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Challenging Stout:

**Value conflicts in trying to reform the University of New Zealand
1910-1914.**

(152.787 - 75 points)

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1 INTRODUCTION

This study looks at the reasons why the University of New Zealand (UNZ), characterized by Beaglehole as an object of “fury, loathing and despair” (1949, p. 1) survived so long, from its founding in 1871 until its dissolution in 1961? The study takes a broad sweep to cover the depth of those reasons. A general answer to the question is that it suited local conditions in New Zealand to create and maintain a university based around a federal, non-teaching, examining model. However, there was a serious challenge to that model mounted in 1911 by the New Zealand University Reform Association (NZURA) and so this study looks in particular at the reasons why that challenge failed. There is a short answer to that question, too. It failed because the institutional authority of the UNZ, and the politicians who supported it, was easily able to drive a wedge through any attempted coalitions that might threaten to dispose of it. The reformers of 1910-14 did not want to destroy the UNZ. They wanted to change it in two respects: they wanted to give what they thought was their rightful place in university governance to professors; and they wanted to give the professors what they argued was their rightful place in teaching and examining their own students as well. However, the UNZ had sufficient confidence and authority to characterise the reformers as destructive of an institution which had served colonial New Zealand well, and which was competent enough to serve the growing Dominion even better. And furthermore, the UNZ had the adaptive capacity to absorb its critics and convert their energies to supporting its subsidiary institutions and serving a common purpose. If it is ever fair to characterize organizations as living organisms it is fair to say that the UNZ showed great vitality and adapted well to local conditions.

This study looks at the stories of the UNZ and examines the general questions already suggested, and, in doing so, goes on to tackle other minor questions such as how much the structure of the UNZ owed to the British and the colonial cultures in which it was embedded, and how much the outcomes of 1910-14 owed to the resource dependency of the actors. To answer these questions the study revisits a number of narratives that touch on the UNZ. There are two written histories of the UNZ. The more readable of the two

does not provide a complete history for it was published in 1937 by Beaglehole more than twenty years before the university, as he later put it, was finally given a “clump on the head” (Beaglehole in Parton, 1979, p. 253). Beaglehole had deeply committed views about what a university should be, and was strongly of the view that in many respects the UNZ did not measure up to his ideal model. His history is interesting because he was a participant observer in the UNZ and demonstrated strong sympathies towards the reformers. He was a leading figure among the academics who served the UNZ and became one of the most outstanding researchers at the youngest of its Colleges, Victoria University College (VUC). However, he did not take up his position at Victoria before featuring in one of the more outspoken incidents at Auckland University College (AUC) where the weight of power rested with the College Board in stand-offs over academic freedom. The UNZ defended neither academic freedom, nor Beaglehole over the difficulties at AUC and preferred to insist instead on the autonomy of its constituent college to take its own course of action. Fowlds, the Chairman of the AUC Council at the time, was also a member of the Senate of UNZ so the refusal of the UNZ to act in opposition to AUC probably reflected a view of academic freedom shared by the governing bodies rather than some commitment to principles of autonomy in favour of the subsidiary institution. The bite in Beaglehole’s rhetoric and his attitude to the UNZ may have been sharpened by this incident. When he later wrote his essay and mentioned feelings of loathing, fury and despair towards the UNZ he was, I feel sure, expressing his own deeply felt emotions.

The second history is somewhat more dispassionate because it was written after the event of the university’s demise. It was commissioned by the University Grants Committee (UGC) and written by Parton in 1979, a man who had served in the higher reaches of the UNZ where he taught in both of the South Island university colleges and spent time on the UGC. The Chair of the UGC at the time of publication wrote a foreword for Parton’s history and had this to say about the end of the UNZ:

It is certainly a truism that no matter how strongly institutional reforms are seen as desirable, the reality of change is elusive; the existing form, warts-and-all, remains. One has only to consider local body reform, or parliamentary reform,

to recognize this.

The University of New Zealand, in finally accepting the need for its own dissolution, did what few institutions have had the insight and courage to do. This history is possibly a tale of an exceptional situation, when just this once the transition from ideas, hopes, and plans to fruitful practical achievement seems to give substance to a Whiggish belief in progress. The University of New Zealand, however it is viewed, was *sui generis*. (Danks in the Foreword to Parton, 1979, p. 5.)

Danks implies another reason why the challenge of 1910-14 failed. The status quo usually has deep roots, so that the conservatism of instituted organizations, particularly those taking organizational forms common in the public sector, means that the organizations do not yield easily to suggestions that they put themselves out of existence, even if it is to give place to something which is suggested to be better. So perhaps a very interesting question is why the UNZ finally made the supreme sacrifice. That is not, however, the main focus of this study, although it does look at how, Stout, the Chancellor of the UNZ through the period 1910-1914, misrepresented the reformers as men intent upon effecting the solution that eventually took place in 1961. Danks's truism about institutional sentiments for self-preservation, nevertheless, is contradicted by very few exceptions.

The study will look at the main events of 1910-14 in two of its sections: section 6, *Grave Voices*; and section 7, *Stout Defence*. *Grave Voices* looks at the personal ideals of the international university community as expressed by respondents to a survey sent out by the NZURA. Those voices were deeply interested in serving scholarship, as they saw it, and in creating a university which would provide suitable, comfortable, enduring, and secure homes for academics. The NZURA hoped that those voices and their models for productive, enduring and grand academic homes would inspire the governance bodies in New Zealand to construct appropriate grand dwellings for them. *Stout Defence* tells how the dissenting voices were heard, and dealt with, and how the practical men absorbed and deflected the criticisms of the reformers.

The three sections preceding those which deal with the events of 1910-14 show how the UNZ was built and how the people within it adjusted or asserted, from time to time, their disappointments. Section 3, *The London Model*, analyses the model on which the UNZ was fashioned. The UNZ was far smaller than the University of London (UL) but the idea of an examining, virtual university was not a colonial notion. Rather it was developed from a strange confluence of non-conformist and conservative compromises. For the story of the UL contains a number of strands. One strand is the story of nonconformist, and reformist liberal aspirations which impelled some virtuous investment by idealistic capitalists, who together created the first UL which was later to become University College. A second strand shows a reactionary reassertion of establishment values. This reactionary reassertion brought about a determined intervention by the state in opposition to the dangers that religious orthodoxy interpreted to be posed by a satanic organization, a godless, joint stock company calling itself a university. A further strand shows a need to satisfy the demand for academic recognition and status, to meet the hunger for degree qualifications in an aspiring population. The stamp of authority, the Royal Charter, and the recognition of the international community, all these were also a part of the story. There was the determination of the new sciences and this was all established in a modern London, four years before the Treaty of Waitangi was concluded. The New Zealand model was rooted in the same rich soil with many of the same concerns: demands for secular freedom, fears of godlessness; the badging of recognisable qualifications; the demand for new learning to serve the needs of society. These stories are told in Section 4 on the *Colonial Foundings in New Zealand*. The section which follows, *Conscience and Criticisms*, deals with four personal stories where the goals of individual staff were in conflict with the demands of those in authority. These stories illustrate some of the conflicts of the age, something about the values attached to what a university should be and something about the values placed upon individual aspirations among lecturing and professorial staff.

Section 2, *Voices and Qualifications*, does not deal with the story but with theoretical issues about how the story is told. It takes up the question of voice, the voices of the authorities relied upon in the study and their interpretations of the voices of others. It

deals with the problems of authorial voice in this study, and the credibility that is due to claims made for exposing deep structure. Section 2 also outlines some frameworks which are used to support different descriptions of the underlying structures that support the interpretations given to the surface events in the development of the UNZ, the ambitions of NZURA, and the superior power of the former well-resourced organization over the lesser and subsidiary organizations.

Before the final section, *Points to End with*, which revisits the key features of the study and the reasons why the UNZ lasted so long while the life of the NZURA was so short-lived, there is a section which explains the continuing evolution of the UNZ past the time of the short-lived crisis of 1910-14. In the period following the concerted efforts by the reformers till the demise of the UNZ New Zealand grew as a nation. And as New Zealand grew as a nation its dependence upon singular external references fell away. Desperation for external credibility was finally abated, the role of the UNZ as the guardian of standards that it would not trust the separate Colleges to maintain finally disappeared. And the dependence that the whole New Zealand university system had upon the approval of voices and authority from Home withered away. But that this dependence continued well into the 1940s helps further to explain a fear that gave weight to Stout's defence of the institution of external examining that he had much earlier, in his own heart, rejected.

The study will investigate and analyze the surface data, and the textual strategies of Beaglehole and Parton in their histories of the UNZ. However, most of this will be done off the page so that it does not clutter the stories being retold here. Nevertheless, from time to time the narration may be interrupted to guess at the subjective biases of other authors as they select from the factual detail. As well as the histories of the UNZ there are various histories of the Colleges, turned universities: Otago (Thompson, 1921; Morrell, 1969); Canterbury (Gardner, Beardsley & Carter, 1973); Auckland (Sinclair, 1983); and Victoria (Beaglehole, 1949; Barrowman, 1999). And there are elements in a number of biographies and autobiographies that bear upon the narrative. Among the biographies are those of Salmon (Frame, 1955), Rutherford (Feather, 1940; Campbell,

1999) and others (O'Sullivan, 1999). Furthermore the study will rely a little on various autobiographies and memoirs (Brown, 1974; Blaiklock, 1980; Wall, 1965).

In particular I will concentrate on data in, and leads from, Hunter, Laby and von Zedlitz's *University reform in New Zealand* (1911). This last document contains an appendix of data on academic governance ideals collected from 66 replies to questions posed by the NZURA about the organization and functioning of universities. It contains replies to Herdman and Hunter's research questions about the organisational structure and the examination system in the UNZ. Most of the analysis in *Grave Voices* is based on this interesting volume and the circumstances of its genesis.

The following section outlines the main features of the analytic frameworks for fleshing out the answer to the research questions: why did the UNZ last as long as it did and why was the NZURA so short-lived? These frameworks might then sustain a further, speculative question. This question will consider why the UNZ did not persist much longer than its ninety years for if the UNZ had adapted to the demands of the NZURA perhaps it might have resiliently persisted to the present day.

2 VOICES AND QUALIFICATIONS

Synopsis

This section provides a reminder that the writer and reader are caught up with facts dispersed along an ontological, interpretive continuum from the objective to the subjective. On this continuum dependable, empirical facts at the objective end of the continuum reveal little, while understanding at the subjective end of the continuum constitutes theory, and prompts action but also prompts alternative ways of seeing things. A little of Pentland's four levels for analysing narrative is explained, and slightly modified to a commonsense terminology, which describes the underlying method of narrative analysis employed in the study. A diagram from Beyer is presented as a guide to the generating mechanisms which guide the different cultural systems of conflicting groups in the study. Then there is a word about the contest over resources that the university colleges were engaged in. However, I reject the idea that this was decisive for determining a demand for reform of the UNZ or for the failure of the reformers. Nevertheless, the disposition of resources did have its part to play in consolidating the positions of different groups.

Although the UNZ ran for a long time without employing any staff, it linked affiliate bodies that were aspiring to grow as professional institutions and brought certain tensions to the federal body. In a recent summary of his work Scott (1995, p. x) wrote about his fascination with institutions and his interest with the work of professionals in organizations in particular. He pointed out that professionals differ from other employees because they usually have more power than is common among other staff, and they not only try to gain control over the conditions of their work but even define that work itself. If that is generally true of professionals it is most certainly true of professors in universities. Nevertheless, power is never enjoyed absolutely and even professors in universities encounter limitations

in their attempts to define their work. One group of professors can always get in the road of another group which certainly happened to frustrate the reform of the UNZ. Unfortunately, the UNZ did not take sufficient pause when challenged in 1910 to reconsider the suggestions of the first Royal Commission that looked at it in 1879. Its failure to do so is interesting even today for it enables us to see the complexities of what, on the face of it, seemed rather simple demands. We can see the reasons why those demands failed by examining with fresh eyes the beliefs and assumptions driving the Senate and those who were dissatisfied with it.

For this study covers ways in which the professors in the Colleges attached to the UNZ took a hand in defining their work. It looks at the difficulties they had in doing that and how different groups had ascendancy at different times. It will find reasons why a group of younger professors at the youngest College, founded in 1899, of the UNZ failed in their bid to gain more control of their work. On the face of it the reformers were in conflict with the Senate of the UNZ, a lay body, which met only once a year – twice, if the short meeting to approve exam results is counted. This Senate was thought to be remote from the teaching Colleges, and even its Chancellor, Stout, admitted to that failing. However, the younger professors were also opposing a much stronger and deeply embedded group, the pioneering professors and the founders of the earlier Colleges, particularly those who had played their part in founding the first university in New Zealand, the University of Otago, and its early rival for dominance in the UNZ, Canterbury College.

In order to uncover the reasons for the reformers' lack of success I will bear in mind Scott's point that if an organization is to be properly understood it is important to look at its "wider social and cultural context" (1995, p. 151). That prompt from Scott provides motivation for this study as do his concluding words, about the concerns which are important for understanding institutions:

Other questions of importance are also raised. How do institutions arise and persist? decline and collapse? How are changes in institutional forms and processes related to changes in organizational forms and processes? These sorts of questions can only be answered if we broaden current research agendas. Social

science remains overly parochial and pedestrian. We are too prone to select our study populations out of convenience rather than theoretical promise. In particular we are too prone to study systems close to us in time and place. We do this in spite of the fact that these are the very systems that are most difficult to see with fresh eyes. These systems co-opt and corrupt our vision because we are likely to share many of our subjects' beliefs and assumptions. We need the frame-breaking experiences that only come from examining and comprehending organizations operating in other places and in other times.

(Scott, 1995, p. 151)

So I take the opportunity to look at an institution, the UNZ, which in many ways had little more than a shadow existence, but nevertheless exerted considerable, if rather incomplete, influence over what in 1926 became its constituent Colleges. It had begun as a compromise, where it pulled together some vague aspirations, a number of secondary schools and just two institutions that were (unlike its affiliated secondary schools) to make up its core. These two institutions were the University of Otago, and, some distance to the north, Canterbury College, which started out with the hope of providing "a regular and liberal course of education" so that the young of its province would eventually grow to serve in public life (see Gardner et al., 1973, p 435). And the UNZ lasted a full fifteen years beyond the October 1946 suggestion from its Academic Board that the time had come to separate its constituent Colleges into four separate universities.

A single case on its own is hardly going to provide much theoretical promise. Nevertheless, there is some virtue in visiting conditions remote from the present day where to understand the details it is important to achieve distance from current beliefs and assumptions. Even so any case must be chosen for some aspects of its convenience. At the very least it is important that there is sufficient data to work with, and the UNZ is certainly convenient upon a number of counts. It helps that the UNZ was a neatly packaged institution. Its beginning and its end were clearly marked. Furthermore, although what came to be its constituent Colleges had more than 16,000 students enrolled in its courses when the UNZ ceased to exist in 1961 the institution itself

always remained very small. However, even such a simple institution was closely tied to the lives of other institutions, and the UNZ can only be understood by looking closely at the substance of what were first its affiliate, and later its constituent, members. The most important of those for the question of this study, as earlier stated, were the institutions that immediately preceded the UNZ, the University of Otago and the other South Island College which not only provided its first Chancellor, Tancred, but was crucial for the UNZ's early shape and direction.

This study looks at the developments over a reasonably long run to try and understand why the UNZ did not embrace the immediate demands of the NZURA. Pentland (1999) reminds the analyst of four levels at which narratives unfold, levels which he calls the fabula, text, story and generating mechanism. I have born these levels in mind during the analysis but they are largely worked out off the text as it is finally presented. Pentland's term, fabula, looks a little pretentious, and is not commonly understood, so I prefer instead the word, facts, which more or less covers the same meaning. The advantage of Pentland's term is that it is a technical reminder that while the facts may be taken to be "an objective version of the basic events and characters required to uniquely identify a particular story" (Pentland, 1999, p. 719) they may still have questionable truth status value. The handicap with the commonsense term, on the other hand, is that it may suggest slightly more solidity in the direction of truth than the phenomena to which it is applied actually warrant. For the facts suggest some sort of dependable structure so that the story is identifiable between one telling and another.

What is left on the page in any narrative is, of course, the text, where the text reveals a number of commonly received facts and whatever stories the author and her readers are prepared to make of these. What I am trying to get at here is that any narrative is filtered through theoretical assumptions and underpinnings about the nature of social reality held be both reader and writer. I would see my basic position as sitting in the interpretive sociology paradigm in Burrell & Morgan's (1979, p. 29) account of research paradigms. However, I would be towards the centre of their two dimensions: heading towards the possibility of change along the axis which records one's view of

society; and ever so slightly to the subjectivist end of the dimension recording the nature of social reality. So that would place me predominantly in Smircich's box interpreting reality as symbolic discourse (1985, p. 60) where among the basic assumptions sits the claim that:

[Social r]eality rests not in the rule or rule-following, but in the system of meaningful action that renders itself to an external observer as rule-like.

And I would find nothing to fault with her view that

Humans are actors with the capacity to interpret, modify and sometimes create the scripts that they play upon life's stage. (Smircich, 1985, p. 60)

In fact it is part of my thesis that Stout had a very large part in writing not just his own script but also the scripts that professors in the affiliated Colleges of the UNZ 1910-14 would have to follow.

So understanding stories and making explanations is partly based upon a faith in subjective explanatory structures, which need to be plausibly linked to some checkable empirical detail. It is difficult when talking about basic ontological assumptions to pin down positions exactly, however, or to escape the banal generalisation. There is some capsule of truth when Smircich writes:

Drawing conclusions from experience is always arbitrary, depending upon what one chooses to bracket and pay attention to. (Smircich, 1985, p. 72)

For this draws attention to the question of selection and where the emphasis of significance lies. Context, however, already greatly limits the number of bracketing choices which are possible. The difficulty is that it is not really possible to state basic assumptions about social reality precisely because there is no single social reality for any single person. This means that I have a lot of sympathy for a number of other basic positions along Smircich's ontological continuum. For example, here are some towards the objective end with which it is difficult to quarrel:

Humans beings exist in an interactive relationship with their world. They influence and are influenced by their context or environment. The process of exchange that operates here is essentially a competitive one, the individual seeking to interpret and exploit the environment to satisfy important needs, and hence survive. (Smircich, 1985, p. 61)

A reader and a writer are likely to impose different basic assumptions from points along the subjective-objective ontological continuum to different elements in any narrative. To illustrate this here is a short text from Ernest Rutherford writing home to May Newton from Cambridge.

I hope that Christchurch Professorship is awarded sometime in the next two years. If I can't raise enough influence to get it - I will be sadly disappointed. I would be a rather youthful Prof. But I reckon I will make those students sit up in Honours Physics - real good solid stuff for me - none of the Bickertonian stuff. (In Campbell, 1999, p. 213)

Now, on the face of it this text suggests Rutherford was hoping for a professorship in physics at Canterbury University. And that he believed young as he was, he had some improvements in physics content to make over the syllabus taught by Professor Bickerton. Exactly what we are to make of these points is modified by other facts that the text does not reveal. Some of these facts provide helpful context. The letter was written in 1896 when Rutherford was 26 yrs old and he was in his second year at Cambridge. But Professor Bickerton some thirty years older was still teaching Physics at Canterbury (see Section 5.1) and despite the pressure on him was showing no signs of retiring. Did Rutherford have a reasonable expectation of a job in Christchurch? Had somebody spoken to him to give him that expectation? Is this an instance of somebody operating in a competitive environment doing his best to survive? Was Rutherford in direct competition with his previous teacher? Rutherford certainly knew that Bickerton's position had been under pressure in 1894? But at that time Rutherford had spoken in defence of his physics professor and his methods. How critical is Rutherford of Bicky when he says "none of the Bickertonian stuff"? Again it helps to know that at Cambridge Rutherford was very successfully doing work on radio waves, parallel with, if not ahead of Marconi, transmitting over greater distances. The head of the Cavendish J.J.Thomson had inquired in the City whether radio waves had a commercial potential, was told no, and Rutherford abandoned his work in that direction. The point is that the men at the Cavendish were doing exciting work and Rutherford could bring some of that back to Canterbury. Furthermore, it can be verified that Rutherford wrote on at least two occasions to Canterbury on Bickerton's behalf after the professor had been terminated in 1902. Both in 1906 and much later in 1925 he was suggesting that the

College had treated Bickerton unfairly. Those points, coupled with our understanding of Rutherford's code of good manners, makes it very unlikely that Rutherford saw himself as replacing Bickerton. The professorship in Christchurch was more likely a vision that was guiding Rutherford whose heart was with May. A longer quote from the text might have revealed this more clearly, of course:

Even if I do get that Prof-ship you will have to wait one whole year till I have settled down as I have a few debts to pay off before I can start in double harness. It is very sad but I am afraid it will have to be so. (In Campbell, 1999, p. 213)

This reveals more of the matter. This is the passionate but patient Rutherford, faithful to his loved one across 12,000 miles and the professorship is his dream. Would Rutherford's career have been curtailed had he returned as he was hoping? Perhaps not. Maclaurin who had been ahead of Rutherford on the scholarship list and was studying with him at Cambridge took up one of the first appointments at Victoria, but did not stay long and went on to be principal at MIT. But Rutherford did finally wed May in June, 1900. So I read the text in light of other facts that I know, some of which could not have been known to the author at the time of writing. I surmise that Rutherford and May were constructing a story which in large part they were able to fulfil. Their wait was worthwhile. Rutherford succeeded, but not in Christchurch. But my interest is in Bickerton. Bickerton is familiar to May. Bickerton has made a mark on Rutherford but what sort of mark that he should rate a mention in Rutherford's life plans. Another fact leads my inference that any criticism of Bickerton is leavened with both respect and affection. Rutherford carried three references from Canterbury to Cambridge, written by Dendy, Cook and Bickerton. Dendy's contained errors of fact, Cook's was professionally accurate and reserved, but Bickerton spoke glowingly of Rutherford's achievements including his ability to "measure phenomena occupying less than 1/200,000 sec." (Campbell, 1999, p. 190-1). Rutherford had a bond of loyalty to Bickerton, common to most of Bickerton's pupils with some exceptions, like Erskine. That too is taken up in Section 5.1.

