INTRODUCTION.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

THE STATE CRAFTSMEN.

It is part of the traditional folklore of the British peoples that they can always find gifted men and women who are able to lead communities in any part of the World and under the most varied circumstances. They feel that they are more suited to governing distant colonies and territories than in making war, conducting diplomacy or building ephemeral, temporary industrial and financial empires. Their claim has often been tested and, however novel the circumstances or difficult the problems, they have rarely failed. During the century which British people and their descendants have governed Tasmania under responsible government they have had to provide men able to meet many problems of which no exact parallel existed in the Empire and in the Commonwealth of to-day. Other writers have dealt with the sound political development and the difficult economic environment imposed by circumstances outside the control of Tasmania. Responsible government with Parliamentary forms has only worked because, in spite of the isolation and a very small country, there have usually been a sufficient number of political leaders and political thinkers who could cope with the problems, and, thereby add quite useful contributions to the common stock of knowledge and recorded experience of British peoples. That they have succeeded is evident in the institutions which are flourishing to-day. Had they failed Tasmania, like other small communities, would have been absorbed into one of the large communities on the Mainland.

It is the purpose of this essay to describe as fully as space permits the personalities and characters, and briefly the political contributions made by those Tasmanians who have given the best years of their careers to the problems and difficulties of statecraft. Unofrtunately, we do not know sufficient about a number of these men, because, alas, the 19th century was not an age when public men in a small busy colony could keep a diary. In a very few cases have any papers survived. Much of what is written here therefore depends upon reminescence. and on personal recollection

of the writer. No apology is offered because without these reminescences much will be totally forgotten and lost for ever.

The Tasmanian social evnironment appears on present evidence to have imposed certain conditions under which statecraft is practised. First of these conditions is the need for considering competitively the requirements and demands of two centres of population of much the same size, but divided by over a hundred miles of farming and pastoral lands; owing to the geographical position other centres of population have grown up and another country must ~~xxfsrxmorsxxdept~~. The Tasmanian statecraftsman must be far more adept than most of his Australian fellows in reconciling the differences of country districts with divergent interests and having strong parliamentary backing. These communities have had different economic interests.

The second condition is the small size of the government machine (Dilke called it Lilliputian) where one member, administrator or official has many, sometimes, very different tasks. It is only recently that there has been any degree of specialisation. The Tasmanian has to be versatile and legislate and administer a number of spheres.

The economic and financial questions are free from Tasmanian minds. This problem appeared very early in the islands political history and was fully recognised and the predecessors of Parliament, Govs Arthur, Franklin, Wilmot and Denison. The difficulty of public finance in a country which expects a relatively high standard of living, but has to use imported capital, yet does not produce any great surplus, adds high cost of development, road building has given the Tasmanian his greatest problem over the century. Since 1901 the need for efficient diplomacy in Federal sphere to maintain the State's rights under the Constitution. Then there are social problems peculiar to the State over - Residue of convictism - high cost of maintaining the destitute and of dealing with lawlessness in

outlying places. The drain of population away, particularly of active young people until the the end of 1939 was

Whatever their private views the Tasmanians have had to keep due regard for the strong pro-British and not, as in the other States, be able to espouse such causes as Irish, various forms of Australian nationalism. The Tasmanian must know his people and must be accessible. Practically none of the leaders were men of wealth and leisure, most worked at other callings and some were in straightened circumstances. These were the principal conditions which have governed the leaders for 50 elected men and later several women. Owing to their exacting nature these conditions tended to produce a specialist in statecraft in each Parliament, and whether he led the Governemtn or not was the leader. Therefore the single leader hs always been in evidence and this has been a tempering factor, and prevented dictatorship by zealous groups and later by organised parties.

In spite of the check which prevent a Premier or Minister from becoming over powerful, many of the Tasmanian statesmen have been publicly called dictators and likened to that ogre of Tasmanian political folklore, Col. George Arthur, called by his enemies the Gibionite of tyranny. It is with these leading figures, irrespective of their official title or position, that this essay is principally concerned. For these men demonstrated that they possessed the peculiar qualities necessary for the successful government of Tasmania.

When the first Parliament met amongst its members were the leaders who were to really guide the destinies of the colony for the next two decades. They were F. V. Smith, C. Hales Meredith, Thomas D. Chapman, Frederick Maitland Innes. Whilst there were other men of considerable significance for their personal influence or on account of some special contribution they did not achieve the same predominence. In forming their cabinets they laid the foundations for long political bitterness. The first three Premiers, Champ,

Gregson and Weston, did not remain in office long enough to pass any important legislation nor to organise the new form of government. They were men of note, but represented rather a past order than the new one which was taking shape. Two of them played such an important part in political movements that they must not be passed over without notice; all three performed one service they brought into their short-lived cabinets the men who were to be the real leaders most of the next two decades; these men were Francis Villenu Smith, Thomas Daniel Chapman, Frederick M. Innes and Charles Meredith and James Whyte. All except Meredith were to become Premiers, he remained a powerful Minister in

On November 1856 Mr. Thomas William Napier Champ the newly elected member for Launceston in the House of Assembly became the first Premier. The choice seems a strange one to-day for Champ had held the principal office after the Governor - Colonial Secretary. In the popular mind in Hobart Champ was the living embodiment of the evils of the hated Transportation System which they had successful

The changes of responsibility of government make it impracticable to divide the careers of these men into neat historical periods. It is equally unsatisfactory to treat them in strict chronological order based on their entry into public life or assumption of responsibilities. They have been grouped, purely for convenience, according to the main problems they met with in the more active part of their public careers.

The Founders to the end of Giblin period - 1886

The Social Reformers - 1886-1916

Coping with the War Crises and Post War Depression - 1916-1934

Sound Reform and Economic Development - 1934-1939

War and Post War and Towards

T E X T.

When the results of the elections for the first Tasmanian Parliament became known, the Governor, Sir Henry Fox Young, must have faced one of the most difficult problems of his lengthy and distinguished vice-regal career. He had to invite one of the newly elected members to form a ministry which would command sufficient support in the new House of Assembly for the passage of legislation for carrying on the business of the colony. There was some urgency because the public finances were not in a good position owing to economic dislocations following the cessation of Transportation and the ending of the great Victorian Gold rush. The Governor's choice was limited to a member who was familiar with the administrative machinery of government and public finance, and yet could form a ministry. Only two members possessed the necessary administrative experience, they were William Thomas Napier Champ and Francis Villeneu Smith, both of whom had resigned from their positions in the Government and received a gratuity. Champ had been Colonial Secretary, the second official position after the Governor, and Smith had been Attorney-General. The Governor's dilemma was increased by the fact that they had both taken different sides in the great controversy over the Cessation of Transportation. Champ had stood by Governor Denison and supported on thoroughly honourable grounds, the continuance of the system, whereas Smith had, as a matter of conscience, supported cessation, but continued in his position as chief legal officer. The Governor endeavoured to solve his problem by commissioning Champ who succeeded in forming a Government which was sworn in on 1st November, 1856.

Champ was in his 49th year when he became the first Premier of Tasmania, an office he was to hold for only little more than three months. In spite of the fact that he held the high official position of Colonial Secretary, had been Controller-General of Prisons and Commandant of Port Arthur, there is very little information about his character and p rsonality. Those who remembered him in his old age, and he died in his 84th year, recalled that he looked a military man even in civilian clothes and half a century after he retired from the Army. He was one of the many capable Regimental officers who came to Australia with their regiments and after retirement entered the

public service of the land of their adoption. Champ came to Tasmania with a detachment of the 31st Regiment and was stationed at the notorious Sarah Island, Macquarie Harbour. He also took part in the mis-named Black War (1831), Col. Arthur's effort to save the aboriginal tribes from extinction by confining them in the south-east corner of the Island. These experiences probably influenced Champ towards penal reform, for he left a fine record in humane prison administration both in Tasmania and later in Victoria.

Champ was unsuccessful as a politician and it was said because his heart was not in the game. He did succeed where possibly others would have failed, in bringing into his short lived Ministry his strong and often extremely bitter opponents on the Transportation question. Without Thomas Daniel Chapman and Francis Villeneu Smith it is doubtful if any Ministry could have been formed, yet they were unable, owing to bitter opposition, to form one themselves until the Gregson group (The Popular Party and the Patriots as they were called) had shown their inability to govern.

Champ resigned after a vital amendment to his finance bill was carried. Governor Young, probably with misgivings, commissioned the mover, Thomas George Gregson, in the absence of an organised party system, to form a government. The Gregson Government hardly had time to become acquainted with their departmental offices before they were defeated by a non-confidence motion; they held office for 18 days.

Even after the passage of almost a century, when the personalities and issues mean nothing, it is difficult to escape from the conclusion that the Premier was the victim of his own temperament and of hatred by his opponents to a degree which finds no parallel in Tasmanian politics. One political writer reported that the "announcement of the names of the new Ministry was received with a shout of derision", and another wrote that "if Mr. Gregson should continue his characteristic displays he must be put in the coal hole". Gregson's command of invective and his bitter tongue loosened by his disillusionment with the desertion of the democratic cause by

Thomas Chapman, Francis Smith and other members who had opposed Transportation and government from Downing Street. Gregson was in his sixtieth year and his temper had not improved with advancing years. His government was defeated soon after it met the House by a motion of no-confidence proposed by the Anti-Transportation Leader, William Pritchett Weston, also regarded by the Gregson democrats as a 'Renegade'. One political writer observed with probably some justice "the unbridled tongue of the Premier was the real cause of the no-confidence vote." A portion of Gregson's defence of his Ministry illuminates the man and the situation he faced. "Who were the opponents of the Ministry? Was their standing in Society better? Were their morals better? He would deny it. The present members of the administration were infinitely superior both as regarded their standing in society and their records" ("Examiner" 7th April) If they went out he would tell the colony in the language of Macbeth "Sleep no more, now be on your guard."

Whilst his Ministry had the shortest life in the century, Gregson is one of the most significant characters in the early period of responsible government. The son of a Northumberland squire, born in 1797, he migrated to Tasmania in 1821. He managed the Malahid Estate and owned the well-known midlands property Northumbria. Later he bought Mt. Direction, East Risdon, the residence of which (still standing) being the site of the first Government House. For two decades, 1830-1850 he was probably the most influential colonist in Southern Tasmania. He was the leader of the resistance to much of the questionable administrative methods of Lt. Governor Arthur, and is regarded by historians as the leader who obtained trial by civil jury, freedom of meeting and freedom of the press. He was leader of the Patriotic Six who resisted Lt. Gov. Wilmot's efforts suggested by the Colonial Office, to make the Colonists pay towards the maintenance of the transportation system; he also was one of the influential members of the Committee which drafted the constitution for responsible government, a movement he strongly supported. In his younger days, Gregson was a

brilliant figure in the smart little society of Hobart Town. He established horse racing as a sport because he was shocked at the barbarities committed in the name of sport by many of the more privileged colonists against the aborigines. Inhumanities and injustices of any sort drove Gregson into a rage and often found vent in direct action, when possible, against the offender. He was mixed up in public horse-whippings and in affairs of honour with the pistols. Gregson possessed a cultivated mind, was well read and a gifted water-colourist and competant verse and prose writer. His best known water colour is that of his friend Rev.'Bobby' Knopwood on his white horse; another is in the Tasmanian Museum. It appears a tragedy that the citcumstances of politics and his own personality did not permit this great man to become the first leader of the new system of government. However, his importanne in the history of responsible government lies not in his actions, but in his ideas. Gregson's critics and detractors belonged to the present and had no appreciable influence on the future. On the other hand Gregson's humane outlook and advanced ideas made him the prophet of all Tasmanian progressives, irrespective of the banner under which they rallied. The enthusiastic young men of the political intellegencia, idolised him and when they came to govern the colony a generation later, they recognised their inheritance. When Gregson died in 1874 we find the young Hobart Radical, Andrew Inglis Clark, publishing a spirited defence of his memory in a printed attach on his caluminators in the press. Clark wrote the following lines in an Ode to Gregson's memory (published in the Hobart Literary Magazine "The Quadrilatril") which included these lines:

"The Spirit of the Border dwelt in thee"
"Shaped to the accomplishment of the Noble Deed;"
"Thou cam'st across the world-encircling sea"
"And sowed our country with the Sovereign seed."

