David Syme had published the *Age* in Melbourne,[68] it had become a profit-maker. Social

---

[65] Ibid., p.69.

[66] G.V. Portus, "Is Ignorance Bliss?", 1943, Australian Broadcasting Commission Talks Transcripts, SP300/2, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

[67] Ibid.

[68] David Syme, a Scottish-born gold digger and road contractor, bought a controlling interest in the *Age* in 1859 and took over the paper a year later. Known as a man of high ideals and a close-friend of Alfred Deakin, Syme pursued a liberal-reformist agenda through the paper and exerted strong political influence until his death in 1908. Popular with the public, Syme saw the paper as the voice and shaper of public opinion. (Elizabeth Morrison, Condon, Veronica, "The Rise of a Press Baron," *Age*, 9 February 2008, p.7; C.E. Sayers, "David Syme (1827-1908)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol.6, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press), pp.232-236.); Portus' admiration of Syme is not surprising given the proprietor's sympathetic ideology and explains why Portus saw the paper as fulfilling the role of a "public tutor".

responsibility had been sacrificed for content that led to increased sales.[69] Portus argued the profit imperative had led to a combined shock/tranquiliser model of newspaper content. After shocking readers with tales of gruesome murders, divorces and other social anomalies, the press used other content to "tranquilise" the shock effect. This was done to avoid overly concerning readers that the status quo of society was under threat. If they did become anxious they wouldn't spend and newspaper advertisers would be unhappy. The fallout of this equation was discussion of social issues, which the press ignored for fear of tipping the shock/tranquiliser balance to the former and therefore increasing anxiety. Twentieth century newspapers then, according to Portus, did far less to educate their readers than those in the nineteenth century.[70] By the time of writing his memoir, in 1953, Portus' attitude to the press had softened. While still angered at what he saw was its capitalist inspired conservatism, Portus now identified the *Sydney Morning Herald* as the newspaper that had best retained the nineteenth century tradition of journalistic responsibility by providing informed and balanced commentary on all political issues.[71]

As we have seen, Portus, like Jones and Brown, was very aware of the nexus between popular and serious journalism. Jones, of course, had given his views three decades earlier and believed both types of journalism had a valid function. Portus' 1937 view reflected the tipping of the balance in the intervening years away from serious journalism to greater sensationalism.[72] Generally speaking, the dual function of the press identified by the New Idealists accords with the "Social Responsibility of the Press" theory developed later by Theodore

[69] Portus, *Free, Compulsory and Secular*, pp.55-57.

[70] Ibid., pp.58-62.

[71] G.V. Portus, *Happy Highways* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1953), pp.141-43.

[72] Lyn Gorman, McLean, David, *Media and Society in the Twentieth Century* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2003), p.22.

Peterson. Peterson, with Fred S. Siebert and Wilbur Schramm, published their landmark *Four Theories of the Press* in 1956. Peterson argued the provision of entertainment was one of six responsibilities of the press, which also included enlightenment of the public and acting as a watchdog over government.[73]

As an economist, Portus was also inclined to interpret the press statistically. One morning in 1942 he extended his usual breakfast reading of the newspaper to a far more detailed consideration. He sourced the same newspaper from the same date, three years before, prior to the outbreak of war. Comparing both editions he found the pre-war edition was unsurprisingly larger, due to newsprint rationing, but it also contained 10 per cent more news and 10 per cent less advertising (as a proportion of the paper).[74] Portus concluded that advertising was originally a financial prop of journalism by subsidising printing and distribution costs but had become a habit. This explained why, Portus argued, retail advertising continued in the 1942 edition even though advertisements promoted many unobtainable items, such as cigarettes. Advertising then retained an impact on editorial decisions, even when its existence wasn't warranted.[75]

Like Anderson, Portus's reservations about the media did not impact on his belief in a free press. Censorship was a frequent concern and for the duration of his 20-year broadcasting career with the national broadcaster, the ABC, Portus maintained a constant vigilance.[76] He feared the potential for governments to use

---

[73] Theodore Peterson, "Social Responsibility of the Press," in *Four Theories of the Press*, ed. Frederick Siebert (Freeport (NY): Books for Libraries Press 1956; reprint 1973), pp.73-104. In 2002 the American journalism historians John C. Merrill and John C.Nerone assessed the continued relevancy of this important work. Interestingly, Merrill determined that the social responsibility theory was one that the press was still in the process of "advancing" towards. John C. Merrill and John C. Nerone, "The Four Theories of the Press Four and a Half Decades Later: A Retrospective." *Journalism Studies* 3, no. 1 (2002), pp.133-36.

[74] G.V. Portus, "The Changing Face of the Newspaper", 1942, Australian Broadcasting Commission Talks Transcripts, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

[75] Ibid.

[76] The following comments from Portus on the independence of broadcasting were made before and after the formation of the Australian Broadcasting Control Board (ABCB), which was established in 1948. Previously, broadcasting had been under the control of the Postmaster General's Department (PMG). However, as

radio for propaganda but believed continued opposition to political interference in radio programming would subvert the threat.[77] Government intervention in broadcasting, he argued, was anathema to radio's vital role as a mode of adult education.[78] In one instance he argued for a statutory repudiation of ministerial control over programming, but admitted such a development was unlikely.[79] In January 1946 Portus addressed a Radio in Education Conference and argued national radio should be free from political control: "At present, radio stations must 'have an eye' to Government restrictions, since they received their charters or licences from the Government," he told the conference. Portus said this led to broadcasters having "to decide between telling palatable half-truths or unpalatable whole truths".[80] Two years later, in 1948, the government changed its funding formula of the ABC by axing income from licence fees in favour of direct government funding. Portus believed the change had further threatened the national broadcaster's independence. He argued it had brought government too close to the broadcaster's decision making. But, despite his concerns, Portus believed the ABC had always managed to maintain its independence, particularly through its policy of devoting equal time to both sides of political discussion.[81]

The press, too, was also susceptible to government control. However, a free press, according to Portus, was not just one that was independent of government. Like Anderson, Portus was knowledgeable of press history. He argued the newly educated masses from the late 1800s on were "as clay in the hands of the potters

---

Griffen-Foley reveals, the structural change made little difference with government still closely involved in broadcasting regulation. Bridget Griffen-Foley, *Changing Stations: The Story of Australian Commercial Radio* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2009), pp.44-50.

[77] Portus, *Free, Compulsory and Secular*, p.69.

[78] Portus, *Happy Highways*, pp.245-46.

[79] Portus, "Is Ignorance Bliss?"

[80] "Radio Should Be Outside Political Control," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 January 1946, p.4.

[81] Portus, *Happy Highways*, pp.268-271.

who began to establish the cheap press". The use of the press for propaganda by these "rising newspaper Napoleon" barons, such as Alfred Harmsworth and George Newnes,[82] was as detrimental to free discussion as was a press operated by governments of totalitarian regimes.[83]

> This, of course, is stark intellectual tyranny, whether it comes from dictators or from private magnates of the Press. It is tyranny over the minds of uncritical readers. Like Voltaire, we should detest tyranny over men's minds as much as do robbery of any other of our possessions. What is the remedy? Censorship of the Press merely transfers the dictatorship from private to public hands. We must have a free press, irresponsible or not. Surely the remedy ought to begin in the other direction, by trying to make the uncritical readers critical.[84]

To make "uncritical readers critical", Portus argued, it was not enough just to raise the school age. Adult education, which tended to be vocationally oriented, should include studies that equipped people to recognise media propaganda.[85]

Like his friend Portus, E.H. Burgmann condemned censorship. Drawn into the 1941 debate over the Commonwealth Government's ban on the importation of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, Burgmann commented: "The thing to be avoided is any suggestion of arbitrary restriction in thought or press. We must be prepared to pay a high price for this."[86]

---

[82] Alfred Harmsworth (later Lord Northcliffe) (1865-1922) was an English press proprietor from the 1880s into the 1900s. Harmsworth owned a suite of dailies including the sensationalist *Daily Mail*, the more serious *Evening News* and, eventually in 1908, the *Times*. Harmsworth unashamedly used the political sway his papers gave to mount his own political campaigns. Like Harmsworth, George Newnes (1851 – 1910) was a leading English press proprietor of the era. Newnes used his success with the worker periodical *Tit-Bits* to fund his staunchly Liberal daily, the *Westminster Gazette*. For further detail see: Stephen Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain*, vol. I (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1981).

[83] Portus, "Is Ignorance Bliss?"

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid.

[86] E.H. Burgmann, "Letter to Minister for Trade and Customs", 29 September 1941, Papers of Bishop Burgmann, MS1998, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

It was Burgmann's belief in the press as a forum for open discussion that led him to establish the *Morpeth Review* quarterly in 1927. The *Review*, produced out of St John's College at Morpeth, near Newcastle in New South Wales, was dedicated to public affairs, theology, philosophy and politics.[87] Burgmann and co-founders Roy Lee and A.P. Elkin solicited articles from a large number of contributors including Portus and H.V. Evatt.[88] As noted in the introduction (page 15) Evatt had been attracted to Idealist thought during his university studies under Anderson and MacCallum. The *Review* was one of several periodicals that emerged in the inter-war period as part of an expansion into the public sphere by new liberal intellectuals.[89] Under Burgmann's editorship the *Review* was laced with Idealism. As Burgmann's biographer, Peter Hempenstall, describes: the *Review* was "the voice of Christian idealism responding in general terms to the widespread notion that western civilisation was in crisis".[90] The number of subscribers to the *Review* wavered between 500 and 1000 and in 1934, after Burgmann was appointed Bishop of the Canberra Goulburn Diocese, the publication folded. The *Review*'s influence was minimal, due to its small circulation and relatively short period of publication. Many subscribers were also contributors. Therefore, apart from acknowledgement here of its existence, the publication plays no further role in this thesis which focuses on dissemination of Idealist thought in mainstream media. The *Review* does, however, emphasise Burgmann's belief in publishing as a means of communicating ideas.

For Burgmann shared Portus' understanding of the media as part of the broader education environment. Schools, universities, wireless, cinema, the

[87] Tod Moore, "The 'Morpeth Mind' and Australian Politics 1927-1934 " in *Australasian Political Studies Association Conference* (Newcastle (NSW): University of Newcastle, 2006).

[88] Peter Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest: A Life of Ernest Burgmann* (St Leonards (NSW): Allen & Unwin, 1993), p.131.

[89] Moore, "A Civic Order," p.162; Moore, "The 'Morpeth Mind' and Australian Politics 1927-1934."

[90] Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, p.131.

platform and the press had to work together to "inculcate the spirit and work out the methods of democracy". In so doing they would together further social responsibility and comradeship, underpinning a strengthened democracy.[91]

However, Burgmann too was concerned about the press' failure to reach its educational potential. Burgmann, as an Anglican bishop, delivered a series of lectures at St Paul's Cathedral in Melbourne in 1942, published under the title *The Regeneration of Civilization.* Burgmann, like Anderson and Portus, criticised the tabloid press that emerged from England and its proprietors. Burgmann claimed a capitalist exploitation of the newly-educated, reading public.

> The stuff poured from printing presses and men became rich from the pennies of the poor. There was no thought of quality in the matter published, and no sense of responsibility in those who sent it forth...men became peers of the realm and Ministers of State because they knew how to pander to the lowest tastes and mass produce literary trash.[92]

The effect was to diminish the benefits of compulsory free education. Young minds had become subject to "mental exploitation".[93] This had contributed to the "sickness of civilization" through the enfeebling division of conscience and knowledge.[94]

Three years later, in the northern New South Wales town of Lismore, Burgmann returned to theme in an address broadcast on the ABC via the local radio station. Under the title "Education for Citizenship", Burgmann argued the press' potential as educator had been betrayed by the tabloid press. This had come about, Burgmann said, because the yellow press[95] had arrived just 20 years after

---

[91] E.H. Burgmann, *The Regeneration of Civilization* (Sydney1942), p.105.

[92] Ibid., p.83

[93] Ibid., p.84.

[94] Ibid., p.88,

[95] The term "yellow press" originated in America but soon came to describe all sensationalist journalism. Frank L. Mott, *American Journalism 1690 - 1940*, 3rd ed. (New York: MacMillan, 1962), p.539.

the introduction of free public education in 1870. And so, the first generation of readers was ripe for manipulation. Once literate the masses did not turn to classic literature but instead to the sensationalist press. Under irresponsible control, propaganda was able to flourish. Burgmann too pointed to the public exploitation by Harmsworth and Newnes but, far worse, was the misuse of the European press for propaganda, enabling the rise of Mussolini and Hitler.[96]

But it was not just the press that had failed to harness its power as an educator. Radio too had become dominated by the sensational and trivial at the expense of ideas.

> Over and over again I listen to the wireless news. There is a far too regular tale of horror from China and Spain. There is Europe on a razor edge of possible calamity. There is an account of some bigger battleship programme or some more deadly military machine. We then turn to the local news. We come back to Australia with a thud to learn that in the 109th lottery drawn in Sydney overnight that lottery ticket 107692 was the lucky number. The rest of the news about Australia's great gambling industry is doled out to us...and we are left to wonder whether Europe, Asia and Australia really belong to the same world. We seem to have no international problems at all and our national problems are not worthy of mention. No one seems to be interested in them and they make no news.[97]

Unless the youth of Australia, argued Burgmann, became more interested in ideas and developed better broadcast programming, the future of the nation, and the world, was limited.

Burgmann's despair is almost palpable. As we have seen in this chapter the Australian Idealists, like Henry Jones, held a strong faith that the media was another means through which people could be educated and brought together in a

[96] E.H. Burgmann, "Education for Citizenship", 5 August 1944, Australian Broadcasting Commission Talks Transcripts, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

[97] E.H. Burgmann, "Youth Can Build a Better World", 1938, Papers of Bishop Burgmann, MS1998, Box 25, Folder: Sermons and Addresses, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

common humanity. By the late 1930s this faith was seriously challenged. Firstly the press and then radio had failed to live up to the Idealists' expectations. Yet, this was a relatively recent development. For much of the period in question, from 1885 to the 1930s at least, the Idealists did believe the media met their educational and democratic aspirations.

The next step for the Australian Idealists was to translate their belief in journalism into practice. Media publication would, of course be dependent on whether the media was disposed favourably or otherwise to Idealist philosophy. The question of media receptiveness and the extent to which the five Australian Idealists took advantage of the media to disseminate their thought will be explored in the following chapter.

Chapter Two

"Higher order journalism":[1]
Australian print journalism, talks programming and New Idealism

[2]

Many adherents of New Idealism, as we saw in the previous chapter, favourably viewed the journalistic media as a conduit of education and a facilitator of unity between people. But was their goodwill reciprocated? The New Idealist desire to educate through the media would have been quickly stymied had the media not been responsive. Minimal coverage would have resulted, neutering journalism as a channel of New Idealist communication. However, as this chapter will reveal, this was not the case. In fact, the reverse was true and, for most part, the Australian media under examination in this thesis embraced New Idealist thinkers, affording them considerable coverage. Why was this so? Initially this chapter will take a quantitative approach, assessing the extent of media coverage of the five Australian Idealists, W. Jethro Brown, Francis Anderson, Mungo

[1] "Minutes of the University of Sydney Senate", 13 May 1925, Series 11, Item 5, G1, Archives of the University of Sydney, Sydney.

[2] Copy of a clipping from a *Sydney Morning Herald* report on a Sydney school speech day at which Mungo MacCallum presented prizes."Speech Day at the Methodist Ladies' College," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 December 1931, p.12.

MacCallum, G.V. Portus and E.H. Burgmann. It will then examine several causational factors: the ongoing relationship between the *Sydney Morning Herald* proprietors, the Fairfax family, and Oxford University's Balliol College, the English core of New Idealist thought; the intellectualism of newspaper editors of the era; the educational ethos surrounding radio talks programming, which paralleled the educational intent of New Idealism; and, finally, the general coverage of philosophy, including British Idealism. As will be shown, these factors cohere to set a fertile environment for the dissemination of Australian Idealist thought.

Australian New Idealists in the media

To best illustrate the extent of radio and print output by the five Australian New Idealists in this thesis it is necessary to quantify the coverage they received in press and on radio. This section draws from extensive surveying of the Sydney and Adelaide media, coupled with archival sources, from 1885 to 1945.[3] It is important to note that only substantial articles and broadcasts are included in the following summary and such brief mentions as promotions of upcoming lectures are not included. Furthermore, the media summary includes newspaper articles *about* the five men as well as *by* them. However, these articles, often detailed verbatim reports of speeches and interviews, similarly brought their thoughts into the public arena. It is this content from such articles and broadcasts that will be used in subsequent chapters as source material for the elucidation of Australian Idealist thought.

In New South Wales, the most significant newspaper of the period was the *Sydney Morning Herald.* From 1888, just months after their arrival in Australia, Anderson and MacCallum appear in *Herald* articles and letter columns. This early beginning inaugurated a relationship that was to continue until their deaths in

[3] See Introduction, pages 35-36, for detail of print, radio and archival sources.

1941 and 1942 respectively. In this time 144 authored articles, letters and articles about Anderson have been identified in the *Herald*. Similarly, MacCallum was either the subject, or contributor, of an identified 138 editorial items. Their contemporary Brown, who lived only two years of his life in Sydney and the majority in South Australia, received relevant coverage in six *Herald* articles. The later New Idealists, Portus and Burgmann, maintained the trend. Portus, despite being resident in Adelaide for much of his adult life, was the focus, or author, of 33 articles and letters and Burgmann, 115.

Burgmann held a closer relationship with the rival Sydney newspaper the *Daily Telegraph*. By 1945 he had contributed to or was the subject of 64 *Telegraph* items. A further analysis, until his death in 1967, would surely reveal many more.[4] MacCallum also contributed to at least four *Daily Telegraph* items. Anderson contributed three articles. No evidence can be found of *Daily Telegraph* editorial relating to Brown or Portus.

From 1907, a year after Brown's arrival at Adelaide University until his death in 1930, 61 articles and letters by or about Brown that offer insight into his Idealist thought have been identified in the Adelaide *Advertiser* and 48 in the *Register*.[5] The *Register* had folded three years prior to Portus' 1934 arrival in Adelaide. However, over the next 11 years, 45 articles and letters have been identified in the *Advertiser*.

Portus was also occupied with his radio commitments. From the late 1920s to 1945, 77 commercial and national broadcasts by Portus have been identified. Burgmann made at least 16 broadcasts. Radio came late in the lives of Brown,

[4] Burgmann's archival papers reveal he was also a prolific contributor to his local newspapers, the *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*, in Newcastle, prior to his ordination as Bishop of the Canberra-Goulburn diocese and, following ordination, the *Goulburn Evening Post*. These newspapers have not been examined for this thesis, which is focused on Sydney and Adelaide media.

[5] There is a significantly greater number of articles from Brown's time as president of the Industrial Court of South Australia (1916 – 1927), however, those that are not relevant to this thesis have not been included in the data.

Anderson and MacCallum, however all used the new medium. Brown gave a series of nine broadcasts in 1929 on "Strife in Industry" for the Adelaide station 5CL, which later became an ABC station. The transcripts of the series are held in his personal papers and apart from one reference to "listener" the undated papers are not easily identifiable as radio broadcasts. However, newspaper radio program guides of 1929 confirm the series was delivered over radio.[6] Brown's broadcasting career was short-lived as he died six months after the series was broadcast, at the age of 62. Anderson, even though aged in his late seventies and early eighties, made six broadcasts. His last broadcast was in the year of his death, 1941. A nervous MacCallum, who told *Wireless Weekly* he was worried about the quality of his voice, appears to have made just one broadcast, as part of a series of University Extension lecture broadcasts, in 1930.[7]

For Burgmann, print and radio were complemented by a newsreel appearance in 1942, when he recorded a three-minute segment on morale.[8] The segment was screened as part of the weekly Movietone newsreel in Australian cinemas. Anderson, too, featured in a newsreel, in attendance at a national science convention in Canberra.[9]

Collectively then, Brown, Anderson, MacCallum, Portus and Burgmann, have been identified in 765 newspaper and broadcast items between 1888 and 1945. But, apart from sizeable volume, what does this mean?

An interesting point of comparison is their publication output in such traditional academic forums as journals, books and pamphlets. Anderson's *Australian Dictionary of Biography* entry states that he wrote little during his career[10]

---

[6] "Broadcasting," *Register*, 27 September 1929, p.8; "Radio Station Notes," *Advertiser*, 19 October 1929, p.8.

[7] "An Impression of Sir Mungo MacCallum," *Wireless Weekly*, 23 May 1930, p.9.

[8] E.H. Burgmann, *What Is Morale and How Is It Measured?* (Canberra: National Film and Sound Archive, 1942).

[9] *Science Congress* (Canberra: National Film and Sound Archive, 1939).

[10] O'Neil, "Anderson, Sir Francis (1858-1941)," p.53.

and, in terms of scholarly publication, this is true. Anderson published no books and just seven pamphlets, of which the longest was 48 pages. In addition he contributed six articles to the scholarly *Australasian Journal of Philosophy and Psychology* which, as we learnt, Anderson launched in 1923. MacCallum, too, published little in his lifetime. His two books and a series of published lectures are sourced from his work as a scholar of English literature. Prior to 1945 Portus had authored three books, edited two collected works, contributed to an edited collection and published essays and a pamphlet.[11] He had also written an article, published in the *Australasian Journal of Philosophy and Psychology* in 1927. Burgmann, meanwhile, published 13 pamphlets and two books.[12] Brown was the most published of the five with four books, four pamphlets and several dozen journal articles, most commonly in law journals. None of these Australian Idealists published in the two key English academic philosophy journals, *Mind*, which began in 1876, and *Philosophy,* which began in 1926. Collectively between the five, there were only 11 books, 26 pamphlets and a selection of other material published between 1885 and 1945.

The media, and particularly the *Sydney Morning Herald*, was therefore a crucial factor in the dissemination of New Idealist thought in Australia. The reasons as to why such extensive coverage was afforded will now be considered.

Newspaper management and editorships 1885 – 1945: *Sydney Morning Herald*

The *Sydney Morning Herald*'s willingness to publish articles by and about the five Australian Idealists, most significantly Anderson and MacCallum, can be

[11] Portus published or edited six more works up until his death in 1954, including his autobiography, *Happy Highways*, in 1953.

[12] Burgmann's major works, *The Regeneration of Civilisation* and *Education of an Australian*, were published during the period of this thesis and are referred to throughout. After 1945, three pamphlets from addresses given by Burgmann were published.

attributed to two key reasons: the connection between the Fairfax proprietors and Balliol College, and the relationships of long-serving editors T.W. Heney and Charles Brunsdon Fletcher with Sydney University and MacCallum. Due to its relevance to this thesis the Balliol connection, focusing on Warwick Fairfax's career as an amateur philosopher, will now be examined in some detail.

The Fairfax family connection with Balliol College began in 1882 when two Fairfax brothers, 20 year old Geoffrey and 18 year old James, sons of the *Sydney Morning Herald* proprietor James Reading Fairfax, entered the college. They each graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in 1885. A third brother, Harold, who followed in 1889, also graduated with a Bachelor of Arts and practised law prior to his death in 1913. This generation of Fairfaxes was not overly academic. Archival material held at Balliol reveals the three brothers excelled in rowing and rugby whilst gaining third class degrees in their specialisations, James in classics and Geoffrey and Harold in law. James, however, did obtain a Master of Arts through the college in 1909.[13]

The elder brothers arrived at Balliol on 24 April 1882, just a month after T.H. Green's death. Green's influence did, of course, long outlive him and James, through his studies in classics, would have been most exposed to Balliol Idealism. Fairfax studied and completed essays in logic, ethics and metaphysics under Benjamin Jowett (1817 – 1893), a Master of Balliol and influential figure in the emergence of British Idealist thought.[14] After completing their undergraduate studies the elder brothers returned to Australia and joined the family company. James appears to have regarded his time at Balliol favourably as in 1921 his only son, Warwick Oswald, entered the college following two terms at Sydney University. Unlike his father and uncles, Warwick preferred his studies over rugby

[13] E Hilliard, ed. *Balliol College Register*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Balliol College 1914), p.102.

[14] "Papers of Benjamin Jowett", Group 2 folio 9 -10, Balliol College Archives, Oxford; Mander, *British Idealism*, p.30.

and rowing, in which he did not take part. Fairfax spent three years at Balliol, graduating with second class honours in absentia in 1925, by which time he had returned to Sydney to join the family company. It is with Warwick that the strongest Balliol influence is seen, his studies at the college leading to a lifelong interest in philosophy and his own published work, *The Triple Abyss, Towards a Modern Synthesis*.[15] As Gavin Souter writes: "A First may have eluded him, but ever after he was grateful to Balliol for bringing out his aptitude for philosophy".[16] Fairfax majored in modern greats, studying modern history, politics, economics and philosophy. His tutors included the philosophers Alexander Dunlop Lindsay and John MacMurray.

The Balliol archives reveal that Fairfax, particularly from the 1950s onwards, maintained regular contact with the college. In 1967, in a letter to then Master of Balliol, Fairfax wrote: ""Whenever I think of the College, I remember my incalculable debt to it".[17] Perhaps in an attempt to in some way repay that debt, Fairfax bestowed a fellowship to the college in 1965 in his and his father's names. Called the Fairfax Fellowship in Philosophy, the trust is still operating today and its purpose is for the teaching of philosophy and other allied subjects, such as politics and economics.[18] Given Fairfax's devotion to Balliol it is no surprise that he planned for many years to send his own son, Warwick Jnr, to the college.[19] Young

[15] W. O. Fairfax, *The Triple Abyss: Towards a Modern Synthesis* (London: Geoffrey Bless, 1965).

[16] Gavin Souter, *Company of Heralds* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1981), p.47.

[17] W. O. Fairfax, Letter to Christopher Hill, Master of Balliol College, 9 February 1967, Personal dossier of W.O. Fairfax (Balliol 1921), Balliol College Archives, Oxford.

[18] Anna Sander, Lonsdale Curator of Archives & Manuscripts, Balliol College Archives, personal communication, 16 July 2010.

[19] In 1975 Warwick Oswald, in a letter to Christopher Hill, the then Master of Balliol, wrote how his own son, although still at school, may in four years be attending the college. Fairfax commented in what has to be one of the saddest ironies in Australia media history: "Though it is a rash thing to say at his age, he may turn out to be the ablest of our family." Fairfax was indeed rash as, it was this "able" young Warwick that in 1990 lost the family company. W. O Fairfax, Letter to Christopher Hill, Master of Balliol College, 12 February 1975, Personal dossier of W.O. Fairfax.

Warwick, like his father, achieved a second in philosophy, politics and economics in the 1980s before heading to Havard.

Fairfax's affection for the college was also influential in the appointment of a *Sydney Morning Herald* editor to replace the long serving Charles Brunsdon Fletcher when he retired aged 78 in 1937. Company archives reveal Fairfax had approached expatriate Australian Hugh McClure Smith, a senior journalist on the London *Times,* in 1936.[20] McClure Smith was a former roommate of Fairfax's at Balliol who read history but was unable to sit final exams due to ill health. McClure Smith edited the *Herald* from 1937 to 1952.

After the Second World War Fairfax once again became a student of Balliol, although in absentia. Balliol records show that Fairfax was awarded an MA in 1954,[21] for a thesis that was to become an early version of the *Triple Abyss*, published 11 years later. Souter writes that Fairfax spent much of the 1950s and 1960s working on the book and became more remote from the daily minutiae of the company.[22] From archival material it appears Fairfax's last communication with Balliol was in 1986, the year before his death. Fairfax had sent a draft of his second book on philosophy, "Purpose",[23] to the then Master, Anthony Kenny, asking him to author the foreword. Kenny wrote that Fairfax had "chosen not to adopt the style or methods of any predominant school of philosophy".[24] The same can be said of his earlier work, *The Triple Abyss*.

The Triple Abyss unites Fairfax's personal, philosophical and religious views in a metaphysical argument that culminates in what he describes as a modern synthesis. It does not restrict itself to one school of philosophy but argues why

[20] "Hugh Alexander McClure Smith", Series 327, Fairfax Company Archives, Sydney.

[21] "Undergraduate Register", n.d., UR 2/1/117, Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford.

[22] Souter, *Company*, p.362.

[23] Available evidence suggests this book was never published.

[24] Anthony Kenny, "Foreword in Typed Manuscript Of 'Purpose'", Fairfax, W.O., 1986, Sir Warwick Fairfax (1901 - 1987) papers, Balliol College Library, Oxford.

previous philosophical positions are now inadequate. However, his Idealist leanings are evident throughout. He is particularly scathing of the rise of positivism and empiricism which he argues had led to a loss of social structure and mutual responsibility, allowing materialism to dominate and moral and ethical values to diminish. In true Idealist style he argues for a universality that is brought together through the spirit. But where the early Idealists could only engage with a nascent psychology, Fairfax, from his mid-twentieth century viewpoint, is able to extend the concept of the whole, drawing from developments in psychology and science to argue for a unity that takes into account the cosmos. Philosophical belief and cosmology are then united through religion. Religion to Fairfax transcended organised churches. It is the common beliefs of all religions, from Hinduism to Christianity, which Fairfax concludes provides a higher universality to which all humanity aspires. And this universality can only be reached through God. Fairfax's final conclusion owes much to Absolute Idealism:

> What I have aimed at in this book is the synthesis of the individual 'I am', its integration with the cosmos and its final resolution to the Divine 'I AM'. By this we find the true individual who is not lost in the Absolute but has thereby found himself completely.[25]

The Times' Literary Supplement reviewed the book as an "ambitious programme" and a "penetrating study of problems of perennial interest". It commented that it was no surprise that Fairfax was a "Balliol man".[26] However, *The Triple Abyss* is not a pure canon of Idealist thought but an amateur philosophical work that, at times, has strong Idealist overtones. Regardless, it is ironic that this work, from a newspaper proprietor, offers a more substantial, Idealist influenced metaphysical argument than any of the publications of the

[25] Fairfax, *The Triple Abyss: Towards a Modern Synthesis*, p.465.

[26] Ivor Thomas, "I and the Cosmos," *Times Literary Supplement*, 13 January 1966, p.28.

Australian Idealists being considered in this thesis. As subsequent chapters will reveal, their metaphysical positioning was not overt but apparent only in its role as informant of their practical Idealism.

Fairfax too had a significant political and social philosophy. This is touched on in *The Triple Abyss* but, as the book is primarily a metaphysical discussion, it is better revealed in articles written by Fairfax in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and in archival material.

In the mid 1940s, in particular, Fairfax wrote quite frequently for the *Herald* under the pseudonym 'A Political Observer'.[27] In all 36 articles can be identified as coming from Fairfax's pen. Some of these were also published as a collection in book form, titled *Men, Parties and Politics*.[28] The articles focused on current political questions, assessing policy and Australian political leaders.

Through these writings Fairfax lamented the state of Australian politics, both Labor and non-Labor. He wanted governments that were not framed by vested interests but by strong ideologies, informed by history and political philosophy that steered social reform towards moral rather than commercial ends.[29] He was anti-socialist, believing those who wanted full socialism had ignored the example of Russia where workers had no say in the running of enterprises – the capitalist employer, he believed, had been merely swapped for the State and workers did not gain any additional freedoms.[30] His opposition to the Australian Labor Party (ALP) stemmed from its pro-socialist policy, adopted in 1921. However, it was not the policy per se that most bothered Fairfax, it was the

[27] Souter, *Company*, p.233.

[28] W. O Fairfax, ed. *Men, Parties and Politics: Being Articles Published in the Sydney Morning Herald During the Federal Election Campaign in August, 1943 / with a Foreword by Warwick Fairfax* (Sydney: John Fairfax & Sons,1943).

[29] A Political Observer, "The Party Struggle IV," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 July 1943, p.6; "The Party Struggle VI," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 July 1943, p.4.

[30] "The Party Struggle VI."

fact that Australian Labor, unlike its British counterpart, had not developed out of an intellectual tradition but out of a trade union push that prioritised wages and working conditions. "The thoughtful man will distrust the Labour (sic) Party not just because it is Socialist, but because, if a sane and democratic evolution into Socialism is the alternative to a capitalist system, he cannot conceive the present Labour movement as being able to carry it out."[31] Had Labour not realised, he asked, "that one of the ordinary rights of the working man in most parts of Europe is heated trains in winter and cheap facilities for musical and operatic entertainment and the like?".[32]

Despite Fairfax's reservations about Labor, he was the driving force behind the *Sydney Morning Herald*'s support for the election of Labor at federal elections in 1943 and 1961.[33] In the early 1940s he was unimpressed by Australian conservatives who, at the time, were represented by the United Australia and United Country Parties. Both, he argued, were too beholden to commercial interests.

> Commercial interests are apt to forget that stable national finances, prosperous companies and institutions and high wages also can go hand in hand with a discontented people, with all sorts of social evils and injustices and with a nation whose capacities and opportunities are very far from being fully realised.[34]

Australian conservative parties also lacked an intellectual outlook and the democratic dynamism of the British Conservative Party, although it too was far from perfect. The UAP, he suggested in 1943, needed to develop a strong policy based on social reform rather than merely opposing Labor.[35]

---

[31] A Political Observer, "The Party Struggle II," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 July 1943, p.4.

[32] A Political Observer, "A Rebuilt Opposition II," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 September 1943, p.4.

[33] Souter, *Company*, pp.234-236, 381-383.

[34] A Political Observer, "A Rebuilt Opposition II."

[35] A Political Observer, "The Party Struggle V," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 July 1943, p.4.

Fairfax wanted an Australian political party that offered a new vision and a new policy: "It must be the spirit of liberalism, of reform and of social progress, to take the place of obstructive conservatism and protection of moneyed interests."[36] In typical Idealist fashion and in concert with the Australian Idealists, he believed that class warfare was one of the most damaging aspects of Australian politics and his ideal parliament would be made of representatives of every class and type. Fairfax believed people should enter politics in their twenties when they had a close knowledge of history, economics and political philosophy, as this was the age when "enthusiasm was at its peak."[37] But Fairfax was not arguing for a parliament made of university-educated members of the establishment:

> There is no suggestion of course that Parliament should be recruited entirely from bright young men, which indeed would be a rather terrifying thought...there must be a tolerance shown for the impulsiveness and unorthodoxy of youth. To introduce only sound and steady young men, who at the age of 25 have exactly the same ideas of their fathers of 50 and 60, is to invite stagnation.[38]

As the preceding discussion reveals there is a strong resonance in Fairfax's political and social philosophy of the Australian Idealist thought that will be seen later in this thesis. Fairfax too was strongly religious and the moral foundation of his thinking is best seen in two articles, one calling for the slums of inner Sydney to be razed and rebuilt because of the horrendous living conditions and a second article titled "Ethics and National Life".[39] This article is best known for the ensuing row between Fairfax and Rupert Henderson, the long-serving Fairfax general manager who objected strongly to Fairfax using the *Sydney Morning Herald* to

[36] A Political Observer, "A Rebuilt Opposition III," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 September 1943, p.4.

[37] W. O. Fairfax, "Ethics and National Life," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 December 1944, p.2.

[38] "A Rebuilt Opposition III."

[39] Fairfax, "Ethics and National Life."

expound his personal theories.[40] However, the article is also of value in further illuminating Fairfax's social philosophy.

Like Burgmann, Fairfax believed that the churches had become too preoccupied with their institutional interests and this had led to a decline in ethical life. Yet Christianity itself offered the best chance of revitalisation as it carried the purest message of the moral spirit that was required. But Fairfax did not mean Christianity in its current form, and if a "new blast of purified Christianity" were to purge institutions in its wake then "so be it". Furthermore, in language that has strong Idealist overtones, a new movement of this type would:

> ...reorganise social life and cure social evils. Its first duty would be to bring about that new community feeling, unselfishness and spirit of service which would make such a reorganisation possible and to strengthen the hands of those who are setting about it.[41]

This then is the political and social exposition of the modern synthesis that Fairfax sought. In short, he wanted an informed and moral society that prioritised the community over the commercial. The echo that can be heard is the Idealism he absorbed in the tutorial rooms of Balliol. As Fairfax wrote, in a 1952 letter to John Douglas Pringle on becoming *Sydney Morning Herald* editor, Fairfax's personal philosophy was also that of the *Herald*'s:

> You will find our political policy entirely independent of Party ties. Though strongly anti-Socialist we have often been critical enough of the opposing side to bring down upon us their extreme hostility…..What is more important is the viewpoint behind it which shall be non-materialist and based on idealism.[42]

A question that arises is to what extent did Fairfax's Idealism permeate the *Herald*'s pages? Throughout the time when Fairfax's tenure as proprietor coincides

[40] Souter, *Company*, pp.258-261.

[41] Fairfax, "Ethics and National Life."

[42] W. O. Fairfax, Letter to J.D. Pringle, 21 February 1952, Fairfax Personal Files, Series 327, Fairfax Company Archives, Sydney.

with the period of this thesis, the newspaper had a strict demarcation of editorial responsibility. The editor had control only over the editorial page, whilst news editors superintended the news pages.[43] Daily editorial conferences, attended by Fairfax proprietors, with the senior editorial staff were held. Minutes of these meetings reveal a penchant for accuracy and the proprietors' commitment to public responsibility.[44] And yet, Fairfax was staunchly proud of the newspaper's independence, as we saw in the quote above. Ironically, it was that strongly guarded independence that also prevented Fairfax himself from injecting too many of his own beliefs into the *Herald*'s pages. Henderson's influence tempered the philosophically minded proprietor; for example, after the publication of Fairfax's ethics article, no further articles of that nature were published. Fairfax's own belief in editorial independence, coupled with Henderson's influence, prevented him from turning the paper into his personal catechism. Instead he turned to other forms of publication to expound his philosophy, leaving space in the *Herald* pages for the likes of Anderson and MacCallum.

Whilst Fairfax studied at Balliol in the early 1920s, a friendship was developing between the *Herald* editor Charles Brunsdon Fletcher and Mungo MacCallum.[45] Fletcher was associate editor on the paper from 1903 and editor from 1918 until 1937.[46] Regarded as an expert on Pacific affairs,[47] between 1917 and 1945 Fletcher authored eight books: four on the Pacific; three on inland Australian

---

[43] R.B. Walker, *Yesterday's News: A History of the Newspaper Press in New South Wales from 1920 to 1945* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1980), pp.1-2.

[44] "Editorial Conferences", 640.44, Items 1-4, Fairfax Company Archives, Sydney.

[45] MacCallum wrote a brief forward to Fletcher's 1940 autobiography *The Great Wheel*, acknowledging the value of the editor's experiences for wider dissemination and claiming the "chief charm of the book is the portrait it unconsciously gives of the fair, sympathetic, and honourable character of the author". C. Brunsdon Fletcher, *The Great Wheel* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson Ltd, 1940), pp.ix-x.

[46] For a more detailed discussion of the *Sydney Morning Herald* editors Charles Brunsdon Fletcher and T.W. Heney see: M Van Heekeren, "'Office Boys' or Intellectuals?: *Sydney Morning Herald* Editors from 1903-1937," *Australian Journalism Review* 32, no. 2 (2010), pp.75-88.

[47] Souter, *Company*, pp.126-127; Clement Semmler, "Fletcher, Charles Brunsdon (1859 - 1946)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol.8 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1981), p.523.

environments; and an autobiography.[48] From 1923 until 1939 he was a member of the Sydney University senate, joining MacCallum who, in various positions, was a senate member from 1898 until his retirement as Chancellor in 1936.[49] Both men were members of the Australian English Association, the local branch of the British- based English Association, set up in 1906 to promote English language and literature as a subject of study.[50] The Association also acted to further both men's interest in Empire. MacCallum, was strongly loyal to the British Empire and perceived it as a conduit to world unity. Fletcher was of a similar mind. In his published 1924 address to the Association, *Standards of Empire,* he argued against provincialism and promoted journalism as a means of Empire unity: "let it be said again that as the Empire has inspired our newspapers to present higher ideals of citizenship, so they in turn have helped materially to build the Empire".[51] We can also see here resonance with Henry Jones' appraisal of journalism, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Perhaps due to the Fairfax Balliol connection, Fletcher, as associate editor of the *Herald*, visited Balliol in 1911 whilst on a trip to England and stayed with the Master, Strachan Davidson. Balliol College, said Fletcher, had helped in "shaping his thought and inspiring his imagination".[52] Fletcher was inspired by the historian

[48] Fletcher's books were: *The New Pacific: British Policy and German Aims* (1917), *The Problem of the Pacific* (1919), *Stevenson's Germany: The Case Against Germany in the Pacific* (1920), *The Black Knight of the Pacific* (1944), *The Murray Valley: a three thousand mile run* (1926), *The Coolah Valley* (1927), *Water Magic: Australia and the Future* (1945) and *Great Wheel: An Editor's Adventures* (1940).

[49] Semmler, "Fletcher, Charles Brunsdon (1859 - 1946)," pp.523-524; Cable, "MacCallum, Sir Mungo William (1854 - 1942)," pp.211-213.

[50] M.W. MacCallum, "Australian English Association, Sydney, a Branch of the English Association Founded in 1906 : Constitution of the Association. W. P. Ker, a Great English Scholar," (Sydney: Australian English Association, 1923).

[51] C. Brunsdon Fletcher, *Standards of Empire, the Making of a Journalist* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1924), p.36.

[52] Ibid., p.9.

A.L. Smith and paid tribute to the college's legacy in encouraging young men to seek "liberty and truth.[53]

Whilst Balliol left a lasting impression on Fletcher, his relationship with MacCallum was more influential. It was instrumental in facilitating coverage of Sydney University affairs in the *Herald*. In 1927 Fletcher arranged for a paid correspondent to cover University news on a weekly basis.[54] This move further entrenched an already strong relationship between the two institutions. Meanwhile, the editor and academic became a joint driving force behind a Diploma of Journalism at the University of Sydney to be taught to working journalists through evening lectures.[55] MacCallum believed that a broad arts education was necessary for "higher-order journalism".[56]

Another believer in higher-order journalism was Fletcher's predecessor on the *Herald,* T.W. Heney, editor from 1903 to 1918. Heney felt journalists could never to be too highly educated.[57] Although Heney himself had little formal education he was regarded as highly intelligent and well-read with rare literary skill.[58] He was also a member of several local literary societies including the Dickens Fellowship and the Shakespeare Society. Through the Shakespeare Society, Heney came into contact with MacCallum, who frequently delivered

[53] Ibid.

[54] "Editorial Conferences."

[55] The Diploma was not successful. It was marred by delays from the beginning and then, once instituted in 1929, was abandoned after 12 months due to low enrolments and a lack of financial support from newspaper companies. "Minutes of the University of Sydney Senate", 2 December 1929, Item 19, Archives of the University of Sydney, Sydney; *A Century of Journalism: The Sydney Morning Herald and Its Record of Australian Life 1831-1931* (Sydney: John Fairfax & Sons Limited, 1931), p.668.

[56] During a meeting of the University of Sydney Senate Mungo MacCallum used the phrase "higher-order journalism" to distinguish journalism of ideas from general news reporting. "Minutes of the University of Sydney Senate", 1925.

[57] "Heney Family - Miscellaneous Papers", MSS 2285, Mitchell Library, Sydney.

[58] "T.W.Heney: Obituary," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 August 1928, p.8.

papers to society meetings and served as president in the early 1900s.[59] Heney developed a reputation as a poet and author,[60] publishing collections of his poetry and a novel.[61]

We have concentrated until now on the Fairfax proprietors and the editors Fletcher and Heney, who were at the helm of the H*erald* for the most concentrated period of publication by and about the Australian Idealists. It is also worth noting the remaining two editors of the 1885 – 1945 period. The first editor of this era was William Curnow, editor from 1886 to 1903 and a former Methodist minister. Prior to his move into journalism he had been a popular speaker on public affairs. It is likely he knew Francis Anderson, as his wife worked with Maybanke Anderson on the establishment of free kindergartens.[62] As noted earlier, Fletcher's replacement as editor was Fairfax's former Balliol roommate Hugh McClure Smith (editor 1938 – 1952). Always interested in foreign affairs, Smith joined the diplomatic corps after leaving the *Herald*, serving as Australian ambassador in Egypt and Italy.[63]

In 1988 Albert Moran argued that there was a "fugitive history" of Australian newspaper editors as intellectuals waiting to be written.[64] While it is not the purpose of this thesis to provide that history, Moran's point has great resonance with the *Sydney Morning Herald* editors outlined above. From literature,

---

[59] MacCallum appears to have been president of the society in 1901 and 1902. In 1912, Heney was among several people, including James Fairfax and MacCallum, who signed a petition to government organised by the society for funding for a memorial to Shakespeare."Shakespeare Memorial," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 August 1912, p.18.

[60] Souter describes Heney as a "fair to middling" poet, however, Heney's work came to the attention of Oscar Wilde. In a mostly scathing review published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1888 of the anthology *Australian Poets 1868 – 1888* Wilde acknowledged Heney's poem, 'Woodnotes' as "worth reading". Souter, *Company*, p.107; "Australian Poets," *Pall Mall Gazette*, 14 December 1888, pp.2-3.

[61] Heney's book publications were: *Fortunate Days* (1886), *In Middle Harbour* (1890) and *The Girl at Birrell's* (1896).

[62] M.J.B. Kenny, "Curnow, William (1832 - 1903)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/curnow-william-5851/text9947); Souter, *Company*, p.107.

[63] "Hugh Alexander McClure Smith."

[64] Albert Moran, "Media Intellectuals," in *Intellectual Movements and Australian Society*, ed. Brian Head and James Walter (South Melbourne: Oxford University Press Australia, 1988), p.111.

to public speaking and foreign affairs these men were what Collini would classify as intellectuals due to their engagement with ideas.[65] I argue that it is this receptiveness to ideas that laid the groundwork for the coverage of Australian Idealist thought. The Fairfax/Balliol connection and the editorial relationships with MacCallum cemented what was already a receptive environment. Further evidence as to the importance of the intellectualism of proprietors and editors is seen in relation to the *Daily Telegraph*, *Advertiser* and *Register*.

Newspaper management and editorships 1885 – 1945: *Daily Telegraph, Advertiser* and *Register*

Unlike the institutional coherence of the *Herald* throughout the period, the *Telegraph*, first published in 1879, experienced a turbulent mix of ownership and editorship changes until its purchase in 1936 by (later Sir) Frank Packer's Consolidated Press.[66] From the outset the *Telegraph* was more commercially focused than the *Herald* and it did not rely as heavily on the University of Sydney for content. Furthermore, in its first six decades it was steered by no less than one dozen editors,[67] including Sydney Deamer, who edited the paper from 1936 to 1939. Deamer was also the final editor of the *Register* in Adelaide for the two years leading up to its 1931 closure.[68] The ubiquitous Deamer is described by Walker as a small 'l' liberal[69] and was known to be highly intelligent with a "pungent wit".[70]

---

[65] Collini, *Absent Minds*,p.48.

[66] Bridget Griffen-Foley, *The House of Packer: The Making of a Media Empire* (St Leonards (NSW): Allen & Unwin, 1999), pp.13-14, 45-48; Walker, *Yesterday's News: A History of the Newspaper Press in New South Wales from 1920 to 1945*, pp.44-52.

[67] There is no dedicated history of the *Daily Telegraph* and as Griffen-Foley points out in her history of Consolidated Press it is a neglected title in terms of Australian media history. Griffen-Foley, *The House of Packer*, p.xvi. My research from several sources has identified 12 editors between 1885 and 1945.

[68] Gavin Souter, "Deamer, Sydney Harold (1891 - 1962)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol.13, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1993), pp.598-99.

[69] Walker, *Yesterday's News*, p.84.

[70] Souter, "Deamer, Sydney Harold," pp.598-599.

The *Advertiser* enjoyed greater stability with just two owners and two editors between 1885 and 1945. One of these, (later Sir) John Langdon Bonython was, for several decades, proprietor and editor.[71]

Amongst this array of owners and editors was a mix of political beliefs. Bonython, regarded as a radical liberal and progressive,[72] was a supporter of education reform and a friend of Alfred Deakin, the Australian prime minister and follower of Idealist thought.[73] Yet, as his biographer reveals, Bonython's liberalism did not emerge out of university studies but from the halls of parliament, where he spent his early years as a reporter.

> He concentrated less on philosophical issues and much more upon the colonial pre-occupation with the franchise and solutions for the deadlocks conservative Upper Houses created when they rejected radical measures. That he sensed his lack of the deeper understanding of men like Cockburn and Deakin may help to explain his obsession in later years to be part of Adelaide's academic community.[74]

Bonython's successor, (later Sir) Frederick Lloyd Dumas, who took over the *Advertiser*'s editorship after Bonython sold the paper to Keith Murdoch's Herald and Weekly Times group in 1929, was a staunch conservative who opposed state-sponsored welfare.[75] In 1942 Dumas and Portus engaged in a cordial but strained discussion via letter over the place of advertising in society. The exchange followed an ABC broadcast by Portus on the topic in which he argued advertising inflated the price of goods. Ever the capitalist, Dumas regarded Portus' comments

---

[71] W.B. Pitcher, "Bonython, Sir John Langdon (1848–1939)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bonython-sir-john-langdon-5286/text8915).

[72] John Playford, "The Business Elite," in *The Flinders History of South Australia*, ed. Dean Jaensch, (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986), p.289.

[73] Pitcher, "Bonython, Sir John Langdon."

[74] E.J. Prest, *Sir John Langdon Bonython, newspaper proprietor, politician and philanthropist* (North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2011), p.12.

[75] S. Cockburn, "'Dumas, Sir Frederick Lloyd (1891–1973)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/dumas-sir-frederick-lloyd-10058/text17741).

as "flippant" and wrote the conclusions the professor had drawn were "not sound".[76] Portus denied the charges, claiming his comments were based on extensive research. In turn, he described Dumas' tone as "magisterial".[77] The letters, held in the Portus papers at the State Library of South Australia, indicate the exchange concluded with Portus suggesting Dumas read a selection of named books on the topic.[78]

For the most part, the various owners and editors of the *Telegraph*, *Advertiser* and *Register* were predominantly dedicated newspapermen, less interested in the literary intellectual pursuits of a Heney or Fletcher, and more motivated by the demands of the daily news cycle. That is not to say they weren't intellectually rigorous or politically engaged. For example the *Register*'s editor from 1878 to 1899, John Harvey Finlayson, was a staunch supporter of free, compulsory and secular education[79] whilst his conservative successor, William John Sowden (1899-1922), was an avid reader who, throughout his life, held senior roles with several library associations.[80] Back on the *Telegraph*, the editor from 1884 to 1890 and again from 1903 to 1914 was Frederick Ward, a former Wesleyan minister and close friend of Fletcher's. He was a strong supporter of Australian literature and was awarded an honorary doctorate from Glasgow University in 1909, when he travelled to Britain as part of the Imperial Press Conference.[81]

---

[76] Lloyd Dumas, "Letter to G.V. Portus", 14 October 1942, Portus Family Papers, PRG204, Folder 25/4, State Library of South Australia, Adelaide.

[77] G. V. Portus, "Letter to Lloyd Dumas", 15 October 1942, Portus Family Papers, PRG204, Folder 25/4, State Library of South Australia, Adelaide.

[78] Ibid.

[79] J.H. Love, "Finlayson, John Harvey (1843-1915)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/finlayson-john-harvey-3517/text5409).

[80] Carl Bridge, "Sowden, Sir William John (1858 - 1943)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/sowden-sir-william-john-8593/text15005).

[81] Kathy Moignard, "Ward, Frederick William (1847-1934)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/ward-frederick-william-8982/text15807).

However, what we don't see amongst these men is the same degree of engagement with culture and ideas as that of Heney, Fletcher and, most significantly, Warwick Fairfax. That is, until Brian Penton's arrival as editor of the *Telegraph* in 1941.

A political writer on the *Sydney Morning Herald* during the 1930s, Penton accepted the *Daily Telegraph* editorship in 1941, heralding what has become known as a "golden age" of Australian journalism.[82] Regarded as a maverick and liberal intellectual, the charismatic Penton used his newspaper to support the role of the state in health, education and industrial regulation. Yet he also saw a strong role for "individual agency" and the deep-seated ambition of all humans to "be free".[83] There are hallmarks of New Idealist thought in these beliefs and Penton had read T.H. Green while at Sydney University, although he later admitted he remembered little. It is also interesting to note that, according to Penton's biographer Patrick Buckridge, the editor would often quote the philosopher William Macneile Dixon, a disciple of the New Idealist philosopher J. E. McTaggart. Penton used the title of a series of Dixon's lectures, "The Human Situation", as a chapter heading in his 1943 book *Advance Australia – Where?*[84] Yet, Penton also developed a friendship with Francis Anderson's replacement at the University of Sydney, the realist philosopher and strident opponent of Idealism, John Anderson.[85] Ultimately then, Penton was foremost an intellectual of a liberal persuasion with some sympathy for practical Idealism. It is at this juncture that he became interested in the thought of E.H. Burgmann.

---

[82] Walker, *Yesterday's News*, pp.119,144.

[83] Patrick Buckridge, *The Scandalous Penton: A Biography of Brian Penton* (St Lucia (Qld): University of Queensland Press, 1994), p.157.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid., pp.290-291.

In 1941 Penton had published *Think – Or Be Damned,* a pamphlet aimed "to wake up discussion on the current blankness of the Australian mind".[86] Archival evidence reveals that Penton sent a copy to Burgmann, hoping the bishop would take up its cause.[87] Penton wrote again to Burgmann later in the same year, seeking his opinion and support for the book *You, Me - and this war*.[88] In 1943 Burgmann was one of eight public figures invited to contribute an article to a *Daily Telegraph* symposia series on contemporary issues, initiated by Penton.[89]

There is no evidence to suggest that Burgmann and Penton shared a relationship as close as that of MacCallum and Fletcher, which was detailed above. However, Penton's respect for Burgmann and the fact they maintained a level of acquaintance is not surprising. Both were considered radicals of their profession[90] and shared a common purpose in furthering the liberal intellectual development of Australians. Penton's well-known proclivity for wine and women undoubtedly precluded any advancement of a closer relationship with the Bishop. But it did allow the editor to afford Burgmann considerable coverage in the *Telegraph*. Given Penton's intellectual sway, had he arrived earlier at the *Telegraph*, coverage of the other Australian Idealists, particularly Francis Anderson and Mungo MacCallum, may have been greater. But in 1941, the year Penton's editorship began, Anderson died and the 87-year old MacCallum was just a year away from death. Brown had died many years before and Portus, as we will now see, was in Adelaide, concentrating on ABC talks programming.