This account explains how the facts from a number of texts make up the story that Bickerton was highly regarded by his students and explains why they rallied behind

him and were pleased that he was not ousted in 1894. (see the Students song to the tune of 'My Old Dutch' in Campbell, 1999, p. 182). The Bickerton I see and offer is a Bickerton created out of other people's images of him, of course. That is how the selective process works but most of that ~~it~~ is worked out off the page. Other actors create another Bickerton and I try to account for that given by the Chairs of the Canterbury College Board and by Bicky's colleague, Cook.

The other level in Pentland's schema is that of the generating mechanism. A couple of generating mechanisms (not directly relevant to this study) can be glimpsed in the text of Rutherford's letter. These are the driver of career coupled with the driver of expectation in Victorian marriage. In addition there is the circumstance arising from the relative risk in an academic career and the consequential accumulating of debt. Furthermore, there are the limited opportunities that May Newton has for improving her station, despite her university education, because of the conventional social arrangements in New Zealand at the end of the nineteenth century. These driving mechanisms emerge from a sequence of facts which are more deeply embedded at the objective end of Smircich's ontological scale. So the apprehension of facts is variously dispersed along the ontological scale from those at the subjective end where individual solipsism seems possible, down to the other extreme of deeply embedded and widely agreed cultural imprinting. Those cultural aspects are picked up a little later with a diagram from Beyer.

The general method in the study is to provide sufficient facts surrounding other facts to help suggest some of the different stories which are possible and suggest how those different stories develop and become the generating mechanisms which limit the number of choices possible and give weight to those reasons which seem most likely to explain the outcomes being examined. Social reality is a significance constructed first by the actors in the focal narrative and then reconstructed by any later storytellers. So the events of 1910-14 in which the NZURA engaged reveals at least two stories. There was the story told by the reformers, Herdman, Hunter, Laby and von Zedlitz, about the failure of the UNZ. And opposed to that was the story told by the Senate of the UNZ, a story taken up most confidently by the UNZ's Chancellor, Stout, who was at the time

also Chief Justice of New Zealand. He was joined in that telling before the Education Select Committee of 1911 by the Chair of the Victoria Council, Wilson, and by McDowell from Auckland and by a very small number of other witnesses. We can surmise that Stout's story of success was retold more widely among some of the professor members of the Senate of the UNZ. Macmillan Brown and Shand would have repeated a similar story, and we can guess that they enacted it much earlier, giving it currency over a persisting stretch of time in their influential ways at Canterbury College and the University of Otago. We have enough text to reveal the story lines. The chronology and the sequence is important and adds weight to the story, for Macmillan Brown was a foundation professor at Canterbury in 1874 while Shand had arrived at Otago even earlier.

Stories of success and those of failure organised around the same facts can only be explained because there are different value judgments held by the significant story-tellers as they look at the same set of occurrences in the narrative. These judgements usually reflect the values of the people who utter them but more surely reflect the approval of a larger group or organization to which the story-teller in some way defers. When Wilson, for example, appeals to the Select Committee with his fears that reform could lead to the establishment of a "day-student aristocracy" (Wilson, I-13A, 1911, p. 69) he is appealing to a general audience with a story he believes they want to hear, a story about universal opportunity and about democracy with a strong moral component. He probably believes in the importance of the appeal he is making but he is also probably confident that such values have an attraction to a very wide audience. Wilson offers it as a justification for the large numbers of part-time students which, in the telling of the reformers, was a mark of the failure of the UNZ and its constituent colleges. Later story tellers will take sides only if doing so is relevant to their own action and double interacting between themselves and the significant organizations of which they are a part. This is the case with Beaglehole, who, in his history of the UNZ, clearly sides with the reformers. He even offers a solution in dealing with part-time students. He suggests that these would really be better catered for as adult students doing something like WEA studies (Beaglehole, 1937, p. 402). Any circumstance which waters down the advantages arising from students engaged in full-time study

diminishes, for Beaglehole, and for the reformers whose story he endorses, the university as a home for academics. Therein lay an important reason for his opposition to the UNZ, and his demand for its reform. Later story tellers may be stripped of a given point of relevance and consequently they may not engage with the story at quite the same point. This difference is at work in Parton's account of the UNZ, written a number of years after the demise of the University, at a point where any sympathy for its reform would be futile. Nevertheless his story, too, carries some moral messages. Among those moral points is one already outlined in the introduction to this study where Danks was shown commending the UNZ for gracefully putting itself out of business. Without such moral interest most stories would exhibit little relevance to readers. Rather it is because of the moral relevance that stories assume some significance and come to reinforce a point and lead to action. The double interact has something to do with the sharing of the story among an audience so that the telling resonates with their other stories, reinforces those common perspectives and guides the individuals in the group. Each knows her own place and plays her future roles in deference to some features that the story expects.

The reliable elements in the different stories tell us very little individually but are important for their checkability. They are the focal actors and the sequences in which they act which Pentland refers to as together providing deep structure to the facts. So in the story of the NZURA there is an important sequence of events which stretches from the time of publication of their pamphlet in mid-year 1911, through to the months in September when the Education Committee of the House of Representatives heard witnesses. Then the sequence continues on to the point where the UNZ's Senate promises to hold a meeting for professors early in 1912. The promise, the delay, the blocking behaviour of Stout is more obvious on a close rendering of the sequence of these events. However, the elements of deep structure are important but far from sufficient in rendering a particular story relevant as Pentland (1999, p. 714) writes: "focusing on event sequence may enhance descriptive generalization, but it may limit our ability to generate meaningful explanations because it systematically excludes the features we need to create such explanations."

The problem any social researcher, or any historian, faces is the trade-off among the competing virtues of simplicity, generality and accuracy. In this study the tradeoff works in the general direction of accuracy, for a wealth of complex details are referred to and this detail favours particularity over generality. The other three closely related narrative components (voice, evaluative and moral position, and the detail of other aspects of context) do not appear to increase accuracy, as much as they suggest richness and, I would maintain most importantly, relevance. They also add not only complexity but contribute the added complications of ambiguity. As Pentland correctly points out, and I have previously indicated, the problems of competing voices, and the introduction of conflicting moral positions “raises questions about truth” (1999, p. 715). He suggests that very skilful writers meet the challenge this poses by writing in their own scholarly voice with such authority that they give an impression of objectivity. But really this is a rhetorical impression and a tribute to academic craft not to accuracy.

While the elements of deep structure can lead to accuracy it is the other components in the story, the subjective elements, which are more important. The valuations, the moral aspects are the elements in the story to which commitment is attached and by which action is eventually driven forward. I claim that it is the evaluative component in any narrative which gives relevance to the stories told, and it is this, rather than the elements of deep structure, which justify the telling of a particular story. It is the evaluative component which feeds the action cycles in human activity. So I will try to be explicit about the evaluative components implied in my telling, my piecing together of elements from the stories of the UNZ and the story of the challenge to its Senate 1910-14. Perhaps most important among these is giving a boost to the narrative method itself being applied to episodes in history. The narrative method makes it possible to use rich data already well-worked by competent researchers. And it becomes possible to look at sequences and relationships over a considerable time span. Doing this brings advantages to organizational theory because such data does have the possibility of reaching beyond the shallow, and the superficial which is something cross-sectional surveys cannot manage (Pentland, 1999, p. 720). For large narratives can deal with deep structure which I have suggested is rightly linked by Pentland with facticity, the relationships among actor roles and details enacted in sequence.

But beyond method there is the value of relevance in the questions of the substantive inquiry. It seems to me that the story of the UNZ continues to offer lessons which are relevant to the development of universities today. Do students need to attend universities full-time if they are to benefit from university study? How important is it that university academics and students engage in research? How important is it that university staff are responsible for examining their own students and what importance should be attached to moderation by external examiners? What place should academic staff play in the governance of universities and how should that governance be secured? All these questions continue to be as important today as they were to the reformers of 1910-14 and the ideals of the reformers seem worth reviving and reworking against the context of modern demands for efficiency. And some of the threats to sound governance and the failures of the UNZ, in some respect, continue to plague universities in New Zealand. This being the case the questions of the study are worth pursuing and worth answering as they may throw light on questions relevant to the further development of universities in New Zealand.

2.1 Tracing Cultural Influences and Values

I use culture to summarise the limiting constraints on individual action. In any society there are no shortages of competing groups each with their own culture (Van Maanen & Barley, 1985), where culture provides the routine solutions to the group's recurring problems. Culture is tied up with sensemaking as Weick (1995) would have it, retrospective, grounded in identity construction, and driven more by plausibility than by accuracy. This sensemaking produces what Pentland calls the generating mechanisms, which are contestable constructions, never agreed or final. So although they guide action and they are grounded in beliefs, they can also prove ephemeral. I will briefly look at frameworks dealing with aspects of culture using Hatch's extensions (1993) to Schein (1985). And then I will take a figure from Beyer (1981) to provide some help tracking the overlays of various value systems in the narrative.

The nineteenth century saw great cultural changes in Britain and throughout the rest of

the Western world. Although it was spared the upheaval of the European revolutions aristocratic status became less important as moneyed capitalism flourished. The 1832 Reform Act saw the British electorate expanded from 435,000 to 652,000. There was a second Reform Bill passed in 1867 when the electorate expanded by a further million and then there was a third in 1884 which saw the electorate expanded by a couple of million more. As the century progressed the idea grew that any man of property could become a gentleman, and vote. And eventually the franchise was granted to all men and all women. Over the century there were changes in education in two directions. As the vote was extended so, too, were the opportunities in education. More and more people aspired to education and through the UL more and more opportunities in higher education were opened up to the moneyed classes. The substance of education also changed. Education in science became a possibility and the aristocratic demand for the classics and the elevated notions in a comprehensive, liberal education had, eventually, to make space for them. In one direction practical skills and the achievements of science were recognized as important, in another there were not only demands beyond for greater equality and more democracy, but the education that was to assist these had to be realized. The transformation was swift compared to other cultural shifts but this does not mean that it was immediate in the lifetime of a single institution. The UNZ in its organizational life began on the opposite side of the world at a point in this process where it was dependent in some respects upon models from Home but by virtue of its constrained economic circumstances it was pushed to question some of Home's basic assumptions and alter its values to the point of acting differently.

Hatch (1993) provides us with a language for describing some of the cultural processes at work and looking at Weick's (1995) double interact between individuals and their organizations. Hatch takes apart the elements of Schein's (1985) three level model (artefacts; values; assumptions) and rebuilds it to create a dynamic model of culture which retains his elements, and then separates out symbols from other more concrete artefacts. She produces a circular diagram (not reproduced here) where symbols are placed opposite the value components and between artefacts and assumptions. Her diagram produces four processes: realization (between artefacts-values); interpretation (between assumptions-symbols); manifestation (between assumptions-values); and

symbolization (between artefacts-symbols). The processes involve bi-directional interaction among the four components, only one of which, artefacts, has anything like material substance.

So Hatch would interpret that the demand for students to wear academic dress at Canterbury College in its early years signified something about setting students apart from the worldly community, marking them off for special work. The gown is a symbol, a mark of vocation and dedication and it can be considered and analysed as something beyond a mere artefact. There is a reasonably rich academic literature on symbolic–interpretive approaches but this study will take the processes as a set of given black boxes which produces cultural outcomes in the groups encountered.

Hatch provides a double lens which enables us to look at culture as an object enacted and as something not only chimerical but chameleon like from the subjectivist point of view. Hatch’s model sketches the bridge which is possible between subjectivist and objectivist perspectives on key events in the history of the UNZ and the NZURA showing, as she maintains, that ‘individuals cannot be conceptualized apart from their cultures and that cognition cannot be separated from social processes’ (Hatch, 1993, p. 679). She describes the processes that individuals and the groups to which they belong employ as they make sense of their world. Some of those sense making possibilities by different groups can be mapped out through a simple diagram by Beyer (1981).

Her figure (Figure 2.1, next page) is useful for providing more detail of the process of manifestation, thereby describing the way assumptions (based in ideologies and values) had an effect upon the durability of the UNZ. Such a figure helps us to consider the various double interacts that play in social formation over a span of different time frames.

In the bottom right hand of this diagram (boxes through 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and back to 5 again) we can see day-to-day behaviour, which has an effect upon both operating decisions and problem analyses. In fact the smallest loop is between operating

decisions and behaviour (boxes 7, 8). The loops of those involved in governance are

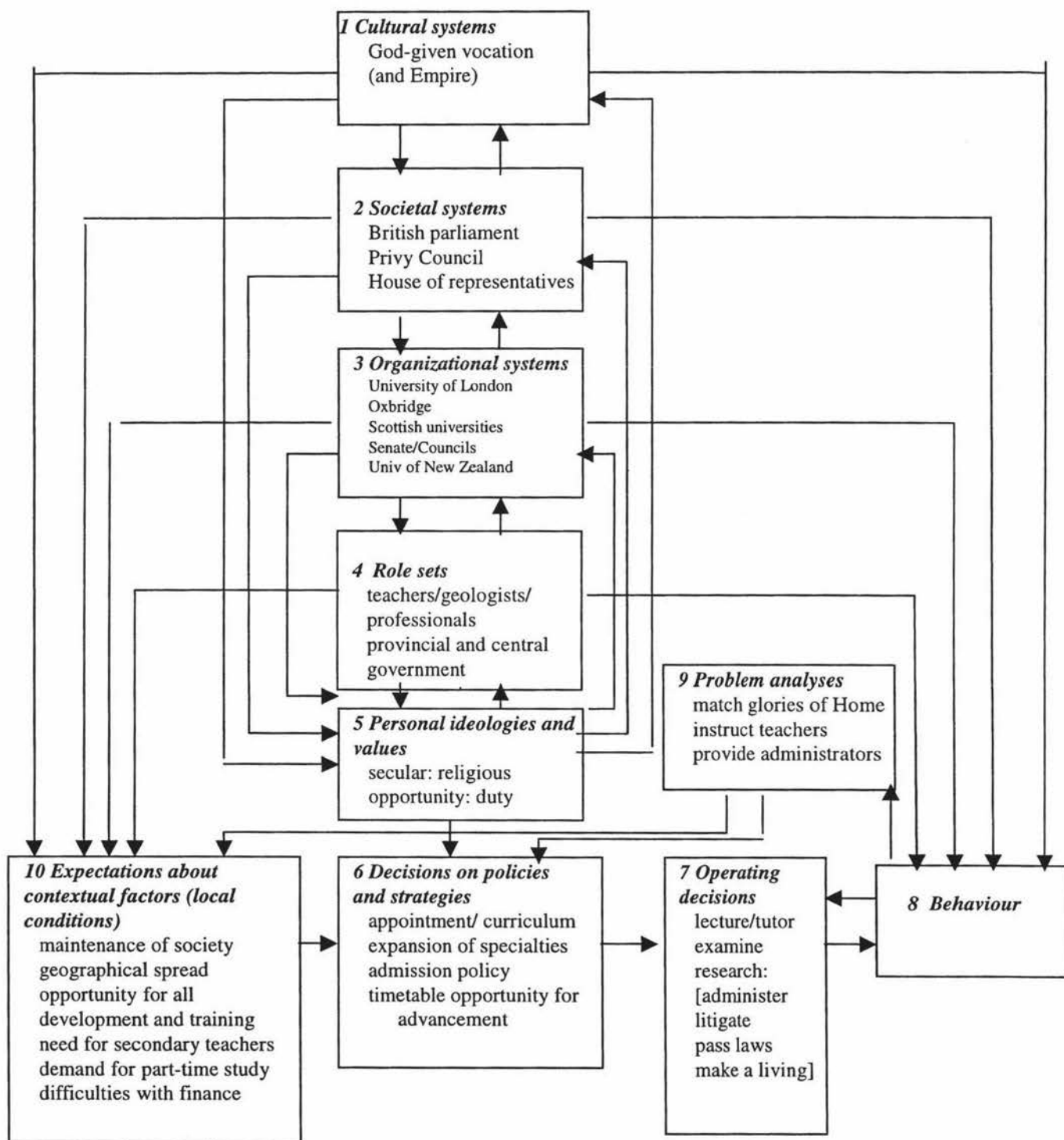


Figure 2.1 The reciprocal effects of ideologies and values on strategic decisions and the behaviour of UNZ founders within the context of their culture, society, organizations and roles. (adapted from Beyer, 1981, p 169)

often different from those doing teaching in the Colleges in two ways: one is that

there are substantive differences in the value components prominent in the different boxes; and the other is that the reinforcing or interacting loops in distinct parts of the diagram are given priority in different cycles of travel, depending on whether one is in a governance or a teaching role. However, the differences can be subtle, they cannot be directly checked but merely inferred. Nor unfortunately are they totally predictable and one reason why the UNZ proved so durable was on account of the fact that individuals were never distinctly, or permanently, in one faction.

There is an idealization in the work of Scott, Mitchell and Peery which suggests four ideal-type governance models (1981, p. 144) autocracy, totalitarianism, democracy and federalism where the first two are more concerned with aspects of procedural justice and the latter two with substantive justice. A close examination of their model does not reveal an exact correspondence with developments in the UNZ but this point on different values being attached to aspects of justice rings true. Up to a point these separate concerns are typical of the reformers and the Senate in their disagreements over the shape of the UNZ. Perhaps the opposition between autocracy and democratic ideals from Scott et al's account is the only relevant resonance with the evolving shapes of governance and practice as experienced and expected of the UNZ. Up to a point throughout its life, and particularly in the period 1910-14, the Senate adopted an autocratic attitude to the staff employed in its constituent colleges, and were more concerned with procedural than with substantive justice. And up to a point the reformers were concerned with substantive justice and had greater interest in democratic procedures. But both parties were given to ways of proceeding which were a considerable distance from the Weberian bureaucratic ideals where role position and rule-governed offices took precedence over personality and dominance by charismatic influence.

Both were governed by the same structural contingencies where the environment of educational organizations was both stretched and limited. There was limited local competition. An ideal rested on memories of what conditions were like at Home but this proved an unreliable guide for colonial conditions.

By any measure the UNZ was a small organization and the organization was controlled personally. In its early years the Chancellor Tancred did all its business and personally tripped to Melbourne to conduct its principal business engaging examiners. During the years of challenge, and despite the challenge, the Chancellor Stout argued positions personally. The organization was small and the control was personal. As for authority it was held centrally but the centres varied. The Councils at each of the Colleges acted in most matters autonomously and exercised probably more power than the UNZ. In fact, it was a complaint of the reformers that in matters of appointment the UNZ refused to, or could not if it had wanted to, limit the competitive ambitions of the separate Colleges or exercise some control as to standards in their appointment of staff. Nor is it obvious that the professors seeking reform would have been willing to share any power that they might wrest from the UNZ with other staff or students in their Colleges. The reform programme had a very limited agenda and a belief in centralized control of one sort or another was a common value to all parties in the struggles of 1910-14.

As a figure of authority the Senate would believe in procedural rather than substantive justice. It looked to uphold the authority of the Councils in the Colleges of the university. Furthermore, the Councils believed in sustaining a master-servant relationship where professors frequently complained that they were treated merely as employees when they expected something more. The Senate, however, had little interest in employees since the UNZ employed no professors: it was not that kind of a university. And not being that kind of a university probably made it easier to sustain that attitude. Of course, such an attitude was hardly likely to endear it to the professors in the Colleges.

One could reasonably characterise the development of the UNZ as one which gradually acceded to the reformers' demands for more bureaucratic rationality. After Stout stepped down as Chancellor in 1923, after the criticisms of the Reichel-Tate Commission in 1925 and by the death of its fourth Chancellor, Macmillan Brown in 1935 it had moved to a more evenly predictable state of bureaucratic rationality. In doing so it moved from having ideals of technical rationality to achieving a better

balance of political rationality as well. The reformers, themselves, were keen on creating a system that exhibited technical rationality and that was probably Hunter's main ambition. In justifying a role for professorial representation the reformers wrote:

The experience of other universities shows that the actual voting power of professors on such bodies is immaterial. They are there because the machine works more smoothly if direct explanations can be made. (Hunter, et al., 1911, p. 112)

The metaphor is as revealing as the goal here. The reformers sought the efficiency of a machine. There were traces of this throughout the history of the Colleges. We can see this search for efficiency in the demanding job description that the Canterbury Union sent to Lord Lyttelton when they were seeking the first Professor of Science for Canterbury College. Of course, they described an ideal and what they got instead was the exuberant Bickerton and his obsession with his partial impact theory of the stars. The professors, on their side, wanted something extra, too. More important than mere technical rationality was organizational rationality, Chester Barnard's dream of co-ordination (1938). And not just that but political rationality which delivers justice, not just procedural justice (applying the laws as they stand), but a substantive justice which delivers the wisdom of Solomon. Scott, Mitchell & Peery suggest that simple organizations in their founding years display governance which confines itself to technical rationality. Then, if they survive to moderate maturity and greater complexity comes a greater emphasis in governance on organizational rationality until in larger and fully mature, complex organizations political rationality is also attended to (Scott et al.1981, p. 137). This model, with a number of reservations, has some descriptive, and a little explanatory, power for the case of the UNZ. For most of its life the UNZ appears to have concentrated upon technical rationality and procedural justice, and did so because it was confronted with rather straightened circumstances. However, it was frequently confronted with internal demands for something more than that.

