The Phoenix has now risen from its ashes, a lovelier bird and — what matters more — a livelier one, the inaugural president of the Australian Academy of the Humanities, Sir Keith Hancock, wrote exultantly to its political patron, Sir Robert Menzies, at the end of September 1969. ‘We have not only a new name but a new infusion of creative vigour’. Since the foundation of the Australian Humanities Research Council (AHRC) in 1955, its founders had anticipated its transformation, in due course, into an Academy of Letters or, as it turned out, an Academy of the Humanities. The plumage of the new bird, with its royal charter and crest, was certainly more glorious than that of the old AHRC, but the bird itself was remarkably like the old one. As a wily old courtier, Hancock had sought to present the new body to the former Prime Minister in the most favourable light but, as he knew, not everyone, even among its fellows, believed it was without blemish. The Academy had not come into being without controversy, and the personalities, rivalries and divided opinions that surrounded its birth illuminate the changing character of the humanities as the post war expansion of the universities reached its apogee.

Seventy-one year old Hancock and seventy-five year old Menzies were near-contemporaries, having both arrived at the University of Melbourne as scholarship boys in the years around World War One. Each man, in his way, had been imbued with ideals of academic and public service through their studies under the university’s influential Professor of Law, Harrison Moore. Both were products of the liberal imperialism of their era, Hancock becoming the pre-eminent historian of the British Empire, and Menzies one of its most devoted political servants. While Hancock had won academic laurels in Oxford and London, returning to his homeland only towards the end of his career, Menzies had remained in Australia, but regularly visited England, craving recognition in what, according to Judith Brett, was always his spiritual home.

Both men were also ‘university men of the old school’. According to his biographer Allan Martin, nothing in Menzies’s seventeen-year reign as Prime Minister gave him more pride than his role in the creation of the modern Australian university system. In appointing the 1957 committee of inquiry led by the chairman of the British University,
Grants Commission, Sir Keith Murray, Menzies was responding to a critical shortage of university places and to a vigorous campaign for the expansion of scientific and technological education. The publication of Murray’s report had coincided with the appearance in Australian skies of the Russian sputnik and followed closely upon C. P. Snow’s influential article in the *New Statesman* on ‘The Two Cultures’ (1956) with its lament for the growing divide between the sciences and the humanities (and subsequently the basis for his famous Rede Lecture of 1959). The Murray report itself was notable for the strong support it gave to the humanities.

It has been becoming more and more clearly and widely recognised of recent years that the world simply cannot afford that its highly specialised professional men, technologists and scientists should not be fully educated as rounded human beings. It sometimes seems that while we have been advancing at formidable speed in our knowledge of technical matters we have been if anything falling behind in our understanding and appreciation of human values. We can handle machines and physical nature beyond the dreams of previous generations, but we handle ourselves, our families and our fellow human beings in general no better, and perhaps less well, than our fathers did before us . . . The need for the study of the humanities is therefore greater and not less than in the past.6

In his Foreword to the AHRC’s survey of *The Humanities in Australia*, published two years later in 1959, Menzies echoed these sentiments, even more sombrely. ‘We live dangerously in the world of ideas just as we do in the world of international conflict’, he began. ‘If we are to escape this modern barbarism, humane studies must come back into their own, not as the enemies of science, but as its guides and philosophic friends. . . Wisdom, a sense of proportion, sanity of judgement, a faith in the capacity of man to rise to higher mental and spiritual levels; these were the ends to be served by the Humanities Council’.7 Cold War fears and liberal-democratic hopes had combined to fashion a new dispensation for the humanities. During the 1960s, when enrolments in arts outstripped even those in science and technology, the humanities were the beneficiaries of Menzies’s confidence in their civilising mission. By 1969, however, as Chancellor of his alma mater, he was witnessing the first tremors of a student revolt, often led by arts students whose ‘sanity of judgement’ and ‘sense of proportion’ the old statesman may well have begun to question.