---

[86] Brian Penton, Letter to E. H. Burgmann, 3 February 1941, Papers of Bishop Burgmann, MS1998, Box 10, Folder: Press Correspondence, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Brian Penton, Letter to E.H. Burgmann, 5 November 1941, Papers of Bishop Burgmann, MS1998, Box 10, Folder: Press Correspondence, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

[89] Buckridge, *Scandalous Penton*, p.232.

[90] Indicative of their analogous reputations is the similarity of titles for the key biographies of both men, Burgmann, *The Meddlesome Priest*, (Hempenstall, 1993) and Penton, *The Scandalous Penton* (Buckridge, 1994).

Radio talks programming and New Idealist thought

As we saw in the previous chapter, G.V. Portus' practical Idealism was at the fore of his belief in radio's potential for education. However, the arguments of advocates for educational radio were soon quelled by consumer demand for entertainment and music.

Two of the first Sydney radio stations were launched with a specific educative purpose, even if, ultimately, their educational aspirations were not fulfilled. The NSW Labor Council launched its Sydney radio station 2KY in 1925 but its early vision of the station as an educator of the working classes began to wane in the face of increased entertainment and sport programming.[91] Meantime, the Theosophical Society launched 2GB in 1926.

Originating in the third century BC, theosophy re-emerged in its modern form in Australia, as it did elsewhere, in the 1890s and was influential through to the 1920s. It championed an egalitarian society with no distinctions based on class or gender. It had a confluence with high idealism but was fundamentally mystical and occult.[92] In its application for a broadcasting licence the Society stated its intention to feature local speakers on such topics as religion, art and, importantly, citizenship, social reform and philosophy.[93] In 1926 the 2GB general manager, A.E. Bennett, wrote in *Wireless Weekly* that "we have no right to use wireless unless we utilise it for the Nation's uplift and progress".[94] At first the station did adhere to this prospectus and featured broadcasts from Anderson and Portus, but over the

[91] Bridget Griffen-Foley, "Radio Ministries: Religion on Australian Commercial Radio from the 1920s to the 1960s," *Journal of Religious History* 32, no. 1 (2008), pp.32-37.

[92] Jill Roe, *Beyond Belief: Theosophy in Australia 1879-1939* (Kensington (NSW): University of New South Wales Press, 1986), pp.xii,xiv.

[93] Griffen-Foley, "Radio Ministries," p.32.

[94] A.E. Bennett, "We Have No Axe to Grind," *Wireless Weekly*, 3 September 1926, p.7.

years it too adopted a less edifying format that offered more music and comedy.[95] As the Australian radio researcher William McNair wrote in 1937:

> Possibly 2GB Sydney has done more than any other commercial station to provide talks of a high standard. During a lengthy period this station's Sunday night talks introduced many gifted speakers on economic and political subjects, in furtherance of the ideals of the League of Nations Union, the Constitutional Association and other bodies. Amongst those who spoke frequently over this station at the time were such brilliant lecturers as Professor Sir Francis Anderson and Dr Lloyd Ross. Many listeners will regret that this feature has now been discontinued and a musical programme substituted.[96]

The first radio station in Adelaide, 5DN, was launched by a private operator in 1924. E. J. Hume and his wife, Stella, were convinced of radio's cultural and educational benefits and ran a landline from Adelaide University to the broadcast studio in the family home to relay lectures.[97] In 1938 5DN was one of the original stations to sign up to the Macquarie Network, centred, as it still is today, on Sydney's 2GB. This increased the amount of relayed content, which included advertising as well as programs.[98] Despite the Humes' early hopes, program guides for 5DN and other commercial stations in Adelaide show that as early as 1926 the dominant content was music with infrequent talks, although live broadcasts of recitals were common.[99] Meanwhile, in 1929, the *South Australian*

---

[95] Griffen-Foley, "Radio Ministries," p.35; K.S. Inglis, *The Beginnings of Radio in Australia* (Adelaide: University of Adelaide, 1981), p.33.

[96] W.A. McNair, *Radio Advertising in Australia* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1937), p.346. Lloyd Ross was a leading figure in the labour movement in Australia. In the mid-1930s he was the acting assistant director of adult education at the University of Sydney. See: Stephen Holt, *A Veritable Dynamo, Lloyd Ross and Australian Labour 1901 - 1987* (St Lucia (Qld): University of Queensland Press, 1996).

[97] Not only did 5DN broadcast from the family home but its operation was a family effort, most notably that of Hume's wife, Stella, who was a regular announcer and organised musical and cultural programming. Nancy Robinson Whittle, "Hume, Stella Leonora Harriette (1882-1954)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hume-stella-leonora-harriette-10571/text18775).

[98] Bridget Griffen-Foley, *Changing Stations: The Story of Australian Commercial Radio* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2009), p.29.

[99] For example see:"Broadcasting. Week-End Programmes," *Advertiser*, 27 February 1926, p.17.

Worker newspaper planned to launch a new station with an educational focus. However, the newspaper's plans to acquire a licence to broadcast Workers' Educational Association lectures and music were shelved.[100] By this time it appears to have become evident to radio broadcasters, particularly those relying on advertising, that not only were talks programs labour intensive as they would only fill 20 to 30 minutes of programming at a time but they were also not popular with most listeners. By the mid 1930s the majority of talks programming was being broadcast by the ABC.[101]

The arrival of the ABC in 1932 did not end the radio for entertainment versus education debate. As Inglis and Thomas have detailed, the early years of the Commission were marked by disagreements between the General Manager and Chairman as to the merits of educational and cultural programs.[102]

In 1934 the resignation of the General Manager, Walter Conder, allowed the views of such pro-educationalists as Chairman William Cleary and the then Head of Talks (later Sir) Charles Moses to dominate. Cleary steered the ABC until his resignation in 1945. Like Fletcher, Cleary served on the University of Sydney senate (1934 – 1939) and his dedication to the Workers' Educational Association earned him life membership of that organisation.[103] Moses was appointed General Manager in 1935, holding the position until 1965.

It was under Moses that Portus was brought into the ABC. In 1933 he accepted an invitation to join the newly established National Talks Advisory

---

[100] Henry Mayer, *The Press in Australia* (Melbourne: Lansdowne Press, 1964), pp.7-8.

[101] R.R. Walker, *The Magic Spark: The Story of the First Fifty Years of Radio in Australia* (Melbourne: Hawthorn Press, 1973), p.38.

[102] K.S. Inglis, *This Is the ABC: The Australian Broadcasting Commission 1932-1983* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1983), pp.41-43; Alan Thomas, *Broadcast and Be Damned:The ABC's First Two Decades* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1980), pp.50-51.

[103] Alan Thomas, "Cleary, William James (1885 - 1973)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/cleary-william-james-5677/text9591).

Committee, representing South Australia.[104] Despite Cleary's and Moses' early support for broadcasting lectures, there remained continued disquiet over the amount of time allotted to programs of the Talks Department, which, by 1940, accounted for around seven per cent of all programming.[105] One concern was the perceived number of university lecturers delivering Talks programs as many were poor broadcasters. However, a submission to a parliamentary committee on broadcasting revealed that in the year to 31 December 1940 of the 1083 Talks broadcasters, 65 were university staff.[106] Elsewhere, Portus and the Western Australian Idealist Walter Murdoch are noted as exceptions amongst their academic colleagues in their broadcast ability.[107]

Early hopes for radio as a universal educator may not have been fulfilled as, initially, the commercial stations and then, to a degree, the ABC stations, bowed to popular demand for music and entertainment over informative lectures. However, in the early years on commercial radio and right through to end of the relevant period in 1945, Australian radio remained an outlet for intellectual content through talks programming. This amenable environment enabled Australian Idealists, most significantly Portus and, to an extent, Burgmann, to extend their print media publication to the microphone. Of course, other academics and intellectuals of the era were similarly advantaged. For the Australian Idealists to make best use of radio and, for that matter, the press, there had to be willingness from media owners, managers and editors to publish and broadcast philosophical and political thought.

---

[104] Portus, *Happy Highways*, p.245.

[105] *Annual Report of the Australian Broadcasting Commission* (Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1940), p.17.

[106] B.H. Molesworth, 1941, Memo to Parliamentary Standing Committee on Broadcasting, Talks sessions and organisation - general correspondence, SP1474/1, National Archives of Australia, Canberra.

[107] Thomas, *Broadcast and Be Damned*, p.78.

Media coverage of philosophy and political thought including British Idealism

This chapter has so far outlined the volume of print and radio material by and about the five Australian Idealists featured in this thesis and has demonstrated the institutional and ideological receptiveness of the relevant media towards intellectual content and, in particular Idealist thought. This section will now narrow the focus to a specific examination of content and the treatment of philosophy, political thought and British Idealism. In so doing it will further illuminate the media environment experienced by Brown, Anderson, MacCallum, Portus and Burgmann.

British Idealism and its philosophers were not unknown to readers of the Australian press. Throughout the period of this thesis there was a steady publication of news articles, book reviews and, particularly, obituaries relating to several of the British Idealists. This section will examine examples of this coverage. Through this examination it will be seen that there was a broad receptiveness amongst the press towards publishing articles concerning British Idealism.

During the period in question, 1885 to 1945, the first major publication of philosophical content came in 1890. Arguably, it was the Fairfax Balliol connection that influenced the decision to publish a 5500-word speech by Francis Anderson on T.H. Green in October of that year.[108] The article is unusually long for that period and it is perhaps no coincidence that it was published the year after the brothers Geoffrey and James Fairfax returned from Balliol to Sydney. The speech, delivered at the central Sydney YMCA hall, gave brief biographical details of Green but in the main was an exposition of his philosophical thought. However, in an important comment that provides context for the expression of Idealist thought in Australia, Anderson said:

[108] Anderson, "A Modern Philosopher - Green of Balliol," p.4.

> I do not intend to describe in detail Green's system of philosophy; for that I must refer you to his works themselves, only remarking that, with the exception of his shorter essays and addresses, they are works for the philosophical student rather than the general reader. What I wish to do is to state briefly and as clearly as I can, his position with regard to the question of knowledge and reality, in the first place and, secondly, to state his views on ethics and reality.[109]

In this tract Anderson reveals his thinking as to the necessary demarcation between scholarly and general publication of Idealist thought. Thus, it is not the system of philosophy or the metaphysical rationale behind thought that a public audience needs to know but, rather, its practical implications. Anderson's 1890 explanation is an important statement that provides context for the nature of published and broadcast Australian Idealist thought. In lectures, radio broadcasts and newspaper articles there is a notable absence of metaphysical argument. Because the five Australians being examined in this thesis published little scholarly work, it could, perhaps, be assumed that they did not engage in Idealist metaphysics. However, if we extend Anderson's rationale from his discussion of Green it appears this lack of published metaphysics is a deliberate tactic to engage the public.

Thus, in his address on Green, Anderson outlined his view of the English philosopher's thinking on unity between the spiritual and the material, and the role of religion in cementing this relationship. Anderson further outlined that this unison was the basis of Green's ethical teaching which centred on the moral and natural as elements within the service of the spirit. From this emerged the human ideal which conceived of man and society as together in one, enabling a superior theory of state that allowed for the free development of all citizens. State

[109] Ibid.

intervention was therefore permissible when it enhanced human development, particularly in relation to labour, health, education and land use.

As the above summary indicates, Anderson's speech is an important work in that it laid out basic Idealist principles in an accessible, yet detailed, form. Although not on the scale of Anderson's Green article, the *Herald* saw fit to publish other material, including book reviews[110] and, more substantially, news and obituaries of such figures as Edward Caird[111] and Benjamin Jowett. These articles concentrate on the person rather than their philosophy but the fact that they were regarded as newsworthy figures is of note.

The coverage of Jowett is particularly interesting. At the time of his death in 1893 the *Herald* published a lengthy obituary.[112] Furthermore, on two previous occasions, once in that year and once in 1891, it had published news reports on Jowett's state of health.[113] And, remarkably, three years after Jowett's death it published a further lengthy tribute, reprinted from the *London Spectator*.[114] By comparison, the *Daily Telegraph* did not mention Jowett's death, whilst the *Advertiser* in Adelaide published just one brief obituary, although it interestingly included a sketched portrait of the former Balliol master.[115] So why was there greater coverage in the *Herald*? I argue it is further evidence of the impact of the Fairfax's family connection with Balliol. James Fairfax had studied under Jowett, who recorded the student's (average) marks in his notebook.[116]

---

[110] See, for example, "Social Philosophy," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 July 1899, p.4. This review of Bernard Bosanquet's *The Philosophical Theory of the State* described the work as "masterly".

[111] "Death of Dr Caird," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 November 1908, p.9.

[112] "Benjamin Jowett," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 October 1893, p.5.

[113] "Professor Jowett," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 November 1891, p.7; "Condition of the Rev. B. Jowett," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 September 1893, p.9.

[114] "Benjamin Jowett," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 January 1896, p.7.

[115] "Professor Jowett Dead," *Advertiser*, 3 October 1893, p.5.

[116] Papers of Benjamin Jowett, Essays, October 1883,1884, Group 2 (folio 9 -10), Fairfax, J. O., Balliol College Archives, Oxford.

A further major exposition of Idealist thought came in newspaper coverage of British Idealist Henry Jones' 1908 Australian lecture tour. Boucher's 1990 journal study of the tour reveals strong media interest and support.[117] Research undertaken for this thesis supports the findings of his article. At the invitation of his friend MacCallum, Jones began his lecture tour in Sydney and then travelled to nearby Newcastle and Wollongong before going interstate to Brisbane, Melbourne and Adelaide. In addition to diary-style mentions of the upcoming lectures, newspapers in Adelaide and Sydney, as well as in cities outside the scope of this thesis,[118] published a large number of articles. Initial articles promoted the forthcoming lectures, whilst each lecture was written up in extensive detail. In Adelaide, where Jones gave two lectures, the *Advertiser* published four articles about the lecture series.[119] In Sydney, where Jones was scheduled to deliver five lectures but added a sixth due to demand, the *Daily Telegraph* published six articles[120] and the *Sydney Morning Herald* published 12.[121] Much of the initial promotion, in which details of the upcoming lectures were given, was due to the efforts of MacCallum, Jones' friend. MacCallum authored articles in the *Sydney*

[117] Boucher, "Practical Hegelianism," pp.423-452.

[118] For example see: "In Advocacy of a University. Prof. Jones at Fremantle. The Secret of Germany's Success," *West Australian*, 24 June 1908, p.9; "Is Queensland Civilised?," *Brisbane Courier*, 1 August 1908, p.4; "'Metaphors That Mislead'. Lecture by Professor Henry Jones," *Argus*, 11 August 1908, p.6.

[119] "Professor Henry Jones. A Distinguished Scholar," *Advertiser*, 15 August 1908, p.7; "The Making of Character. Lecture by Professor Henry Jones," *Advertiser*, 15 August 1908, p.10; "A Student of Society," *Advertiser*, 17 August 1908, p.6; "The Making of Character. Professor Jones' Last Lecture," *Advertiser*, 18 August 1908, p.8.

[120] "Philosophy and Modern Life," *Daily Telegraph*, 11 July 1908, p.10; "Philosophy and Politics," *Daily Telegraph*, 15 July 1908, p.11; "Philosophy of Modern Life," *Daily Telegraph*, 18 July 1908, p.10; "Philosophy and Modern Life. Professor Jones," *Daily Telegraph*, 22 July 1908, p.6; "Philosophy and Modern Life - Professor Jones Final Lecture," *Daily Telegraph*, 29 July 1908, p.7; "Ideals of Poets and Philosophers," *Daily Telegraph*, 8 August 1908, p.11.

[121] "Professor Henry Jones," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 June 1908, p.8; "A Student of Society," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 July 1908, p.13; "Child and Home," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 July 1908, p.9; "An Apostle of Ideas," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 July 1908, p.13; "The Growth of Freedom," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 July 1908, p.8; "Self and Society," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 July 1908, p.13; "Ideals in Literature," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 July 1908, p.8; "The Renewal of Ideals," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 July 1908, p.13; "Idealism Vindicated," p.9; "The Visit of Professor Jones," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 August 1908, p.6; "Smart but Not Sane," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1908, p.13; "National Sanity," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 August 1908, p.12.

Morning Herald and *Daily Telegraph*. Some of which were reprinted in the *Advertiser*.

As Boucher provides a thorough examination of the content of Jones lectures, which is also referred to elsewhere in this thesis, I will not go into detail here. However, it is relevant to this chapter to examine how Jones was received by the print media. The editorial leader columns of the *Advertiser* and *Sydney Morning Herald* are particularly valuable in offering insight into press receptiveness of Jones' Idealist thought.

While news stories about the lecture give detail of Jones' thought, the editorial leaders are important in assessing the newspaper's opinion. Editorials confirm a newspaper's social identity and, importantly, are usually reserved for the most significant issues of the day.[122] The *Herald*'s coverage included two editorial leaders commenting on the tour. The leaders are confirmation of the regard in which Jones was held and the paper's belief in his relevance to its readership. The first editorial, published on the morning of Jones' final lecture on 7 August 1908, congratulated Sydney University on hosting the series.[123] The leader went on to summarise Jones' philosophy. In particular, it discussed Jones' emphasis on the individual and state as one in the whole and the resulting onus of duty upon citizens. This exhortation, said the leader, were words that could not have been "more appropriate to an audience of Australians."[124] In Adelaide, a leader in the *Advertiser* was similarly taken by the Idealist conception of the whole:

> If, at Dr Jones invitation, we look upon our State as 'a piece of machinery with 380,000 parts in it', we shall see the need of

[122] Martin Conboy, *The Language of Newspapers* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010), p.52; Martin Conboy, *The Language of the News* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), p.82.

[123] "The Visit of Professor Jones," p.6.

[124] Ibid.

> every unit resonating sympathetically to every other, so that a purer harmony may enrich national life.[125]

Unsurprisingly, in such a young nation, both papers commented on the valuable role Jones had played as a "student of society" – a phrase which two newspapers used as headings for articles about Jones. A week after his departure from Sydney, the *Herald*'s leader page returned to Jones' final lecture, in which the philosopher had commented that Australians were "smart enough people for anything" but doubted as to whether Australians were "sufficiently sane".[126] The newspaper cautiously supported Jones' view, but admitted uncertainty about his exact meaning of "sane". Ultimately it concluded that if Jones intended insanity to mean that decisions were made without thought to the future then Australia was culpable, especially in relation to tariff and immigration policy. The leader used Jones' argument to advocate a permanent role for an observer of Australian society in addition to teaching and research in sociology.[127]

The fulsome praise afforded to Jones by the newspapers, their detailed coverage of his lectures and the application, in leaders, of Jones' philosophy to Australian politics and society reveals a strong acceptance by the press of Idealist thought. The reason for this acceptance can be attributed to Jones' ability to tailor his lectures to the local environment, the youthfulness of the Australian nation with a corresponding need for moral leadership and, in the *Herald*'s case, the personal disposition of Australian press proprietors towards British Idealism.

After the younger Fairfax, Warwick, returned from Britain more evidence can be seen of proprietor influence on the coverage of philosophy. For instance, minutes of an editorial conference reveal in relation to coverage of an Australian Philosophy and Psychology Association (APPA) conference. It was not unusual

[125] "A Student of Society," p.6.

[126] "National Sanity," p.12.

[127] Ibid.

for the *Herald* to cover the annual APPA conference and it fact it did so for much of the 1920s and 1930s. The empiricist Australian philosopher John Passmore recalled the tradition in his memoir. Passmore thought it a little strange that the newspaper was interested but reasoned that the *Herald* believed "philosophers were thought to have something to say to the general public".[128] However, if Warwick Fairfax had had his way the coverage would probably have been even greater. The minutes of an August 1932 editorial conference show Fairfax found the *Herald*'s news editor had allocated 16 reporters to an upcoming science conference and only one reporter to the concurrent APPA conference. The news editor was directed by Fairfax to cover the latter conference in the same manner as the science conference.[129] The outcome probably wasn't quite that envisaged by Fairfax with extant copies revealing the science congress received substantially more coverage than the one article (apart from brief diary promotions of the event) devoted to the Philosophy and Psychology Association conference.[130]

This example is indicative of the overall nature of Warwick Fairfax's influence on philosophical coverage and discussion in the *Herald*. If the editorial demarcation had not been so prescriptive and the *Herald* tradition not so proudly independent, Fairfax would, undoubtedly, have brought more philosophy into *Herald* pages. Further evidence is seen in the disagreement with the long-serving general manager, Rupert Henderson, after publication of the "Ethics and National Life" article, mentioned earlier in this chapter.

In this later period *Herald* readers and ABC listeners were also introduced to British Idealist philosophy through the journalist and broadcaster Kenneth Henderson (no relation to Rupert Henderson). Henderson had been influenced by

[128] John Passmore, *Memoirs of a Semi-Detached Australian* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1997), p.123.

[129] "Editorial Conferences."

[130] "Political Obedience. Psychologist's Analysis," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 August 1932, p.8.

Idealist thought during his studies under the Australian Idealists William Ralph Boyce Gibson and Walter Murdoch at Melbourne University. Henderson graduated in 1911 with a first in philosophy. He was ordained as an Anglican priest in 1915 and served as an army chaplain in France.[131] After serving in the First World War, Henderson went to Hertford College at Oxford in 1923 where he completed a thesis on the influential German philosopher and theologian Ernst Troeltsch, earning him a B.Litt.[132] Henderson's work on Troeltsch led to an academic article, published in the *Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy* in 1926.[133] Like Fairfax, Henderson also maintained an academic interest in philosophy and had two articles published in the British journal *Philosophy*.[134] The majority of his work, however, appeared in the media.

As a journalist for the *West Australian*, Henderson wrote mainly about religion, touching on philosophy when it had theological relevance. A number of his articles were reprinted in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Archival research has identified two substantial articles by Henderson about British Idealists, a discussion of Bosanquet's *What religion is*[135] and an article about Jowett, paying homage to the scholar and his religious writings.[136] Henderson was also an admirer of Burgmann, holding him in "great regard".[137] However, it was in radio that Henderson was to have the most influence. In 1941 he joined the Australian

[131] Alison Healey, "Nerve and Imagination: Kenneth Thorne Henderson in Retrospect," *St Mark's Review*, no. 148 (1992), p.13.

[132] Robert Trumble, *Kenneth Thorne Henderson, Broadcaster of the Word* (Richmond (Vic): Spectrum Publications, 1988), pp.4,24,34; Margaret Henderson, "Recollections of My Father, Kenneth Thorne Henderson," http://www.family.tree.freeuk.com/documents/kennethhornehenderson.pdf.

[133] Kenneth T. Henderson, "Troeltsch's Philosophy of History," *Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy* 3, no. 4 (1925), pp.254-264.

[134] Kenneth Henderson, "The Mind's Love for God," *Philosophy* 11, no. 43 (1936), pp.309-21; Kenneth Henderson, "A Realism for Reconciliation," *Philosophy* 27, no. 100 (1952), pp.58-65.

[135] Kenneth Henderson, "Heart of Religion," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 September 1929, p.10.

[136] Kenneth Henderson, "A Maker of Men," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 December 1938, p.22.

[137] Trumble, *Kenneth Thorne Henderson, Broadcaster of the Word*, p.49.

Broadcasting Commission in the Talks Department, working alongside G.V. Portus.[138] Like Portus, Henderson saw radio as part of his social mission, an opportunity to educate and enlighten a broad range of people.[139] One of his first tasks with the ABC was to develop a series on post-war reconstruction entitled *Tomorrow's World*.[140] As discussed in Chapter Six, Francis Anderson presented a rare radio talk, "The World of Tomorrow", for the series.[141] Alison Healey comments the ABC saw its task at this time to "improve society", an aim which matched perfectly Henderson's commitment to unity and moral and spiritual development.[142] Thus, under Henderson's guidance, religious programming on the ABC took on an Idealist hue, paralleling that of Warwick Fairfax at the *Herald*.

Radio broadcasts on philosophy were also a feature of early programming on the Sydney station 2FC in 1929 and 1930. Charles Baeyertz, an Australian-born journalist and editor who had made his name with the cultural magazine, *Triad*,[143] broadcast a series, titled "Modern Philosophy". The programs featured a range of philosophers including Locke, Hume, Kant and Croce. A *Wireless Weekly* review of one of the programs opined:

> His brief and penetrating summing-up and the concluding sketch of Kant, left nothing to be desired; it was at once correct

[138] Religion was retained under Talks programming until 1949, when Henderson was appointed head of Religious Broadcasts. Inglis, *This Is the ABC: The Australian Broadcasting Commission 1932-1983*, pp.175,416.

[139] Healey, "Nerve and Imagination," p.18.

[140] Henderson, "Recollections."; Inglis, *This Is the ABC: The Australian Broadcasting Commission 1932-1983*, p.175.

[141] Francis Anderson, "The World of Tomorrow", 1941, Australian Broadcasting Commission Talks Transcripts, Box 3, Folder As, General Scripts National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

[142] Healey, "Nerve and Imagination," p.16.

[143] G.A.K. Baughen, " Baeyertz, Charles Nalder - Biography " in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand* (http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b1/1, 2010). *Triad*, a highly successful journal dedicated to the study of music, literature, art and science, was first published by Baeyertz in Dunedin, NZ, in 1893. The success of the magazine did not transfer to Australia, where it was published from 1915. Baeyertz ended his association with *Triad* in 1925, prior to his move into radio.

> and interesting and was a model of what such good talks should be.[144]

This comment is reminiscent of the paragraph noted in Anderson's article on Green. It was not the content per se that was important but how it was delivered. Portus, too, was highly aware of the importance of delivery, as he commented in a report after visiting the BBC in 1937:

> I noted in England the same dilemma which confronts the ABC - is a subject to be handed over to the expert who knows most about it, or to a person of proven ability at the microphone who cannot claim to be an expert in that subject? [145]

Portus himself had both talents which led to his success in broadcasting. This further enhanced his opportunity to use radio to disseminate his thought, just as Anderson's awareness of journalistic writing and sense of audience disposed him favourably towards the print medium. Yet, as this chapter has demonstrated, the media's receptiveness to Idealist thought was a further factor in gaining media coverage. This was particularly seen in regards to the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Thus, at this point in the thesis, it has now been established why Australian Idealists favoured the media as a means of dissemination; why the media was responsive; and the extent of coverage they received. It is now time to turn to the what - *what* the Australian Idealists actually said and wrote in the media.

[144] "Modern Philosophy from Bacon to Bergson," *Wireless Weekly*, 13 September 1929, p.6.

[145] G. V. Portus, "Certain Aspects of Broadcasting in Great Britain and Australia", 1937, Portus Family Papers, PRG204, State Library of South Australia, Adelaide.

Chapter Three

"Fire, life, inspiration":[1] Australian Idealists in the media on education

[2]

At this point the thesis comes to an important juncture. It has already been shown how the Idealist imperative to educate led Australian Idealist thinkers to embrace press and radio, assisted by a sympathetic media. The consequence of this relationship was that the Idealists were able to disseminate their views in such forums. Historical research of press and radio sources thus becomes critical in uncovering Australian Idealist thought. In this and the subsequent three chapters the Idealist's thought as revealed in journalism will be discussed on four themes: education; the state; international relations; and war and post-war reconstruction. These themes emerged as the dominant issues publicly discussed by the five thinkers between 1885 and 1945. Arguably, the most

[1] "Public School Teachers' Association," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 June 1901, p.7. Anderson's speech containing this quote was firstly published, almost in entirety, in the *Herald* and was later published in pamphlet form. Francis Anderson, "The Public School System of New South Wales," (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1901).

[2] Copy of a photo from the *Sydney Morning Herald* of Francis Anderson giving an address on the League of Nations Union. "League of Nations Day at University," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 August 1931, p.12.

dominant of all is education. In effect, what we now find is Australian Idealists in the media educating about education.

This chapter is based on more than 50 newspaper articles and radio broadcasts in which the views of the five Australian Idealists on education are found. Education was considered by these men as the vital bedrock of a functioning society, national unity, peace and, to E.H. Burgmann, survival. As we learnt earlier (see page 14), it was also education itself that led to the rise of Idealist thought in Australia. Scottish emigrant Idealists included Francis Anderson and Mungo MacCallum and it was their teachings that influenced the next generation in Australia that included G.V. Portus and Ernest Burgmann. Education was, however, much more than a conduit that brought British Idealism to Australia. It was a key facet of Idealist thought and Idealist thinkers were prominent in educational programs and reform. In Britain, Idealists were active on school boards, contributed to legislative reform and played significant roles in the development of adult education through University Extension and the Workers' Educational Association (WEA).[3] In this chapter we will see significant parallels with such British Idealists as T.H. Green and R.B. Haldane. In particular, we will see the similar manner in which Idealist thought was used to inform practical conceptions of education.[4] The Australians too were predominantly concerned with practical measures rather than educational theory. This is similar to their British counterparts who wrote little about theories of education. As Gordon and White argue, the thinkers did not need a well developed theory of education as it was inherent in the Greenian social interpretation of Idealism.

[3] Boucher, ed. *The British Idealists*, p.xi.

[4] Gordon, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, pp.128-33; Eric and Mary Anderson Ashby, *Portrait of Haldane at Work on Education* (London: MacMillan Press, 1974), pp.169-70.

Idealist thought in relation to education is not found in academic tracts of educational theory but through Idealist involvement in policy reform.[5]

From elementary education through to university and adult education, Green and his followers sought to create an educational environment that developed social equality and justice.[6] Intrinsic in these aims was the Idealist notion of democratic citizenship. Education would enable all classes to fruitfully partake in society, simultaneously lifting morality and removing ignorance.[7] Education was a social imperative that led to self-realisation and fostered the common good.[8]

All British Idealists shared this belief in the moral, egalitarian and democratic benefits of education. This was a major break from the thought of Hegel who, like Plato, had supported education for an intellectually capable minority.[9] Yet, the British Idealists were not unanimous when it came to how education was best delivered. For example, Green believed that education should ultimately be a parental responsibility but recognised that many parents were not capable educationists.[10] Thus, Green's theory of education had at its centre a state system of school and higher education.[11] The later Idealist R.G. Collingwood believed state education was stifling and argued that parents should take a greater role in educating their children.[12]

---

[5] Gordon, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, p.175.

[6] Richter, *Politics of Conscience*, pp.350-54.

[7] Boucher, ed. *The British Idealists*, pp.xxvii-xxviii; Vincent and Plant, *Philosophy, Politics and Citizenship*, p.81; Gordon, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, pp.60-61.

[8] Gordon, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, p.61; Richter, *Politics of Conscience*, p.350.

[9] Vincent and Plant, *Philosophy, Politics and Citizenship*, p.196; Gordon, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, pp.20,61.

[10] Vincent and Plant, *Philosophy, Politics and Citizenship*, p.55.

[11] Richter, *Politics of Conscience*, p.354.

[12] Vincent and Plant, *Philosophy, Politics and Citizenship*, p.194.

In Australia, Idealist thinkers replicated such thought on education. As this chapter will demonstrate, they too believed in education as a means of breaking down class barriers and promoting self realisation. Their beliefs as to the role of the family in education differed, but all were heavily involved in the WEA and University Extension. In this way Australian Idealists encapsulated Green's determination that "if the people are to be made scholars, the scholar must go to the people, not wait for them to come to him".[13]

The public engagement of Brown, Anderson, MacCallum, Portus and Burgmann through the media in relation to education was considerable. It is here we find that their prominent media profile posited the thinkers as leading public intellectuals on education. This chapter will explore four key themes that emerge from their speeches, articles and radio broadcasts: the role of the state in education; education for citizenship; parents as teachers and teacher training; and university and adult education.

Firstly though, an outline of the development of education in Australia to 1900 will be given as the thinkers' media profile was enhanced by their arrival at a time when systemised education in Australia was in the early stages of development.

The development of education in Australia

In 1796, eight years after the foundation of the New South Wales colony, Governor Hunter wrote that "a public school for the care and education of the children is much wanted to save them from certain ruin".[14] Thus, from the outset, state control and a moral impetus were two distinguishing features of the Australian education system. Among the first schools established in the late 1700s

[13] T.H. Green, *Works of Thomas Hill Green*, ed. R.L. Nettleship, vol. III (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1889), p.409.

[14] *Historical Records of Australia, Vol 3, Hunter 1796-1799* (Sydney: Government Printer, 1895), p.80.

were those for the native-born children of convict parents. Schooling, it was believed, would give the children the moral character their parents had evidently lacked and enable them to develop as contributing members of society. The small colonial population and a lack of formalised political and social structures meant the state took a far greater role in education than in England where local boards held greater power.[15] But the development of education throughout Australia was not homogenous. Distance between the major Australian settlements and differences in their origins, for example penal in New South Wales and free settlement in South Australia, meant the development of education in each centre was characterised by local needs and demands.

In New South Wales, state intervention in education was initially limited to endowments to organisations, mainly religious denominations, to set up schools. Throughout the 1800s an increasing demand for secular schooling and a sparse population across a wide geography led to the state building its own schools and employing teachers. Settled by middle-class English colonisers in 1836, South Australia followed the English system more closely than other settlements. It was the only Australian colony that began with a planned education system in place.[16] What was common to all colonies during this period was festering tension over the issue of state aid to denominational schools. As colonial populations increased so too did demand for expanded secular education. The resulting pressure on government coffers led to calls for aid to be cut from schools with denominational support. In 1851 South Australia withdrew aid to schools operated by religious bodies.[17] New South Wales followed in 1880 as part of widespread reform that

[15] Geoffrey Sherington, Campbell, Craig, "Education," *Sydney Journal* 2, no. 1 (2009), pp.1-2; Alan Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education in New South Wales* (Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1988), pp.10-17.

[16] Alan Barcan, *A History of Australian Education* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp.71-72.

[17] Ibid.; Pavla Miller, *Long Division, State Schooling in South Australian Society* (Netley (SA): Wakefield Press, 1986), pp.23-24.

formalised state education in the colony.[18] The New South Wales reform was, however, belated. Victoria had been the first, in 1872, to legislate for a state-run education system. A fully centralised state system was established in South Australia in 1878.[19] At the crux of the reforms was the notion of education as 'free, compulsory and secular'.[20] This phrase, as will be seen, was later used by Portus as the title of an essay on Australian education. The irony was that as parents were still expected to pay some fees and compulsion was difficult to enforce, the initial impact of the reforms was predominantly a legislated divide between church and state. However, as fees were minimal and as people came to accept the value of education, schooling, up to the age of 14, was commonplace for Australian children.

At the age of 14 a student was eligible to train as a pupil-teacher, a system inherited from England. In South Australia and New South Wales this system of teacher training developed more coherently after the formalisation of state involvement resulting from the Education Acts of 1875 and 1880. Up until that point teachers had mainly been drawn from religious orders for denominational schools or, in secular schools, from those who had received enough schooling to teach younger students without any formal training. The pupil-teacher system involved students, who had passed an exam, taking a four-year post at a school, teaching by day and studying at night. After passing a final examination the pupil-teachers were meant to undertake a further year of specialist teacher training. However, particularly in Sydney, only a few received this opportunity as demand outstripped supply, with 50 places available at a time when pupil-teacher

[18] K.S. Cunningham, Pratt, J.J., ed. *Review of Education in Australia, 1939* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press,1940), pp.67-87; T. Findlay MacKenzie, *Nationalism and Education in Australia* (London: P.S. King & Son, 1935), pp.53-101. In Britain, compulsory primary school education, which had been a major cause of T.H. Green, was introduced in 1880, the same year as in New South Wales. Gordon, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, p.79.

[19] Miller, *Long Division*, pp.37-38.

[20] Barcan, *A History of Australian Education*, pp.130-31.

numbers were more than 700.[21] As this chapter will show, Francis Anderson played a major role in reform, bringing teacher training into the university system.

The development of universities in Australia was slow, principally due to the small population and a lack of a leisured upper class. The secularism that distinguished the development of school education extended to the university sector and discouraged the training of clergyman at universities. The first Australian universities, Sydney and Melbourne, were established in the 1850s with the initial aim of giving boys from the upper classes the opportunity of an advanced education. In Adelaide, a university was not established until 1876. [22]

After their slow start the universities began to expand and by the end of the nineteenth century were offering a broader range of subjects in medicine, law and arts faculties. Although numbers remained low, the student body also expanded. Whilst women were admitted to Adelaide University from the start they were not accepted into Sydney until 1881. In 1892 Sydney University established an Extension Board and became the first university in Australia to offer adult education through extension classes.[23] The Universities of Melbourne and Tasmania followed in 1890 and 1893 whilst Adelaide University developed its extension classes in 1895. The initiation of the Australian programs was due, in part, to the young Australia's tendency to mimic British advancements.[24] This was repeated with the adoption of the British model of workers education, the WEA, following a visit to Australia by the first British WEA president William Temple in

[21] Kenneth Gollan, *The Organisation and Administration of Education in New South Wales* (Sydney: Sydney Teachers' College Press, 1925), pp.123-26; Miller, *Long Division*, pp.27-28,51,73,91,125,127.

[22] Barcan, *A History of Australian Education*, pp.81,87,126,127.

[23] Ibid., pp.183,89-90.This was the same year in which an Extension Board was established at Cambridge University. Darryl Dymock, "A Reservoir of Learning: The Beginnings of Continuing Education at the University of Sydney," *Australian Journal of Adult Learning* 49, no. 2 (2009), p.249. Dymock provides an excellent summary history of the early years of University Extension and the WEA in Australia, providing greater detail than space constraints permit here.

[24] Derek Whitelock, *The Great Tradition: A History of Adult Education in Australia* (St Lucia (Qld): University of Queensland Press, 1974), pp.155-58; Dymock, "A Reservoir of Learning," p.249.

1910 and the founder and secretary Albert Mansbridge in 1913.[25] The education historian Alan Barcan describes the development of adult education as typical of a humanist liberal tradition at Sydney University, initiated by Walter Scott, who held the Chair of Classics,[26] and continued by Mungo MacCallum and Francis Anderson.[27]

However, the arrival of MacCallum and Anderson brought more than a neo-humanist liberalism to the university. With their later students G.V. Portus and E.H. Burgmann and through W. Jethro Brown in South Australia they engendered an Idealist tradition in Australian educational philosophy that, at its heart, saw the organisation of education as a primary function of the state.

The role of the state in education

As we saw earlier, the state had a role in the development of education in Australia that was unparalleled elsewhere. This was a happy coincidence for Australian Idealist thinkers who supported state intervention across all forms of education from elementary to university education. But, as will be shown, this support was qualified. The Australian Idealists, through their speeches, press articles and radio broadcasts, promoted varying degrees of state intervention that, ultimately, prioritised a facilitating rather than controlling role for the state in education.

---

[25] Temple was invited to Australia by the Christian Union Movement of Australasia but spent a considerable amount of time lobbying for the establishment of a WEA. He lectured to large audiences in Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney on "Democracy and Education" and held private discussions with university educators in the three cities, which prompted their acceptance of Mansbridge's 1913 invitation to affiliate with the WEA and visit the universities. B.H. Crew, "Mansbridge and His Mission to Australia," *Australian Highway* December (1969), p.9; Dymock, "A Reservoir of Learning," pp.254-55; Bernard Jennings, *The WEA in Australia, the Pioneering Years* (Sydney: Workers' Educational Association, 1998), p.16.

[26] Mungo MacCallum regarded Scott as a "thorough and whole-hearted disciple of T.H. Green". MacCallum, "Jottings Genealogical and Reminscential."

[27] Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education*, pp.156-57.

The historic involvement of the state in Australian education was discussed by G.V. Portus in a series of lectures he delivered in London in 1937. The Joseph Payne Memorial Lectures,[28] titled "Free, Compulsory, Secular, a Critical Estimate of Australian Education", were later published as a book.[29] The *Advertiser* briefly reported on the lectures at the time they were given but provided a more detailed account of their contents in a review of the book when it came out later in the year.[30]

In the lectures Portus argued that centralised control of education was necessary because of the geography and nature of Australian settlement. Historically, in all civilizations, there had been a "Hegelian antithesis" between centralised and local control in administration. Portus saw several benefits in the centralised model including economic advantages and the maintenance of quality. However, he also noted problems of over-bureaucratisation leading to inertia and a diminution of interest of local people in "their" school. Portus believed a decentralised education system would bring greater flexibility, autonomy and experimentation but it was not possible in the Australian environment.[31]

Anderson too saw benefits in an education system that did not depend on absolute centralised control within the state. In 1909 he argued that local administration was preferable to a highly-centralised government bureau. Even though Australia had become a nation state in its own right with federation of the former colonies in 1901, Anderson believed talk of a national system of education

[28] Joseph Payne was a leading educationist and education critic in England in the nineteenth century who believed in the power of education to transform lives and society. The memorial lectures in his name are given annually at the London College of Preceptors, now known as the College of Teachers.

Richard Aldrich, "Payne, Joseph (1808 - 1876)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21649).

[29] Portus, *Free, Compulsory and Secular*.

[30] "'Convict Stain Washed Out'. Professor Portus Lectures in London," *Advertiser*, 3 March 1937, p.22; "Reviews of Recent Books," *Advertiser*, 30 October 1937, p.10.

[31] Portus, *Free, Compulsory and Secular*, pp.26-34, 51; "Reviews of Recent Books."

run by the Commonwealth, rather than the states, was premature. Firstly, educational theory was still being developed and was not yet advanced enough for a unified scheme. Secondly, he argued, the differences in life and industry across the Australian states meant separate states were working on education in different ways. This, wrote Anderson, was not a deficit but an advantage. It created the benefit of interstate rivalry, where one state could not afford to fall behind another.[32]

While he did not support a national, centralised education system, Anderson was an Idealist and unity could not be denied. In this regard, Anderson saw a role for the state in encouraging greater union between educational bodies. He proposed an advisory council of education that would take a holistic view of school, technical and university education.[33] However, Anderson had to wait three decades for the idea to come to fruition.[34] In a 1937 article he authored for the *Sydney Morning Herald*, Anderson applauded plans for the Australian Education Council which, he rightly claimed, he had "pleaded for in articles and addresses more than 30 years ago".[35] But Anderson's influence was not as great as it had been in the education reforms of the early 1900s, as we will see later in the chapter. The published history of the Council does not mention Anderson and traces the organisation's origins to a Tasmanian idea further developed by the then New South Wales Minister for Education, David Drummond.[36] The 78-year-

[32] Francis Anderson, "A Great Problem," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 October 1909, p.7.

[33] "Professor Anderson's Paper," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 October 1909, p.9.

[34] In 1936 such a council was established under the Public Instruction and University Bill. Titled the Australian Education Council, the organisation consisted of government education ministers from each Australian state and the federal government's Minister for Home Affairs. The public servant heads of state education with the superintendants of technical education formed the professional advisory committee for the Council. The Council's charter included the promotion and development of education in Australia; maintenance of high standards of education and consideration of the effects of education policies on employment and social welfare. Andrew Spaull, *A History of the Australian Education Council 1936 - 1986* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1987), pp.14-15.

[35] Francis Anderson, "Education: The Act and Its Critics," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 January 1937.

[36] Spaull, *A History of the Australian Education Council*, pp.4-20.

old Anderson may not have been in a position of influence within the academy as he been three decades beforehand. However, as the sources cited in this chapter reveal, he maintained a watching brief on developments in education via articles and letters in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, a paper that Drummond would certainly have read. In his 1937 article on the Council, Anderson wrote that such a body would remove the wall of partition which had kept educational interests apart and prevented various authorities from co-operating for the common educational welfare of the community. "But," Anderson warned, "common buildings and common machinery without a common spirit and a common inspiration are of little avail".[37]

Anderson's advocacy for the Council reveals his measured approach to state control of education. What we see here is a role for the state as facilitator, rather than director. A similar approach is seen in the views of other Australian Idealists towards university education.

By the early 1900s universities throughout Australia were under pressure to open their doors to a broader spectrum of the population. Universities were seen to have moved away from their original charter and catered only to the elite. By the second decade of the century state governments were taking action to ensure change. The New South Wales Government introduced a University Reform Bill in 1912, whilst Royal Commissions were set up to inquire into university education in South Australia and Victoria.[38] The New South Wales Bill, which considered various models of university funding, drew considerable comment from Mungo MacCallum, who authored several letters and two articles for the *Sydney Morning Herald* about the Bill.[39] MacCallum had earlier argued the

[37] Anderson, "Education: The Act and Its Critics," p.10.

[38] Peter Ling, *Education Policy in Australia 1880 - 1914* (Melbourne: Philip Institute of Technology, 1984), pp.171-72.

[39] M.W. MacCallum, "The University Bill. Strong Criticism I," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 October 1912, p.10; M.W. MacCallum, "The University Bill. Strong Criticism II," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 October 1912,

university was inaccessible to many people because of the high cost of fees and increased state endowments would overcome the problem.[40] However, he did not support a universal scheme of subsidised university study. In the *Herald* articles MacCallum argued there were many students who could amply afford fees: "let State assistance be reserved for those of insufficient means and real merit".[41] He warned that, in relation to professional courses of medicine, law and engineering, increased scholarships could lead to a "serious evil" – the oversupply of practitioners on the employment market.[42]

It is evident MacCallum was working from his own pre-determined judgement as to an optimum model of state funding. He knew financial support from the state was essential for the university's survival and feared the proposed changes would lead to an overall reduction in state support. What MacCallum wanted was continuation of an annual grant, although much increased in dollar value. The Bill, with its preference for state funding through scholarships, as well as other changes to matriculation requirements and university senate representation, was a threat, MacCallum believed, to the university's autonomy. Thus, whilst university education was a function of the state in terms of financial support, the state was not equipped to best provide for the detailed administration of higher education. MacCallum's arguments were well heard. When the *University Amendment Act* of 1912 was eventually passed the state's annual endowment to the University of Sydney was doubled and funding was allocated for 25 student scholarships, to be awarded annually.[43]

---

p.14; M.W. MacCallum, "Letter to the Editor," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 October 1912, p.7; MacCallum, "Letter to the Editor," p.6. A third letter, authored by the academic D.A. Welsh, included a statement co-signed by MacCallum and 11 other University of Sydney academics. Anderson was not among the signatories. D.A. Welsh, "The University of Sydney," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 October 1912, p.7.

[40] M.W. MacCallum, "Letter to the Editor," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 January 1909, p.6.

[41] MacCallum, "The University Bill. Strong Criticism I," p.10.

[42] MacCallum, "The University Bill. Strong Criticism II," p.14.

[43] Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education*, p.192.

Brown, meanwhile, addressed similar questions in South Australia and also warned against the abolition of fees. In 1911 he authored an article on "Democratising the University" that was published in entirety on the same day in both the *Advertiser* and the *Register*.[44] In the article Brown argued free university education could lead to an increase in the number of students who were not suitable to university study. However, he argued for state bursaries in order to relieve the financial burden on able students who could not afford fees.[45]

Brown also believed university administration needed to be kept at arm's length from the state: "Self-government in the University, no less than in the State, is a good thing; it gives vitality to the institution and a sense of responsibility to its members".[46] Yet Brown conceded that members of a state government should hold positions on a university senate. The number of parliamentary representatives need not be large but without them little of importance could be done as the government was the principal source of university funding. The university was an institution of the state but could not be a true democracy as the democratic ideal was only achievable in a state where there was government of the people, by the people and for the people. The university was for the people.[47]

Anderson also preferred partial state control, as he revealed in a *Sydney Morning Herald* article discussing governance of a teachers' training college. Anderson said the teachers' college should be given a charter by parliament, establishing it as a true university college under its own governing council, on which the university, as well as the state, could be directly represented.[48]

---

[44] W. Jethro Brown, "Democratising the University," *Advertiser*, 1 November 1911, p.9; W. Jethro Brown, "Democratising the University. Points by a Professor," *Register*, 1 November 1911, p.7.

[45] Brown, "Democratising the University," p.9.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Francis Anderson, "Education: The Act and Its Critics (II)," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 January 1937, p.16.

To Portus the relationship between the state and the university sector was straightforward. No Australian university, he claimed, was a state university as they were not solely provided for by the state. Neither did the state have control over universities, except in the appointment of some members to governing bodies. However, he admitted, the state had considerable control through its ability to direct funding. This, Portus said, had led to a favouring of utilitarian and scientific rather than humanities programs.[49]

The 'state' in Australia was, of course, a multitudinous entity that comprised the individual states and, since federation, the united nation state, or the Commonwealth. As the post-federation era developed it was increasingly felt the country needed a national university. Among advocates for such a university were Mungo MacCallum and E.H. Burgmann.

Like Green and Haldane, Burgmann believed in universities as a means of unifying common ideals across the nation.[50] This belief drew Burgmann into the campaign for a national university, to be based in the new Australian capital, Canberra.[51] Burgmann argued that such a university would help Canberra to become an "instrument of national unity" and "part of the organic life" of Australia. The university would develop the mind of the nation in its search for the "truth of things".[52] Burgmann believed a national university would inspire all education in Australia and redress the dearth of vitality in education which had led to "desiccated individuals without power to function in society".[53]

---

[49] Portus, *Free, Compulsory and Secular*, p.43.

[50] Richter, *Politics of Conscience*, p.351; Gordon, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, p.129.

[51] Canberra, geographically midway between the colonial centres of Sydney and Melbourne, was developed as the national capital from 1913. Whilst plans for a university were incorporated in the original layout, the Australian National University was not created until 1946, with the first students admitted from 1947.

[52] "Canberra Calls for Grand National Project," *The Canberra Times*, 10 October 1934, p.1.

[53] "National University Advocated," *Daily Telegraph*, 1 April 1940, p.7.

MacCallum's vision for a national university reveals a similar desire to unify tertiary education throughout Australia. In 1927 he told a Constitutional Commission[54] that a university in Canberra should be empowered to teach and examine.[55] He proposed that the university would examine all degrees for which Australian students studied, regardless of whether they had studied on-campus or by correspondence. The prestige of the national degree, to be called an Australian degree, would be higher than the prestige of a degree given by a state university. Such a system, MacCallum argued, would enable higher education institutions to develop in country towns and ultimately into universities, the same as they had in England. MacCallum outlined these proposals in an address to a meeting of the Country Press Association in New South Wales and urged attending journalists to support them through their newspaper columns.[56]

Collectively, these Australian Idealists saw the state's role in education as core but not exclusive. The state was regarded by them as having a duty to enable the education of its citizens. But this duty did not translate into authoritarian control and we can see their ideal of the state as a facilitator. The historical dominance of the state in Australian education meant further intervention was not necessary nor, to the Idealists, was it desirable. In Britain, where school and universities had developed in a more local and isolated fashion, Green and Haldane, for example, had to argue for greater intervention.[57] Furthermore, the Australian Idealists were active in debates on education about three decades after

[54] The 1927 Royal Commission into the Constitution was established to inquire into the powers of the Australian Commonwealth. The Commission found the federal government should have no responsibility for funding for education. Robin J. Ryan, "Commonwealth Power in Respect of Vocational Education in Australia: Some Historical Vignettes with Future Potential," *International Journal of Training Research*, 5, no. 2 (2007), p.4.

[55] "Universities, Examining Institutions," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 October 1927, p.10.

[56] "Country Press Annual Conference," p.17.

[57] Gordon, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, pp.79-80; Ashby, *Portrait of Haldane at Work on Education*, pp.81-82.

Green. By this time school education in Australia had been compulsory for many years. As seen above none of the Australians argued *against* compulsory education. Green though had to argue for state intervention to make schooling compulsory.[58] While it may seem the Australians were rejecting the centrality of the state in education this was not so. As will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, the state in Idealist thought is never totalitarian. Rather, it is an organic entity that works with and among the people to foster progress. This is why the Australians took such a measured approach, to prevent the state tipping the balance towards totalitarian control of education.

Yet where did this leave the role of religious denominations in education which, as seen earlier, featured so strongly in debate over the development of school education in Australia? Particularly vocal in this discussion was Francis Anderson.

In October 1909, six months after his return from a 12-month sabbatical in Europe, the *Sydney Morning Herald* published two articles, authored by Anderson, on the organisation of national education.[59] Anderson had prepared the articles to present at the Catholic Congress of that year but they were vetoed as unsuitable. Alongside the second article was an article by the head of the Catholic Church's Sydney Diocese, Cardinal Patrick Moran, explaining why Anderson's paper was declined. He claimed it was because Anderson had discussed subjects - the reorganisation of state and university education - that were outside the remit of the Congress. The fact that Anderson included a strongly worded attack on demands by the Church for Catholic school subsidies was not mentioned.[60]

---

[58] Green believed the state had a duty to insist that parents send their children to school. Gordon, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, p.63.

[59] Anderson, "A Great Problem," p.7; Francis Anderson, "A Great Problem (2)," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 October 1909, p.9.

[60] "Professor Anderson's Paper," p.9.