On Gregson's resignation, a probably much perplexed Governor Young had to commission the mover of the non-confidence motion, William Pritchett Weston, who was able to form a Government; this

was quite evidently a stop-gap because after 17 days Weston resigned and was succeeded by his Attorney-General, Francis Villeneuve Smith. Weston remained in the new Government, and on Smith's resignation formed another stop-gap Government which held office from November 1st 1860 till August 2nd 1861. Like Gregson, Weston had arrived in Tasmania as a young man, and had by his industry and ability become a substantial landowner. He shared all Gregson's enthusiasms for the liberty of the individual and for social reform. In spite of these common ideals the two men were utterly different in practically everything else. Weston was a deeply religious man who carried out missionary work with great zeal amongst the country people of the Midlands. From his portrait in the Launcerston Museum he appears as an intense, earnest face stamped heavily with a cold determination and an other worldliness. The Penal System horrified him and he never rested until he and his friend, Rev. John West, had organised and led a long campaign which resulted in Cessation. To this end Weston directed all his energies, time and much of his hard earned money. Weston was a quiet determined leader who achieved his great aims by dint of perseverance rather than by noisy showy means. He was one of the family of great British social reformers of 19th century. In Parliament he played a part which could be likened to Wilberforce rather than the more ordinary contemporary members. He was, like Gregson, constantly on the watch for the tyrannies of laws, persons or institutions. After his second short term as Premier, 1860-61, Weston left public life and later the colony. His considerable intellectual and mental powers are said to have seriously declined before his death at the advanced age of 84.

The three first Premiers brought valuable contributions to the new institution of responsible government. Champ was a master of procedure and an expert in the conduct of public administration and business. It was on this account that the Governors Arthur, Franklin and Wilmot gave him increasing responsibilities and Governor Denison selected him for the key post of Colonial Secretary during the Transportation crisis. It was said he was just the right man to

order and dignity to a new Parliament as well as competently and quietly carrying out the business of inauguration. Gregson and Weston exerted political influences which raised the level of the institution above a debating society concerned with personalities and sectional interests. The three Premiers all made a great practical contribution, they each brought into their Cabinets men who were to govern the colony between them during the next generation, a period of severe economic crisis and of political instability. These men were Francis Villeneuve Smith, Thomas Daniel Chapman, James Whyte, Frederick Maitland Innes (all of whom became Premiers) and Charles Meredith, a leading Minister and fine administrator. It is with these men that attention must be given.

SIR RICHARD DRY OF QUAMBY.

At this distance of time it is impossible, without considerable research when material becomes available, to determine why Chapman or Innes, the leading figures in Parliament, were not able to form a government when Whyte and Meredith resigned following their defeat in the 1866 elections. Instead, Sir Richard Dry, the popular leader of twenty years earlier became Premier. The 'Colonial Lad', the first Tasmanian born Knight and Premier, was no longer robust as he was when his full length portrait in his Speaker's robes was painted in 1851.@ He was only in his 51st year, but was in ill-health; and a contemporary photograph records a tired face between the immense whiskers. His term of office - ended by his death, was entirely a public duty and Tasmanians should regard him as one of their great men in their history.

Dry's life was so full and eventful that it is only possible to mention the barest details in this place. He was born at Launceston on 20th September, 1815, the elder son of Richard Dry, the most successful pioneer landowner and pastoralist in northern Tasmania, an Irish patriot before coming to New South Wales. He appears to have received an excellent education at a private school kept by the Reverend J. Mackersey at Campbell Town. After a voyage to Mauritius, he settled down to manage his father's growing estates; and married the daughter of George Meredith, becoming the brother-in-law of Charles Meredith.

Governor Arthur appointed him to the magistracy - no sinecure in the Transportation period - and Governor Wilmot appointed him to the nominee Legislative Council. An admirer and unfaltering follower of Gregson, he had no hesitation in joining him as one of the 'Patriotic Six' who walked out of the Council rather than agree

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@This portrait hangs in the Members'Room, House of Assembly

to taxation to maintain the British Government's penal establishments. With the possible exception of Gregson, no Tasmanian politician has received the popular praise accorded to Dry by the Launceston people on account of his stand against the Government. His arrival in Launceston, escorted by several hundred horsemen, was the occasion for a wildly enthusiastic demonstration. Unlike so many idols of the crowd, Dry never lost his popularity. When the first partly elected Ligislative Council met Dry was unanimously chosen Speaker. This high position did not prevent him from throwing himself wholeheartedly into the Anti-Transportation Movement. Unfortunately for the new Parliament he was away in Europe in search of health when his presence would have been invaluable and it is safe to say he could have formed and carried on the first Ministry and avoided the feuds between the self-styled Patriots and the Renegades from poisoning the political atmosphere. Dry did not return to Tasmania till 1860 when he was almost immediately elected to the Legislative Council.

Dry's great personal influence was derived from two things. He was, during most of his middle years, the greatest squire in Tasmania; 'Quamby' and 'Elphin' estates were among the largest in the Colony; he owned a fine house ("Coreen") in Macquarie Street, Hobart. The king of the Tasmanian race course, he entertained on a lavish scale. The fact that so wealthy, generous and influential a man was publicly and actively on the side of the popular rights against the Governors and officials and gave freely of his time and money to the causes of abolition of Transportation and Responsible Government, placed the opponents in a most difficult position. It was said that Dry's open support prevented the formation of an Emancipist Party and the social cleavage which occurred in New South Wales.

What interests the biographer is the reasons for Dry's attitude which was quite the opposite of what might have been expected. It is explainrf by the fact that Dry was a most unusual

unusual man, he was an absolute equalitarian. In spite of his wealth, social position, almost the equal of the 'Pure Merinos' of New South Wales, political influence, Dry sincerely believed that he could not possibly be better than any person however humble or lowly. This was a sincere belief which he practised, and is the explanation of his popularity with the people, irrespective of class or status, or calling throughout his life.

Dry's government was the smallest in the history of the State. He alone was able to retrench in public expenditure to balance the budget because he practised it himself. It is reported with a good deal of credibility that he never accepted a penney of public money for salary or expenses in his political career. He governed with a Ministry of three, but they were, with the exception of F. M. Innes, the ablest administrators in Parliament. Dry was Chief Secretary as well as Premier; his Treasurer was the able and experienced T. D. Chapman (ex-Premier) and his Attorney-General, the leader of the bar, William Lambert Dobson. Dry's great prestige and popularity allowed Chapman to secure some minor financial reforms and pass his estimates. Dry himself pushed on with the Launceston-Deloraine Railway Scheme and the sale of the Crown Lands for settlement in the "New Country" beyond Deloraine. Later he was severely criticised for his policy of opening up the Mersey Valley and coastal districts for settlement. But what else could be done to find new land for the sons of Tasmanian farmers, and migrants from England and Scotland? At this distance of time it appears the only policy for a wise, far-sighted Premier to adopt, and Dry was in many respects one of the wisest men to hold the difficult office of Premier. One other contribution Dry made to his native Island was that he was exactly the right host to the Duke of Edinburgh when he made the first visit of Royalty to Australia. In place of many of the conditions of contemporary public men Dry had social tact, cultivated manners, pride but was entirely free from condescension.

Dry's health was unequal to the strain of office and politics in spite of the assistance of his experienced and astute leader in the House of Assembly and Treasurer, T. D. Chapman, and his sound legal adviser, W. Lambert Dobson, Attorney General. After a few days illness he died at his Hobart residence 'Coreen' on His funeral was probably the largest Tasmania has ever witnessed. His remains lie under the alter of St. Mary's Church of England, Hagsden, which he built and endowed.

JAMES MILNE WILSON.

Dry's successor was one of the so-called 'Merchant Statesmen' who were important figures in Australian public life in the three decades before Federation (1860-1901). They were men who, born in the British Isles, particularly from London, Lancashire, North East of England, Scotland and Northern Ireland, came from middle class families and had receiced good secondary education and a training for a commercial and industrial career. Energetic, ambitious and conventional, they usually founded their considerable fortunes upon businesses of their own. Their energies carried them into church activities, charitable work and public life. Their organising ability and business drive soon brought them to the fore, firstly in municipal affairs and afterwards in colonial politics. What they often lacked in the subtle art of handling all kinds of men, the hall mark of the successful politician they made up in their knowledge of finance and ways of business. Sir Phillip Fysh, of whom smoething later will be said, was another Tasmanian member of this class. Other prominent in Australian politics were Sir James Service (Victoria) Sir William McMillan (New South Wales) and Sir Robert Philp (Queensland).

James Milne Wilson (he was knighted in 1873, K.C.M.G. in 1878), the son of a shipowner, was born at Bouff, Scotland on 29th February, 1812. He was a mechanical engineer by profession and after emigrating to Tasmania he seems to have become a marine engineer. For 14 years he was employed by the Cascade

Brewery and rose to the position of Manager. In 1847 he married Miss Deborah Degraves, the daughter of a pioneer of commercial brewing in Hobart, Peter Degraves. Like most of the men who came to the front during this period very little beyond records of their official actions and newspaper notices survives. From these sources we know that Wilson entered political life late, in 1859 at the age of forty-seven, and was a Minister without office in the Whyte Government; he was the Mayor Hobart who received and entertained the Duke of Edinburgh (1868). Outside politics and business he was a keen sportsman, racing his own horses and keenly supporting the cricketing and the new athletic movement then in its infancy. As a progressively minded, large business man, Wilson was shocked at the economic waste and the harm to Tasmania caused by the ridiculous colonial tariff wars then being raged to satisfy the petty local interests and narrow provincial politicians. With the loyal collaboration of the Opposition Leader, F. M. innes, he persuaded a Colonial Premiers' conference to seek Imperial legislation to allow agreements between the colonies. Unfortunately this was not regarded as practicable because it was thought that commercial treaties with foreign nations might be affected.

The Wilson Government followed the same path to defeat as others in this period. Treasurer Chapman proposed a moderate income tax to meet the urgent needs for revenue, and although an election took place, a no confidence motion was passed.

Wilson was a striking looking man, with an alert face and he was alone amongst his contemporaries, clean shaven. Except for the cut of his coat, his collar and stock his photograph would make him appear a man of the twentieth century. After

years as President of the Legislative Council, he died at Hobart on,

It is hoped that an adequate biography of Lyndhurst Falkinder Giblin will be written before time blurs the memories of his host of friends, acquaintances and collaborators in his many interests. His serious interests were many indeed, and included Orcharding, Modern Philosophy, Drama, Poetry and Music, Mathematics and Statistics, Economics, Public Finance, Central Banking, Australian Literature and Tasmanian Exploration, to which he made a contribution. Who's Who stated that his 'pastimes', if he knew what the word meant, were "gardening and woodcutting". Giblin's biographer will have to follow wanderings and journeyings in many countries, and into a variety of contracting environments.

His boyhood and youth (1872-1892) were spent in old colonial Hobart. In his first years of manhood he studied at the University College, London, and took a good Mathematical Degree at Cambridge. His immense strength, agility and prowess at sport won him a 'Blue', and a place in an All-England Rugby team. In vacations he wandered all over the British Isles and much of Europe on foot. His wanderings took him as far as Iceland where he studied the old medieval sagas, translating some into English. Succumbing to the gold fever - and adventure - he arrived on the Klondike Gold Field after a tramp of five hundred miles over snowy mountains from the Alaskan Coast. He remained on the diggings for three years before his cure was complete. Exchanging the Arctic Circle for the Equator he took charge of a party of Polynesian labourers in the Solomon Islands. At thirty he was back in Tasmania clearing land for an orchard which he retained to the end of his life.