The organization of the UNZ has to be considered as closely linked to what

eventually were its affiliate colleges, colleges over which it exercised very little control at all. That in fact was, as earlier suggested, one of the complaints that the reformers had against it. But the governance in those Colleges exercised by Councils (or, in the case of Canterbury, a Board of Governors) was greatly given to control and an expectation of due obedience. In opposition to this, those who were the objects of such control, the professors, some of whom had experience in mature organizations in Britain or Europe before coming to New Zealand, emphasized professional norms, and held to dreams about the ennobling advantages of a liberal education. Consequently, professors would tend to appeal to the catchcry of collegiality no matter how disruptive or uncooperative the displays of their individual behaviour might prove. The reluctance of the Canterbury College professors to appoint a Rector, holding out against their Board of Governors for thirteen years is a case in point.

I would like to return now from the differences between the reformers and the Senate to the other loops in Beyer's diagram. More remote from the daily action loops, and situated at less accessible and more commonly featured recesses of individual psyches, sit the more generally defined and more universally shared and understood constructs of the social situation (boxes 1, 2 and 5). The cultural and societal definitions of situations are not just images and ideals but create the very substance of the organizational systems and the role sets that they lead to (in boxes 3 and 4). The boundaries of these systems are very fuzzy of course, and for some the Oxbridge definition that provides an image of a university sits as part of a cultural system, while for others it is more an organizational reality. But when forty-seven of the fifty-three members of the founding Canterbury Association had degrees from either Oxford or Cambridge (Gardner et al., 1973, p. 17) we can be sure that their vision of what a university was like would commonly hold close to the Oxbridge model.

Between the cultural and societal systems and the personal ideologies and values are two systems (boxes 3 and 4) which have material embodiments: bricks and mortar; or rules of social action which are embodied in physical commitments such as attendance at lectures, completion of assignments; or somewhat less material,

granting due deference and status. In these behaviours the values of the systems' members are realized, but because of different value systems and different base assumptions they are manifest in substantively different fashions. And crucial to what attracts attention are the expectations about the contextual features, which sit in box 10 of the diagram. When the reformers sought opinions, in due colonial deference, to Professors and University administrators on the far side of the world in 1910, they were sent a common reply stating that context was important. So, for example, Heberden, the Vice-Chancellor at Oxford, and Principal of Brasenose, was circumspect about offering advice from afar where governance clearly involved an appreciation of local conditions:

It seems to me very difficult for anyone who is not acquainted with the University of New Zealand and the New Zealand Colleges to form any opinion on the questions, which you have addressed to me, and on question B that covers a very wide field I do not feel competent to say anything. (Hunter et al, 1911, p. 141)

Hadley, the President of Yale offered the same sentiments, advice, which most capable administrators would no doubt echo:

It is almost impossible for any man, who does not know local conditions at first hand to give an answer as to the proper powers to be accorded to the professors. (Hunter et al, 1911, 137)

Wise words. However, it has to be said that accommodating to local conditions was frequently a bitter pill to Professors in the Colleges. This led the mathematician H.G. Forder at a later date to write:

We give degrees at moderate fees
In a democratic way;
If others deride and put on side
Then this is the thing we say:
We take no pains with first class brains
We've always managed without 'em,
We owe our positions to local conditions

So why should we grumble about 'em.

(quoted by Sinclair, 1983, p. 181)

But grumble they occasionally did. For while a professor like Bickerton came to New Zealand out of a deliberate choice believing, like so many, that he was coming to something better than Britain, something perhaps better than anywhere else on earth shortage of resources vital to his enterprise gave him pause for occasional regret.

2.2 Resource Constraints

For New Zealand's University Colleges were founded on shoestrings and were never overburdened with resources. However, I would contend that this shortage of resources did not determine the way that the UNZ was governed or the pattern of control set up in the Colleges to which the reformers took such exception. Nevertheless, the fight for resources was a constant feature and a central concern in the history of the UNZ. Furthermore, the resource constraint and the uneven distribution of resources that marked the University's history played some part in the way matters panned out in 1910-14.

The development of the UNZ was closely aligned with the development of the colonist settlements as their fortunes developed and in its beginnings the centres of most healthy university teaching were concentrated in places where what little wealth the colony enjoyed was most openly displayed and where some modest measure of provision was made. The movers and shakers in New Zealand settlement in the 1870s were the expansionists from the Otago settlement like Vogel, and it was in the south that hopes for university development first flourished. But by their actions Vogel, and the politicians who supported and followed him, reinforced New Zealand's dependence on Home so that for the next ninety years the colony was engaged in an intimacy which Belich in his recent history has termed a long period of recolonisation. Whether this was a good or a bad thing is something about which Belich was uncertain when he wrote:

My own mixed feelings about recolonisation may already be evident to the

reader, and I will confess openly to them. I have to acknowledge it was an amazing transcending of distance, a spatial miracle that made light of 12,000 miles and plugged London almost as firmly as Auckland into the New Zealand socio-economy. For almost a century, 1880s-1970s, it made New Zealand a virtual Scotland. (Belich, 2001, p. 547)

What Belich describes is a dependency likened to that between a mother and child although that metaphor is rather tortured and does not do justice to the relationship. But as there were dependencies between countries in the colonial relationships there were also dependencies within the country. For resource dependency is a part of all social stories although it features in them in different fashions.

Pfeffer and Salancik's resource dependency theory in 1978 provided a list of relationships which describe rather loosely some of the interactions among social actors in economic settings. Their theory is almost entirely a managerialist description of economic interaction among social actors. It claims that although dependence and interdependence is an inevitable part of the human social condition there are consequently a large number of ploys that social actors engage in to be free of their dependence and by which they try to enlarge their autonomy. Social actors are trying to buy their tickets in a lottery for social independence and the odds against their winning are rather high. There are no large prizes and those which are created come with expiry dates which are reached all too soon. This probably explains Belich's ambivalence for, by his account, New Zealand has won more than its fair share of winning tickets in this lottery. The UNZ did not do quite so well and only a few of the professors in its colleges did, from time to time, a little better.

Most social actors will be exposed to some sort of dependence upon critical resources for they may well be in control of some resources upon which others are somewhat reliant. The patterns of influence can be subtle and are usually part of a two-way street. Pfeffer and Salancik see the outcomes involved as part of an enactment process such as that outlined by Weick (1969). Enacting the environment means responding to the perceptions and beliefs that the organization entertains about the world beyond it. The hopes of the organization and its aspirations are represented by the dominant coalitions

of directors, councillors or whatever. In the case of the UNZ the organization was simple. It was constituted by its Senate and no others until 1926. It did, however, have a Board of Studies tacked on in 1914. However, it would make little sense to talk of the UNZ in 1914 without considering its affiliate Colleges. Even in such a simple arrangement the beliefs and perceptions of members of Senate were inevitably distorted and flawed as degrees of interdependence with the Colleges were misread, conflicts among demands were not resolved, and demands were misinterpreted. And from time to time those in authority held doggedly on to past practices that were ill-judged for the circumstances that had developed.

It was not just the Senate, but a good number of the professors, that clung to the comfort of external examinations. For most of the professors of the Colleges inside the UNZ at the end of the nineteenth century were surrounded by an environment which crowded in on them as they were constrained by the limiting visions of their governing College Councils and the chimerical standards of approval that they sought from their remote examiners 12,000 miles away. As a consequence their attentional processes were always lagging “inevitably focused on what had been important in the past” (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978, p. 78).

The UNZ and its affiliated colleges in the nineteenth century were very small organizations where there was a certain mutuality of relative dependence between the Councils and their professors so that, if anyone had the upper hand, it was the professors once appointed. From the years of the university’s founding the salary for a professor at £600 a year rose to be as much as £900 about the turn of the century. These were relatively generous amounts and in section 5 we see the Canterbury Council at the beginning of the new century trying to make a point in reducing Bickerton by two thirds to his starting salary of nearly thirty years earlier. We can judge something of the straitened beginnings of Victoria, about the same time as this occurrence, in that their starting salaries were £700. However, the professors had the skills that were difficult to come by. Training in science and mathematics in particular was not common. Bickerton with his public demonstrations in physics and electricity was held in awe. He was able to hold out for the extra money for his fees

as provincial analyst, a matter which his provincial employers were far from happy about. The professors also had bargaining power around their fees. The Councils had to tread warily. It was always possible to hire another professor, but not easily. Appointments, on the whole, were long term and long-lasting. When Walker drowned off Shelly Beach in 1883 it was possible to pick up again with Aldis's application and replace the loss. However, the general rule was that employing a professor meant paying a very high price for a very important staff position. Initial appointments were very important. While the first term of appointment was for 10 years the understanding was that it was helpful to have a steady staff. Men came young and stayed long, on the whole. Invariably a replacement appointment for a professor would not quite match the quality of the original appointment. For example when Aldis was removed at Auckland Segar was not a mathematician of the same order. If quality was to be the test the Colleges needed to be cautious and to hold on to their staff. And on the whole they were careful to do so.

The colonial developments in New Zealand, particularly in Canterbury under Wakefield's scheme were fashioned to reproduce the British pattern, however, there were Scottish enclaves equally determined to subvert it. So it is not too surprising, as I will later show, that the birth of the University in 1870 was an occasion of considerable conflict and competition in the gathering of resources. The period of the UNZ (1871-1961) was the period of human development which saw the growth of large organizations made possible by highly adaptive bureaucratic structures and forms. In New Zealand this development accompanies another story, the evolution of bureaucratic forms within university settings. The events of 1910-14 in the UNZ presented an evolutionary opportunity in the transition from charismatic leadership to reliance upon bureaucratic forms in university governance in New Zealand. The reformers regretted that the evolution did not go in a particular direction, and that it did not may have been the reason why the Academic Board in 1946 was determined that the road the UNZ had travelled was leading nowhere and that the institution needed to go.

One of the driving ambitions for social actors is to obtain control, more politely

referred to as autonomy, and defined as “the ability to initiate or terminate action’s at one’s own discretion” (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978, p. 259). University actors are particularly interested in their freedom. The ideal demands the freedom to determine their own conditions of work, and to determine the curriculum from the specialized knowledge they alone have as leaders in their fields, a knowledge that cannot easily be challenged. They also like to prescribe for themselves the methods of their teaching and they are generally successful in this. The challenge of 1910-14 came from a younger generation disputing the way in which the early professors had accommodated to the needs of the colonial circumstances. Although this looked like a challenge to the UNZ and its Senate, the older generation of professors were much more a part of that Senate than their challengers were always prepared to admit. And the older professors still had the power to moderate the reforms that were possible.

2.3 Conclusion to Voices

The UNZ was not merely recognised by the State it was instituted by the State. Furthermore, more than most other organizations it was not only supported by the State but it grew to be directly funded by the State. What became true for the UNZ remains true of universities in New Zealand today.

Now while we have touched on the stories that others tell it is reasonable to make my own story more explicit. The lesson is that to survive, and more than that to survive comfortably, the members of modern universities in New Zealand must recognise their total dependence upon the State and negotiate so that their own ideals can accommodate the demands of the State. Unless they can attract the attention of all the country’s citizens, offer them opportunities and inspire them with the university’s advantages and convince them of their worth then they are likely to be continually starved of resources. The story of the UNZ reveals that the country was not particularly generous to its first university. A country that would now set out to exclude those who cannot afford education, or unnecessarily create financial handicaps for those who devote a large portion of their lives to the difficulties of study could create a well of resentment which will make it difficult to maintain the sympathy of the electorate, a

sympathy which is vital if generous resourcing is to continue. The danger is the danger of “mistaking cost-efficiency for effectiveness” (see Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978, pp. 87-8). Direct benefits that the university can offer need to be universally spread, which was a common aim of individuals in the university reform issues of 1910-14 like Stout and Hogben who were otherwise opposed on matters of reform.

The story of the UNZ is a story of how that dependence of the university upon the State came about despite a reluctance to admit it, and a wish, often silently cherished, but from time to time publicly voiced, to be free of it. It is within that dependence that the goal of survival and self-perpetuation is worked out. Where the boundaries of the university are drawn, who is to be included and who excluded, who is to decide those boundaries and how they are to be policed are the themes that recur in university history. They are themes that continue to be played out today. There are some differences in the way they were played out in the UNZ and differences in the way they were played out in the UL model on which New Zealand university was based. Part of the reason for the success of the UNZ and the failure of the NZURA in 1911 rests on the robustness of the model that the UL provided, and the satisfaction it brought despite the many criticisms of its apparently weak organizational form. The strength of that model, including some analysis of its apparently weak organizational form is what we turn to now.

3 THE LONDON MODEL

Synopsis

The University of London went through three phases of development. The first from 1828 to 1835 was short-lived. For the freethinkers university, funded as a joint stock company, was soon incorporated into a federation with more conventional bodies most of which had long histories with very deep roots in the history of the City. The Mark II development continued until the end of the century when, after two Royal Commissions, the idea of having separate examining and teaching institutions was cast aside in favour of a single university concentrating on a very large urban constituency. The idea of an examiner for the Empire did not entirely die in 1898 and the Mark III university was trying to settle issues of site location and the due influence of differing voices in its governance, using the Haldane Commission 1909-1913, at much the time that the NZURA was making ripples in New Zealand. Many of the issues that the NZURA brought up were matters that the UL, at one time or another, had to deal with. But on the whole the UL was constrained far more than the UNZ by institutional constraints that were historically based.

The UNZ was modelled upon the UL, having much more in common with that institution than its examining structure. The relationship of the University of Otago to the eventual UNZ was not unlike that of the original foundation that called itself a university in London 1828 and the UL which was more formally established by statute in 1836. For both the University of Otago and the original godless institution of Gower St were considered as challenges to orthodoxy, the creations of audacious

pretenders. How could such organizations dare to call themselves universities? They challenged the values of those who thought they knew what a university was about, and provided their own little challenges to those who presumed to know what government was about. Both creations certainly took a role in enacting new university environments.

However the UL which came to be a new kind of university was also linked, if uncertainly, and by a network of uncertain and rather haphazard amalgamations to a very long line of institutions with century old traditions. For there was also a sense in which the nineteenth century UL was not something new. There had always been, so it seemed to many, a university in London. In that respect the university that grew there was something quite different from the University of Otago and the UNZ which grew in response to it in New Zealand.

When London overtook Paris as the largest city of Europe some time in the middle of the seventeenth century it still had no official university. Even so there was an old idea that London had a virtual university. For William Harrison could write in his sixteenth century *Description of England* :

there are three noble universities in England, to wit, one at Oxford, the second at Cambridge, and the third at London; of which the first two are most famous. I mean Cambridge and Oxford, for that in them the use of tongues, philosophy and the liberal sciences, besides the profound studies of the civil law, physic and theology, are daily taught and had; whereas in the latter the laws of the realm are only read and learned, by such as give their minds unto the knowledge of the same. (cited by Harte, 1986, p. 49)

Gresham College had been opened by Elizabeth I in 1570 under the patronage of Sir Thomas Gresham under the control of the City Corporation and the trustees in the Mercers' Company. At the College seven professors had been paid a generous £50 annually to teach. The College prospered, then fell into disrepair and was eventually pulled down in 1768 on the request of its trustees, at which point its lecturers moved to the Royal Exchange before a more modest Gresham was rebuilt in 1842.

There were other institutions of learning and scholarly endeavour in London as well. Perhaps the most notable of these were the Inns of Court, which although independent of Royal Charter had provided training in law reaching well back before the fifteenth century. Training in law had a long tradition in London but training in medicine went back even further. St Bartholomew's Hospital, had been founded in 1123 and was initially presided over by Rahere in the reign of Henry I. St Thomas's was thought to be even older although its "new" building was erected in 1215. Then in the sixteenth century both St Bartholomew's 1546 and St Thomas's 1551 gave their governance to the care of the Corporation of the City of London and its Mayor. At that point private benefaction and religious altruism were replaced by Royal assent and Civic resources.

Five more hospital were added to the earlier two in the eighteenth century: Westminster 1720, Guys 1726, St. Georges 1733, London 1740 and the Middlesex Infirmary turned Hospital 1746. The next burst of Medical establishments came in the nineteenth century (West London Infirmary 1818; Charing Cross 1821) and teaching evolved more formally around many of the longer established hospitals. There were three bodies governing a class-divided medical profession: the Royal College of Physicians chartered in 1518; the Society of Apothecaries chartered in 1617; and the professional group which emerged from its previous association with barbers, the Royal College of Surgeons, founded in 1800. So by the first quarter of the nineteenth century these institutions, with growing support from public governing bodies, along with a number of private teaching institutions, and coffee shops known as 'penny universities' nourished intellectual life and gave training in skilled and professional occupations in what might be termed London's virtual or informal university.

3.1 "The Synagogue of Satan" (Henry Irving)

But for an ever growing London, and for a growing, developing minority of non-conformist capitalists with links to a Scottish heritage which valued learning and

were excluded by religious tests from full participation at Oxford and Cambridge this was not enough. A dreamer and poet Thomas Campbell spurred a number of these with a letter to *The Times* on the 9 Feb, 1825. He expressed a number of fears. There was a danger that the offspring of the moneyed classes would grow idle and create problems for themselves and for society. Campbell addressed his open letter to Henry Brougham (not yet a Lord) suggesting that it was time that Londoners should take a lesson from the Germans. The soil was reasonably fertile among those excluded from Oxbridge: Papists, Jews, and Non-Conformists, including Baptists. The Duke of Norfolk, Sir Isaac Goldsmid, Zachary Macauley and F.A. Cox came to the party. There was a Deed of Settlement and a limited liability company and shares at £100 each for a joint stock company called the University of London. However, there was some disappointment for although 1500 shares was thought to be the margin for a viable institution by the first meeting of proprietors in October 1826 only 1300 had been sold. Still since £30,000 was already spent on land at Bloomsbury the University of London despite its financial difficulties was, in its first manifestation, established. It was not universally welcomed and it had already been lampooned in *John Bull* as a place where the lower classes were trying to rise above their station:

Each Dustman shall speak, both in Latin and Greek,
And Tinkers beat Bishops in knowledge —
If the opulent tribe will consent to subscribe
To build up a new Cockney College.

(John Bull, July 1825 in Harte, 1986, p. 67)

There was a suspect Scottish element. Men like Birkbeck who had been a founder of the London Mechanics Institution (this institution was not to become an associate college of the UL until 1907) was a member of the original Council. The dissenting spirit was everywhere but it was not everywhere welcome.

The establishment and its Church made what they considered was the appropriate response. They created a sectarian response to safeguard the morals of their youth and to replicate orthodoxy in the capital since the traditions of Oxford and Cambridge were now, apparently, far from sufficient for that important work. The

Duke of Wellington himself chaired a meeting of the principal nobility, seven bishops and three archbishops. Consequently King's College, with the approval of George IV, won a royal charter in 1829, and opened in 1831 next to Somerset House to defend orthodoxy, established values, and the teaching of religion, something which the godless University of London disdained. The establishment thus created their own College to provide an alternative to the synagogue of Satan on Gower Street.

A considerable number of parties now had an interest in a university in London. There was the joint-stock company which claimed the name and awarded Certificates of Honour but knew that it lacked credibility that could only come with the Royal Assent. Furthermore, it was somewhat short of funds to be confidently viable. King's College, on the other hand, had royal favour but aspired to something more if it was to be a university. Possession of monopoly rights, matters of critical importance, freedom to act, visibility and clarity of position, were complexly involved. The Gower Street joint-stock company was desperately lacking in institutional credibility. King's College, for its part, could not have things their own way as Oxford and Cambridge, supported by their members of Parliament, fought against any other institution being granted degree-granting status. The *London Medical Gazette* poured scorn on the UL. How could the upstart, they argued, grant degrees if St Bartholomew's, Guys and St. Thomas's were not to do likewise. They surely were the equal of importance to anything that the UL had to offer. It was becoming apparent that not only did London need a university but London needed a university that granted degrees. How should this be done and who was to grant them?

The University of London Mark II, as Harte characterized it, was reformed and re-founded by an Act of Parliament. The solution was political in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Thomas Spring Rice, and the Home Secretary, Russell, played their parts. The PM, Lord Melbourne himself, was interested as well and a Bill was passed which satisfied the established Church by dropping all reference to Dissenters, while the Dissenters were satisfied because there would be no religious

test, and no requirement for religious instruction. The Duke of Somerset would not be totally disappointed. There would be a Charter for the joint stock company which would be known as the London University College. But the new University of London would now be an examining body:

Another Charter will be granted to persons eminent in literature and science, to act as a Board of Examiners, and to perform all the functions of the Examiners in the Senate House of Cambridge; this body to be termed the 'University of London'. (see Harte, 1986, p. 73)

In the new UL the Senate that was created had thirtysix members and eighteen of these were members of the Royal Society (Harte, 1986, p. 85). Sixteen were members of the medical profession The scientific community of London was certainly very supportive of the new developments. However, the new UL was, by most readings, very much a government university. The hand of the government was everywhere. For when the Senate wanted to pay its Registrar a very generous £1,000 the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Spring, said no, surely devoting 20% of their budget on one salary was a bit excessive and perhaps £500 would be sufficient. Then as a compromise the first Registrar, a fellow of Cambridge, Richard Rothman received £600.