Keith Hancock had accepted the presidency of the new Academy at the invitation of his friend, the immediate past president of the AHRC, Max Crawford. During his term of office, Crawford had adroitly steered the council along the path towards Academy status. In February 1968, he had written to Prime Minister John Gorton proposing the incorporation of a new body under a royal charter. By creating ‘a community of scholars where none existed before’, the AHRC, he
argued, had ensured that the exercise of ‘well-informed discretion’ would enable the Academy to be established on a sound scholarly basis.\(^8\) The academy idea, with its elitist assumptions, had a certain appeal to political conservatives; back in the 1930s Menzies had launched a divisive and ill-fated plan to create an Australian Academy of Art.\(^9\) Crawford may well have wanted to assure Gorton that this Academy was unlikely to create anything like the same furore.

As sponsors of the Academy, Hancock and Crawford had much in common: both Australian-born historians, both Balliol men, both captivated, early in their careers, by the history of Italy. But while Hancock had conquered the academic heights in Britain, becoming a Fellow of All Souls, Oxford professor, Fellow of the British Academy, and Knight of the realm, Crawford had devoted his life to the cultivation of historical studies in Australia. Since his appointment in 1937, he had made the Melbourne School of History into perhaps the most successful humanities department in Australia.\(^10\) Once, in the 1930s, the paths of the two men had almost crossed. Hancock had returned from Oxford in 1924, aged only 26, to become Professor of History in Adelaide, but by 1933 the boy professor had tired of the constrictions of life in the South Australian capital and resolved to return to England, although not without a backward glance. ‘I would have gone to Melbourne if the opportunity had offered but the timing did not fit’, he recalled in 1954. Ernest Scott had half-promised him the succession, but, he conceded, ‘Melbourne might not have appointed me’ (unlikely, since Melbourne had continued to pursue him even after he went to Birmingham\(^11\)), and he doubted that ‘I could have done such good work there as Crawford has done throughout these two decades.’\(^12\) This was generous praise, but, as Crawford well knew, when it came to scholarly achievement, Hancock was in a different league. By 1969 Crawford was tired, his eyesight was failing and he knew that, for all his services to the AHRC, the new Academy needed the prestige and diplomatic finesse that Hancock alone could offer it.\(^13\)

Hancock himself was less certain about what he had let himself in for. ‘I accepted nomination as your successor because you asked me to do so’, he explained. This, as he came to realise, was a good reason, but not a sufficient one. ‘My membership, up to now, has been perfunctory and — let me confess — joyless’, he confessed. If he had found greater satisfaction in his membership of the British Academy, it was not because its members were more distinguished, but because they were more diverse. ‘We, like the American Foundations, have drawn a sharp line between literacy and numeracy, between art and science. This line not only separates like-minded persons, but also, quite often, cuts the same person into halves. A good deal less than half of me has found a home in the Australian Academy’, he added.\(^14\)

Once he took the reins, however, Hancock applied his searching intelligence to the problems of the emerging Academy. In a letter to Crawford, he summarised his main concerns: the body’s insufficient finances, its slender record of active support for the humanities, its uneven spread of disciplines, including the weak representation of scholars...
from Asian and Aboriginal Studies, and, most worrying of all, its ageing membership. Of its fifty-one members, he discovered, about half were over the age of sixty, thirteen over the age of sixty-five. ‘Unless we take prompt action, senility will overtake us’, he warned. 15

Hancock’s statistics revealed other patterns as well: eighteen of the fifty-one members were historians, two-thirds specialising in Australian history; eight came from modern languages and eight from English language and literature, five from philosophy and the rest, in ones and twos, from Greek and Roman studies, art history, Asian studies, Semitic studies and Aboriginal studies. ‘We have to accept it as a fact of life that present-day Australia is a prolific breeder of historians, but a niggardly breeder of classicists’, he observed. In future, he argued, some preference should be exercised in favour of historians from other fields, such as Italian and Indian history. The membership of the AHRC, his statistics showed, was also strongly concentrated in the Australian National University (ten members), the University of Sydney (eight members), Melbourne (seven members) and Adelaide (three members). 16