In the articles Anderson linked problems in the school education system to the greater problem of social organisation. Religious differences would impede the building of a national life that was strong, harmonious and free. As Australia had no state church or national religion the public school had to be the training ground for the future citizen. This policy, Anderson argued, was not anti-religious but it was one the Catholic Church had not been able to accept. The two systems were in conflict as one was a nationalist policy and the other, a separatist policy. The effect was that many students were taught separately from their fellow citizens. Anderson rejected the Catholic complaint that Catholics had to pay for their own schools as well as through taxes for public schools. However, he argued, the public schools were not merely there for the sake of the parent but for the common good. The Church had decided that it wanted its beliefs to permeate the whole of teaching and separate religious classes, during or after school, were not enough - "those who choose to be martyrs have to pay the costs". Anderson believed that the Catholic demand for state subsidies was not possible within practical politics and that state subsidy of non-state schools would most likely lead to an increase in non-state education which would be "a national misfortune".[61]

Portus, writing in 1937, agreed that state subsidies for denominational schools were not politically feasible. However, he differed from Anderson by arguing that, from a theoretical perspective, the policy was "indefensible" as it had divorced religion from education. Portus believed the origins of the policy were due to sectarian conflict between Protestant Australians and the Roman Catholic Church, seeded in the bitter Anglo-Irish history of the British Isles. As the largest non-state educator the Catholic Church, with its predominantly Irish congregation in Australia throughout the 1800s, was feared as it was thought state

[61] Ibid.

subsidies to denominational schools, namely Catholic, would empower the Romans. Whilst Portus could rationalise non-state aid he did not support it and believed the state, in providing universal education, should not exclude religious education.[62]

The difference between Anderson and Portus on the question of state subsidies to denominational schools can be seen in terms of their religious backgrounds. Portus had been ordained in the Anglican Church whilst Anderson, although he studied theology and had considered entering the ministry, appears never to have been ordained.[63] In Australia, Anderson had worked with the breakaway Australian Church, founded by the former Presbyterian minister Charles Strong.[64] Portus' more traditional Anglican religious ideology disposed him toward towards state assistance for denominational education. Anderson, on the other hand, preferred a broad church and opposed the divisions caused by sectarianism. Although Burgmann was an Anglican Bishop there is no evidence that during the period of this thesis that he publicly outlined his view on the church/state funding question in his vision for education.[65] As will be seen later in this chapter, Burgmann's vision was a grand one and could only be achieved through the state.

---

[62] Portus, *Free, Compulsory and Secular*, pp.19-26.

[63] O'Neil, "Anderson, Sir Francis (1858-1941)," p.53.

[64] Like Anderson, Charles Strong (1844-1942) was a Scot and had studied Divinity at the University of Glasgow where he came under the influence of John Caird. He emigrated to Australia to take up a position as minister in the Presbyterian Church in Melbourne. Substantial differences of opinion led to his removal from the church and Strong became the first minister of the newly formed Australian Church in 1885. Described as a "free religious fellowship", the Australian Church adopted some of the Scottish Idealism absorbed under Caird and worked towards moral and educational reform. C.R. Badger, "Strong, Charles (1844 - 1942)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/strong-charles-4658/text7697).

[65] Burgmann's reluctance to discuss the issue can be understood in terms of his equivocal response when he was drawn into such a debate in 1956. The Commonwealth Government had decided to fund denominational schools in the Australian Capital Territory in order to provide schooling for the children of the burgeoning public service population of the federal capital, Canberra. At this time Burgmann revealed he was against state funding of denominational schools, primarily due to concerns over the impact of assistance to the Catholic education system, fearing it would enable it to become more isolationist and "totalitarian". However, he eventually supported the move on the principle it would lead to better education for all. For a fuller discussion of Burgmann's role in this debate see: Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, pp.298-306.

The Idealist concept of the state, however, extended far beyond bureaucratic powers. The state was simultaneously an organic entity that depended on its citizens to function optimally. It was the role of education to prepare children and, later, adults for citizenship.

School education for social and political citizenship

As we saw earlier, by 1900, public school education in the Australian colonies had come to a workable, if not perfect, system. But for many there remained vast room for improvement and amongst the leaders of a push for further reform was Francis Anderson.

In 1901 the buoyant optimism created by the newly federated Australia stimulated a broader mood for reform. In the June of that year Francis Anderson spoke to rapturous applause at the annual New South Wales Public School conference. The New South Wales education system, said Anderson, had become a machine and this was inadequate: "what was wanted for the body was not mere drill or mechanism, but fire, life, inspiration".[66] Anderson believed schooling had become nothing more than a utilitarian means of achieving a particular type of employment.

The "fire, life, inspiration" dictum reflected a sentiment that typified the attitude of these Australian Idealists to school education. This attitude was firmly placed within an Idealist framework. The state's ability to promote self-realisation and good citizenship was dependent on such institutions as education.[67] Through such institutions came a consciousness of a higher, moral life.[68]

---

[66] "Public School Teachers' Association," p.7.

[67] Richter, *Politics of Conscience*, pp.344-45.

[68] Boucher and Vincent, *British Idealism and Political Theory*, pp.29-30.

Similarly, according to Haldane's biographers, one of his main contributions to education reform was the creation of recognition of the need for quality and balance in education.[69] The Australians sought a similar result. To MacCallum, schooling was about far more than the acquisition of knowledge. "Knowledge, at best," he said, "was only the raw material." The real value of knowledge was in the application of the mind, otherwise knowledge was a "comparatively useless collection of lumber". MacCallum argued it was the spirit in which knowledge was acquired that was important, not the mere acquisition of knowledge itself.[70] W. Jethro Brown, in a radio broadcast, expressed a similar sentiment: "Knowledge is not wisdom. Nor can improvement of men be measured by number".[71] Anderson also saw a dichotomy between quantity and quality in education. The state could applaud itself for the numbers of people being educated but if this education was not of the right quality the state had not fulfilled its duty. In typical Idealist fashion Anderson argued against a dualism of specialised and general education. Both should form part of one continuous whole, whether in national education or the training of the individual. The idea that specialist education was useful and general education was useless was wrong. Both were needed and basic education, such as literacy and numeracy, gave humanity the key to its spiritual heritage.[72]

In a 1902 lecture series on education, covered by the *Sydney Morning Herald*, Anderson argued the primary motive behind the development of education throughout the second half of the nineteenth century had been political. As the franchise expanded so too did the need for voters to make educated decisions

[69] Ashby, *Portrait of Haldane at Work on Education*, p.173.

[70] "Degree Conferring, Chancellor's Address," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 May 1936, p.6.

[71] W. Jethro Brown, "Typescript of Addresses on Strife in Industry ", n.d., Papers of W. Jethro Brown, PRG258/13, State Library of South Australia, Adelaide.

[72] "Lecture on Education," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 April 1902, p.3.

about political leadership. Like Green, Anderson believed the state was incorrect in believing that it had succeeded just because electors had reached a minimum of education that enabled them to vote.[73] Education had to be much more, creating unity and enabling all people to contribute to the overall wellbeing of the community.[74] To Anderson an uneducated democracy was the worst of all forms of government and gave rise to the danger of a revolution in which the under world became the upper world.[75]

Brown too pondered the relationship between education and the franchise. He also believed a rudimentary education was not sufficient for political awareness. In an address to the Public Teachers' Conference in 1911 Brown advocated the teaching of politics in schools, not from a party political viewpoint but to increase understanding of the role of the state and to emphasise the principles of civic obligation and the indebtedness of the citizen to the state. Brown's Hegelian Idealism resonated throughout the speech. He told the assembled teachers that an early impression of civic obligation would help prevent future political conflict. Such conflict arose when people viewed the state as an authority from which the aim was to get as much as possible and give as little as possible. Instead, the state should be seen as a fatherland to which people owed allegiance and where the rights of citizens were bound with the duties of citizens. From this involvement in political life would come a unity of social life. This would emphasise that all people were united by filaments and so an injury to one was an injury to all. Greater political understanding would also, argued Brown, aid the development of human character in an environment of freedom,

[73] Richter, *Politics of Conscience*, p.350; "National Education," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 April 1902, p.5.

[74] "National Education."

[75] "Education - System Denounced," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 December 1936, p.9. Although expressed almost half a century later, Anderson's fear was almost identical to that of the British Idealist D.G. Ritchie in 1891: "The existence of a mass of ignorance at the base of society is a very grave danger to the whole community and to every individual in it; and a danger against which we desire to be protected. That is the case for State education in its very lowest terms". Ritchie, *The Principles of State Interference*, p.117.

not where a person could do as they liked, but as they ought. The school was a society of individuals that operated under these same principles.[76] Teachers in a democratic community were not merely training citizens: "they were training the arbiters of national destiny". As such students should learn to develop beyond human frailties to achieve corporate responsibility, social solidarity and human brotherhood. [77]

But the path to such reform was a difficult one and three decades later, Anderson was still campaigning for a greater emphasis on citizenship in schooling. In 1936 Anderson told a gathering of the Public School Teachers' Federation that education systems in Australia were producing misfits: "a population of home-born aliens...with envy and hatred in their hearts, without sense of civic duty or social responsibility". Schooling, Anderson argued, continued to be dominated by utilitarian aims. Many employers seemed to regard the school teacher as a manufacturer whose main purpose was to turn out a standardised article suitable for the needs of the labour market.[78]

Brown had died six years prior to Anderson's address, however, other Australian Idealists had taken up the baton of education for citizenship. Throughout 1938 Burgmann's ideas on education were published in both the *Daily Telegraph* and *Sydney Morning Herald*. Using the same industrial metaphor as Anderson, Burgmann told readers of the *Daily Telegraph* that schools were not places for the "mass-production of standardised units" to meet labour demand. Rather, for civilization and humanity's moral and spiritual heritage to be preserved, schools must be regarded as the basis of social salvation, where students were enabled to discover and develop their better selves. Burgmann was concerned that school education remained isolated from community life. He

[76] "Politics in Schools," *The Advertiser*, 4 July 1911, p.12.

[77] "Teachers' Responsibilities," *The Advertiser*, 1 July 1913, p.10.

[78] "Education - System Denounced," p.9.

argued that "the school must become part of the whole life of the people, not an institution for a few years' training".[79] School, Burgmann said in a *Sydney Morning Herald* report, should prepare people for work and a life of social responsibility. Australia was in danger of becoming a country of "ignoramuses...a chaotic mob with no cohesion at all".[80] Burgmann blamed secular liberalism for the failure of education. The rudiments of knowledge were inadequate to create a culture that raised people above "conflict conditions". Cultural development, based on justice, truth, love and developing faith in others, would lead to peace.[81]

Anderson had earlier argued that to achieve such a transformation the public, politicians and many teachers needed to be convinced of the greater purpose of education. Such a rethinking would require an understanding of the difference between intelligence and intellect. Anderson believed school curriculums had been over-intellectualised through an emphasis on training intellect at the expense of inspiring intelligence and its associated capacities of feeling, imagination and will. Teaching should, Anderson argued, be designed so as the student became stimulated to become their own teacher.[82]

Anderson's proposed remedy was for a system of compulsory continuation schools where the curriculum was designed around social, economic and educational needs. This would overcome the problem whereby young boys and young girls left school only fit for dead end jobs. Merely raising the school leaving age was insufficient as, without education for citizenship, students would be no better equipped to participate in society as full citizens. [83]

---

[79] "Bishop's Education Reforms," *Daily Telegraph*, 5 January 1938, p.7.

[80] "Education Neglected," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 July 1938, p.9.

[81] "Need for a New Culture," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 January 1939, p.13.

[82] "Education - System Denounced."

[83] Ibid.

Burgmann made similar claims. In a letter to the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1940 he argued for a drastic overhaul of social and economic organisation that began with education and training. He called for a revised school curriculum and the lifting of the leaving age so that no untrained youth left school and entered the community. Whilst Burgmann's call for an increased school leaving age at first appears at odds with Anderson, there is little difference in the substance of their arguments. What Anderson meant was that continuing with the current curriculum for one or two more years would be pointless. The school age should only be lifted if the extra years of schooling properly prepared students for their future life as citizens. Burgmann's reform plan was similarly conceived to ensure students were better equipped to contribute as citizens when they left school. The need for this was vital, Burgmann argued, as the machine age must be controlled by forethought for human welfare.[84]

Education for citizenship had to reach beyond national borders and Burgmann feared, in 1937, that Australia was in danger of becoming a backwater. There were no schools for the sustained and careful study of international relations. The problems of the Pacific were "a matter of life and death" but there was little interest. "We should welcome students from the East to our universities," Burgmann said. Australian students should study at Oriental universities to develop understanding and friendship with peoples of the East. "There is no need for us to fear them".[85]

Anderson also believed Australia had lagged behind in education which would jeopardise its future. Australians, he argued, needed to learn that the

[84] E.H. Burgmann, "Challenge of Youth," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 September 1940, p.4.

[85] "Church's Duty," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 January 1937, p.8.

strength of a nation was not in the "legs of men or of horses, but in the trained and applied intelligence of its citizens and in the aspirations and ideals of its youth".[86] For the deficiencies of the education system to be overcome to better prepare people for citizenship, practical reforms were needed. It was here that Anderson made his greatest contribution.

Teacher training and parents as teachers

British Idealists, as referred to in the introduction to this chapter, varied in their thinking as to whether education was the primary responsibility of the school or the home. We will now see in detail how this divide was perpetuated in Australia.

Burgmann supported the role of the family up until adolescence and MacCallum called for greater emphasis on the role of parents in education. Anderson's and Portus' preoccupation with formal schooling left no room for discussions of the role of the family. It is in Brown's thought we find an argument as to why schooling should be the main educator. In an address to the South Australian Public School Teachers' Union Brown argued that teachers had a greater responsibility towards the youth of the nation than previously as the influence of family, church, the laws and institutions of the state was not as potent as it had been. The impact of the church, in particular, had lessened and the discipline of the family and the spirit of authority had weakened.[87]

By the time of this speech, in 1913, changes to the education system in South Australia were well in place. Teacher training had been overhauled with a mix of dedicated training as well as practical work. Under these changes trainee teachers were able to continue at a specialist high school for two years with lessons in subjects that would be taught after graduation. In the following two

[86] Anderson, "Education: The Act and Its Critics (II)," p.16.

[87] "Teachers' Responsibilities," p.10.

years the student would teach but under guidance. During this time further study would be undertaken at a training college which, in South Australia, was part of the University of Adelaide from 1900.[88] However, Brown's mission for the teacher could not be accomplished by better training alone. Teachers, he said, had a "stupendous task":

> Logically and morally having decided in favour of the nurture of the unfit as well as of the fit, the decision became a curse, not a blessing, unless they were prepared to make all the sacrifices that might be necessary in order to ensure for the whole youth of the nation the best possible material, mental and moral environment - conspicuously the best and completest system of education that their ingenuity can devise.[89]

Anderson, in one of his many newspaper articles on education, expressed a similar sentiment but far more directly: the teacher, wrote Anderson, was as a missionary among savages.[90] As we have learnt, Anderson's dissatisfaction with school education was as strongly held in 1936 as it was three decades earlier. This did not mean his advocacy fell completely on deaf ears; Anderson had considerable success in achieving reform in the New South Wales education system and the training of teachers. To Anderson, the method of teacher training was the key to all education reform as without properly trained teachers, students could not prosper.

New South Wales had lagged behind South Australia in teacher training reform. In 1901, the year after a training college had been set up in the University of Adelaide, the training of teachers in the eastern state continued in the old pupil-teacher fashion and there was pressure for change. Francis Anderson was not alone in calling for reform but his 1901 "fire, life, inspiration" conference speech

---

[88] "Our Public School System," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 October 1903, p.8.

[89] "Teachers' Responsibilities," p.10.

[90] Francis Anderson, "Reforms. School, University and Society," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 April 1936, p.10.

has since been regarded as a key factor in prompting reforms that began the following year.[91] The speech was not Anderson's only contribution to the ensuing debate as he maintained a high media profile over the pupil-teacher issue for many years. Cobb argues that it was Anderson's views that continued to encourage others seeking reform. The ongoing pressure led to a Royal Commission into education and subsequent inquires, to which Anderson contributed. Ultimately, in 1905, a package of reforms was initiated that largely followed Andersonian principles, particularly in regard to teacher training.[92]

It is worth pausing here to consider Anderson's relationship with the man most frequently associated with early twentieth century education reform in New South Wales, Peter Board. Board was the director of education in New South Wales from 1904 to 1922 and a close friend of Anderson's. Crane and Walker's biography of Board suggests the professor's influence on Board and education reform generally was far greater than has been recognized. While the work rightly focuses on Board, it details several key instances where the hand of Anderson is evident in major decisions on education.[93] Any future biography of Anderson would undoubtedly reveal more. For now, however, the extent of Anderson's influence is worth keeping in mind, as we consider further his thought on education.

Anderson believed the system of training pupil teachers "ruined their bodies and sterilised their intellects".[94]

---

[91] Ling, *Education Policy*, pp.163-164; Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education*, p.176; A.R. Crane, W.G.Walker, *Peter Board. His Contribution to the Development of Education in New South Wales* (Melbourne: Australian Council for Educational Research, 1957), pp.13-14, 319.

[92] Joan Cobb, *Sweet Road to Progress, the History of Technical Education in New South Wales to 1949* (Sydney: New South Wales Department of Education and Training, 2000), pp.172-183.

[93] Crane, *Peter Board*. For examples of the closeness of the relationship between Board and Anderson and Anderson's influence see pp.68-69,74-75,154,157,278-288,319.

[94] "State Education," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 November 1901, p.5.

> The pupil teacher has to teach all day and of an evening prepare for examinations and for the teaching tasks the following day. For four years the teacher pupil practices on his pupils, often 60 or 70 in a class, he receives little or no instruction in the art of teaching or model or criticism given by his headmaster or inspector and at the end of four years is considered a 'trained teacher'. If lucky he completes a further year at the Fort-street College, otherwise he is sent into the country to continue in the same stupid way.[95]

Furthermore, Anderson argued, trainee teachers were "not dealing with dead but live material and the minds of the pupils may suffer a good deal under the treatment".[96] In 1901, at a meeting to discuss changes to education, Anderson had said the system needed "more light and air".[97] Anderson likened the need for reform to change in the military: placing a modern rifle in the hands of a soldier untrained to use it was the same as making "fancy improvements" to education without major structural reform. Anderson pointed to the reforms already undertaken in South Australia and similar change in Victoria.[98]

Anderson pursued his call for specialist education lecturers in 1904 when he joined other educationists in arguing for a Chair of Pedagogy at Sydney University. Anderson argued for the teachers' training college principal to also be a professor of education within the university. Such a move would unite theory and practice: "any number of men could be found acquainted with the history and theories of education, but more than that was wanted. They wanted men who not merely knew, but who also knew how to do".[99]

Anderson's emphasis on a broad education for teachers, whether theoretical or practical, was further demonstrated in a protest letter to the *Herald*

---

[95] "Our Public School System," p.8.

[96] Ibid.

[97] "State Education," p.5.

[98] "Our Public School System," p.8.

[99] "Our Education System," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 April 1904, p.4.

in December 1903. In the letter Anderson criticised government changes that limited the subjects student teachers could take from the Arts Faculty at the university. Under the university guidelines Greek, botany, history, logic and psychology could be studied by teacher students but they did not count towards graduation.[100] The letter prompted a detailed response from the Minister for Public Instruction, John Perry, and a further letter from Anderson.[101]

Slowly but surely these and other reforms came to pass. A specialist teachers' training college was established in 1906 and in 1910 a Diploma of Education was inaugurated, to be jointly taught by the university and the teachers' college. In 1912 an Act of Parliament legislated for the building of a new training college in the grounds of the university, although the first students were not taken in until 1920. The training model followed South Australia and Victoria with a four-year mix of dedicated study and practical experience. As Anderson may have said, the machinery was in place. However, in a review of the changes at the time of a new education act in 1937, it was evident to Anderson that, once again, more than machinery was needed. In an article on the 1937 Act Anderson was again concerned about the limiting of teacher education and complained of the omission of modern history, physiology and biology from the university curriculum available to student teachers. He argued that between the ages of 14 and 19 psychological changes take place whereby "the soul of the adolescent becomes filled with idealisms which are attached to no particular object, but which demands outlet and satisfaction". By restricting the studies of youth the "windows of the mind" are not opened, leading to a narrowing of the moral will. Different subjects, he argued, had different values in education and cultural subjects worked to broaden the mental outlook.

---

[100] "Letter to the Editor," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 December 1903, p.7.

[101] "Educational System," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 December 1903, p.9; "Letter to the Editor, Our Latest Educational Improvement," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 December 1903, p.4.

> In the study of modern history, especially against the background of world history, and in the study of biology, of the 'web of life with its endless linkages' the scholar becomes acquainted with the great co-ordinating ideas and the casual connections of facts and events, without which knowledge is a thing of disconnected threads and patches.[102]

Part of the problem, Anderson argued, was that the Teachers' College, whilst in university grounds, was not morally or spiritually an integral part of the university.[103]

Closely tied to the pupil-teacher issue was the method of examination, which had led teachers, Anderson believed, to develop students' memories at the expense of other forms of intellect.[104] Like Anderson, Portus also railed against an education system beholden to examinations and believed that the Australian system was too dependent on exams which restricted the curriculum.[105] Again New South Wales had lagged behind other states in retaining an examination system that made the school inspector an "examining machine" rather than an "inspiring influence". Anderson advocated a system whereby the teacher promoted students, as they knew them better, whilst the inspector could concentrate on inspecting and examining teaching methods. The inspector would inspire and educate teachers by example.[106]

Over the years Anderson sought to shift school education from a perfunctory system that prioritised procedure over purpose. His concentration on teacher training as the key to reform stemmed from his beliefs as an Idealist educationist of equipping teachers with the means to engender the self-

---

[102] Anderson, "Education: The Act and Its Critics (II)," p.16.

[103] Ibid.

[104] "Our Public School System," p.8.

[105] Portus, *Free, Compulsory and Secular*, pp.39-40.

[106] "Our Public School System," p.8. School inspectors were employed by the Council of Education to visit schools, report on the quality of teaching and test pupils. Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education in New South Wales*, pp.112-113.

development of students. As we saw earlier, Anderson, like others, believed school education to be paramount in training people for citizenship. This could not be achieved by over-worked and narrowly-educated pupil-teachers who were bound to a results-based examination system. Anderson's proposals were not overtly radical and, for the most part, complemented contemporary educational thought that had already manifested in reform in other states. But it was Anderson's articulation of the issues in speeches, newspaper articles and letters to the editor that maintained pressure and proved crucial in bringing about reform. More radical was E.H. Burgmann, whose delineation of educational roles between the family and school created considerable controversy.

In 1944 Burgmann told a gathering hosted by the University Association[107] in Canberra that children should be sent to boarding school at the age of 12. This was necessary, he argued, to protect against possessive mothers who had to learn that a child was born for the sake of society and the future generation and not for the sake of the parents. Parents needed to be trained as parenthood was the most important social and biological function. The sending of children to boarding school would also enable the emancipation of women to become fully-fledged citizens of society rather than "mere toys of man". The type of boarding school Burgmann envisaged did not yet exist – it would be set amongst thousands of acres of the best land and would be the central interest of a great community carrying out primary and secondary industries. In this way children could be educated in an environment in which they were living a life that revealed what

[107] The University Association was set up to promote the establishment of a university in the Australian capital, Canberra. Interestingly an early proposal to rename the Association the National University Association failed. By the time legislation passed Parliament, some 17 years later in 1946, to establish a university in Canberra, it was by then known as the Australian National University, as it remains today."University. Association Meeting," *Canberra Times*, 18 January 1929, p.4.

they would become. Children should remain at the schools for four or five years and then go to colleges for specialised training.[108]

The widely reported proposal prompted a public outcry. "Possessive mothers", one woman argued in a letter to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, presented a far less danger to society than a "possessive State".[109] Burgmann answered his critics in a letter to the *Herald* and argued that the real problem in education was the balance of the family unit to society. Adolescence, he argued, was the best time to wean children from the family. If children were to be trained for social responsibility they needed to grow into it in a vital and varied democratic community.[110]

Burgmann's speech and the controversy that followed preceded by just a few months the publication of his book *Education of An Australian*. The small volume, just 95 pages, is two-thirds autobiographical with the final third devoted to Burgmann's views on education. This section revisited many of the arguments Burgmann had earlier outlined in speeches, articles and letters, and repeated his belief in the need for boarding schools after age 12.[111] Burgmann also stressed the role of the family in early education, a theme which he continued in a radio broadcast the following year.

In the broadcast Burgmann argued that education was the shaping of character and, particularly in the early years, was primarily done through family and friends. The role of schools was important in tandem with the home and there needed to be more interaction between both. It was not until adolescence that young people were prepared for citizenship. Burgmann called this holistic

[108] "Child Should Leave Home When 12, Says Bishop," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 September 1944, p.3.

[109] Violet Thornwaite, "Mother and Child," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 September 1944, p.2. See Chapter Seven for a full discussion of the response to Burgmann's claim.

[110] E.H. Burgmann, "The Child and Society," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 September 1944, p.2.

[111] E.H. Burgmann, *Education of An Australian* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1944).

notion of education the "right education" and one that would lead to a vision of national greatness: "our survival and our greatness depend on the right education".[112] Burgmann believed the first 12 years of a child's life should be in the home where the educational foundation should be laid with health and housing viewed as educational issues. The role of the father was to represent "the authority of the past" to the son, whose eyes were usually looking to the future. If the emotional relationship between father and son was unsatisfactory, then the feeling towards all forms of authority would be defiant and rebellious and out of this would grow a generation of rebels.[113] The role of the mother in education had been neglected. Social education, according to Burgmann, began in the mother's arms and the mother was the most important of all educators. There could be no regeneration of civilisation unless mothers were equipped for that task. Similarly, the education of pre-school aged children in the home was of equal importance and had also been neglected.

MacCallum also emphasised the role of women in the education of children and said their influence was an argument for better education for girls. He believed girls had an equal need as boys in such theoretical subjects as mathematics and languages. The broader outlook and mental dexterity of a liberal education was valuable to enable higher thinking in the home, where its influence would be great: "Man has been termed a political animal but modern conditions show that woman, also, is a political animal".[114]

The views of MacCallum and Burgmann on women's education are worth considering further. When MacCallum spoke on the education of girls in 1921, envisaging a broader role for women outside of the home would have required

[112] E.H. Burgmann, "Can We Reconstruct Ourselves? Our Educational Values", 1945, Australian Broadcasting Commission Talks Transcripts, SP300/1, Box 19, Folder B General Scripts, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

[113] "Rebel Generation," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 August 1934, p.8.

[114] "Girls' Education," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 December 1921, p.8.

great foresight. Burgmann had, as we saw in his 1944 boarding school statement, promoted the emancipation of women from the home. If we assume the Idealist view that personal and social development are pre-eminent, MacCallum and Burgmann are revealing their appreciation of the social role of women. Most significant, is the recognition, shared by the British Idealists,[115] of the equality between men and women, particularly their mental parity.

Meanwhile, whether through the home or the school, education did not end at adulthood. The ongoing education of all people for self-realisation and active citizenship was a core Idealist tenet. The manifestation of this was adult education via University Extension and the Workers' Educational Association.

University and Adult Education

The Australian Idealist thinkers being studied here adopted the British Idealist egalitarian approach to education, believing it to be a moral right of all people. The Australians, like the British Idealists, supported educational reform to overcome inequality.[116] This is an overriding theme that is found in the following discussion of university education, University Extension and the Workers' Educational Association.

Apart from E.H. Burgmann, each of the Australian Idealists featuring in this thesis held positions in universities and the role and purpose of university education was central to their thought. It is here we find a strong commitment to egalitarianism. Anderson argued that education was "not a drug to be administered in fixed doses to definite classes".[117] Anderson saw class division and snobbery as anathema to education. In an undated lecture delivered at

[115] Denys P. Leighton, *The Greenian Moment* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2004), p.304.

[116] Matt Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2003), p.43; Boucher, ed. *Scottish Idealists*, p.24.

[117] "National Education," p.5.

Sydney University Anderson declared: "Every class stands in need of education, not in knowledge merely, but in charity, in the spirit of mutual...understanding and kindness".[118] Anderson continued the theme in a *Sydney Morning Herald* article in 1936 arguing that class snobbery was an impediment to the development of the moral and intellectual ideals of all people. "No class," Anderson wrote, "as a class is fit to govern other classes in society".[119]

Mungo MacCallum also believed, in regard to Sydney University, that class was not a factor in educational opportunity. He said the assumption that the University only catered to the children of well-off parents was incorrect as, in 1925, two-fifths of the student body were not required to pay any fees. The University was, therefore, a "true democracy...it made no distinction between rich and poor".[120]

Like Anderson and MacCallum, Brown believed that universities were only democratic if they were accessible to all people, regardless of financial circumstances. However, the determinant of university attendance was intellectual ability and the university's democratic nature could not be judged by student numbers alone:

> A university may be justly said to be a democratic institution when it is a national institution - not in the sense that it embraces every citizen, nor even in the sense that every elector has a direct voice in its management, but in the sense that it is responsive to national needs and fulfils national purposes.[121]

Such higher motivations also concerned MacCallum who consistently maintained a belief that the essence of a university was its impact on culture. Speaking at Sydney University's jubilee in 1902, MacCallum said a university's

[118] Francis Anderson, "The State and the Professions", n.d., Francis Anderson Papers, lecture delivered to the Medical Society of the University of Sydney, Series 1, Box 1, University of Sydney Archives, Sydney.

[119] Anderson, "Reforms," p.10.

[120] "Matriculation Ceremony," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 April 1926, p.15.

[121] Brown, "Democratising the University," p.9.

function was to "create or increase culture".[122] Culture, to MacCallum, was intellectual influence. In 1933 he noted that the term had fallen into disrepute and tended to represent intellectual sterility rather than dynamism. But, MacCallum argued, its true meaning was still relevant.

> Just as culture made the soil, so it should make the mind more generous and productive. Culture aimed at making the intelligent mind more intelligent...The more intelligent a man was the more readily would he follow truth of every kind, the more clearly would he discern the true value of things.[123]

As MacCallum observed, the word 'culture' by the time of his usage had taken on other connotations, predominantly that of popular culture. While the word has agricultural origins, as in cultivate, by the early 16th century its meaning had expanded to include the development of mind or manners.[124] It is worth noting here, however, that culture, as used by MacCallum, has Hegelian overtones. Hegel's culture was a means by which a person transcended their individuality to a broader consciousness. It was through culture that an "acknowledged, real existence" was acquired.[125] Likewise, the nineteenth century essayist Matthew Arnold in *Culture and Anarchy*, published in 1869, had argued for a richer definition of culture that incorporated social good and "knowledge of the universal social order".[126] In British Idealism a parallel example is also seen in Bernard Bosanquet who described culture as an active, not passive, accomplishment: "the habit of a mind instinct with purpose, cognisant of a tendency and connection in human achievement, able and industrious in

---

[122] "Sydney University Jubilee, Address by Professor MacCallum," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 October 1902, p.4.

[123] "Conferring of Degrees," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 May 1933, p.8.

[124] Julia Creswell, ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of Word Origins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t292.e1340).

[125] A.V. Miller, "Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit," (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp.297-299.

[126] Matthew Arnold, "Culture and Anarchy, an Essay in Social and Political Criticism," in *Culture and Anarchy and other writings*, ed. Stefan Collini (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.59-62.

discerning the great from the trivial".[127] MacCallum's culture as a developmental ingredient of intelligence and truth is similarly concerned with the growth of self.

MacCallum further argued that once the self was developed through university studies, graduates were then under an obligation to extend their influence to all people, "a noble and sacred duty".[128] Furthermore, "a university stood to the community in the relation of the brain to the human organism".[129]

Community and character were similarly seen by Mungo MacCallum as a key function of university education: "...the life of the of the university was a life in the spirit of devotion to the highest that men could see...an instruction in self-restraint, charity, truthfulness and all the other virtues."[130] MacCallum noted the increasing importance in society of material acquisition but argued it was not a bad thing as long as material progress occurred in tandem with progress in education to higher civilization. MacCallum believed higher education in such professions as engineering and mining would lead to greater insight into principles of the professions. University training in such professions meant the sector's influence was increasingly being felt throughout the life of the whole community.[131]

Brown also supported university education in a broad range of disciplines. In this way leaders in all sectors of the community would be strengthened. Conflict between nations had become an industrial conflict and those states with the best trained leaders of industry would be in the best position to survive. "The university should be an institution for training the leaders of men in every department of the national life."[132]

---

[127] Bernard Bosanquet, *The Civilization of Christendom* (London: Swan Sonnenschien & Co, 1893), p.65.

[128] "Conferring of Degrees," p.8.

[129] "Commemoration," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 October 1929, p.12.

[130] "Matriculation Ceremony," p.15.

[131] "The University, Vice Chancellor's Appeal," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 June 1927, p.16.

[132] Brown, "Democratising the University," p.9.

Portus, similarly, wanted to break down barriers in university education and argued for more interdisciplinary work that would unify the varying strands of education. The current system of departmentalised university education had led to the development of a utilitarian focus in degrees: "Hence they become professionalized rather than educated".[133]

Thus these Idealists wanted a university system that extended the preferred school system – one that went beyond the functional to the meaningful. The national impact of this greater ambition of education was articulated by MacCallum in 1927, on the occasion of Sydney University's 75th anniversary, in an international radio broadcast. His words reveal his understanding of the role of the university and the universal nature of the academy.

> The University of Sydney greets her sisters throughout the English-speaking world. Though the eldest of Australian universities, she is still very young, but in the measure of her growing strength is working for the advancement of mankind. And she shares in the difficulties as well as the obligations of the academic fellowship.[134]

Anderson also saw an international role for universities. In 1936 he observed a tendency of the university sector to look inward rather than outward. This, he wrote, was due to a worldwide "realist reaction", politically and culturally. What was needed was a revival of Idealism and it was the mission of universities to lead the revival. Although perceived by Anderson as a global issue, part of its resolution could be achieved locally. Thus, in Australia, an Idealist revival could only occur if the "most serious defect" of a lack of moral unity amongst the universities was overcome. The reason for this defect, argued Anderson, was "disruptive vocationalism" which led to segregated academic departments and limited the development of cohesive ideals that united the

[133] Portus, *Free, Compulsory and Secular*, pp.48-49.

[134] "Sydney University, Worldwide Broadcast," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 October 1927, p.14.

sector: "The University cannot be said to have a personality if there is no corporate expression of those common ideals and interests without which the University ceases to have a soul".[135]

Anderson was not arguing against vocational training. As we saw in regards to teaching he was very much in favour of such education. His complaint was not that there was diversity but that diversity had triumphed over unity and the various disciplines were not working together towards a united purpose.

With their fervent belief in the broad role and impact of university education on ethical and moral life, it is not surprising that each of the Australian Idealist thinkers being considered here became heavily involved in university extension and adult education programmes. In their concept of adult education the Australian Idealists again revealed their hallmark beliefs of education for citizenship and a progressive humanity that went beyond utility:

> However much we argue that individuals are ends and not merely means, the fact remains they can only realize themselves in society...Therefore the adult must be helped to understand the community – or communities, for there are more than one – in which he loves. Thus adult education has a second aim of educating for citizenship, as well as the first aim of encouraging individual development.[136]

The above quote comes from the pen of G.V. Portus and its core sentiments are classically Idealist. The need for adult education to foster self-realisation and active citizenship was a concept that had also drawn nearly all of the British Idealists to the adult education movement.[137] Gordon and White argue that a distinctive feature of British Idealism was the work of its adherents within existing institutions. Adult education is an apt example in which Idealists could

[135] Anderson, "Reforms," p.10.

[136] Portus, *Happy Highways*, p.189.

[137] Vincent and Plant, *Philosophy, Politics and Citizenship*, p.81; Gordon, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, p.58.

carry out their activities within a pre-existing framework.[138] As will now be seen the same argument holds true for Australia.

As detailed earlier in this chapter, University Extension was well underway by the time Anderson and MacCallum arrived in Sydney in the mid 1880s. Just a month after MacCallum was off the ship he began a 10-week lecture series on English literature.[139] Anderson was equally enthusiastic. A *Sydney Morning Herald* report reveals Anderson offered to lecture for the program on the "Problems of Modern Philosophy" in 1888, the year he joined the University of Sydney.[140] From that time on Anderson maintained a close involvement with University Extension and, according to an obituary published in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, was instrumental in the success of the movement.[141] Meanwhile, Brown was one of two professors who lectured in the inaugural University of Tasmania extension program from 1892 and maintained his involvement after moving to Adelaide in 1906.[142]

The establishment of the WEA in Australia provided a further opportunity for Australian Idealists to pursue their mission of education for citizenship. Whilst supporters of the WEA in Australia had to contend with a more organised and influential labour movement than in Britain that, at its most extreme, feared the organisation was an anti-worker, pro-capitalist enterprise, this did not fray the enthusiasm of the Australian Idealists.[143] F. Alexander's detailed history of the organisation's early years in New South Wales reveals Anderson, MacCallum and

[138] Gordon, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, p.89.

[139] "University of Sydney," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 March 1887, p.3.

[140] "University of Sydney," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 August 1888, p.5.

[141] "Sir Francis Anderson: Death at 82," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 June 1941, p.13.

[142] "University Extension Lectures, a Talk with Professor W. Jethro Brown," *Mercury*, 10 July 1896, p.4.

[143] Jennings, *The WEA in Australia, the Pioneering Years*, p.38.

Portus were all closely involved from the outset.[144] Helen Bourke describes Anderson as one of the staunchest supporters of the movement.[145] However it was Portus who became the most significant of the three following his appointment as the University of Sydney's assistant director of tutorial classes in 1917, becoming director in 1918.[146] He held this position until he moved to Adelaide in 1934.[147]

Portus had begun his relationship with the WEA in 1914. In that year he took part in a University of Adelaide deputation to the South Australian education minister seeking support for a WEA in that state.[148] Portus explained that the WEA was not designed for people wanting a new career - it was not a grown-up technical school. It should be aimed at a higher education in subjects that did not earn bread and butter, but gave students a point of view of life: "that was the great need in Australia".[149] Or, as MacCallum argued elsewhere, the WEA was a hopeful sign of progress from "formal freedom", or the democratic right to control legislation, to "substantial freedom", the elimination from laws of all that violated justice.[150] To Brown, the significance of the WEA was "not the information it imparted, but its method, the discipline, the training of the mind, that was supremely important".[151]

---

[144] F. Alexander, "Sydney University and the WEA (1913 - 1919)," *Australian Quarterly* 27, no. 4 (1955), pp.34-56. Alexander uses archival evidence from University of Sydney meetings to rebut suggestions by Portus, made in a lecture on the WEA and in his autobiography, *Happy Highways*, that MacCallum was not fully supportive of the WEA.

[145] Bourke, "Social Scientists as Intellectuals: From the First World War to the Depression," p.53.

[146] Portus replaced the educationist Meredith Atkinson as director. The Oxford-educated Atkinson had come from Britain at the recommendation of Albert Mansbridge to oversee the University of Sydney tutorial program. He, and the first general secretary of the WEA in NSW, David Stewart are generally regarded as the leading figures in the movement in Australia. See: E.M. Higgins, *David Stewart and the WEA* (Sydney: Workers' Educational Association of NSW, 1957). E.H. Burgmann authored the foreword to this work.

[147] Portus, *Happy Highways*, pp.187, 246.

[148] Portus spent the year 1914 in Adelaide, acting in the role of Professor of History and English.

[149] "Education for the Workers," *The Advertiser*, 11 June 1914, p.15.

[150] "Education of the Workers," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 April 1916, p.10.

[151] "Democracy on its Trial," *Advertiser*, 21 August 1917, p.7.

Brown took part in the same deputation as Portus. The elder academic had met Mansbridge during the WEA secretary's visit the year before.[152] Brown told the minister that the WEA was not a luxury but a necessity. Social progress, Brown argued, was dependent on improved opportunities for self-development and self-education. The WEA movement held out nothing less than the promise of the restoration of education to its proper place, as one of the great spiritual forces of the community. Brown had initially been uncertain as to the benefits of the WEA and whether people who had been working all day would attend evening classes. However, his work through the Industrial Court had shown him that workers were ignorant of many issues that affected their conditions and he now believed the adult education movement was essential in helping the emancipation of the workers. To date, the emancipation of labour had allowed increased leisure, but what was the use of increase leisure if it was used "to get drunk"? [153]

Brown's reference to drunkenness was rare in Australian Idealist discourse, which was a significant issue in British Idealism, especially for T.H. Green. Green, who argued for prohibition, believed alcohol was a major obstacle in self-development and saw education as an antidote to moral weakness induced by drink.[154] Whilst not mentioning alcohol, Anderson also queried whether the education system had enabled people to make intelligent use of leisure hours.

> We must ascertain if all that education has done to them was to sterilise their mind and vulgarise their tastes, leaving them to join the great multitude of those who have no other standard of taste other than they know what they like.[155]

But the relationship between adult education and social development was not just limited to the WEA. As Portus outlined in a 1944 radio broadcast, the

[152] "Workers' Educational Association," *Advertiser*, 27 September 1913, p.16.

[153] "Workers' Educational Association," *The Advertiser*, 16 September 1916, p.13.

[154] Gordon, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, p.78.

[155] "Education - System Denounced," p.9.

educational potential of other institutions in society needed to be employed to blend formal and informal learning. As we saw in Chapter One (page 58) Portus believed the media held an important role as an educationist. However, in a phrasing very similar to that of Haldane's in his "Higher Nationality" speech,[156] Portus argued such other institutions as the church, political parties and various societies and fellowships were also "agents of education".[157] This was a typical view amongst the Idealists and followed Hegel who too believed such formal education systems as schools and universities were just one complementary part of a broader education that included churches, workplaces and political and legal systems.[158] For adult education to be taken seriously, Portus argued, these informal agencies had to be fostered and used. Adult education was generally thought of, he believed, as vocational. While vocational education was important, even more so was adult education as education for citizenship. This kind of education was needed just as much by the those who left school at 14 as those who had gone to university and become doctors, engineers or lawyers as it helped people acquire knowledge of the problems that confronted them as citizens.[159]

Portus' interest in adult education and his work as a member of the Australian Broadcasting Commission's advisory committee on talks programming, led him to meet with adult education and broadcasting authorities during a trip to England in 1937. One of his meetings was with A. D. Lindsay, the then Master of Balliol. Lindsay, who had studied under Caird and Jones, had used

[156] Haldane spoke of "all the social institutions in and by which the individual life is influenced-such as are the family, the school, the church, the legislature, and the executive". Viscount Haldane, "Higher Nationality, an Address Delivered before the American Bar Association at Montreal on 1 September 1913 " *Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation* 13, no. 3 (1913), p.516.

[157] Portus, *Free, Compulsory and Secular*, p.71.

[158] Gordon, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, p.64.

[159] G. V. Portus, "Adult Education in Australia", 1944, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, SP300/2,Box 2, Portus/27, National Archive of Australia, Sydney.

his Idealist leanings to further adult education in Britain.[160] From such meetings Portus wrote a report detailing his observations of adult education and broadcasting in Britain as compared with Australia. Portus noted that adult education broadcasting had been problematic as the British Broadcasting Commission (BBC) audience differed to the one usually attracted to adult education. A lack of specialist staff contributed further to its difficulties. Eventually, adult education broadcasting had been brought under the auspices of an overall director of educational programming, which included school broadcasts. Portus advised against a similar system in Australia because of the state involvement in school education (the ABC was a national body) and the practicalities of distance and time.[161]

It is evident here why Portus became so enamoured with radio as a means of education. As someone who saw education as a right of all people radio presented a solution to the logistical dilemmas of the Australian environment. However, a decreasing interest in talks programming, even at the ABC, by the end of the Second World War, meant that there was little organisational impetus to further develop adult education broadcasts.

Probably due to the gravity of the war, interest in the WEA was similarly flagging. In a 1944 broadcast Portus said that while the movement had begun well its results had been "a little disappointing". Just as Portus had argued for the Australian Army's educational program to be used as a role model for post-war radio education[162] so too did he believe the program provided a template from which the WEA movement could be revitalised. The teachers and administrators used by the Army and their teaching aids of books, films and other instruments

[160] Gordon, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, pp.112,131-132.

[161] Portus, "Certain Aspects of Broadcasting in Great Britain and Australia."

[162] See page 59.

could be used to continue the education of ex-defence force personnel and others to "provide the background for that spiritual revival after the war".[163]

Again we see the link between education and spiritual growth. This has been the dominant theme throughout this chapter. The Australian Idealists, like their British counterparts, promoted a concept of education that went beyond its prima facie utilitarian purpose. The writings, speeches and broadcasts of the Australian Idealists in this regard were dominated by references to a higher citizenship that benefited the common good and enabled progress towards freedom. Their emphasis was on a holistic concept of education, not the mere acquisition of knowledge.

Significant was the role of the state in Australian education. The Australian Idealists did not need to argue *for* state involvement in education as that already existed. Instead, their arguments were able to focus on the greater complexity of the purpose of the state, as administrator or facilitator. These discussions revealed how Hegelian and Greenian theories of the state as a facilitator could be applied in an educational environment. As we will see in the following chapter, the role of the state in education was but one iteration of a complex philosophy of state in New Idealist thought.

[163] Portus, "Adult Education in Australia."

Chapter Four

"The problem of today and tomorrow":[1] Australian Idealists in the media on the state and society

2

In 1909, when W. Jethro Brown delivered his lecture "The problem of today and tomorrow", which examined the role of the state in modern life, Australia was very much a nascent nation-state. The federation of the former colonies into the Australian nation had occurred just eight years before in 1901. However, Brown did not discuss such political developments. Instead, he spoke of the state as an ethical rather than merely political entity that shared mutual responsibilities and rights with its citizenry. In this context Brown's concept of state was not the Australian government, nor the governments of the six new Australian states. Rather, it was an Idealist conception of state as an organic entity, representing the spirit, or general will, of the community.

As Collini has noted, one of the difficulties of the Idealist vocabulary is its use of a single word with dual meanings.[3] The use of the term the state is the most

[1] "The Social Problem," *Argus*, 22 October 1909, p.8.

[2] Clipping of a photo from a *Register* article, profiling W. Jethro Brown. In the article Brown was described as "one of the intellectual forces of the Adelaide University". "Dr. Jethro Brown," *Register*, 20 January 1916, p.5.

fraught.[4] The state of Brown as outlined above is one of two states in Idealist thought. The other is the more generally understood notion of state as an instrument of government.[5] The complexity of the Idealist concept of state and strong similarities with the idea of state in new liberalism, has resulted in a tendency in Australian scholarship, noted in the introduction to this thesis, to overlook the role of philosophical New Idealism in the political thought of W. Jethro Brown, Mungo MacCallum, Francis Anderson, G.V. Portus and E.H. Burgmann. As will be seen throughout this chapter, the five thinkers brought an Idealist perspective to their public discussions on the state.

The chapter uses more than 30 newspaper articles and radio broadcasts to assess the dissemination of Australian Idealist thought on the state and society. Where necessary, in order to contextualise their thought, other works of the five Idealists will be used. The discussion will proceed through the following five themes: the historical role of the state in Australia; Australian Idealists on liberty and rights, the Australian Idealist conception of state; state intervention; and the theory of state in practice. The Australians, like their British counterparts, varied in the extent to which they believed state intervention was permissible.[6] On occasion some of the Idealists supported full state socialism but, ultimately their preferred option, it will be shown, was a qualified role for state intervention.

---

[3] Stefan Collini, "Hobhouse, Bosanquet and the State: Philisophical Idealism and Political Argument in England 1880-1918," *Past and Present*, no. 72 (1976), p.104.

[4] It was this dual meaning of the state that led L.T. Hobhouse in *The Metaphysical Theory of the State* to claim that the British Idealist Bernard Bosanquet had seriously confused state and society. L.T. Hobhouse, *The Metaphysical Theory of the State* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1918), pp.74-76.

[5] Boucher, ed. *The British Idealists*, p.xxi.

[6] Ibid., p.xxiii.

Historical context of the state and society in Australia

As we learnt in the previous chapter, there is a widely held belief that the circumstances of Australian settlement dictated a greater role for the state in the development of education than experienced elsewhere in the western world. The same argument is also applied more broadly to all Australian development.[7]

An interventionist Australian state is usually regarded to have begun with white settlement in 1788 as state involvement was needed to develop the economy and infrastructure and organise land distribution, notwithstanding its penal obligations.[8] According to L.J. Hume, in the early nineteenth century this led to recognition of the state and its citizens as a collaborative means of promoting a more moral and just society. Hume identifies a civic humanist element in the writings of the early parliamentarian, barrister and explorer William Charles Wentworth (1790 – 1872). He argues Wentworth typified those who sought to shift understanding of the people from one of subjects under an authoritarian regime to one of virtuous citizens with the state complicit in the architecture of their progress. And, as Hume rightly determines, such thinking needs to be interpreted within the context of a society developing from a penal colony where morality was at a premium. Yet, while the concept of a better educated, freer and progressive citizenry, facilitated through the state was certainly extant, Hume argues those articulating such views cannot be recognised as working from one, coherent ideology.[9] Stuart Macintyre, who examines a later period than Hume, comes to a similar conclusion. The Australian context did not allow for the direct importation

[7] Gregory Melleuish, *Cultural Liberalism in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.21. Melleuish, who is otherwise highly critical of Rowse's interpretation of liberalism in Australia, admits Rowse rightly recognised the dominance of the state in Australian social development.

[8] Walter, *What Were They Thinking?* , p.59; Rowse, *Australian Liberalism*, p.37; Sawer, *The Ethical State?* , p.34.

[9] L.J. Hume, "Foundations of Populism and Pluralism: Australian Writings on Politics to 1860," in *Australian Political Ideas*, ed. Geoff Stokes, (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1994), pp.60-64.

of a single code but took on a more amorphous nature that was variously flavoured by local creativity and vision.[10]

Such local circumstances were particularly influential in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The primacy of the state continued as a result of the slow development of local government. Industrial progress further enshrined state involvement as state money was needed to build rail networks.[11] Portus, as will be seen later, subscribed to this explanation of the growth of state interventionism in Australian society.

The historical relationship between state and society in Australia therefore provided a sympathetic political foundation for the arrival of British Idealism and its extension of the concept of state as a moral entity dedicated to the progress of citizens. In recent Australian political historiography it is at this point, after 1880, that the concept of the state in Australia takes on an Idealist inspired new liberal hue due to the influence of Green and the British Idealists on Australian academics and statesmen.[12] The most influential political figure is regarded as Alfred Deakin, a former journalist and lawyer who served as prime minister for three (non-consecutive) terms between 1903 and 1910. Central to Deakin's liberal platform was trade protection and he led reforms in arbitration, pensions and women's suffrage in what became known as Deakinite liberalism.[13] Deakin was a friend of the Amercian Idealist Josiah Royce and, in 1908, when the British Idealist Henry

[10] Stuart Macintyre, *Colonial Liberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp.10-16.

[11] Melleuish, *Cultural Liberalism*, p.28; Rowse, *Australian Liberalism*, p.9; Walter, *What Were They Thinking?* , p.88.

[12] Melleuish, *Cultural Liberalism*, pp.20-21; Rowse, *Australian Liberalism*, pp.37-38,79; Sawer, *The Ethical State?* , p.34; Walter, *What Were They Thinking?* , p.99.

[13] Ian Cook, *Liberalism in Australia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.166-181; Walter, *What Were They Thinking?* , pp.99-102.

Jones visited Australia on a lecture tour, Deakin attended one of his Melbourne lectures and dined on two occasions with the influential philosopher.[14]

But in 1930, the Idealist influence on Deakin and his reforms was all but forgotten and an interpretation of the historical role of the state in Australia as utilitarian began to take hold.[15] In that year W.K. Hancock's *Australia* was published.[16] It concluded that, historically, state action in Australia was motivated by individualism rather than collectivism. It was, in effect, "socialism sans doctrines".[17] Thus, argued Hancock, the prominent contemporary models espoused by the lawyer, politician and author F.W. Eggleston[18] and the academic and politician F.A. Bland were, respectively, "realistic individualism" and "realistic socialism".[19] History has, however, made a different assessment and both men today, particularly Eggleston, are often viewed as amongst the intellectual leadership of the new liberalism.[20]

Regardless of their ideological persuasion, Eggleston and Bland were not alone amongst prominent intellectuals of the time in envisioning a role for the state within Australia. Before and after Deakin's Idealist inspired state action others were also interpreting British Idealism in the Australian context. Among

---

[14] Hughes-Warrington, "State and Civilization," p.93n; Boucher, "Practical Hegelianism" pp.432-433; Walter, *What Were They Thinking?*, p.100.

[15] Rowse, *Australian Liberalism*, p.22.

[16] Hancock, a Melburnian, won a Rhodes scholarship to Oxford and studied at Balliol College in 1922 before winning a scholarship to All Souls. At Balliol, Hancock was a contemporary of Warwick Oswald Fairfax of the *Sydney Morning Herald* Fairfax family. As was seen in Chapter Two, the Australian Idealists published extensively in the *Herald* under Fairfax's proprietorship. The extent to which Balliol influenced Hancock in the long term is questionable given *Australia*'s realist interpretation of the country's political history. However, it could also be argued that Hancock was not so much a realist himself but, rather, a disillusioned Idealist.

[17] Hancock, *Australia*, p.57.

[18] Eggleston was a close friend of Hancock, who based his *Australia* chapter on state socialism on Eggleston's work. Jim Davidson, *A Three-Cornered Life, the Historian W K Hancock* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2010), p.111.

[19] Hancock, *Australia*, p.120.

[20] Moore, "A Civic Order," p.157.

those others were, of course, the five Australian Idealists who are the subject of this thesis. This chapter will now consider their interpretations of state and society.

Liberty and rights

The Idealist conception of the state stems from a core understanding of liberty and associated rights. As it remains today, one of the most well known statements on liberty in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was the J.S. Mill text *On Liberty*. Mill encapsulated the early liberalism and utilitarian belief that greater individual autonomy and happiness were only possible in an environment of minimal state intervention. In 1881 Green subverted Mill's theory in his lecture "Legislation and Freedom of Contract". Legislation, argued Green, when directed at empowering the disadvantaged, could be a "powerful friend".[21] Increased state action could enhance, rather than hinder, the lives of the populace.[22]

In Australia, the most extensive Idealist discussion of liberty is found in Brown's *Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation*.[23] Although published in 1912, much of the material and, in fact, the book title itself, was first developed for Brown's University Extension lectures in Adelaide. The lectures, some using the *Underlying Principles* title, were frequently reported in great detail in the *Advertiser* between 1907 and 1910. And so, beyond the immediate audience of the lecture series and the later readers of the book, Brown's ideas on liberty and the state were promulgated to the general public. As the intent of this thesis is to explore the dissemination of Idealist thought in media, the following discussion will be based on the extensive newspaper reports of Brown's lectures.