After two unsuccessful attempts to enter the Tasmanian House of Assembly he was finally elected as a Labor member in 1912. Declining Ministerial office in 1914, he ended a promising political career when two years later he enlisted in the A.I.F. It was said of him, that like his distinguished father (William Robert Giblin, twice Premier of Tasmania 1878, and 1879-82) when he was "up" the lobbies were emptied. The biographer will find Giblin's war service full of incident. He returned to Tasmania in 1919 a married man; his wife was Miss E. M. Burton, a lady of intellectual distinction.

For ten years Giblin (the Major as he was always - to his intense dislike - known) was Tasmanian Government Statistician, and a host of other things. This was one of the most formative and fruitful periods of his life, about which some remarks will be made later.

In 1929, at the age of fifty-seven, Giblin became the first Ritchie Professor of Economics at the University of Melbourne. Until his retirement and return to his orchard at the end of the Second World War, he was immersed in academic work, research, and adviser to governments at the highest levels. In spite of his unusual eminence his simplicity and little foibles never left him. The writer will always remember meeting him in Canberra in 1944 as he came away from an important meeting. He was clad, as of old, in a thick tweed suit, on his head was a badgeless digger hat; the same red tie, the clog-like boots (wherever he bought them!), the large pipe and the huge bushman's pack, probably full of books, were all there.

It was in Tasmania during his middle age (1919-29) that Giblin exercised a wide influence upon his generation, and this phase will provide a biographer with deeply interesting, if illusive, material. The post-war generation in Hobart was as mentally adrift and unadjusted as elsewhere throughout the World. The high hopes of brighter new worlds as preached by the starry-eyed patriots which had taken fathers and elder brothers to Gallipoli and Flanders did not eventuate. Old pre-war Hobart, and Tasmania for that matter, seemed by 1921 to be slipping back into the outlook of the depression years of the eighteen nineties. The old exclusive social sets (called by another great Tasmanian, Andrew Inglis Clark, the "Plutocracy") still set the fashion in thinking; deference was paid to them by the University, and religious and other bodies. This dominent social group had in the half century before 1920 provided leadership of sorts in a new society which was fluid on account of the large immigration from Britain and Europe, and emigration to the Other Australian States and to New Zealand. By 1920 the "People" as many of these families called themselves, had become by their social conservatism a brake on all development which baffled the attempts

of the progressives of all political parties. And Tasmania was in desperate need of progressive, imaginative leadership in the post 1919 period. The effects of Federation, the cost in human resources of the war, and depressed, uncertain world markets for exports, all combined to maintain an economic depression. It was into this gloomy atmosphere that Giblin appeared like a brilliant meteor.

Giblin was quick to challenge every out-of-date attitude wherever he found it flourishing. It is impossible within the limits of this article to even record his battles with prejudice and stupidity. From many school platforms he spoke to boys and girls about the horrors of war and the urgency of international co-operation. This was during a period of a resurgence of Jingoism, round about the days of the Chanak Crisis. Whilst rightly opposing ill-conceived youth migration schemes which were being hawked by Imperialists of doubtful antecedents, he personally encouraged and helped many young men to establish themselves in rural occupations. He commenced the destruction of the snobbish idea that only expensive travel to Europe was worthwhile. He never ceased to talk about the attractions of the Tasmanian mountains and the unique character of the islands geology, flora and fauna. To demonstrate his beliefs, he led many expeditions into the then 'unknown' country west of Mount Wellington. He was probably the first white man to climb to the summit of Mount Anne (1926). His simple talks to plain folk about these feats had a great deal to do with the formation of the now flourishing walking, mountaineering and skiing clubs. He showed Tasmanian youth that they had opportunities at hand which did not require the expenditure of large sums of money or extensive leisure to exploit. His other challenge to the ideas of the socially conservative was his adoption of shorts (1928) in summer. He was the only man in Tasmania with the moral courage to practise this dress reform.

Our political institutions then came under his critical eye. He felt that Tasmania might be better served by a form of government which more directly applied the knowledge of experts to legislation and administration. This was before the full flowering of the Totalarian State, and there were lingering beliefs in the inevitability of human

progress with the beneficent aid of the expert. At the excellent dinner held to celebrate the centenary of Tasmania's separation from New South Wales, Giblin had the temerity to suggest that the State might well experiment with a Soviet scheme of Government! And it was not because he had wined too well for Giblin was apparently impervious to the usual effects of alcohol. No wonder he became a by-word for revolutionary ideas. Even elderly people had forgotten his Socialist days when he spoke on platforms with such stalwarts as Joe Lyons, Jack Earle, Jim Ogden Walter Woods and Bert Cosgrove. They had also forgotten his flowing Socialist beard.

The same year (1925) he deepened his guilt as a social revolutionary. Since the inception of the scheme of Rhodes Scholarships candidates had come almost exclusively from private secondary schools which enjoyed the doubtful patronage of the 'Right People'. None of the scholars came from this social group, but were the sons of professional men, farmers, smaller business people. Nevertheless the idea of a preserve had grown up, and it was considered unthinkable that a Rhodes Scholar who had received his secondary education at a State High School should be elected. Giblin ended this nonsense. As the most forceful member of the Selection Committee he was largely responsible for the first State High School candidate to be elected. There was a real storm, and efforts were made to rescind the decision. Giblin and his friend Professor Dunbabin rode it out, giving as good as they got. From that time on Giblin was a target for abuse by the snobs, and the opponents of progress and fair dealing in social affairs.

Giblin's final challenge to complacency, ignorance and muddled ideas was given in his farewell address to the Royal Society of Tasmania (11th February, 1929) entitled "Beetles and Kings". He surprised his audience by appearing in an ancient dress suit - with his clogs, but minus his red tie. As the organisers expected some revolutionary pronouncements were wrapped up in the unusual lecture title, they decorated the tables of the supper room with red geraniums drawn mainly from the writer's garden. Giblin left his title a mystery. His lecture was aimed at kindly but authoritatively debunking the

current idea that Tasmania possessed vast untapped economic potentalities. This was a very real heresy, and the audience was soon showing signs of polite disagreement. On he plunged into his subject and put up a convincing plea for the expansion of research in Tasmania, then a much neglected activity. He also added his plea for exploration. "Within thrity miles of Hobart there were mountains that were only now being put on the map, and in twenty-four hours from the city it was possible to find country unmapped and unexplored." This did not matter very much because these opinions did not hurt anybody's pocket or prejudices, but the real offence was to follow. This brought him to the question of his title. Stevenson had said "The World is so full of a number of things, I'm sure we should all be as happy as Kings". This was a mere jingle, yet it conveyed a truth. "Kings" therefore explained itself, and his choice of "Beetles" represented all these things of which he had spoken. "I do not believe in the vast potentialities of Tasmania. I believe that Tasmania is a poor country and will never be a very rich community compared with the rest of the World. I think that that is the only reasonable view to take of things. I cannot believe that Tasmania would only have 200,000 people one hundred and thirty years after its first settlement if it were full of such potentalities. If there were great hidden resources in Tasmania and we were too lazy to work them, then someone else would come along and work them for us. For thirty years past Tasmania has not been able to absorb its natural increase, and we may infer therefore that it is not a rich country. But I ask this, does it matter? Do we really mind? We give lip service to the words 'Men shall not live by bread alone', but we deny it with our talk of material wealth. The position needs study and care, but so long as Tasmanians work hard and avoid extravagance, they will be able to pay their way honestly, and if we are able to do that, we should be well satisfied. Tasmania will not find eminence in material wealth. Let us see if we cannot find eminence may be obtained in knowledge about our State."

The storm of protest welled up, starting from the State Governor, Sir James O'Grady. During the next few days it broke the bounds of decency. Politicians, business leaders and all vied with one another in their search for words which expressed their feelings, but kept safely within the laws of libel and defamation. It reached its highest point in a leading article in the Hobart "Mercury" (13th May, 1929) entitled MAJOR GIBLIN AND THE STATE, in which among other pleasantries it said (he) "leaves his country for his country's good - and his own - in no sarcastic sense but literally".

Giblin's biographer will find in this incident much that is characteristic of his entire career, and it should not be overlooked.

Giblin spent the last five years of his life on his orchard near Pittwater (Tasmania) and much of his time there was devoted to writing and publishing his authorative history of the Commonwealth Bank. It is an indication of his physical and mental vigour that this work (his first book) was commenced in his 76th year. Until a few days before his death he was wrestling, as the Chairman of an Official Committee, with the knotty political problem of overcoming dead-locks in the Tasmanian Parliament.

So much was done by this gifted man that his biographer must soon get busy or risk losing many valuable things.

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L.F. GIBLIN : AN APPRECIATION

Contributed to the Economic Record for November, 1952.

This article has been prepared under the guidance of Sir Douglas Copland with the help of a number of the late Professor Giblin's old students and associates, especially Dr. Roland Wilson and Messrs. J.M. Garland, F.H. Wheeler, H.P. Brown and K.M. Archer. A volume of essays in memory of Professor Giblin is now under preparation and will be published by the Economic Society and edited by Sir Douglas Copland.

L.F. Giblin returned from World War I in the middle of 1919 to take up the office of Government Statistician in Tasmania. He was then 46 years of age and had already lived a life of adventure, scholarship, politics and war that would have made him one of the distinguished men of his generation. He commenced a fresh career in 1919 first as Statistician, and afterwards as Research Economist, Adviser to Governments, member of the Commonwealth Bank Board, author of occasional papers and essays and of the classic history of the Commonwealth Bank, and above all as patient and wise counsellor to students and the young generation of economists and statisticians that was coming up in the pioneer days of economic study in the twenties and thirties. Giblin's influence was pervasive. No man was more generous with his time and his massive intellect; none more sympathetic in drawing out the best in the young. He wrote much in notes and memoranda and in constructive criticism, but published little. He was fearless in exposing error and debunking the pretentious, and indefatigable in the pursuit of truth for its own sake. He could be the most persuasive of men in a good cause, and was never failing in encouraging those in highly responsible office who sought his guidance on a difficult task. These qualities endeared him to a wide range of people and spread his influence in unexpected places. He sought no rewards and accepted no honours other than those that came to him for gallantry on the field of battle.

This is not the place to dwell upon his wide range of activities, but it is in this background that we record here an appreciation of his work in the study of the Australian economy and its relation to political policy and administrative action. In these fields he was the master of his generation; rarely, if ever, has the economy of a country been subjected to such penetrating scrutiny as was the Australian economy in the years from 1927 to 1939. In all this work Giblin played a leading role and with his colleagues he devised a technique of analysis that amounted to a distinctive contribution to economic literature. The establishment of The Economic Record in November 1925 provided a suitable channel for publication and controversy and the journal was quick to gain an accepted position in periodicals on economics.

/The problems to

The problems to which Giblin contributed covered practically all the central problems of the Australian economy in the period of his actual work. They included some original work on State and Federal financial relations and on the concept and measurement of taxable capacity, the development of official statistics in Tasmania and in the Commonwealth, the first statement of the multiplier in economic analysis, the measurement of the costs of the tariff and their distribution and the important distinction between sheltered and unsheltered production, the spreading of the losses of depression and the difference between the real and monetary losses, the device of special accounts of the trading banks with the Commonwealth Bank as a means of checking inflation in the war economy, and the general organisation of a war economy. In all of these matters Giblin played a leading part, more often than not the leading part, either as an individual worker exploring new paths in statistics and economic analysis, or as a member or chairman of groups set up to devise a solution of a particular problem.

Giblin as Statistician

Returning from distinguished service in World War I, Giblin was appointed Government Statistician of Tasmania on 1st December, 1919. Nearly thirty years later, in a note on the necessity for proper interpretation of statistics in the press and through other media, and the statistician's responsibility in the matter, Giblin wrote -

> "The Statistician's prime business is to provide the material necessary for the making and carrying out of Government policy. Complementary to this is the job of providing the public with enough information to enable it to make some judgment on matters submitted to the electorate."