The few members from the new universities, like Flinders (two), Monash (one) and La Trobe (one), often turned out to be recent migrants from the sandstones. Had he looked more closely, Hancock would have detected some other interesting characteristics: forty-two of the fifty-one members had overseas degrees, twenty-four of them from Oxford and Cambridge, but not one from an American university. 17 (This, by the way, was to change only slowly: in 1980, ninety-seven of the Academy’s one hundred and twenty-two fellows had overseas degrees, fifty-seven from Oxford and Cambridge). 18 Finally, of the fifty-one members only three — Ursula Hoff, Kathleen Fitzpatrick and Marnie Bassett — were women, none of them still in an academic position.

Looking back, Hancock regretted the decisions that had created a sharp line of division between the humanities, as defined by the Academy’s proposed constitution (‘Language, Literature, History, Philosophy and the Fine Arts’), and the broader fields of learning, including the natural and social sciences. He acknowledged that an organic union between the two bodies was now unlikely, although there should be ‘zones of interpenetration’ between them, ‘marcher country instead of a frontier’, as he put it. 19

Hancock sent copies of his letter to several other colleagues, including the classical archaeologist, Dale Trendall, one of the ‘troika’ who had originally proposed the foundation of the AHRC. A former Fellow of Trinity College Cambridge and Professor of Greek at Sydney University, New Zealand-born Trendall was the world authority on the Grecian pottery of Italy and Sicily. In 1968, he was elected to the British Academy, the only Australian resident other than Hancock to be so honoured. In the minds of many contemporaries, Trendall personified the refinement of taste, acuity of judgement and civility of manners of the
model humanist. When Hancock returned to Canberra in 1957, Trendall had greeted him as the founding Master of University House, an institution that Hancock considered had successfully transplanted the best of Oxbridge to the antipodes. In 1969 he had just arrived at La Trobe University where he was to spend his retirement years as an honorary research fellow. Despite his founding role, however, Trendall had no wish to entrench the rights of its original members. ‘This is the ideal moment for change and reform’, he argued. ‘What I should ultimately hope to see is the merging of the SSRC [Social Science Research Council] and the AHRC (now the Academy), and perhaps even with the Academy of Sciences, which in the best mythological tradition, could then become tricorporate’. Hancock had realised, too late, that such a broader vision of the Academy was incompatible with the new Constitution about to be ratified by royal charter. The AHRC had been limited to fifty members. Crawford had proposed that the new body should be gradually increased to eighty fellows by 1980. (It would actually reach one hundred and twenty-two by that date). Current members of the AHRC would automatically become fellows of the Academy, which would also elect the new fellows to be recruited as old fellows retired or died, new talent appeared and the universities expanded. Politically, it would have been difficult, perhaps impossible, to prevent members of the AHRC becoming fellows of the new Academy but, as the poet Alec Hope observed, there was a risk that, if they all did so, ‘the supernannuated should be in control’. In constituting the AHRC, its founders had relied largely upon nominations from the universities, a concession to the principle of representation that some now considered inconsistent with the scholarly distinction that should be the only criterion for election. Speaking for his other ANU colleagues, John La Nauze and George Russell, Hope condemned the Academy proposal as ‘both premature and pretentious’. I feel ashamed, in my own subject, to hold a seat on the Humanities Council when brilliant young scholars with a fine list of publications to their name do not [...] Unless we do something soon, most of the council will soon be a chorus of ancient frogs singing the praises of the past [...] I cannot see the wisdom, nor indeed the honesty of the present AHRC turning itself into an Academy. For one thing, it has in it too many members, like myself, who were nominated by their universities rather than elected by the Council. But it was easier, as Hope conceded, to see the flaws in the proposed constitution than to suggest a practical alternative. By creating a class of emeritus fellows, who would not be required to take part in the ordinary business of the Academy, Hancock had sought to keep the threat of ‘senectitude’ at bay. And with these assurances, the threatened revolt collapsed. At Easter 1969 Hope wrote a graceful letter of surrender from New York, complimenting Hancock on ‘the combination of tact, critical acumen and [...] authority’ he had exercised in resolving the issue. ‘I am particularly pleased that there is a place provided for those who wish to sit like old men at Troy on the walls to watch the battles and to praise the beauty of Helen without having to take any action about either’, he added, in a flourish perhaps inspired by his