All up the Government contributed about 90% of the budget and for the year ended 31 March 1840 (the first year of operation in which all seventeen candidates for degrees passed) the examination fees collected were £405, an insufficient amount to cover the Registrar's quite generous salary. Her Majesty's Government contributed £4,700 from which £3,515 was paid out in examiners' fee. Most of those examiners were members of the Senate, and they were predominantly Cambridge men like Spring.

The other area in which the Senate deferred to the government of the day was in the approval of chartered affiliates. When the Royal Belfast Academical Institution sought recognition they were told that this recognition rested with the government rather than with the University (Harte, 1986, p. 96). It is quite remarkable how

completely the government dominated the other partners in the new enterprise. The influence of the government, and through the government the Cambridge which had educated its members, was everywhere prominent. Henslow who examined in both Botany and Natural History was also a professor at Cambridge. Trinity College, Cambridge was most prominent of all. Spring Rice had been to Trinity. Lubbock the first VC from 1836-42 and treasurer and VP of the Royal Society had been a Trinity man. The richly rewarded Registrar, was also a Trinity man.

Examinations were the principle activity of the University while provision of the more colourful rituals of a university received little priority. The UL had been going for a considerable number of years before it was thought fitting to make a special mark by presenting the graduates, at the prompting of graduates who began to demand more and more formal recognition. Even so when this was first done in 1849 (Harte, 1986, p. 100) at Somerset House the refreshments were personally paid for by the Chancellor, the VC and the members of Senate. The occasion was a great success but the nature of its funding was indicative of the status of the University. There was a certain air of make-do and frugality about most things to do with the UL while there were marks of noblesse oblige in the ranks of its governors. The UL depended for its legitimacy upon both the indulgence of the government of the day, and the importance that the upper moneyed classes and the aristocracy attached to its activities.

London medical degrees were first recognised by an Act of Parliament in 1854. By that time many medical schools throughout the country were affiliating with the UL. There had been thirty of these signed up by 1840 and thirteen years later, by 1853, just before the Act was passed, this number had climbed to sixty-eight. However, many affiliates were operating at low levels of pedagogy, at little more than college level, at a time when secondary schools were not an established part of the educational system. Still the UL began to grow although it was accepting far more candidates for matriculation than for degrees. In 1855, for example, there were 209 candidates for matriculation and 82% of these passed. There were a further 88 degree candidates and again the pass rate was a little over 80%. As the numbers of

candidates grew the pass rates dipped and the UL earned criticism for the difficulties its standards imposed. Five further years on, in 1860, the matriculation candidates had more than doubled to 428 while the pass rates were slipping to 68%. There were now 149 degree candidates and their pass rate was also much the same as that of the matriculating candidates. The numbers continued increasing but as we shall see a little later the numbers failing increased disproportionately.

However, whatever opportunities the UL could provide, whether they were qualifications, the challenge to meet standards, or simply the satisfaction of sitting exams, the demand for its services grew as the numbers show. In the 1850s the Principal of Sydney College wanted opportunities extended to the colonies in his part of the world. He wanted, he said, his students to sit an exam that “fixes a standard not left to the discretion of professors and masters but to the wisdom of a learned body in England” (in Harte, 1986, p. 98). In fact the UL became the model for university development in a number of parts of the Empire, so it was not surprising that New Zealand, too, was to look to it as a model. In 1850 Queen’s University in Ireland had Colleges in Belfast, Cork and Galway co-ordinated along the lines of the UL model. In 1853 the University of Toronto took on the arrangement of having an examining university with teaching colleges as an exact model. Examining became a much demanded business although there was considerable ambivalence about the new innovations. In fact, in some quarters there was considerable opposition, The barbarian seemed to be at the gate. The expansion of the London model was anathema to many traditional Oxbridge men, and this opposition was forcibly expressed by Newman whose convictions about what is important to a university is often widely quoted. Among his opinions were the following which clearly disapproved of the direction things were taking in the UL:

I protest to you, gentlemen, that if I had to choose between a so-called University which dispensed with residence and tutorial superintendence, and gave its degrees to any person who passed an examination in a wide range of subjects, and a University which had no professors or examinations at all, but merely brought a number of young men together for three or four years ... if I must determine which of the two courses

was the more successful in training, moulding, enlarging the mind . . . , I have no hesitation in giving the preference to that University which did nothing, over that which exacted of its members an acquaintance with every science under the sun.

(Newman, 1850, cited in Harte, 1986, pp. 137-8)

3.2 “Prehistoric Meddlers and Muddlers” (Karl Pearson)

But the trend was towards exams and the business of examining and any other opportunities that might arise for making money while selling degrees, and at the same time maintaining some sort of standard while operating an academic sorting machine. There was a Charter granted in 1858 which created a Court of Convocation where graduates of a number of years standing were given a vote for an annual fee of 10/6d or life membership for £3/3/0. But most importantly, and most controversially, examinations became the sole measure of achievement except in medicine where a certificate of study was still required. But in all other cases, all that students must now do to succeed in their studies was to pay a non-returnable £5 fee, and, of course, gain a pass in the examination subscribed to. The exams then became big business. Matriculation exams were offered twice a year in January and July, but there were no single subject passes and candidates had to pass in all five subjects. By 1858 the pressure with 299 candidates needing a space in the great hall to sit for matriculation was so great that other centres were required and so exams were taken out to Queen’s College, Liverpool, and Owen’s College, Manchester in 1859.

The BA regulations were changed so that the examinations were divided into two parts. The first exam demanded passes in four papers: Latin and Roman History; English language, literature and history; mathematics; and another language either French or German. The second BA could not be taken in less than a year following the first. In this degree passes were demanded in five subjects: classics; Greek history; natural philosophy; animal physiology; and logic with mental and moral philosophy. The system of affiliation of colleges was abandoned but the examination

requirements were quite exacting and drew fire from a number of quarters. The Senate, who were not teachers, defended the system vigorously.

But the UL was the source of innovation in curriculum as well as in examining. A further outcome from the 1858 Charter was the development of degrees in science and a Faculty of Science was developed to govern the teaching across the natural sciences. The case for science was put to a Committee of Senate in 1858 and some extracts from a memo believed to have been written by T.H.Huxley are quoted here:

The branches of human knowledge at present academically recognised are those of Arts, Theology, Law and Medicine. But this fourfold division, though possibly sufficient in the age in which Universities took their rise, has become utterly inadequate as a recognition of the great classes of knowledge which at the present day subserve the discipline of the individual mind or promote the good of mankind.

..

The remedy for these evils appears to us to be, that the Academic bodies in this country should (like those in France and Germany) recognise 'Science' as a Discipline and as a Calling, and should place it on the same footing with regard to Arts, as Medicine and Law. (in Harte, 1985, pp. 109-110)

In 1867 when the Reform Act was passed there was another milestone for the UL. Its graduates were granted the right to elect their own MP, a right previously granted only to Oxford, Cambridge and Dublin universities. Now the UL was granted the same privilege along with the three Scottish universities.

As the Principal of Sydney had hoped the UL expanded its examining so that BA papers as well as matriculation was sat in Mauritius in 1865, Gibraltar, 1866, and Canada 1867. Eventually the UL exam opportunities were extended to the West Indies and to Tasmania. As the net widened the numbers passing dropped off. By the exams of 1870 there were a total of 1459 candidates and 750 gained passes. Of the total number the majority of candidates, 843, sat matriculation and little over a half,

429, passed. The popularity of the opportunities the UL provided did not diminish so that all up there were over 7,000 candidates by 1900 split roughly 60:40 between those matriculating and those sitting degree papers. Failure rates continued to climb and by 1900 more than 55% of matriculation and just under 50% of degree candidates failed their exams.

However, during the 1880s there was increasing tension about the dominant role of examinations and the separate and conflicting roles of examining and teaching. In fact from the 1880s through to the First World War there was considerable conflict at the university in trying to strike some sort of a balance. The New Zealand House of Representatives appointed two Royal Commissions to assist the UNZ over its lifetime. The UL had three covering somewhat similar issues from 1888 through to 1913. In the early 1880s the university teachers were agitating for a Board of Studies, an academic governance body which could make the academic voice heard on prescriptions, curriculum, examining and other matters pertinent both to academic standards and academic progress.

Under Sir George Jessel, himself a graduate of the UL, and a strong judge on the equity bench there was little sympathy for such demands but he retired from his position in 1883. He was succeeded by Sir James Paget a far gentler and more considerate man. Paget might have been sympathetic towards reform but the Court of Convocation was not. In May 1884, not long after Jessel's retirement, the Association for Promoting a Teaching University for London was founded to more formally promote the teachers' hopes. Karl Pearson who was a professor of applied mathematics at University College voiced an old complaint - that London really had no university at all and that it was a 'perversion of language' to call the examining body at Burlington House a university (in Harte, 1986, p. 142). However, the Court of Convocation took an opposing view and in many meetings from 1885-6 it consistently opposed the reforming teachers' Association.

University College made a move and gave thought to becoming a constituent college of Victoria University which was given a Charter in 1880 to form a northern

federation of colleges, Owens, Yorkshire College, Leeds and University College, Liverpool. (This federation broke apart into separate universities in 1903). Then King's and University Colleges tried to set up their own Albert University, drafted a charter and petitioned the Privy Council, and were prepared to admit medical schools within a definite London geographical determination to the new institution that they proposed.

The petition actually caused a rift among the Councillors in University College where a third of the members, including the President, the Vice-President and the Treasurer, resigned. For it was not just changes at the UL that were threatened by the London reformers. Nevertheless, the majority of the University College Council supported their professors. The medical fraternities were engaging in their own pressure groups hoping, at about much the same time, to be able to grant their own degrees. In response to the petition for the Albert University and the petitions from the Royal Colleges of Surgeons and of Physicians the government made the safest response it thought possible and set up the first Royal Commission on the UL.

This Commission was chaired by Rondell Palmer, the first Earl of Selbourne and became known as the Selbourne Commission. It received 45 witnesses in 1888 and reported fairly promptly. It rejected the idea of separate medical degrees awarded by professional rather than university authorities. It was more convinced about the importance of establishing a teaching university. However, on the question of how they could move the UL from its current constitution to their ideal of a teaching university it was far less certain.

The way forward got rather sticky since no plan seemed to serve. The petition of 1887 was revived and both University and King's Colleges once more brought up the Albert University proposal. Convocation continued to be firmly opposed to the proposed new Charter. But then Convocation were thought to be rather self-interested and rather unhelpful in the ways of a university. Karl Pearson was later to put it this way in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1892.

Convocation is *not* the University of London; it is not really the whole

body of the graduates of that University, it is rather the group of prehistoric meddlers and muddlers who believe that a University can thrive if it be governed, not by its teaching and examining executive, but by those whom the executive have stamped as taught. Such a group has been relegated to the election of members of Parliament at Cambridge, and the sooner it is reduced to a like harmless function in London the better. (Pearson in Harte, 1985, p. 150)

The opposition of Convocation might have been ignored but then there was a falling out among some professors at University College. Consequently there were parliamentary objections to the Privy Council's granting of a charter and the best way out of what was looking something of a mess was a further Royal Commission.

Neither the 1879 nor the 1925 Commission in New Zealand could match the exhaustive comprehensiveness of the second Royal Commission that finally examined the UL between May 1892 and March 1893 and which came to be known as the Gresham Commission. It asked 25,594 questions and its report expanded over 1500 pages (Harte, 1985, p. 154). A few line summary will probably leave much out. It recommended that London should have one, not two universities. It suggested that the university should be able to teach and to carry out 'those important duties which it has hitherto performed as an examining body for students presenting themselves from all parts of the British Empire' (in Harte, 1985, p. 155). This demand that the UL should be an examiner for the Empire was not unanimously supported by the Commissioners so that one of them, Professor Sidgwick, felt compelled to write:

Although I have signed this Report I am decidedly opposed to the fundamental principle on which it is framed; namely, the principle of combining the ordinary work of a University with the function - now performed by the (so-called) University of London - of impartially examining students from all parts of the United Kingdom'. (Sidgwick in Harte, 1985, p. 155)

3.3 The Haldane Commission 1909-13

It took more than four years and three failed Bills in Parliament before the compromises which came out of the Gresham Committee could be enacted in law. Table 3.1 shows the newly constituted governance body of the UL in what Harte terms University of London Mark III which emerged from the University of London Act 1898. In this table I have juxtaposed the re-formed UNZ Senate following the University of New Zealand Act, 1926.

Table 3.1 Constitution of UL (1900) and UNZ (1926) Senates

| | University of London Senate 1898 | UNZ Act 1926 SENATE |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Governor-in-Council/Crown | 4 | 4 |
| 1 City, 2 County, 1 City & Guild | 4 | |
| 2 from each Coll. Council | | 8 |
| Court of convocation | 17 | 5 |
| Incorp Law Society | 2 | |
| 4 Inns of Court x 1 | 4 | |
| 2 each, UC, KC, RCP, RCS | 8 | |
| Teachers in faculties/Prof Board | 16 | 3 |
| Chancellor | 1 | 1 |
| Vice-Chancellor | | 1 |
| D-G Education | | 1 |
| TOTAL COUNCIL | 56 | 23 max |

(source, Harte, 1986, p. 165 & Parton,, 1979, p. 49)

The New Zealand parliamentary story is picked up in Section 8 where the course of events prove only slightly different from the path proposed by the Reichel-Tate Commission of 1925. As far as the UL Senate goes we can see the weight of representation given to teaching staff is just a little less than a third, whereas even after the modest reform of 1926 the New Zealand position was to be less than one seventh. The proportions elected from the Courts of Convocation in both cases look quite similar but in the UL case the Court of Convocation could be seen as enlarged by the 2 members from the incorporated Law Society, the 4 Inns of Courts representatives, the 2 representatives from the Royal College of Physicians (RCP), and the 2 representatives from the Royal College of Surgeons (RCS). From one point of view this enlarged Court had 31 members or a majority on the Senate. Lord Haldane who was one of the

sponsors of the Bill, and who worked very hard with Sidney Webb to ensure its passage, considered the UL's Senate was too large and unwieldy and that the Court of Convocation was over-represented. He may well have been right but it reflects the political interests of those who were important and needed to be satisfied. By no stretch of the imagination would the UNZ ever be in the hands of graduates in the same fashion that the UL was constituted in 1898.

The UL was now restricted in scope so that its expansion was geographically limited to within a 30 mile radius of its centre. It was conceived of as a teaching university divided into eight faculties. The teaching staffs of some of the large institutions like University College and King's College were admitted as schools in all eight faculties. Some other institutions like the ten medical schools, constituting the Faculty of Medicine, were represented in no more than one faculty. Religion was given formal precedence in the new Faculty of Theology where there were six institutions preparing students for different sectarian ministries. In addition to Highbury for Anglicans, there was: Regent's Park College for Baptists; Wesleyan College for Methodists; Cheshunt College for nonconformists; and two Colleges for Congregationalists, Hackney and New.

The internal students at the UL numbered more than 4,000 by 1910 at which time it had more students than Oxford and Cambridge combined and was about the fourth or fifth largest university in the world. (Harte, 1985, p. 180). It was not too surprising then that it continued to be strained. Two things in particular counted against it: the first was the continuing friction between its internal and external constituencies that the dissenting Sidgwick had highlighted in the reporting of the Gresham Committee; the other was the accommodation situation in the move from Burlington Gardens to the Kensington building. In 1902 the University College being rather strapped for £30,000 in finances, offered in a quid pro quo to solve the UL's difficulties over teaching credentials by incorporating itself into the University. The Drapers' Company organised an appeal in 1902 which would help pay off the College's deficit and so more easily enable the transfer. The University College London (Transfer) Act was then passed in 1905 and in 1907 the University College's new buildings were opened in Hampstead. 1907 also saw

the creation of the Imperial College of Science which melded the Royal School of Mines, the Royal College of Science and the Central Technical College (renamed in 1907 the City and Guilds College). In 1908 the Imperial College became a school of the UL but this was accompanied by the urging for a further Royal Commission to see whether it should incorporate itself fully or separate itself out. And that was how the Haldane Commission came to be set up, with little input from the UL Senate. What such a Commission might look at was suggested by Sir Ray Lankester who pointed out in 1912 that the UL was

the largest body of committees and sub-committees in the world – elected chiefly by the management committees of a number of struggling schools and underpaid colleges in London, and so organised as to defeat each other's purposes. (in Harte, 1985, p. 186)

Despite the hyperbole there was probably a kernel of truth in this assessment.

The Haldane Commission sat from 1909 and did not make its final report until 1913 although it did send down an interim report in 1911 (so consequently it was sitting throughout the most vigorous attempts of the NZURA to prevail upon its government on the other side of the world to set up their own Commission, a hope in which they placed so much trust). Two of the Haldane Commission's concerns were outlined above. Another problem which continued to trouble the UL was finding a permanent home. A cabal of eleven members of Senate had fought the offers of doing conversions at South Kensington between 1905-1907 (a short account of the cabal, which included Headlam and Ramsay – who both responded to the NZURA – is given by Sir Halford Mackinder in Harte, 1986, p. 188). The Haldane Commission finally decided in favour of the preferred Bloomsbury site although the building did not go ahead until 1933 to be completed in 1938.

There was a general consensus in the Commission to concentrate the University geographically and to phase out external degrees. However, there was considerable difficulty in agreeing upon which site to centralize and at least four sites were seriously considered. Any decision to remove externally awarded degrees was also contentious in both the Senate and the Court. However, the Haldane Commission also had thoughts

about the Senate and the Court. The Commission thought it would be best to reduce the Senate to a more tightly knit 15 members. These members could then be linked to a representative Court of no more than 200 members. Whether this would have been easily achieved was something that we cannot know since the recommendations of the Commission were curtailed by the war for which the men at the UL were far from unprepared.

In 1909 over 400 members of the University's Officer Training Corp were addressed from the balcony of the Imperial Institute on Presentation Day. By the beginning of the First World War there were more than 950 student volunteers engaged in the Training Corp provided, with "a battalion of infantry, an artillery section, a company of engineers and a medical unit" (Harte, 1985, p. 185). The university was greatly affected by the War. 226 of its students died in the first year of action, many more served, and consequently numbers and fees at the University fell so that any thought of implementing the Haldane Commission's recommendations had to be put on hold.

It might be worthwhile to conclude this summary of the development of the UL which was taken to be a model for the UNZ to look at some of the parallels and some of the differences between what were two widely different universities. The UL was much larger than the UNZ, so that by the time of the Haldane Commission it was very large indeed. University College alone enrolled 2000 students and soon after the War it was to have 3000. And despite many problems in trying to provide examinations throughout the Empire the general preference for the UL was to be geographically concentrated. That was the intention of the Haldane Commission and the Gresham had won the case for the 36 mile from the centre boundary to influence. So the UL was large, with a great complication of components which had many schools which were for the most part inside, while there were various associations like the Inns of Court almost entirely outside, the institution. The UNZ with only four colleges did not have those problems but it was geographically dispersed and was at no point a teaching institution. The UL, however, after the Gresham Committee would never again be solely an examining university. It would be more easily able to specialise its offerings so that when it had to accommodate part-time and evening classes it could make these part of a special

mission in a place like the Birkbeck Institute.

Both the UL and the UNZ began in their own ways as a challenge to orthodoxy and orthodoxy, which was largely a Church of England orthodoxy, in its broad church fashion reinstated itself. Both stories accompany the story of developments in democracy in administration and the assertion of science in the educational curriculum. But concessions to democracy and to democratic representation, though never opposed, were supported with a gentle scepticism. The UL got its own member of parliament but there was never any danger of such representation in New Zealand. The UL and the UNZ were governed by the elites in their particular contexts largely for the advantage of those elites. The Duke of Somerset and the Prime Minister Lord Melbourne were closely associated with King's College. The establishment at Cambridge were closely involved with the UL, Mark II. University College was founded by Henry Brougham who was taken into the House of Lords. The history of the UL is dotted with names like that of the first Earl of Selbourne or the fifteenth Earl of Derby who was its Chancellor for a couple of years before his death. Then there was Lord Herschell who was first a student at University College and later a Chancellor of the UL for six years. Then, too, there was the 2nd Earl Granville who was Chancellor at the UL for 35 years from 1856-1891. The governance ranks of the UL might not have matched these titles but the work was still done by and for the New Zealand colony's elites. After all, Tancred, the first Chancellor of the UNZ, was the younger son of a sixth baronet. However, the growth of both universities were buoyed on by the swell of political undercurrents which favoured extensions to the franchise, the advance of Liberalism, aspirations towards equality, and the demands of women for opportunities equal to those of men. On this front the road for women in New Zealand was marginally freer, easier and faster than for their sisters at the UL although the UL was marginally ahead of the proposals at Otago to institute Home Science degrees. What sort of a leap forward this was is difficult to gauge but in London it was to head off continuing with totally separate Colleges for women. Women's tertiary education was being integrated with that of men. But to see how tertiary education was blended into the common life in New Zealand I will turn to examining in what ways the UNZ was modelled from its creation in 1871 upon the UL.