This epitomises Giblin's work as a statistician. He threw light in darkened places and in so doing collected, collated and presented facts in such a way that those who wished could draw correct conclusions, whilst he himself was never averse to interpreting objectively these same facts in his own lucid way for Cabinet guidance, for business executives or to inform the mind of plain John Smith.

When Giblin assumed office in Tasmania the function of Registrar-General was divorced from that of Statistician, and he had a staff of three officers. When he resigned on 28th February, 1929, to become the first Ritchie Professor of Economics at the University of Melbourne, the establishment had grown to a strength of twelve officers. During those nine years he had built up the reputation of the office considerably, and had revitalised and expanded almost every statistical collection undertaken.

He instituted the first collection of Inter-state Trade Statistics in Tasmania and in so doing appointed and paid for the services of an additional clerk for a period of nine months because the Public Service Commissioner would not approve the additional establishment. The establishment of such a statistical tabulation would be far from easy today, but thirty years ago it was a mammoth task.

Primary production (and fruit growing in particular) was always dear to Giblin's heart and it must have given him much personal satisfaction to initiate annual forecasts of yields of the principal Tasmanian crops and of apples and pears. Sampling techniques were not extensively

/practised in

practised in Australia in those days; yet year after year from a collection of the forecasted yields of a small number of representative growers (approximately 500 farmers and 300 orchardists) forecasts of the total area under crop and estimated production were prepared and published. Final totals tabulated months later rarely differed by more than 2 per cent from the forecasts and, looking back on this in the light of modern techniques, I feel convinced that the final vetting and corrections for bias by "the Major" (as he was affectionately known to the staff, against his own inclination) must have had more than a little to do with these remarkable results. It should be pointed out that in this period the only mechanical aid in the office was a Fuller's Slide Rule on which each succeeding junior had to serve six months' apprenticeship before being given the right to practise solo.

With defective filing systems it is not always possible, after thirty years, to credit one person with an original idea, but it may be confidently stated that Giblin was one of the main protagonists, if not the originator, of the idea of a unified statistical system for Australia. He took a leading part in the Conference of Statisticians called to discuss proposals for this purpose in October 1923, and in 1924 initiated the approach by the State which led to the transfer agreement between the Commonwealth and Tasmania. Tasmania thus became the first and, to date, the only State to link its statistical functions with those of the Commonwealth.

From April 1931 to December 1932 Giblin acted as Commonwealth Statistician during the illness of C.H. Wickens. In this period he was responsible for completing the plans for the 1933 Census which had been deferred from 1931 because of the depression. In 1931 he revised the formula for deriving the rate of Income Tax to a much simpler form, and this was the first major revision in the formula since 1915. However, his greatest achievement in this short interlude was in persuading the government of the day that the Bureau should add a nucleus of trained economists to its staff, competent to advise the Treasury on economic policy. The first economist appointed under this arrangement later became Commonwealth Statistician and is the present Secretary to the Treasury. He had already in Tasmania recruited a staff of able young matriculants whom he encouraged to study mathematics and economics. "Giblin's Boys" now occupy many senior posts in Australian statistical services.

Federal Finance and Taxable Capacity

The first formal expression of Giblin's approach to the problems of finance in a federation is contained in his presidential address to Section G of the A.A.A.S. in 1926. He had previously worked on the problem in considering the disabilities of Tasmania under Federation. He introduced his paper with the quotation "The necessities of a nation, in every stage of its existence, will be found at least equal to its resources". This would seem to have been the background of his thinking during the years in which he was intimately associated with the development of a system of financial adjustments within the Australian federation. The ideas which he developed as an advocate for Tasmania, he was later to have the opportunity of putting into effect as a member of the Commonwealth Grants Commission.

/Tasmania had

Tasmania had been forced to apply for special assistance from the Commonwealth as soon as the 'book-keeping' period ended in 1910, and an annual grant of some £90,000 for ten years was made, followed by a series of rather arbitrary grants, determined on various grounds by various authorities. By 1924 Giblin came to the conclusion that Tasmania's difficulties lay in a lower level of material resources and average income than in the other States, and he developed the index of relative taxable capacity as a measure of that inferiority.

In considering a proper basis for grants, his emphasis was entirely on relative government needs. Meanwhile a number of concepts had to be cleared away. First was the view that per capita should be a sufficient principle in a federation. Giblin disposed of this in his 1926 address largely by pointing out that the needs of the Commonwealth Government itself were met by the people of each State not on a per capita basis but according to taxable capacity, while the 25/- per head grant was being returned on a population basis. This, as he said, made "an adjusting factor of the greatest nicety".

The Commonwealth, and indeed the States, were slow to accept any needs basis for special grants and adhered to the view that payments should only be made for disabilities actually suffered by the States as a direct result of federation and Commonwealth policy. Giblin's attack on this position followed three lines. First was the impossibility of measuring disabilities. He applied the studies of the cost of the tariff to Tasmania to show that, among other things, the effect on population growth was strictly relevant and that this could neither be measured in money terms nor offset by special grants. Secondly, he argued that it was impossible to separate disabilities arising from federation from natural disabilities and that both were equally relevant in assessing the needs of the States in the governmental sphere. Thirdly he showed that an allocation of Commonwealth receipts and expenditure between the States could not be taken as a partial measure of net benefits or disabilities since the standards of the federation as a whole were necessarily higher than those appropriate to the weaker members.

The principles of the Commonwealth Grants Commission, as finally adopted in its Third Report (1936) are to be found almost fully fledged in Giblin's appendix to The Case for Tasmania, 1930. "No question of remedying disabilities ... only for supplying the urgent necessities of the State Treasury ... ascertained from an examination of the Treasury position. Any State requiring help should ... be taxing with considerably greater severity ... not attempting social provision on a more generous scale ... cost of administration below average ... moderation and caution in loan expenditure". Finally he recommended the appointment of a part-time board of three with a permanent secretary - "a business man, an economist, and a man conversant with public finance and statistics." Three years later, when such a commission was finally appointed (with Giblin as a member), its composition was almost exactly as he had recommended and he soon persuaded it to accept his basic approach as, in due course, did the Commonwealth and the States, though not without some regretful backward glances at 'disabilities'.

The main technical interest in Giblin's work in federal financial relations lies in his concepts of taxable capacity and severity of taxation.

/His index of

His index of taxable capacity was the first attempt in Australia to measure relative income per head between the States. Starting from Commonwealth income tax collections per head, Giblin deduced that tax varied roughly with the square of income. Hence by taking the square root of the index of capacity and combining it with an index of nominal wages to represent lower incomes, he obtained a workable and simple index of income per head.

His measurement of severity of taxation sprang from the realization that an index of capacity divided into an index of actual collections provided an indirect measure preferable to that which would be obtained by the direct measure of applying ordinary index number techniques to the actual rates imposed by each type of existing tax. He adopted this method not only on practical grounds but also on the principle that the real burden of taxation could only be measured by comparing what was actually paid with ability to pay. His elaboration of the measurement of severity of taxation showed an outstanding facility in index number technique and his contribution in this field has not yet been fully recognised.

The Multiplier

In 1928 the Development and Migration Commission, charged with the responsibility of making recommendations for the expenditure of £34m. over ten years under the 1923 Migration Agreement with the United Kingdom, was facing the problem of a new railway that the Victorian Government wished to build in order to open some new wheat lands in the Mallee - the Nowingi railway. Copland was advising the Commission on this project. It was clear that the traffic on the railway would not be sufficient to meet debt charges, but it was not clear that the building of the railway would be an uneconomic proposition for the economy as a whole. The addition of say £1m. in exports of wheat to the national income would result in other and indirect additions to the national income. The new wheat farmers would spend their incomes in a certain proportion on local and imported goods and on such tertiary services as education, health services and transport, so that the total national income would be greater than the original addition of the income from wheat. Since it was important to absorb migrants under the arrangement with the United Kingdom, it would not be wise to reject the proposal to construct the railway merely because it was not likely that the inward and outward traffic on account of wheat would not provide sufficient income to service the debt. The indirect additions to spending might provide sufficient income to enable population to be absorbed at a reasonable standard of living and also to subsidise the railway. That would be partly a matter of public policy, and partly a matter of how great would be the total addition to national income. Copland was aware of these considerations, but was unable to state the problem precisely in terms of the effect on national income as a whole. He took this problem to Giblin who produced the first formula of the multiplier.

This statement of the multiplier was to be very important in considering the loss of income in the circumstances of Australia in 1930, and the principle of the multiplier was stated for these conditions by Giblin in his Inaugural Lecture at the University of Melbourne on April 30th 1930. But it had been stated by him in 1928 in the opposite conditions postulated in the case of the Nowingi railway. In that case Giblin found that the average expenditure of income was one-third on imported and exportable goods and two-thirds on non-exportable goods and services. So that on the first impact an addition of £900 to income would create a demand for another £600 of goods and services. This in turn would be distributed in the same proportion, so that it would result in another £400 addition to demand for goods and services, and so on. The result was a finite series yielding a multiplier of 3. Giblin did not apply his analysis to investment and his multiplier was a

/partial expression

partial expression of the final statement of the concept. But he may claim to have been among the first in the field on this important aspect of economic analysis, and his work was to have significant influence on the thinking of Australian economists for the next decade. It was in part responsible for the peculiar contribution of the Australian economists to the problems of the depression in which he himself played a leading role.

The Tariff and Unsheltered Production

But before considering this, another field of economic analysis must be reviewed. In the late twenties there was much criticism of the impact of the tariff on primary industry, and the extension of the tariff to some of the primary industries themselves. The Prime Minister of the day referred this problem to a Committee of five, Wickens, Giblin, Dyason, Copland and Brigden. There had been some discussion in the pages of the Economic Record, notably an article by Brigden in the first issue and a subsequent controversy between him and Benham. Brigden had produced the thesis that it was economical to support by a tariff industries subject to increasing returns, but uneconomical to extend the tariff to industries subject to decreasing returns. The Committee examined and on the whole endorsed this thesis, but only after a great deal of discussion and careful analysis, including some highly ingenious statistical measurement. It was in this last mentioned field that Giblin made a distinctive contribution not only to the work of the Committee, but also to the understanding of the Australian economy. The question was one of measuring the costs of the tariff, tracing their distribution throughout the economy and assessing their total effects on national income, the volume of employment and the standard of living.

This was a problem dear to Giblin's heart, and he has given his own account of it in the Joseph Fisher Lecture delivered in the University of Adelaide in 1936. It was in this work that he developed the distinction between sheltered and unsheltered production, a distinction that was to colour economic thinking in Australia till World War II, and greatly to influence official policy. It has gone out of fashion now, but it may be doubted whether economic analysis is any the better for ignoring it. It was not merely a question of stating the problem in theoretical terms, and no one was more lucid at that than Giblin. The relative proportions of sheltered and unsheltered production had to be estimated, so had the costs of the tariff, and the distribution of these costs to be traced in their effects on the two categories of production. This was statistical work of the highest quality and it may well be regarded as the most comprehensive investigation of its kind ever undertaken in Australia. The original mind in this was Giblin, though he was greatly assisted by his colleagues, especially Wickens and Dyason in their respective spheres. Unsheltered production was unable to pass on costs because it was either export production or production competing with imports; in both cases the limiting factor in price was the world market. Sheltered production (including protected production to the limit of the tariff) could eventually raise prices in a buoyant market, and that was true of the conditions of the twenties; so that inefficient production operating behind a tariff barrier imposed costs on and impeded the development of unsheltered production, mainly export production. But this production had its own limits to expansion on the margin of cultivation as costs rose. Inside that margin the higher costs due to protection fell on land values (Brigden's argument), and if it was desired to expand population some degree of protection was justifiable.