temporary residence in the Algonquin Hotel, the famous gathering place of New York’s literati. While the revolt of the middle-aged Turks had been quelled, the fear that ‘the superannuated should be in control’ of the new Academy hinted at a deeper issue, the widening gap between the experience and outlook of the older generation of humanists, like Crawford and Hope, who had gained their chairs in the 1930s and 40s, and the younger cohort of scholars who reached the senior ranks of the universities in the 1950s and 60s. Between 1954, the birthday of the AHRC, and 1969, the birthday of the Academy of Humanities, the number of students in Australian universities had trebled from just under 30,000 to 109,000. The proportion of the whole student cohort enrolled in arts degrees had increased from around thirty percent to around thirty-seven percent, largely as a result of the strong demand for secondary teachers to educate the post war baby boom. The numbers of full-time university teaching staff had meanwhile risen from 1841 in 1954 to around 8000 in 1969. Whole new humanities faculties had sprung into existence at Monash, Macquarie, La Trobe and Flinders. Most of this growth, of course, was concentrated in the junior ranks of tutors, lecturers and senior lecturers rather than in the professoriate, but the rapidly increasing numbers of appointments at the reader and associate professor level substantiated Alec Hope’s concern for the influx of ‘brilliant young scholars with a fine list of publications to their name’. Until the mid-1960s, when the PhD became the normal gateway to academic life, and jet travel, xerography and new sources of research funding began to overcome the tyranny of academic distance, relatively few Australians, even among the professoriate, made a sustained contribution to international scholarship. Recently, as I began work on a history of Monash University, I read the applications and CVs of the university’s foundation professors. If scholarly publications alone were the criterion, many of Monash’s academic founders would today not even make the short list for a lectureship. The foundation professor of English, for example, had published only three or four journal articles, in English Studies and Notes and Queries, during his twenty years at the University of Melbourne. A professor was expected, in the parlance of the time, to have a ‘first-class mind’, but its excellence was more apparent in the public lectures he gave, the references he wrote, and the sage or witty contributions he made to common-room conversation than in the occasional articles he published in scholarly journals. Most humanities academics would have described themselves as scholars rather than researchers. ‘Research is what will help the scholar in his tasks’, the classicist Harold Hunt observed in his contribution to the Council’s 1959 survey of The Humanities in Australia. ‘It will help him to win respect for his accomplishments, to preserve his keenness for his subject — to keep his mind lively and his influence vital’. The inference was clear: research was not an end in itself, but a means to the primary ends of scholarship: teaching and public activity. Hunt himself personified this conception of the humanist’s role: in his twenty-two years as a member of the Melbourne University Classics department he had produced two short monographs, one a published version of his doctoral thesis on The Humanism of Cicero and the other a primer on Training through Latin, both published locally. But he was a popular lecturer, renowned for his ‘droll sense of humour, displayed with deadpan face and immaculate timing’ and his rousing renditions of songs from popular musicals in his own Latin translations. The humanities often seemed fated to a kind of intellectual exile. ‘The scholar in the humanities in Australia [. . .] must maintain his grasp of an intellectual inheritance whose main centres of learning are remote, in lands which he can visit only at long intervals’, Hunt observed. The utilitarian bent of Australian
society, he believed, was also hostile to scholarly pursuits and students seemed more intent on just qualifying than in becoming scholars themselves. Like missionaries on a desert island, awaiting the next furlough, arts academics longed for their next sabbatical when they would again pack up their families, embark on a P&O liner and head back to Oxford or Cambridge. There, according to Hunt, they would again find ‘time free for independent thinking’, the opportunity to meet with colleagues, visit libraries and archives, and distil their ideas in books and journal articles.28