[21] T.H. Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation and Other Writings*, ed. Paul Harris Paul and John Morrow (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p.203.

[22] Richter, *Politics of Conscience*, p.223.

[23] W. Jethro Brown, *The Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation* (London: John Murray, 1920).

Historically, Brown argued, there had been two doctrines of liberty and both had proven unreliable. The first had developed in tandem with the expansion of the franchise and it was mistakenly believed that voting rights would be sufficient to ensure liberty. The second doctrine of liberty was tied to democracy and the amount of interference by the state in citizens' lives. In the nineteenth century the condition of liberty under this doctrine had become identified with the absence of restraint, emphasising self help over state aid. This, said Brown, was a "noble idea" that ultimately proved unworkable under industrialisation. It thus became a "false ideal"[24] and the strong were enabled to trample the weak. What transpired was a "liberty of wild assess" that did not ensure true freedom for all.[25] English liberals who had opposed factory and mine legislation, designed to improve worker conditions, had slavishly continued to support the ideal that "liberty meant always absence of state regulation and immunity from state intervention".[26]

A modern conception of liberty, argued Brown, had to recognise that a law may limit the actions of a few to give greater liberty to a majority. The fact that legislation impeded the actions of some "was not conclusive proof that the law was contrary to liberty". It was possible that freedom for some was only possible through legislation and, ultimately, it may be that a person could be "forced to be free".[27] Here, Brown is repeating the dictum of the eighteenth century philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

Rousseau's concept of the state as a despotic authority that brought together the anarchic tangle of individual wills into a general will was also of interest to British Idealists, including Green and Caird. Caird found Rousseau

[24] "Modern Legislation," *Advertiser*, 1 September 1908, p.8.

[25] "The Meaning of Liberty," *Advertiser*, 16 August 1907, p.7.

[26] "Modern Legislation," p.8.

[27] Ibid.

particularly problematic in that the earlier philosopher moved too abruptly from the individual to the social and failed to recognise the possibility of an organic unity of society, the individual and the general, without the suppression of one over the other.[28] Therefore, while the British Idealists, like Brown, took from Rousseau the idea of the state as enforcing liberty, they redefined the state's role as organic rather than despotic.

The conception of positive liberty, which claims that legislation can create rather than impede freedom (negative liberty), is also seen in the writings of Francis Anderson. Anderson took a similar view in his published lecture *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity*, which argued the traditional, negative conception of liberty gave no guidance for social development and subsequent freedom. Like equality, liberty was an ideal that could only be acquired through positive action. True equality and liberty did not automatically occur with the removal of impediments, as demonstrated by the French Revolution.[29] Portus, in a 1942 ABC radio broadcast, similarly equated positive liberty and equality. More freedom from state restraint, Portus argued, meant less equality. Nineteenth century British liberalism, with its emphasis on the freedom of the individual, prevented the growth of equality in society by encouraging economic disparity.[30]

Green's positive liberty was not only taken up by his Idealist followers. As Sawer has shown it became a keystone belief for social liberals in their justification of legislative intervention by the state.[31] In 1903 during parliamentary debate, Henry Bourne Higgins, who later presided over the famous Harvester decision

---

[28] Mander, *British Idealism*, p.243; Edward Caird, "Rousseau," *Contemporary Review*, no.30 (1877), pp.634-635.

[29] Francis Anderson, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity* (Sydney: Australasian Association of Psychology and Philosophy, 1922), pp.14-15, 16.

[30] G. V. Portus, "We Australians III", 1942, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/10, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

[31] See Sawer, *The Ethical State?* , pp.3,10 -11,54; Marian Sawer, "The Ethical State: Social Liberalism and the Critique of Contract," *Australian Historical Studies* 31, no. 114 (2000), pp.67-90.

which established a "living wage", argued that the "greatest liberty is obtained where there is the greatest law".[32] The new liberal, Meredith Atkinson, one of the founders of the WEA movement in Australia, similarly saw positive liberty, enhanced through social institutions, as necessary to best equip citizens for a greater social unity.[33]

How then did the Idealist interpretation of positive liberty differ from that of new liberals? As we have seen, both ideologies adopted the widely influential Greenian concept. Both also saw the purpose of positive liberty as facilitating greater unity and social progress. It is at this point that the new liberalism stops and Idealism continues. The Idealist conception of positive liberty went beyond a social, physical end to what could be termed a 'higher plane', uniting political and spiritual unity within a Christian framework. Furthermore, there is a greater emphasis on the Idealist tenets of self-realisation, equality and obligation. Liberty in modern democracy, said Brown, was "self-realisation – freedom to do as one ought, not as one would like".[34]

> The old doctrine of liberty as an absence of restraint failed as an ideal of national salvation and also failed as a true account of liberty...The freedom which modern democracy aimed at was the freedom universal. It would have no pampered class; so, on the other hand, it must regard the existence of a submerged class as a stain upon the nation's honour...It would see the State composed of citizens who were men and women – creatures not unworthy of the eulogy that they were made in the ideal of God.[35]

Thus we find the language of Idealism, the emphasis on self-realisation and, particularly, universal freedom. A month later Brown reiterated these concepts in a lecture given at the Adelaide Trades Hall. This time he expanded self-realisation

[32] Sawer, "The Ethical State: Social Liberalism and the Critique of Contract," p.84.

[33] Meredith Atkinson, *The New Social Order: A Study of Post-War Reconstruction* (Melbourne: Workers' Educational Association of Australia, 1919), pp.88-89.

[34] "Principles of Modern Legislation," *Advertiser*, 3 July 1907, p.8.

[35] "Modern Legislation."

from the individual to the community. The case for state intervention, he argued, had to be decided on whether or not it would lead to the "fullest self-realisation for all citizens".[36] Self-realisation, as Avital Simhony has detailed, is in the Idealist vocabulary, an Aristotelian concept of extending one's capacities that is mutually beneficial to the individual and society.[37]

In order for citizens to achieve this higher ideal the tradition of rights had to be renegotiated. Like several of their British counterparts the Australians were critical of the concept of natural rights and concurred that rights were not individual but social.[38] Brown, in a lecture sponsored by the Anglican Church in Adelaide in 1910, argued for a new doctrine of the rights of man. The fundamental problem with the current doctrine was that if each person were to have equal rights to the other there was no allowance for the common good. It was "absurd", Brown said, to think that an individual had rights that were superior to the common good.

> For the fiction of human equality they must substitute the fact of human worth. For the absolute rights of man they should substitute the rights of a citizen which were relative to a common good which was also a personal good. [39]

In the same lecture Brown used (in what would today be regarded as controversial) an example of slavery to highlight his emphasis on the common good. Slavery, at one point in history, had been justifiable as it had facilitated the development of society for the eventual benefit to all, he argued. Thus, rights are historically determined. The British Idealist D.G. Ritchie made a similar argument in *Natural*

---

[36] "The Meaning of Liberty."

[37] Avital Simhony, "A Liberal Committment to the Common Good, T.H. Green's Social and Political Morality," in *The Moral, Social and Political Philosophy of the British Idealists*, ed. William Sweet, (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2009), pp.32-33.

[38] Boucher and Vincent, *British Idealism and Political Theory*, p.163; A.J.M. Milne, "The Common Good and Rights in T.H. Green's Ethical and Political Theory," in *The Philosophy of T.H. Green*, ed. Andrew Vincent (Aldershot: Gower Publishing Company, 1986), p.72; Gordon, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, p.41.

[39] "The Church and Social Questions," *Advertiser*, 13 April 1910, p.11.

Rights, arguing that because slavery was widely adopted in Ancient Greece it had become "conventional" and would have been regarded as "natural".[40]

The problem of the supremacy of the individual had arisen, said Brown in a lecture reported by the *Advertiser* in 1912, due to the inheritance of Roman law in modern theories of state. Much of this inheritance had been positive, but there was a "fatal handicap" in the Roman system – its individualism and emphasis on individual rights. "What was wanted now," said Brown "was a theory of individual rights which would recognise that man only existed in and through society."[41]

A decade earlier, also in a public lecture, Anderson had made a similar argument stressing the shift from the individual to the social: "rather than speak of natural rights it would be better to speak of the social rights of individuals".[42] In this lecture at the Railway Institute, a facility set up to cater for the social and educational needs of railway workers and their families, Anderson argued the concepts of natural rights and natural law were "fallacies" and potentially dangerous as no one person or group had the imprimatur to declare which rights or laws were natural. Anderson's rhetoric here is very similar to that of Henry Jones, who also denied the concept of natural rights in favour of social rights.[43]

It is worth comparing Anderson's lecture, as reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, with a similar (undated) lecture he gave to medical students at Sydney University, which has been retained in the university archives. Anderson again stressed the primacy of social rights but went further in describing how he saw the relationship of individuals to the state when rights were viewed as part of a whole:

---

[40] David G. Ritchie, *Natural Rights: A Criticism of Some Political and Ethical Conceptions*, (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1895), p.82.

[41] "Roman Law and Modern Thought," *Advertiser*, 10 August 1912, p.23.

[42]"Lecture: Socialism," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 April 1892, p.7.

[43] David Boucher, Andrew Vincent, *A Radical Hegelian, the Political and Social Philosophy of Henry Jones* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993), p.98.

"The place of the individual in the state is not that of a point within a huge circle. All the points within such a circle would be interchangeable".[44] This metaphor is important in that it articulates clearly an Idealist conception, not just of rights within the state but, more broadly, of the state itself. Its emphasis on circularity is similar to the relationship between the individual and the state as articulated by British Idealists including Henry Jones and D.G. Ritchie. Ritchie argued: "the State is not a mere means to individual welfare as an end; in a way, the State is an end in itself".[45] It is highly likely that Anderson was familiar with Ritchie's *The Principles of State Interference*, which was highly popular throughout the English-speaking world.[46] It is this Idealist conception of state, particularly in the Australian context, which we will now explore.

The Australian Idealist conception of state

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, the state is a key focal point in New Idealist and new liberal thought that invites comparison between both modes of thought. In the still nascent field of New Idealist scholarship in Australia there is, at the present time, one work which examines the conception of state in the Australian context from an Idealist, rather than new liberal, standpoint. Hughes-Warrington and Tregenza argue that Australian Idealism was distinguished from its British counterpart by a greater emphasis on empire and internationalism than the state.[47] Whilst, as the following two chapters will show, this broader perspective was certainly dominant in their thinking, it would be better described as an additional area of thought, influenced by Australia's political and geographic position, than as a deliberate emphasis. As Walter points outs, Australians at the

[44] Anderson, "The State and the Professions."

[45] Boucher and Vincent, *A Radical Hegelian*, p.96; Ritchie, *The Principles of State Interference*, p.102.

[46] Boucher and Vincent, *British Idealism and Political Theory*, p.127.

[47] Hughes-Warrington, "State and Civilization," p.92.

start of the twentieth century were simultaneously engaged in empire and the development of a national state.[48] Thus we find amongst the writings and broadcasts of the Australian Idealists a significant body of material focusing on the state. As will be seen in this section there is substantial evidence, found in these media publications and complemented by other writings, that a coherent theory of state, aside from international relationships, was an important feature of Australian Idealism.

Like the British Idealists, the Australians adopted a Hegelian view of state that went far beyond the literal nation-state conception. As discussed earlier, the state was also a larger, amorphous entity that united social and moral mores with the political. Portus, in a radio broadcast titled "The Shape of Things to Come", outlined how what is generally perceived as tangible can have a non-corporeal form:

> Institutions – I don't use it as it is loosely used to denote some association or company or group – such as a university or bank or cricket club or trading firm. An institution to me is an idea which has been taken up and accepted by a community. It has become a community habit and has gathered to itself a support of custom and tradition that makes it exceedingly hard to change.[49]

To Portus then, the state, as he described in an earlier broadcast, was "a group among other groups".[50] Therefore, a coming together of people with shared beliefs that had mental and potentially moral and social characteristics but was not necessarily physical. A similar description can be found in an 1892 lecture by Anderson. In the lecture, reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, Anderson described the state as a "moral organism", integrating "common action, common

[48] Walter, *What Were They Thinking?*, p.86.

[49] G. V. Portus, "The Shape of Things to Come - It Won't Be So Easy II", 1942, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/10, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

[50] G. V. Portus, "The Conflict of Loyalties", 1936, Portus Family Papers, PRG204, Folder 25/3, State Library of South Australia, Adelaide.

responsibility and common heritage". Furthermore, argued Anderson, the state "as government or administrative system was the people organised for the common good".[51] Anderson's use of the word "as" is telling, revealing the government as one arm, or a feature, of the state rather than the state in totality. The government, therefore, was the part of the state that facilitated the common good. This is a similar view as that taken by Brown, which we saw earlier in this chapter.

It is this relationship between the state and the common good, and the denial of a duality between each that was particularly attractive to Idealist thinkers. The common good was a central feature of Green's philosophy and Idealist thought.[52] As we have just seen there is the same emphasis in Australia. In adopting this emphasis the Australians assumed the Idealist conception of state as an organic entity that prioritised the moral over the mechanical.[53] Henry Jones, for example, conceptualised an organic state and argued it was the state's moral character that enabled the promotion and betterment of the welfare of its citizens.[54] Several of the Australian Idealists echoed similar sentiments. Anderson, in particular, who, as we learnt earlier, had followed Jones as Edward Caird's assistant at Glasgow, placed a similar emphasis on the state as the key means through which development could take place. The completeness of the state, according to Anderson, was dependent on the completeness of the citizen. Their mutual ambition was to develop personality and "develop onward conditions".[55] Therefore, according to Portus, a civilised social system was one in which an "ever-increasing number of citizens are being given more and more chances to

[51] "Untitled," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 May 1892, pp.6,7.

[52] Simhony, "A Liberal Committment."; Milne, "The Common Good and Rights."

[53] Vincent and Plant, *Philosophy, Politics and Citizenship*, pp.2,34.

[54] Boucher, *A Radical Hegelian*, p.97.

[55] "Untitled."

develop their personalities and powers".[56] Or, as Burgmann argued in an article he wrote for the *Daily Telegraph* in 1935: "citizens do not exist to be governed or to become the mere instruments of state policy but to realise their potentialities in the service of the community good".[57]

Thus, the citizen and the state share a mutual and symbiotic relationship, described by Sawer as "interdependence".[58] One could not and did not progress without a similar progression in the other. This equality had to be maintained and the state should never become the dominant partner. It was an imbalance between the state and the people that MacCallum said in 1915 was the cause of Germany's "pernicious sorcery".[59] The text in which MacCallum gave this opinion, a 1915 address to the University of Sydney union that was published in part in the *Daily Telegraph* and later published as a pamphlet, is worth looking at more closely. Although it focuses on Germany's role in the First World War, it is the only instance in which MacCallum's views on the state, as distinct from international state relations (discussed in the following chapter), can be ascertained. State worship, MacCallum said, would always be "one-sided and defective". A state was not supreme and could not "over-ride either the claims of the individual or the claims of humanity".[60] Once again we see the Idealist emphasis on equality and unity, a resonant theme in their concept of state.

A distinguishing feature of Idealism and the new liberalism in relation to the state was the rejection of the earlier notion that citizens were atomistic individuals. Instead, their individuality could only be discerned in relation to their

---

[56] G. V. Portus, "Statement from the Dock", 1940, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/2, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

[57] E.H. Burgmann, "Democracy Is Imperilled: The Church's Opportunity," *Daily Telegraph*, 4 November 1935, p.8.

[58] Sawer, *The Ethical State?*, p.30.

[59] "Lessons of War," *Daily Telegraph*, 15 May 1915, p.7.

[60] Ibid.

society, that is, their part of the whole. This distinction was also made by the Australian Idealists, as Anderson detailed in 1892:

> The social contract theory, according to which social life was a kind of afterthought and the nation only as an aggregate of individuals, had given place to a conception of man as a social being who found in society the expression of his own nature and the means of his development.[61]

Australian new liberals held similar beliefs. Meredith Atkinson, for example, drew heavily on the British Idealist Bernard Bosanquet to determine that the state as a community drew its identity from its members and that the general will of the state was the collective representation of the individual wills of its citizens.[62] This is typical of the fusion in New Idealist and new liberal thought. But what isn't found in Atkinson is the same emphasis on a metaphysical unity and oneness that, as shown above, marks the thought of Brown and Anderson. Atkinson, in fact, described Bosanquet's ambition for a higher community of all mankind as a "lofty idea" for a "vague human unity".[63] However, we do not find in the Australian experience the same level of antagonism towards Idealism as that of L.T. Hobhouse in Britain.[64]

State intervention

In Idealist and new liberal thought it was common to trace the need for state intervention as a necessary response to the capitalist excesses of the industrial age. Caird, for example, pointed to the growth of industrialisation and its consequences as a catalyst for state intervention and an indicator that disadvantaged people

[61] "Untitled," pp.6,7.

[62] Atkinson, *A New Social Order*, pp.85-100.

[63] Ibid., p.97.

[64] See, for example: Stefan Collini, *Liberalism and Sociology, L. T. Hobhouse and Political Argument in England 1880 – 1914* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

needed assistance.[65] In Australia, Brown argued similarly and was categorical about the impact of industrialisation. He maintained that it had divided the world into two classes, the employer and the employee, leading to "the most significant political phenomenon of the time" – the growth of state control.[66] In a radio broadcast, Portus made a similar argument:

> The result has been an enormous increase in power for the owners of property with no corresponding social responsibility. Russia abolished all, fascism wants to bring under totalitarian control …the US, Britain and Australia have been forced into a more pacific adjustment – the establishment of the social service state. In this method production is largely left in private hands, but the State interferes in the distribution of income and distributes this to the less well to do as free income in the shape of certain social services.[67]

Elsewhere, Portus distinguished the Australian experience from other western countries. High levels of state intervention in Australia were a result of local heritage and environment. Portus gave the example of state railways which had developed, he argued, not because Australians were "socialistic at heart" but because the private sector could not finance such an undertaking. As discussed earlier in this chapter, this environmental interpretation of state intervention in Australia is a common theme amongst historians and political scientists. Portus, though, made an additional observation: for a people that were usually regarded as expressing a "sturdy individualism" the Australian preference for state action was a contradiction.[68] Portus had expressed his own preference in 1936 broadcast:

> I am quite certain that the less the State interferes with the voluntary associations the better. I am also quite certain that some

[65] Boucher, ed. *The British Idealists*, p.xxiv.

[66] "The State and the Individual: Liberty and Regulation," *Advertiser*, 14 July 1909, p.11.

[67] Portus, "The Shape of Things to Come - It Won't Be So Easy II."

[68] G. V. Portus, "We Australians I", 1942, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/11, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

> control must be exercised by the State over the voluntary associations.[69]

Burgmann, meanwhile, was not troubled by incongruities or niceties. The most strident of the Australian Idealists, Burgmann, in a reported address to the 1936 Anglican congress, described capitalism as "warfare, naked and unashamed". The ideal, according to Burgmann, was the "Christianising of Communism" - that is, a Christian democracy based on a co-operative economic model to end the use of property as an "economic and political power".[70]

Burgmann, as the above comment reveals, was the most extreme of the Australian Idealists in arguing for a political system akin to state-sponsored communism in regards to state ownership of wealth and property. He believed that production and distribution needed to be undertaken as a co-operative, rather than capitalist, venture. Property would cease to be a means of economic and political power and the exploitation of workers would end.[71] The misuse of property for power was a theme that Burgmann returned to on several occasions. He argued that property had become removed from its social function and questioned whether children had a right to inheritances that they had not earned and that were not put to social use.[72] Furthermore, if private owners of "idle capital" did not use their money to create employment then the state should intervene and appropriate the money for public works.[73] National wealth, Burgmann asserted, had to be used for the benefit of the whole nation and no citizen had the right to retain personal wealth when others were in need.[74]

---

[69] Portus, "The Conflict of Loyalties."

[70] "Unemployment - Bishop's Address," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 May 1936, p.17.

[71] Ibid.

[72] "Property - its Relations to Morals," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 February 1933, p.8.

[73] "Use Idle Millions Is Bishop's Plea," *Daily Telegraph*, 17 July 1934, p.9; "Idle Hands and Capital," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 July 1934, p.11.

[74] Burgmann, "Democracy Is Imperilled."

As we will now see, other Idealist thinkers in Australia were more temperate in their approach to state ownership. Their conception of the state and the citizen as partners in an ongoing and mutually beneficial relationship on a shared path to freedom meant the extent to which the state could acceptably intervene in the lives of its citizens required a more delicate balance. If the state were too interventionist it would betray the reciprocity of the state/citizen relationship. If it were too passive it would not fulfil its obligation to facilitate progress. Here, we again see the influence of Jones, who saw a middle path between socialism and liberalism and rejected the authoritarian nature of full socialism.[75] Brown and Anderson were of a similar mind.

A detailed articulation of these issues was given by Brown in a public lecture series titled "The State and the Individual". The 1909 series received extensive coverage in the *Advertiser* newspaper. Brown described several styles of state intervention including, what he termed, "civic maternalism" and civic paternalism".[76] The use of familial terms is typical, Sawer claims, of the new liberalism and an extension of Green's "grandmotherly" in reference to state intervention.[77] Yet, I contend, it is more an Idealist/Hegelian trait than a new liberal one, and derives from the Idealist extension of the micro relationship of the family to the larger community relationships within the state and, ultimately, all humanity.[78] Portus, for example, was definitive about this connection and titled a radio broadcast: "The Family as the Basis of the State".[79]

To Brown, the relationship between the state and its citizens could entail a reflection of various forms of inter-family relationships. Civic maternalism

[75] Boucher and Vincent, *British Idealism and Political Theory*, p.165.

[76] "The State and the Individual; Legislative Despotism," *Advertiser*, 7 July 1909, p.12.

[77] Sawer, "The Ethical State: Social Liberalism and the Critique of Contract," p.76.

[78] Boucher and Vincent, *British Idealism and Political Theory*, p.11.

[79] G. V. Portus, "The Family as the Basis of the State", n.d., Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, SP300/17, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

paralleled a parent who forever treated their child as an infant. Under this form of state intervention the abilities and potential of citizens was underestimated. Civic paternalism was closely aligned to civic maternalism but took its character more from a dominating father than a protective mother. A father's excessive discipline was paralleled in excessive state control and legislation. Such a system oppressed rather than nurtured its citizens and failed to recognise particular needs of individuals. Brown identified two other forms of what he termed "legislative despotism": the suppression of competition to such an extent that it wasted human effort and class-based legislation, which always disadvantaged one section of the community.[80]

So what was the ideal system? Brown argued the extreme version of each, and always class-based legislation, was deleterious. However, elements of the first three were necessary. Civic maternalism's recognition that the state needed to intervene to some extent to help those who were unable to help themselves was essential whilst civic paternalism was useful where authority was used to develop individual character. Legislation impacting on commercial competition was valuable when it was used to benefit workers, for example to suppress sweating and establish a living wage.[81]

What Brown envisaged then was very much an ethical state built on family relationships, in which the state interceded only when its actions benefited the development of its citizens. As he described in a subsequent lecture, the state had a moral impetus:

> The true remedy was the pursuit of the equality of opportunity which implied the improvement of material conditions, free elementary education and the possibility of further education

[80] "The State and the Individual; Legislative Despotism."

[81] Ibid.

> proportionate to the potentialities of the child. State control in those directions, if wisely exercised would be in furtherance of self help.[82]

Brown developed the "State and the Individual" lecture series as a means of exploring socialism. Socialism had also captured the mind of Anderson. In the same year, 1907, he delivered a lecture, "Liberalism and Socialism" to a national Science Congress in Adelaide, which was reported in the *Register* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*. The reports summarise the main arguments of the lecture which was also published in pamphlet form as part of the congress proceedings.[83]

Anderson argued that the foundation of twentieth century socialism had been laid in nineteenth century liberalism. "The movement of liberalism was really a preliminary clearing of the ground for the movement of social and political reconstruction." Neither could exist without state intervention, whether it was "grandmotherly legislation or simply the necessary extension of the economic functions of the State". He fully supported practical socialism as a means of furthering the common good. The great danger was collectivism which could only be achieved through violence and, in doing so, would reverse human progress. [84]

More than a decade earlier Anderson had also used socialism as a reference point in determining the optimum level of state intervention but had come to a different conclusion. This lecture, reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, also reveals the early development of his main arguments in 1907. Anderson said socialism had brought a welcome emphasis on social and political reform aimed at developing personality. However, state socialism was problematic in that it used "material means to promote a spiritual end".[85] In a different lecture the same year

---

[82] "The State and the Individual: Liberty and Regulation," p.11.

[83] Francis Anderson, "Liberalism and Socialism," in *Science Congress Proceedings* (1907); "Liberalism and Socialism," *Register*, 9 January 1907, p.8; "Science Congress," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 January 1907, p.9.

[84] "Liberalism and Socialism."

[85] "Untitled."

Anderson defined socialism as an "industrial democratic collectivism". It was the first time in history, he believed, that the three principles had been united in the one system. Anderson understood collectivism to be the common ownership of production and capital but with the retention of private property except that relating to the means of production. Such a system, Anderson believed, would require an authoritarian government to administer and democracy would be unable to flourish. Anderson preferred continuation of the current democracy, despite its flaws, as it offered greater potential. Socialism, he believed, was an "unrealisable idea". [86]

Despite appearances Anderson had not undergone a full transformation from anti-socialist to pro-socialist. Rather, over the 15 years, it was his understanding of socialism that changed. His core belief remained the same, particularly in the centrality of the state for progress and the common good. In 1892 Anderson saw a close alignment between socialism and the more radical and revolutionary collectivism, in which the state was absent. By 1907 he was able to distinguish between the two forms and saw that his core belief in the need for state intervention for progress and the common good could be achieved through socialism. A trip to Italy two years later confirmed his belief.

In 1909, the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported Anderson, who had returned to Australia following a 12 month trip abroad, had converted to socialism in Italy. The *Herald* reported the following statement as his "admission":

> One begins by being mainly interested In ancient and medieval Italy, but gradually the interests of modern life force themselves one's attention, and I ended by going to socialist meetings with much more zest than to old churches or picture galleries.[87]

[86] "Lecture on Socialism," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 September 1892, p.6.

[87] "Education in Europe," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 March 1909, p.7.

Anderson's reported admission is problematic and whether he had actually converted to socialism to the extent that he was a socialist, as the *Herald* declared, is questionable. In the same article Anderson described the upheavals caused by a wave of strikes in Italy, a country in which the problems of democracy were to be found in an "intense and sometimes exaggerated form". Amidst this milieu he "became almost bewildered amid the great varieties of socialistic opinion". Anderson believed that no other country was of more interest to the student of politics and sociology. The words of the so-called "admission",[88] when viewed in the context of his following comments, don't reveal more than a scholarly interest in socialism Italian-style. Although the report was not retracted, no evidence can be found to support the contention that Anderson was a "convert to socialism". No later lectures or other public discussions on socialism by Anderson have been identified. If he was a convert, it was a low-key conversion. It should also be noted that at this time socialist thought was, in several ways, akin to new liberal thought which, as has been discussed, was also akin to New Idealist thought.[89] It is more likely that Anderson was intellectually attracted to the elements of Italian socialism that met at this intersection.

[88] As if to provide further evidence the *Herald* report, in a rare interjection of commentary includes the parenthetic statement that "he had on a red necktie when he stepped ashore on Saturday". This and the tenor of the article, which suggests that Anderson made an "admission" to being a socialist, perhaps reflects contemporary political debate in Australia in which the term "socialist" took on a pejorative connotation. For an example see: Walter, *What Were They Thinking?* p.104.

[89] There is considerable evidence to suggest that, at the time Anderson was advocating socialism, the term's meaning was rather amorphous. In his discussion of liberalism in Australia between 1880 and 1920, Craig Campbell argues that socialism, either utopian or as "rampant governmentalism", was absorbed into liberal ideas. Craig Campbell, "Liberalism in Australian History 1880 - 1920," in *Social Policy in Australia*, ed. Jill Roe, (Sydney: Cassell, 1976), p.24. Meanwhile, Andrew Vincent argues that in Britain, up to 1914 the term socialism (or liberal socialism) was often used to mean new liberal. Andrew Vincent, "The New Liberalism in Britain 1880 - 1914," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 36, no. 3 (1990), p.388. Matt Carter argues that Idealist philosophy, through Green, was as instrumental in informing late nineteenth and early twentieth socialism as it was in informing the new liberalism. Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*. Other discussions about socialism as part of the new liberalism/New Idealism conflation include: Vincent and Plant, *Philosophy, Politics and Citizenship*, pp.46-48,78-79; Boucher and Vincent, *British Idealism and Political Theory*, pp.164-165.

The development of Anderson's thinking can also be explained with reference to a series of lectures by Portus on "Marx and Modern Thought", later published as a pamphlet. Portus said Australian socialism was of the "revisionist reform" type which involved a peaceful transformation through a democratic state and was not remote from liberal reform. It was not based on Marx but on criticism and revision of Marx.[90]

What Anderson and the other Idealists were seeking was a society in which state intervention could best serve the needs of the people and facilitate their progress. This went to the heart of the Australian Idealists' negotiation of the socialist versus capitalist systems. Their ideal state was incompatible with capitalism. Whilst Burgmann supported full state ownership, Brown, Anderson and Portus argued for a more nuanced relationship between state and citizen. We will now examine how their theories translated into practice.

The role of the state – from theory to practice

The state's role in society was not just a theoretical concept for the Australian Idealists. They also held distinct practical ideas as to when state intervention was desirable. In relation to Anderson, this was seen extensively in the previous chapter in his views on the role of the state in education. Anderson will not be part of the discussion here. Just as Anderson was able to translate his theory to practice, it will now be shown how Brown was similarly effective in his judicial capacity. Burgmann, through his high media profile, was able to publicly articulate a range of instances where he believed state intervention was warranted, whilst Portus used the media to detail his ideal society in terms of individual and state co-operation.

[90] G. V. Portus, *Marx and Modern Thought* (Sydney: Workers' Educational Association of NSW, 1921), p.127.

Brown's 1909 theory that the world was now divided into classes – the employer and the employee (see page 165) – was to be tested in 1912 when, as chairman of the Royal Commission into the Sugar Industry, he was drawn into a public dispute, conducted in the columns of the *Advertiser*, with the general manager of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company (CSR), Edward Knox. Knox, who resented state interference in private industry, had refused to co-operate with the Commission. The Commission itself had been prompted by concerns over CSR's monopoly of the Australian sugar industry.[91] The Commission, under Brown, had recommended public control of prices in order to more fairly distribute profits between refiners. In a letter to the *Advertiser*, Brown rejected Knox's claims that such control was, in effect, nationalisation. Brown's concerns about the injustices of capitalism and his reticence towards socialism are evident in his reply to Knox:

> If I foresee the future aright there are only two alternatives before large scale and virtually monopolistic business concerns in South Australia – on the one hand the continuance of private ownership, subject to appropriate, and it may be stringent public regulation, on the other hand public ownership...Mr Knox, I venture to hope that his capacity as a refiner he will not forget his obligations as a citizen. The future is very much in the hands of the representatives of capital. If those representatives insist on 'being left alone' opposing proposed schemes of public regulation without offering any feasible alternative they will simply render Socialism inevitable.[92]

Four years later, in 1916, Brown, as president of the Industrial Court of South Australia, adjudicated on a living (minimum) wage for South Australian salt workers. In a decision that was reported in newspapers around the country, including the *West Australian* which described Brown's comments as an

[91] Martha Rutledge, "Knox, Edward William (1847 - 1933)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol.9, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1983), pp.626-628.

[92] W. Jethro Brown, "The Sugar Commission Report," *Advertiser*, 21 December 1912, p.21.

"interesting declaration",[93] Brown outlined his principles for state intervention in industry. In the declaration Brown argued it was the responsibility of the state to ensure industries existed for the benefit of the whole community. Therefore, if a living wage for workers could not be afforded by employers in a particular industry then the state must subsidise the industry or provide means to ensure its survival. Brown added that if governments did not accept that responsibility it was not the fault of the judiciary.[94]

The thinking behind Brown's judicial decisions can be found in a lecture series in Adelaide, given in 1913, the year after the sugar commission inquiry. The series, titled "Public Control of Monopolies", argued that monopolisation was one of the most difficult problems of the time. State intervention was needed in price regulation, profit limitation and, in some cases, nationalisation.[95] Nationalisation was acceptable for such services as transport and health, however, a mid-way path between nationalisation and unregulated competition was optimal. Brown's preferred form of regulation was state control of prices, which was the outcome of the sugar commission. Price regulation allowed competition but prevented the exploitation of the disadvantaged.[96]

Brown's concept of industrial courts as "primarily an organ of the community for promoting distributive justice"[97] is evident. His primary concern was not economic but moral. As he further explained in a lecture delivered in Adelaide and reported in the Melbourne *Argus*, state control should not be aimed at eliminating competition but at preventing disadvantage. It needed to be implemented in "such a way as to promote the self help and free determination of

[93] "Arbitration," *West Australian*, 20 April 1916, p.7.

[94] "Industrial Problems," *Advertiser*, 19 April 1916, p.6.

[95] "The Public Control of Monopolies," *Advertiser*, 23 July 1913, p.18.

[96] "Control of Monopolies," *Advertiser*, 30 July 1913, p.17.

[97] Braham Dabscheck, "Regulation Down Under: The Case of Australian Industrial Relations," *Journal of Economic Issues* 27, no. 1 (1993), p.50.

the citizen".[98] The same moral foundation is found in Portus who argued that public or private ownership was not the most important factor; what was of paramount importance was the development of personality.[99] However, Portus did not dismiss the importance of property ownership altogether. The way in which property was managed had to be rethought. The concept of private property had been a useful means of distributing income when society was primarily organised in family groups and small communities. Industrialisation had created a global economy and the old concept was no longer appropriate and had to adapt.[100]

Portus' ideal of citizen/state relations was detailed in a 1944 radio broadcast. He gave the example of the small South Australian town Nurioopta, which had set up its own community hotel and a co-operative society which bought and sold goods. Government assistance was being sought for further community facilities. Portus saw Nurioopta as a model for expanded local government in Australia, which, unlike in Britain and the United States, had few powers and less involvement in community development.[101]

Burgmann, who it may be recalled, believed in state ownership of wealth and property, used his media profile to promote significant public works. One of these was the Snowy Mountains Hydro-electric Power Scheme. Located in his Canberra-Goulburn diocese in southern New South Wales, the Snowy River was eventually harnessed to create power in the 1970s after construction began in 1949. It became the largest public project in Australia, providing much needed employment after the Second World War. However, Burgmann was one of the

[98] "The Social Problem."

[99] Portus, "Statement from the Dock."

[100] Portus, "The Shape of Things to Come - It Won't Be So Easy II."

[101] G. V. Portus, "The Significance of Nurioopta to Australia", 1944, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks transcripts, SP300/2, Portus/28, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

earlier proponents of the scheme and urged its building by the state in the 1930s as a means of relieving unemployment.[102]

Burgmann's pronouncements on state intervention and state ownership during the 1930s prompted the mocking appellations "the red bishop" and "the bolshie bishop".[103] Certainly an admirer of the Russian economic system, he did, however, stop short of advocating full communism, primarily (and unsurprisingly) due to its professed atheism. As we saw earlier (see page 166), Burgmann advocated the "Christianising of communism" in a system he described as "economic democracy inspired by Christian conscience".[104] This philosophy was far less tempered than the path between capitalism and socialism negotiated by his fellow Idealists. Where Brown, Anderson and Portus saw impracticalities in full socialism, particularly in the risk to freedom through the need for authoritarian control, Burgmann was less attentive to such detail but propelled by an almost zealous devotion to economic and social equality. It is therefore easy to agree with the determination of Burgmann's biographer, Peter Hempenstall, that Burgmann did not have a coherent, overarching economic and political theory for society. He was not, writes Hempenstall, an "economist or social scientist" but "at the very least he was a naive provocateur whose immoderation only encouraged emotional responses to a complex situation".[105] In the 1930s this "complex situation" was intensified by the unemployment and poverty of the Depression. Of the Australian Idealists being considered in this thesis the acuteness of people's suffering would have been most evident to Burgmann through his pastoral work, perhaps leading him to a more emotive response. Yet at the heart of his belief was his Idealism and Burgmann, in the article authored for the *Daily Telegraph* (see page 163 above),

[102] "Bishop Burgmann - Plea for Productive Works," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 May 1934, p.12.

[103] Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, pp.196,226.

[104] "Economic Democracy," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 May 1934, p.10.

[105] Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest*, p.142.

argued that property had to be relegated second in importance to personality. The state was there for its citizens and not as a protector of property interests. It was also the role of the church to ensure the primacy of personality was maintained.[106]

The emphasis on personality again reinforces the distinction between Idealist and new liberal thought in relation to the state. As Hughes-Warrington and Tregenza have shown, the concept of personality, as a spiritual connection between the individual and society, is a dominant feature of Australian Idealist thought on the state.[107] Therefore, even in its practical application, the Idealist inheritance can be seen. Certainly it is less evident in the language of Brown and Portus in discussing practical means of state intervention; however, as we saw in the preceding chapter, Anderson too regularly brought Idealist terminology into his lectures and writings on education and the state.

It is particularly noteworthy that these Idealist arguments for self-realisation, personality and freedom were substantially made in public lecture halls and media articles and broadcasts. However, such terms did not dominate and instead were woven into arguments that would have been readily accessible to a broad audience. The Australians did this for an extended period, beginning with Brown and Anderson in the 1890s, through to Portus and Burgmann in the 1940s. Despite the temporal difference a continuity of thought is evident, revealing, in relation to the state at least, an enduring legacy of British Idealist philosophy in Australia.

These Australians shared the broader Idealist belief of the state acting simultaneously as a form of government and a united citizenship working to achieve realisation and freedom. This conception of the state was a direct legacy from British Idealism, particularly Green, Caird and Jones. As this chapter has

[106] Burgmann, "Democracy Is Imperilled."

[107] Hughes-Warrington, "State and Civilization."

shown, this unity of purpose and function is particular to Idealism. By contrast, the new liberalism, which absorbed Idealist moral and ethical functions of state and the associated notion of positive liberty, did not extend the ultimate purpose of the state to a metaphysical conclusion. The end of the equation for new liberalism was the tangible, practical exposition of a more ethical and egalitarian society which fostered the development of all citizens. To Idealists, this political manifestation was part of a greater whole that incorporated a metaphysical unity of humanity which represented true freedom.[108] This notion of a greater civilisation beyond individual states will be explored more fully in the following chapters where, as will be seen, the disruption of war enabled Idealists to envisage a renewed, united humanity.

[108] Boucher and Vincent, *British Idealism and Political Theory*, p.4; Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*, p.3; Gordon, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, p.31.

Chapter Five

"The hand that turned the key":[1] Australia and the world

MAN OF WIDE INTERESTS

Professor Portus On Visit To Adelaide

The possibilities ahead of broadcasting as regards adult education were very great, and in Australia they had hardly been exploited at all, said Professor G. V. Portus, on his arrival in Adelaide yesterday on a ten days' visit.

Professor Portus, who was recently appointed to the chair of history and political science at the University of Adelaide, will fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Professor Hancock. he will return to Adelaide on May 1 and take up his duties at the beginning of the second term. Soon after his arrival he will deliver a public lecture, at which he will explain what he hopes to do at the University in the study of universal history and political science. He said yesterday that

Professor Portus

[2]

In the period under examination in this thesis, 1885 – 1945, Australia's relationship with the world has most often been viewed through two prisms: a faltering independence from Britain and, particularly for most of the first half of the twentieth century, a fear of other nations and their peoples. Historian Stuart Macintyre has summarised Australian development throughout the period as characterised by "external threat and internal anxiety".[3] But, as this and the following chapter will demonstrate, the Australian Idealists being studied in this thesis saw this period rather differently. To their eyes this period was not solely

[1] G. V. Portus, "All Australia Session", 1941, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP369/2, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

[2] Clipping from an *Advertiser* article on Portus, after he accepted a position at the University of Adelaide. "Man of Wide Interests," *Advertiser*, 21 February 1934, p.14.

[3] Stuart Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1999), pp.139-140.

one of angst and turmoil, but of hope and opportunity. As public intellectuals they contributed an alternate Idealist perspective that promoted world unity. This chapter will focus on these broader theories of international relations revealed by W. Jethro Brown, Mungo MacCallum Francis Anderson, G.V. Portus and E.H. Burgmann in speeches, newspaper articles and broadcasts. The following chapter details their thought in relation to war and post-war reconstruction.

We have seen in previous chapters discussing the Australians thought in relation to education and the state many parallels with British Idealist thought. However, in regards to international relations we find the emergence of a distinct Australian Idealism. The Australians, remote from the affairs of Europe and Britain's problematic imperial history, were able to envisage a more unbounded universal community than most of the British thinkers. In this they did share common ground with, at least, one British Idealist, R.B. Haldane.

Their vision also represents a marked departure in the tenor of debate on international relations by their Australian contemporaries. For example, such liberals as F.W. Eggleston and William Macmahon Ball were sceptical that an international community was achievable.[4] Eggleston saw racial differences as inherently problematic whilst Macmahon Ball believed Australia's influence on international affairs lay firmly within the British Commonwealth. W.K. Hancock, whilst more optimistic about an international order, was, like the British Idealists, troubled by the issue of sovereignty.[5]

[4] For an excellent discussion of Eggleston's contribution to international relations see: Neville Meaney, "Frederic Eggleston on International Relations and Australia's Role in the World," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 51, no.3 (2005), pp.359-371. Macmahon Ball is particularly concerned with Australia's role on the world stage. W. Macmahon Ball, "Australia in World Affairs," *Meanjin* 4, no.1 (1945), pp.151-156.

[5] James Cotton, "W.K. Hancock and International Relations in Australia: the Commonwealth as a Model of World Government," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 55, no.4 (2009), pp.475-495. This article examines Hancock's thought on international relations in relation to three surveys of the Commonwealth the historian authored for the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) in London.

Crucial to this strain of Australian Idealist thought was local geography and history. Historically, one of the major events of the period for Australia was the federation of the states in 1901. Yet, for Australia internationally, federation had little major consequence. The country remained a dominion of Britain until 1931, although some argue true independence was not achieved until 1942.[6] The ongoing tie with Britain, consolidated by the Boer War and two world wars, ensured that foreign policy was dominated by British actions and objectives. As Joy Damousi has shown, the wars enhanced and prolonged pro-British sentiment in Australia to a point of preoccupation.[7] But not all eyes turned so far to the north. The Australian Idealists were among those in Australia looking elsewhere. In Asia, for example, they saw promise rather than peril.

The perceived peril was articulated in the White Australia policy that, through its formalisation in immigration legislation in 1901, had infamously put Australia on a pro-white immigration stance. The policy was often defended as economic and not racial in that it protected Australian jobs from immigrant workers. However, the fact that it favoured light-coloured over Asian and darker skinned peoples made its racial implications overt, particularly overseas. Hancock observed in 1930 that Australians had come to fear the "decomposition of their own civilisation".[8]

The Australian Idealists being studied in this thesis did not share this fear.[9] Rather, as we will see, they looked outwards, seeking unity in an international

[6] Hudson and Sharp put a case that, technically, independence for Australia from Britain was not achieved until the Australian Parliament adopted the Statute of Westminster in 1942, although it was set retrospectively to 1939. For further discussion see: W.J. Hudson, M.P. Sharp, *Australian Independence* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1988), pp.130-138.

[7] Joy Damousi, "War and Commemoration: 'the Responsibility of Empire'," in *Australia's Empire*, ed. Deryck M. Schreuder, Stuart Ward (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp.290-304.

[8] Hancock, *Australia*, pp.80-81.

[9] A point of contrast can be seen in that the liberal politician Alfred Deakin who, as we learnt earlier, was a follower of Idealist thought, supported the White Australia policy on cultural grounds. Walter, *What Were They Thinking?*, p.111.

community of all peoples. They extended their theories of state and civilisation from the national to the international. In doing so they bridge the divide, noted by Boucher, of an historic disjuncture between state-based political theory and international relations theory.[10] Furthermore, they adhere to Boucher's observation that thought on international relations goes beyond a focus on events per se. Events serve to illuminate theories and remain secondary to the broader thought being articulated.[11] As such, only rarely do we see public revelations of the Australian Idealists' thought revealing a concern with the detail of domestic and international politics.

At the core of the thinkers' vision was a faith in Australia as a "land of social experiments", a faith which Hancock, in 1930, believed had been lost a generation before. Hancock determined that in the years leading up to federation Australians had believed the new Commonwealth would lead the world but since then had rightly stopped believing in "impossibilities."[12] Yet it was 11 years later in 1941 that Portus revealed some at least, had retained the faith and Australia could be "the hand that turned the key".[13] Or, as Burgmann articulated, Australians would travel on their "highway of service to their destination."[14]

There are three distinct features of the publicly expressed thought of these Australian Idealists on international relations. The first is an emphasis on broader theory that transcends events and the second is a belief in the future of international co-operation. Thirdly, they frequently take an Australia-centric viewpoint that takes the new nation as the focus of their international thought.

---

[10] David Boucher, *Political Theories of International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp.4-6.

[11] Ibid., p.9.

[12] Hancock, *Australia*, pp.276-277.

[13] Portus, "All Australia Session."

[14] "The World's Need: Bishop Burgmann's Plea," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 November 1934, p.13.

Taken together, the first two of these features place the Australian Idealists within a particular school of thought identified, variously, by theorists of international relations. The dominant scholars being referred to here are the historian E.H. Carr, two doyens of twentieth century international studies Martin Wight and Hedley Bull and, more lately, David Boucher, who has reinterpreted these earlier theories with a new classification that draws together the similarities of earlier categorisations.[15] What Carr terms the Utopian model of international thought has general correspondence with the Kantian in Wight. Bull, meanwhile, reworks Wight with a greater emphasis on the Kantian. To Boucher, who uses a Hegelian/Idealist styled framework, these schools are interpreted as the Universal Moral Order. Despite the penchant of these theorists (and others) for a taxonomy of international thought, they stress that the categories are not absolute and a thinker on international relations would not necessarily fall completely onto one particular school.[16] The classifications are introduced here with a similar flexibility. The emphasis is not on the nomenclature but on the general ideas contained within Utopian, Kantian (et al) international thought. In this sphere there is a preference to look beyond the present to the future and the creation of a new world order. Furthermore, this new world order features a broad vision of international community that transcends the national. It presupposes a moral and ethical internationalism that moves towards a universal freedom, informed by Kant's *Perpetual Peace*. Many of these ideals are also evident in Haldane's 1913 "Higher

[15] E.H. Carr, *The Twenty Years Crisis 1919 - 1939* (London: MacMillan Press, 1946), pp.5-12; Martin Wight, "An Anatomy of International Thought," *Review of International Studies* 13 (1987), pp.221-27; Hedley Bull, "Martin Wight and the Theory of International Relations: The Second Martin Wight Memorial Lecture," *British Journal of International Studies* 2, no. 2 (1976), pp.101-116; Boucher, *Political Theories of International Relations*, pp.28-40.

[16] Cotton argues that Hancock took a Grotian view of international relations, pre-empting the work of Martin Wight. In Wight, the Groatian falls midway between the Machiavellian and Kantian schools, or the extremes of realist and revolutionist theories of world order. Bull, "Martin Wight and the Theory of International Relations."; Cotton, "W.K. Hancock and International Relations in Australia."

Nationality" speech in which he spoke of a community of nations with mutual obligations and common ideals.[17]

There is a strong resonance between these overarching ideals and the models of international relations expressed in the media by the Australian Idealists. Their public engagement in this area was considerable with this chapter drawing from more than 40 newspaper articles and radio broadcasts, as well as other published works. This becomes an important canon of work given that at the time the discipline of international theory in Australia was decidedly nascent.[18] Although, as Tod Moore points out the First World War stimulated Australian interest in international relations.[19] This chapter explores the thinking of the Australian Idealists through three themes: the foundations of internationalism, patriotism and nationalism and, lastly, Australia, the British Commonwealth and the world.

Foundations of internationalism

To the Australian Idealists world unity, or internationalism, was a core objective in the progress of civilisation. Each of the thinkers drew their thought from this ideal. But while they were in unison about the necessity of what Portus termed "true internationalism", and that it needed to be achieved incrementally, their thinking varied as to the 'building blocks' from which it could develop. To Portus this internationalism would come through a better understanding of nationhood; Burgmann took its antecedents further, to the family; Anderson looked to Dante

[17] Haldane, "Higher Nationality, an Address Delivered before the American Bar Association at Montreal on September 1, 1913", p.522.

[18] Richard Devetak and Richard Higgott, "International Relations Theory," in *The Australian Study of Politics*, ed. R.A.W. Rhodes, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp.269-270.

[19] Moore, "A Civic Order," p.139.

and also believed such innovations as flight would help forge unity. Brown, as we will now see, saw a template in developments of international law.

Two weeks after Britain declared war on Germany in 1914, Brown authored a series of eight articles for the South Australian *Register*, titled "International Law in Time of War".[20] The series is Brown's most extensive discussion of international relations in either the media or academic journals. The articles were written for a general audience and aimed to demystify legalities concerning wartime practices. Whilst a large portion of the articles offered a detailed explanation of treaties and covenants, Brown also revealed his understanding of international community.

Brown wrote of what he saw as a "Society of Nations". While this society had not yet achieved the same level of organisation as individual states, it had achieved a form of global unity through moral and legal ties. There was no "international policeman" as such but law was administered through the co-operation of civilised states which amounted to an "informal, vigilant society". Brown was not alone in this view, and similar contemporary epithets included 'society of states' and 'family of nations'. Such nomenclature has been described by Wight as typical of the "moral solidarity" of the Kantian school of thought on international relations.[21] This mode of thought emphasised historical progression and, Wight argues, an implied uniformity. This too, can be seen in Brown, who saw an easy shift from state norms to the international.

[20] W. Jethro Brown, "International Law in Time of War (1): Its Binding Force," *Register*, 17 August 1914, p.4; W. Jethro Brown, "International Law in Time of War (2): Liability of Private Property to Capture," *Register*, 19 August 1914, p.8; W. Jethro Brown, "International Law in Time of War (3): Blockade," *Register*, 22 August 1914, p.11; W. Jethro Brown, "International Law in Time of War (4): Contraband of War," *Register*, 25 August 1914, p.5; W. Jethro Brown, "International Law in Time of War (5): The Declaration of London," *Register*, 28 August 1914, p.4; W. Jethro Brown, "International Law in Time of War (6): Mines at Sea," *Register*, 29 August 1914, p.12; W. Jethro Brown, "International Law in Time of War (7): Bombardment," *Register*, 2 September 1914, p.11; W. Jethro Brown, "International Law in Time of War (8):Territory Occupied by the Enemy," *Register*, 5 September 1914, p.19.

[21] Wight, "An Anatomy of International Thought," pp.221-227.

International law, he argued, was not weakened by the fact that some violations went unpunished. Such situations also occurred under nation-state systems. What was often unrecognised, he argued, was the restraining influence of international law and its role in building relations between countries in peace as well as war time.[22] Whilst Brown argued that this system had been successful he also welcomed the development of a formalised international arbiter. At the time of his articles there was argument over the establishment of an International Prize Court. The Court had been initiated at the second Hague Peace Conference in 1907 to decide on the rightful ownership of ships and cargo seized in war.[23] However, concerns, held primarily by the United States and Britain, that such a body would threaten national sovereignty led to protracted debate over many years and the Court never eventuated. But in 1914, when there remained some hope of establishment, Brown wrote that it marked an "epoch in the history of the human race". What Brown most applauded was the concept of internationalisation behind the plans, of moving beyond notional state borders to a broader civilisation.[24]

We can see in these articles how Brown is extending internationally his concept of the role of state law, which he described in the lecture series, later published as the text *The Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation*. As we saw in the previous chapter (page 155), Brown argued that the more complex a society became the more in need it was of laws to offer all members greater freedom.[25] It is evident Brown now saw international society as reaching a level of complexity where it too needed governance to benefit all nations and therefore all peoples.

[22] Brown, "International Law(1)," p.4.

[23] William I. Hull, *The Two Hague Conferences and Their Contributions to International Law* (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1908; reprint, 1970), pp.427-448.

[24] Brown, "International Law in Time of War (5): The Declaration of London," p.4.

[25] W. Jethro Brown, *The Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation* (London: John Murray, 1920), p.55.

Brown's optimistic conception of international law is markedly different, as Boucher has shown, to Hegel and the British Idealists, F.H. Bradley and D.G. Ritchie. All were sceptical of the ability of international law to be effective, particularly without an international sovereign power.[26] In Australia, Hancock saw the increasingly amorphous conception of sovereignty in the former British Empire as a portent of similar difficulties in achieving international society.[27] Such issues were not a stumbling block for Brown, who argued that laws within nation-states were also imperfect. He did recognise that some type of arbiter was advantageous but the promise of unity under international law was of greater import. However, four years later, at the end of the war in August 1918 Brown was less certain. As President of the Industrial Court he addressed a large crowd in Adelaide at a lecture on international law organised by the Anglican Diocesan Social Union. His speech was reported in the Advertiser newspaper. The optimism of the 1914 series was now replaced by an almost palpable anguish:

> The events of 1914 had proved a serious blow to those who were desirous that international law should assume definite shape. It was true that international law rested on insecure foundations, yet penalties followed....It was believed before the outbreak of the present war that the large body of rules which had been built up were vested with such authority that no State could afford to ignore them. However laws had been violated during the war.[28]

Despite his disillusion, Brown had not completely given up hope and believed that in the future nations may yet establish international law on surer footings. No evidence can be found that Brown made any further speeches or wrote articles,

[26] David Boucher, "British Idealism, the State, and International Relations," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 55, no. 4 (1994), pp.687-688.