/The net effect was

The net effect was to have a larger population under the tariff though at a lower standard of living per head than the smaller population permissible under free trade. The analysis of the costs and their distribution, however, showed that there were limits to the level of tariff that was economical, given the objective of promoting the maximum population growth. Giblin made a distinctive contribution to this problem and his analysis embodied in the Report of the Committee, published as The Australian Tariff : an Economic Enquiry was to have a decisive influence on tariff policy until 1936 when the now forgotten trade diversion policy was introduced to protect British trade from the inroads of Japanese and American competition in the Australian market. Giblin was to say of the trade diversion policy in his Adelaide lecture: "One can only hope that its operation will be carried out with quietly diminishing vigour until in a year or two it will pass into deserved oblivion. Failing that, one can only be reminded of the old Euripidean tag, more familiar in its Latin form:

Quem Jupiter vult perdere, dementat prius".

John Smith and the Depression

This work on the multiplier and on the distribution of costs throughout the economy was to have important effects on the discussions and writings of the Australian economists in the difficult days that were ushered in by the fall in wool prices in August, 1929. The first expression of this came from Brigden who made a pronouncement after the opening of the sales that national income would fall by £60m. That was the immediate and direct effect of the lower price for wool. But this was soon to be added to by the cessation of overseas borrowing, and by the repercussions of these direct reductions in income on the economy as a whole, the multiplier in reverse. Giblin had one streak of orthodoxy. He had to be converted to Copland's argument concerning the virtues of a depreciation of the currency as one of the weapons to be used in meeting this holocaust. Apart from that he was again in the van, reminiscent of the days when as an English international rugby player he pioneered the open forward game. This time he came into the market place, as it were, and in a series of letters to John Smith, published in the Melbourne Herald in July, 1930, he explained in words of one syllable what the crisis was about. There has been no writing on economics in Australia before or since quite like the Letters to John Smith. In them Giblin sought to persuade people that the adjustments required to meet the conditions of depression made some reduction in wages inevitable, whether by the existence of unemployment, or by an all round reduction in money wages. The Letters contained a gentle discourse on national income, the place of profits and saving in the economy, the importance of costs and productivity, and the now familiar argument concerning the distribution of costs throughout the economy and their impact on the unsheltered industries.

For the next twelve months in a rapidly deteriorating economic situation a group of economists was busy trying to persuade governments and people that it was important to recognise the loss of income, to differentiate between the real and money loss, and to adopt measures by which the loss could be spread equitably throughout the economy and among the several groups of workers and producers. Here again Giblin's influence in thinking out the approach was predominant, and he was a member of the Committee of Economists and Under-Treasurers that advised the Loan Council in May-June, 1931, and formulated the Premiers' Plan. The story is told in Copland's Australia and the World Crisis, and it is to Giblin's credit that when the adjustments had been carried through in August, 1931, Giblin with Dyason was pressing for rapid credit expansion and public works to relieve unemployment at a time when many of his colleagues were either inarticulate, or opposed to an expansionist policy.

/The Financial and

The Financial and Economic Committee during the War

Early in 1939, Giblin, by then sixty-six years of age, opened the last phase of the career he commenced in 1919. Although largely lost in the anonymity of official files and known only to those who had the privilege of direct association with him, his work in this phase may well be accounted one of his greatest services to the community.

Faced with the growing inevitability of war, and the prospect of a host of difficult and largely unpredictable economic and financial problems, the Prime Minister established informally the Advisory Committee on Financial and Economic Policy and called upon Giblin to act as Chairman. Thus, even before the outbreak of hostilities, Giblin was right in the vortex of policy making and giving wise and ever-ready counsel. He was the obvious choice. His intellectual stature, his maturity of judgment, his richness of experience, his unrivalled breadth of vision and his profound knowledge of the Australian economy made him uniquely fitted for the role of senior economic adviser to the Government.

At that time, it was assumed that Japan would be in the impending war from the beginning and Giblin and his Committee devoted considerable attention to the possible consequences of an almost complete stoppage of seaborne trade. On the actual outbreak of war in September, 1939, the Committee was reconstituted on a more formal basis and Giblin took up residence in Canberra. Its members comprised Brigden, Copland, Melville and Wilson. At later stages, Coombs, Mills and Sir Harry Brown joined it and several others were, as necessary, co-opted to serve on it. The demands on the services of the Committee multiplied rapidly and, operating under the control of the Treasurer, Giblin and his fellow members were soon examining problems relating to every aspect of a wartime economy - from the balance of payments to incentives to saving, and from the conservation of manpower to cash order activities.

The Committee on Sea-borne Trade and import licensing sprang from its first labours. Plans for the Department of Labour and National Service, for control of building, and Wartime Economic Organisation of Industry soon followed, reflecting the accent which Giblin, in particular, placed on the basic "resources" problems of an economy organising for war.

With the complementary financial problems the influence of Giblin and his Committee is less readily discernible, but no less real. There was hardly a major financial measure of the time to which he did not contribute in some measure. For example, his early efforts on the compulsory loan proposal were an attempt to find the solution to the problems that Uniform Tax was later designed to meet. In the field of monetary policy also he was anticipating major problems of the future and working out solutions for them; as early as 1940, for instance, one of his memoranda to the Committee gives a foretaste of the Special Accounts system which was later to emerge. Giblin was the architect later of the arrangement made in 1941 whereby the trading banks were required to maintain special deposits with the Commonwealth Bank and control was established over policy on advances and profits in order to check the war-time inflationary trends. At first the banks entered into an agreement with the Government to carry out the new policy but later regulations embodying these provisions were gazetted in 1941 after the Curtin Government took office. In 1945 they became the central feature of the Banking Act.

/In 1947, when

In 1947, when he was leaving Canberra for his orchard in Tasmania, Giblin summed up the work of the Committee in the following words which are revealing of the general nature of the contribution he continuously made:-

> "The Committee understood that its job was to look ahead for the difficulties and dangers that were likely to beset our economy as resources were increasingly diverted to war purposes and, as a consequence of that diversion, to suggest precautions and remedies so far as possible, and in particular to do what was possible to prevent the losses and frustrations which were likely to occur when diverse new war-time activities were carried out in watertight compartments".

By 1943 the Committee as such had ceased to meet at all frequently. The general principles of a war economy had been established and it was becoming increasingly difficult to assemble the members because of their increasing administrative responsibilities, many of which had been first mooted in the Committee's discussions. Giblin, however, remained free of extraneous responsibilities, and, if that were possible, increased his efforts to provide a synoptic view on all problems of moment. At this later stage his attention was turning more and more to the issues of post-war reconstruction both at home and overseas. Such topics as sterling balances, Article VII (and all that it implied), employment policies and land values featured increasingly in his personal discussions and in the constant flow of memoranda of analysis and comment which came from him.

The examples of the problems on which Giblin worked during the war period and immediately after give no more than a small indication of his contributions. The enormous scope and wide variety of economic activity by governments in war-time, together with the inevitably diffuse nature of governmental work make it impossible to isolate and record the full measure of his personal achievement. Apart from this, it was characteristic of Giblin that such a large part of what he did was by way of informal and kindly comment, persuasion and encouragement.

Giblin and The Bank

Giblin joined the Commonwealth Bank Board in October, 1935, and remained a member during the following seven years. These were crowded years for the policy-makers of the Bank, particularly towards the end of the period, when special problems of banking policy had to be faced in organising the economy to meet the threat of war, and Giblin played an active part in helping to make the policies.

Giblin's approach to banking, as to most economic questions, was essentially one of common sense, mediating between a broad understanding of national objectives - "the highest common factor of the policies of alternative governments" was one of his phrases, - and a hard sense of realities and quantities. He was a conservative in the sense that he subscribed to our basic national traditions, - in spite of his individual qualities, Giblin shared most Australian opinions and prejudices, - but radical in the sense that he was quite willing to examine accepted traditions and always reluctant to ignore anything novel or unorthodox. On the Bank Board his views were progressive and influential, combined a ripe wisdom with a critical judgment, and were expressed with a logical persistance (which was one of his strongest qualities) and with a characteristic deliberation (for which his pipe was a useful instrument). The views he held can be inferred from the evidence he gave to the Banking Commission, and the history he wrote of the Bank describing its development from 1924-1945.

/In the evidence

In the evidence which Giblin gave to the Banking Commission (Minutes of Evidence, Vol.2, page 1341), there are some revealing comments. In Australia, he thinks, high real income, moderately even distribution of it, and an increasing population would be accepted by nearly everyone as the material objective of national policy. He holds that monetary policy is too technical for popular discussion. He believes in the positive value to our economy of a stable exchange rate. He mentions some considerations which would influence him in deciding the extent to which the Australian currency should be depreciated if export prices fell seriously. In the event of real disaster, it would be idle to attempt to maintain the old prosperity for the community as a whole by any depreciation of the currency. Depreciation spreads the loss, but it would be unwise to carry the exchange movement so far as to preserve intact the real income of the export industries. In the event of a tremendous rise in world prices everywhere, he would see no objection to appreciating the exchange; in fact, he would say that is one of the occasions when we ought to move our exchange rate, even past sterling.

"The Growth of a Central Bank" was a formidable task for a man of 75 years of age. By itself, a detailed survey of the history of the Bank would have been difficult enough. Much of the information was scattered and incomplete; the reasons for many decisions and actions had become obscure with the passage of time; and to smelt down the great mass of detail into a running narrative called for judgment and patience of the highest order. But Giblin's story is much more than a mere record of events within the walls of the Commonwealth Bank. He gave the story life and colour by setting it against an economic and social background, and by sketching in - sometimes with an oblique line or an abbreviated twist - the important people and political issues of the time. His book is a valuable contribution to general historical and economic research in Australia, as well as an outstanding Central Bank history; it ranks him with Clapham who, incidentally, was a fellow Kingsman with a deep admiration for Giblin. Like Clapham too, Giblin does not try to keep his history to the larger issues, although there is one general conclusion which should be quoted. In his epilogue Giblin referred to the problems of modern government which have become too complicated for any but the most general supervision by Parliament and Ministers, and commented:-

> "One escape is to throw decision more and more into the hands of the permanent public servant; and in spite of the popular clamour against 'bureaucracy', this devolution is often necessary and wise. The other escape is through the setting up of Boards and Commissions, which are given a task in broad terms and left free to carry it out and be judged by the results. Much experiment in this procedure is required before its usefulness can be properly judged. The Bank Board was an interesting experiment of this kind which was stopped before its final achievement could be properly appraised."

But Giblin usually rather distrusted general conclusions, and always preferred to walk over the ground he had to cover. No path with even a hint of interest was too narrow to follow, no effort was too prolonged in digging for figures. He was always unwilling to accept records at their face value, and wherever possible endeavoured to verify and seek out other points of view. Not all of this appeared in the book. It was used to build a solid foundation of ascertained facts, and gave substance to his judgments and a sense of close participation in events.

/But what chiefly

But what chiefly distinguished the book is the conviction it carried both of Giblin's wisdom and sympathy and of his high technical abilities. He wrote a terse workman-like prose, with an individual flavour, unadorned except for a few dry phrases, and spared no pains to reach simplicity and clarity. What he wrote is a good book and like all good books is a mirror of the mind of the man who wrote it.

Vale

This article is a composite effort, and but the bare bones of the contributions of this remarkable man to the study of the Australian economy and to the formulation of economic policy over a period of more than thirty years. The individual contributions are published largely as they were written. The discerning reader may be able to distinguish them, but what stands out as common to them all is the recognition of Giblin's quality of mind, his generous devotion to the task at hand and his unassuming leadership among old and young alike. It was not only the economists as such who acknowledged his pre-eminence. Ministers, politicians, heads of departments (surely a sign of virtue), leaders in industry and agriculture, trade unionists, all respected his judgment and treasure his memory. He would not be regarded as a highly qualified economist in a purely technical sense. Yet anyone who now reads his picture of the post-war labour situation in Australia as presented in one of his rare articles, "Reconstruction: A Pisgah View" (The Australian Quarterly, September 1943) may ponder whether all the technical proficiency in economic theory can ever replace sound judgment, wide experience and inherent wisdom as the qualities that make for good counsel in matters economic. It was these qualities that gave Giblin his place in Australian economics and made his name a legend.