4 COLONIAL FOUNDINGS IN NEW ZEALAND

Synopsis

The history of the UNZ's founding among provincial rivalries established a pattern of colonial deference that the appointment of excellent professorial staff could not overcome. There was a dog in the manger approach to those who demonstrated initiative, so that envy and provincial meanness limited colonial co-operation. Rather than provide a home to the UNZ in Dunedin it was given no home at all. The UNZ was legislated to be an institution concerned with nothing but examining and so it lacked any power to give shape to a coherent university policy. Despite the good sense of the 1878-9 Royal Commission there was no University of New Zealand Act in 1880 to lead to a more generous development. University level provision of opportunities in the North Island were tardy and niggardly and the close decision to depend upon overseas examination for institutional credibility left the balance of power with the governance bodies in the Colleges which appeared to have a larger weight of professorial input than was constitutionally the case.

The UNZ was founded on the enthusiasm of a few against a background of considerable reluctance among the many. In the first instance the most hoped for was the subscription of public monies to send the best students to seek university opportunities at Home. In 1868 the House of Representatives passed the New Zealand Universities Endowment Act to that end. The Act was intended to provide scholarships so that two students could be sent to Britain each year on scholarships worth £250 each. But the Act also set aside waste crown lands up to 10,000 acres in any of the country's six provinces for the purpose of university education and the setting up of a National University some time in the future. The

provisions were modest, but even so they had only reluctant support, for none of the intended scholarships were ever awarded. As Mr Justice Richardson said in debates in the House in 1867:

A true University needs a very wide basis. Like a great river, it must be fed from an extensive basin, and be swelled by the confluence of many streams. These considerations tend to show that a New Zealand University, if established, would be wanting in the essentials of success. (in Beaglehole, 1937, p. 19-20)

4.1 Otago, 1869, Canterbury, 1873, and a Royal Commission, 1879

What the country as a whole was unprepared to do had to be compensated for by enthusiasm in the southern provinces, particularly in Otago. There one eighth of the price of land had been set aside for religious and for educational purposes and a provincial Act of 1866 said that one-third of the endowed amount was to go to education. In April 1868 the superintendent, James Macandrew proposed that a New Zealand University be set up in the new Post Office building with an endowment of 10,000 acres of pastoral land to provide it support from its rents. Consequently in June of 1869 the Otago Provincial Council passed the Otago University Ordinance setting up a university to grant degrees in arts, medicine, law and music. And so positions were advertised and the first three professors duly arrived. They were George Sale, John Shand and Duncan Macgregor. Macgregor, who lectured in mental and moral philosophy was to continue in that role for the next sixteen years. But the other two professors, Sale in classics, and Shand, in mathematics and physics were to give the first university in New Zealand even greater stability. Sale was to teach there for thirtyseven years and Shand for fortyfour. Both were to play prominent parts in the development of the UNZ. Sale was to co-operate with Cook, the mathematician at Canterbury, in designing the structure of the degree that the UNZ would offer which was to become known as the Sale-Cook degree. While Shand was to take a long-standing position on the Senate of the UNZ where he served from 1877-1914, a tidy thirtyeight years. Having played his pioneering part in establishing the two

universities he was not somebody who was going to show a great sympathy for university reform if he was to think that might undo much of the good work which had been done.

The initial appointments at Otago involved one further professor, James Gow Black, who like Shand was still teaching in 1914. Macandrew wanted something more than traditional university offerings. "I have long thought that a School of Mines and Agricultural Chemistry would be of great practical importance in this province". (in Parton, 1979, p. 16). So Gow Black joined the staff at Otago to teach natural science in 1871. The School of Mines, however, the first of the university's many special schools did not come until 1877, when George Ulrich arrived. He too gave long lasting service as Director of Mines 1877-1909. Frederick Hutton by comparison gave relatively short-lived service in natural science and was only with the University of Otago for six years from 1873-1879.

Just as a group of Scots had been prominent in bringing their dissenting voice to setting up the first University of London in 1828 another group of Scots some forty years later was challenging the established voice some 12,000 miles away on the opposite side of the world. The question to trouble all parties was: could a Provincial Ordinance just set up a degree granting university? The members of New Zealand's House of Representatives were not so sure. Yes! New Zealand needed a university but it must be set up properly and have due recognition in the British Empire. New Zealand needed a university with a Charter duly recognised by the Privy Council. And so it was that spurred on by the *fait d'accompli* the UNZ was conceived and created in the to-and-fro of provincial and colonial politics which continued to create interest and confusion until the abolition of the provinces in 1876. Many provincial politicians went on to make a name in national politics but while the provinces lasted they could be the refuge of much popular hucksterism and boosterism:

in Otago, Macandrew, who was shown to be guilty of embezzlement and removed from his superintendency, returned to popularity only a few years later. As the majority of the members of the House of Representatives

before 1876 also served on Provincial Councils, political and personal conflicts were often transferred from the provinces to Parliament. Those who were 'out' in the province might well become 'centralist' in Parliament, seeing the central government as the means to influence in local matters; a strong provincial leader in the Opposition could make things very awkward for the Government. (Dalziel, 2000, p 100)

Provincial ambitions sometimes needed curbing. A joint committee of the two houses of Parliament saw an urgent need for a colonial university and passed the 1870 New Zealand University Act. It was really an enabling Act. The Act gave six months for the University of Otago to disband so that it might gracefully be transformed into the University of New Zealand, set up in Dunedin. If, however, the men in Otago could not see their way clear to undoing their crafting then the UNZ would be set up elsewhere. The plan was that other incorporated educating bodies could then be affiliated with the UNZ so established. Six months was a short time in colonial New Zealand. For the New Zealand University Council was not gazetted until February 1871 which left only one month for Otago to comply. People who had looked with some concern at having a university such a great distance away were in no hurry to satisfy what they saw as the pretensions of those who had taken initiatives in the South. The Council did not meet until June and then only after a jack-up meeting in the Maori House of the Dominion Museum. By the time the Council assembled in Dunedin the mood was against Otago so that Tancred from Canterbury was elected the first Chancellor of the UNZ, not Macandrew.

It was now clear that the UNZ would not be a teaching university in Dunedin. Various teaching institutions could affiliate with the UNZ and various teaching institutions did. The University of Otago kept its name and affiliated. The only other institution that looked something like a university college was the Collegiate Union in Canterbury. This Collegiate Union then transformed into Canterbury College as a result of a Provincial Ordinance of 1873. A little behind Otago they too were keen to invest in professors. The first of these was Alexander Bickerton who arrived in 1874 to teach Chemistry and Physics, a few months ahead of the

other two, John Macmillan Brown who came to teach Classics and English, and Charles Cook in mathematics. All three gave long service to Canterbury College. As we shall see in the next section Bickerton proved the most awkward and was actually dismissed in 1902. Macmillan Brown retired his position in 1895 and Cook lasted longest of all retiring in 1908, to be then appointed an Emeritus Professor in the following year. Canterbury College was well-served like the University of Otago with stable, loyal and, on most counts, extremely competent staff.

The character and the standing of university education in late nineteenth century New Zealand can be gauged from an examination of Canterbury College. The professors there were initially paid generously with salaries of £600 and fees. Macmillan Brown was the most canny and financially successful. When he arrived he found land agents constantly pursuing Bickerton with one speculative land venture or another. Brown, himself, went on to run a considerable house in Wairarapa Terrace, as well as having properties above the fog on the Cashmere Hills and at Sumner. He had his two daughters home-tutored and they were then sent to tackle both their secondary and their university education in Sydney. The common pattern in the days of its founding were for the governors of Canterbury College to send their sons away to university. Gardner et al (1973, p. 138) report that between 1873-1897 fortythree men served on Canterbury College's Board of Governors and thirtyone of their sons attended university. Twentyfive of these did all their university training in Britain. There were three who started at Canterbury and finished in Britain while only three did all their university work at Canterbury College. One of Canterbury's governors, Hamilton, who sent his son to Britain said that Canterbury College was halfway between a university and a big public school. In the eyes of those who could afford it Britain seemed to offer so much more.

The failure to establish the UNZ based in Dunedin had meant that another New Zealand University Act had to be passed in 1874.. This established the UNZ as an examining body modelled on the UL. The Act read:

4 It is hereby expressly declared and enacted that the University hereby established is so established not for the purpose of teaching but for the purpose of encouraging ... the pursuit of a liberal education, and ascertaining by means of examination, the persons who have acquired proficiency in Literature, Science or Art, by the pursuit of a liberal education (Statutes of New Zealand, 1974, p. 211)

The twentyfour members of the Senate were established for life. They were appointed in the first instance by the government. As they died off, however, they were to be replaced alternately by the government and by an electorate formed from the graduates of the UNZ once this number reached thirty. So by 1874 there were two reasonably respectable Colleges in the South Island affiliated to the UNZ which engaged professors capable of teaching to university level, but there were also a much larger number of secondary schools affiliated with the UNZ.

The UNZ petitioned for a Royal Charter and received it in 1876. The University of Otago continued to hope that with its name and its avowed mission it could still win its own independent Charter which it continued to seek in 1878, 1882 and in a final bid in 1887. For all those involved with university education in nineteenth century New Zealand saw themselves as totally dependent upon authorities at Home for their good name and for institutional credibility. But Otago's ambitions were fruitless and its petitions were to no avail.

The UNZ meanwhile designed its own degree. This was largely the work of academics, particularly Sale from Otago and Cook at Canterbury. Latin and Maths were compulsory subjects and examinees then had to choose a further five subjects. In the first year students had to keep their College's terms. Then in the 2nd and 3rd years they must not only keep terms but had to go on to sit the UNZ's exams. Students could do honours in a 4th year and if they gained first, second or third class honours they would be granted a Masters degree. The degree was broad and general, more Scottish than English, "its main aim was a strictly colonial one: to train the next generation of New Zealand teachers, who would have to turn their

hands, particularly in the new secondary schools, to almost any subject demanded of them.” (Gardner et al, 1973, p. 96).

The foundation of the South Island university colleges was part of the 1870s optimism and expansion in that island. Vogel’s borrowing was bearing fruit and there were large numbers of assisted passages. At the peak of immigration in 1874 the government was paying £320,000 to assist 34,000 immigrants. The number of government employees more than tripled spelling the end of provincial government:

By 1876-7, as the economy expanded and the Government established departments to administer immigration, public works, and education, the number of civil servants reached over 5,500 (excluding the 1,688 in the railways). The New Zealand tradition of state involvement was firmly established. (Dalziel, 2000, p 104)

Local education needed to expand to match the booming economy, and the role of the State as the dominant player in providing education opportunities was widely accepted.

However, the first flurry of activity by the UNZ saw a certain amount of puffery and faking, free of the gravity which the State might eventually bring. For the first fiftyone degrees granted by the UNZ were ad eundem, none by examination. But at least the 1874 Act prevented the ad eundem graduates from being elected Fellows to the Court of Convocation. Some sceptics like Stout in Dunedin and O’Rorke in Auckland doubted that the UNZ stood for very much at all, and certainly didn’t think the prospect of ad eundem honours would improve the status of the fledgling institution. There was considerable anxiety about standards and the professors in Otago suggested that examiners might need to be found in England. But as things turned out in 1877 Tancred began by getting examiners from Melbourne. (Beaglehole, 1939, pp.116-7).

The puzzling question, however, was would the appointing of overseas examiners save the reputation of a UNZ which handed out honorary degrees. The affiliates

included only two institutions with professors, one in Dunedin and one in Christchurch, while there were a considerable number of secondary schools from all around the country sending candidates with rather chancy academic foundations up for examination. To check out all the problems the first Royal Commission on University education was set up on the initiative of the then Minister of Education, Stout. Professors were well represented with Sale, Shand, and Ulrich from Otago, and Macmillan Brown and Cook from Canterbury being appointed to the Commission. The weight of numbers, however, lay with the eight lay representatives on the Commission led by the Aucklander, O'Rorke in the Chair, and wonderfully supported by the Inspector General of Schools, Habens. The Commission was appointed near the end of December in 1878 and was to report by the end of June 1879. At that stage the examining university had graduated by examination 49 people who had studied at the University of Otago, and 26 from Canterbury College, while a further 31 graduates had found their instruction outside the walls of what looked, even remotely, like university colleges. There were 111 students at Otago, which had both a Medical School and a School of Mines, while Canterbury had 57 students. The affiliation of secondary schools among whom were Wellington College, Auckland College and Grammar School, Nelson College, Wesley College, Three Kings, St John's College, and Bishopdale College, had a suitably dampening effect upon standards. To qualify BA students must pass the Sale-Cook degree already outlined.

The 1879 Commission is important for the story of the UNZ because it marked a point of opportunity in the course of events. To the members of the Commission the idealism of a number of its members came up against the underlying generating mechanisms in the colony. The professors joined the Commission hoping to establish the importance of residence at university for standards, convinced by Newman's arguments and the example of the Oxbridge tradition. They left recognising the importance of local conditions. Idealism was tempered by the demands of colonial practicalities. The Commission listened carefully and recognised that the UNZ had done well in a difficult situation with what limited resources it had. Parton's summary is fair:

The commissioners were well aware of the possibility of undue multiplication of technical and professional schools. They saw that as a general rule there should be no more than one such 'special school' for each profession and that they should be distributed among the colleges in some rational way. But the only control which they proposed the Senate should be given was a sanction over the establishment of a new chair or lectureship in any college. Later experience does not suggest that this would have been strong enough to curb rampant provincial ambitions. Each college was to have a council of twelve members, one-third appointed by each of the Governor in Council, the Professorial Board, and the graduates of the University who were enrolled on the books of the college. The professors of the colleges were also to be professors of the University, and usually they would be examiners. Examinations should be conducted wholly within the colony. Finally, by the narrow margin of seven votes to six, the commission recommended that the UNZ should be sited in Dunedin. (Parton, 1979, pp. 20-21)

The Royal Commission further suggested that university colleges needed to be established in Auckland and Wellington and that five professors should be appointed at each college. The Government needed to set aside land reserves from which annual rents of £4,000 would finance the institutions but £12,500 should be spent immediately in each of the new centres putting up buildings.

The Commission said that there were three considerations to take into account when looking at the governance of the Colleges. Firstly, the government should appoint 4 members since public money and/or public land was being devoted to support the institutions. Secondly, the professors had an intimate knowledge of the workings of the colleges so they should have four members. And, thirdly, the graduates (once they existed in sufficient numbers) enjoyed an intimate knowledge of the special circumstances of their college so they, in their turn, should also have four members. The term for each appointment or election should be for four years and each sector should stagger replacement so that one of their

members should be replaced each year. (see Thompson, 1919, p. 209) The UNZ itself should consist of a Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor who would hold office for three years, re-electable, and there should be Fellows each of which would have three year terms on similar conditions. Six Fellows should be nominated by the government and three each elected by each of the College Councils. The general scheme proposed was for a replacement of one third of Fellows each year although positions were to be re-appointable. The UNZ should continue to receive a £3,000 government grant each year.

The Royal Commission recommended much but the outcome continued much messier. A lot depended on local generosity and resources were not readily available in the North Island. However, the colleges at both Otago and Canterbury were reasonably well endowed. Canterbury could sell off 50,000 acres for building and still have 275,000 acres left from which it could realise £4,000 annually to be spent on its university college, two high schools, schools of agriculture (at Lincoln) and art, and its public museum and library. Through all this the egalitarian goal continued to survive. For there was always the ambition that Tancred had expressed to the Royal Commission, a recurrent theme in the history of the colonial university, that it must be available to all, not limited by geography, nor by economic circumstance, and its doors should be shut to no one.

In March 1879, before the Commission tabled its report, the Senate had decided to employ British examiners for the MA, honours and third year BA examinees while for all the other work examiners in Sydney, Melbourne and New Zealand should be used. The Commission was firm that the affiliation of secondary schools must stop and despite the opposition of those like Nelson College who continued to send candidates to the UNZ examinations until 1887 the number of affiliates was pruned so that at that point only Otago, Canterbury and since 1884 Auckland were affiliated Colleges of the UNZ.

Gardner et al (1973, p. 98) paint a summary picture of the scope of life at Canterbury College in 1880, a year after the Royal Commission. There were

twelve subjects being taught in 39 classes: English literature, history, mathematics, chemistry and physics, geology, biology (botany and zoology), logic and mental science, French and German. For the 129 students there were eight teaching staff in all. The largest class of 37 was doing Shakespeare with Macmillan Brown while Bickerton taught a class almost as large (36) in the evenings taking elementary science. There were seven classes with only one or two students, and only two classes in science got to double figures, being those in mathematics and junior heat, where both classes had 14 students. That is how classes in Canterbury College were mapped out in 1880.

4.2 Progress in the North Island

1877 had seen the Education Act and the prospect of an education system which was to be universal, secular and free. However beyond the primary level, despite the rhetoric of men like Tancred (and no-one contradicted the idea that education was for everyone), only 2.6% of the more than 20,000 school children in the colony were at secondary school. The Royal Commission had decided that those secondary schools could no longer be affiliated to the UNZ but they provided only a small base for any hope of a universal provision of further opportunity and in the North Island little prospect at all at the tertiary level. The 1880s saw a down-turn in the New Zealand economy after the stimulation of the Vogel boom. But Belich (2001) points out that while each region was hit in turn by the bad times they were not all hit together. The 1880s saw expansion in the Auckland region, but the money in Auckland was never as thoughtful of education as the more orthodox and puritan elements in the South Island.

However, O'Rorke, who had chaired the 1878-9 Commission so well, and others in Auckland finally found enough support to establish their University College, the North Island's first in 1884. The College had been a long time coming. In 1862 J.G. writing in *Chapman's New Zealand Monthly Journal* had declared that Auckland needed a university modelled on London, a people's university, something to direct the education of the whole country. The evidence before a

Provincial Committee on disbursing the revenues from Grey's Grammar School Trust were all in favour of a university. Two of those giving evidence before the Committee, Swainson and Carleton, suggested that such a university could be established on the cheap. Carlton was sure that such a university "need not have any material existence" (in Sinclair, 1983, p. 3) And that is the way it was.

O'Rorke, who had first been elected as member for Onehunga in 1861, had moved in 1872 that the University should be established in Auckland in Government House (abandoned in 1865), that the money voted by parliament to university education should be split between Otago and Auckland, and that the UNZ should be a teaching university. O'Rorke was without support, even from the other Auckland constituencies, and for those who had hopes that the Governor would, from time to time, reside in his Auckland residence the idea that it should be used for a university was altogether abhorrent.

Others in Auckland, such as the entrepreneur, J.G.Firth, were not so sure about the importance of the classical training that a university would bring and thought universal training in commerce would be more important than training one or two to honours level. The newspapers were in sympathy with such views. As it was, the chances of founding a university college in Auckland depended upon O'Rorke's fortunes in parliament. O'Rorke served as Minister of Lands and Immigration during the period of the continuous ministry as Waterhouse was replaced by Fox and then Vogel as Prime Minister. In August 1874 O'Rorke resigned from Vogel's Ministry at the threat of the abolition of the provinces. He then came back to parliament as part of Grey's Liberal ministry and he was to prove a very popular (if, at times, a rather drunk) Speaker of the House from 1879-1890 and after a short gap again 1894-1902. No other Speaker in New Zealand has ever served twenty years. It was being back in Parliament under Grey which had got O'Rorke his position chairing the Royal Commission.

As was hinted in the earlier sub-section the intentions of the Royal Commission were only partially realised. With the fortunes of the country as a whole into

slump an 1880 Bill to repeal the University of New Zealand Act met with the cry of insufficient funds. Prime Ministers came and went. The UNZ Senate were convinced that to establish university colleges in Auckland and Wellington it would be possible to use rented premises provided that £1,500 could be found for staff in each place. It is fairly clear that such a modest sum would not easily hire five professors as the Commission had recommended at the generous salaries on which the professors had started in the South Island. Then the Minister of Education, Dick, said Wellington would have to wait. Parliament voted £1,500 for Auckland and on the strength of that signal Dick contacted Dillon Bell, the agent in London, to advertise for two professors at £700 each: English and Classics and Mathematics and Mathematical Physics would be covered. Eventually Parliament decided there could be £4,000 for Auckland since it had no endowment. And with Whitaker, the Auckland speculator and mover in the Bank of New Zealand, as Prime Minister the Auckland University College Act was passed in 1882. This meant that two more professors would be possible: in Chemistry and Experimental Physics and another in Natural Science.

Certain things about the College were clear from the first. Most striking, perhaps, was that it was a state university college. Otago and Canterbury had been launched by private citizens co-operating with Provincial Councils, but Auckland was a state creation, almost entirely dependent on the central government for funds. In this respect it was less independent than the British civic universities, all of which were private or municipal in origins. But state origins were not all disadvantageous. As with the state universities in the U.S.A., the establishment of a state college was a recognition that the provision of higher education was a vital function of societies and of the view that the most suitable agency to provide this function was the state, not religious or private groups. (Sinclair, 1983, p. 25-6)

Four excellent appointments were made. T.G. Tucker, a Fellow from Cambridge, took the professorship in English and Classics. F.D. Brown who had studied in

France and Germany and graduated BSc with the UL was a demonstrator in the University Museum at Oxford in 1881 which awarded him an MA, *honoris causa*. He took up the position in Chemistry. A.P. Thomas who had graduated from Balliol and also had German experience took the position in Natural Science. G.F.Walker, a Fellow from Cambridge, won the mathematics appointment but unfortunately went fishing with Tucker, fell out of a boat and drowned. William S. Aldis found himself free to take up the position he had originally had to refuse. Aldis like so many others came to New Zealand escaping a Britain which he saw as 'an abode of dark souls'. His Cambridge acquaintance Froude is mentioned in Belich (2001, p. 16) giving his opinion of Aldis as "the most brilliant mathematician Cambridge had produced for half a century". I will take up more of Aldis's story in the next section. Auckland, like the other university colleges in New Zealand, employed professors with considerable talents.