[27] Cotton, "W.K. Hancock and International Relations in Australia," pp.479-480.

[28] "International Law," *The Advertiser*, 13 August 1918, p.6.

either in the press or academic journals, on international law.[29] Similarly, after the report of Brown's 1918 speech there are no further media articles or broadcasts that can be found that expand on the Idealists' general views on internationalism until the 1930s. And so, we fast forward to 1932, which marks the beginning of a period when Francis Anderson was particularly vocal on this subject.

Anderson's prominence in international questions in the 1930s stemmed from his role as president of the local League of Nations Union (LONU). This role and his views on the League will be discussed in the following chapter. At this point it is important to consider his international philosophy as it led to his League activities.

In 1936 Anderson authored two articles for the *Sydney Morning Herald*, titled "Dante. His Internationalism". Anderson described the fourteenth century Italian poet and philosopher as a "revolutionary idealist". The articles summarised Dante's thought on world unity which Anderson regarded as a conception of internationalism that unified the temporal and the divine working together for global peace and justice.[30] Such internationalism would require a moral government of the world that would not be dictator but a "moral and civil authority representing the unity of the civilised world".[31] Anderson's choice of words reveals a preference for a more organic, consensual international arbiter than the sovereign power style conceived by the British Idealists. Again we see parallels which, as noted above, conform to the Kantian style of international thought.

[29] Michael Roe describes Brown's early "ambivalence" to issues arising from war which, by the time of the 1914 – 1918 conflict, led to his interpretation of war from a legal perspective. Michael Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives* (St Lucia, (Qld): University of Queensland Press, 1984), pp.44-45.

[30] Francis Anderson, "Dante. His Internationalism (I)," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 July 1936, p.13; Francis Anderson, "Dante. His Internationalism (II)," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 August 1936, p.13.

[31] Anderson, "Dante. His Internationalism (II)."

The Dante articles developed a line of thought that Anderson had detailed in two speeches four years earlier, reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Anderson believed the time had come to develop a new internationality based on greater recognition of rights and duties between nations, firstly those in the British Commonwealth and ultimately among all nations. On this occasion Anderson looked toward such existing co-operative entities as the League and the Commonwealth as blueprints for an international community.[32] He believed the longevity of the British Empire and its transformation into the Commonwealth demonstrated its successful international character. In fact, it continued to exist because its internationality had been recognised. "The idea of Empire," Anderson said, "now had an entirely new significance".[33] The shift from territorial dominance towards co-operation between nations meant a new philosophy of international relations was now needed. Anderson's positive and straightforward view of Empire, that seemingly ignores the ills of past imperialism, is in contrast to the complexity with which British Idealists regarded Empire and its implications.[34] Although he had grown to adulthood in Britain, by this time Anderson had been in Australia for about half a century. His view of the world was thus firmly Australian in all its youth and vitality, removed from the immediate pertinence of Britain's legacy as a colonial power.

The future, rather than the past, also dominated Anderson's thought when he authored a *Sydney Morning Herald* article arguing that modern internationality could be conceived through a convergence of Idealist philosophy and aviation.[35] In what at first appears as a strange juxtaposition, Anderson described Idealism's

[32] "League of Nations Day," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 August 1932, p.17.

[33] "International Co-Operation," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 October 1932, p.8.

[34] Boucher, "British Idealism, the State, and International Relations," pp.682-683; Mander, *British Idealism*, pp.522-523.

[35] Francis Anderson, "The Air. Internationalise It," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 January 1935, p.8.

rejection of any division between spirit and matter and its concept of a mentality that developed until nature became conscious of itself in man. Therefore, Anderson argued, the "birth of the bird was the portent of the coming of the flying man" and as such the birth of the aeroplane, like the birth of the bird, was a spiritual victory.

> Man is no longer earthbound. He takes possession of a new element...He becomes the Prince of the Power of the Air. Power in itself is neutral, non-moral. It works for good or evil as man directs it. How is this new prince of the power of the air to use his power? By what symbolic figure shall we represent his mission upon earth and in the air? Is he the bird of freedom or the beast of prey?[36]

Anderson argued for aviation to be used for freedom and went on to describe the actions of the Italian poet, Lauro de Bosis, who had used the aeroplane in the pursuit of freedom. An anti-fascist opposed to Mussolini, de Bosis had flown a plane over Rome in 1931, dropping anti-fascist leaflets. The plane then headed out to sea and was never seen again.[37] Anderson believed de Bosis had sacrificed his life for freedom, using the air to liberate humanity in a bid to launch a new era of peace.

To Anderson then, a new international philosophy could be built on modern technologies that brought people closer together. The closer physical interaction that resulted from such inventions could extend into mental and spiritual connections, ultimately leading to freedom. Four years later, in a 1939 radio broadcast, Anderson revisited this belief:

> But many Australians do not seem to realise, even now, in spite of the aeroplane and the radio, the world is shrinking, shrinking year by year and that the old limitations set to human action by space and time are breaking down before man's inventive energy for

[36] Ibid.

[37] Joseph Farrell, "Icarus as Anti-Fascist Myth: The Case of Lauro De Bosis," *Italica* 69 (1992), p.207.

> good or evil purposes. The enemy is not yet at our frontiers, but where are our frontiers?[38]

While both the 1935 article and 1939 broadcast reveal Anderson's hopes for international unity and peace, he remained very much aware of the threat of the alternative - continued war and "evil". Anderson recognised that international law would need to be developed but such law could not be based on force but on justice. It would ultimately depend on public opinion to succeed. However, he acknowledged justice often required force in order to match the violence of the aggressor – a transfer of force from the criminal to the law. This was most typical of law within states but international law, Anderson argued, had not yet reached that stage. Internationally, persuasion had to triumph over force if civilised life were to continue. Under this system "inter-civic" relationships would be managed through an international democracy in which people were governed, not by other people, but through laws that had developed through consensus.[39] This organic model of international law overcomes Hegel's impediment of the need for a sovereign power. Like Brown, Anderson positions international law as a system of agreed behaviours to direct international relationships.

Anderson, writing in 1935 and 1936, showed a similar optimism to that of Brown in 1914, that international law could be used as a deterrent to aggression. The title of his May 1936 article, "An Appeal – Facing the Facts", is telling. By that date Italy had withdrawn from the League of Nations and invaded Abyssinia whilst Germany had flagrantly renounced the Treaty of Versailles by sending troops into the Rhineland. Anderson's "appeal" was for sanctions against the aggressors, backed by international public opinion. Anderson was not atypical in

---

[38] Francis Anderson, "A Call from Kosciusko", 1939, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Box 3, Folder As, General Scripts, National Archives of Australia Sydney.

[39] Francis Anderson, "Two Religions: Force or Persuasion," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 August 1935, p.10; Francis Anderson, "An Appeal. Facing the Facts," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 May 1936, p.14.

this era of stressing the importance of public opinion. Carr writes of the weight given to public opinion at this time as symptomatic of the heightened role of liberal democratic principles in the Utopian approach to international relations.[40] Anderson's belief in the strength of public opinion was noted in Chapter Two (see page 55). In its international application it meant, to Anderson, a distinction between sanctions as penalties, and, preferably, sanctions as a restraining force. Therefore, like Brown, he believed consensual international action could avert military aggression. A radio broadcast Anderson gave in the months before his death in 1941 reveals he retained his faith in international justice as a means of post-war progress.[41]

Anderson was not the only Idealist discussing international relations on ABC radio in early 1941. In January G.V. Portus argued that a workable internationalism was not possible without a firm foundation of nationhood and a better understanding of what nationhood meant. Portus, however, was not explicit in saying what this better understanding was. Rather, he spoke of what it was not: "nationhood does not mean the modern sovereign state brooking no interference with its will". Portus went straight from this point to the argument that the only rational way for the world to be united was through a federation of states that ceded their sovereign powers to a representative assembly.[42] Again we see a continuation of the 'society of nations' ideal.

Portus had toyed with this idea in the previous year in a broadcast on the history and political conflict of the Suez Canal. At the time the canal was under British protection. In the broadcast Portus argued that the problem of control of the canal would be best resolved by the establishment of an international authority,

[40] Carr, *The Twenty Years Crisis 1919 - 1939*, pp.24,31-36.

[41] Anderson, "The World of Tomorrow." See Chapter Six, page 226, for a more detailed discussion of the broadcast.

[42] G. V. Portus, "They Wanted to Rule the World VI - Napoleon", 1941, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/7, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

equipped with sufficient power to enforce its decisions. The barrier to this solution was nationalism, which as we will see later, was frequently considered by most of the Australian Idealists as the major obstacle to internationalism.[43]

It appears then that what Portus left unsaid in the 1941 broadcast was that absolute power was not a requisite condition of nationhood and, in fact, sovereign absolutism corrupted rather than enhanced international co-operation. Nationhood was commonality in geography and culture rather than a finite unit of centralised power. This interpretation is borne out by Portus' later comment:

> So long as we make our power the object of our policies, and our material interests the standard of our success, we are not being co-operative, we are being competitive. And the natural outcome of competition is strife and domination, just as the fruit of co-operation is unity and freedom. It is not only the dictators, but all of us, who must learn this simple truth before we can begin to be free men and free women in a free world.[44]

Internationalism could therefore only be achieved through willed unity, not dominance. In a radio lecture series titled "They Wanted to Rule the World", which was later published in book form,[45] Portus cited Napoleon and Alexander the Great as examples of this distinction. Alexander, according to Portus, was an internationalist with an international vision, whereas Napoleon had got no further than a vague cosmopolitanism. Napoleon's failure as an internationalist was due to the fact he did not see all men as brothers, but as potential subjects under a universal emperor – himself. Alexander, by contrast, had invoked a broader brotherhood that had endured through time. Yet, there had been an advantage to

[43] G. V. Portus, "The Suez Canal", 1940, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/4, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

[44] Portus, "They Wanted to Rule the World VI - Napoleon",

[45] G. V. Portus, *They Wanted to Rule the World : Studies of Six Dictators, and Other Essays* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1944).

Napoleon's conquests - many small states had been absorbed into larger entities, which was necessary for internationalism to be possible.[46]

It was probably no accident, given his belief in the ideal of smaller states joining as one, that Portus was a member of the secretive Round Table movement. Formed in 1909, the Round Table sought imperial federation and a central government for Britain and its dominions. One of its main functions was publication of the *Round Table* magazine which, particularly in early years, contained articles promoting the federation cause. The unpopularity of imperialism in the post-Boer War era encouraged secrecy; members were recruited by invitation only and *Round Table* articles were published anonymously.[47] During the 1920s Portus was a member of the Sydney group's editorial committee and was a significant contributor to the magazine.[48] Leonie Foster's history of the movement in Australia also identifies Brown as a contributor while MacCallum was one of the key organisers of the Sydney branch of the organisation.[49]

MacCallum's support for the Empire was noted in Chapter Two (page 82) and it is not surprising his interest brought him to the Round Table. Portus was invited to join to correct a right wing imbalance in the group, which aimed to be non-partisan.[50] The reason for Brown's involvement is not known. Meanwhile, Anderson and Burgmann were probably too far to the left for the group which, despite Portus-styled counterbalances, was essentially conservative. The idea of an internationalism achieved through federation of nation states would have appealed to Brown, MacCallum and Portus whose philosophy, as seen above, saw

---

[46] G. V. Portus, "They Wanted to Rule the World I - Alexander the Great", 1940, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/6, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

[47] Alexander C. May, "The Round Table 1910 - 1966" (PhD thesis, St John's College, Oxford University, 1995), p.3; Leonie Foster, *High Hopes: The Men and Motives of the Australian Round Table* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1986), p.1.

[48] Portus, *Happy Highways*, p.232.

[49] Foster, *High Hopes*, pp.26,33,178.

[50] Ibid., p.121; Portus, *Happy Highways*, p.232.

the international as a natural extension of the national. For Burgmann this was not enough.

Burgmann was further reductive and, like Edward Caird, adopted an Hegelian approach to ascribe the basis of internationalism to the family.[51] The *Sydney Morning Herald*, in its report on one of Burgmann's Moorhouse lectures (later published in book form as the *Regeneration of Civilization*), quoted his core belief:

> National life cannot be right until family life is right and until the life of the world is rightly ordered no nation can attain a really satisfactory way of life. The human race is one family and no part of it can be completely healthy until the whole is healthy.[52]

Burgmannn argued that, as in personal relationships, international relations were impeded by emotions of "envy, jealousy and hatred arising from thwarted and frustrated love". Five years earlier, Burgmann had offered a similar view, arguing that love alone, a generous and wide love, would build a new world.[53] Meanwhile, a solution to problems of love and hatred in the family unit would lead to similar resolution internationally. Thus national sovereignty, which often led to envy, jealousy and hatred, also had to change. Burgmann believed such a change was the only way to "balance local loyalties with a universal obligation".[54] He called this morality based theory of international relations a "real world society". However, Burgmann was also aware that the achievement of such an ideal remained a long way off. Civilization, he said, was still in its "swaddling clothes" and had only recently emerged from barbarism.[55]

---

[51] Mander, *British Idealism*, pp.523-524.

[52] "Family Life First," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 November 1942, p.4.

[53] "'World Far from Civilised': Bishop Burgmann's View," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 April 1937, p.14.

[54] "Family Life First."

[55] "'World Far from Civilised': Bishop Burgmann's View," p.14.

Burgmann agreed with Portus as to the need for nations to prioritise co-operation with others over self-interest. He too believed that co-operation among nations was an art that needed to be learnt and if practised well would lead to universal prosperity as "the way of selfishness and fear was the path to poverty".[56] The religious overtones in this sermon, reported in the *Herald*, are evident; however, Burgmann was not always so certain. On at least one occasion, Burgmann expressed real doubt at the impact Christianity had had on international affairs.

In 1936, in an address to the Sydney Diocese of the Church of England, Burgmann argued for a reconsideration of religion and educational policy to achieve the ideals of peace. Much of what the organised churches currently taught was "antiquated superstition" and he was haunted by the question as to whether Christianity was really a "practical religion". In the same address Burgmann predicted the inevitably of another war if Italy, Germany and Japan continued to be treated unjustly. Burgmann identified an historical separation of the stated values of Christianity with the actuality of conflict in the world. Churches needed to ensure concepts of justice and peace were not merely theoretical, but implemented practically to ensure world harmony.[57]

Burgmann's faith in the power of Christianity appears to have been shaken by the events of 1936 (see page 191) as only a year earlier he had extolled Christianity as the way to lead the world out of violence and brutality. Amidst the rivalry for dominance between Bolshevism and Fascism, he claimed, it was the Christian faith alone that could lift both to a "higher plane".[58] A year later, it seems, the plane was too high.

---

[56] "The World's Need: Bishop Burgmann's Plea," p.13.

[57] "'War Certain Unless Nations Get Justice' - Dr Burgmann," *Daily Telegraph*, 6 May 1936, p.7.

[58] "World Politics and the Christian Faith," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 May 1935, p.18.

And, as we will now learn, it was such differences, often inculcated through overt nationalism, that the Australian Idealists believed were the greatest impediment to true internationalism.

Patriotism and nationalism

"I regard the exaggerated cult of nationalism, whether it is manifested outside or inside the British Empire, as the greatest obstacle to the progress of civilisation which the world now faces."[59] This statement, delivered by Portus in an ABC radio broadcast in 1940, reveals the gravity with which the Australian Idealists viewed the question of patriotism and nationalism. As this section will elaborate, the two qualities were considered in depth by Portus, Anderson and Burgmann in the media.

What Portus terms the "cult of nationalism" arose, according to Marizio Viroli, as a late eighteenth century movement that emphasised cultural, linguistic and ethnic homogeneity among a nation's peoples.[60] It is routinely viewed as the alter ego of patriotism, which is represented as a pure, almost familial love of one's country and liberty within that country. Where patriotism is all that is good, nationalism, in the words of the Italian Idealist Benedetto Croce, is "bestial lust, diseased luxury and selfish whim".[61] As we will now see, Portus ascribed to this view, however Anderson and Burgmann appear less certain as to the distinction between the two terms.

Portus' 1940 broadcast was titled "Statement from the Dock", a reflection of his personal response to criticism he received from some listeners after an earlier

[59] Portus, "Statement from the Dock."

[60] Maurizio Viroli, *For Love of Country, as Essay on Patriotism and Nationalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp.1-2,169.

[61] Ibid., p.168.

broadcast in which he had rejected the notion of "a chosen race".[62] In his defensive response Portus argued he was "disturbed by the very wide-spread and easy assumption that the British Empire is destined by God to save humanity".[63] Complementing Croce's list of the evils of nationalism, Portus described its features as "greed, cruelty, hate and pride", all hidden under a "cloak of patriotism". As Portus defined in a later 1944 broadcast, nationalism of this nature was patriotism with the added claim that one's country was the best and its people superior. Such belief was anathema to the development of an international morality and true freedom as it only allowed those within a particular nation to be free.[64]

As we have just seen, the transcripts of both broadcasts, 1940 and 1944, are best read together for an extended understanding of Portus' thinking on patriotism. On both occasions Portus made no distinction between nationalistic slogans of Nazi Germany or Japan and those of Britain, singling out the line in Rudyard Kipling's Recessional, "lesser breeds without the law",[65] as contemptuous of all non-British peoples. Portus said he did not share a belief that nationalism was the reason Australia supported Britain in war. It was not nationalism that invoked Australian support but a belief in her cause and an interest in Australia's own security.[66]

In contrast, Portus explained, patriotism transcended narrow nationalistic boasting into "international acknowledgement of the truth and the beauty and the goodness in the world". Patriotism was then an egalitarian appreciation of what

[62] There is no archival record of the earlier broadcast, which was made, according to the January 1940 transcript, in November 1939. See Chapter Seven, pages 267-268, for a detailed discussion of listener responses.

[63] Portus, "Statement from the Dock."

[64] G. V. Portus, "What Does Patriotism Mean?", 1944, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/24, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Portus, "Statement from the Dock."

each nationality admired about its own country: "Because we love our own country so much we will understand why other people love their other countries so much". This, argued Portus, was the basis of a rational psychology of international relationships.[67]

Anderson revealed a similar view in a speech to the Sydney Legacy Club in 1931, reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Anderson understood patriotism to be "the greatest inheritance of the human race and the greatest guardian of the ideals of civilisation". However, patriotism could also be a barrier to development, as it was in the Australian experience of federation. As such, it was also a potential barrier to nationalism and internationalism. Anderson is not as critical as Portus of nationalism, although he appears to give it a slightly different meaning. Nationalism to Anderson is unity within a country, just as internationalism is unity of many countries. He is critical of what he terms "aggressive nationalism". Worse though than aggressive nationalism is the "cosmopolitanism" that emerged from a particular type of internationalism that viewed one's country as always in the wrong and other countries in the right. Such cosmopolitanism, Anderson argued, reduced humankind to mere beings, divorced from any country, race or family. This cosmopolitanism might "easily be the greatest hindrance to the uplift and welfare of humanity".[68]

Burgmann, in an address to Sydney clergy also reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, took a similar view. Nationalism and internationalism, he argued, had enduring qualities and the benefits of both must be made complementary. Yet in Germany, nationalism had become a veritable religion "worked out with Teutonic thoroughness to its logical conclusion". This was typified by a "limited

[67] Portus, "What Does Patriotism Mean?"

[68] "Internationalism: Relation to World Peace," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 October 1931, p.8.

and intense patriotism" promoted from a secularist position by Hitler that had only "the national" as its God.[69]

Burgmann made these arguments in 1935. Five years later, in 1940, R.G. Collingwood made a similar observation in an article in the journal *Philosophy*. Collingwood associated the rise of fascism and Nazism with the diminution of Christian religion and its liberal, democratic principles in Germany, Italy and Spain. Fascism and Nazism were thus able to grow out of the void by tapping into a pagan emotional energy that created a social order based on the "superstitious adoration of individual leaders who were neither infallible nor immortal".[70] Collingwood noted that communism was also secular, but unlike Burgmann chose not to discuss it. Burgmann, whist acknowledging communism's secularism, argued that it was nevertheless internationalist and worked through class for the salvation of man. What most concerned Burgmann in this address was the secular nature of both. It was Christianity, he argued, that would take the best of nationalism and internationalism, creating a "Communistic Commonwealth of Man".[71]

While Burgmann, Anderson, and Portus varied in their emphasis on the nature of nationalism, they were in agreement that patriotism carried with it responsibilities. It was, said Portus, the love of one's country and the desire to serve it.[72] Anderson argued that patriotism was recognition that people were not born as "cosmopolitan babies" and had a moral right and duty to the country of their birth.[73] As we will see in the following chapter it was the duty of patriotism

[69] "World Politics and the Christian Faith."

[70] R.G. Collingwood, "Fascism and Nazism," *Philosophy* 15, no. 58 (1940), pp.168-176.

[71] "World Politics and the Christian Faith," p.18.

[72] Portus, "What Does Patriotism Mean?"

[73] "Internationalism," p.8.

that drew Mungo MacCallum into the compulsory conscription debate in Australia in the First World War.

Duty, however, was not merely confined to the individual and, as the following section will detail, the Australian Idealists believed Australia as a nation had responsibilities, even if conflicting at times, to the British Commonwealth, to its region and to the world.

Australia in the Commonwealth, the region and the world

As we saw in the introduction to this chapter, the period on which this thesis is focused was a dichotomous one for Australia. The nation was being drawn into the international arena from 1901 as a federated nation in its own right but it still retained an intense historical and cultural loyalty to its British foundations. As the major events of the first half of the twentieth century played out on the world stage, the new nation had to grapple with those as well as its own identity and development.

It was a period when Australia's geographic position on the globe could not be ignored any longer. Anderson, Burgmann and Portus were among contemporaries negotiating Australia's place in the Commonwealth whilst calling for greater understanding of, and involvement with, India and China. As Portus argued in 1939, Australia had to recognise that its geographical isolation did not equate to political and economic isolation and the nation needed to abandon its attempts to establish a homogeneous community at the far end of the earth.[74]

Brown, the earliest of the Idealists, did not take part in this discussion. This is understandable as he died in 1929 and the question of Australia's role in Asia and the Pacific was an issue that became more acute in the late 1920s and,

[74] G. V. Portus, "Introducing Australia", 1939, Australian Broadcasting Commission Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/1, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

particularly, through the 1930s. There is also no evidence that Mungo MacCallum engaged with the issue either. His main contribution to international questions was the discussion of Britain and the United States, which is referred to elsewhere in this chapter. For now, we will look at Anderson, Portus and Burgmann, who all equally believed in Burgmann's argument that it was time for Australia to embrace the region as part of her "national destiny".[75]

The British Commonwealth formally began with the 1926 Balfour declaration that enshrined the equality of Britain and its Dominions. The declaration recognised the growing independence of former colonies but ensured their continued alignment with Britain. The historian John Hirst argues the declaration was accepted less enthusiastically in Australia, which was not seeking true independence from Britain like South Africa, Canada and Ireland. Australia, by contrast, was proud of its British heritage and believed its economic prosperity and security was tied to its 'Mother Country'.[76] Hirst's view is confirmed by Portus, who believed that Australia and New Zealand, with their large British populations, were "content to view our relationship, in a mystical sense, as a family tie".[77]

Whilst Australia may have been more partial than other Dominions to a closer relationship with Britain, it was not subservient. This was apparent in the Ottawa conference on trade, held in 1932. The conference between Britain and the Dominions established protected trade within the Commonwealth. To the chagrin

[75] "Friendship in the East," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 October 1936, p.12.

[76] John Hirst, "Empire, State, Nation," in *Australia's Empire*, ed. Deryck M. Schreuder, Stuart Ward, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp.158-159.

[77] G. V. Portus, "The Tangled Kein of India IV - Trying to Unravel the Tangles", 1945, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/30, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

of Britain, Australia successfully negotiated highly favourable agreements on the export of primary products to Britain and the import of manufactured goods.[78]

Francis Anderson, in a 1937 speech to Rotary Club members, reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, was less concerned about Australia's economic victory at Ottawa than about what it had signified for Australian/Commonwealth relations. Anderson argued the conference agreement had led to "economic warfare" and had failed to recognise the extent of economic relations that countries had with nations outside of the Commonwealth, for instance the United States.[79] It had also ignored geography and the remoteness of Britain from its Dominion allies. Anderson's argument was a change of heart from a 1932 lecture, made shortly after the announcement of the Ottawa agreement, in which he said the conference had paved the way for recognition of rights and duties between nations.[80]

What Anderson appears to have realised over the five years was that by setting up protective trade barriers, the conference had limited, rather than expanded international obligations. The British Empire, he now claimed, was in the most vulnerable position it had ever been. This was due to antagonism from the economic fallout of the trade agreements, which had aligned Britain more exclusively with countries, such as Australia, that were so far away they could not come to her defence quickly if needed. Thus, if the Commonwealth were to "develop and prosper, its constituent parts should bear the burden as well as the glory of Empire".[81] Anderson, who, as will be detailed in the following chapter, was a key figure in the League of Nations movement in Australia, saw the effect of the Ottawa agreement as working against the aim of a united world. He was in

[78] Kosmas Tsokhas, "Australia and the Ottawa Conference," *Australian Outlook* 43, no. 3 (1989), pp.74-88; John B. O'Brien, "Empire V. National Interests in Australian-British Relations During the 1930s," *Historical Studies* 22, no. 89 (1987), pp.569-586.

[79] "The Empire. Plea for More Than Lip Service," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 May 1937, p.16.

[80] "League of Nations Day."

[81] "The Empire," p.16.

favour of the Commonwealth but only so far as it sufficed as a role model for equal and positive relationships between all nations.

But even within the Commonwealth there was room for improved relations between members. In a 1945 radio series, broadcast on the ABC, Portus argued the case for India. Geographically, it was the closest Commonwealth neighbour to Australia and it was in Australia's interest to develop living standards in the subcontinent, in turn creating a stronger economic base and increasing potential trade. Portus believed reform in India had concentrated on the political and constitutional at the expense of the social and economic.[82] Increased literacy levels, for example, would not merely benefit Australia's relationship with India by leading to a more robust economy but would also enhance India's relationships with other members of the Commonwealth and, in fact, the world. Ultimately, Portus hoped that a developed India would create a "destiny to build that bridge that has never yet been built in all the long history of mankind: a bridge of toleration and understanding between the eastern and western civilisations of the world". Portus, believed this destiny was achievable if India remained a member of the Commonwealth, but as an independent state and not a Dominion.[83] The optimism of Portus is in stark contrast to Hancock, who was so troubled by India's current and future status within the Commonwealth that he omitted including a chapter on the country in his 1940 *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs*.[84]

Portus' vision of a bridge between east and west is an articulation of a common theme that can be drawn from the Idealists' views on Australia, the British Commonwealth and the world. They were blatantly Australia-centric and saw the new nation as the first building block of world co-operation, next came the

[82] G. V. Portus, "The Tangled Skein of India II - Farms and Factories", 1945, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

[83] Portus, "The Tangled Kein of India IV - Trying to Unravel the Tangles."

[84] p.482.

Commonwealth, from which came the architecture that would facilitate world unity. As we have seen, Anderson described the Commonwealth as such a template and Portus' vision was seen through a Commonwealth lens, the development of India. Of course, outside the Commonwealth were the rest of Asia and the Pacific. The Idealists believed Australia's geographical position meant that it could provide leadership in these realms as well.

On three occasions over 1935 and 1936 the *Daily Telegraph* and *Sydney Morning Herald* reported in detail public addresses given by Bishop Burgmann in which he argued for greater Australian involvement in the East and the Pacific.[85] Furthering the Australia-centric position, Burgmann believed it was Australia's role to represent European culture to the region. As Australia came to realise her own nationhood it was towards such greater missions that she should be working. Burgmann pointed out that this should be done within the framework of the Commonwealth, even though "Australia's lot is cast on the western side of the Pacific".[86] In two of the speeches Burgmann emphasised that Australia should not fear the East but aim to better understand Asian and Pacific peoples in order for them to better understand Australia. This type of understanding could be developed through chairs of Asian and Pacific studies at Australian universities and cross-cultural visits between industry leaders.[87] As Portus saw trade as a way of developing closer relations with India, Burgmann believed trade would also further Australia's relationship with China and Japan, in particular. However, there was a major stumbling block – the White Australia policy.

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, the White Australia policy has been seen by historians as an outward symbol of Australia's fear and anxiety

[85] "Eastern Eyes on Our Empty Spaces," *Daily Telegraph*, 31 May 1935, p.1; "Australia and the East: Policies for Peace," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 July 1935, p.6; "Friendship in the East."

[86] "Friendship in the East," p.12.

[87] "Australia and the East: Policies for Peace," p.6.

during this period. The policy, defended by many as an economic necessity to protect Australian jobs, was nevertheless viewed as a nationalist doctrine that led to the perception of Australia as a racist nation.[88] To Burgmann, there was one way in which it could be proven the policy's intent was not racial – trade with Asia. He said: "we are living in a fool's paradise expecting the Japanese to buy our goods and we are refusing to buy theirs. Christianity knows no foreigners. Trade is simply a mutual service".[89] Burgmann argued against the belief that it was Australia's Commonwealth duty to reserve its markets for Britain. Britain traded with the whole world and therefore so should Australia. Burgmann was not calling for an end to trade with Britain but recognition that it should, in the long term, be only part of Australia's trading economy. Burgmann's negotiation of Australia's trading relationships is at the juncture of the Imperial versus geographical tension that, typified Australia's developing identity in the era.

On the other side of the Pacific was, of course, the United States and its ever increasing importance in international affairs. In 1941 this led to the coining of the term 'American Century' as an alternate moniker for the twentieth century.[90] Cognisant of American influence and intrigued with its development from British origins, Portus, in 1927 and 1940, and MacCallum, in 1928, considered the United States from historical and contemporary perspectives. Portus, following a 1927 visit to the United States, wrote a series of articles for the *Sydney Morning Herald* on his impressions of America's political, social and economic climate. He argued that economics rather than politics dominated American thought and as a result the country's political development had been impaired; there was a "hollowness of

[88] Gwenda Tavan, "Immigration: Control or Colour Bar?," *Australian Historical Studies* 32, no. 117 (2001), p.182; David Johanson, "History of the White Australia Policy," in *Immigration: Control or Colour Bar*, ed. Kenneth Rivett, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1962), pp.14-15; Gwenda Tavan, *The Long Slow Death of White Australia* (Carlton North (Vic): Scribe Publications, 2005), p.8.

[89] "Eastern Eyes on Our Empty Spaces," p.1.

[90] The term 'American Century' was first used by the founder of *Time* magazine, Henry Luce, in 1941.

the traditional factions that pass for political parties" as, unlike Australia and Britain, the parties had not developed out of "real" interests.[91] The United States hid this political deficit behind its industrial strength and serious social problems had developed.[92] The United States further differed from Britain and Australia because it was self-sufficient with an abundance of natural resources and a strong manufacturing sector. It could therefore afford a protectionist trade policy, whereas Australia and Britain could not as they depended on other countries for manufactured goods and raw materials.[93]

Portus' study of the United States and his comparative analysis with Australia and Britain was complemented by MacCallum the following year. In a lecture to the Legacy Club, reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, MacCallum outlined the reasons for enmity and friendship between the United States and Britain. Like Portus, he remarked on the substantial political differences between the two countries but believed, ultimately, the populations would become much alike. This was seen in a mutual ambition for order and freedom and a oneness in social ideals. A coexisting unity in literature led to "oneness in the spiritual atmosphere and substantial coincidence in character development". Yet MacCallum was not confident of immediate co-operation. In the meantime, the British Empire, he argued, would have to rely on the "loyalty, brotherhood and patriotism of its own citizens".[94]

Taken together, both discussions reveal a fascination with the United States and an apparent need to comprehend how this 'new country', with its roots as firmly entrenched in Britain as were Australia's, was destined to fit into the greater international picture. By 1940, when Portus delivered an ABC radio talks series on

[91] G. V. Portus, "Meeting Uncle Sam (X)," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 January 1928, p.16.

[92] G. V. Portus, "Meeting Uncle Sam (I)," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 November 1927, p.13.

[93] G. V. Portus, "Meeting Uncle Sam (III)," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 November 1927, p.10.

[94] "Causes of Discord, United States and Britain," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 July 1928, p.10.

the United States, he had come to a conclusion that the United States was "our neighbour" as Americans "strive for the same things and think the same thoughts".[95] As the "industrial mistress of the world", the United States was increasingly being impelled to abandon its isolationist policy for trade security. This necessary involvement in world politics would, however, be beneficial as the United States was a "stronghold of moral idealism". Portus claimed evidence of this could be seen in prohibition legislation; the fact that the League of Nations concept originated in the United States and that of all the allied nations in the First World War, the United States was the only one not to have acquired territorial gains.[96]

The enthusiasm of Portus and MacCallum is in considerable contrast to Hancock, who warned in 1930 that it was too "easy" to exaggerate the similarities between Australia and the United States. Implicit in Hancock's assessment was that Australia had a choice between Britain and the United States.[97] MacCallum and Portus were closer to Haldane who, in "Higher Nationality", also spoke of the commonality between Britain and North America and suggested they were as if a "single society".[98]

The parallel with the thought of Haldane, rather than Hancock, is not surprising given the emphasis on forging unity that we have seen throughout this chapter. Each of the five thinkers, with the exception of MacCallum, articulated a coherent theory of international relations that envisaged a transition from a national community to an international community. MacCallum touched on this theme through his discussion of Britain and the United States. The considerable

[95] G. V. Portus, "The World Our Neighbour I - the United States", 1940, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts,, Series SP300/2, Portus/3, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

[96] G. V. Portus, "The World Our Neighbour - the United States II", 1940, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/3, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

[97] Hancock, *Australia*, pp.253-255.

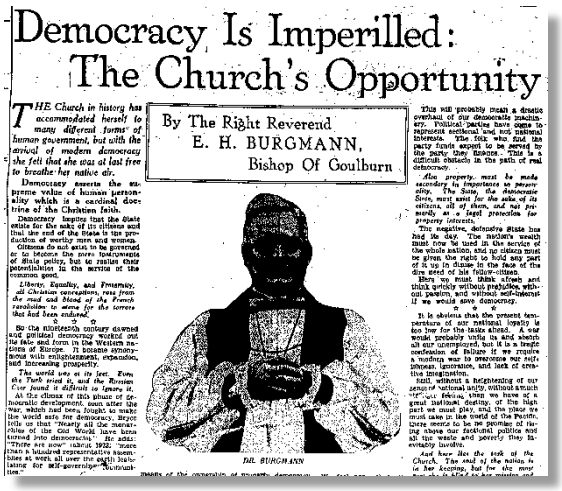
[98] Haldane, "Higher Nationality", p.509. Haldane also included Canada in this discussion.

public engagement of the Australian Idealists came at a time when Australia was, according to Meaney, a reluctant participant in international affairs.[99] Meaney refers to foreign policy and political/diplomatic relations but, as we have seen throughout, such minutiae were not paramount in the Idealists' thought. Rather, their thought stemmed from a preponderant belief in universal unity. Obstructing this path were, of course, the world wars of 1914 - 1918 and 1939 – 1945. However, as the next chapter will reveal, the Idealists saw these conflicts more as a semi colon than a full stop on the way to world unity.

[99] Meaney, *Australia and the World*, p.14.

Chapter Six

"Unite or perish":[1] War and Post-war Reconstruction



Democracy Is Imperilled: The Church's Opportunity

By The Right Reverend E. H. BURGMANN, Bishop Of Goulburn

THE Church in history has accommodated herself to many different forms of human government, but with the arrival of modern democracy she felt that she was at last free to breathe her native air.

Democracy asserts the supreme value of human personality which is a cardinal doctrine of the Christian faith.

Democracy begins that the State exists for the sake of its citizens and that the end of the State is the production of worthy men and women.

Citizens do not exist to be governed so to balance the mere instruments of State policy, but to realise their potentialities in the service of the common good.

Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, all Christian conceptions, rose from the mud and blood of the French revolution to atone for the terrors that had been endured.

☆ ☆ ☆

So the nineteenth century dawned and political democracy worked out its fate and form in the Western nations of Europe. It became synonymous with enlightenment, expansion, and increasing prosperity.

The world was at its feet. Even the Turk acted it, and the Russian Czar found it difficult to ignore it.

At the climax of this phase of democratic development, soon after the war, which had been fought to make the world safe for democracy, Bryce tells us that "Nearly all the monarchies of the Old World have been turned into democracies." He adds: "There are now (about 1922) more than a hundred representative assemblies at work all over the earth, bestirring for self-government."

This will probably mean a drastic overhaul of our democratic machinery. Political parties have come to represent sectional and not national interests. The folk who find the party figure expect to be served by the party they finance. This is a difficult obstacle in the path of real democracy.

Also property must be made secondary in importance to personality. The State, the democratic State, must exist for the sake of its citizens, all of them, and not primarily as a legal protection for property interests.

The negative, defensive State has had its day. The nation's wealth must now be used in the service of the whole nation, and no citizen must be given the right to hold any part of it up in disuse in the face of the dire need of his fellow-citizens.

Here we must think afresh and think quickly without prejudice, without pedantry, and without self-interest if we would save democracy.

☆ ☆ ☆

It is obvious that the present temperature of our national loyalty is too low for the tasks ahead. A war would probably unfix us and wipe all our unemployed, but it is a tragic confession of failure if we require a modern war to overcome our self-interest, ignorance, and lack of creative imagination.

Still, without a heightening of our sense of national unity, without a much "God-fearing" sense of a great national destiny, of the high part we must play, and the place we must take in the world of the Pacific, there seems to be no promise of rising above our factional politics and all the waste and poverty they inevitably involve.

And here lies the task of the Church. The soul of the nation is in her keeping, but for the most

THE BURGMANN

[2]

The most controversial aspect of Idealist thought is its relationship to war. From the First World War onwards critics have claimed the Kantian and, particularly, Hegelian theories of the supremacy of the state were direct causes of the rise of Prussian and later German militarism and that led to the conflicts of 1914 – 1918 and 1939 to 1945. By default, British Idealism too came under attack for its adoption of the German philosophies of state. Whilst several of the British Idealists refuted the arguments, the criticisms gained enough currency to be frequently cited as the major factor in the demise of British Idealism after the First World War. Modern commentators now argue in defence of Hegel and his followers and believe the earlier critics misunderstood the Hegelian concept of

[1] "War and the Church," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 January 1940, p.13.

[2] Copy of a clipping from a *Daily Telegraph* article by E.H. Burgmann. The *Telegraph* frequently used this image to illustrate reports associated with Burgmann. Burgmann, "Democracy Is Imperilled," p.8.

state by focusing incorrectly on material supremacy rather than a spiritual ascendancy within moral order.[3]

This controversy has, however, always been a northern hemisphere dispute and there is no evidence the arguments had any major airing in Australia. Privately though, as we will see, Mungo MacCallum reflected on Germany's transformation from a leader of western philosophy to totalitarian aggressor. Free from the northern debates, the antipodean Idealists were able to pursue their agenda for unity and concentrate on post-war social reconstruction. Unspoken as such, but identifiable, were Hegelian concepts of universality. Furthermore, the Hegelian and subsequent British Idealist emphasis on obligation to the state is evident. It was these areas of thought that, once again, brought the Australian Idealists being considered in this thesis to the fore as public intellectuals, amidst debates on post-war reconstruction and conscription.[4]

This chapter is an examination of more than 40 newspaper articles and radio broadcasts in which the thought is revealed of Francis Anderson, Mungo MacCallum, W. Jethro Brown, E.H. Burgmann and G.V. Portus in relation to war and post-war reconstruction. Brought together, these publications provide a significant corpus of Australian Idealist thought on war, its causes and prevention. Anderson did publish a small book on the theme, *Peace or War*, as a fundraiser for the League of Nations union. However, this too is media related as it is a collection of previously published newspaper articles, a public address which was given

[3] In the First World War the main and most virulent criticism of British Idealism's Hegelian legacy came from the British liberal politician and sociologist, L.T. Hobhouse. The American philosopher John Dewey was similarly critical and his criticisms received a second airing during the Second World War. For further discussion see: John Morrow, "British Idealism, 'German Philosophy' and the First World War," *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 28, no. 3 (1982), pp.380-90; Collini, "Hobhouse, Bosanquet and the State: Philisophical Idealism and Political Argument in England 1880-1918," pp.86-111; Boucher, *A Radical Hegelian*, pp.140-177; den Otter, *British Idealism and Social Explanation*, pp.13-14; Gordon, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, pp.202-203.

[4] Burgmann is named by the intellectual historian James Walter as one of several prominent public intellectuals in Australia in discussions on post-war reconstruction. Walter, *What Were They Thinking?* , p.184.

newspaper coverage, and the script of a radio broadcast.[5] It was therefore through the media that the Idealists' thought was most extensively articulated.

From this material it is quickly evident that the five thinkers took a typically Idealist perspective that saw war as an aberration and a failure of states to fulfil their potential of statehood.[6] The emphasis in their thinking was on the causes of war and post-war reconstruction rather than the minutiae of wartime events and policy, with one important exception: military conscription. Thus, this chapter begins with an examination of their thinking as to the causes of war, followed by a lengthy consideration of their aims for post-war reconstruction after both world wars. Finally, the thought of Brown and MacCallum on military conscription is examined. This too is revealed as arising out of Idealist notions of duty and citizenship.

In order to best understand the contribution of these Idealists to wartime and post-war debates, it is first necessary to briefly trace the role of Australia in both wars and the prevailing political climate.

Australia and world war

Australia's participation in the two world wars of 1914 – 1918 and 1939 to 1945 was uncontested as a natural affirmation of her loyalty to Britain.[7] In the First World War this allegiance was famously pledged by the Labor leader, Andrew Fisher, who promised to defend Britain to "our last man and our last shilling".[8] Twenty five years later, when Britain declared war on Germany, the then Prime

[5] Francis Anderson, *Peace or War* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1935).

[6] Boucher, *Political Theories of International Relations*, p.347; Boucher, ed. *The British Idealists*, p.xxxi.

[7] Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, p.187.

[8] Damousi, "War and Commemoration: 'the Responsibility of Empire'," p.294; F.W. Eggleston, *Reflections of an Australian Liberal* (Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1953), p.35.

Minister Robert Menzies immediately declared Australia "is also at war".[9] Though both wars began in Europe, Australia's role in the defence of Britain was never seriously questioned and the Australian contributions, in terms of personnel, were sizeable. More than 330,000 men fought in the First World War, in which 60,000 died. In the Second World War almost one million Australians served and 37,000 died.[10]

Australia's war efforts may have been dominated by British allegiance but she was also wary of her own security. German expansion in the Pacific prior to 1914 and Japanese territorial ambitions, as evidenced by the 1931 Manchurian invasion, caused local concern about a future invasion of Australian shores or a threat to her Pacific interests. Supporting Britain, it was believed, would help ensure a quid quo pro response if Australia was threatened. Whilst the fall of Singapore in the Second World War was seen as a British betrayal, Australia nonetheless continued to resource the European arena.[11] However, over the course of the war her contribution was necessarily reduced as the Japanese threat increased locally with the bombing of Darwin and invasion of Papua New Guinea, Australia's closest northern neighbour. Australian forces and weaponry were needed closer to home.[12]

As these events played out there was a dominant bipartisan discourse. However, there was one major and bitter challenge to consensus opinion. The most divisive debate of either war (and one of the most divisive in all Australian nineteenth and twentieth century history) was that of military conscription, which

[9] Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, p.187.

[10] Ibid., pp.163,192.

[11] Singapore was developed as a key naval base by the British in the Pacific. During the Second World War British and Australian troops were stationed there as part of Australia's defence against Japan. Despite assurances from Britain that the outpost was sufficiently fortified it fell to the Japanese in December 1942. For further detail see: David Day, *The Great Betrayal: Britain, Australia and the Onset of the Pacific War 1939 - 1942* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1988).

[12] Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, pp.188-90.

went to referenda in 1916 and 1917.[13] Although Australians voted "no" to conscription on both occasions, the greatest consequence of the referenda was the exposure of a raw undercurrent of clashing class and religious ideologies.[14]

Mungo MacCallum was a key leader in the pro-conscription movement and his rationale is discussed in the last section of this chapter. W. Jethro Brown was also drawn into the debate but to a much lesser extent. Their interest, it will be seen, stemmed from broader and Idealist notions of duty and citizenship rather than Empire loyalty and military resources alone.

Apart from the conscription issue, the Australian Idealists did not, in any significant manner, contribute to public debate over war policy or events. Such landmark battles as Gallipoli in the First World War or such issues as the 1944 referendum to increase Commonwealth Government powers for post-war reconstruction, do not rate a mention. Instead, their preoccupation was with the future, rather than the present. This is found in Anderson's committed public support for the League of Nations and Portus' and Burgmann's lengthy discussions on post-Second World War reconstruction. This emphasis is typically Idealist, stemming from the belief that war is a diversion from the normality of positive state relations.[15] They also had fellow travellers, such as the liberal Australian F. W. Eggleston, who believed the terror of war paled into insignificance against the challenge of post-war rebuilding.[16] Eggleston, however, like W.K. Hancock, viewed the internationalist cause in party-political terms, arguing that while both parties supported the League it was through Labor that

[13] F.B. Smith, *The Conscription Plebiscites in Australia 1916 - 17*, 3rd ed. (Melbourne: Victorian Historical Association, 1971), p.11. Ernest Scott, *The Official History of Australia in the War 1914 - 1918, Volume 11, Australia During the War*, 7th ed. (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1941), pp.341-342.

[14] Moore, "A Civic Order," p.142.

[15] Boucher, *A Radical Hegelian*, pp.170,173.

[16] Eggleston, *Reflections of an Australian Liberal*, p.158.

Australia's strongest support for the League of Nations was made.[17] Hancock refers to Labor's "international idealism", but, as we will see, Anderson, Portus and Burgmann in their discussions of post-war reconstruction were informed by philosophical rather than party-political beliefs.

The concern of Anderson, Portus and Burgmann for the ramifications of conflict on the future cohesion of humanity brought them to the fore of public debate and gave each high media profiles throughout the 1920s, 30s and 40s. As Tod Moore asserts the Great War itself was the key influence on public intellectual debate in the interwar years.[18] The Australian Idealists were amongst the protagonists.

Causes of War

Revealed in the 1930's writings, speeches and broadcasts of Anderson, Burgmann and Portus is a valuable amount of material discussing their thought on the causes of war. The timing of these discussions, in the interwar period but many years on from the end of the First World War, is interesting and reflects growing fears by this period that the 1914-1918 war was not going to be the 'war that ended all war'. In their thinking the Idealists did not dwell on the empirical causes of specific political and military actions. Rather, as we saw in the previous chapter, they took a broader view that saw such minutiae as symptoms of a greater human malaise. The Australian Idealists being studied here argued that war was the result of the primacy of politics in society with an associated diminution of ethical and religious influence.

To Anderson, as articulated in a 1932 speech reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, war was a tension between the political balance of ethics and

[17] Ibid., p.35; Hancock, *Australia*, pp.249-250.

[18] Moore, "A Civic Order," p.134.

morality. If politics was allowed to inform morality than war would always be inevitable. However, if ethics informed politics then peace would prevail.[19] Burgmann, two years later, in a reported sermon, offered a similar interpretation: the advance of political and associated economic interests over Christianity had led to a breakdown of loyalty between individuals. The result, argued Burgmann, was a "race between spirit and war".[20] Portus came to a similar conclusion but via an analogy between the present day and the time of Christ. Christ, he argued in a reported address to St Andrew's Cathedral in Sydney in 1933, had been killed because of his moral and political platform, which if carried out, would have led to national reform. Portus likened the "theocratic imperialism" of the Hebrew Pharisees to German nationalism in the lead up to 1914. This was continued, he argued, by France in the Treaty of Versailles, which was based on the premise that the French style of civilization was the most desirable and should be imposed internationally.[21]

The common thread of the three Idealists' argument is evident – war was the manifestation of the victory of the political over the spiritual. Their emphasis on political supremacy differs slightly from such British Idealists as Jones, who believed war arose out of a preponderance of materialism.[22] Yet the net effect was the same and Idealists on both sides of the world believed the ascendancy of conflict was a result of the neglect of the spiritual. This theme was to re-emerge in several articles authored by Anderson for the *Sydney Morning Herald* throughout 1933 to 1936. As we will now see, taken together the articles provide a substantial treatise on Anderson's theory of the cause of war.

---

[19] "World Peace: The League and its Work," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 February 1932, p.8.

[20] "From the Pulpit: Cause of Peace," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 May 1934, p.8.

[21] "Nationalism," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 March 1933, p.12.

[22] Boucher, *A Radical Hegelian*, p.161.

Throughout the articles Anderson advocated major change in humanity's political, social and religious structures as necessary for a genuine avoidance of war in the future. "How long," Anderson asked in 1935, "shall the peoples of the world go on listening to politicians lamenting over the inevitability of war, and by their actions and inactions giving the lie to their professions of peace."[23] This lie, Anderson argued in an article the following year, enabled the true causes of war to be obscured. The true causes were humanity's penchant for aggression and domination and a predilection for force over persuasion. Violence had therefore become the norm and in some countries the main instrument of government. The result of this was an increase in militarism and Europe now hosted many military autocracies. Civilization had to progress to allow a different culture and, ultimately, a change in human nature.[24] This social and political reconstruction could only emerge if there was a united front against aggression. This, in turn, was a necessary condition of "permanent peace".[25]

Anderson's concept of permanent peace echoed Kant's *Perpetual Peace* in arguing for the progression of humanity beyond the barbarism of war. Anderson's permanent peace would be part of a new world order that was built on justice between peoples, classes and nations. He argued that peace was not just an absence of conflict, a condition that could never be achieved.

> Peace as absence of war is an abstract and largely negative conception. If our idea of peace is to be fruitful it must carry with it other ideas, and receive a positive constructive meaning. It must imply a development of thought and action, towards newer ends and higher values, towards better economical and political systems, and a better ordering of society.[26]

[23] Anderson, "The Air," p.8.

[24] Anderson, "Two Religions," p.10.

[25] Anderson, "An Appeal," p.14.

[26] Francis Anderson, "Armistice Day, Significance of Celebration," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 November 1933, p.11.

This "better ordering of society" required a rejection of greed and needless sacrifice of human life. To avoid the outbreak of war, the battle for peace had to replicate a war itself. The war to end war should have begun, claimed Anderson, in November 1918. The "war" for peace could only ever be conducted during peacetime, for this was when true progress could be made. But the short term view of governments since 1918 had prevented the realignment of priorities that was necessary to avoid war in the future. This had left the world in the "shadow of a great social and political, moral and religious eclipse, following from the greatest human failure on a large scale in the history of the world".[27] There was one way, believed Anderson, for the world to escape this shadow and that was through the League of Nations.

The League of Nations

Established in the aftermath of the First World War, the League of Nations attracted particular support from intellectuals seeking international co-operation or, in the words of E.H. Carr, attempted the "transplantation of democratic rationalism from the national to the international".[28] In essence it can be viewed as the 'first wave' of post-war reconstruction, although that term is usually used in relation to the post Second World War era. The League was supported, to varying degrees, by nearly all Idealists as a means of returning humanity to its natural condition of peace.[29] In Australia, it became a cause célèbre for Francis Anderson.

The genealogy of the concept of a League of Nations has been traced by one of its key historians, F.P. Walters, through a three hundred year evolution of religious pacifism and international law. Walters argues the luminary figure in this

[27] Anderson, "Two Religions."

[28] Carr, *The Twenty Years Crisis 1919 - 1939*, p.28.

[29] Boucher, *A Radical Hegelian*, p.174; Boucher, *The British Idealists*, p.xxxi.

history is the 17th century Dutch philosopher and political theorist Hugo Grotius (1583-1645).[30] The Grotian theory of a co-operative and voluntary international society is regarded as one of the three dominant theories of international relations, falling midway between the eternal conflict of Machiavellianism and Idealism, which was discussed in the previous chapter (see page 183). Walters claims Grotius' distinction between just and unjust wars was lost to international relations theory until the 1919 signing of the League Covenant. He believes this distinction was a core feature of the Covenant and more influential than Kant's *Perpetual Peace*, which rejected the Grotian concept of a just war. Kant argued that the just/unjust idea incorrectly legitimised war as a moral means of correcting a wrongdoing. Kant, instead, saw war as necessary only for self defence.[31] As will be seen later in this chapter, this ideological duel between the Grotian and Kantian provides a contextual background to Francis Anderson's interpretation of the League and its role.

Aside from its philosophical inheritance, the League, as articulated by its recognised founder, the United States president Woodrow Wilson (1856 – 1924), is regarded politically as a symbol of what has been alternately described as practical internationalism or progressive internationalism.[32] Both are viewed as a pacifist inspired, but not exclusively directed, internationalism that promoted co-operation between nations and international arbitration. Wilson's Fourteen Points plan, that invoked the League at the end of the First World War, is a culmination of these movements and a reaction to the conflicted European morass of 1914 – 1918.

Structurally, the League's architecture was conveyed in the Covenant, or charter, which came into force in 1920. The League membership was confined to

[30] F.P. Walters, *A History of the League of Nations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952; reprint, 1969), pp.4-6.

[31] Boucher, *Political Theories of International Relations*, pp.277-279.