Mens cuiusque is est quisque.

Some Papers and Publications by L.F. Giblin

The Taxable Capacity of the Australian States, Government Printer, Hobart, 1924.

"Federation and Finance - an Examination of the Financial Relations of States to a Federal Commonwealth", Economic Record, Vol.II, No.3, November, 1926.

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William Robert Giblin

1841 - 1887.

No name was better known in the Colony, no character more greatly respected, no man ever enjoyed a greater personal power in the confidence reposed in him and the admiration expressed for his intellectual ability by all manner of men throughout his native land

This was one of the many eulogies written about Giblin after his death at the comparatively early age of 46. From all reliable sources this account is fully confirmed Sir Phillip Fysh, a colleague and an old Parliamentary hand well qualified to speak said that with possible exception of John Dodds, no Hobart politician of his times (1866-1910) was more liked and trusted by his fellow citizens than Giblin.

William Robert Giblin, born at Hobart was the son of a migrant from England who arrived in Tasmania in 1817. He was educated at the Hobart High School the headmaster being his uncle Thomas Giblin..

Giblin chose the Law as a profession and was articled to Roberts & Allport, Solicitors, Hobart. It appears that he quickly came to the front after his admission because he was engaged in major cases at the Supreme Court in the late 'sixties, a period when forensic talent abounded.

Giblin married Miss Perkins in 1865 and there were seven children of the union.

Giblin's service to the social life of the community were conspicuous; he was one of the co-founders of the Working Men's Club and of an organisation for athletics for the less fortunate boys of his city. His philanthropic activities were diverse and wide. ~~and~~ Deeply religious he was from youth until death an active member of the Congregational Church It was written of him,

"that he worked hard ~~to~~ all his life to inculcate religous and moral truths among the young."

The Macquarie Street Debating Society ~~appears to have~~ was the school from which Giblin graduated to politics. With C.J. Barclay (banker), Russell Young (solicitor) and J.B. Walker (solicitor & historian) he learnt some of the arts of the platform. However, he never became an orator despite the rate (250 words per minute) he spoke on occasions.

Giblin entered Parliament in 1869 when he was elected without opposition to the Hobart seat in the House of Assembly. He was almost immediately appointed a Minister, succeeding (1870) W. L. (later Sir) Dobson as Attorney-General in the Wilson Government. Two years later the Wilson ministry came to an end and Giblin became Leader of the Opposition. Before he was again a Minister he spent a period out of Parliament being defeated for the Hobart seat by David Lewis in the 1877 elections. This interlude did not last long for the new Reiby Ministry was defeated by a no confidence motion and P. O. Fysh formed a government which included Giblin (Attorney-General) for whom a seat had been found. For a short period Giblin was Colonial Treasurer.

After a short period in opposition (1878-79) Giblin returned as Premier of a coalition (organised by John Dunmore Balfe) which became known as the Continuous Ministry. Giblin held office until 1884 when he was appointed puisne judge. Giblin's four year Premiership was regarded as being highly successful and he exercised a leadership in Parliament and public affairs which stands highly in comparison with his immediate predecessors and successors.

Giblin played a useful part in Australasian affairs being a prominent member of delegate to the important 1881 & 1883 Intercolonial Conferences. His support and advice to McIlwraith in the handling of the Land's amendment to the Constitution Act difficult problems arising from the Queensland Government's policies and actions. New Guinea was a broad brush recognised. Giblin's and work and affairs.

THE 'INS' AND THE 'OUTS'

1863-1879.

The sixteen years which followed the resignation of Chapman is a bewildering one for the student and reader of Tasmanian political history. There were eight ministries, only three lasting for more than two years. Whilst this period awaits the attention of historical research, the views of the historian Fenton who was a contemporary witness can be quoted, as it provides a rational explanation. Writing in the next decade in his History of Tasmania, he comments (page 336) on the situation in 1876, as follows:-

> "There was indeed very little difference in the policy of the two contending parties. Both felt the need for resuscitating the revenue by a property, or income tax, which would provide for the interest upon the outlay on railways and public works, whereby property was largely enhanced in value, but when these measures were introduced by ministerial policy, the opposition found some matter of detail whereon to found an adverse vote."

That there were no parties bearing names, can be seen from a reference to the situation in a leading article in the ably written Hobart Radical newspaper 'Tribune' on 29th September, 1879 - "The electors must be invited to settle the controversy between the 'Ins and Outs'". From the point of view of the biographer those few men of the period of whom sufficient information has survived appear to have been associated on personal, family, property of business associations. Parliamentary groupings appear more like those in municipal affairs to-day than in the House of Assembly. If the period is barren for the political and parliamentary historian, it is one which was rich in personalities. Unfortunately, we know too little of these men owing to the absence of letters, diaries, memoirs or books about the period. What is recorded here has been gleaned from a variety of sources including reminiscences of contemporary observers now passed away.

JAMES WHYTE.

Chapman's successor in the Premiership was not his principal adversary Meredith, but James Whyte who had been one of Gregson's short-lived Cabinet. Except for a high sense of public duty, Chapman and Whyte had little in common. Instead of a 'John Bull type of Englishman' and a typical city merchant, Whyte had all the qualities of a Scottish laird. Forty two years of age Whyte was a tall, handsome man who had the ingratiating manner which was remembered by young people all their lives. He wore a large black beard which was favoured by young men who held 'liberal' or advanced ideas. Born in 1820 near Greenlaw, Scotland, his parents brought him to Tasmania when he was twelve years of age. His father's people were farmers and his mother was a cousin of Thomas Pringle, the poet and Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society. A natural farmer, Whyte was successful with his father's properties and at the age of 18 took sheep and cattle to the newly settled western district of Victoria. His knowledge of husbandry, capable management and good seasons all favoured him and he became a partner in Clunes, one of the great sheep stations of early Victoria. The discovery of rich gold on the property which led to the development of the famous Port Phillip Mine, made him a very wealthy man. A friend of William Pritchett Weston, Whyte returned to Tasmania to assist in the Anti-Transportation Movement. He personally financed the League's newspaper 'Daily News' and spared neither effort nor money in furthering the cause. His strong humanitarian feelings were fully aroused by the social results of the system. Remaining in Tasmania, he was elected to the Legislative Council for Pembroke. From then onwards he devoted himself to public life. Whyte was wholly in sympathy with Gregson, a fact which the detractors of that great man found most difficult to understand. It is quite in keeping with Whyte's outlook and temperament; he was essentially a public man possessing a strong reformist urge rather than an ambitious politician or careerist.

Whyte, with his friend Charles Meredith as Treasurer, was to remain Premier for nearly four years. As will be seen Meredith was no more successful than Chapman with his financial measures. However, it was a valuable combination. Both men were countrymen who had done their share of hard pioneering and so they understood the needs of the settlers, which were too often overlooked by the large sheep men, the city merchants and the professional men. They started the good practice of ministerial tours to the fringes of settlement and investigations into the needs of the settlers on the spot, in their huts and camps. They visited all the back country in the north and east, King Island, Flinders Island and entered the 'unknown' country on the West Coast.

Within the narrow financial limits imposed on him, Whyte managed to get public works extended to the outer seftlements in the form of roads and bridges and jetties. He was responsible for organising and despatching Charles Gould's and other smaller exploring parties to the west and south-west, the terra incognita. Important results came from this policy because it resulted in opening up the way for prospectors for the next thirty years. Nobody since Sir John Franklin had done so much for exploration and development.

After Whyte's government was defeated he remained a member of the Legislative Council and it was then he carried out his most difficult and important service to Tasmania. The pastoral industry, the Colony's mainstay with the decline of the whaling industry, was threatened with extermination by the ravages of scab. Realising it was a special problem and above the petty personal politics of the day, Whyte became a sole crusader for legislation to make its eradication effective. He gradually wore down the usual opposition which all reforms meet, and persuaded parliament to pass the necessary Acts (1869) and set up an authority to carry out what was an unpleasant duty. So great was Whyte's sense of public duty that he resigned his safe seat in the Legislative Council, sacrificed ~~his~~ the comfort of an attractive home

(New Town Park) and became the Chief Inspector for Scab eradication. With great energy and the use of much tact and diplomacy with the bewildered, often suspicious sheep breeders, he succeeded in completely freeing the flocks from the disease. It was one of the notable, but little publicised, achievements in Tasmanian economic history. In 1881, a year before his death, Whyte was able to report that his work was completed; his name is perpetuated by a large river on the West Coast which traverses the rugged areas he was instrumental in opening up to mineral and timber prospectors.

CHARLES MEREDITH.

Charles Meredith was Whyte's friend, Treasurer, Leader in the House of Assembly (1863-66) and political guide and philosopher. A rugged, weather beaten man with long white hair, white beard which gave him the appearance of a Hebrew patriarch. The son of George Meredith, one of the earliest Welsh farmers to settle in Tasmania, he was born at Poyston Lodge, Pembroke, in the principality of in 1811 and brought by his parents to the Colony at the early age of 10 years. He grew up on the family property on the East coast. His boyhood was one of hard work, clearing, fishing and controlling ticket of leave men and farm labourers when only in his 'teens. Twice he had to assist in fighting off bushrangers and marauding blacks. In the absence of roads he had often to navigate open sailing boats to Hobart for supplies. He grew up a hard, self-reliant young man; he early showed his intellectual powers and was fortunate enough to have a father who engaged tutors to educate his family in between their labours and adventures. This was quite the normal thing with the East coast pioneers before the days of boarding schools, in Hobart and Launceston. George Meredith had seen service in the Royal Marines during the Napoleonic Wars and was a man of wide experience. One of the earliest Tasmanian politicians, he took a

leading part in the movement for the separation of the Colony from New South Wales (1825) and later in the Anti-Transportation Movement. He lived to see his son, Charles, enter public life and his daughter marry one of the most important country magnates, Sir Richard Dry of Quamby.

Charles Meredith left Tasmania in 1834 and took up grazing leases in the Murrumbidgee, but losing heavily in the great drought of 1841-45, he returned to his home Colony and accepted an appointment as a country Police Magistrate. Before his losses, he had revisited England and Wales, met and married his first cousin, Louisa Anne Twamley. Mrs. Meredith was a most gifted woman and has an important place in the artistic and cultural history of this State.

Charles Meredith's first political experience was as a member of the old nominee Legislative Council. In 1856 he was elected to the first House of Assembly for Glamorgan. Owing to his reformist views and known abilities, Gregson included him in his short lived Ministry.

When Gregson resigned and ceased to lead his supporters (1857) Meredith took his place and during the Smith, Weston and Chapman Ministries was virtually Leader of Opposition, Leader of the largest group opposing the Governments. On taking office with Whyte, he found himself faced with exactly the same political and financial problems which had faced Chapman, the ablest financier in Parliament. Unable to proceed with any of Chapman's proposals, he had to devise novel ways of raising money. He proposed a carriage-tax which, of course, hit the pockets of the same people - 'the Squires' - who refused to sanction income and property taxes. Meredith was sufficient of an economist to see the folly of depending on a revenue tariff - and its inequality and he added the sting to his proposals by including the abolition of all customs and excise, except upon spirits and tobacco. When his carriage tax was rejected he substituted a very moderate property and income tax. Although the Meredith proposals were exceedingly popular with the salaried and wage earning classes

the large property interests would have nothing of them. As nobody was prepared to carry on the government, an election was inevitable and Parliament was dissolved. The elections on the old narrow franchise resulted in a defeat for the supporters of Whyte and Meredith who resigned as soon as the new Parliament opened on 20th November, 1866. Meredith remained in public life until the end of the unstable period, when he retired on account of ill-health. He took office in times of short Ministries. He was Minister for Public Works in the Innes Ministry and Treasurer in the Reiby Ministry. Meredith enjoyed great popularity during his public career. He was very accessable to people whether they were electors or not, he never deserted the popular cause which demanded the taxing of wealth and property in spite of the fact that he represented a country electorate, and he had a great reputation for getting things done, always an asset. He is one of the three Tasmanian's who are commemorated with a monument, the Meredith obelisk erected by public subscription after his death, stands in a prominent place in the Queen's Domain, Hobart.