For thirty years, Max Crawford had aspired to build a School of History founded upon research. But, as he admitted, the humanities in Australia had been less successful in sponsoring research within Australia than in training young scholars to achieve scholarly success elsewhere. ‘We were, and still are, better known for our pupils than for our books’. By 1965, when he surveyed the state of the humanities it was not until the 1970s that they became commonplace. The new generation of arts academics appearing in the 1960s often held to a different conception of their professional role than their academic elders. They expected to advance on the basis of their research publications, as well as teaching and public service. Thanks largely to the declining costs of international air travel, they were more likely to remain closely linked to the international networks of research in their field than their predecessors. In my observation, it was they who often first challenged the amateurism and cronyism that still bedevilled local professional associations and journals, by introducing more rigorous standards of refereeing and peer assessment. These changes in the recruitment of arts academics coincided, of course, with a time of growing ideological conflict as radical critiques of society spilled over into an interrogation of the value-systems and purposes of the university itself. Generally, in a report for the Martin Commission, Crawford acknowledged that the conditions for humanities researchers had begun to improve. Rapid expansion — ‘the crisis of the bulge’ as Crawford called it — had improved library resources and there was more money for research, but the growth of the system had increased the demands upon academics even faster. ‘We are, in short, professors apart, better off and less satisfied’, he concluded.29

It was probably not until the early 1970s, when growth began to level off, and a new cohort of scholars, often trained in the United States, arrived in Australia, that the balance began to shift. In 1971 the first Qantas Boeing 747 arrived, opening up the prospect of cheaper and more frequent travel to Europe and the United States. As early as 1961, the AHRC had commissioned a report on the potential of new forms of electronic copying, the use of microfilm combined with ‘copyflo xerography’, to transform the working conditions of scholars dependent on the resources in distant libraries and archives, but arts faculties and arts academics were at the forefront of these debates. In time, the student revolts of 1968 and 1969, and the currents of feminism, Marxism, environmentalism, and post-colonialism they unleashed, would leave an indelible mark on the humanities and eventually its Academy.
members to submit lists sorted into three categories: those worthy of immediate election; those worthy of election within a few years; and those who might be considered in the more distant future. Of course, everyone, including even the magisterial Hancock, immediately began to advance the claims of local favourites, so that the sub-committee eventually was left with a list of one hundred and thirty names, thirty of them in the first category of candidates who should be elected immediately. This was rather more rejuvenation than the committee had bargained on, so by an undisclosed process — probably straw votes modified by discussion — the thirty were at last reduced to sixteen. They included the historians Geoffrey Blainey, Robin Gollan, Ken Inglis and Hugh Stretton, the prehistorian John Mulvaney, the literary critics and writers, Vincent Buckley, Sam Goldberg and James McAuley, the philosophers Hector Munro and Percy Partridge, the art historian Franz Philipp, the geographer Oskar Spate, the orientalist J.D. Frodsham, the French scholar Richard Coe, the Iranian historian Saiyid Rizvi and a lone woman, the poet Judith Wright.

They were, by any reckoning, an impressive bunch, even more impressive now that we can tally their achievements over the next four decades. Hancock had achieved at least some of his objectives. The average age of the new fellows was forty-seven, with the biggest cluster in the low forties. With the election of Mulvaney, Frodsham and Rizvi, the Academy had signalled its interest in ‘new’ fields, such as Aboriginal and Asian studies, while with Spate’s it reached tentatively into the ‘marches’ between the humanities and social sciences. That Buckley and McAuley were poets as well as critics reinforced the implication of Judith Wright’s election: that the Academy wished to embrace creative and scholarly endeavours. Could the Academy have elected more women? In the B list of scholars ‘worthy of consideration within a few years’, there were two outstanding women — Leonie Kramer and Isabel McBrayde — who would later be elected, but there is no evidence in the papers of the committee that anyone considered gender a matter to be taken into account.