[32] Walters, *A History of the League of Nations*, pp.8-11; Thomas J. Knock, *To End All Wars, Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp.48-69.

the 32 states and dominions that had signed the Treaty of Versailles and 13 neutral states. Others states could apply to be admitted. The League was to be led by a Council consisting, initially, of four permanent members and four non-permanent members that varied triennially. Furthermore, the Assembly of the League, consisting of representatives from all members, was to meet annually. The overarching thrust of the Covenant, as defined in Article 24, was recognition of the international nature of modern state relations. Specifically, its key features included disarmament to the "lowest possible level", respect for territorial and political independence of fellow members and a right of appeal to the Council for determination over member state disputes. Disputes were to be settled by arbitration or a proposed International Court of Justice. Members were not to partake in war until there had least been some deliberation by the League or its various bodies. Sanctions were to be applied to any member that engaged in war in violation of the Covenant.[33]

Swept up in this new internationality was Australia, which was a foundation member of the League. Australia, it has been claimed, "came of age"[34] in the League as it was the new nation's first formal foray into international relations. But it wasn't an overtly joyous graduation into the global arena. As W.J. Hudson argues, Australian governments for the majority of the League's duration were dominated by conservatives who did not subscribe to the key concept of the League as a "supranational" organisation.[35] More genuine support for the League emerged from local branches of the League of Nations Union (LONU). The Union was the largest of a number of private associations set up to promote the ideals of the League. Initially founded in Britain in 1918 it had sister associations in many

[33] Walters, *A History of the League of Nations*, pp.40-61.

[34] W.J. Hudson, *Australia and the League of Nations* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1980), p.3.

[35] Ibid., pp.4-6.

countries and was established in Australia in 1921.[36] F.W. Eggleston became one of the founding members of the Victorian Branch,[37] whilst the president of the New South Wales branch from 1931 to 1941 was Francis Anderson.

It is now historical fact that the League, as scripted above, ultimately failed. Its progressive downfall over the two decades following the first meeting in 1920 is a conflicted trajectory that key supporters, like Francis Anderson, had to negotiate. Of the Australian Idealists being studied here, Anderson and Portus were the most inspired by the League and, on a practical level, involved in its promotion. As such, this part of the chapter is dominated by an extensive examination of their thought on the League, with recognition of Brown's and Burgmann's more limited observations.

The Idealist imperative for unity led Anderson to the League of Nations movement in Australia. The LONU has been regarded by the Australian political historian, James Walter, as one of several organisations in the inter-war period that provided the basis for an expansion of public intellectualism in Australia through publication of various periodicals.[38] As such the movement brought Anderson to the fore as a key public intellectual during the period. Anderson had emerged from retirement to take up the presidency of the New South Wales LONU branch and subsequently assumed a high public profile through speeches to different groups, letters to newspapers, authored newspaper articles and radio broadcasts. One of these broadcasts was reprinted in pamphlet form by the LONU.[39] Through

[36] Walters, *A History of the League of Nations*, p.201; Francis Anderson, "The Work of the League of Nations Union," (Sydney: League of Nations Union (NSW Branch), 1941), p.2.

[37] Like Anderson, Eggleston retained a belief in the ideals of the League but was more aware of its limitations. See: Neville Meaney, "Frederic Eggleston on International Relations and Australia's Role in the World," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 51, no.3 (2005), p.362.

[38] Walter, *What Were They Thinking?* , pp.161-162.

[39] Anderson, "The Work of the League of Nations Union."

this material Anderson's almost devout enthusiasm for the League and its mission is revealed.

As we saw in the previous chapter, Anderson sought a united internationalism that brought all peoples together in justice and equity. His understanding of the role of the League of Nations strongly reflects these ideals. The League, he believed, had originated out of a need to introduce "moral law" into international politics.[40] Its purpose was not to act as a prescriptive authority but to promote respectful co-operation between nations and avert conflict by providing avenues for peaceful and legal conciliation. As such its role was preventative rather than curative. The League would intervene before disagreements deteriorated to the point of warfare.

Anderson argued that the League was not international in the sense that it denied individual statehood but international in its aim for global co-operation. It recognised that nations could retain their independence whilst acknowledging their interdependence. This meant nations were not beholden to "orders from Geneva" or even had to acquiesce to all the League's proposals.[41]

The use of the word 'League' in the organisation's title was misleading, Anderson claimed, as it implied it was a "league against something". A more accurate title would be a "society of nations" that saw all wars as civil wars, that is, wars between "fellow citizens of a society of nations".[42] As discussed in the previous chapter the society of nations concept had considerable currency and has been regarded as typical of those who took a Kantian view of international relations (see page 185).

Throughout the 1930s there were several setbacks to the League's mission, including the withdrawal of Germany and Italy. The final setback or, more

[40] "World Peace."

[41] "League of Nations:Oxford Students Criticised," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 March 1933, p.10.

[42] "Letter to the Editor," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 April 1931, p.9; "International Co-Operation," p.8.

accurately, the death knell, was the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. Despite these events Anderson remained faithful to the League and its ideals. In 1933, after Germany's withdrawal from the League, Anderson authored an article for the *Sydney Morning Herald*, arguing Germany's action was a "serious but not fatal blow".[43] At the time Anderson believed Germany's preference for an isolationist policy, like that of Japan and the United States, would ultimately fail. Her withdrawal would strengthen rather than weaken the League. It can be seen how Anderson's commitment to the Idealist principle of unity influenced his assessment of the impact of Germany's withdrawal. Anderson saw that progress was only achievable through co-operation. Anderson was so firm in this belief that he saw the League's status as analogous to that of Christianity: "If the League fails it will fail as Christianity fails, only by being false to its own ideal and principles".[44] The only way for nations to demonstrate commitment to peace and justice as international ideals was through the League, otherwise they were, in effect, renouncing peace and justice.

And it was this sentiment that Anderson revisited in 1936 after the Italian invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) the previous year. Abyssinia had appealed to the League for help. The League denounced Italy as the aggressor and imposed sanctions. However the sanctions were not fully enforced with Britain and France, in particular, failing to uphold them.[45] The crisis prompted Anderson to author an article for the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Anderson wrote that discord among League members in responding to Italy had allowed the single-mindedness of the Italian leader, Benito Mussolini to triumph. Peace and security would never be ensured unless all countries co-operated in unison. Thus, the League had not failed, Anderson argued. Rather, it was nations that had failed the League. They had

[43] Francis Anderson, "Germany Contra Mundum," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 October 1933, p.10.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Walters, *A History of the League of Nations*, pp.623-691.

done so repeatedly through "indecision, procrastination and moral cowardice". The crisis had allowed the League's "enemies" to gloat over the organisation's effectiveness but, Anderson appealed, the League remained stronger than its opposition and its supporters should "take courage and stand fast".[46]

Anderson's faith in the eventual success of the League appears somewhat naive. The Abyssinian failure had prompted the British LONU to reappraise its publicity and explore new means of influencing popular opinion. It also renegotiated its position on rearmament, arguing that the new international situation meant it was necessary.[47] Anderson, meanwhile, continued his unequivocal support for the original League Covenant. His next public discussion of the League came in 1938 in an address to Rotary Club members in Sydney. In newspaper coverage of the address Anderson reportedly repeated his defence of the League and spoke of its less publicised successes, the 4000 plus treaties that were a "bridge between nations". Again Anderson argued it was nations that had betrayed the League by not complying with its resolutions. Disarmament could not occur by the will of the League alone; nations must choose to comply. Similarly, the lack of full support of League intentions meant it had become a source of "cynical amusement". But, queried Anderson, "are we going to continue in an imbecile optimism?".[48]

A year later and just weeks after the outbreak of the Second World War, Anderson co-signed a letter to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, reaffirming the LONU's commitment to the key principles of the League.[49] Anderson had been the main publicist for the Union and through the tone of the letter it appears he was the

[46] Anderson, "An Appeal."

[47] Donald S. Birn, *The League of Nations Union 1918 - 1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p.168.

[48] "League of Nations," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 August 1938, p.10.

[49] "Allied War Aims," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 September 1939, p.14. The other signatories on the letter, all members of LONU NSW branch were: C.E.W. Bean, Arthur H. Garnsey, F. E. Barraclough and Raymond G. Watt.

main, if not sole, author. The letter is particularly significant in that it appears to support military action. Referring to the declaration of war against Germany, following its invasion of Poland, the letter states: "we wish that this stand had been taken in 1932 when many countries were prepared to be loyal to their pledges to the League". The comment relates to the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, when the League could have imposed sanctions against Japan or declared war against Japan as an aggressor. Instead, in what is regarded as it first main failure, the League demanded Japan withdraw from Manchuria. Japan refused and a year later withdrew from the League itself.[50] In the main though, the letter was a plea for the League's ideals. The war, the letter stated, was the result of a "reversion to power politics". A return to peace would only be possible if nations supported an international system based on the League's ideals of justice, co-operation and collective responsibility. These ideals needed to be emphasised by Allied governments and not lost amongst the "demoralising effects of war". Several times throughout the letter the need for government adherence to the three ideals was stressed and it concluded: "Whether there is peace or war these ideals still claim our loyalty".[51]

Anderson's final public affirmation of the ideals of the League came six months before his death in 1941. Twice in the January of that year Anderson, speaking as president of the NSW LONU, used radio to deliver his message. In an ABC broadcast, "The World of Tomorrow", delivered as a New Year address, the 82-year year old took a line from the 1854 Alfred Lord Tennyson poem The Charge of the Light Brigade, "Theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do or die", as his sustaining argument. In the First World War and its aftermath, said Anderson, there had been too little emphasis on "reason why". Therefore humanity had not

[50] Walters, *A History of the League of Nations*, pp.466-499.

[51] "Allied War Aims."

progressed out of a thoughtless reliance on military solutions. The outcome of the current war would be no different unless the "minds, will and consciences" of people were devoted to the ideals of a new, peaceful world order. The Allies had therefore lost the peace and if they had lost the peace could it truly be said that they had won the war. Peace must be planned for and maintained in as strategically a thorough manner as war is conducted.[52]

> It is not a question of drawing up terms of peace or articles of a treaty or plans for a New Jerusalem, or any special scheme of reconstruction. The successful settlement of all special problems is conditioned by the one great problem, the maintenance of world peace if progress is to be the development of order and not the spasmodic successions of revolutions and counter-revolutions.[53]

Anderson was hopeful that such progress was possible. He said three essential ideas that would help guarantee a sustained peace after the present war were beginning to take hold. These were the equality of opportunity of all people that was only limited by the individual; the supremacy of the common good over individual greed, and "the great ideal of spiritual unity and the essential brotherhood of mankind" over national greed and racial hatreds. These ideals, he said were not merely secular or humanitarian but were essentially religious and Christian. They could be enshrined, he argued, through a restored League of Nations.[54] A week later, on 10 January, Anderson made his final appeal:

> The League of Nations is the only secular organisation which stands for International Goodwill. It may change its form but it will never change its aim or water down its ideal. It may become a religion, but it will never degenerate into a formal church.[55]

---

[52] Anderson, "The World of Tomorrow."

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Anderson, "The Work of the League of Nations Union." This pamphlet was a transcript of the ABC broadcast, on 2BL, on 10 January 1941.

And so, at the time of his final public utterance, after almost 18 months of world war, Anderson remained resolute in his faith in the League of Nations. These final broadcasts reveal, however, that it was not the League per se that Anderson championed but the ideals that it invoked. The League structure was a conduit to the achievement of these greater ideals, which were at the core of Anderson's Idealism – a united, spiritual and progressive humanity.

W. Jethro Brown also emphasised the ideal over the machinery. A League of Nations, he said in August 1918, would only be effective if the "spirit of humanity" was to be educated to support the "rule of right and law". Yet the need for a League was great. It should, Brown said, have authority to formulate rules of international law, a judicature to decide disputes and have an international police force at its call.[56] Brown's statement on the League came at the end of a longer speech on international law he delivered to the Adelaide Diocesan Social Union, which the organisation later published. In a brief note preceding the published version Brown wrote that he had not known the lecture would be published and had only retained sketchy notes. However, he was grateful to the local newspaper which had published an "excellent report" of the lecture.[57] This comment reinforces the importance of media reports in historical research, at times capturing words and thoughts that not even the author has recorded in a permanent form.

Like Brown, Burgmann was not personally involved in the LONU but did comment publicly on two occasions on the League of Nations.[58] Both comments were published in 1936, during the Abyssinian crisis. The first was in a New Year

[56] "International Law," *Advertiser*, 13 August 1918, p.6; "International Law," *Register*, 13 August 1918, p.7.

[57] W. Jethro Brown, "International Law," in *A League of Nations: Four Lectures* (Adelaide: Adelaide Diocesan Social Union, 1918), p.12.

[58] It is worth noting that Burgmann retained a lifelong friendship with his former student H.V. Evatt who, as a Labor Minister for External Affairs, was instrumental in the formation of the United Nations, the successor to the League of Nations after the Second World War. Evatt was heavily influenced by Burgmann's Idealism, which is evident in many of his speeches from that time. For a detailed biography of Evatt see: Kylie Tennant, *Evatt, Politics and Justice* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1970).

Diocesan letter reprinted in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the second was an article he authored the following May for the *Daily Telegraph* on the collapse of the League.[59]

Burgmann's concept of the League did, however, differ from Anderson in that it emphasised its European, rather than global nature and openly recognised the League's failure. Burgmann was not formally associated with any League organisation and could therefore speak more freely. That said, there is no evidence to suggest that Anderson's public discussion of the League differed greatly from his private views.

Europe itself, argued Burgmann, was a wounded entity with a damaged soul. Enveloped in fear, it had sacrificed "freedom and personality" for the safety of "physical living". Burgmann argued it was Britain's role to lead Europe out of the morass and the success or otherwise of the League depended on British leadership.[60] The core of Europe's current demise was the Treaty of Versailles, which had "perverted" the intent of the League through its manipulation, initially by France and later by Britain, for foreign policy objectives. Self-interest had stymied any chance of success and until Europe was led by an organisation that selflessly honoured justice and fair play there was "no hope" for the League or any other similar organisation. Burgmann suggested a "Federation of Europe" as a successor to the League. The Federation, or a "United States of Europe" (perceptibly not unlike the later European Union), would work towards ensuring world peace as it would be resilient to attack from other powers yet would not be large enough to be perceived as a threat. Admitting that such a body would take a long time to establish, Burgmann doubted he would be alive to see its creation as there were a number of other issues that needed to be dealt with first.

---

[59] "Allegiance to League," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 January 1936, p.10; E.H. Burgmann, "Why the League Has Collapsed," *Daily Telegraph*, 12 May 1936, p.6.

[60] "Allegiance to League," p.10.

The key issue, he argued, was that of territories. "The problem of peace," he claimed, "was the problem of markets." Peace would never be possible as long as European powers remained determined to continue mandates over territories rich in natural resources. States had to be the "servant" of the will of the people for peace rather than serving the interests of economic power and profit. Burgmann claimed there was already an overt shift from the dominance of economic imperialism to an international socialism that was a greater portent of true democracy.[61]

As we have seen elsewhere in this thesis, it was typical for Burgmann to view issues through a socialist lens. His belief in democratic socialism as a means of ensuring equality, opportunity and progress saw him return to this theme on repeated occasions. His concentration on Europe in his discussion of the League is also likely to be due to this as European countries had already embraced socialism to a greater extent than elsewhere. And so where Anderson saw the ideals of the League as the answer to peace and progress, Burgmann saw the ideals of democratic socialism as the solution. In the next section we will see a continuation of this theme in Burgmann's discussions of post Second World War reconstruction whilst, Portus, as will be shown, took a middle path.

Post-Second World War reconstruction

The League of Nations had provided a ready apparatus for Anderson's concept of a reconstructed world order in the aftermath of the First World War. But its failure in preventing the Second World War meant there was no such framework from which the later Idealists, Burgmann and Portus, could shape their thinking as they looked beyond the conflict of the 1940s to that war's conclusion. Instead, as this section will demonstrate, their speeches, articles and broadcasts of this era reveal

[61] Burgmann, "Why the League Has Collapsed," p.6.

an affirmation of their Idealist beliefs in seeking a state-led reconstruction that prioritised equity and justice as a means of ensuring peace.

In the three years between 1940 and 1943, nine articles and broadcasts have been identified in which Burgmann and Portus discuss post-war reconstruction. Whilst both men also produced other media publications during this period, these dealt more broadly with notions of internationalism (see the previous chapter) rather than specific thought on post-war reconstruction. The timing of the nine articles and broadcasts is worthy of mention. As stated, the articles were published between 1941 and 1943, two years after the war started and, importantly, two years before the war ended. The first apparent anomaly is easily explained by referring again to the Idealist conception of war as an aberration. From this point of view it is not difficult to see why Burgmann and Portus looked so quickly to the possibilities of post-war reconstruction rather than the contemporary events of the war itself. The second anomaly is less easily understood. Although the scope of this thesis ends in 1945 and both men certainly remained dominant in the media in the post-war period in the reconstruction debate, it doesn't explain why there is an absence of such discussion in the media for the last quarter of 1943, all of 1944 and throughout 1945. During this time post-war reconstruction was also on the broader political agenda, the Federal Labor government having established a Department of Post-War Reconstruction at the end of 1942.[62] Was this then a time of doubt for both men that war was in fact an aberration? Their experience of the First World War would have led them to expect a cessation after four years, therefore by the end of 1943. When there was no end in sight at that time did thoughts of post-war reconstruction seem futile and, perhaps, inappropriate? There is no definite answer to these suppositions but it is worth keeping this later 'silence' in mind when considering Burgmann and Portus' views between 1941 and 1943.

[62] Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia*, p.194.

From the outset of their discussion of post-war reconstruction both men emphasised the distinction between desire and practice. Burgmann, according to a *Sydney Morning Herald* report, argued in a January 1940 sermon that the war would inevitably lead to a new social order, but not necessarily a better social order, even if the war was won. An improved society could only take shape if action was taken now and in the immediate future: "Things will not improve just because we want them to improve". Serious consideration had to be given immediately to the future repatriation of soldiers and the development of harmonious relations between nations which have "been encouraged to hate and kill".[63] Burgmann believed that the development of a Church-led "world federation" would save civilisation, which had to either "unite or perish".[64]

A year later, in January 1941, Burgmann reiterated his plea for an immediate plan for post-war reconstruction. In an interview with the *Sunday Telegraph* he stressed that the enormity of the task to come meant it could only be led by government.

> It must be on a national scale, and must cover every side of our life. We have already waited far too long for drastic reforms in health and nutrition, housing and slum clearance, education and cultural activities generally....the best war can do is to leave an opportunity for the reconstruction of human society.[65]

Two months later, in March 1941, Portus echoed Burgmann's sentiments in a talk program, broadcast on the ABC. Portus, too, spoke of not delaying and pointed to pre-war economic and social inequities which, internationally, had allowed the rise of fascism. He also saw the need for reconstruction as an opportunity to "renovate the social order". This new order, Portus argued, would have to negotiate a distinction between the conceptual notions of freedom and

[63] "New Social Order," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 January 1940, p.8.

[64] "War and the Church."

[65] "Post-War Plans Urged at Once," *Sunday Telegraph*, 12 January 1941, p.6.

liberty and the actuality of what those concepts meant in the twentieth century. Freedom and liberty could no longer mean the right to do what one pleased as this led to a society in which the weak were suppressed, which had occurred in Britain in the previous century. That "unfettered pursuit of liberty" had necessitated state intervention and led to the modern establishment of social services. Such government interference, perceived by some as a restriction on liberty, would always be needed as "equality and liberty are irreconcilable rights". And, in the twentieth century, people wanted more rights. Most important, was the right to work. Honouring this right may mean some liberties were limited, however if post-war planning could fulfil the right to have the opportunity of employment then the economic boom and bust cycle that featured depression and inevitable war may be overcome.[66]

Portus returned to the freedom/rights dichotomy in another ABC broadcast the following year, 1942, but on this occasion acknowledged the difficulty of shifting the social order to enable greater equality. The problem with a social order based on private property rights, Portus argued, was that some people were advantaged and others disadvantaged. Those who benefitted would not want a society in which their privileges were diminished. Therefore, the reordering of society after the current war would be more difficult than in 1918/1919. A religious revival in which selfishness was restrained in order for the love of others to flourish was needed. This could be achieved through all religions, not solely Christianity. Such equanimity, admitted Portus, was not easily achieved. It would require compromise in several binaries, including capital versus labour, the individual versus the state and national sovereignty versus international security. Reconstruction, therefore, would have to be incremental. Portus supported the H. G. Wells model of a series of reconstruction commissions that constantly reviewed

[66] Portus, "All Australia Session."

progress as a realistic means of a progressive reconstruction. Australia, he believed, would be able to take a leadership role as, being a new country, it had developed "an aptitude for political experiment".[67]

Later in 1942 Burgmann delivered his famous Moorhouse Lectures, published in book form as the *Regeneration of Civilisation*. The lectures attracted the interest of the *Sydney Morning Herald* and whilst the newspaper didn't publish them in full it gave detailed summaries. In an article titled "Planning for Democracy" the *Herald* focused on Burgmann's appeal, similar to that of Portus, for a religious revival resourced through faith, love, spirit and a reunification of conscience and knowledge to overcome the disruption in personality that had led to the "sickness of civilization." Burgmann too argued against a selfish coveting of rights that would impede reconstruction. Burgmann traced this propensity to humanity's origins as a hunter: "mankind had not radically changed since man was a hunter but man must now change the direction in which he is hunting."[68]

But, society had come a long way from early barbarism, claimed Portus in a radio broadcast three months later in early 1943 and published the following year by the South Australian LONU as a pamphlet.[69] This did not mean, however, that it was close to a final state of full development, especially in regard to justice. Justice was not "static" and its values changed with each generation. Portus tied justice to peace, arguing that international justice between countries was the "price of peace". Peace was a by-product of justice and this is why the years between 1918 and 1939 could not truly be called a "peace". Peace, therefore, had to be worked

[67] G. V. Portus, "The Shape of Things to Come - It Won't Be So Easy I", 1942, Australian Broadcasting Commission Talks Transcript, Series SP300/2, Portus/10, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

[68] "Planning for Democracy," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 November 1942, p.3.

[69] G. V. Portus, "The Changing Australia - the Price of Peace", 1943, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/15, National Archives of Australia, Sydney; G. V. Portus, *The Price of Peace* (Adelaide: Australian League of Nations Union (South Australia), 1944).

towards and not merely desired: “we shall never get peace if we seek no more than peace”.[70]

Freedom, Portus had argued in a broadcast the previous week, also had to be defined. Merely seeking freedom was not sufficient: “Freedom means nothing until we give it a context. No doubt, Germans, Italians and Japanese have also been told they are fighting for freedom”. But there could not be real freedom without justice and international co-operation. In the past separate state actions had led to disharmony and war. Post-war planning had to go beyond the national to the international to facilitate social unity. Portus again recognised the impact achieving a just unity would have on rights. But, he argued, the “normalcy” of pre-war society should not be returned to. Those who sought a return to the world of 1939 had either benefitted from its inequalities or were too fearful of change to support a new order based on justice. Only from such justice, achieved internationally, could peace and freedom be found.[71]

Yet how could such international justice be practically achieved? We can look to Burgmann for a suggestion. A report of a Burgmann lecture on international affairs given in August 1943 quotes the Bishop as suggesting that Australian factories currently being used for war production could, after the war, produce goods for other countries. Taxation introduced during the war could be continued in order to help the poor in Russia, India and China.[72]

The views of Portus and Burgmann on post-war reconstruction sit comfortably alongside a particular strand of broader thought within Australia of the time, identified by Walter as a bureaucratic model of reconstruction. Features of bureaucratic reconstruction, such as full employment and its flow-on effect of

[70] Portus, "The Changing Australia - the Price of Peace."

[71] G. V. Portus, "The Return to Normalcy", 1943, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/14, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

[72] "Post-War Role of Australia," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 August 1943, p.7.

allowing individuals greater liberty, were also promoted by such Labor-minded bureaucrats as H.C. Coombs. Such initiatives would be state led with community agreement. Not dissimilar to Burgmann, Coombs wanted the resources of wartime refocused in post-war reconstruction to be redirected to "other enemies – "poverty, unemployment and the degradation of the human spirit".[73] Walter sees Coombs' understanding of post-war Australia as a practical application of the positive liberty of Kant, Green and their followers.[74] But, as we have seen, Portus and Burgmann, like Anderson before them, were not focused on Australia alone. It is here that the hallmarks of their Idealism are stamped, in promoting a future internationality, underpinned by a moral justice that would unite all citizens of the world. This was their greater imperative. The influence of the broader Idealist philosophy is similarly evident in the thinking of Brown and MacCallum in their understanding of duty to the state in wartime.

Duty in time of war

As this chapter has shown Anderson, Burgmann and Portus saw war as a temporary disjuncture in progress that gave pause for a reassessment of the social order and an opportunity to develop a better and more just society. Their thought was primarily concerned with the future. Whilst they did not dismiss the tragedy of contemporary conflicts, the present and past were primarily relevant as points of comparison to the future ideal. Meanwhile, more concerned with the present were the two remaining Idealists considered here, Brown and MacCallum. Newspaper articles from 1914 to 1918 reveal their role in debate on compulsory conscription, of which both were in favour, although, as will be seen, Brown was

[73] Tim Rowse, *Nugget Coombs: A Reforming Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.100. Rowse, p.50, says Coombs was influenced by the Christian Idealism of his parents and the Idealism of Walter Murdoch, under whom he studied English at the University of Western Australia.

[74] Walter, *What Were They Thinking?* , pp.190-193.

qualified in his support. On the surface, such a disposition seems anomalous with Idealist belief of war as an undesired abnormality. However, as will be shown, their stance can be understood in Idealist terms through a conception of military service as a necessary duty of citizenship. The emphasis of Brown and MacCallum was on duty and there is no evidence that they agreed with Hegel's view that war, or military service, cemented the bonds of citizenship.

The conscription debates of 1916 and 1917 were a political and religious quagmire of bitterness, at times flaring into violence.[75] The call for conscription emerged out of the compulsory military training scheme which had begun in 1911. Referred to at the time as 'universal service', in reality it was hardly universal with exemptions granted to more than a quarter of eligible men. The scheme was still in its infancy at the outbreak of war and many of its youthful trainees were not ready to join the regular forces.[76] Citizen groups began to form, calling for the conscription of all able men for active service in Europe. Foremost among these was the Universal Service League which was strongly supported by leading political, social, educational and religious figures.[77] In New South Wales, Mungo MacCallum was elected to the presidency of the state branch at its formation in 1915[78] and continued in the role for the duration of the war. Conscription had the support of all major newspapers.[79] Leading the pro-conscription campaign was the Labor Prime Minister Billy Hughes, who had returned from a highly successful trip to Britain early in 1916, brimming with enthusiasm for the war effort.[80]

---

[75] See, for example, C.M.H. Clark, *A History of Australia Volume 7* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1987), p.19.

[76] K.S. Inglis, "Conscription in Peace and War, 1911 - 1945," in *Conscription in Australia*, ed. Roy Forward, and Bob Reece, (St Lucia (Qld): University of Queensland Press, 1968), pp.26-29.

[77] Smith, *The Conscription Plebiscites in Australia 1916 - 17*, pp.7,10.

[78] "A Manifesto, Universal Service for the War," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 September 1915, p.17.

[79] Scott, *Australia During the War*, pp.353-354.

[80] Inglis, "Conscription in Peace and War, 1911 - 1945," p.63; Clark, *A History of Australia Volume 7*, pp.22-24.

Hughes became the 'face' of the campaign much to the intense anger of many in the labour movement who decried compulsory service as a class-based militarism.[81] Hughes was expelled from the Labor Party following the failure of the first referendum in 1916.[82] As Prime Minister in the newly formed National Party government in 1917 he continued his pro-conscription stance and promised to resign if a second referendum, in December 1917, also failed. The 'no' vote won by a larger margin and Hughes was true to his word.[83] Hughes' nemesis in the 1917 campaign was the Melbourne Catholic Archbishop, Daniel Mannix, who won support from the large Catholic working class with his virulent opposition. Middle class Catholics were incensed at what they believed was Mannix's betrayal,[84] and so, conscription became a sectarian as well as a political cleaver.

With the fracturing of political and religious ideologies the philosophies that informed both sides of the debates took on characteristics of their own, outside of the usual paradigms. It is here, as we will see, that Brown and MacCallum brought their notions of citizenship and democracy to the fore, directly challenging anti-conscription arguments that conscription was a form of class discrimination and a denial of individual rights.[85] By contrast, the 'yes' campaign, under the leadership of Hughes, relied on a more prosaic argument, stressing the need for Australia to do its fair share in the war effort and the threat of German occupation of Australia if Britain and its allies were to lose.[86] Whilst at times touching on these points, Brown and MacCallum were more concerned with the greater significance of compulsory military service as a symbol of the citizen's obligation to the state.

---

[81] John Hirst, *Sense & Nonsense in Australian History* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2006), pp.211-226.

[82] Inglis, "Conscription in Peace and War, 1911 - 1945," p.41.

[83] Scott, *Australia During the War*, pp.422-423.

[84] Inglis, "Conscription in Peace and War, 1911 - 1945," pp.36-38; Scott, *Australia During the War*, pp.409-423.

[85] Hirst, *Sense & Nonsense in Australian History*, pp.212-17.

[86] Ibid., p.218; Scott, *Australia During the War*, p.342.

The first evidence of this is seen in October 1915, when the Adelaide *Advertiser* reported Brown's address to the Peace Alliance, a socialist inspired group formed after the outbreak of the war to promote peace. Whilst Brown spoke of his "misgivings" at speaking to an organisation that "advocated peace at any price", he used the forum to argue why national service was a fundamental part of national obligation. National service was necessary, he argued, as a means of co-ordinating national resources, it was the "organisation of the nation for definite purposes, as distinct from a nation of unorganised individuals". Brown said national service did not have to resemble the militarism of Germany but needed to be regarded as a form of loyalty and, therefore, duty, to the country in which a person was "born and nurtured".[87] Brown, as he revealed earlier in an address to the League of Loyal Women in 1915, believed none should be spared in contributing to the war effort. The old adage of "women must weep" would no longer suffice. It must now stand that "men must fight and women must work".[88] In relation to conscription Brown said it may be necessary for Allied nations if Germany sought an all out victory, but he only supported it in Australia if there was popular support.[89]

In this address, Brown anticipated the core of the debate that was to come and, in regard, to the effect of war on national organisation, echoed sentiments he had expressed in an essay written earlier in 1915. By 1916 Brown had been appointed president of the Industrial Court of South Australia and did not re-enter the debate.[90]

Taking up the baton on the eastern seaboard was MacCallum through his leadership of the Universal Service League. On a personal level, MacCallum's high

[87] "National Service," *The Advertiser*, 29 October 1915, p.12.

[88] "The Loyalty of Women," *The Advertiser*, 27 July 1915, p.9.

[89] "National Service."

[90] Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives*, pp.45-46.

profile position in the debate appears surprising. In 1882 MacCallum had married a German national, Dorette Margarethe Peters.[91] The couple were in Hanover, visiting relatives, at the outbreak of the war in 1914, and returned early to Australia.[92] Later in life MacCallum described Germany as his spiritual home and wrote of his personal devastation at the country's role in twentieth century history:

> The apostasy of the German nation from the humanitarian and spiritual ideals that in my youth made her leader of the civilised world is indeed from one point of view the most tragic experience in my life.[93]

MacCallum's marriage and his admiration for the pre-war Germany did not temper his resolve for an Allied victory and, by 1916, he was calling for the German empire to be "swept away" as it had become the "most monstrous military despotism the world has ever seen".[94] MacCallum's distinction between his admiration for Germany's philosophical heritage and its twentieth century aggression was not unusual. Such distinctions have also been observed in the wartime writings of several British Idealists, including Bosanquet, Jones and Muirhead. Muirhead directly negotiated the territory in a 1915 tract, *German Philosophy in Relation to the War*, in which he attempted to distinguish between the German Idealist tradition and that country's burgeoning militarism.[95] MacCallum, apart from his brief reminiscence, quoted above, did not engage with the First World War from such a philosophical position. And yet, as we will now see, the very public role MacCallum took on in the conscription debate has Idealist overtones. Whilst MacCallum's determination to ensure an Allied victory through

[91] Cable, "MacCallum, Sir Mungo William," p.211.

[92] MacCallum, "Jottings Genealogical and Reminscential."

[93] Ibid.

[94] "Compulsion," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 August 1916, p.12.

[95] Morrow, "British Idealism, 'German Philosophy' and the First World War," p.387; William Sweet, *The Moral, Social and Political Philosophy of the British Idealists* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2009), p.217.

compulsory military service may have been partly fuelled by his distress at the loss of the German ideal, his letters to the press and lengthy newspaper reports of speeches delivered at USL meetings, reveal MacCallum was most driven by a greater belief - duty to the state. This, he claimed, was the fundamental idea behind compulsory service. He argued that conscription did not restrict the liberty of the individual but, like taxation, was an obligation to the state.[96]

> In time of stress the contribution the State had the right to exact from the citizen might extend to life itself. The citizen's duty was always there. This was true of every community civilised enough to be called a State, and especially true of a democracy. Members were bound to minister to the common need, and this surely applied to service for war.[97]

MacCallum's view of compulsion within a democracy reflects broader Idealist thinking. For example, Bosanquet argued social compulsion was necessary where it benefitted the whole of the social organism.[98] Brown made a similar case in *The Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation* that claimed legislation designed to benefit the majority, rather than the individual, would increase liberty rather than impede it.[99] To MacCallum then, compulsory service as a form of duty to the state was essential for the betterment of the state for the benefit of all its citizens.

Like Brown, MacCallum also believed in the organisational efficiency of compulsory service. He saw conscription as a "united and methodical"[100] means of bringing all classes of the community together in the war effort.[101] He believed voluntary service meant many who enlisted had better reason to remain at home

---

[96] M.W. MacCallum, "Letter to the Editor - National Efficiency and Compulsory Training," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 August 1915, p.4.

[97] "Citizen Duty," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 June 1916, p.8.

[98] Bosanquet, *The Civilization of Christendom* pp.370-375.

[99] Brown, *The Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation*, pp.57,270.

[100] "Call of Duty," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 June 1916, p.9.

[101] "Universal Service," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 July 1916, p.8.

than others who hadn't joined up. Conscription to MacCallum was a more egalitarian form of military service. He believed the working classes would benefit under a compulsory system where the state decided who was best to serve. Such a citizen army would be a safeguard, rather than a threat to democracy as it would be constituted of the people.[102] Militarism would only arise if there was a German victory and this threat was best averted by a conscripted military force.[103]

After the failure of the first referendum the Universal Service League went into hibernation, re-emerging in November 1917 as the push for a second referendum gained momentum. In a statement, signed by MacCallum, the USL argued against a second referendum and instead urged a double dissolution of parliament to force an election on the issue. MacCallum countered claims that the Government should not be called on to risk its political survival. He argued that not forcing an election and going to a second referendum was an "abdication" of the Government's most "serious and urgent responsibility".[104] The USL demand was, of course, politically unrealistic and instead, as we learnt, a second referendum, again refuting compulsory service, was held seven weeks later.

MacCallum was committed to an ideal, not political posturing, and this was a constant theme of his contribution to the conscription debates. In contrast to the emotional appeals of Hughes that concentrated on the threat to Australia and her ties with Britain, MacCallum's arguments went to the heart of the anti-conscription precepts. Where opponents saw class discrimination and a curtailment of individual liberty through conscription, MacCallum argued it enabled greater equality of human sacrifice and an individual liberty that depended first and

[102] "Universal Service, Safeguard of Democracy," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 July 1916, p.10.

[103] M.W. MacCallum, "Comments by Universal Service League," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 October 1916, p.8.

[104] "Conscription," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 November 1917, p.6.

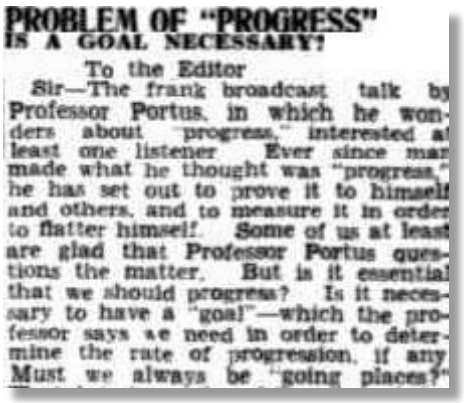
foremost on a citizen's obligation to the state and, in turn, a government's obligation to its citizens and their state.

In these arguments we see many of the themes that have resonated throughout this thesis: equality, which emerged in Chapter Three as a dominant theme in education; the concept of positive liberty, which was seen in Chapter Four on the state as essential to the Idealist conception of rights; and, throughout; the Idealist conception of mutual obligation between the state and its citizens.

Therefore, the world wars of the twentieth century provided a large slate on which Idealist thinkers could articulate their thinking on unity, the progress of civilisation and state obligation. In this way the Australian Idealists thinkers being studied in this thesis extended public debate to consider a universality that transcended the particular of war, politics and interwar policy. The extent to which their contribution was influential will be considered in the following chapter.

Chapter Seven

"A bridge between minds":[1]
The media and public reception of Australian Idealism



PROBLEM OF "PROGRESS"
IS A GOAL NECESSARY?

To the Editor

Sir—The frank broadcast talk by Professor Portus, in which he wonders about "progress," interested at least one listener. Ever since man made what he thought was "progress," he has set out to prove it to himself and others, and to measure it in order to flatter himself. Some of us at least are glad that Professor Portus questions the matter. But is it essential that we should progress? Is it necessary to have a "goal"—which the professor says we need in order to determine the rate of progression, if any. Must we always be "going places?"

[2]

In the preceding chapters this thesis has made two substantive arguments. Firstly, that the educational imperative of the Australian Idealists, in particular W. Jethro Brown, Mungo MacCallum, Francis Anderson, E.H. Burgmann and G.V. Portus, disposed them favourably towards public dissemination of their thought through newspaper articles, radio broadcasts and public lectures, which also garnered media coverage. And, secondly, that this coverage was considerable, particularly in relation to their thought on education, the state, international relationships, war and post-war reconstruction. From here the question arises:

[1] G. V. Portus, "Bridges of Understanding", n.d., Portus Family Papers, PRG204, Folder 25/18, State Library of South Australia, Adelaide.

[2] Clipping of a letter to the *Advertiser* commenting on a broadcast by G.V.Portus. M.R. Wentworth Lee, "Letter to the Editor, Problem of Progress," *Advertiser*, 6 December 1938, p.26.

what impact did this coverage have and therefore was the media, as Portus hoped, acting as "a bridge between minds"?[3]

This chapter will address this question from two perspectives – that of the media and the public. In essence, this chapter is therefore focused on media reception of Australian Idealist thought. However, media reception in historical studies is notoriously difficult. As Klaus Bruhn Jensen stresses, reception is non-existent in the historical record and is dependent on innovative research in order for it to be reconstructed.[4] Michael Schudson has observed that, of the tripartite equation in literary communication, construction, production and reception, the third, reception, is by far the most elusive.[5] Elsewhere, this has been described as an "absence of evidence", requiring historians to develop a creative, yet critical, approach.[6]

This creative yet critical approach combining quantitative and qualitative methodologies has been adopted for this chapter. Statistical data is used to *suggest* the potential audience for newspaper and radio publications. Newspaper editorials, newspaper letter columns, archival letter holdings and, in one instance, feedback on a radio broadcast, are then used to uncover press and public response to the writings and lectures of the five Australian Idealist thinkers.

Through this approach several issues emerge. The period of this thesis, 1885 to 1945, coincides with the emergence of media surveying and thus listening and readership data is patchy. While radio licences provide a good indication as to

[3] Portus, "Bridges of Understanding." Portus was referring specifically to the role of radio. However, because of its thematic relevance, the use of his phrase here is in relation to both print and broadcast media.

[4] Klaus Bruhn Jensen, "The Past in the Future: Problems and Potentials of Historical Reception Studies," *Journal of Communication* 43, no. 4 (1993), p.20.

[5] Michael Schudson, "Chapter 10: Media Contexts Historical Approaches to Communication Studies," in *Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research*, (Taylor & Francis Ltd / Books, 1991), p.176.

[6] Michelle Arrow, Bridget Griffen-Foley, and Marnie Hughes-Warrington, "Australian Media Reception Histories," *Media International Australia, Incorporating Culture & Policy*, no. 131 (2009), p.68.

wireless coverage, which programs people were listening to remains unknown. Of course, the same applies to newspaper readership. Circulation figures only reveal the number of copies sold. How many of those sold copies were read and by how many people are also unknown.

Thus, these statistics are used to give a general impression of potential audience. Letters to the editor may or may not represent typical opinion and, as will be seen, lobbyists are strongly represented. Most problematic is sourcing listener feedback on radio broadcasts. This accounts for the paucity of such extant material referred to below. The following example demonstrates the enormity and practical impossibility of sourcing listener feedback. In just one year, 1941, the ABC received more than 158 000 letters and 9 000 telephone calls from listeners.[7] Between 1 July 1941 and 30 June 1942 talks programming accounted for just over four per cent of all broadcasts.[8] The number of letter and telephone calls relating to talks is unknown. Listener responses were not archived in one catalogue but, where they have been retained, are strewn amongst the nationwide ABC archival holdings. Fortunately, as will be discussed later in this Chapter, two pieces of evidence give a glimpse of radio feedback.

Less complicated are newspaper editorials, also known as leaders, which are comparatively readily available and, as discussed in Chapter Two (page 98), reveal a newspaper's stance on an issue. Editorials are particularly important in further illustrating one of the key contentions of this thesis, that print and radio were receptive to Idealist thought, which contributed significantly to published and broadcast intellectual content.

[7] "Annual Report of the Australian Broadcasting Commission," (Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1941), p.14.

[8] "Annual Report of the Australian Broadcasting Commission," (Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1942), p.22.

Through editorials and other extant material of the types listed above, a general impression, albeit imperfect, can be gained of reception to Idealist thought in the Australian media and amongst the general public.

Readers and listeners

In order to build a picture of the potential audience reached by the five thinkers a quantitative approach is necessary. This approach is taken through an examination of available readership and listener statistics from 1885 to 1945. The use of this material provides a greater understanding of the extent of the Australian Idealists' audience.

As established in Chapter Two and seen throughout this thesis, the ABC was by far the greater broadcaster of radio talks with Portus one of the organisation's regular presenters. Although commercial broadcasting began in the 1920s, the dominance of the ABC in talks programming means the most relevant statistics in relationship to listenership are from post 1932, the year the ABC was formed. By June 1934, nearly half of all Australian homes, 46 per cent, held a radio licence.[9] Eleven years later, in June 1945, 82.1 per cent of all homes were licensed for radio with the densest coverage in South Australia, 97.5 per cent. In New South Wales, by comparison, 81.6 per cent of homes held radio licences.[10] Of course, not all listeners were tuned into the ABC, or its talks programs. In fact some didn't like talks at all. One listener, R.S. Reid, wrote to the Commission, explaining why he didn't listen to ABC stations:

[9] "Postmaster - General's Department Twenty Fourth Annual Report 1933 - 1934, Parliamentary Papers, General Session 1934 - 1935, Vol. III," (Canberra: Government of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1935), p.20.

[10] "Postmaster - General's Department Thirty Fifth Annual Report 1944 - 1945, Parliamentary Papers, General and Finance Session 1944 - 1945, Vol. II," (Government of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1947), p.20.

> No listener prefers to listen to radio advertising when one can tune to the National Stations, but the Commission's policy of "high brow" programmes and too much talk by way of uninteresting plays and lectures, has brought this about.[11]

R.S. Reid was not the only radio listener who objected to talks programming. By 1928 the radio publication *Wireless Weekly* had received such a large number of letters wanting more music and less talk it devoted an article to the topic. Titled "Let's talk about these talkers", the article defended the role of talks in broadcasting:

> Talk has come to stay, or woe betide Wireless as a serious factor in civilisation. No self-respecting newspaper would omit its leading article or its occasional essay or technical notes merely because many flappers read only the fashion columns and many punters only the sporting pages. You cannot decide such questions by count of heads alone, for after all, so much depends on what is inside heads.[12]

Were these aggrieved letter writers typical of the wider radio listenership? Audience research during this period was in its infancy. The first major work came in 1937 with publication of William McNair's detailed survey *Radio Advertising in Australia*.[13] Seeking to overcome the partiality and unreliability of individual station sponsored research, McNair oversaw three major surveys between 1934 and 1936: the first by telephone; a questionnaire of more than 2000 school children, approved by the Department of Education; and a third survey that used telephone and personal interviews. The results form one section of this extensive work, which remained the only major survey of Australian radio for the

[11] R.S. Reid, 9 November 1938, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Series: SP1558/2 Box 9, folder: Announcers 1936 - 1946, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

[12] "Let's Talk About These Talkers," *Wireless Weekly*, 15 June 1928, p.3. Six months later *Wireless Weekly* published another defence of talks, arguing they were essential for advancing knowledge and fostering social development. "To Talk or Not to Talk?," *Wireless Weekly*, 25 January 1929, p.8.

[13] McNair, *Radio Advertising in Australia*.

next 20 years.[14] McNair revealed that in 1936 just 10.3 per cent of listeners surveyed favoured talks programs over music and singing and plays and serials. Music and singing was the most popular category (58.3%). As seen in Chapter Two (see page 91), 2GB had abandoned its Sunday night talks program in favour of music by 1936. McNair's survey of that year found 2GB (22.8%) was the second most preferred radio station in Sydney, after 2UW (26.9%). The ABC stations 2BL and 2FC were among lesser favoured stations, 7.6% and 6.1% respectively.[15]

ABC annual reports reveal a similar picture. As noted above, talks programming in 1941/42 accounted for just over four cent of all programming. By 1945 the percentage had dropped to just over two per cent.[16]

According to McNair the low popularity of talks was not surprising as he presumed most people bought radios for entertainment rather than education. Those that sought education probably found talks, usually scheduled at around 20 minutes, too short to be of much educational value.

> Then, too, the subjects are so varied that many talks cannot possibly have a wide appeal. The listener who would follow with eager attention a series of talks on the Russian Revolution would doubtless be bored by a dissertation on dogs, a chat on health and beauty or a flowery description of the Isle of Capri.[17]

McNair's arguments are compelling. There remains, however, the question of influence. It can be presumed that an influential percentage of the population listened to ABC radio talks programming, as it does today. McNair found listeners from the highest income bracket favoured talks more highly than those from the two lower brackets, although only 15% of those nominated talks as their preferred

---

[14] Murray Goot, "McNair, William Allan (1902–1979)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mcnair-william-allan-11021/text19605).

[15] Ibid.

[16] "Annual Report of the Australian Broadcasting Commission," (Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1946), p.24.

[17] McNair, *Radio Advertising in Australia*, p.345.

style of programming.[18] McNair, who named Portus as one of the ABC's best talks programmers, argued the fact that most people did not prefer talks did not reflect on their quality or impact: "Good talks stimulate thought, discussion and research on the part of listeners, and even if their direct influence is small, their in-direct influence may be far-reaching."[19]

In the opinion of the ABC's religious programs co-ordinator, Kenneth Henderson, the quality of listeners was more important than quantity. Henderson argued to an ABC Policy Committee that although a minority of people listened to ABC talks programming it was "the fruitful minorities from whom all initiatives proceed".[20]

In regards to the press, the Audit Bureau of Circulation, an independent monitor of newspaper sales, was not established until 1932.[21] Circulation figures are not available for 1885 and, as Mayer and Walker found, twentieth century circulation figures are scarce and unreliable.[22] However, a general impression can be gained from available data.

In Sydney, the *Sydney Morning Herald* sold 25 000 copies in 1875, jumping to 100 000 by 1910 and up to 282 000 in 1945. The *Daily Telegraph*, meanwhile, sold around 35 000 copies in 1891, 113 000 in 1919 and 276 000 in 1945.[23] For both

[18] Ibid., p.346.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Kenneth Henderson, ABC internal memo to Controller of Programs, 25 January 1951. Cited in Healey, "Nerve and Imagination," p.18.

[21] Murray Goot, *Newspaper Circulation in Australia 1932-1972* (Melbourne: La Trobe University, 1979), p.2.

[22] Mayer, *The Press in Australia*, p.11; R.B. Walker, *The Newspaper Press in New South Wales 1803-1920* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1976), p.100.

[23] Goot, *Newspaper Circulation*, p.5; Mayer, *The Press in Australia*, p.11; Walker, *The Newspaper Press in New South Wales 1803-1920*, pp.83,100.

papers this roughly represents one copy per five people. In Adelaide, the *Advertiser* was selling 128 000 in 1945, about one copy for every three persons.[24]

These statistics cumulatively reveal a strong concentration of radio and press engagement, demonstrated by radio licence ownership and newspaper purchases. This was the audience that the Australian Idealist thought discussed in the previous four chapters potentially reached. But what did the audience think? We will now explore audience and media reaction to the published thought of Brown, Anderson, MacCallum, Portus and Burgmann.

Response to Australian Idealist views on education

In Chapter Three we learnt of the considerable role Australian Idealist thinkers, particularly Francis Anderson, played in the development of school education in New South Wales and adult education throughout Australia. This section will begin by looking at the media support given to University Extension and the Workers' Educational Association (WEA), before exploring the response to two specific debates in education.

One of the most frequently discussed movements associated with Idealist thought is that of adult education, often viewed as a form of practical Idealism.[25] In Australia, following from Britain, this was developed through the University Extension and WEA schemes. Greater detail of Australian Idealist involvement in the programs is given in Chapter Three. What is important to note here is the sympathetic and extensive coverage afforded to University Extension and the WEA by the media. Without such media support the schemes would have had lesser public impact. Therefore, the thought of Extension and WEA lecturers, which prominently included the five Australian Idealists being considered here,

[24] Goot, *Newspaper Circulation*. Copies per person calculations are based on Australian Bureau of Statistics, "Australian Historical Population Statistics " (Series 3105.0.65.001, 2008).

[25] Gordon, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, p.200.

would not have been so broadly disseminated. The programs received support from all media studied for this thesis, the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *Daily Telegraph* in Sydney and the *Advertiser* and *Register* in Adelaide, and nationally through ABC radio.

From the very first University Extension lecture in Sydney on 13 October 1886, the *Sydney Morning Herald* threw its editorial weight behind the movement. The newspaper believed the lectures would further educational equity, enabling labourers and business people the opportunity share in the knowledge of the university-educated minority. And there were further, national, benefits. On the morning of the inaugural lecture the *Herald* expressed hope that University Extension would go from "strength to strength and make Australia a byword, not only for muscular development but for intellectual superiority".[26] The *Telegraph* was similarly enthusiastic:

> The artist, it has been said, is a citizen of every country and the same may be said of the true scholar who is always ready to share his knowledge with those who stand in need of it...if the people cannot go to the University, the University must come to the people.[27]

When University Extension began in Adelaide nine years later, in 1895, the *Advertiser* and *Register* were equally supportive. The *Register* had called for the establishment of the scheme in South Australia, stressing its importance in influencing "national life".[28] Like the *Herald* and *Telegraph*, the *Advertiser* noted the perceived exclusivity of university education. The newspaper observed that Australia did not have a leisured class that could study for study's sake.

[26] "University Extension Lectures," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 October 1886, p.7.

[27] "University Extension Lectures," *Daily Telegraph*, 8 August 1905, p.4. The parallel with Green's phrase, cited in Chapter Three, "if the people are to be made scholars, the scholar must go to the people, not wait for them to come to him," is probably coincidental.

[28] "Universities and National Life," *Register*, 17 April 1894, p.4.

Universities should provide for the greater community and all people given the opportunity for "intellectual culture".[29]

From these early affirmations of University Extension, the press' ongoing support was extensive. Coverage over the years extended from brief notices of lecture locations and times as well as lengthier articles extolling the movement's benefits and promoting upcoming lectures in detail. Between 1886 and 1945 there are more than one thousand articles about University Extension and its lectures in the four newspapers and, as such, are too numerous to list here. Reporters were frequently sent to cover the lectures and submit detailed accounts for publication the next day. As has been seen in previous chapters it was through this coverage that the Australian Idealists achieved considerable editorial exposure. For example, Anderson's lectures on socialism and Brown's on the principles of modern legislation were given as extension lectures in Sydney and Adelaide respectively.

The extension scheme had been running for 17 years when the concept of dedicated workers' education arrived on Australian shores from England. When the founder of the English WEA, Albert Mansbridge, visited Australia in 1913, the *Herald* reiterated its call for an Australian WEA and the necessity of worker education, paying tribute to the movement:

> The University of Oxford has many fine traditions. But we venture to say that for no task that it has undertaken will the ancient seat of learning be remembered with a greater measure of gratitude than for the manner in which it has met the desires for the workers of England for a share in the scholarship and the wisdom which has been garnered through the ages through its cloisters and quadrangles.[30]

[29] "University Extension Lectures," *Advertiser*, 6 September 1895, p.4.

[30] "A Highway of Education," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 July 1913, p.8.

The *Herald* covered Mansbridge's visit in detail, reporting his meetings with university and labour officials and publishing lengthy accounts of the speaker's lectures.[31] Shortly after Mansbridge's departure from Sydney, the *Herald* commended the impetus he had given to the development of a local WEA. The newspaper believed this would bring "great happiness for themselves [the workers] as well as conferring a lasting benefit upon their country".[32]

Mansbridge visited Adelaide in September 1913, travelling via Melbourne from Sydney. The *Register* and *Advertiser* shared the *Herald*'s enthusiasm, with the *Advertiser* describing the WEA movement as "the new consciousness of the significance and worth of culture".[33] The newspapers' coverage was also attentive. Both provided detailed reports of Mainsbridge's lectures,[34] whilst the *Register* sent a reporter to interview the WEA founder, leading to a lengthy article discussing the organisation's aims and practice.[35]

This enthusiasm was not short lived and editorial support for the WEA was ongoing in all three papers through promotion of the WEA program and lengthy reports providing verbatim coverage of lectures.[36] The *Daily Telegraph*, meanwhile, appears to have provided minimal coverage. As described in Chapter Two, the *Telegraph* became increasingly commercially oriented throughout this period and this would, at least partially, account for the lesser coverage of the WEA.