FRANCIS VILLENEUVE SMITH

(later His Hon. Sir F. V. Smith, C.J.)

On May 12th 1857 Mr. Francis Villeneuve Smith became the third Premier, an office he held with distinction until he resigned on November, 1st, 1860 to take his place as puisne Judge if the Supreme Court. Although he is one of the very few Tasmanians included in the Dictionary of National Biography, there is very little known of him outside the official papers, and the newspapers of his times. Born in London on 13th February, 1819, he was the eldest son of a West India merchant, Francis Smith; his mother's maiden name was Jean Villeneuve. He was a Bachelor of Arts of the London University, having taken a first prize in International Law and a second prize in Equity. In 1840 he was admitted to the Bar of the Middle Temple and in 1944 came to Hobart where he commenced practising. His abilities soon attracted attention and he was appointed Solicitor General in 1848. His services were so valued by Governor Denison that in spite of his opposition to Transportation he was nominated to the 'old' Legislative Council (1851) and in 1854 was appointed Attorney-General, which positio he relinquished at the advent of responsible government.

'Nigger' Smith appeared an enigma to most of his contemporaries and, therefore, a puzzle to succeeding generations. This was probably due to his reported cold, unsympathetic manners and apparent lack of interest in people or their everyday affairs. His well-known tight fistedness in money matters hardly added to his popularity. His sharp, biting tongue made itself felt, and if reports be correct, even his Parliamentary manners left much to be desired. His swathy skin, heavy black bettle brows, sharp features and cold grey eyes made him an easy mark for the unkind race of contemporary caricaturists and lampoon and political verse writers. One quotation alone will reveal the quality of literary criticism which was showered on Smith. Maxwell Miller, contemporary member of Parliament (ex-Minister in Gregson's short-lived government and later clerk of the House) wit,

poet, wrote in his satire "The Tasmanian House of Assembly, a Metrical Catalogue"

"Not Puck himself with his elfish art
Could men fancy S(mith) e'er own'd a heart
That soul or body show'd one touch of grace
Or that his mind is nobler than his face
A fluent speaker of the quibbling kind
He boasts a sharp but unaccomplished mind;
His ready words intelligently flow
But still disdain a noble end to know.
The Afric blood which courses through his veins,
With kindred blackness every action stains."

Despite his enemies and detractors, his strong Ministry, which included Frederick Maitland Innes, responded to his good, firm leadership, and in spite of the growing economic difficulties, managed to get the wheels of the new system of responsible government working and enact some useful legislation. They reformed and liberalised the method of land sales to assist small selectors, established a Council of Education for the administration and development of the state school system, and instituted the first advanced public examinations for the Degree of Associate of Arts (A.A.) Smith regarded these as the first and necessary steps towards the founding of a University.

Smith passed the legislation necessary for establishing local government in country areas. However, his legislation to end the State aid to religion, a prickly subject in any parliament, deserved a better end then disallowance by the Crown. Smith's political horizon was not bounded by the Island's shores, for his government took part in the discussions with other colonies for plans put forward by Deas-Thompson (N.S.W.) and Gavan Duffy (Victoria) for federation. One of Smith's most notable contributions was his raising the confidences of Tasmanians in themselves. He took every step possible to free them from the stigma of association with the Transportation System. He strongly discouraged the use of the terms Native Youth and Vandemonian

for the Tasmanian born. He caused the name Van Diemens Land to be arased and replaced by Tasmania, and he was responsible for a new issue of postage stamps to bear the new name, an action which was regarded popularly as a very satisfactory indication as a break with the past; previously all postage stamps had borne the now despised name Van Diemen's Land.

Smith's elevation to the bench was a loss to Parliamentary life and to the government of the colony; he was almost the only leading personality who was highly educated and had received an excellent legal training. He was knighted in 1862 and became Chief Justice in 1870, a post he held with distinction for 14 years. He spent a long retirement in the South of France, almost reaching his 91st year before his death on 17th January 1909.

FREDERICK MAITLAND INNES.

Smith's success owed much to his principal colleague, Frederick Maitland Innes, who was his Treasurer. More versatile, popular and politically pliable than his chief, Innes made up for the cold aloofness and often down right rudeness of Smith.

Innes was born in Scotland in 1816, the son of an army officer belonging to a well-known military and legal family. Intended for the law, he was articled to his uncle, a writer to the signet at Edinburgh; like so many young scots of his times he found the lure of travel, adventure and distant parts too strong. At the early age of 17 he arrived in Tasmania and appears to have immediately found a place in the vigorous journalism of the day. There was plenty of scope for a bright young man possessing literary skill and ability to translate into effective newspaper articles, lampoons, squibs and other weapons then in use in the political warfare of the day. The colonists were stirring and with the end of bush-ranging and the rounding up of the aborigines, were taking stock of the rule of Lt. Governor Arthur. Gregson and his nephews were engaged in battles for the removal of many injustices and free meetings were demanding a means of expression.

From his later writings and published speeches it can be seen that young Innes could supply this demand of the Van Diemen's Land patriots, the 'Native Youths'. At the end of the Arthur period he returned to Great Britain. Working as a free lance journalist he apparently found a ready market in the new cheap press; he was a contributor to the Penny Encyclopaedia. He returned to Tasmania and was again active in Hobart journalism, being associated with the Observer. Moving to Launceston in 1846, he seems to have finally left journalism and turned to farming with success. Always a keen politician, his experience as a journalist soon brought him to the front in the public affairs of the North. Being a supporter of popular causes and for the development of the northern part of the

colony, it is easy to understand that this newspaperman turned farmer had a strong appeal to the electors. He was a member of the first House of Assembly and continued membership for either the Legislative Council or the House of Assembly until 1882; he held the office of Premier for a short term, 1871-1872, Treasurer 1857-1862, Colonial Secretary 1862-63 and was twice President of the Legislative Council.

Innes was a short, stocky man, often called 'Little Innes' as he contrasted strongly with most of the tall broad-shouldered men who were his contemporaries in public life. One photograph taken at the time of his Premiership, gives the impression that he was something of a diminutibe Uncle Sam, with goatee beard on a square chin and large shaved upper lip. He was not an orator by the exacting standards of his times, but rather a plain, homely speaker. He was the best debater of his day and his native Scottish logical reason roused his less well equipped opponents to high tempers. His speeches were very carefully prepared and they are so full of facts and clear headed analysis that they are of great value to the student of the times.

Innes did not escape the attention of the satirist Maxwell Miller who described him unflatteringly as follows:

"Next in succession turgid Innes rants
Alternate bullies and alternate rants;
Piles words on words; then heaps words anew,
To mash the false and misapply the true;
Harsh, Lab'ring gutterals his meaning hides,
If that he hid which never was supplied;
Still as he bawls the wonder grows intense
That so much sound conveys so little sense
Too wise the Church that prudently eschew'd
A tongue so boistrous, and a mind so rude,
His grammar better, or less strict, their rule
We'd lost a knave, and they gain'd a fool."

Innes's most fruitful period of achievement was during his term of office as Colonial Treasurer in the Smith Ministry. He was

an excellent financier and his policy was so well devised that it succeeded in bringing order and stability into the chaotic public finances which the responsible governments had partly inherited from their predecessors. He was fortunate in his chief, F. V. Smith, and in the support he received in Parliament and in the business world. He was not so fortunate as Treasurer in the Chapman Ministry, 1862-63, nor as Treasurer in his own short lived Ministry. Times had changed and the majority of members, representing large property interest, would not support any form of direct taxation. As Premier, Innes took a very practical interest in education and he was responsible for inaugurating a policy of rebuilding State schools. His appointments of bright young trained educationists from England bore fruit when a generation later the Department of Education was established. Innes's political career bore many resemblances to that of another journalist politician, Edmund Dwyer-Gray, who was a financial reformer and keenly interested in education. And Like Dwyer-Gray he had keen interest in and sympathy with the enthusiams and interests of young Tasmanians.

THOMAS DANIEL CHAPMAN OF SUNNYSIDE.

In the entrance hall of the Tasmanian Museum, Hobart, are two portraits, one is of a handsome well-dressed man in black broadcloth and a high stock and collar of the period; his fine features are partly hidden behind luxuriant fair side whiskers; his face is intelligent and his blue eyes bright and friendly. The other portrait is that of a woman wearing a black silk dress and a wide red shawl; she has a fine neck and even features and striking black eyes. Even allowing for the conventions of a portrait painting of a century ago, the subjects would certainly command attention in any company. They are Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Daniel Chapman who were probably the most important political couple in Tasmania in the early years of responsible government. Chapman was a civic and political leader in every sense, whilst his wife (Miss Swan before marriage) was, in spite of her imperious ways and sharp temperm equally a leader of women's movements which were so marked a feature of the social life of the period.

Unfortunately, very little information is at present available about the earlier period of Chapman's career. An obituary notice informs us that he was born at Bedford, England, in Waterloo Year and he emigrated to Tasmania about 1844. However, it is certain that by the year 1851 he had achieved sufficient success as a merchant and as a public figure in Hobart to top the poll in the first elections for the Legislative Council. He had become the Leader of the so-called Liberal Party which stood for the popular causes of Abolition of Transportation and for Responsible Parliamentary Government; he was President of the Hobart Branch of the Anti-Transportation (or Australasian) League. It can only be assumed that his success as a merchant was based on the familiar business of the times, that was as an exporter of wool, whale oil and timber, and as an importer of groceries, hardware, clothing and other manufactures from England, sugar from Mauritius and tea from Ceylon.

His enterprise was just suited to the expansive times of the Victorian gold rushes. Politics and business by no means absorbed all his abundant energies. He was a most active promoter of the establishment of a Hibart High School for the education of boys for "commercial and farming pursuits", of the Mechanics Institute, the Free Library, free schools for the all too numerous under-privileged children, Benevolent Societies and sporting organisations.

Chapman laid the foundation of his political career as a popular leader and organiser of the finances of the Anti-Transportation League; with Henry Hopkins, another leading Hobart business man, he greatly contributed to the success of its two propagandists, Reverend John West and William Pritchett Weston. An older generation of Hobartians who remembered the period never forgot the persuasive power of Chapman's simple but homely phrased speeches in the streets and from balconies. He was never intimidated by the hooligan element in the pay of certain publicans and dubious types of business men who supported Transportation for their own evil ends. He was described by the Hobart 'Mercury' (18.2.1884) "as by no means an orator, but a vigorous speaker, and a man of strong will and great preserverance. He was a typical John Bull."

Chapman was elected at the head of the poll for one of the four Hobart seats in the first House of Assembly, as stated before he joined the Champ Ministry as Treasurer. This step was regarded by the Liberal or Popular party, the 'Democrats' as the deepest treachery. For years Chapman had to face public taunts as 'Rat', 'Renegade' and other terms of opprobrium from his one time friends and supporters. What his detractors did not see was that old issues were dead and there was no Governor's Friends or supporters of the 'System' in the new Parliament and that their popularly elected rulers were divided on new issues. Chapman did not escape the pen of Maxiwell Miller who described him thus -

"Your 'renegades' who never turn by halves,
Are bound in conscience to be double knaves
No so, great Dryden, for although we dare
Boast our's a renegade beyond compare;
He turned 'by halves' as to our cost we know
(How large the sum the Treasury books will show)
Who used his office and received his pay,
To damn our credit and the State betray
A time there was when men yet undeceived
Though vain they knew thee, honest still believed
Still deemed thee faithful to the cause, nor thought
That nature made three to be sold and bought."

Chapman was to suffer some of the same kind of treatment that was meted out to John Earle, one of his successors in the office of Premier sixty years later, who left his old political associates.

The Hobart 'Mercury' which approved of Chapman as a politician, quietly remarked "he gave great offence to many of his friends by joining Champ."