So the North Island created its first university college. Despite the efforts of Stout who had been Premier, 1883-6, and others, it had to wait a lot longer for its second. A university college in Wellington had been long hoped for, but came eventually from an unexpected imperial edict by King Dick Seddon. Just a few words about the circumstances of its setting up and its progress before 1910 may help to explain something of the motivation of the reformers that it nursed in its bosom and the circumstances which limited their complete success.

Seddon returned from Queen Victoria's Jubilee celebrations elated after dining at High Table in Cambridge where he was awarded his Doctor of Laws, *honoris causa*. Those who had laughed at Seddon for dropping his aitches might now learn a thing or two. Some of the £4,000 that Seddon was willing to vote each year to the new college named for the Diamond Jubilee would go to Queen's scholarships - as much as £40 a year for 5 years for those who had to leave home to take them. There would not be as many as Seddon would like, but he still managed to railroad those about him to act against their better judgment to support his plan. Stout, for example, objected that the Council proposed by the Victoria College Bill contained a flush of representation of a large number of educational,

and public bodies, both local and national, but lacked what it most needed. For no Professor was to be admitted to the sixteen member Council of Victoria College. The governance structure was a long way from the elegance of those recommended by the Royal Commission of 1878-9. But the Victoria College Act passed in 1897, nevertheless, where previous attempts to institute university level instruction in the Capital had failed.

The Victoria Council advertised widely. The upshot was that four professors were duly appointed. So the four came to Wellington, a city of 48,000, on 1 April 1899. There were two Scots, Rankine-Brown and Mackenzie, sharing classics and literature, and a Yorkshireman, Easterfield, in science. However, the fourth professor Maclaurin was a New Zealander of sorts. He had come to New Zealand with his parents aged four, was educated at Auckland University College, before going on to Cambridge where he performed most illustriously in both mathematics and law. The four would take up their New Zealand careers going between rented rooms at the Girls High and the Technical School. Their classes timetabled for colonial students who were mostly part-timers, were appointed between 5-7pm weekdays, occasionally early in the morning and between 9-12am Saturdays. It was that circumstance of part-time, widely distracted students to which professors had to adapt, something which was disappointing and difficult to do. The demands were difficult for students, too, and although 115 originally enrolled in the first year only 46 kept terms and went on to have their examinations sent overseas. One consequence of the external examination was a long delay for results and an academic year that began 1 April and ended the last week of October. None of this was in the briefing that the NZURA sent to its overseas respondents when they asked for answers to their two questions in 1910.

Synopsis

In this section four contests between individual staff and the Colleges to which they belong are examined for the stories they tell about the relationship between university employees and their employing authorities. They are instructive because they reveal something about life within the Colleges affiliated to the UNZ as these developed. Both Aldis and Bickerton were conscientious pioneer professors with unusual talents but they came to grief before the eagerness of their colleges' governance bodies to control the curriculum and timetabling. Grossmann's case shows the challenges to trust and the challenges that good governance ought to be able to deal with. And von Zedlitz's case is the ultimate test to university governance. Until a governance structure is robust against the challenges that the von Zedlitz case presents it is still a candidate for reform.

In this section four contests between individual staff and the Colleges to which they belonged are examined for the stories they tell about the relationship between university employees and their employing authorities. The facts are simple enough involving four professors: Bickerton, Aldis, von Zedlitz and Grossmann. Each of the four professors had their contracts terminated in circumstances that were less than friendly. Of the four, the one who raises little sympathy is the fourth, Joseph Grossmann, who left two Colleges under much the same circumstances, because he was a swindler and a cheat. Any sympathy for Grossmann arises from the fact that he had a severely handicapped daughter, and that his wife, a talented authoress, lost her mental balance caring for the girl. What is curious is why it was that a man who had left Canterbury College for defrauding a colleague and who had been given two years in jail as a consequence should have been employed in Auckland to do much the same thing again. Had the North Island Colleges been less desperate for

staff and more generously provided with resources the story might have been different. And because the story touches upon aspirations towards gentlemanly status and a complete failure to meet gentlemanly standards it will be examined further here.

The story of Grossman is one of unprincipled behaviour and, on that account, is quite different from the other three stories. The case of von Zedlitz is the most disgraceful because it saw “foul treatment” in which no parties finished up winners. The Victoria College Council finally accepted von Zedlitz’s resignation, despite the fact that they were extremely reluctant to do so, but in the end they had to bow to the power of the New Zealand parliament and its Alien Enemy Teachers Act passed specifically to remove their professor. In the case of von Zedlitz Parliament showed, in a very obvious fashion, the limits of university independence and demonstrated a very ugly side of state power.

The other two stories are more typical of university dismissals, nasty stories of political dealings and personality friction. The stories are interesting because both involve foundation professors at their respective Colleges and both demonstrated something about the lop-sided nature of power relations when governance bodies abandon substantive for mere procedural justice. Aldis’s dismissal in Auckland and Bickerton’s at Canterbury College have a number of features in common: both men were sent letters requesting them to explain their timetables, and both were hunted out by the Chairs of their Colleges’ respective governance bodies. In both cases there were suggestions that it would be possible to get better value for money at a cheaper rate. In short, the stories of Aldis and Bickerton are not uncommon stories and are a reminder that university tenure is far from being the total sinecure it is sometimes made out to be. Professors are not immune from the vagaries of governance particularly when the governance is allied with envious factions within the professorial community. In both these stories the governance body was predominantly a lay body. But I doubt that the outcomes would have been greatly different had the restructurings indulged in been at the hands of academic bodies dancing to similar tunes of financial constraint mixed with spite.

5.1 Partial Impact

The 1870s was a time of Empire-wide enthusiasm for education. As part of this enthusiasm the Board of Governors that was established by the 1873 provincial ordinance in Canterbury decided upon the importance of science being applied to agriculture and resolved to fetch out a Professor of Chemistry to teach in their College. Lord Lyttelton was called upon to do the recruiting and no less a person than Professor Ramsay, an eventual Nobel prize winner, made the recommendation of Alexander Bickerton. The arrangement was that there would be no other employment than that at the College, the contract could be terminated on twelve months notice, but there would be a termination fee of £300 if this happened within ten years of coming to the colony. There was £300 for laboratory equipment, £150 for travel and the salary would be £600 a year. For Bickerton it was not a desperate move. He had employment in Southampton and had been offered professorships in Japan and Canada. Had he wanted more money he could have taken up an offer as a mineral sorter in the Cordilleras for £1,000. He was an idealist and Canterbury was to offer his ideal world. No! the brilliant Bickerton chose New Zealand believing that it was, on the recommendation of Dr Ridding of Winchester, “the most advanced and best educated colony in the world.” (Burdon, 1956, p. 21)

Just how brilliant was Bickerton? On his own estimation and that of many others as well, he was an outstanding man. His parents had died before he finished Eggars Grammar School in Chawton so he did not begin serious study until after his early cabinet-making business in the Cotswolds with Brown had failed. At about the age of twenty he took classes under a Moses Pullen. He taught and gave classes at Birmingham and was then sponsored by the government to the Paris Exhibition in 1867. At Birmingham he sat examinations, rattled off a great number of first-class prizes and won an Exhibition (after the London Exhibition of 1851) Scholarship to the School of Mines in London where T.H. Huxley was the Dean. He gave evening classes around London as he had in Birmingham and it was thought that as a result of this moonlighting he might lose his Exhibition Scholarship. However, he won the first Royal Scholarship in organic and inorganic chemistry with a 98% mean in his exams. In his time in London Bickerton

perfected his lecturing/showmanship techniques which he first developed by studying the approach of two noted London preachers, Puncheon and Sturgeon.

In Christchurch the ability he had developed to enliven the lives of working class people in London with popular lectures stood him in great stead. He was an outstanding and very popular entertainer, greatly devoted to using gunpowders, fireworks and all sorts of other crowd-pleasing effects. Shortly after arriving in Christchurch at the age of 32 years, there was little in the way of a university in which to lecture, or students well-prepared in the chemistry or physics sufficient to undertake university level study. However, Bickerton knew his job, and knew how to spark an interest. Soon after his arrival in Christchurch, on August 12, 1874 he began a series of public lectures on 'Heat and Energy' at the Oddfellows Hall and the 400 people who showed up were greatly impressed.

The *Lyttelton Times* reported:

Professor Bickerton's lecture as part of a popular course seems to invite the approval and the confidence of the public - in himself as a teacher and in the institution with which he is connected. (in Burdon, 1956, p. 24)

It was an auspicious start to great town and gown relations in Christchurch and the base for a strong personal support for Bickerton by an appreciative Christchurch public. Although he was appointed to teach chemistry Bickerton took it into his own hands to develop physics and technology as well and put his address at Canterbury College as the Laboratory Department on his letterhead. He was a practical man and a great organizer doing his best to drum up interest. He wrote a book for primary teachers *Materials for lessons in elementary science*, and lectured at the Girls High School. He was a great enthusiast. But he was also anxious to look after his own interests.

The Provincial Council thought they had a great bargain in their new Professor and that he would do work for them as the Provincial analyst - testing adulteration of product (bread and beer in particular), and giving evidence in Court cases. If the provincial burghers thought they had bought these skills with the Professorship they had reckoned

without Bickerton's self-esteem. For a salary of £100 and a fee of 10/- an analysis he would do the job, but not for less. Negotiations took over a year during which Bickerton offered alternative proposals: no salary but £2 per analysis; no fee but £200 for salary. The negotiators eventually settled for Bickerton's original demands.

In November 1876 a little more than two years after he arrived in Christchurch Bickerton was attracted to the theory which dominated the rest of his life. A new star appeared in the constellation of Cygnus, the Nova Cygni and Bickerton was attracted to the interesting research question: How are stars born? Bickerton rejected previous explanations and came up with his own Theory of Partial Impact. Dead stars might rush at each other as they passed through space attracted by gravitational forces. They might then deal each other a passing blow so that material would be torn off each and a fraction of their kinetic energy would then be converted into heat energy. There is no doubt, that Bickerton had a great belief in his theory and he spent a great proportion of the later years of his life trying to convince the astronomical community of its advantages and its utility. There is a certain sadness about his story because he received rejection after rejection, probably because he relied too much upon the techniques of Puncheon and Sturgeon rather than by presenting carefully argued papers that made due reference to the other arguments and literature in his field. However, a judgment of Bickerton's scientific contribution should not ignore that he was a man ahead of his time: he was the sort of man who instituted interactive scientific museum displays many decades ahead of their recent popularity and his public displays at Canterbury always captured the enthusiastic support of his Christchurch public. Nor can the judgment ignore the tribute paid by his most famous pupil, Ernest Rutherford, whose letter to the Board of Governors at Canterbury College, written not long after he had been awarded a Nobel prize in Chemistry in 1908 contained the following:

The Theory of Cosmical Impact of Professor Bickerton is in my opinion the only satisfactory theory of accounting for the remarkable phenomena observed at the time of the appearance of a new star. It is not his fault that the theory has not made more headway in astronomical circles but is rather due to the fact that no astronomer of reputation has had sufficient leisure to examine

the consequences of the theory in detail.

The theory is a genuine contribution to Science and no doubt will be ultimately taken up and carefully examined by astronomers. (Rutherford to Russell, March 27, 1909 in Burdon, 1956, p.107 and Campbell, 1999, p. 199)

Rutherford had been a postgraduate student at Canterbury College in 1894 when he and the other postgraduate student John Erskine played very different parts in an investigation which went close to costing Bickerton his job. The problems centred around a question of the carrying out of duties and the best use of resources including professorial labour. Matters came to a head when Sammy Page, Bickerton's very able laboratory assistant, decided to leave for greener pastures. His job was advertised and Bickerton was thinking of appointing one of his sons, Alex. However, Page had a very literal change of heart, having been smitten by a Sarah Saunders. He decided to stay where he was, and reapplied for his old position. Bickerton put him first on his list from the ten applicants, ahead of Alex, and Sammy held out hopes for an increased salary. The College Committee resolved on Page but then recommended to the Board:

2 That in the opinion of the committee an inquiry should be made into the management of the Department of Chemistry and Physics and into the Salary and Duties of the Assistant. (in Campbell, 1999, p. 174)

What followed was a very vigorous inquiry, fuelled by competing professorial ambitions, and a desire to kill a number of birds with as few stones as possible. What was attempted was, in short, what in more modern parlance is termed a restructuring or a repositioning, conducted by a lay committee of four: Webb, the Chair of the Committee and Board; the Anglican Bishop of Christchurch, Bishop Julius; a JP. Westenra; and a lawyer, Thomas Weston. The questioning of the honours students, Erskine and Rutherford, became a central part of the inquiry in which Erskine was asked 108 questions and gave the opinion that Bickerton neglected his best students. It transpired that Bickerton only gave one hour of honours lectures a week while Cook in mathematics was giving six. Cook's support was in mathematics where the lack of sufficient computing power most hampered the postgraduate students in their physics experiments. Bickerton and Page on

the other hand were giving great practical support to the experiments that both Erskine and Rutherford were engaged in. Erskine was led in a closed question by the lawyer Weston to say that he did not think that the practices of the Department were satisfactory. Rutherford, however, pointed out that Bickerton's professorship was in experimental science, not in mathematical science, and that:

Research work is supposed to be my own unaided work, but I have been assisted by the professor and Mr. Page in certain mechanical details of apparatus.

And he went on to support Bickerton:

233 (Professor Bickerton) Have you found me especially well up in the leading principles of Science? - Yes; I think it is one of the Professor's strongest points. He has a very clear knowledge of the foundations on which Science rests, of the great principles, I mean, underlying Science, both the elementary and the great. (in Campbell, 1999, p. 176)

Bickerton explained his practice with his postgraduate students:

I like to guide them almost wholly in their original researches, except in one case, that of Mr Rutherford, who exhibited such unusual capacity for research although I followed his work all through and have been greatly interested in it he has not been greatly helped. I believe his research will be considered a classic one of extraordinary ability. (in Campbell, 1999, p. 177)

Bickerton pointed out that with more resources than everyone in the College could benefit. He reminded the committee how in 1891 he had raised the problems of inadequate space and resources for experimentation with the Board of Governors. Then in Nov, 1893 he had written to the Board hoping that Rutherford could use one of the cloak-rooms for his physics experiments. This was something the Committee seemed to have forgotten. Bickerton now reminded the Inquiry Committee of what was needed:

.. were funds available, we want first and foremost a Physical laboratory, secondly, more junior assistance; thirdly a physical assistant; fourthly, more honours apparatus. (in Campbell, 1999, p. 178)

These needs were repeated by others, the science master at the Boys' High School and the last to give evidence, Professor Cook, who asked for much the same things.

However, he also suggested that the teaching of electricity should go to the engineering school, that he (Cook) should have Physics, and that Bickerton should be left with only Chemistry.

The Committee accepted all of Cook's suggestions and wrote them up as their recommendations which they reported 28 February, 1895. However, the *Press* was generally unhappy with the efforts to sideline Bickerton. His efforts to popularize his subject were greatly appreciated, and many of those who enjoyed his popular lectures were behind him. Bickerton had served on the Christchurch City Council, he was prominent in the papers, never backward in his opinions, he was prominent in court cases as the government analyst, and he was also, for a time, president of the Tailoresses' and Pressers' Union. Not everybody approved of his socialistic bent, or that he saw marriage as an institution which enforced hardship and misery on many caught up in its unfortunate demands, so that stood against him in some eyes. He was also known to have rated Christianity ahead of the practices of the Church of England. It was around the attachments to this array of values that factions formed. But in 1895 there was sufficient support for Bickerton, and there was a growing confusion over the reasons for the inquiry so that meetings of the Board first on March 11 and then on April 9 threw out all the Committee's recommendations.

Life for Bickerton continued to be very full. He bought a property at Wainoni, published a *Reply to critics* and in 1898 *The romance of the earth* about the morality or the immorality of marriage, a topic which attracted correspondence in the press. A community had developed on the Wainoni property, attracted by Bickerton's cheap methods of house construction and the prospects of a relaxed way of life. The wider community looked for reasons to be scandalised, and when Bickerton suffering from insomnia applied for a year's leave of absence Aug 24, 1899 the registrar, Cracroft Wilson, sent a letter offering it for 1900, but quoting concerns over the separation of Chemistry and Physics, and giving Bickerton, at the age of fifty seven, 12 months notice of the termination of his appointment. The Board's letter was ambiguous as to its meaning, and a good bit of public support and the *Lyttelton Times* were still with

Bickerton. The Board then assured Bickerton of £600 (two thirds of his current salary) for his sabbatical year. Furthermore, they made an offer open for a month, that on his return he could have the Chair of Chemistry at £700 with the appointment terminable with 12 months notice in writing given by either party. Bickerton accepted and then was gratuitously reminded by Webb that he would not be permitted “to take private pupils, nor to engage in private practice, and the whole of your time must be devoted to the work of your Chair” (in Burdon, 1956, p. 82)

Bickerton went to England, failed to raise much support for his partial impact theory, and returned to further conflict and harassment at Canterbury College. On the Board of Governors the lawyer Weston had replaced Webb in the Chair. In Nov, 1901, Cracroft Wilson wrote inquiring how many lectures the professor was giving a week. It was six. Then another letter came inquiring what other duties the professor was engaged in. Bickerton meanwhile was engaged in publishing *The perils of a pioneer* in which he outlined the difficulties of convincing not merely the scientific community but his unbelieving College employers of his contributions. He had added a final chapter and included a letter from 1899 which he had later retracted. The newspapers reported 28 January 1902 that the Board were again moving for his dismissal. This time he had gone too far. He also lost further support in the public offering views opposed to the colony's jingoist fervour for the Boer War which meant he had lost further sympathy on the Board. George Russell and the Catholic bishop, Grimes, spoke for him but it was not enough. The *Lyttelton Times* marked his going with their customary support:

if the Professor had held no “views” on social questions, and had not occupied some of his spare time in writing articles on subjects with which the Board had no concern, his enemies would not have been so ready to discover defects in his College work. (in Burdon, 1956, p. 93)

So the energetic and industrious Bickerton, who had spent his efforts on so much for the university, was freed from his obligations and relieved of his salary, and left to raise his own funds to pursue and publish his theory of partial impact, which he was to do for another 27 years.

5.2 Bond-slave of Jesus Christ

Bickerton had been the spokesperson for Canterbury professors before the Royal Commission of 1879. And he had been questioned early on in his career by his Board when they were worried that they were getting value from their professors. This pseudo-problem was not confined to Canterbury. There had been considerable worry among the lay Councils that they were not getting a pound of flesh from their professors and there was considerable concern about the hours of teaching, lengths of terms and the numbers of terms in an academic year. Two matters constrained most of these issues as we have already seen. Firstly, exams were being despatched overseas and the long delays of posting off and waiting for results determined the start and the end of the academic year. Secondly, many of the students were working and attending classes part-time so classes were held early in the morning, late in the evening or at the weekend so that workloads were pushed around into rather awkward time-tabling. But the governance bodies looked aghast when they saw that the middle of each week and each day looked decidedly hollow, and worried about under-utilized resources.

At Auckland the Professorial Board had power to fix courses of study and hours of lectures and make the rules for attendance. However, under the Auckland University Act their decisions required the approval of the Council which from 1883 until 1916 was dominated by O'Rorke in the Chair. Professors were excluded from a place on Council but this matter was tested in 1886 when the Professor of Mathematics, William Aldis, was elected Chair of the Auckland Education Board and by that route was entitled to a seat on Council. The question was could he take it up? Legal opinion was sought and Sir Frederick Whittaker said that he could, representing the Education Board, but that he must not wear a Professorial Board hat. Aldis, however, in an uncharacteristic fit of reluctance almost immediately resigned his Council position on the grounds of ill health although his attendance to nearly all his other duties in the College continued with little regard for ailments.

Professorial Board and College Council on the whole kept their respectful distances but the question of labour arose with complaints from the respected James Adams, Head of Thames High School, who was seeking more day-time classes in 1890. In 1891 timetables were marginally adjusted although the Professorial Board defended itself against unfavourable comparisons with the South Island colleges citing very different local conditions. However, there was bad blood between O'Rorke, a Catholic and an imbibor, and Aldis, who was a rigid Baptist, and tee-totaller. Here is what Aldis wrote of matters in a letter to Sir Robert Stout:

The whole thing had arisen from a piece of spite on Sir G.M. O'Rorke's part, for my interference with his appropriation of the College stables for his son's sporting purpose. Some people tell me I was foolish to interfere, but when a wrong thing done is forced upon my notice, I am not a free man. I am a 'bond-slave of Jesus Christ' and I must do what I can to right the wrong . (In Sinclair, 1983, p. 47)

Somewhere, in the background of the dispute which saw the dismissal of Professor Aldis lurked questions of value for money. When all the points of being fair and acting vindictively are set aside the waverers on Council that eventually gave their support to the decidedly spiteful O'Rorke, were probably taking account of savings to the College. Professor Aldis who was hired at the going rate of £700 a year plus fees was replaced by a younger, cheaper, less accomplished man, H.W. Segar, for £500 a year. But the change was not a straight-forward matter. It was carried forward with some duplicity by the determination of O'Rorke, against a considerable righteous defence of Aldis by such notables as Sir George Grey and Sir John Logan Campbell.