---

[31] See: "Modern Education for the Workers," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 July 1913, p.9; "Workers' Education. Visit of Mr Mainsbridge," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 July 1913, p.7; "Education. The University and the Worker," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 July 1913, p.10; "Education for the Workers," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 August 1913, p.7.

[32] "Education and the Workers," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 August 1913, p.8.

[33] "Adult Education," *Advertiser*, 22 September 1913, p.14.

[34] See: "Higher Education for All," *Advertiser*, 22 September 1913, p.16; "Adult Education. Lecture by Mr Mainsbridge," *Advertiser*, 23 September 1913, p.11; "Educating the Workers. A Laudable Movement," *Register*, 23 September 1913, p.8; "Higher Education. "Not for School, but for Life"," *Advertiser*, 24 September 1913, p.18; "Workers' Educational Association," p.16; "Workers' Educational Association," *Register*, 27 September 1913, p.17.

[35] "An Educational Movement. Chat with Mr Mainsbridge," *Register*, 22 September 1913, p.10.

[36] In Chapters Three to Six the newspaper reports of WEA lectures by Australian Idealists are used substantially as source material.

Aside from their University Extension and WEA work, the Australian Idealists, as shown in Chapter Three, featured prominently in several debates on school education. We will now look at two such debates, involving Francis Anderson and E. H. Burgmann.

Francis Anderson's media prominence began in the early 1900s when he became a catalyst for reform in state education in New South Wales. This prominence was, perhaps, partly due to Anderson's ability to express himself in a manner accessible to a general audience, as the *Herald* noted in a 1909 editorial:

> ...his advocacy of education reform, an advocacy to which he brings an incisive directness of speech not usually characteristic of philosopher. The vital argument for the new education could not be better put than in the few terse sentences in which the professor dwelt on the over-supply of untrained cheap labour on the one hand, and the over-supply of the useless graduate on the other.[37]

Six months later, the *Herald* was more qualified in its support. Whilst still in favour of the overall thrust of Anderson's proposed reforms it questioned the academic's preference for more university involvement in school education and matriculation, supporting instead the authority of the state education department.[38] Anderson's partiality towards the university had also been criticised a few months earlier by a *Herald* reader from country New South Wales. Otherwise, the letter was complimentary of Anderson's reform work and the author commented: "it is especially to the philosopher that we must be looking for help and guidance in our struggles" in reforming education.[39]

From the above we can see that in regards to education Anderson has seemingly reached the pinnacle of practical Idealism - the publicly erudite

[37] "Modern Education," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 April 1909, p.8.

[38] "A Great Problem," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 October 1909, p.6.

[39] W.J. McCloskie, "Education Federation," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 July 1909, p.12.

philosopher. Less successful, on one occasion at least, was the outspoken Burgmann.

The most virulent of the public debates on Australian Idealist views on education arose out of Burgmann's 1944 suggestion that children should be sent to boarding school from the age of 12 (see page 134). The assertion received immediate coverage in most capital city and many regional newspapers.[40] As discussed in Chapter Three, Burgmann's proposal was founded in an Idealist concept of nurturing children for the benefit of society. However, its philosophical origins were lost in the ensuing controversy. In the main, Burgmann's statement was regarded by many as an attack on motherhood and parenting and it subsequently attracted an almost primal response from some quarters. It was also seen as an incursion by the state on family life. A Catholic priest and educationist told the *Sydney Morning Herald* in a follow-up article that Burgmann was proposing "governess by government".[41] Of the six letters published in the *Herald* only one supported Burgmann.

In addition to the media outpourings, archival holdings reveal Burgmann retained three letters sent to him personally as a result of the controversy. Two were personal attacks, one suggesting it was unfortunate that Burgmann and "his ilk were not SMOTHERED (sic) at birth".[42] A third letter reveals the extent of the controversy. It was written by the town clerk of Erskineville, a poor inner city suburb of Sydney:

> The Council directs me to state that the people of this Municipality are not greatly blessed with this world's goods but they are noted for their large families, their freedom from disease, a low

[40] This information is sourced from a search of digitised Australian newspapers as at 23 June 2011. Sydney, Melbourne, Canberra and Perth newspapers carried reports of the speech and, later, regional coverage included papers in Broken Hill in far west NSW and Townsville in Queensland.

[41] "Bishop Criticised for Child-Training View," 13 September 1944.

[42] F.A. Beale, Letter to E.H. Burgmann, 12 September 1944, Bishop Burgmann Papers, MS1998, Box 10, Folder: Press Correspondence, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

> incidence of child delinquency, their pride of citizenship and patriotism. The Council attributes the happy state of the social life of this Area to the retention of children under parental control until such time they are old enough to strike out for themselves in traditional Australian fashion.[43]

Burgmann replied by letter that the council should not conduct its business on the basis of "scrappy newspaper reports".[44] Despite this dismissive tone, Burgmann was moved to write to the *Sydney Morning Herald* to further explain his position. In a letter to the editor Burgmann argued that he was not advocating the separation of child and family but emphasising the relationship of the family unit to society.[45]

The *Sydney Morning Herald* itself, however, remained silent for 11 days before publishing an editorial on the issue. The *Herald* determined that once the "storm of parental protest" had calmed it was evident that Burgmann was not suggesting "a new branch of the public service to deprive parents of the right of bringing up their children" but, rather, was seeking greater co-operation between the family and the education system. The *Herald* supported Burgmann's idea in principle but was highly sceptical of the practicality of staffing a system where all children over the age of 12 were in boarding school.[46]

The Burgmann proposal was not taken up by any government department or other organisation and there is no evidence it had any impact beyond the initial controversy. Importantly, however, Burgmann achieved two weeks of national reflection on the rearing and education of children and introduced into the public domain the Idealist concept of the child and family as part of a greater whole - a

---

[43] Frank O'Grady, Letter to E.H. Burgmann, 19 September 1944, Bishop Burgmann Papers, MS1998, Box 10, Folder: Press Correspondence, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

[44] E.H. Burgmann, Letter to Frank O'Grady, 19 September 1944, Bishop Burgmann Papers, MS1998, Box 10, Folder: Press Correspondence, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

[45] Burgmann, "The Child and Society," p.2.

[46] "Parenthood and Education," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 September 1944, p.14.

point which he stressed in his published reply to critics.[47] The *Herald*'s (eventual) support for Burgmann was atypical of the vast majority of public outcry and reveals some understanding of the concepts behind the Bishop's proposal. The *Daily Telegraph*, meanwhile, covered the initial story but did not publish editorial opinion or letters. Burgmann was also to make headlines in other areas.

Response to Australian Idealist views on the state

The Idealist concept of state as a facilitator of community development was, as seen in Chapter Four, articulated in a range of discussions led by the five Australian Idealist thinkers. This section will explore public and media response to these discussions. It was Burgmann, again, who sparked the greatest controversy. His iterations on the state and his professed admiration of Russia and communist social policy brought published comment from political groups, the general public and, on one occasion, from the *Herald* proprietor Warwick Fairfax.

Burgmann's 1936 address to the Anglican congress, in which he spoke of the "Christianising of Communism" and described capitalism as "warfare, naked and unashamed" (see page 166) prompted a month long debate in the *Herald*. The first response to Burgmann came in an article authored by the leading real estate developer, Sir Arthur Rickard. He argued that Burgmann's view of capitalism was ill-informed and ignored the benefits capitalist economies had given to communities. The alternative to a system based on capital was, he claimed, a society akin to early peoples where tools of production were limited to a "boomerang and stone-axe".[48] The Burgmann/Rickard debate inspired a swathe of letters, predominantly authored by members of the Legion of Christian Youth, of which Burgmann was president, and the Sane Democracy League. Rickard was a

[47] Burgmann, "The Child and Society."

[48] Sir Arthur Rickard, "An Inquiry. What Is Capitalism?," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 June 1936, p.10.

member of the latter, which had been established in the 1920s in response to the perceived communist threat to business.[49]

The secretary of the Sane Democracy League, A. de R. Barclay, challenged Burgmann for acting as a propagandist for an atheistic and anti-Christian organisation.[50] This claim was immediately refuted by the chairman and secretary of the Legion of Christian Youth. Burgmann, they wrote, was not advocating communism but arguing for the Russian system which could be examined to find a compromise between atheistic communism and the non-Christian excesses of capitalism.[51] But it was Rickard who had the last word. In an appendix to a further letter in which Rickard restated his view that Burgmann, as a churchman, should not side with either communism or capitalism, the editor added: "This correspondence must now cease".[52] A month later, however, the Legion secretary did manage to convey a fresh defence of his president, ostensibly in a letter relating to Burgmann's pronouncements on the Depression.[53]

The Christianity/capitalism/communism debate re-emerged in the columns and letter pages of the *Herald* eight years later, but this time it was instigated by an article authored by no less than Warwick Fairfax.[54] Seeking to explore the issues behind recent workers' strikes, Fairfax, in 1944, argued that it was not the construction of society, whether communist or socialist, that was ultimately important; what was needed was a moral regeneration based on a shift from materialism. Fairfax believed the churches were at a moral low and all groups of

---

[49] Keith Richmond, "Response to the Threat of Communism: The Sane Democracy League and the People's Union of New South Wales," *Journal of Australian Studies* 1, no. 1 (1977), pp.70-83.

[50] A. de R. Barclay, "Churchmen and Communists," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 June 1936, p.8. See also a further letter from Barclay: Barclay, "Churchmen and Communists," p.6.

[51] A.O. Robson, A.J. Dalziel "Capitalism and Christianity," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 July 1936, p.5.

[52] Sir Arthur Rickard, "Russia and Religion," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 July 1936, p.7.

[53] A.J. Dalziel, "The Bishop and Depressions," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1936, p.14.

[54] W. O Fairfax, "What Is Behind Strikes?," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 December 1944, p.2. See Chapter Two, pages 75-80, for a detailed discussion of Fairfax's articles and the Idealist influence on his thought.

society were marred by individualism and material ambition. Fairfax expressed doubt as to whether Burgmann was really a socialist.

As we have seen throughout, Fairfax's views held similar sentiments to those of Burgmann. It is not surprising that Burgmann responded to the article by letter[55] and further expanded his argument in a lengthier article, specifically commenting on the Fairfax piece, published the following month for his local paper the *Goulburn Evening Post*.[56] In the *Herald* letter Burgmann provided a general response to Fairfax's ideas and argued the world was not only in the midst of war but a broader revolution that had begun with the capitalist entrepreneurs and was now being taken up by the working classes who also sought material wealth. Burgmann directly challenged Fairfax's statement of the church's culpability in the moral malaise, claiming that the church, like communism was a common scapegoat. He concluded that the revolution needed was one based on Christianity as "the Christian way of life is more revolutionary that that of the communist".[57] Yet, as detailed in Chapter Five (see page 196), Burgmann was often openly critical of the church as an institution. The Goulburn article, which is also interesting for its comments about Fairfax's thought, does admit some responsibility on the part of the church:

> Mr Warwick Fairfax has aroused an interesting and useful discussion in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. I would suggest that it might well be the teaching of the Church that has incited much of the present ferment which he deplores...We are also in the revolutionary movement and it is no use challenging churches or blaming Communists. The task of the Church is to assist the revolution and make it as painless as possible. If the Church revisits and preaches moral platitudes it will simply help to clutter

[55] E.H. Burgmann, "Religion and Revolution," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 December 1944, p.2.

[56] E.H. Burgmann, "Not Only a War but a Revolution", *Goulburn Evening Post*, 5 January 1945, p.1. A clipping of this article exists in Burgmann's private papers held at the NLA: Papers of Bishop Burgmann, Box 26, Press clippings, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

[57] Burgmann, "Religion and Revolution."

> up life's highway. My appeal to Mr Fairfax is to join in the work of constructive revolution. He could do much to keep it progressive, Christian and non-violent. His paper has built up a great tradition and he carries inevitably a tremendous responsibility. If there is a temporary halfway house between traditional capitalism and the rising tide of socialism then let us find it, occupy it till we get our breath and then move on again.[58]

Burgmann's decision to directly address Fairfax in the Goulburn article, rather than in the *Herald* letter, is difficult to understand. In effect he and Fairfax were in broad agreement on the need for a rethinking of the structure of society, but perhaps Burgmann wasn't prepared to admit as much in the proprietor's own paper. Alternatively, perhaps the *Herald* wouldn't allocate him the space. Regardless, the more general *Herald* piece provoked further debate. One reader believed that it was Burgmann who was seeking a scapegoat, evoking capitalism as the nadir of humanity.[59] The People's Union, a sister organisation of the Sane Democracy League, joined in, calling on Burgmann and churchmen who thought like him to familiarise themselves with the advantages of communism and seek to implement them democratically.[60]

The interest generated by Burgmann's beliefs, both in 1936 and 1944, did not advance his cause in seeking a moral regeneration of society modelled on the equality he believed was intrinsic to communism. For the most part, debate was dominated by interest groups, either for or against, which reverted to predictable rhetoric in their responses.

It is interesting to compare media and public reaction to Anderson's published lectures on socialism. A *Sydney Morning Herald* editorial briefly commented on his 1907 "Liberalism and Socialism" speech (page 169), finding

[58] Burgmann, "Not Only a War but a Revolution."

[59] J. McCallum, "Religion and Revolution," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 December 1944, p.2.

[60] A.G. Hebblewhite, "Untitled," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 December 1944, p.2.

Anderson's view of liberalism as forerunner to socialism "peculiar".[61] Otherwise, no response has been identified to Anderson's discussions on the state. Anderson's more moderate tone and explanatory style appears then to have been less likely to spark a reaction, compared to the outspoken Burgmann. Archival evidence reveals that on one occasion at least Anderson thought Burgmann too intemperate. In January 1939 Burgmann spoke of the "septic centre of civilization" at a Science Congress in Canberra. Anderson wrote to his former student and reproved him for making such comments that "might have been better left unsaid...I really thought your address wild. It seemed the case of a Reverend Father in God running amok".[62]

Also more temperate was Brown, who acquired a notable follower as a result of his University Extension lectures on modern legislation. The lectures, as discussed in Chapter Four, were reported extensively in the local press and explored the concept of legislation increasing rather than impeding liberty. One member of the audience was the South Australian Labor Premier Thomas Price. Price immediately converted to Brown's concept of state and described the lectures as "a revelation".[63] He applauded Brown for envisioning a political economy that was based on humanity and rejected the exploitation of the weak.[64] So moved, Price wrote to the South Australian Trades and Labor Council, asking the organisation to arrange a further, one-off lecture as "a test" for its members. The Premier promised to cover all costs as "all I desire is to get our people to hear this gospel of a new political economy with a soul in it".[65] The Premier's desire

[61] "Some Social Science," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 January 1907, p.6.

[62] Francis Anderson, "Letter to E.H. Burgmann", 21 January 1939, Papers of Bishop Burgmann, MS1998, Box 1, Folder: Personal Correspondence, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

[63] "Premier as Educationist," *Register*, 10 August 1907, p.8.

[64] "New Political Economy," *Register*, 11 July 1907, p.4.

[65] "Premier as Educationist," p.8.

was fulfilled with the *Advertiser* reporting a large attendance at the Trades Hall lecture, held a few weeks later.[66]

Brown, significantly, had caught the attention of the Premier. The only other published responses to his lectures were of considerably less import. One newspaper letter writer queried how Brown could omit to mention the damage caused to a just society by political posturing.[67] Another reader, calling themselves "Student", sought clarification as to the lecturer's exact meaning of "nation" and "freedom".[68]

Apart from the Burgmann and Brown instances, it has not been possible to find other evidence in the press responding to the conception of state of the Australian Idealists. Of course, it remains unknown as to whether there was listener feedback to radio lectures given by Anderson, Burgmann and Portus. As in relation to education, Burgmann's extremism effectively obscured his key message and led to a partisan reaction. However, in creating controversy Burgmann did prolong the coverage given to discussion of the role of the state and associated systems of government, keeping the issue alive in the public domain.

Response to Australian Idealist views on international relations, war and post-war reconstruction

Chapters Five and Six showed how the Australian Idealists sought a co-operative international community. War was seen as an aberration of human progression and the Idealists being considered here rationalised war-time chaos as a state of

[66] "The Meaning of Liberty," p.7. Price died two years later in 1909. Among his achievements as Premier he is remembered for anti-sweating legislation, which he introduced in 1892 and amended in 1906 and 1908.

Steven Weeks, "Price, Thomas (Tom) (1852-1909)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/price-thomas-tom-8109/text14157).

[67] Henry Taylor, "To the Editor," *Register*, 20 July 1909, p.7.

[68] Student, "Freedom and Social Equality," *Advertiser*, 12 September 1908, p.19.

being from which a better society could emerge. The Idealist sense of duty to the state saw Australian Idealist involvement in the compulsory military service debate. In the aftermath of the First World War the League of Nations was viewed as an organisational conduit to international co-operation. This section will examine media and public response in relation to three instances where the Australian Idealists MacCallum, Anderson and Portus featured prominently.

As detailed in the previous chapter, MacCallum's media prominence in disseminating New Idealist thought was most significant during the First World War, when he headed the NSW branch of the pro-conscription movement, the Universal Service League (USL). The *Sydney Morning Herald* provided substantial coverage of the League but, although pro-conscription, was initially not convinced by the arguments put forward by the League's manifesto, considering many of its claims unwarranted.[69] However, once MacCallum took over the presidency of the League and became the main spokesperson, the *Herald* became more supportive. In May 1916, after a period of about six months in which the League had generated little publicity, a *Herald* leader refocused attention on the organisation, effectively acting as its apologist:

> The League is not solely a conscriptionist body. It is that but it is more. It would organise the whole community for such service as each is fittest to perform in this great crisis in the history of the race.[70]

Two months later the paper commented that: "we in Australia should not be satisfied until, as Professor MacCallum, the president of the Universal Service League has said, we have done our utmost". The same editorial borrowed heavily

[69] "Universal Service," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 September 1915, p.8.

[70] "Universal Service," p.10.

from Idealist idiom when it reinforced another key argument of MacCallum's, that Australia must consider itself "part of the whole".[71]

In the *Sydney Morning Herald*'s self-published centenary history, an 804-page tome detailing local and international events as covered by the *Herald* from 1831 to 1931, the USL did not rate a mention in its discussion of conscription.[72] This omission is interesting as the conscription debates of 1916 and 1917 are covered in depth. However, the nature of the discussion in the volume is how the conscription question was played out politically. The USL, as the paper noted in the quote above, was not just about conscription but about a greater motivation for unity. It can be argued, therefore, that coverage of the USL brought to the pages of the *Herald* a supra-political, and therefore more philosophical, interpretation of compulsory military service. It is possible that MacCallum's friendship with Fletcher, at that time the associate editor, garnered more coverage of the USL's activities and ethos than they would otherwise have achieved had MacCallum not been involved. By comparison, coverage of the League in the similarly pro-conscription *Daily Telegraph* was, as seen in the previous chapter, far less than that afforded by the *Herald*.

A parallel is found in coverage and response to the League of Nations (LON) and, in particular the work of the New South Wales branch of the LON union, headed by Francis Anderson. Like Anderson, the *Herald* remained a staunch believer in the League, despite its many setbacks and eventual failure in the 1930s. The paper used its leader columns on several occasions to answer League critics. It reminded readers that the LON union was far more than a "debating society" or "a machine for peace conferences".[73] Like Anderson, it

[71] "The Big Side and the Little Side," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 July 1916, p.12.

[72] *A Century of Journalism: The Sydney Morning Herald and Its Record of Australian Life 1831-1931* pp.450-459.

[73] "League of Nations," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 August 1931, p.8.

claimed the League's detractors too often forgot the organisation's successes, preferring to highlight its failures.[74] The *Herald* supported Anderson's belief that future human existence was dependent on true internationalism,[75] a goal which could be achieved through the moral authority of the LON:

> The world at large must be so imbued with a belief in the wisdom and humanity of its aims, must be so saturated with loyalty to the cause it represents that any potential aggressor would hesitate to cross the rubicon, knowing that this step would involve his ostracism...His isolation would be complete and in our complex modern civilisation isolation spells decay. For this reason it is most important that public opinion should be mobilised, and that the public should be kept fully informed about what the League is doing.[76]

Readers of the *Herald* would have been in no doubt about "what the League was doing" as the newspaper gave extensive coverage to Anderson's articles, his numerous letters outlining branch activities and his public addresses. It was also fulsome in its support of League, as seen in the above quote. At times, the paper's leaders on the LON drew arguments direct from Anderson's speeches and articles. For example, in April 1934: "As Professor Anderson well points out, it has built up an international framework within which the nations can co-operate freely for their mutual welfare and for a common good".[77]

The *Herald* was consistently in unison with Anderson. Where Anderson, in his radio broadcast (see page 223), had described the ideals of the League as essentially those of Christianity, so too did the *Herald*:

> Like Christianity, its ideals have been pitched so high that they are not immediately realisable. Yet none but the grossest materialist

[74] "The League as Architect," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 April 1934, p.10.

[75] "British Election Issues," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 October 1931, p.8.

[76] "League of Nations," p.8.

[77] "The League as Architect." See also: "Perils of Destiny," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 May 1935, p.14.

> would condemn the ideals of peace, love, and brotherhood because they cannot be achieved in our day and time.[78]

The similarity in rhetoric between Anderson and the *Herald*'s leader writers is more easily understood when the following is taken into account. Firstly, the Christian Idealist leanings of the proprietor Warwick Fairfax, detailed in Chapter Two, provided a ready 'fit' for the Idealist interpretation of the League, as articulated in Sydney by Anderson. Moreover, the *Herald*'s editor, Charles Brunsdon Fletcher, was a strong supporter of the League. In 1928 he addressed a League branch meeting in Sydney[79] and, in 1929, addressed the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church on the need for greater church support of the League. Fletcher said the League needed to become a "living force with nations and individuals and illuminate humanity's horizons with hope".[80]

What can't be ascertained with certainty, however, is the extent of Anderson's influence on the *Herald*. Was their commonality of thought merely a happy coincidence or had Anderson been influential in forming the paper's opinion? The answer is probably a mixture of both. The tone set by Fairfax and Fletcher made the *Herald* a ready receptacle for League publicity and Anderson's articles, speeches and letters. But the paper benefitted as well and, as we saw, employed Anderson's own words and thoughts to strengthen its arguments. The end result was, of course, that Anderson's Idealist interpretation of the League received extensive press exposure in the *Sydney Morning Herald*.

The USL and LON represented concrete forms in which Australian Idealists could take their thought into the public arena. Behind their public actions was a greater philosophy of internationalism that, as discussed in Chapter Five, involved

---

[78] "The League as Architect."

[79] "The Empire. Restlessness of Youth," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 October 1928, p.10.

[80] "League of Nations. Help of the Churches," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 May 1929, p.12.

particular understandings of nationalism and patriotism. Through Portus' discussion of these themes we can glimpse listener response to Idealist thought.

Due to the difficulty in sourcing radio listener feedback, as detailed in the introduction to this chapter, only two instances have been identified that reveal responses to thought expressed in Portus' radio broadcasts. The first is found in a letter to the *Advertiser* following a broadcast by Portus on progress.[81] The author questions the need for progress and argues that diversity among cultures means there is not one form of progression for all humanity. The second instance is more of an insight as it comes within a broadcast by Portus. In an aptly titled program, "Statement from the Dock",[82] Portus responds to an apparently large number of letter writers who were moved to comment on his discussion of nationalism and patriotism. Portus thought in relation to these issues is explored in depth in Chapter Five (see pages 197-198). Here we will concentrate on what the program reveals about audience reaction.

Although Portus doesn't detail how many letters he received in response to his discussion of nationalism, in one instance he uses the term "widespread", which suggests a certain volume of feedback was received. Of the respondents he mentions four specifically - a soldier, two British Israelites and a leader of an ABC listening group, commenting on behalf of the group.[83]

---

[81] Wentworth Lee, "Letter to the Editor, Problem of Progress," p.26. The letter's publication date, 6 December 1938, and its reference to progress suggest the particular broadcast was one entitled, "Is War Inevitable? Can you change human nature?", a transcript of which is held in the Portus Papers at the State Library of South Australia (PRG204, Folder 25/9). The transcript does not include a year but carries a September date. The overall argument is that humanity does progress and therefore war is not inevitable. While the September date is a little premature it is possible that this is the date the broadcast was scripted and it was broadcast later, closer to December. The topic of the inevitability of war was certainly pertinent in late 1938.

[82] Portus, "Statement from the Dock."

[83] Listening groups were small gatherings of people who would gather around a radio and discuss their views on broadcasts. The ABC imported the idea of listening groups from the BBC. The Inglis, *This Is the ABC: The Australian Broadcasting Commission 1932-1983*, p.61.

Portus appears to have upset listeners loyal to Britain, and this is where he uses the term "widespread":

> I am disturbed by the very widespread and easy assumption that the British Empire is destined by God to save humanity. Humanity will be saved by humanity's own efforts, not by the miraculous intervention of any one national or political group. Surely this is the gravamen of our charge against the Nazi racial philosophy.[84]

Working backwards from Portus' comment it is evident that many listeners (admittedly those who wrote in) were challenged by Portus' Idealist belief in equality and unity across all humanity. Elsewhere, it is the tenets of Idealist thought - unity in difference and unity within the whole - that came under attack. Portus had stated in an earlier program that "the whole formed by the unity of differences is better than uniformity". A listener responded with the claim "what is truth but uniformity". To defend his viewpoint Portus used the example of a flower garden - its beauty is achieved by the mass of variety of blooms and it is the contrast, or differences between each, that creates the overall effect.[85]

However, other letter writers were more sympathetic. Portus revealed "a number of people" agreed with his statements, although they believed that his world concept would only eventuate under socialism. In response Portus did not affirm or decry socialism but explained that he was concentrating on the "ends rather than the means".[86]

Again we can see evidence of a politically motivated audience, which skews reception studies of this nature. Importantly, however, such feedback, regardless of the opinion expressed, importantly indicates engagement with Australian Idealist thought. Thus, the thought of the Idealists thinkers was not

[84] Portus, "Statement from the Dock."

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid.

only exposed to a wide audience but also provoked public debate on key issues in education, the role of the state, international relations and war.

In summary, this chapter has established significant media support, particularly in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, for Australian Idealist thought. Furthermore, members of the general public were motivated to respond to their ideas. In this way the thought of the five thinkers became a key feature of public intellectualism during 1885 to 1945. To further emphasise the extent to which Anderson, at least, captured the media and public minds of the era, it is fitting to conclude with the most extreme example of media receptiveness to the Australian Idealists.

This is found on the occasion of Francis Anderson's retirement from the University of Sydney in 1921. The *Sydney Morning Herald* published a veritable battery of features: a story announcing his retirement, a formal tribute and letter tributes from former students.[87] More unusual was a poem, written by another former student, published, not in a broadsheet, but in the afternoon tabloid, the *Sun*. That paper's willingness to publish a tribute to a philosopher reveals the extent to which the Idealist Anderson had engaged the Australian public and media.

> Frank Anderson, my jo, Frank,
> When we were first acquent
> I was an undergraduate,
> And many hours I spent
> In Logic's thorny paths with you,
> Ay! Thirty years ago,
> And now you're giving Logic up,
> Frank Anderson, my jo...

[87] "Professor Anderson Retirement Announced," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 March 1921, p.12; "Professor Anderson, Honouring His Service," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 March 1921, p.6; "Professor Anderson, a Tribute from a Former Student," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 March 1921, p.12.

Frank Anderson, my jo, Frank,
Or Andy, better known,
Long years since you from Glasgow came,
Over our heads have flown,
Oe'r class and law and cause and end
Your speech long time did flow,
But now we'll hear your voice no more,
Frank Anderson, my jo.

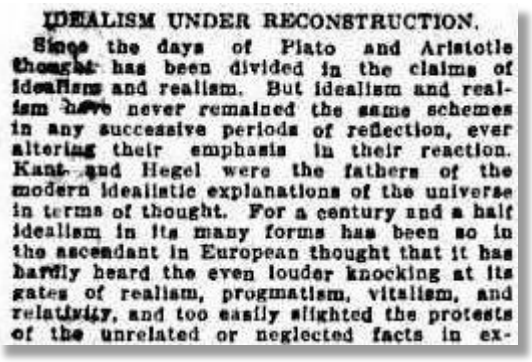
Frank Anderson, my jo, Frank,
Your talks on Freud and Jung
Have done the greatest good unto
The soft brains of the young:
Through you the ancient system
Of Socrates they know,
And Psychotherapeutics too,
Frank Anderson, my Jo.

Frank Anderson, my jo, Frank,
Perchance it never has
Struck you about Philosophy
What tosh it really was;
That youth and love are fleeting,
And life's a span and Oh!
That logic's just a swaying reed,
Frank Anderson, my jo.

Frank Anderson, my jo, Frank,
We are no longer young
As when with you we browsed on Kant,
Or toiled the Greeks among;
And now the logic student
Your face no more shall know,
Good luck to you where e'r you be,
Frank Anderson, my jo.[88]

[88] "Frank Anderson," *Sun*, 10 March 1921, p.6. 'Jo' is a Scottish term of endearment, meaning joy. This poem is based on the Robbie Burns verse John Anderson, My Jo. Ironically, it was a different John Anderson who replaced Francis Anderson as Chair of Philosophy at Sydney University and was one of the main protagonists in the shift from Idealist to Realist philosophy in Australia.

Conclusion



IDEALISM UNDER RECONSTRUCTION.

Since the days of Plato and Aristotle thought has been divided in the claims of idealism and realism. But idealism and realism have never remained the same schemes in any successive periods of reflection, ever altering their emphasis in their reaction. Kant and Hegel were the fathers of the modern idealistic explanations of the universe in terms of thought. For a century and a half idealism in its many forms has been so in the ascendant in European thought that it has hardly heard the even louder knocking at its gates of realism, pragmatism, vitalism, and relativity, and too easily slighted the protests of the unrelated or neglected facts in ex-[1]

The traditionally estranged disciplines of philosophy and journalism have been united in this thesis to reveal three major findings. Firstly, that an historical focus on the journalistic report is a highly successful research approach in intellectual history. This is established through the second major finding: the approach uncovered an extensive corpus of previously unknown Australian Idealist thought in print and radio media. Thirdly, it was found that New Idealist thought was a significant contributor to Australian public intellectualism between 1885 and 1945. In establishing these findings the thesis has furthered scholarship in the history of New Idealism in Australia, public intellectualism in Australia and Australian journalism and media history. The thesis has also laid a path for future research. Detailed findings in each of these areas will now be considered on a chapter by chapter basis in order for thematic conclusions to be drawn.

In Chapter One an examination of the thought of New Idealists on the media and journalism was undertaken. New Idealism was confirmed as anomalous among philosophical movements in embracing the role of journalism in

[1] Copy of a clipping from a *Sydney Morning Herald* article that includes an examination of the challenges facing Idealist philosophy in a review of *The New Idealism*, by the British author May Sinclair. "Idealism under Reconstruction," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 November 1922, p.12.

society. Previous scholarship in this area was speculative without recourse to the view of Idealists themselves, leading to divided opinion. In examining thought on journalism and the media of the British Idealist Henry Jones and the five Australian Idealists, W. Jethro Brown, Mungo MacCallum, Francis Anderson, G.V. Portus and E.H. Burgmann, it was found that the social philosophy of Edward Caird was influential in informing a concept of journalism as an educator and promoter of unity. However, increased commercialisation of the media had impeded these roles. This was of particular concern to the later Idealists, Portus and Burgmann, reflecting the shift from the earlier dominance of liberal ideology within the media itself to a business model that prioritised profit. Despite these concerns, the Idealists were so entrenched in their belief in education they retained considerable faith in journalism.

However, this belief would come to nought if the media was unwilling to publish and broadcast content by the Idealists and about their thought. In Chapter Two it was established that there was, in fact, strong media sympathy towards Idealist thought which led to considerable coverage. The influential factors were the Fairfax/Balliol connection, a receptiveness of other publishers, editors and broadcasters to ideas and the educational ethos surrounding the early development of Australian radio. Furthermore, the media's coverage of British Idealist philosophers and philosophy generally revealed its willingness to include such content in the press and on radio, particularly when it was well written and delivered for a general audience.

In particular, this chapter uncovered the Idealist influence on the *Sydney Morning Herald* proprietor Warwick Oswald Fairfax, which has not been acknowledged in histories of the Australian press. As Fairfax was one of Australia's leading media proprietors of the twentieth century, further biographical work is warranted. The irony noted in the chapter is worth repeating here: that Fairfax, through his book, the *Triple Abyss*, published more metaphysical

philosophy, with strong Idealist overtones, than any of the five Australian Idealists in the thesis.

This chapter, like the first, laid the groundwork for the following four chapters. The consequence of the mutual appreciation between New Idealist thinkers and the media was the dissemination of Idealist thought in newspapers and on radio. The direction of the thesis turned at this point to the nature of this thought. The following four chapters were dedicated to the dominant themes that emerged in the lectures, writings and broadcasts of the Australians, beginning in Chapter Three with the Australian Idealists' views on education.

It was found that debate and reform in the development of Australian education was markedly influenced by New Idealist thought, facilitated considerably by the mediated public intellectualism of Anderson, MacCallum, Brown, Portus and Burgmann. But it was not an Idealism transferred directly from Britain. Rather, it took keystone British Idealist beliefs and shaped them within the Australian experience. Foremost here was the already influential role of the state in Australian education. What also emerged, through practical application, were underlying theories of education from an Idealist viewpoint. This reinforced Gordon and White's belief in relation to the British Idealists that New Idealism did not need a specific theory of education as theory was revealed in practical reform.

From this stance it was seen that the state was regarded a provider of the educational framework for all citizens. At university level this included the provision of assistance to less well off students. But it did not follow that the state should then be the sole controller of education. This too corresponds with broader Idealist belief in a non-totalitarian state.[2] In Australia, this was seen through the preference for educational boards, both at elementary and tertiary levels, which included state representation but were not dominated by state membership. Such

[2] Gordon, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*, p.257.

structures enabled the input of expert educationists rather than control by state bureaucrats.

This preferred relationship between the state and education was underscored by the Idealists' primary aim of education for citizenship. It was in this belief system that the influence of British Idealism can be very clearly seen. The education system, they felt, was too skewed towards a utilitarian focus on examination. It was in the thinkers' arguments on the failings of such systemisation that best revealed their Idealist ambitions. It was in this area too, that their greatest achievement was made. Through the persistence and profile of Francis Anderson, the teacher-training system in New South Wales was eventually changed from a diligent but dull structure to one that breathed some more "fire, life and inspiration". It should again be emphasised that the change was not due to Anderson alone. However, as was demonstrated, it was Anderson's rhetoric and influence that was acknowledged as the key factor in enabling reform. The chapter argued that there is scope for further research on Anderson, detailing more specifically the extent and nature of his influence in education reform.

It was the same Idealist motivation of education for citizenship that drew each of the Australian Idealists to the adult education movement. The echoes of British Idealism could again be seen in the Australians' arguments for programs that were not merely technical or utilitarian in terms of employment, but were aimed at helping develop the adult population towards a greater citizenship and self-realisation. Also revealed was their Idealist belief in unity, rather than division. This was seen in their wish for an integrated educational system where adult education formed part of the greater whole in educating all citizens. Portus' belief in radio as a standout educator, particularly through its ability to transcend geographical division via distance, further revealed an ability to translate Idealist thought into practical application.

The discussion in Chapter Three on the role of the state in education was expanded in Chapter Four to consider Australian Idealist thought on the state and society. Through media publications it was found that the Australian Idealists developed a concept of the state that, at one level, converged with the new liberalism. However, a more detailed reading of their argument, as the chapter demonstrated, revealed identifiable features of Idealist philosophical thought including emphases on personality, spiritual progress and a Hegelian-styled conception of freedom, understood as self-realisation.

In arriving at their concept of state the Australian Idealists reassessed previous conventions in relation to natural rights and liberty. Their thinking in this area bore the hallmarks of the British Idealists in arguing for social instead of individual rights and a conception of liberty that could be enhanced by the state. The Australian Idealists also concurred with Caird that state intervention had become an imperative due to industrialisation and the subsequent growth of capitalism. These phenomena had given rise, as Brown described, to two unequal classes, the employee and employer. As with the British Idealists it is at this point that differences emerged as to the optimal level of state intervention to redress the imbalance.

Of the Australian Idealists being studied here, Burgmann was the most extreme, advocating state ownership of production and, to an extent, wealth. Brown, Anderson and Portus were more circumspect and aligned their thinking more closely to their British counterparts. Too much state intervention, they believed, would lead to authoritarianism, negatively impacting on opportunities for progress towards freedom.

In their rejection of full socialism and aversion to capitalism, Brown, Anderson and Portus were seeking a role for the state that was grounded in a nuanced moral imperative that prioritised co-operation and mutuality between the state and its citizenry. However, it led to what Vincent and Plant call, in regards to

the British Idealists, an ambiguity in relation to property, competition and capitalism. The Australians too sought a "moralised form of competition".[3] In theory and practice, this was particularly evident in Brown's arguments in his "Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation" lectures and in the sugar commission decision, over which he presided.

Far more so than the British Idealists the Australians extended their organic concept of state out of national boundaries to an international community. This was examined in Chapter Five.

Starting from a broad international theory that prioritised co-operation and an eventual 'Society of Nations', this chapter revealed belief in an international society that at one level transcended the nation state but reached a point where its influence on civilisation mimicked that of the nation state itself. For example, this was seen in Brown's vision for international law where laws were mutually developed modes of behaviours for universal benefit, and Anderson's views on freedom. While his analogous aeroplane has awkward elements, its importance is found in the fact that Anderson was seeking a mechanism for a freedom that could be achieved universally. That is, a freedom that was not solely achievable through an individual state. Furthermore, the nation state could potentially inhibit human freedom when overt nationalism took hold. The Idealists rejected such nationalism, whether displayed in Nazi Germany, Australia or Britain, as anathema to true internationalism.

In their quest for a true internationalism several factors had to be negotiated. These included Australia's geographic location, its British Commonwealth allegiance and the rise of American influence throughout the period. Again we saw an emphasis on inclusion and universality. The chapter revealed that in this area the Australian Idealists were at a cross-current to the

[3] Vincent and Plant, *Philosophy, Politics and Citizenship*, p.32.

generally accepted dominant discourse of the period. Australia at this time is most usually regarded as isolationist, seeing the world through British eyes and fearful of Asia's proximity. The Australian Idealists, particularly Portus and Burgmann, urged closer co-operation with Asia as part of their belief in a common humanity.

However, this belief was critically challenged by war, specifically the two world wars of the twentieth century. In Chapter Six it was established that both wars were a time of particular angst for the adherents of Idealism, whose core tenet of a just and peaceful, progressive society seemed set to become another casualty. Even more acutely felt was the fact that the German nation, the country of birth of the very philosophers who had inspired their thinking, was the culprit.

It was found that, unlike in Britain, the German influence on Idealist thought was not a major issue in Australia. This can be attributed to the more practical application of Idealism in Australia, which, as this thesis has shown, was primarily articulated through lecture halls, pulpits, the pages of newspapers and radio airwaves. In these public forums it was neither appropriate nor spatially possible to explore the greater meanings behind their beliefs. Yet this does not mean Brown, Anderson, MacCallum, Burgmann and Portus abandoned their Idealism, which is easily recognisable in their understandings of war, its causes, post-war reconstruction and duty in time of war.

What emerged throughout this period was a resilient Idealism that interpreted war as a breakdown in human relations and society. This fracture could be healed and, indeed, even provided an opportunity to create a better, international society based on justice and equality. To Anderson this was the ultimate hope for the League of Nations. The fact its aspirations were not achieved was not a failure of the idea of such internationalism. Rather, it reflected the continued inability of humanity to prioritise co-operation of the spirit over the material. As we learnt, it was this battle between the spiritual and material (and political supremacy was regarded here as a material ambition) that Burgmann and

Portus also identified as the chief cause of war and the main handicap in rebuilding society in the aftermath of conflict. The Australian Idealist recognition of the clash between the spiritual and material was sympathetic with British Idealist interpretations of the causes of war and the threat to positive reconstruction.

However, the immediate presence of war could not be ignored and the conscription issue of the First World War drew comment from Brown and active involvement from MacCallum. As newspaper reports revealed, MacCallum, in particular, was motivated by the Idealist conception of mutual obligation between the state and its citizenry in supporting compulsory military service. In this regard MacCallum contributed to the debates as a public intellectual by introducing thought derived from Idealist principles to a discussion that was otherwise dominated by notions of empire loyalty and class warfare.

MacCallum's public intellectual role in this debate was typical of that taken on various issues by each of the Australian Idealists, as seen throughout the thesis. What remained unknown was the extent to which their thought was distributed and its reception by the media and public. In Chapter Seven these two factors were evaluated through a discussion of newspaper circulation, radio listenership, public feedback and newspaper editorials.

The difficulties in such reception study were noted, however circulation figures and radio listenership research was used to suggest a considerably sized potential newspaper audience and a more limited radio audience. Other research was used to establish that this radio audience was perceived to have been one of quality rather than quantity.

It was found that press and radio support of adult education was crucial to the Australian Idealists' ability to disseminate their thought. Through this support the educational ambitions of practical idealism were furthered through the publicity afforded to adult education programs. Furthermore, the coverage of

University Extension and WEA lectures significantly expanded the Idealist thinkers' audience.

The supportive editorial environment for Australian Idealist thought not only saw the press, particularly the *Sydney Morning Herald*, concur with the thought of the Australian Idealists, but, at times, adopt their arguments. The *Daily Telegraph* was far less inclined to comment on or publish letters relating to many of the issues in which the Idealists were vocal.

Responses from readers and listeners were most often found to have come from those who were politically motivated, frequently with established links to lobby groups. Such a finding can be expected as those who were not as intellectually engaged with issues and thought of the day would be less likely to volunteer comment.

Burgmann, however, did provoke a range of comment in relation to his more extreme views on education and communism. This too is not unexpected. It would be easy to assume that because Burgmann secured greater attention he achieved greater success in disseminating his thought. However, I would argue the reverse. Burgmann's key beliefs on education and society were lost in the scrum of the media debates. More successful were the remaining four Idealist thinkers whose moderation led to equally thoughtful and tempered responses. This interaction demonstrates Brown, MacCallum, Anderson, Portus and Burgmann did more than merely disseminate New Idealist thought in newspapers and on radio. Critically, this thought was engaged with by the public and the media itself.

From these detailed findings some broader themes emerge. Australian Idealism, as articulated by the five thinkers of the thesis, was strongly influenced by British Idealism but adapted to the local political and social environment. The Australians' awareness of the need to communicate to a broad audience gave Australian Idealism an overt practicality. Discussion, in lectures and journalism, of the metaphysical and religious underpinnings of British Idealist philosophy was

minimised. However, such thought was never far below the surface and frequently emerged in brief phrases and allusions.

The overriding feature of the adaptation of British Idealism in Australia is at the core of the thesis.

The Australians' relatively minimal academic output was more than compensated for by their journalism. In many instances it was seen that pamphlet and book publications had, in fact, been sourced from the Idealists' lectures and journalism. Media coverage of their lectures also brought their thought to a larger audience. It is likely that this came about, partially, because of the youthfulness of Australian academia at the time. The smaller population of Australia, compared with Britain, enabled the easy development of relationships between journalists, editors and academics. Radio broadcasts were an obvious next step for the thinkers who were well versed in delivering lectures. Further research into the media of other developing nations in which New Idealism was prominent, for example Canada and South Africa, would reveal whether this very public New Idealism was an Australian anomaly or part of a broader movement.[4]

Within Australia itself, there was little, if any, differentiation in the public exposition of New Idealist thought between the two centres studied, Sydney and Adelaide. Substantial press coverage was evident in both cities. However, I believe this was due to two different reasons. In Sydney the *Sydney Morning Herald* dominated the volume of coverage compared to the *Daily Telegraph*. Had there not been the Fairfax/Balliol connection and the MacCallum/Fletcher friendship, this volume would more than likely have also been substantially less. The *Daily Telegraph* was able to fill its pages throughout the period without recourse to major tracts of Idealist thought. In Adelaide, a much smaller city with less competition

[4] This would extend the work of Sweet, who has already established the influence of British Idealism in Canada, South Africa, India and East Asia. See: William Sweet, "British Idealism and its Empire," *Collingwood and British Idealism Studies* 17, no.1 (2011), pp.7-36.

for editorial space, similar levels of coverage were offered by the two newspapers studied, the *Advertiser* and *Register*. Radio coverage, dominated by the national network of the ABC, cannot be divided geographically.

Temporally, there was also no noticeable difference between the early media exposition of the thought of Brown, MacCallum and Anderson to that of the later thinkers, Portus and Burgmann. While the nature of debates changed, for example, education was most dominant in the early part of the period and international relations and war, unsurprisingly, dominated the later years, there was little variation in the nature of the Australian Idealists' thought. Regardless of subject matter or date, their arguments remained constant in emphasising community, citizenship, personality and realisation, all directed towards freedom. These and other concepts revealed the Idealist nature of their thought. Despite areas of convergence between the new liberalism and New Idealism the thesis demonstrated how it was the latter that most influenced the five thinkers. In this regard the thesis further established the impact of New Idealism in Australia.

The prominence of Portus and Burgmann until the end of the Second World War established the longevity of New Idealism in Australia. The facts that Anderson and MacCallum lived into their eighties and, especially Anderson, maintained a high media profile until close to their deaths in the early 1940s, confirms this longevity.

Evidence of the longevity of New Idealism in Australia, for at least six decades from 1885 to 1945, is, as we have seen, one of many contributions to knowledge made by this thesis. There remains more that can be done. The historical nature of this thesis limited philosophical discussion to its contextual value. However, this research has revealed where a considerable corpus of New Idealist thought can be found by scholars of philosophy. From a philosophical and history of political thought standpoint the influence of Edward Caird and Henry Jones is worthy of further illumination.

New Idealism is, of course, one of many forms of philosophy and thought. In countries where the very existence of intellectual life has been contested, the significance of print and broadcast journalism in revealing intellectual activity cannot be underestimated. This thesis has given but one example in the Australian context. In Britain, Stefan Collini acknowledges mass media's role as a forum for intellectual activity but concludes the primary source was the periodical or journal or review – the "intellectual's natural habitat".[5] This may be true in the British environment where the volume of such publications has always been greater than in Australia. Yet, without recourse to detailed press and radio research, of the style undertaken here, the extent to which press and radio were also an intellectual "habitat" remains unknown.

Returning to Australia, there is wide-ranging scope for similar investigation into eras and modes of thought not covered in this thesis. For example, an exploration into the post-war period through to the 1960s would be especially valuable. This was the era in which Vincent Buckley, Donald Horne, and A.A. Phillips were disputing, not only the historic, but also the contemporary existence of home-grown public intellectuals in Australia.[6] Portus and Burgmann were still active as intellectuals in the early years of the post-war period. These were also the prime years in which Herbert Vere Evatt, the former student and admirer of Francis Anderson and Mungo MacCallum and friend of Burgmann, took a major role in the formation of the United Nations.[7]

In the 1885 to 1945 period Brown, MacCallum, Anderson, Portus and Burgmann were five among a plethora of academics who gave public lectures in the University Extension and WEA programs. Newspaper columns of the period were littered with lengthy reports of lectures by the educationist Meredith

[5] Collini, *Absent Minds*, pp.54, 435-436.

[6] See page 25.

[7] Crockett, *Evatt, a Life*, p.49ff.

Atkinson, the economists R.F. Irvine and F.A. Bland and the historian George Arnold Wood, to name a few. The WEA did publish many lectures and lecture series as pamphlets but by no means all. Many of the WEA lecturers travelled to country centres where, again, their lectures were reported in detail by local newspapers. There is scope in exploring the ways in which the city-based lecturers communicated with rural audiences and the impact of the lectures on these communities.

Furthermore, the Australian Idealists were not alone in authoring journalism. Academics, as they do today, frequently contributed to newspaper columns in their area of expertise. Likewise, many were not averse to writing letters to the editor, offering a further source for research. Often the issues raised by academics in articles and letters attracted comment in editorials, providing further context in the reception of ideas.

The National Archives of Australia holdings of ABC talks transcripts is a veritable treasure chest. The example cited in Chapter Two that, in 1940 alone, 65 academics delivered radio talks, indicates their potential. Although transcripts are not extant for all broadcasts, it is clear that a substantial volume of material remains. Of course, it was not just academics who had something to say and the majority of talks broadcasts were made by non-academics. The scope for all historians is vast.

The value of historical intellectual research into journalism is that it cuts to the marrow of the relationship between news media and society – the transfer of knowledge. The ideas promulgated through journalistic content become the ideas that audiences accept or reject. The so called 'mind of the times' can only be critically interpreted through a studied understanding of the ideas that pass between the news media and the public. Public intellectualism is best assessed by a close study of what was said in the public sphere and how those utterances were received. This is buried, but not lost, in the journalism of the past.

Bibliography

Archival Sources

Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks sessions and organisation - general correspondence, SP1474/1, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Editorial Conferences, 640.44, Fairfax Company Archives, Sydney.

Francis Anderson Papers, University of Sydney Archives, Sydney.

Heney Family - Miscellaneous Papers, MSS 2285, Mitchell Library, Sydney.

Hugh Alexander McClure Smith Personal Files, Series 327, Fairfax Company Archives, Sydney.

Minutes of the University of Sydney Senate, Archives of the University of Sydney, Sydney.

Papers of Benjamin Jowett, Balliol College Archives, Oxford.

Papers of Bishop Burgmann, MS1998, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

Papers of W. Jethro Brown, PRG258/13, State Library of South Australia, Adelaide.

Personal Archives of Mungo William MacCallum, University of Sydney Archives, Sydney.

Portus Family Papers, PRG204, State Library of South Australia, Adelaide.

Sir Warwick Fairfax (1901 - 1987) Papers, Balliol College Archives, Oxford.

W.O. Fairfax Personal Files, Series 327, Fairfax Company Archives, Sydney.

Newspaper Articles

"Adult Education." *Advertiser*, 22 September 1913, 14.

"Adult Education. Lecture by Mr Mainsbridge." *Advertiser*, 23 September 1913, 11.

"Allegiance to League." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 January 1936, 10.

"Allied War Aims." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 September 1939, 14.

Anderson, Francis. "A Great Problem." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 October 1909, 7.

Anderson, Francis. "A Great Problem (2)." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 October 1909, 9.

Anderson, Francis. "A Modern Philosopher - Green of Balliol." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 October 1890, 7.

Anderson, Francis. "An Appeal. Facing the Facts." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 May 1936, 14.

Anderson, Francis. "Armistice Day, Significance of Celebration." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 November 1933, 11.

Anderson, Francis. "Dante. His Internationalism (I)." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 July 1936, 13.

Anderson, Francis. "Dante. His Internationalism (II)." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 August 1936, 13.

Anderson, Francis. "Education: The Act and Its Critics." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 January 1937, 10.

Anderson, Francis. "Education: The Act and Its Critics (II)." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 January 1937, 16.

Anderson, Francis. "Germany Contra Mundum." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 October 1933, 10.

Anderson, Francis. "Passion or Reason. Platform or Press." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 February 1931, 8.

Anderson, Francis. "Reforms. School, University and Society." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 April 1936, 10.

Anderson, Francis. "The Air. Internationalise It." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 January 1935, 8.

Anderson, Francis. "Two Religions: Force or Persuasion." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 August 1935, 10.

"An Apostle of Ideas." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 July 1908, 13.

"Arbitration." *West Australian*, 20 April 1916, 7.

"Australia and the East: Policies for Peace." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 July 1935, 6.

"Australian Poets." *Pall Mall Gazette*, 14 December 1888, 2-3.

Barclay, A. de R. "Churchmen and Communists." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 June 1936, 8.

"Benjamin Jowett." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 January 1896, 7.

"Benjamin Jowett." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 October 1893, 5.

"The Big Side and the Little Side." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 July 1916, 12.

"Bishop's Education Reforms." *Daily Telegraph*, 5 January 1938, 7.

"Bishop Burgmann - Plea for Productive Works." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 May 1934, 12.

"Bishop Criticised for Child-Training View." 13 September 1944, 4.

"British Election Issues." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 October 1931, 8.

"Broadcasting." *Register*, 27 September 1929, 8.

"Broadcasting. Week-End Programmes." *Advertiser*, 27 February 1926, 17.

Brown, W. Jethro. "Democratising the University." *Advertiser*, 1 November 1911, 9.

Brown, W. Jethro. "Democratising the University. Points by a Professor." *Register*, 1 November 1911, 7.

Brown, W. Jethro. "International Law in Time of War (1): Its Binding Force." *Register*, 17 August 1914, 4.

Brown, W. Jethro. "International Law in Time of War (2): Liability of Private Property to Capture." *Register*, 19 August 1914, 8.

Brown, W. Jethro. "International Law in Time of War (3): Blockade." *Register*, 22 August 1914, 11.

Brown, W. Jethro. "International Law in Time of War (4): Contraband of War." *Register*, 25 August 1914, 5.

Brown, W. Jethro. "International Law in Time of War (5): The Declaration of London." *Register*, 28 August 1914, 4.

Brown, W. Jethro. "International Law in Time of War (6): Mines at Sea." *Register*, 29 August 1914, 12.

Brown, W. Jethro. "International Law in Time of War (7): Bombardment." *Register*, 2 September 1914, 11.

Brown, W. Jethro. "International Law in Time of War (8):Territory Occupied by the Enemy." *Register*, 5 September 1914, 19.

Brown, W. Jethro. "The Sugar Commission Report." *Advertiser*, 21 December 1912, 21.

Burgmann, E.H. "Challenge of Youth." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 September 1940, 4.

Burgmann, E.H. "The Child and Society." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 September 1944, 2.

Burgmann, E.H. "Democracy Is Imperilled: The Church's Opportunity." *Daily Telegraph*, 4 November 1935, 8.