In spite of Chapman's unpopularity with that section of the political life which called itself 'Liberal', the name 'Renegade' was soon forgotten and he received another from the general public and in particular from the wage earners who were not then enfranchised. During the period which the Smith Ministry held office, Chapman was a supporter; he appears to have assisted Treasurer Innes with his financial legislation and budgets. However, when he became Premier in 1861 his government was faced with the problem of falling revenues and the refusal of both Houses of Parliament to face up to their responsibilities. Chapman endeavoured to add to the Colony's prosperity by abolishing most of the revenue tariffs and replacing them by an income and property tax. As this meant cheaper groceries, particularly tea and sugar, Chapman was quickly dubbed 'Tea and Sugar Tommy'. This nick-name stuck to him for the rest of his political career; it was remembere

in political circles well into the present century. It was Chapman's tragedy and the colony's loss that, in spite of his lengthy term as Treasurer, he was able to effect so little. After retiring from his short Premiership, 1861-63 he remained leader of Opposition, but returned to office as Treasurer during the Dry and Wilson Ministries, 1866-72, an unbroken term of six years, a term passed only by Edmund Dwyer-Gray (1934-45). The most Chapman could do in the face of unreasonable and selfish opposition to financial reform was to keep the colony as solvent as possible and obtain as much money from borrowing for urgent development as he could. The stupid Tariff Wars which governments fought between one another caused Chapman to become a stromg advocate for a commercial union. He considered that such a union, based on the German Zollverein, should precede federation. His daughter, Miss Amy Chapman, who shared her father's keen interest in political history and political problems informed the writer that on the subject of Federation, he tended to favour Imperial union of all the self-governing colonies with the Mother Country rather than separate Federations with no legislative unity; he would have favoured the idea of a British Commonwealth united by an Imperial Parliament in which Australians, Canadians, New Zealanders and other representatives of overseas British communities This was a practical approach for his times because when Chapman died in 1884 Australian Federation was still an ideal.

Although Chapman appeared to have good support as a result of the second general elections which took place shortly after he took office, the Opposition Leader Charles Meredith succeeded in moving a no confidence motion on the Government's financial proposals. However, Meredith apparently could not satisfy the new Governor Lieut. Col. Gore-Brown that he could form a government. The Governor accepted Chapman's advice and the second Parliament was dissolved, being the shortest in Tasmanian history. In spite of the popularity of Chapman's proposals his supporters were defeated and James Whyte, a somewhat

mediocre figure, formed a government of which Charles Meredith was the leading figure. It is considered that Chapman was defeated by a clique of Gregson's one time followers rather than on any broad grounds of policy. Chapman was to return to office as Treasurer and later as Colonial Secretary.

In 1873 Chapman was elected to the Buckingham seat in the Legislative Council, where he remained until his death on 1884, caused by acute bronchitis resulting from attending a race meeting at Elwick. In 1882 he succeeded his old colleague, Frederick Innes, as President of the Legislative Council.

When Chapman entered the House of Assembly he was in comparatively difficult circumstances, but as economic conditions worsened he was unable to manage his own business successfully, and before he became Premier he had met serious reverses. The bulling and upkeep of his home at "Sunnyside" (Park Street) must have proved a heavy financial burden. His eventual bankruptcy was generally regarded as a calamity because of his self-sacrificing devotion to his public duties. Leading articles in both Hobart and Launceston newspapers commented in their editorial columns on the unhappy position of such a useful citizen. Some arrangement must have been made with his creditors because after resignation, he was re-elected and continued his parliamentary career.

From the resignation of Innes until the end of the period of instability and frustration for all progressively minded public men, five more governments were to hold office. Three of the Premiers, Kennerley, Reiby and Crowther, will now be noticed, because they did not again hold that high office; only Reiby continued in Parliament beyond the period. The other two Premiers, Fysh and Giblin, headed apparently 'stop-gap' ministries and the major part of their careers lay ahead.

A L F R E D K E N N E R L E Y

From the point of view of the biographer, Alfred Kennerley is the least known of Tasmanian Premiers, although he held office for three years (1873-76). However, his name is better known to-day than many other public men whose careers were of far greater importance. This seeming paradox is due to the fact that Kennerley was a noted philanthropist at a time when such people were few and regarded as somewhat eccentric to say the least. It was not a period when men and women of wealth considered they had any social responsibilities to the many destitute, underprivileged beyond well publisiced donations to charities and gifts of unwanted clothes and odd coins at their doors. Kennerley, on the other hand was a large and intelligen giver of his worldly wealth.

From the sparse biographical information available Kennerley apparently emigrated from England to New South Wales about 1850, or perhaps a few years later. For a period he was a settler but found the climate unsuitable for his health. In 1860 he was settled in Hobart and sufficiently well-known and respected, and a substantial property holder to become an Alderman. At that time he was a well-to-do Englishman about fifty years of age, a childless widower. His house situated at the corner of Davey and Street indicates that he lived in some style, after the manner of the then prosperous and influential British middle class. He must have busied himself with civic affairs and his efforts to help ameliorate the destitution

which was such a feature of city life at that period. He was a popular man, physically something of the John Bull type, with a kindly, jovial manner. He was a modest man in the extreme, absolutely devoid of a quality 'side', which the colonial born were becoming to dislike in new comers from Britain. It is not surprising that we find Kennerley was Mayor of Hobart for four terms, 1862, 1863, 1871 and 1872, a record for many years.

It is probable that public spirit was his principal motive for entering parliament. He was elected to the Legislative Council in 1865 and he retained his seat until he retired twelve years later. Probably the same motives caused him to accept the invitation of the Governor to form a Ministry when the family factions and other personal divisions made it difficult to find men who could lead. His small success in keeping in office for three years was no doubt due to his independence from the factions and his lack of partisanship. His government was nicknamed the 'Pious Ministry' by the'wits'because Kennerley and another member (Giblin) were Sunday School Superintendents. It appears that the personal qualities of Premier were not sufficient to enable the Ministry to tackle the real problems and he resigned in disgust. Next year he retired from public life and spent his remaining years tirelessly working for the cause of the destitute, to improve medical care for the working people and in Church missionary work in the country districts.

With the frustrations imposed upon him most men in Kennerley's health would not have attempted any heavy public duties; following his wife's death in 1869 he suffered from a severe paralytic seizure and in spite of a remarkable recovery, he suffered from some resulting physical disabilities. Kennerley's memory is kept alive by his foundation of the Boys Home which bears his name. It was a pioneering institution in this State and led the way towards a different attitude to social problems. By the standards of the times the cost to Kennerley was very substantial. When Kennerley died (15th December 1897) at an advanced age - he was in his 88th year- the Hobart "Mercur

published the following remarks in an obituary notice, they are as he was seen by a contemporary journalist. "He was no ordinary man and has done an immense amount of good in his time. A man who used to like to give expression to Tennyson's lines

'However it be, it seems to me
'Tis only noble to be good,
Kind hearts are more than coronets
And simple faith than Norman blood.'"

WILLIAM LODEWYK CROWTHER

Reiby resigned on August 9th, 1877 and just over two years later, on October 30th, 1879, Robert Giblin took office for a second term and ended this period. There were three Governments in the final phase, one led by Phillip Oakly Fysh (later Sir), the second by Giblin and the third by Crowther. As both Giblin and Fysh were to lead Governments with distinction during the next decade it is considered desirable to describe their careers in relation to that important period.

From the records which are available it is rather difficult to imagine how William Crowther found time to sit in Parliament, let alone lead a Government during a difficult period. His versatility was unusual even for those spacious days for the gifted individual; his active interests lay in many spheres seemingly far apart. Crowther was the son of William Crowther who came to Tasmania from England in 1824 and took up an appointment as Colonial Surgeon. The younger William grew up in early Hobart and was like his friends and contemporaries Tom Reiby and Richard Dry possessed of fine stature and physique. His statue in Franklin Square shows him as a fine well-built man even in his later years. He was educated at a private school at Longford and family history relates he walked through the bush when going to, or coming from school. This was during a period when the aborigines were troubling the settlers and bush-rangers were still somteimes at large in spite of Governor Arthur's stern measures. Crowther became extremely self-reliant and the same author tells us that he was such a successful hunter that he obtained sufficient skins of native animals to pay for his voyage toScotland for his medical course at Edinburgh.

Crowther returned to his native Island in 1843 and commenced his medical practice which he retained until his death forty-four years later. He led a life that only a man possessing a powerful frame, constitution and intellect could possibly follow. It is hoped that before personal memories are all gone that a full biography of Crowther will be written and published. Here it is only possible to

mention his principal activities and interests. He was a model family man devoted to the interests of his eight children; his wife was Victoria Marie Louise Muller, the daughter of General Muller. His competence in his profession was quickly recognised and he enjoyed a reputation far beyond his native city. He was never an exclusive physician, he treated many underprivileged with exactly the same care and attention as the more fortunate. He gave valuable services to the Hobart General Hospital throughout his career and in public life lost no opportunity to educate the community in matters of public health. Had his advice been seriously regarded it is considered two of the scourges of Victorian Hobart, smallpox and typhoid, would have been mitigated. Like most reformers his own generation heeded him little and another was destined to carry them out and secure the benefits.

Crowther's interest in science was by no means confined to those branches associated with medicine. He was a zoologist of standing and his researches into the anatomy of whales was fully recognised abroad; his valuable collections were sent to overseas scientific bodies. He made equally useful contributions to the study of native peoples by his accurate observations of the vanishing aborigines.

Crowther had a great love for the sea and for whaling enterprises in the South Seas and trading in the Pacific. In this character he was more of a sixteenth century Merchant Adventurer than a busy nineteenth century physician. Not content with risking his hard earned money he built and operated ships on his own account

traded as far north as San Francisco and caught whales inside the Antarctic Circle.

When he was fifty one years old this already incredibly active man entered the House of Assembly. However, he resigned after a short term, but was elected to the Legislative Council in 1869 and held his seat until his death in 1887.

He proved himseld a model member, he was regarded as an orator in a time when such a gift was widely esteemed. He was most assiduous in his duties, attending every sitting and following the business of the House with an unusual keenness. Having a progressive outlook and not connected or associated with any of the so-called political families, he joined the friends of Mr. Gregson. He was a minister without portfolio in Reiby's short-lived government and when he shouldered the onerous burden of Premiership after Giblin and Fish had failed to carry on, it must have been a sense of public duty which caused him to take office. His Cabinet was a strong one. O'Reilly was Minister for Public Works, Dodds, a new man of great ability was Solicitor-General,and the Chief Secretary was his former leader, Reiby. David Lewis, a leading Hobart business man and capable financier, was Treasurer. Crowther's policy was the same as Reiby's and when Lewis proposed an income tax which was defeated, Crowther resigned. Before resigning Crowther had to face one of the most difficult situation ever confronting a Tasmanian Premier. A renegade Roman Catholic Priest, so called Father Chiniquay, a French Canadian, was touring the Australian colonies and giving public lectures which gave great offence to Roman Catholics. On the Mainland his 'lectures' were the scenes of uproar and disorder as sectarian fanatics attended them for the purpose of causing mischief in public. This visit took place at a time when the troubles in Ireland were greatly agitating the sons and daughters of Erin in Australia. Before Chiniquay's arrival in Hobart a large number of his opponents armed and declared they were going to prevent him from giving his lecture at the Town Hall. Crowther met this threat to authority by calling up the volunteers and arming them with live ammunition. His son Edward, also a doctor and member of Parliament, commanded the artillery which was posted in Franklin Square. Having made a show of force Crowther, with the valuable co-operation of Archbishop Delaney,calmed down the the rioters and serious civil trouble and disorder was avoided. This was Crowther's greatest contribution - and it was of great importance to the State - during his long period of public life

After resigning Crowther remained as a leading member of the Legislative Council until his death in resulting from a fall from his horse in Goulburn Street, Hobart. So highly was he regarded by his fellow citizens that they subscribed to the erection of his bronze statue which stands in Franklin Square.