In the final upshot Aldis was dismissed for failing to teach classes in which students had not enrolled and for following the sensible custom of adjusting his personal timetable in a flexible fashion to meet the needs of those students who had. In punctiliously attending to what was important he had failed to inform

Council of his deviations from their timetable. Late in 1892 the Council had informed Pond, the chair of the Professorial Board, that the College would, in future, observe a three term year and they had concerns that the timetable of 1891 had, to their regret, not been fully carried out.

In March of 1893 Pond wrote two letters to Council. In one he complained of the three term year. In the other he denied that Aldis had in any way failed in his professorial duties. The Council kept minutes meticulously supported by the Registrar, Kidd. The Professorial Board, unfortunately for Aldis, was far less reliable on that score. Pond pointed out that Aldis would be doing tutorials to replace the lectures for which no-one had enrolled in 1893. At its May 15 meeting O'Rorke took Council into Committee. There was a close vote which suggested that only Aldis's salary be reduced but this was lost on O'Rorke's casting vote. Then on an equally close vote, where all but two of the sub-committee who had investigated Aldis's timetable supported Aldis, a vote was passed for Aldis's termination with six months notice.

Aldis learned of his fate in the papers and took up a spirited defence which probably lost him sympathy. There were petitions on both sides: to restore Aldis on the one hand; and to carry out the restructuring on the other. O'Rorke's position was that the original contract was for only five years, at the end of which time termination could be expected after six months notice to be given by either party. Aldis maintained that he had been given quite different assurances by the Agent-General, Dillon Bell, when he took up his appointment. Aldis's requests for the written reasons for his dismissal received no reply. Aldis appealed to the University Visitor but as it turned out Seddon who was Prime Minister at the time was not for any government interference and was sure that the Auckland Council had acted legally. If procedural justice was all that counted then Seddon was no doubt correct.

Aldis was not as fortunate as Bickerton was to be in the investigations into his

Christchurch department in 1894. However, like Bickerton, Aldis did receive support from his best student. When the registrar Kidd, wrote to R.C. Maclaurin at Cambridge for his 'ticket' for attendances in Aldis's class

Maclaurin wrote back that 'Aldis spared neither time nor trouble in directing my course of reading during the year'. He had thought that the tutorials were private, not formal classes, and had no 'ticket'. (Sinclair, 1983, p. 55)

The five honours students on campus testified that they received all the lectures they wanted and needed from Aldis. When the Students' Association petitioned the Education Department and denied that Aldis taught only eight to ten hours the Education Department wrote back to say that they had no status under the Act. So O'Rorke succeeded against Aldis where Webb was not to immediately succeed against the troublesome Bickerton. The cases had considerable similarities. The Chairs of the governing bodies believed that certain faces didn't fit. Bickerton was too loose, Aldis was too tight. Aldis was morally hide-bound which led O'Rorke to mark him down in his notes as '[i]nsubordinate - contumacious - refractory - defiance - Sets authority at naught' .(in Sinclair, 1983, p. 57). When Aldis went to the papers he did not have the strong public support that would rally behind Bickerton in Christchurch. He may have had more support from his colleagues but that unfortunately proved rather supine.

5.3 "Popular Paranoia"

At Victoria University College in 1914-5 von Zedlitz never lacked for support either from his professorial colleagues or from his employing Board. But popular prejudice and the dark side of democracy, serving a popular prejudice, cost him his job nonetheless. Von Zedlitz was not a foundation professor but had come to Victoria in its third year in 1902. He had a German name and heritage and his father was a baron which meant he had once been comfortably landed. George had been born in Silesia in 1876 but on his mother's side his grandfather was a naturalized Englishman. His father left his mother and George von Zedlitz grew

up in England speaking English. He went first to Wellington College, Berkshire and then on to Oxford where he debated with Hillaire Belloc. His difficulty arose from an accident of birth and his attachment to that accident.

He had used his debating skills to considerable effect when making public addresses on behalf of the NZURA during the excitement of 1910 and 1911 and had used his editorial skills in shaping their document which is examined more closely in the next section. But those activities had no bearing on his treatment in 1914-5. He was very widely respected within the College both by staff and by students and is featured in the centenary volume of *Eminent Victorians* (2000). When the First World War broke out he was only one of the 6,000 German or Austrian people living in New Zealand who were treated with great suspicion, even odium. (There were, however, only 450 places available on Soames and Motuihe Islands for internment). Von Zedlitz, however, had a certain prominence in public affairs so that reports and letters to the Wellington papers about him ran wild. The following appeared in the *New Zealand Free Lance* in 1915.

Some of the rumours regarding Professor von Zedlitz have been almost delicious in a wild sort of way. One was that he was caught signalling to a German cruiser, taken to Soames Island, and immediately shot. (quoted by Wattie in O'Sullivan, 2000, p. 137)

Von Zedlitz had a consistent, but uncommon position, and not one to be easily understood by the unreflective New Zealand citizen. He was basically a pacifist and was not prepared to bear arms. But he also had a streak of romantic patriotism and when Germany declared war on Russia on August 1, 1914 he went to the German consul in Wellington, Focke, and offered to go to Germany as a stretcher bearer. The consul told him that Germany was unlikely to recognize his German citizenship. Then on 4 August Britain joined the war against Germany.

On the same day, August 4, von Zedlitz wrote to the Council and offered his resignation. The Chair, Ostler, wrote back and said the Council would not accept the resignation. However, the public took an interest in the German at Victoria and

letters were written suggesting von Zedlitz resign. H.D. Bell who had been a member of the Victoria College Council, and was in 1914 Minister of Internal Affairs, wrote to von Zedlitz

I am aware that you are of German birth and race, and that you have retained your national character and sympathies, which are at this time as widely different as possible from the sympathies and aspirations of England and of New Zealand. (In Beaglehole, 1949, pp. 163-4)

Von Zedlitz replied reassuringly to a 12 December letter from Bell that he would not be communicating with the enemy. In 1915 in April it was Gallipoli and in May the Lusitania was sunk and voices in the public were raised in indignation and anger. In the House of Representatives Nosworthy, the member for Ashburton, asked why von Zedlitz was not interred like other Germans that had been in the Civil Service. The Prime Minister, Massey, made a reply explaining that von Zedlitz was a servant of the Victoria College Council, not the Government, and they, not the Government, would decide his position. The New Zealand Government had followed the instructions of the Imperial Government that characters personally vouched for, and above suspicion, should not be arrested. So far so good. But then Massey went on to say that, if necessary, the government would legislate so that no 'unnaturalized enemy subjects should give instruction to the youth and children of the Dominion' (Massey in Beaglehole, 1949, p. 168). To repeat, he went on, if the Professor and the Council would not act then the government would legislate.

But it was public pressure that determined von Zedlitz's fate. In July the Aliens Board had considered von Zedlitz's case and said there was no need for him to resign. However, Massey, himself, introduced the Alien Enemy Teachers Bill in September. The Council resolved to petition against the Bill but the Legislative Council ignored their petition. Before the second reading the Petitions Committee of the Lower House received a deputation from Victoria College and von Zedlitz himself spoke. There were members of the House who were confident that the Bill would be voted down. Malcolm, representing Clutha, explained the sequence of the August 1 letter, 1914 and the subsequent British declaration of war on August 4 and

insisted on von Zedlitz's honour at the second reading in the House. Furthermore, many members of the College Council were determined to make an issue of their dilemma and would resign if the Bill passed and they would then seek re-election on their matter of principle. The government anticipated their mood and legislated with an Amendment to the Education Act that in the event of resignations there would be no elections, but the government would reappoint to any vacancies. In the event the four members of the College Council that were also Members of Parliament voted for the Bill (Barrowman, 1999, p. 37). The professor resigned and the Council voted him a year's salary. Still that did not silence the howls of protest.

The removal of Professor von Zedlitz from his position did not stop the vilification in the press. Papers such as the *Dominion* and the *New Zealand Times* "poured forth a torrent of abuse". (Wattie, 2000, p. 141)

Something which is a little strange is that after the War a new Council, did not restore von Zedlitz to his position despite the motion of Hunter for his reinstatement. At that point pressure came from both School Boards and from the Returned Services Association. This produced both a hardening among closely related factional interests, and a relatively different Council which was persuaded by such a hardening. So this Council, somewhat changed from the one which had defended him, refused to reinstate von Zedlitz.

Barrowman summarizes the outcome as

an instance of official capitulation to the kind of popular paranoia not unexpected in wartime; but also a chilling demonstration of the fragility of one of the more basic of those university ideals for which, in a different context, the reformers had recently been fighting – that of academic freedom. (1999, p. 35-6)

The von Zedlitz case is interesting because it illustrates in a fairly pure form subjectivist processes of what Hatch calls retroactive manifestation and prospective interpretation. It is not that these acts are not common elsewhere in

the stories that this research deals with. But here is a story of the uglier aspects of “the subjectifying aspects of identity formation, cultural self-maintenance, and adjustment” (Hatch, 1993, p. 676). Von Zedlitz, himself was engaged in the same processes, concurring in many ways with the opinions against his tenure. He made his presumptions manifest in his approach to the German consul. Those things which had sat silent and unattended to were given focus. But he had grown up in an age when documents of nationality and passports were not established artefacts. Von Zedlitz is a test case of the way in which nationality is subjectively imposed. By his own account von Zedlitz had spent “[f]ive years in Dresden from three to eight. Five or so at Loretto from 1896 to 1901, four at Oxford, three at Wellington College, the rest all ones or less.” (in Wattie, 2000, p. 133) and he identified himself as “a New Zealander of German origins” (ibid). By 1914 he had lived in Wellington, New Zealand, for more than a quarter of his years. Still he, and those New Zealanders who did not know him but were against their idea of him, thought of him as a German. Focke, the consul, however, suggested that his countrymen would not have thought of von Zedlitz as German. His students from all accounts thought of him as the very model of an English gentleman. His country by immigration decided, however, that he was a danger and he should not teach in a State university. The State university in the end concurred. Reform of the UNZ such as von Zedlitz and the other reformers had sought would have made no difference to that.

5.4 “Borrow a fiver”

However, a reformed UNZ might have made some difference in the case of Joseph P. Grossmann who might never have been awarded a professorship at Auckland if Auckland professors had had a greater say in the governance of their College. What employment he would have had there and whether he would have been so free to do what damage he did is not so certain for financial constraints seemed to play some part in the circumstances of his employment. When he was hired at Auckland money was again the issue and the College was looking to fill its spaces as cheaply

as possible. There was evidence for this in the promotion of Maxwell Walker a little after Grossmann had been hired. Against the protests of O'Rorke and Peacocke on Council, and Professor Jarman on the Professorial Board, Walker, who had been on yearly contracts at £100 to teach French and German received a permanent appointment as Professor in 1909 for £300 (this is a considerably less amount than the £700 to which Bickerton's salary had been reduced at Canterbury before he was finally eased out in 1902). Grossmann was hired a little earlier than Walker in much the same straightened circumstances being taken on in 1905 to lecture in economics, history and commercial geography.

Grossmann had been born the son of Polish immigrants in Australia but had begun secondary teaching at the Boys' High School in Christchurch in 1884 before graduating with MA first class honours at Canterbury College in 1892. There can be little doubt that Grossmann succeeded because he had an engaging, if flawed personality. When the Students Association at Canterbury was founded in 1894 Grossmann was its first president and served in that position until 1897. (Gardner et. al., 1973, p. 160). In 1889 he had been Chair of the Dialectical Society. From 1896 to 1898 he lectured at Canterbury College where he was close to the very popular and urbane teacher of classics, Professor Haslam. Unfortunately for Haslam, Grossmann got very close indeed and took to forging promissory notes using Haslam's signature and as a consequence very nearly bankrupted the unfortunate professor. The upshot was that Grossmann was sentenced by the courts to two years jail for fraud, which term he served out before moving to Auckland with his novelist wife, the feminist Edith Searle Grossmann, and their defective daughter. Grossmann was never without his supporters and, in fact carried with him, testimonials written by both Macmillan Brown and Haslam, testimonials which predated his fall from grace. There were other supporters, too, for he and his wife had worked together in helping found the Canterbury Women's Institute which gave many Christchurch women considerable satisfaction and a debt of gratitude.

In Auckland Grossmann was able to take up work in journalism at the *Star*. Then in 1905 Professor Segar at the University College was suggesting the need for a course in commerce, and duly advertised for a lecturer in economics, history and commercial geography. When Grossmann applied to Auckland he offered three fine references, two of them from the Canterbury professors, where the one from Haslam testified to his being "high minded". The references no doubt helped but there seems little doubt that the College was doing its best to hire labour as cheaply as possible. That may account for their not checking further. On the other hand they may have checked and been willing to go the extra mile. Once hired Grossmann was also able to continue in his employment at the *Star* and wrote many of their editorials over a good many years. In fact, he was quite active against university reform, and used both signed letters and unsigned editorials to oppose men like Professor Jarman in 1909 and defend overseas examination for the confidence it could provide to the community. However, that is to get a little ahead. In 1905 Grossmann wanted more money for a comfortable life and to afford his bills, and the university college was willing to take on his labour as cheaply as possible.

For Segar's suggestions for expansion of university teaching at Auckland into commerce coincided with the ploy to get more money on the special school hobbyhorse. Auckland was anxious to get special school money for two projects a School of Commerce and a School of Mines. The case for Mines was both stronger and more contentious. After all, two thirds of the colony's gold exports were being recovered in the Auckland province and there was a good proportion of coal mining being done in the province as well, so the College did have a substantial case. When Auckland applied to the government they were looking for £7,000 for a School of Mines and £1,500 for salaries and maintenance. Not surprisingly Otago was against competition from Auckland but Prime Minister Seddon was only willing to promise more subsidies for Otago's Medical School if the southern university would transfer its School of Mines to Auckland. As matters turned out in Auckland enrolments in commerce were not great initially

and most of the special schools' money went to the School of Mines. (Barrowman, 2000, p. 385). That was the background situation which played out in the hiring of Grossmann. Financial voices and schemes to capture more resources dominated decision making. Segar, however, who was anxious to expand into more relevant curriculum areas, did not prove quite so anxious to see Grossmann join him on the Professorial Board when that matter was pressed at a later date.

That time came in 1915 when Tole, on Council, moved that Grossmann should be appointed a professor to the chair of economics and history with a salary of £700. He was opposed by both the professorial representatives, Segar and Egerton. Despite some opposition from Wells the attraction in appointing a local man, and getting a professor at a relatively cheap rate, meant that once again financial interests took precedence over academic concerns. The appointment went ahead for the efforts of the professors to stall the appointment into a separate appointments committee, which they would have assumed to be more attentive to their concerns, failed.

As a professor Grossmann was certainly not trusted by all of his colleagues. For example before Burbidge was appointed to his position in physics in 1920 he was warned in London by the former Professor of Physics to be wary of Grossmann and to reject any of his appeals for financial assistance. Sure enough, soon after Burbidge arrived "Grossmann introduced himself and tried to borrow a fiver. (Burbidge was to say, 'I refused as between colleagues')." (Sinclair, 1983, p. 132)

A little after that in 1921 a new recruit in the philosophy department, William Anderson, was not as lucky to be warned, and proved to be far less circumspect. Grossmann made friends with Anderson, and began borrowing money from him. Once again Grossmann was to succeed with a long enduring con by persuading the gullible Anderson to sign off promissory notes. In fact, Anderson was willing to sign many different notes persuaded by Grossmann's argument that he was

next ten years with Grossmann speculating in land for which Anderson stood surety. Grossman was in his late fifties when this further fall from grace began. He had been stretched by bills for his handicapped child and his wife who was far from mentally stable and living in Sydney. No doubt he was also worried about his future in a time before superannuation. As it turned out the hapless Anderson did not owe, as he thought, a rather considerable £400. Rather, the philosopher found that he stood surety for a much larger amount of £2,600. When the scandal broke Grossmann, now sixty-eight, resigned, was sent a letter of thanks from the Students' Association, and was assisted out the country to Sydney to continue there his career in journalism

Grossmann is an interesting figure in the history of the UNZ. He was surely as notable a figure at Canterbury College as his contemporaries there, Rutherford and Erskine, and he was certainly more prominent in student affairs. He was a brilliant product of a colonial education. At Auckland he taught a variety of subjects in the Department of Mental Science, Economics, History, and Commercial Geography 1906-15. As this Department split and eventually gave rise to separate disciplines in Economics, History and Geography Grossmann had teaching in all three. When the reformers in Wellington, however, wondered how academics in some Colleges could cover such a wide brief in their teaching they looked askance at Grossmann. His own colleagues were not always happy with his willingness to shift terms marks rather casually. Perhaps Grossmann tested himself against the demands of overseas examination and was satisfied with those. He often seemed to have an opinion and is quoted somewhere today for his contribution to ecological concerns in New Zealand forestry. But his personal concerns predominated over his professional ones and the governance structures of the College were unable to protect his colleagues from the problems associated with those personal concerns.

6 GRAVE VOICES

Synopsis

Here the voices of the academic community answering the NZURA's questions on governance are summarized and analysed. The respondents from Australia, Great Britain and the United States gave similar opinions. Examinations were a necessary evil but could be used to good effect if they were an instrument devised, controlled and applied by the teachers responsible for the curriculum. Nevertheless, external moderation should always be a feature in any credible university. Just who should be involved in university governance would always be a contentious issue but the voice of academic staff should not be excluded from participation. A dual system of specialised governance, professorial boards for academic matters, and lay councils, including a minority representation of professors upon those councils, was generally favoured.

In this section the ideals of the international university community are summarised. Or rather their answers to the two questions that the NZURA sent out to them in November, 1910 are summarised. In a very narrow account the NZURA got off the ground largely because Laby who had only arrived at Victoria in 1909 was far from happy. Others were, according to Laby, too complacent and von Zedlitz recorded Laby's enthusiasm this way:

Laby started the whole thing, an Australian, a new-comer; one who has since achieved considerable distinction elsewhere. He could see the defects of our system and there was nothing to prevent him from saying so. He spent hours almost daily in my office saying it. How could we, he asked, who know better, still sit and draw salaries without telling the truth? Easily, I thought, having much to lose and being comfortable as I was. (quoted by Wattie in O'Sullivan, 2000, p. 137)

Laby's opinion summarises the main complaint of the reformers. As arrangements stood there was no incentive to try and do a good job. Professors were not trusted and were not appreciated and in the end sullen resentment might lead to total inactivity.

In Auckland in 1909 Professor Jarman wrote:

Under the policy followed in New Zealand, the enthusiasm which professors first bring to their work is gradually damped and dispelled. There should be a spirit as well as a body in a professor's work; here the soul is crushed. Shut out so largely from control in their own sphere, labelled in effect as unfit for work they ought to do, told they cannot be trusted to examine or to govern, the professorial class cannot but lose much of their professional self-respect along with their enthusiasm, gradually imbibe the mercenary character of much of their surroundings, and come to regard their profession not as an object of devotion, but as a mere means of livelihood. (in Sinclair, 1983, p. 89)

Or, as Tucker one of the foundation professors at Auckland was to put it in a single word writing back from Melbourne at much the same time that university reform was everywhere a topic, the system in New Zealand was 'humiliating'. (ibid, p. 89) The reformers were determined to present cogent evidence and made out a survey. The survey was sent to nearly one hundred and fifty overseas academics, most of whom were either heads of Departments, Deans, Chancellors or Professors. In 1911 when Stout wished to bring their survey into disrepute he suggested, in the manner of those who are unhappy with an unfavourable survey, that the sample was hardly representative of respectable university opinion. Whether his attack swayed the Senate is doubtful, but that their Chancellor was willing to stand up for local arrangements to suit local conditions probably comforted them considerably. Stout's suggestion, however, that the sample was unrepresentative, or even stacked, was very wide of the mark. But then in defending a position Stout adopted the ideals and experiences that he gained from his legal advocacy where winning cases trumped truth.

The reformers sent their survey to two categories of authorities: Chancellors, Vice-Chancellors, Presidents and Principals of the chief universities in Great Britain, America and Australia; and past and present examiners of the UNZ, as well as some of her graduates abroad and other professors. To stimulate their respondents they sent out a short memo of eight points which had been prepared in 1907 by David Starr Jordan. Starr Jordan was the President of Stanford at the time and he had been invited to New Zealand from his visit to Sydney by Sir Robert Stout to comment on the UNZ. At the time of the invitation Stout was in his fourth year as Chancellor although he had been on the Senate since 1884. In their mailout the reformers included another document from Jordan, an eight point opinion on the place of external exams, and their detrimental effect upon education which had been sent to the *New Zealand Times*.