Burgmann, E.H. "Religion and Revolution." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 December 1944, 2.

Burgmann, E.H. "Why the League Has Collapsed." *Daily Telegraph*, 12 May 1936, 6.

Burgmann, E.H., "Not Only a War but a Revolution", 1945, *Goulburn Evening Post*, 5 January 1945, 1.

"Call of Duty." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 June 1916, 9.

"Canberra Calls for Grand National Project." *The Canberra Times*, 10 October 1934.

"Causes of Discord, United States and Britain." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 July 1928, 10.

"Child and Home." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 July 1908, 9.

"Child Should Leave Home When 12, Says Bishop." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 September 1944, 3.

"Church's Duty." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 January 1937, 8.

"The Church and Social Questions." *Advertiser*, 13 April 1910, 11.

"Citizen Duty." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 June 1916, 8.

"Commemoration." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 October 1929, 12.

"Compulsion." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 August 1916.

"Condition of the Rev. B. Jowett." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 September 1893, 9.

"Conferring of Degrees." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 May 1933, 8.

"Conscription." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 November 1917, 6.

"Control of Monopolies." *Advertiser*, 30 July 1913, 17.

"'Convict Stain Washed Out'. Professor Portus Lectures in London." *Advertiser*, 3 March 1937, 22.

"Country Press Annual Conference." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 October 1927, 17.

Dalziel, A.J. "The Bishop and Depressions." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1936, 14.

"Death of Dr Caird." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 November 1908, 9.

"Degree Conferring, Chancellor's Address." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 May 1936, 6.

"Dr. Jethro Brown." *Register*, 20 January 1916, 5.

"Eastern Eyes on Our Empty Spaces." *Daily Telegraph*, 31 May 1935, 1.

"Economic Democracy." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 May 1934, 10.

"Educating the Workers. A Laudable Movement." *Register*, 23 September 1913, 8.

"Education - System Denounced." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 December 1936, 9.

"Education and the Workers." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 August 1913, 8.

"Education for the Workers." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 August 1913, 7.

"Education for the Workers." *The Advertiser*, 11 June 1914, 15.

"Education in Europe." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 March 1909, 7.

"Education Neglected." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 July 1938, 9.

"Education of the Workers." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 April 1916, 10.

"Education. The University and the Worker." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 July 1913, 10.

"An Educational Movement. Chat with Mr Mainsbridge." *Register*, 22 September 1913, 10.

"Educational System." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 December 1903, 9.

"The Empire. Plea for More Than Lip Service." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 May 1937, 16.

"The Empire. Restlessness of Youth." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 October 1928, 10.

Fairfax, W. O. "Ethics and National Life." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 December 1944, 2.

Fairfax, W. O. "What Is Behind Strikes?" *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 December 1944, 2.

"Family Life First." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 November 1942, 4.

"Frank Anderson." *Sun*, 10 March 1921, 6.

"Friendship in the East." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 October 1936, 12.

"From the Pulpit: Cause of Peace." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 May 1934, 8.

"Girls' Education." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 December 1921, 8.

"A Great Problem." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 October 1909, 6.

"A Great Scholar." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 November 1924, 16.

"The Growth of Freedom." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 July 1908, 8.

Hebblewhite, A.G. "Untitled." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 December 1944, 2.

Henderson, Kenneth. "Heart of Religion." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 September 1929, 10.

Henderson, Kenneth. "A Maker of Men." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 December 1938, 22.

"Higher Education for All." *Advertiser*, 22 September 1913, 16.

"Higher Education. "Not for School, but for Life"." *Advertiser*, 24 September 1913, 18.

"A Highway of Education." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 July 1913, 8.

"Idealism under Reconstruction." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 November 1922, 12.

"Idealism Vindicated." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1908, 9.

"Ideals in Literature." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 July 1908, 8.

"Ideals of Poets and Philosophers." *Daily Telegraph*, 8 August 1908, 11.

"Idle Hands and Capital." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 July 1934, 11.

"In Advocacy of a University. Prof. Jones at Fremantle. The Secret of Germany's Success." *West Australian*, 24 June 1908, 9.

"Industrial Problems." *Advertiser*, 19 April 1916, 6.

"International Co-Operation." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 October 1932, 8.

"International Law." *Register*, 13 August 1918, 7.

"International Law." *Advertiser*, 13 August 1918, 6.

"International Law." *The Advertiser*, 13 August 1918, 6.

"Internationalism: Relation to World Peace." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 October 1931, 8.

"Is Queensland Civilised?". *Brisbane Courier*, 1 August 1908, 4.

"The League as Architect." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 April 1934.

"League of Nations." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 August 1938, 10.

"League of Nations." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 August 1931, 8.

"League of Nations Day." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 August 1932, 17.

"League of Nations Day at University." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 August 1931, 12.

"League of Nations. Help of the Churches." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 May 1929, 12.

"League of Nations:Oxford Students Criticised." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 March 1933, 10.

"Lecture on Education." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 April 1902, 3.

"Lecture on Socialism." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 September 1892, 6.

"Lecture: Socialism." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 April 1892, 7.

"Lessons of War." *Daily Telegraph*, 15 May 1915, 7.

"Letter to the Editor." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 December 1903, 7.

"Letter to the Editor." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 April 1931, 9.

"Letter to the Editor, Our Latest Educational Improvement." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 December 1903, 4.

"Liberalism and Socialism." *Register*, 9 January 1907, 8.

"The Liberty of the Press." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 July 1940, 8.

"Limits on War News." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 September 1940, 6.

"The Loyalty of Women." *The Advertiser*, 27 July 1915, 9.

MacCallum, M.W. "Comments by Universal Service League." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 October 1916, 8.

MacCallum, M.W. "Letter to the Editor." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 November 1912, 6.

MacCallum, M.W. "Letter to the Editor." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 October 1912, 7.

MacCallum, M.W. "Letter to the Editor." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 January 1909, 6.

MacCallum, M.W. "Letter to the Editor, National Efficiency and Compulsory Training." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 August 1915, 4.

MacCallum, M.W. "The University Bill. Strong Criticism I." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 October 1912, 10.

MacCallum, M.W. "The University Bill. Strong Criticism II." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 October 1912, 14.

"The Making of Character. Lecture by Professor Henry Jones." *Advertiser*, 15 August 1908, 10.

"The Making of Character. Professor Jones' Last Lecture." *Advertiser*, 18 August 1908, 8.

"Man of Wide Interests." *Advertiser*, 21 February 1934, 14.

"A Manifesto, Universal Service for the War." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 September 1915, 17.

"Matriculation Ceremony." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 April 1926, 15.

McCallum, J. "Religion and Revolution." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 December 1944, 2.

McCloskie, W.J. "Education Federation." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 July 1909, 12.

"The Meaning of Liberty." *Advertiser*, 16 August 1907, 7.

"'Metaphors That Mislead'. Lecture by Professor Henry Jones." *Argus*, 11 August 1908, 6.

"Modern Education." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 April 1909, 8.

"Modern Education for the Workers." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 July 1913, 9.

"Modern Legislation." *Advertiser*, 1 September 1908, 8.

Morrison, Elizabeth, Condon, Veronica. "The Rise of a Press Baron." *Age*, 9 February 2008, 7.

"National Education." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 April 1902, 5.

"National Sanity." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 August 1908, 12.

"National Service." *The Advertiser*, 29 October 1915, 12.

"National University Advocated." *Daily Telegraph*, 1 April 1940, 7.

"Nationalism." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 March 1933, 12.

"Need for a New Culture." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 January 1939, 13.

"New Political Economy." *Register*, 11 July 1907, 4.

"New Social Order." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 January 1940, 8.

"Our Education System." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 April 1904, 4.

"Our Public School System." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 October 1903, 8.

"Parenthood and Education." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 September 1944, 2.

"The Party Struggle II." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 July 1943, 4.

"The Party Struggle IV." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 July 1943, 6.

"The Party Struggle V." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 July 1943, 4.

"The Party Struggle VI." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 July 1943, 4.

"Perils of Destiny." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 May 1935, 14.

"Philosophy and Modern Life." *Daily Telegraph*, 11 July 1908, 10.

"Philosophy and Modern Life - Professor Jones Final Lecture." *Daily Telegraph*, 29 July 1908, 7.

"Philosophy and Modern Life. Professor Jones." *Daily Telegraph*, 22 July 1908, 6.

"Philosophy and Politics." *Daily Telegraph*, 15 July 1908, 11.

"Philosophy of Modern Life." *Daily Telegraph*, 18 July 1908, 10.

"Planning for Democracy." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 November 1942, 3.

"Political Obedience. Psychologist's Analysis." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 August 1932, 8.

"Politics in Schools." *The Advertiser*, 4 July 1911, 12.

Portus, G. V. "Meeting Uncle Sam (I)." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 November 1927, 13.

Portus, G. V. "Meeting Uncle Sam (III)." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 November 1927, 10.

Portus, G. V. "Meeting Uncle Sam (X)." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 January 1928, 16.

"Post-War Plans Urged at Once." *Sunday Telegraph*, 12 January 1941, 6.

"Post-War Role of Australia." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 August 1943, 7.

"Premier as Educationist." *Register*, 10 August 1907, 8.

"Principles of Modern Legislation." *Advertiser*, 3 July 1907, 8.

"Professor Anderson's Paper." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 October 1909, 9.

"Professor Anderson Retirement Announced." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 March 1921, 12.

"Professor Anderson, a Tribute from a Former Student." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 March 1921, 12.

"Professor Anderson, Honouring His Service." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 March 1921, 6.

"Professor Henry Jones." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 June 1908, 8.

"Professor Henry Jones. A Distinguished Scholar." *Advertiser*, 15 August 1908, 7.

"Professor Jowett." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 November 1891, 7.

"Professor Jowett Dead." *Advertiser*, 3 October 1893, 5.

"Property - its Relations to Morals." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 February 1933, 8.

"The Public Control of Monopolies." *Advertiser*, 23 July 1913, 18.

"Public School Teachers' Association." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 June 1901, 7.

"Radio Should Be Outside Political Control." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 January 1946.

"Radio Station Notes." *Advertiser*, 19 October 1929, 8.

"Rebel Generation." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 August 1934, 8.

"A Rebuilt Opposition II." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 September 1943, 4.

"A Rebuilt Opposition III." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 September 1943, 4.

"The Renewal of Ideals." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 July 1908, 13.

"Reviews of Recent Books." *Advertiser*, 30 October 1937, 10.

Rickard, Sir Arthur. "An Inquiry. What Is Capitalism?" *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 June 1936, 10.

Rickard, Sir Arthur. "Russia and Religion." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 July 1936, 7.

Robson, A.O., A.J. Dalziel "Capitalism and Christianity." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 July 1936, 5.

"Science Congress." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 January 1898, 4.

"Science Congress." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 January 1907, 7.

"Self and Society." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 July 1908, 13.

"Shakespeare Memorial." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 August 1912, 18.

"Sir Francis Anderson: Death at 82." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 June 1941, 13.

"Smart but Not Sane." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 August 1908, 13.

"Social Philosophy." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 July 1899, 4.

"The Social Problem." *Argus*, 22 October 1909, 8.

"Some Social Science." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 January 1907, 6.

"Speech Day at the Methodist Ladies' College." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 December 1931, 12.

"The State and the Individual: Liberty and Regulation." *Advertiser*, 14 July 1909, 11.

"The State and the Individual; Legislative Despotism." *Advertiser*, 7 July 1909, 12.

"State Education." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 November 1901, 5.

Student. "Freedom and Social Equality." *Advertiser*, 12 September 1908, 19.

"A Student of Society." *Advertiser*, 17 August 1908, 6.

"A Student of Society." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 July 1908, 13.

"Sydney University Jubilee, Address by Professor MacCallum." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 October 1902, 4.

"Sydney University, Worldwide Broadcast." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 October 1927, 14.

"T.W. Heney: Obituary." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 August 1928.

Taylor, Henry. "To the Editor." *Register*, 20 July 1909, 7.

"Teachers' Responsibilities." *The Advertiser*, 1 July 1913, 10.

Thomas, Ivor. "I and the Cosmos." *Times Literary Supplement*, 13 January 1966, 28.

Thornwaite, Violet. "Mother and Child." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 September 1944, 2.

"Tributes." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 July 1928.

"Unemployment - Bishop's Address." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 May 1936, p.17.

"Universal Service." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 May 1916, 10.

"Universal Service." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 September 1915, 8.

"Universal Service." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 July 1916, 8.

"Universal Service, Safeguard of Democracy." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 July 1916, 10.

"Universities and National Life." *Register*, 17 April 1894, 4.

"Universities, Examining Institutions." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 October 1927, 10.

"The University." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 June 1927.

"University Extension Lectures." *Daily Telegraph*, 8 August 1905, 4.

"University Extension Lectures." *Advertiser*, 6 September 1895, 4.

"University Extension Lectures." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 October 1886, 7.

"University Extension Lectures, a Talk with Professor W. Jethro Brown." *Mercury*, 10 July 1896, 4.

"University of Sydney." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 August 1888, 5.

"University of Sydney." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 March 1887, 3.

"The University, Vice Chancellor's Appeal." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 June 1927, 16.

"University. Association Meeting." *Canberra Times*, 18 January 1929, 4.

"Untitled." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 May 1892, 6,7.

"Use Idle Millions Is Bishop's Plea." *Daily Telegraph*, 17 July 1934, 9.

"The Visit of Professor Jones." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 August 1908, 6.

"War and the Church." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 January 1940, 13.

"'War Certain Unless Nations Get Justice' - Dr Burgmann." *Daily Telegraph*, 6 May 1936, 7.

Welsh, D.A. "The University of Sydney." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 October 1912, 7.

Wentworth Lee, M.R. "Letter to the Editor, Problem of Progress." *Advertiser*, 6 December 1938, 26.

"Workers' Education. Visit of Mr Mainsbridge." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 July 1913, 7.

"Workers' Educational Association." *Register*, 27 September 1913, 17.

"Workers' Educational Association." *Advertiser*, 27 September 1913, 16.

"Workers' Educational Association." *The Advertiser*, 16 September 1916, 13.

"The World's Need: Bishop Burgmann's Plea." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 November 1934, 13.

"'World Far from Civilised': Bishop Burgmann's View." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 April 1937, 14.

"World Peace: The League and its Work." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 February 1932, 8.

"World Politics and the Christian Faith." *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 May 1935, 18.

Radio Transcripts

Anderson, Francis, "A Call from Kosciusko", 1939, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Box 3, Folder As, General Scripts, National Archives of Australia Sydney.

Anderson, Francis, "The World of Tomorrow", 1941 Australian Broadcasting Commission Talks Transcripts, Box 3, Folder As, General Scripts National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Burgmann, E.H., "Can We Reconstruct Ourselves? Our Educational Values", 1945, Australian Broadcasting Commission Talks Transcripts, SP300/1,Box 19, Folder B General Scripts, National Library of Australia, Sydney.

Burgmann, E.H., "Education for Citizenship", 5 August 1944, Australian Broadcasting Commission Talks Transcripts, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Brown, W. Jethro, "Typescript of Addresses on Strife in Industry ", n.d., Papers of W. Jethro Brown, PRG258/13, State Library of South Australia, Adelaide.

Portus, G. V., "Adult Education in Australia", 1944, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, SP300/2,Box 2, Portus/27, National Archive of Australia, Sydney.

Portus, G. V., "All Australia Session", 1941, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP369/2, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Portus, G. V., "Bridges of Understanding", n.d., Portus Family Papers, PRG204, Folder 25/18, State Library of South Australia, Adelaide.

Portus, G. V., "The Changing Australia - the Price of Peace", 1943, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/15, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Portus, G. V., "The Conflict of Loyalties", 1936, Portus Family Papers, PRG204, Folder 25/3, State Library of South Australia, Adelaide.

Portus, G. V., "The Family as the Basis of the State", n.d., Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, SP300/17, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Portus, G. V., "Introducing Australia", 1939, Australian Broadcasting Commission Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/1, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Portus, G. V., "The Return to Normalcy", 1943, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/14, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Portus, G. V., "The Shape of Things to Come - It Won't Be So Easy I", 1942, Australian Broadcasting Commission Talks Transcript, Series SP300/2, Portus/10, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Portus, G. V., "The Shape of Things to Come - It Won't Be So Easy II", 1942, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/10, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Portus, G. V., "The Significance of Nurioopta to Australia", 1944, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks transcripts, SP300/2, Portus/28, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Portus, G. V., "Statement from the Dock", 1940, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/2, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Portus, G. V., "The Suez Canal", 1940, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/4, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Portus, G. V., "The Tangled Kein of India IV - Trying to Unravel the Tangles", 1945, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/30, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Portus, G. V., "The Tangled Skein of India II - Farms and Factories", 1945, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Portus, G. V., "They Wanted to Rule the World I - Alexander the Great", 1940, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/6, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Portus, G. V., "They Wanted to Rule the World VI - Napoleon", 1941, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/7, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Portus, G. V., "We Australians I", 1942, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/11, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Portus, G. V., "We Australians III", 1942, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/10, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Portus, G. V., "What Does Patriotism Mean?", 1944, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/24, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Portus, G. V., "The World Our Neighbour - the United States II", 1940, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts, Series SP300/2, Portus/3, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Portus, G. V., "The World Our Neighbour I - the United States", 1940, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Talks Transcripts,, Series SP300/2, Portus/3, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Portus, G.V., "The Changing Face of the Newspaper", 1942, Australian Broadcasting Commission Talks Transcripts, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Portus, G.V., "Is Ignorance Bliss?", 1943, Australian Broadcasting Commission Talks Transcripts, SP300/2, National Archives of Australia, Sydney.

Other Original/Contemporary Sources

Anderson, Francis. "From the Editor's Chair." *Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy* 1, no. 1 (1923), 59-67.

Anderson, Francis. "Liberalism and Socialism." In *Science Congress Proceedings*, 1907.

Anderson, Francis. *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*. Sydney: Australasian Association of Psychology and Philosophy, 1922.

Anderson, Francis. *Peace or War*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1935.

Anderson, Francis. "The Public School System of New South Wales." Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1901.

Anderson, Francis. "The Work of the League of Nations Union." Sydney: League of Nations Union (NSW Branch), 1941.

Annual Report of the Australian Broadcasting Commission. Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1940.

Annual Report of the Australian Broadcasting Commission. Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1946.

Annual Report of the Australian Broadcasting Commission. Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1942.

Annual Report of the Australian Broadcasting Commission. Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1941.

Arnold, Matthew. "Culture and Anarchy, an Essay in Social and Political Criticism," in *Culture and Anarchy and other writings*, edited by Stefan Collini, 53-211. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Atkinson, Meredith. *The New Social Order: A Study of Post-War Reconstruction*. Melbourne: Workers' Educational Association of Australia, 1919.

Bennett, A.E. "We Have No Axe to Grind." *Wireless Weekly*, 3 September 1926, 7.

Bosanquet, Bernard. *The Civilization of Christendom* London: Swan Sonnenschien & Co, 1893.

Bradley, F.H. *Ethical Studies*. London: Henry S. King & Co., 1876.

Brown, Jethro. "Strife." *Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy* 1, no. 1 (1923), 34-44.

Brown, W. Jethro. "International Law." In *A League of Nations: Four Lectures*. Adelaide: Adelaide Diocesan Social Union, 1918.

Brown, W. Jethro. *The Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation*. London: John Murray, 1920.

Burgmann, E.H. *The Regeneration of Civilization*. Sydney: Robert Dey, 1942.

Burgmann, E.H. *What Is Morale and How Is It Measured?* Canberra: National Film and Sound Archive, 1942.

Burgmann, E.H. *Education of An Australian.* Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1944.

A Century of Journalism: The Sydney Morning Herald and Its Record of Australian Life 1831-1931 Sydney: John Fairfax & Sons, 1931.

Caird, Edward. "Rousseau." *Contemporary Review*, no.30 (1877), 625-641.

Caird, Edward. "The Problem of Philosophy at the Present Time." In *The Scottish Idealists: Selected Philosophical Writings*, edited by David Boucher, 26-44. Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2004.

Caird, Edward. "Social Ethics No.4. The Divisions of Labour in the Social and Economic Spheres." In *Unpublished Manuscripts in British Idealism* 2, edited by Colin Tyler, 64-78. Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2005. Reprint, 2008.

Cunningham, K.S., Pratt, J.J., ed. *Review of Education in Australia, 1939*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1940.

Collingwood, R.G. "Fascism and Nazism." *Philosophy* 15, no. 58 (1940), 168-176.

Fairfax, W. O, ed. *Men, Parties and Politics : Being Articles Published in the Sydney Morning Herald During the Federal Election Campaign in August, 1943 / with a Foreword by Warwick Fairfax*. Sydney: John Fairfax & Sons, 1943.

Fairfax, W. O. *The Triple Abyss: Towards a Modern Synthesis*. London: Geoffrey Bless, 1965.

Fletcher, C. Brunsdon. *The Great Wheel*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson Ltd, 1940.

Fletcher, C. Brunsdon. *Standards of Empire, the Making of a Journalist*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1924.

Gollan, Kenneth. *The Organisation and Administration of Education in New South Wales*. Sydney: Sydney Teachers' College Press, 1925.

Green, T.H. *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation and Other Writings*. Edited by Paul Harris Paul and John Morrow. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Green, T.H. *Works of Thomas Hill Green*. Edited by R.L. Nettleship. Vol. III. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1889.

Haldane, Viscount. "Higher Nationality, an Address Delivered before the American Bar Association at Montreal on September I, 1913 " *Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation* 13, no. 3 (1913), 508-525.

Hancock, W.K. *Australia*. 1961 ed. Brisbane: Jacaranda Press, 1930.

Henderson, Kenneth. "The Mind's Love for God." *Philosophy* 11, no. 43 (1936), 309-321.

Henderson, Kenneth. "A Realism for Reconciliation." *Philosophy* 27, no. 100 (1952), 58-65.

Henderson, Kenneth T. "Troeltsch's Philosophy of History." *Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy* 3, no. 4 (1925), 254-264.

Hilliard, E., ed. *Balliol College Register*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Balliol College, 1914.

Historical Records of Australia, Vol 3, Hunter 1796-1799. Sydney: Government Printer, 1895.

Hobhouse, L.T. *The Metaphysical Theory of the State*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1918.

"An Impression of Sir Mungo MacCallum." *Wireless Weekly*, 23 May 1930, 9.

Jones, Henry. "Journalism and Citizenship." In *Social Powers, Three Popular Lectures on the Environment, the Press and the Pulpit* 45-76. Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1913.

Lawrence, D.H. *Kangaroo*. London: William Heinemann, 1923. Reprint, 1970.

"Let's Talk About These Talkers." *Wireless Weekly*, 15 June 1928, 3.

MacCallum, M.W. "Australian English Association, Sydney, a Branch of the English Association Founded in 1906 : Constitution of the Association. W. P. Ker, a Great English Scholar." Sydney: Australian English Association, 1923.

MacKenzie, T. Findlay. *Nationalism and Education in Australia*. London: P.S. King & Son, 1935.

Macmahon Ball, W. "Australia in World Affairs." *Meanjin* 4, no.1 (1945), 151-156.

McNair, W.A. *Radio Advertising in Australia*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1937.

Miller, E. Morris. "The Beginnings of Philosophy in Australia and the Work of Henry Laurie." *Australasian Journal of Philosophy* 7, no. 4 (1929), 241-251.

"Modern Philosophy from Bacon to Bergson." *Wireless Weekly*, 13 September 1929.

Portus, G. V. *Marx and Modern Thought*. Sydney: Workers' Educational Association of NSW, 1921.

Portus, G.V. *Free, Compulsory and Secular, a Critical Estimate of Australian Education*. London: Oxford University Press, 1937.

Portus, G. V. *The Price of Peace*. Adelaide: Australian League of Nations Union (South Australia), 1944.

Portus, G. V. *They Wanted to Rule the World : Studies of Six Dictators, and Other Essays*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1944.

Portus, G.V. *Happy Highways*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1953.

"Postmaster - General's Department Thirty Fifth Annual Report 1944 - 1945, Parliamentary Papers, General and Finance Session 1944 - 1945, Vol. II." Government of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1947.

"Postmaster - General's Department Twenty Fourth Annual Report 1933 - 1934, Parliamentary Papers, General Session 1934 - 1935, Vol. III." Canberra: Government of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1935.

Pringle, John Douglas. *Have Pen Will Travel*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1973.

Ritchie, David G. *The Principles of State Interference*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co, 1891.

Ritchie, David G. *Natural Rights: A Criticism of Some Political and Ethical Conceptions*. London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1895.

Science Congress. Canberra: National Film and Sound Archive, 1939.

Scott, Ernest. *The Official History of Australia in the War 1914 - 1918, Volume 11, Australia During the War*. 7th ed. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1941.

Stephensen, P.R. *The Foundations of Culture in Australia*. North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1936. Reprint, 1986.

"To Talk or Not to Talk?". *Wireless Weekly*, 25 January 1929, 8.

"Tribute to Professor Anderson." *The Arts Journal of the University of Sydney* 4, no. 3 (1921), 78-80.

"Undergraduate Register", n.d., UR 2/1/117, Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford.

"Uni, A.B.C. And *W.W.* To Co-Operate." *Wireless Weekly*, 9 May 1930, 9.

Secondary Sources

Aldrich, Richard. "Payne, Joseph (1808 - 1876)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21649.

Alexander, F. "Sydney University and the WEA (1913 - 1919)." *Australian Quarterly* 27, no. 4 (1955), 34-56.

Alexander, Fred. "Murdoch, Sir Walter Logie Forbes (1874 - 1970)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*: http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/murdoch-sir-walter-logie-forbes-7698/text13477.

Alomes, Stephen. "Intellectuals as Publicists 1920s to 1940s." In *Intellectual Movements and Australian Society*, edited by Brian Head and James Walter, 70-87. South Melbourne: Oxford University Press Australia, 1988.

Altman, Dennis. "Australian Political Culture: No Space for Intellectuals." *Australian Book Review* no. 138 (1992), 24-30.

Arrow, Michelle, Bridget Griffen-Foley, and Marnie Hughes-Warrington. "Australian Media Reception Histories." *Media International Australia, Incorporating Culture & Policy* no. 131 (2009), 68-69.

Ashby, Eric and Mary Anderson. *Portrait of Haldane at Work on Education*. London: MacMillan Press, 1974.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. "Australian Historical Population Statistics": Series 3105.0.65.001, 2008.

Badger, C.R. "Strong, Charles (1844 - 1942)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*: http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/strong-charles-4658/text7697.

Barcan, Alan. *A History of Australian Education*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Barcan, Alan. *Two Centuries of Education in New South Wales*. Sydney: New South Wales University Press, 1988.

Baughen, G.A.K. " Baeyertz, Charles Nalder - Biography " In *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*: http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b1/1, 2010.

Baylen, J. O. "The 'New Journalism' in Late Victorian Britain," *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 18, no. 3 (1972), 367-385.

Benda, Julien. *The Betrayal of the Intellectuals (La Trahison Des Clercs)*. Translated by Richard Aldington. Boston: Beacon Press, 1955.

Birn, Donald S. *The League of Nations Union 1918 - 1945*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.

Bongiorno, Frank. "Introduction [Paper in Special Issue: Mars and Minerva: Australian Intellectuals and the Great War]." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 53, no. 3 (2007), 337-343.

Boucher, David. "Practical Hegelianism: Henry Jones's Lecture Tour of Australia." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 51, no. 3 (1990), 423-452.

Boucher, David, Andrew Vincent. *A Radical Hegelian, the Political and Social Philosophy of Henry Jones*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993.

Boucher, David. "British Idealism, the State, and International Relations." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 55, no. 4 (1994), 671-94.

Boucher, David, ed. *The British Idealists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Boucher, David. *Political Theories of International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Boucher, David, and Andrew Vincent. *British Idealism and Political Theory*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000.

Boucher, David, ed. *The Scottish Idealists, Selected Philosophical Writings*. Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2004.

Boucher, David. "Henry Jones: Idealism as a Practical Creed." In *The Moral, Social and Political Philosophy of the British Idealists*, edited by William Sweet, 137-151. Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2009.

Bourke, Helen. "Social Scientists as Intellectuals: From the First World War to the Depression." In *Intellectual Movements and Australian Society*, edited by Brian and Head and James Walter, 47-69. South Melbourne: Oxford University Press Australia, 1988.

Boyce, George. "The Fourth Estate: The Reappraisal of a Concept." In *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*, ed. George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate, 19-40. London: Constable and Company, 1978.

Bridge, Carl. "Sowden, Sir William John (1858 - 1943)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*: http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/sowden-sir-william-john-8593/text15005.

Buckley, Vincent. "Intellectuals." In *Australian Civilization*, edited by Peter Coleman, 89-104. Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1962. Reprint, 1967.

Buckridge, Patrick. *The Scandalous Penton: A Biography of Brian Penton*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1994.

Buckridge, Pat. "Editors as Intellectuals." In *Journalism, Print, Politics and Popular Culture,* edited by Ann Curthoys and Julianne Schultz, 185-204. St Lucia (Qld): University of Queensland Press, 1999.

Bull, Hedley. "Martin Wight and the Theory of International Relations: The Second Martin Wight Memorial Lecture." *British Journal of International Studies* 2, no. 2 (1976), 101-16.

Cable, K.J. "MacCallum, Sir Mungo William (1854 - 1942)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol.10, 211-13. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1986.

Campbell, Craig. "Liberalism in Australian History 1880 - 1920." In *Social Policy in Australia*, edited by Jill Roe, pp.24-33. Sydney: Cassell, 1976.

Carey, James W. "The Problem of Journalism History." In *James Carey : A Critical Reader*, edited by Eve S. Munson, Catherine A. Warren, 86-93. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

Carr, E.H. *The Twenty Years Crisis 1919 - 1939*. London: MacMillan Press, 1946.

Carter, Matt. *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*. Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2003.

Clark, C.M.H. *A History of Australia Volume 7*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1987.

Coady, Tony. "The Public Philosopher." *Meanjin,* 50, no. 4 (1991), 479-492.

Cobb, Joan. *Sweet Road to Progress, the History of Technical Education in New South Wales to 1949*. Sydney: New South Wales Department of Education and Training, 2000.

Cockburn, S. "'Dumas, Sir Frederick Lloyd (1891–1973)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*: http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/dumas-sir-frederick-lloyd-10058/text17741.

Collini, Stefan. "Hobhouse, Bosanquet and the State: Philisophical Idealism and Political Argument in England 1880-1918." *Past and Present* no. 72 (1976), 86-111.

Collini, Stefan. *Liberalism and Sociology, L. T. Hobhouse and Political Argument in England 1880 - 1914*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Collini, Stefan. *Absent Minds, Intellectuals in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Collins, Randall. *The Sociology of Philosophies*. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1998.

Conboy, Martin. *The Press and Popular Culture*. London: Sage, 2002.

Conboy, Martin. *Journalism: A Critical History.* London: Sage, 2004.

Conboy, Martin. *The Language of the News*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2007.

Conboy, Martin. *The Language of Newspapers*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010.

Conboy, Martin. "The Paradoxes of Journalism History." *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 30, no. 3 (2010), 411-420.

Cook, Ian. *Liberalism in Australia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Copleston, Frederick. *A History of Philosophy*. Vol. VI London: Burns and Oates Limited, 1964.

Cotton, James. "W.K. Hancock and International Relations in Australia: the Commonwealth as a Model of World Government." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 55, no.4 (2009), 475-495.

Counihan, Michael S. "The Formation of a Broadcasting Audience: Australian Radio in the Twenties." *Meanjin* no. 41 (1982), 196-208.

Covert, Catherine L. "The Newspaper and Intellectual History: A New Approach." In *Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism* Houston, Texas 1979.

Crane, A.R, W.G.Walker. *Peter Board. His Contribution to the Development of Education in New South Wales*. Melbourne: Australian Council for Educational Research, 1957.

Creswell, Julia, ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of Word Origins*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t292.e1340.

Crew, B.H. "Mansbridge and His Mission to Australia." *Australian Highway* December, (1969), 9-16.

Cryle, Denis. "'Old Tales, New Techniques': Popular Journalism 1860 – 1930." In *Journalism, Print, Politics and Popular Culture,* edited by Ann Curthoys and Julianne Schultz, 56-69. St Lucia (Qld): University of Queensland Press, 1999.

Curthoys, Ann and Schultz, Julianne (eds.). *Journalism, Print, Politics and Popular Culture*. St Lucia (Qld): University of Queensland Press, 1999.

Dabscheck, Braham. "Regulation Down Under: The Case of Australian Industrial Relations." *Journal of Economic Issues* 27, no. 1 (1993), 41-68.

Damousi, Joy. "War and Commemoration: 'the Responsibility of Empire'." In *Australia's Empire*, edited by Deryck M. Schreuder, Stuart Ward, 288-311. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Davidson, Jim. *A Three-Cornered Life, the Historian W K Hancock*. Sydney: UNSW Press, 2010.

Davies, W. Martin. *The Philosophy of Sir William Mitchell (1861-1962)*. Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2003.

Davies, Martin, Helgeby, Stein. "Idealist Origins in Australasian Philosophy." In *A History of Australasian Philosophy*, edited by Graham Oppy, Trakakis, Nick. Dordrecht: Springer-Verlag, 2011 forthcoming.

Day, David. *The Great Betrayal: Britain, Australia and the Onset of the Pacific War 1939 - 1942*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1988.

den Otter, Sandra. *British Idealism and Social Explanation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Devetak, Richard, and Richard Higgott. "International Relations Theory." In *The Australian Study of Politics*, edited by R.A.W. Rhodes, 268-281. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Dymock, Darryl. "A Reservoir of Learning: The Beginnings of Continuing Education at the University of Sydney." *Australian Journal of Adult Learning* 49, no. 2 (2009), 246-268.

Edgar, Patricia. *The Politics of the Press.* South Melbourne: Sun Books, 1979.

Eggleston, F.W. *Reflections of an Australian Liberal*. Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1953.

Eyerman, Ron. *Between Culture and Politics, Intellectuals in Modern Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994.

Farrell, Joseph. "Icarus as Anti-Fascist Myth: The Case of Lauro De Bosis." *Italica* 69, (1992), 198-209.

Foster, Leonie. *High Hopes: The Men and Motives of the Australian Round Table*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1986.

Franklin, James. *Corrupting the Youth: A History of Philosophy in Australia*. Paddington (NSW): Macleay Press, 2003.

Fuller, Steve. *The Intellectual*. Cambridge: Icon Books, 2005.

Gella, Aleksander. "An Introduction to the Sociology of the Intelligentsia." In *The Intelligentsia and the Intellectuals*, edited by Aleksander Gella, 9-34. London: Sage Publications, 1976.

Goot, Murray. *Newspaper Circulation in Australia 1932-1972*. Melbourne: LaTrobe University, 1979.

Goot, Murray. "McNair, William Allan (1902–1979)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*: http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mcnair-william-allan-11021/text19605.

Gordon, Peter and John White. *Philosophers as Educational Reformers: The Influence of Idealism on British Educational Thought and Practice*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1979.

Gorman, Lyn, McLean, David. *Media and Society in the Twentieth Century*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2003.

Gramsci, Antonio. "Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci." edited by Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971.

Grave, S.A. *A History of Philosophy in Australia*. St Lucia (Qld): University of Queensland Press, 1984.

Green, H.M. *A History of Australian Literature. Volume 1*. Revised ed. Sydney: Angus & Robertson Publishers, 1984.

Griffen-Foley, Bridget. *The House of Packer: The Making of a Media Empire*. St Leonards (NSW): Allen & Unwin, 1999.

Griffen-Foley, Bridget. *Sir Frank Packer: the Young Master.* Pymble (NSW): Harper Collins, 2000.

Griffen-Foley, Bridget. "The Birth of a Hybrid: The Shaping of the Australian Radio Industry." *Radio Journal: International Studies in Broadcast & Audio Media* 2, no. 3 (2004), 153-169.

Griffen-Foley, Bridget. "Australian Press, Radio and Television Historiography: An Update." *Media International Australia*, no. 119 (2006), 21-37.

Griffen-Foley, Bridget. "Australian Press, Radio and Television Historiography: An Update." *Media International Australia*, no. 124 (2007), 23-44.

Griffen-Foley, Bridget. "Radio Ministries: Religion on Australian Commercial Radio from the 1920s to the 1960s." *Journal of Religious History* 32, no. 1 (2008), 31-54.

Griffen-Foley, Bridget. *Changing Stations: The Story of Australian Commercial Radio*. Sydney: UNSW Press, 2009.

Hall, Sandra. T*abloid Man, The Life and Times of Ezra Norton*. Pymble (NSW): Harper Collins, 2008.

Harney, Maurita. "The Contemporary European Tradition in Australian Philosophy." In *Essays on Philosophy in Australia*, edited by Jan and Wood Srzednicki, David, 122-148. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992.

Head, Brian, and James Walter, eds. *Intellectual Movements and Australian Society*. South Melbourne: Oxford University Press Australia, 1988.

Head, Brian. "Introduction: Intellectuals in Australian Society." In *Intellectual Movements and Australian Society*, edited by Brian Head and James Walter, 1 - 44. South Melbourne: Oxford University Press Australia, 1988.

Healey, Alison. "Nerve and Imagination: Kenneth Thorne Henderson in Retrospect." *St Mark's Review* Summer, no. 148 (1992), 13-19.

Hempenstall, Peter. *The Meddlesome Priest: A Life of Ernest Burgmann*. St Leonards (NSW): Allen & Unwin, 1993.

Henderson, Margaret. "Recollections of My Father, Kenneth Thorne Henderson." http://www.family.tree.freeuk.com/documents/kennethhornehenderson.pdf.

Henningham, John. "Two Hundred Years of Australian Journalism: A History Waiting to Be Written." *Australian Cultural History* 7, (1988), 49-64.

Higgins, E.M. *David Stewart and the WEA*. Sydney: Workers' Educational Association of NSW, 1957.

Hirst, John. "Empire, State, Nation." In *Australia's Empire*, edited by Deryck M. Schreuder, Stuart Ward, 141-162. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Hirst, John. *Sense & Nonsense in Australian History*. Melbourne: Black Inc., 2006.

Holden, W. Sprague. *Australia Goes to Press*. Debroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 1961.

Holt, Stephen. *A Veritable Dynamo, Lloyd Ross and Australian Labour 1901 - 1987*. St Lucia (Qld): University of Queensland Press, 1996.

Horne, Donald. *The Lucky Country*. 3rd ed. Sydney: Angus & Robertson Publishers, 1964. Reprint, 1978.

Hudson, W.J. . *Australia and the League of Nations*. Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1980.

Hudson, W.J., M.P. Sharp. *Australian Independence*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1988.

Hughes-Warrington, Marnie, Tregenza, Ian. "State and Civilization in Australian New Idealism, 1890-1950." *History of Political Thought* 29, no. 1 (2008), 89-108.

Hull, William I. *The Two Hague Conferences and Their Contributions to International Law*. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1908. Reprint, 1970.

Hume, L.J. *Another Look at the Cultural Cringe*. Sydney: The Centre for Independent Studies, 1993.

Hume, L.J. "Foundations of Populism and Pluralism: Australian Writings on Politics to 1860." In *Australian Political Ideas*, edited by Geoff Stokes, 22-76. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1994.

Huszar, Tibor. "Changes in the Concept of Intellectuals." In *The Intelligentsia and the Intellectuals*, edited by Aleksander Gella, 79-110. London: Sage Publications, 1976.

Ihde, Erin Leon. *Edward Smith Hall and the Sydney Monitor 1826 - 1840: A Manifesto for New South Wales* Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2004.

Inglis, K.S. "Conscription in Peace and War, 1911 - 1945." In *Conscription in Australia*, edited by Roy Forward, and Bob Reece, 22-65. St Lucia (Qld): University of Queensland Press, 1968.

Inglis, K.S. *The Beginnings of Radio in Australia*. Adelaide: University of Adelaide, 1981.

Inglis, K.S. *This Is the ABC: The Australian Broadcasting Commission 1932-1983*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1983.

Irving, Terry, and Sean Scalmer. "Australian Labour Intellectuals: An Introduction." *Labour History* no. 77 (1999), 1-10.

Jennings, Bernard. *The WEA in Australia, the Pioneering Years*. Sydney: Workers' Educational Association, 1998.

Jensen, Klaus Bruhn. "The Past in the Future: Problems and Potentials of Historical Reception Studies." *Journal of Communication* 43, no. 4 (1993), 20-28.

Johanson, David. "History of the White Australia Policy." In *Immigration: Control or Colour Bar*, edited by Kenneth Rivett, 1-27. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1962.

Johnson, Lesley. *The Unseen Voice: A Cultural Study of Early Australian Radio* London: Routledge, 1988.

Kenny, M.J.B. "Curnow, William (1832 - 1903)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*: http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/curnow-william-5851/text9947.

Kirkpatrick, Rod. *Country Conscience – A History of the New South Wales Provincial Press 1841 – 1995.* Canberra: Infinite Harvest Publishing, 2000.

Kirkpatrick, Rod. "Australia: Shaking Off the Shackles to Earn the Badge of Independence." In *The Rise of Western Journalism, 1815-1914*, edited by Ross F. Collins, E. M. Palmegiano, 11-41. Jefferson: McFarland & Company Inc., 2007.

Knock, Thomas J. *To End All Wars, Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992.

Koss, Stephen. *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain*. Vol. I. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1981.

Lee, Alan J. *The Origins of the Popular Press 1855-1914*. London: Croom Helm, 1976.

Leighton, Denys P. *The Greenian Moment*. Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2004.

Ling, Peter. *Education Policy in Australia 1880 - 1914*. Melbourne: Philip Institute of Technology, 1984.

Lloyd, Clem. *Profession: Journalist*. Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1985.

Love, J.H. "Finlayson, John Harvey (1843-1915)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*: http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/finlayson-john-harvey-3517/text5409.

Macintyre, Stuart. *Colonial Liberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Macintyre, Stuart. *A Concise History of Australia*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1999.

Mander, W.J. *British Idealism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

May, Alexander C. The Round Table 1910 - 1966. PhD thesis, St John's College, Oxford University, 1995.

Mayer, Henry. *The Press in Australia*. Melbourne: Lansdowne Press, 1964.

Mayer, Henry. "Press, Radio and Television." In *Australians: A Guide to Sources,* 446–51. Sydney: Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, 1987.

McNair, Brian. *The Sociology of Journalism*. London: Arnold, 1998.

Meaney, Neville. *Australia and the World - a Documentary History from the 1870s to the 1970s*. Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1985.

Meaney, Neville. “Frederic Eggleston on International Relations and Australia’s Role in the World.” *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 51, no.3 (2005), 359-371.

Melleuish, Gregory. "Utopians and Sceptics: Competing Images of Democracy in Australia." In *Australian Political Ideas*, edited by Geoff Stokes, 114-133. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1994.

Melleuish, Gregory. *Cultural Liberalism in Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Melleuish, Gregory. *A Short History of Australian Liberalism*. St. Leonards: The Centre for Independent Studies, 2001.

Merrill, John, C. and Odell, S. Jack. *Philosophy and Journalism*. New York: Longman Inc., 1983.

Merrill, John C. and Nerone, John C. "The Four Theories of the Press Four and a Half Decades Later: A Retrospective." *Journalism Studies* 3, no. 1 (2002), 133-136.

Midgley, Mary. *Wisdom, Information, and Wonder: What Is Knowledge For?* London: Routledge, 1989.

Miller, A.V. "Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit." Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Miller, Pavla. *Long Division, State Schooling in South Australian Society*. Netley (SA): Wakefield Press, 1986.

Milne, A.J.M. "The Common Good and Rights in T.H. Green's Ethical and Political Theory." In *The Philosophy of T.H. Green*, edited by Andrew Vincent, 62-75. Aldershot: Gower Publishing Company, 1986.

Misztal, Barbara A. *Intellectuals and the Public Good*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Moignard, Kathy. "Ward, Frederick William (1847-1934)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*: http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/ward-frederick-william-8982/text15807.

Montefiore, Alan. "The Political Responsibility of Intellectuals." In *The Political Responsibility of Intellectuals*, edited by Ian Maclean, Montefiore, Alan, Winch, Peter, 201-28. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Moore, Tod. "A Civic Order." In *What Were They Thinking? The Politics of Ideas in Australia*, James Walter with Tod Moore, 133-174. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010.

Moore, Tod. "The 'Morpeth Mind' and Australian Politics 1927-1934 " In *Australasian Political Studies Association Conference*. Newcastle (NSW): University of Newcastle, 2006.

Moran, Albert. "Media Intellectuals." In *Intellectual Movements and Australian Society*, edited by Brian and Head and James Walter, 109-126. South Melbourne: Oxford University Press Australia, 1988.

Morrison, Elizabeth. *Engines of Influence, newspapers of country Victoria 1840 – 1890.* Carlton (Vic): Melbourne University Publishing, 2005.

Morrow, John. "British Idealism, 'German Philosophy' and the First World War." *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 28, no. 3 (1982), 380-390.

Mott, Frank L. *American Journalism 1690 - 1940*. 3rd ed. New York: MacMillan, 1962.

Munro, Craig. "Introduction." In *The Foundations of Culture in Australia*. North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1986.

Murray, Craig. Intellectuals in the Australian Press. PhD thesis, Queensland University of Technology, 2005.

Newman, Jay. *The Journalist in Plato's Cave*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1989.

Nicholson, Peter. *The Political Philosophy of the British Idealists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Noether, Emiliana P. "Italian Intellectuals under Fascism." *The Journal of Modern History* 43, no. 4 (1971), 630-648.

O'Brien, John B. "Empire V. National Interests in Australian-British Relations During the 1930s." *Historical Studies* 22, no. 89 (1987), 569-586.

O'Donnell, Penny. "Journalism and Philosophy: Remembering Clem Lloyd." In *Australian Media Traditions 2007*. Bathurst: Charles Sturt University, 2007. Accessible at: http://www.csu.edu.au/special/amt/publication/.

O'Neil, W.M. "Anderson, Sir Francis (1858-1941)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 7, 53-55. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1979.

Örnebring, Henrik, Anna Maria Jönsson. "Tabloid Journalism and the Public Sphere: An Historical Perspective on Tabloid Journalism." *Journalism Studies* 5, no. 3 (2004), 283-295.

Passmore, John. "Australian Philosophy or Philosophy in Australia?" In *Essays on Philosophy in Australia*, edited by Jan Wood and David Srzednicki, 1-18. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992.

Passmore, John. *Memoirs of a Semi-Detached Australian*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1997.

Petersen, Neville. *News Not Views: The ABC, the Press and Politics, 1932–1947*. Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1993.

Peterson, Theodore. "Social Responsibility of the Press." In *Four Theories of the Press*, edited by Frederick Siebert, 73-104. Freeport (NY): Books for Libraries Press, 1956; reprint 1973.

Phillips, A.A. "The Cultural Cringe." In *On the Cultural Cringe*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1950. Reprint, 2006.

Pitcher, W.B. "Bonython, Sir John Langdon (1848–1939)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*: http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bonython-sir-john-langdon-5286/text8915.

Playford, John. "The Business Elite." In *The Flinders History of South Australia*, edited by Dean Jaensch, 288-290. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986.

Potts, John. *Radio in Australia*. Kensington (NSW): University of New South Wales Press, 1989.

Prest, E.J. *Sir John Langdon Bonython, newspaper proprietor, politician and philanthropist*. North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2011.

Reynolds, John. "Miller, Edmund Morris (1881 - 1964)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*: http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/miller-edmund-morris-7581/text13237.

Richmond, Keith. "Response to the Threat of Communism: The Sane Democracy League and the People's Union of New South Wales." *Journal of Australian Studies* 1, no. 1 (1977), 70-83.

Richter, Melvin. *The Politics of Conscience, T.H. Green and His Age*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964.

Roe, Jill. *Beyond Belief: Theosophy in Australia 1879-1939*. Kensington (NSW): University of New South Wales Press, 1986.

Roe, Michael. *Nine Australian Progressives*. St Lucia, (Qld): University of Queensland Press, 1984.

Rowse, Tim. *Australian Liberalism and National Character*. Malmsbury (Vic): Kibble Books, 1978.

Rowse, Tim. *Nugget Coombs: A Reforming Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Rutledge, Martha "Knox, Edward William (1847 - 1933)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol.9, 626-628. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1983.

Ryan, Robin J. "Commonwealth Power in Respect of Vocational Education in Australia: Some Historical Vignettes with Future Potential." *International Journal of Training Research, The* 5, no. 2 (2007), 1-14.

Said, Edward W. *Representation of the Intellectual, the 1993 Reith Lectures*. London: Vintage, 1994.

Sander, Anna. Lonsdale Curator of Archives & Manuscripts, Balliol College Archives, personal communication, 16 July 2010.

Sawer, Marian. "The Ethical State: Social Liberalism and the Critique of Contract." *Australian Historical Studies* 31, no. 114 (2000), 67-90.

Sawer, Marian. *The Ethical State? Social Liberalism in Australia*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003.

Sayers, C.E. "David Syme (1827-1908)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol.6, 232-236. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Schudson, Michael. " Media Contexts Historical Approaches to Communication Studies." In *Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research*, 175-189: Taylor & Francis, 1991.

Semmler, Clement. "Fletcher, Charl23-524. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1981.es Brunsdon (1859 - 1946)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol.8, 5

Sherington, Geoffrey, Campbell, Craig. "Education." *Sydney Journal* 2, no. 1 (2009), 1-21.

Siebert, Fred, S. "The Libertarian Theory." In *Four Theories of the Press*, edited by Frederick Siebert, 39-72. Freeport (NY): Books for Libraries Press, 1956; reprint 1973.

Simhony, Avital. "A Liberal Committment to the Common Good, T.H.Green's Social and Political Morality." In *The Moral, Social and Political Philosophy of the British Idealists*, edited by William Sweet, 31-50. Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2009.

Smith, F.B. *The Conscription Plebiscites in Australia 1916 - 17*. 3rd ed. Melbourne: Victorian Historical Association, 1971.

Souter, Gavin. *Company of Heralds*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1981.

Souter, Gavin. *Heralds and Angels, the House of Fairfax 1841-1990*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1991.

Souter, Gavin. "Deamer, Sydney Harold (1891 - 1962)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol.13, 598-599. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1993.

Spaull, Andrew. *A History of the Australian Education Council 1936 - 1986*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1987.

Stokes, Geoff. "Australian Political Thought: Editorial Introduction." In *Australian Political Ideas*, edited by Geoff Stokes, 1-21. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1994.

Sweet, William. "General Introduction." In *Early Responses to British Idealism: Responses to B. Jowett, T.H. Green, E. Caird and W. Wallace*, vol.1, edited by Colin Tyler, ix-xx. Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004.

Sweet, William. *The Moral, Social and Political Philosophy of the British Idealists*. Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2009.

Sweet, William. "British Idealism and its Empire," *Collingwood and British Idealism Studies* 17, no.1 (2011), 7-36.

Tavan, Gwenda. "Immigration: Control or Colour Bar?" *Australian Historical Studies* 32, no. 117 (2001), 181-200.

Tavan, Gwenda. *The Long Slow Death of White Australia*. Carlton North (Vic): Scribe Publications, 2005.

Tennant, Kylie. *Evatt, Politics and Justice.* Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1970.

Thomas, Alan. *Broadcast and Be Damned:The ABC's First Two Decades*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1980.

Thomas, Alan. "Cleary, William James (1885 - 1973)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*: http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/cleary-william-james-5677/text9591.

Tregenza, Ian. "The Idealist Tradition in Australian Religious Thought." *Journal of Religious History* 34, no. 3 (2010), 335-353.

Trumble, Robert. *Kenneth Thorne Henderson, Broadcaster of the Word*. Richmond (Vic): Spectrum Publications, 1988.

Tsokhas, Kosmas. "Australia and the Ottawa Conference." *Australian Outlook* 43, no. 3 (1989), 74-88.

Van Heekeren, M. "'Office Boys' or Intellectuals?: *Sydney Morning Herald* Editors from 1903-1937." *Australian Journalism Review* 32, no. 2 (2010), 75-88.

Van Heekeren, M. "The 'Organic Filament': New Idealist Thought and the Media." *Collingwood and British Idealism Studies* 17, no. 1 (2011), 37-61.

Vincent, Andrew. "The New Liberalism in Britain 1880 - 1914." *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 36, no. 3 (1990), 388-405.

Vincent, Andrew, and Raymond Plant. *Philosophy, Politics and Citizenship, the Life and Thought of the British Idealists*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984.

Viroli, Maurizio. *For Love of Country, as Essay on Patriotism and Nationalism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

Walker, R.B. *The Newspaper Press in New South Wales 1803-1920*. Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1976.

Walker, R.B. *Yesterday's News: A History of the Newspaper Press in New South Wales from 1920 to 1945*. Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1980.

Walker, R.R. *The Magic Spark: The Story of the First Fifty Years of Radio in Australia*. Melbourne: Hawthorn Press, 1973.

Walter, James with Moore, Tod. *What Were They Thinking? The Politics of Ideas in Australia*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010.

Walters, F.P. *A History of the League of Nations*. London: Oxford University Press, 1952. Reprint, 1969.

Weeks, Steven. "Price, Thomas (Tom) (1852-1909)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*: http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/price-thomas-tom-8109/text14157.

Weiler, Peter. *The New Liberalism*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1982.

Wiener, Joel, ed. *Papers for the millions: the new journalism in Britain, 1850s to 1914.* New York: Greenwood Press, 1988.

Whitelock, Derek. *The Great Tradition: A History of Adult Education in Australia*. St Lucia (Qld): University of Queensland Press, 1974.

Whittle, Nancy Robinson. "Hume, Stella Leonora Harriette (1882-1954)." In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*: http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hume-stella-leonora-harriette-10571/text18775.

Wight, Martin. "An Anatomy of International Thought." *Review of International Studies* 13, (1987), 221-227.

Younger, R.M. *Keith Murdoch: Founder of a Media Empire.* Pymble (NSW): Harper Collins, 2003.