Even so, the outstanding calibre of those who were elected did promise a ‘new infusion of creative vigour’ and went far towards assuring the Academy’s critics that it could live up to the promise of its new title. Hancock’s phoenix may have been a figure of hyperbole, but the snake — to use his other metaphor — had begun to change even while it was shedding its skin.

When the new Academy held its inaugural meeting, forty years ago, in December 1969, its most strenuous advocate, Max Crawford, was absent. Shortly afterwards, he wrote from the shores of Lake Bellagio to congratulate its new President: ‘I am delighted that after all the fume and fret — necessary and useful, I know — the Academy has come into existence so smoothly and so soundly’. He had been reading Hugh Stretton’s The Political Sciences, a vindication in print of the confidence he had long invested in his favourite student. And in the delightful surrounds of the villa, he was making steady progress on his own research. ‘At last the end of my book on Arnold Wood is in sight, and what better place for the conclusion of a twenty years labour — or rather, of a labour too often pushed aside during twenty years’. Much of that distracting activity had been devoted to securing the conditions for other scholars to prosper. As Crawford well knew, however, in founding the Academy he was not only opening the door to a new era of prosperity in the humanities, he was also closing the door on a time when, as his own career illustrates, it had been possible to be revered as a scholar without a lengthy list of publications. All told, it was a change for the better, but not perhaps as much as we think.

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1. This paper was presented by the author at the 2009 Symposium of the Australian Academy of Humanities, The Humanities in Australia: Taking Stock, on 19 November 2009.
2. Sir Keith Hancock to Sir Robert Menzies, 29 September 1969, Australian Academy of the Humanities, Academy Offices, Canberra. I wish to acknowledge the assistance of the Academy’s archivist, Janet Hadley Williams, in guiding me to material for this paper, and the historian of the Academy of Social Sciences, Stuart Macintyre FAHA FASSA, for comments on an earlier draft.


10. A judgment perhaps influenced by the School’s own well-cultivated opinion of itself: Fay Anderson, An Historian’s Life: Max Crawford and the Politics of Academic Freedom (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2005); Stuart Macintyre and Peter McPhee (eds.), Max Crawford’s School of History (Department of History, University of Melbourne, 2000); Fay Anderson and Stuart Macintyre, The Life of the Past: The Discipline of History at the University of Melbourne (Department of History, University of Melbourne, 2006).


12. Hancock, Country and Calling, p. 126.

13. Through an odd circumstance I gained some personal insight into Crawford’s outlook at this time. In 1967, when I was a PhD student at the ANU, Max and his wife Ruth came to Canberra for a meeting of the AHRC. His eyesight was now so poor that Ruth had driven the big Mercedes up the Hume Highway. While they were there, she was obliged to fly back to Melbourne to attend a family crisis, so Max and the Mercedes were marooned in Canberra. Knowing that I had a fiancée in Melbourne, my supervisor John La Nauze asked if I would be prepared to drive Crawford back to Melbourne. So for eight and half hours I shared the car, and the thoughts of my old professor, as he pondered his career and offered assessments of the younger men he had taught and mentored. In 1969, I applied for a job in Crawford’s Department and was surprised to be appointed without an interview. Only later did I realise that the interview had actually occurred two years earlier on the Hume Highway.


15. Ibid.

16. AAHA, 69/6, Membership of the AHRC, Paper circulated by Chairman, March [1969].


21. AAHA, 69/6, Dale Trendell to Keith Hancock, 24 February 1969.

22. AAHA, 69/6, A.D. Hope to Keith Hancock, 18 March [1969].

23. ‘Senectitude’ was Crawford’s word: see his letter to Hancock, 6 March 1969. The proposal to create a special class of ‘emeritus fellows’ with limited voting rights was eventually dropped, partly because it could have disenfranchised the Academy’s President. As Crawford noted, ‘We did not want to deprive ourselves of the chance of using people like you by keeping the age limit as it is’. Crawford to Hancock, 19 May 1969.

24. AAHA, 69/6, A.D. Hope to Keith Hancock, Good Friday [4 April] 1969.