Geographically the respondents were roughly divided into three almost equal groups, from Great Britain, Australia and the United States. There were thirty-seven professors, eleven deans, four Chancellors, two Vice-Chancellors, and twelve presidents who replied. Most subjects being taught were cited by the different subject specialists from anatomy, veterinarian pathology and zoology, through botany, chemistry and physics, to geology, mineralogy, engineering, education, Latin, Greek, logic, philosophy, English, history, mathematics, law, commerce, economics, psychology, modern languages, philology, and at Cambridge, ancient history and Anglo-Saxon. The full gamut of what was then being taught in English-speaking universities was duly represented. Among the British respondents there were replies from eight who were at the time of replying examiners for the UNZ and nine who had previously held such positions. Examiners and previous examiners had experience not only at Oxford and Cambridge, but at South Wales, Royal College in Ireland, Glasgow and Edinburgh, Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool and at least four at one or other Colleges of the University of London. Perhaps the most notable of those at London, certainly a man very confident in his opinions was the Nobel prize-winner, Sir William Ramsay, the same Ramsay that had recommended Bickerton's appointment. Another respondent whose name is still familiar today was

the psychologist E.L. Thorndike who was at Columbia when he replied. There were notable New Zealanders who answered, Sir H.N Maclaurin, then Chancellor at Sydney, and the even more famous R.C Maclaurin who, was a foundation teacher at Victoria, and had then gone on to rise to be President at MIT. All in all it was a very impressive set of respondents and the weight of their evidence moved in a fairly common direction.

The two questions that respondents were asked to deal with were:

- (a) Ought we to endeavour to substitute for the purely "external" examination some form of test in which the opinion of the teachers is taken into account?
- (b) What general powers should be given to the Professors in the organisation of the University and Colleges? (Herdman & Hunter, Nov 1910 in Hunter, et al., 1911, p. 115)

The reformers, led by professors Laby, Picken, Easterfield, Kirk, von Zedlitz and Hunter at Victoria College, were gratified to receive sixtyfive responses most of which seemed to support the reforms they were looking for: far greater internal control over the assessment of their students by the teaching staffs in the colleges; and more professorial representation in the governance bodies of the University and its four colleges.

When Stout showed in the January of 1911 that he was not likely to favour the case of the reformers and set about questioning their good faith the reformers produced a very creditable publication, *University Reform in New Zealand* A book of eight chapters and a number of appendices. The eight chapters of the publication were:

- I Introduction
- II University organization
- III Appointments
- IV Finance of university and colleges
- V Examinations
- VI Libraries

VII The university and research

VIII Reorganization

The pamphlet was the work of three editors. The most urgent was Laby, an Australian, young and single, a scientist, and the most likely to frustrate the demanding writing standards of von Zedlitz who was introduced in the previous section. The New Zealander who was Secretary to the NZURA and patient enough to broker a calm between Laby and von Zedlitz was Hunter, who had his education from Otago University. [In the rest of this section references to the 1911 volume, *University Reform in New Zealand*, will be shortened to HLV using the initials of its three editor/authors]

The responses to the survey covered a wide number of respected opinions and the reformers recommendations in their eighth chapter on "Reorganization" look very modest and reasonable. In that chapter they outlined five points of failure. They cited the fact that the Senate was overburdened with minor detail and that there was a general lack of interest in elections to College Councils, that the large numbers of government nominations came from too narrow a field of candidates and that there was poor communication and inharmonious relations between councillors and professors.

Their suggestion for reform was straightforward and elegant. They suggested that the Senate of the UNZ should consist of the elected lay members of the Councils from the four Colleges, *ipso facto*. There should be either six or seven of these taking twentyfour or twentyeight members automatically to Council. To those members would be added four professors.

The electorate for lay representation should be somewhat broader than the current Court of Convocation and ought to be "graduates, M.P.'s, learned societies, the professions, and industrial, or commercial organizations" (HLV, p. 113). The model here was the recommendation of a Royal Commission for the Western Australian University and that of the Kidston Government in Queensland.

The Councils of the Colleges would each have two Professors. The professors would sit on Council so that each Council would be informed of the academic work of their College. The control of each College would be shared by a Professorial Board as well as by a Council. The Professorial Board would be responsible for “the curricula for degrees, subject to veto by the Senate, and to conduct examinations according to such policy as the University may adopt” (HLV, p. 112). In this fashion the Senate would largely be relieved of much academic detail.

The voices from the three geographically dispersed streams of the English-speaking academy had roughly similar stories to tell for the mission of a university to succeed. In answer to the first question on exams there were three strands to the reply. Firstly, exams were an uncertain instrument with a variety of functions, but despite the dangers they held they were absolutely necessary. Secondly, to give some balance against the elements of subjectivity involved in teaching, subjectivity essential for vitality in that teaching, a check from some sort of external moderation should be an essential feature of university examining. And thirdly, attempts to establish an external standard were misguided and reliance upon external examination was unfair and led inevitably to an objective dullness in teaching.

The answer to the second question, was more uncertain. The respondents believed that local conditions and customs would be the final determinant on levels of participation. There was a general belief in a dual constituency of lay and academic members and there should be dual control with specialization: the lay body would look after finance and appointments; while professors would look after curriculum, teaching and examining. There was however, no certainty about the articulation of those delicate and difficult decisions which would fall between the stools of these two specializations. However, the President of Harvard, Professor Eliot was not the only one who referred to books he had written on such matters and other like him passed on their considered positions on university governance. However, it was Eliot’s voice that the researchers relied upon when it came to writing their chapter

eight on Reorganization (HLV, p. 111).

The following two sub-sections provide a little more substance from the submissions that the reformers received.

6.1 Exams – a Necessary Evil

Nobody seriously suggested abolishing examinations. Professor Payne, who had been in South Africa prior to the position he held in Melbourne when responding, went to considerable lengths to explain the satisfactory system instituted at the Cape so that examinations were done locally. Even those, like Hall, who were totally against the disadvantages of the external examination system still thought that some form of examination was a necessary evil.

Many respondents revealed a very positive stance to exams. Maclaurin at MIT thought them to be highly valuable in their proper place. Others at American universities took much the same position. At the University of Chicago the Director of the School of Education, Judd, saw exams as “a very useful means of instruction” (HLV, p. 146) and thought they should be used for that purpose. Both Poynting (Birmingham) and Skeat (Cambridge) knew them to be very good for helping students to pay attention and to keeping their minds on their work. So, on balance, there was a strong and constant opinion about the importance that exams could play in university education.

Professor MacCracken had considerable experience in two American Universities. He had been Chancellor at Western University in Pittsburgh before he moved to New York University where he had been Chancellor for 25 years at the time he replied to the reformers’ petition. In MacCracken’s opinion Starr Jordan was favouring a position which displayed a weakness in American Universities: far too much responsibility was being heaped upon students for their own learning. And the failure to appoint external examiners in the United States was a matter which needed

adjusting. There needed to be external exams, too, which would “furnish a test of the professors’ work, as well as the work of the students” (HLV, p. 152). He was not a lone American voice on this matter for the President at Yale, AT Hadley, the author of *The education of the American citizen*, suggested a view that certain subjects were well-suited, and instruction in them benefited from, external examination, so he wrote:

you ought to hold external examinations on some subjects, such as algebra, geometry; power to write English composition, and the elements of grammar or composition in the foreign languages presented (HLV, p. 136)

Professor Goudy, at Oxford, came at the question of differences between subjects from an opposite emphasis. He gave very strong support to external examination but named three subjects where a combination of external and internal examiners would best do justice. The subjects were philosophy, law and history. The historian of ancient history at Cambridge, Professor J.S. Reid, thought that only in “large and homogeneous” settings like Oxford and Cambridge might it be possible to dispense with external exams. But this, no doubt, was because he agreed with another historian, Oman at Oxford, where the rule was “no examiner looks through or marks the work of his own pupils” (HLV, p. 159).

Both Goudy and Oman at Oxford put the case for external moderation. With nothing but internal exams it would be hard to “escape the suspicion of partiality”. Oman’s response was sufficiently detailed to provide a clear picture of the actual process of moderation at Oxford in his subject Modern History at the time of responding. As he put it

It is well known that the enthusiastic teacher often takes his own geese for swans—and would certify them as such if he were given the chance of examining them. (HLV, p. 160).

The voting was done by a panel of five where three of the panel came from elsewhere in Oxford, although there was a prohibition from voting if a candidate were also a Professor’s own pupil in another class. At Cambridge Skeat, with a specialty in Anglo Saxon, shed further light on Oxbridge practices. He pointed out

that at Cambridge it was only in the third year that students had to cope with the external exams. As at Oxford the examiners were not necessarily external to the University. It was simply important that at the time of examining they were not personally teaching or tutoring the examinees, although they may have been teaching them in the term prior to the examination.

Oman spoke of the dangers that we would term today as the halo effect by writing of a teacher being 'prejudiced in favour of his "show boy" or "model pupil"' to the detriment of other pupils. Professor Ewart, Professor of Botany at Melbourne, put the case which seemed to meet fairly general approval:

External examiners are appointed as co-examiners for the doctor's degree, and it is generally felt that the system should be applied to the ordinary degree. (HLV, p. 130)

More than one third of respondents made specific mention of external moderation. It was not commonly mentioned by the American respondents although RC Maclaurin, President of MIT, Thorndike at Columbia and Titchener at Columbia, the last two psychologists, certainly pointed out the importance of having external moderation in co-operation with internal examination.

The problem was generally one of distancing to restore a certain amount of objectivity and fairness for, as the History Professor at Sydney, Wood, remarked, "I find that one's judgment is apt to be too much affected by one's personal relations with the students" (HLV, p. 189). As a consequence systems like that employed at English universities, notably Manchester, were to be recommended. One of the external examiners, the classicist Strong at Liverpool, offered the suggestion that the external moderation could be established in New Zealand by creating "a joint board of teachers from all of the Colleges" (HLV, p. 176). Only Strong at Liverpool asserted that the UNZ should still use British external examiners. However, even he suggested the possibility of reducing the amount of examining sent to Great Britain, pointing out that this would produce a proportionate saving to the UNZ. He clearly

had the returns from examining on his mind.

The most distinguished of the four respondents from the UL with New Zealand external examining experience, Sir William Ramsay who. It is to be remembered, had won a Nobel Prize in Chemistry, picked up the theme of payments. He was most frank about the ties which made the external examining system such an institution. It was the money. It was perpetuated by the self-interest of the external examiners themselves, for it was a means of supplementing an income which allowed a professor to "increase his usually small income". There is a certain bluntness in the response of Ramsay which suggests he did not suffer fools lightly. That does not make his response right in itself but it certainly makes it interesting.

Ramsay went on to be rather scathing of colonial universities and of the external examining system which he considered was at its worst in the universities on the Indian sub-continent. He considered that, as an external examiner, he was able to spot the best and the worst but for the most part he was "as likely to be wrong as right". (HLV, p. 165) He strongly believed that in most things President Jordan and the Americans were right and that there needed to be a change in England, for the English way of doing things did not serve well as a model.

He certainly offered one opinion that was hardly music to anyone's ears in New Zealand, which was that one thing the examination system did not do for New Zealand was maintain a standard. From his point of view there was no standard. He was exceptionally blunt when he said: "your degrees are of absolutely no value in Europe." (HLV, p. 165)

And that opinion gets to the very heart of the colonial experience. For the colonial university looked to Europe for approval. Colonials spoke to each other assuring each other as the second Chancellor had assured the Senate in his retiring speech of 1903 about the unimpeachable probity of the institution in which he had been Chancellor but he spoke of approval from Europe:

New Zealand degrees have commanded, not only in the British Empire in which the charter holds, but also in all parts of the world, honour and position, and holders of New Zealand University degrees have attained positions in many other countries upon the examinations they have gone through. Nothing but great praise has been given to the high class work the students undertake in their course in the University. (in Parton, 1979, p. 27)

But in Britain other examiners knew that, like Ramsay, they had no approval to offer. And if the New Zealanders were looking for fairness they had to conceive of that as something more than settling the difficulties of partiality between candidates. The Rev Headlam who was the Principal at King's College in the UL gave a very full answer to the reformers and said this of standards: "It is entirely illusory to imagine that there is any fixed standard. The variations are most arbitrary." (HLV, pp. 138-140) Another former examiner, Professor Tout at Manchester, accepted the argument for impartial fairness but recognised like Ramsay that in the case of New Zealand that sort of fairness came at the price of a kind of arbitrary, accidental luck. This did nothing for the development of New Zealand education as two current examiners Strong and Thompson pointed out. The physicist, Professor Thompson, saw that the only role he could play was one of tripping students up and finding out what they had not learnt and as a consequence cramping the style of the New Zealand teachers. And in this his position identified with the Latinist at Liverpool who recognised that good teachers laid emphasis in their areas of expertise and enthusiasm and the external system that New Zealand suffered unfairly limited those possibilities. Ramsay summed up the important ingredient that the dependence upon Britain vitiated. It destroyed trust. And yet university education depends upon trust. Not total trust, of course, as Ramsay bluntly put it:

The most important matter connected with a university is to select able professors. The reputation of a university depends on its staff and their work. Having chosen the best men available, give them, as nearly as possible, a free hand. Trust them to train and to judge of students. If incapable dismiss them. (HLV, p. 166)

Still it was important to keep a balanced view on exams. Judd was clearly of the opinion that they should play a place throughout the instruction but joined with those who said they should not be wrongly applied to deaden instruction. And this ironically was what the UNZ system was doing. The way in which the external examinations were set, totally outside any consultative endeavour with the New Zealand teachers, meant that there was no chance that they were being used as an integral part for developing curricula. If they had an effect upon instruction it was only to dull it, and the consequence was instruction that was exam-led in the worst sense – the very thing which Stout had complained of in his 1886 speech to parliament as being so mischievous. Professor Smart at Glasgow, who worked in Political Economy, made most of the points about external exams that Stout had made in his address as Minister of Education to the NZ Parliament in 1886, notably that too much attention upon examinations inverted the importance that should go to the development of thinking in favour of simply serving up information.

6.2 Parallel Governance

The most common response on matters of governance was that governance was highly problematic and context dependent. Professor Laurie in Melbourne wrote:

The question of the representation of the teaching staff on the administrative body has, however, been the subject of much dispute in Melbourne. (HLV, p. 150)

It was not uncommon for respondents to take an institutional line which implied that the rules of governance which they experienced must have merit because they were the rules that had been instituted. This is a very common position, which gives weight to Barnard's notion of the zone of indifference (1938/1970, p. 168-9) and to the general weight of propositions in institutional theory. Barlow at Adelaide gave a very full account along these lines:

“Organisation” seems to imply something outside a professor's ordinary duties of teaching and examining. All duties referring to them will, I

assume, be prescribed by the instrument of appointment plus or minus the statutes and regulations; and that instrument will, no doubt, incorporate with itself all statutes and regulations for the time being so as to make them by express agreement or condition binding on the professors. (HLV, p. 121)

But the more common response was like that from Laurie, above, and Beattie at Sheffield “This is a somewhat vexed question even with us.” (HLV, p. 123). Or as Judd, the Professor of Education at Chicago put the case:

We are hardly in a position from the experience of American Institutions to offer you very much advice about the functions of Professors in Universities and Colleges. We have all sorts of experiments going on at present in this country. (HLV, p. 146)

We have already noted that some in America objected to the democracy that prevailed at Yale. But the former Professor of Political Economy, Hadley, who was, at the time of responding, President at Yale, was conservative in his advice on the importance of local context:

It is almost impossible for any man, who does not know local conditions at first hand to give an answer as to the proper powers to be accorded to the professors. (HLV, p. 137)

Heberden, the Vice-Chancellor at Oxford, and Principal of Brasenose, was similarly circumspect about offering advice from afar where governance clearly involved an appreciation of local conditions: (HLV, p. 137)

It seems to me very difficult for anyone who is not acquainted with the University of New Zealand and the New Zealand Colleges to form any opinion on the questions which you have addressed to me, and on question B which covers a very wide field I do not feel competent to say anything. (HLV, p. 141)

So really the response from both sides of the Atlantic and from the university world closer to New Zealand across the Tasman had a fairly tentative note when it came to governance. There were no certain rules about representation and local circumstances should have a bearing upon any constitution which was adopted and on any institution of governance that evolved.

However, there were voices which had given the matter some attention and were more confident than some of the others. Some rare individuals like Professor Hill, for example, who had been Vice-Chancellor at Cambridge was convinced that most of the answers on governance in universities could be found in the Blue Books that he and others had written as a Commissioner after examining universities in Britain 1901 and in Wales 1906. In similar vein President Eliot from Harvard sent along his book on *University administration* to guide the reformers. And it was Eliot's guide to which the reformers paid attention.

The common opinion was for a separation of functions and again and again the case was put for academic control of curriculum and examining. Goudy, Professor of Civil Law at Oxford put the proposition:

it does not seem to me wise that almost purely lay bodies should regulate the internal affairs of the college, so as to say what shall be taught and the like. They should deal with external affairs, such as finance, buildings, ceremonial, etc (HLV, p. 136)

Professor Ramsay was blunt as ever on governance, too, and wrote a forceful case:

On the whole these representatives should confine their attention to academic matters, leaving financial matters to the other members of the council; and conversely, the outside members of the council should deal with financial matters; dealing with academic matters only where financial questions are involved. This, again, has been the practice at university college [sic]; it has been copied, by all the provincial universities and it has worked admirably. (HLV, p. 166)

But some responses were not so much concerned with practical administrative detail as with an awareness that political voice was an all important consideration if an individual were to defend their speciality and maintain its position in the competition for survival: Professor Dendy, who had been at Canterbury College, and whose specialty at King's College at the University of London was Zoology spoke of matters which continue to ring a chord with academics today:

I consider it of the utmost importance that the professors should be largely represented on the governing bodies both of the university and of the colleges. This representation should be based to a large extent upon subjects, otherwise subjects which are not “paying” subjects—from the point of view of money earning—are very apt to be neglected or even crowded out in competition with others. It must be remembered that the number of students attracted by a given subject is not a fair criterion of its educational importance, especially from a university point of view. The university colleges should not be allowed to degenerate into technical institutes or training colleges for teachers. Learning should be encouraged for its own sake, and, above all, in a country like New Zealand research should be fostered. The only way in which these aims can be secured is by taking care that the different subjects are adequately represented by the professors of those subjects on the governing bodies. (HLV, p. 128)

Such views are often thought to be self-serving and completely impractical. But they also speak from the heart from one point of view which has an abiding academic conviction. It is what makes academic governance such a difficult matter, and beyond technical rationality and logic. It rules out demand as a fair criterion but leaves nothing but a trust in learning for its own sake without discriminating between categories of learning.

7 STOUT DEFENCE

Synopsis

The way in which professors, like Macmillan Brown and Shand, who sat on the Senate of the UNZ were co-opted to share the ideals of those who were not willing to place a lot of trust in the professors in curriculum matters is touched upon. A short account of some of the witness to the 1911 Education Committee of the House of Representatives is provided. The witness of Stout to the Committee did not prove decisive but his actions in the months following showed Stout to be actively opposed to reform and able to use procedural ploys in the Senate to hold any prospect of serving the NZURA's hopes at bay.

There can be little doubt that Stout was a key player in the outcomes of 1910-14. The reformers held out great hopes for his support and it is unlikely that they included his June 18, 1886 speech as Minister of Education to the House of Representatives as a matter of irony. In that speech Stout showed that he was well abreast of the Association for Promoting a Teaching University for London (see p. 43) and he had this to say:

We have, then, these two weak spots in our university system, and they are weaknesses that even the affiliated colleges under the London University are beginning to discover. In the Convocation of the London University, and amongst many eminent educationists in London, the question has been raised whether now, when tests are abolished at the older universities the London University should not be a teaching institution. ... and I have no doubt it will grow until there is founded in London a real university—not a mere examining body. (Stout in Hunter et al., 1911, pp. 193-4)

One of the weak spots, according to Stout, was that the UNZ was out of touch

with its teaching colleges and the other was that it had trained teachers to believe that exams were the “be-all” and “end-all” (ibid) of the education system. He pointed out that trying to maintain high standards through examinations alone was counter productive and people seeking medical degrees in Britain were preferring the more agreeable routes of training through either Dublin or Edinburgh. Clearly Stout was an interested, and a well-informed politician, and his sympathies had been signalled to lie with creating a real university in New Zealand.

It was Stout who had brought Starr Jordan to New Zealand, by which time he had been Chancellor four years since 1903. After Jordan made his criticism's of the UNZ in 1907 the Chancellor spoke approvingly of the need for reform:

I have always held that the time must come when we must depend upon ourselves, and not seek examiners from outside the Dominion.

The question is, Has that time arrived?" (Stout in Beaglehole, 1937, p. 175)

Stout was sure that America, far more than Europe, had the stuff of reform. But a recess Committee of the Senate did nothing to deal with Starr Jordan's criticisms. By 1910 Stout was in Europe and very much aware of the Royal Commissions examining the UL and the Welsh university. Meanwhile in New Zealand the Vice-Chancellor, Bowen, offered cautious rhetoric:

Universities throughout the world are in a state of unrest, and the pressure of modern ideas is making itself more and more felt. It behoves a Governing Body at such a crisis to walk warily and wisely, avoiding reckless and impulsive legislation, and at the same time grappling boldly the problems forced on its attention by the irresistible movement of the age. (Bowen in the 1910 Senate minutes, in Beaglehole, 1937, p. 177)

But against that moment of sympathy there was a growing awareness, as Beaglehole put it (p137, p. 154) that like his predecessors, Tancred (1871-1884) and Hector (1884-1903), Stout was now defender of a faith. He was in the Chair and in charge. However, he may still have had an open mind and Hunter was later to confide that it was sometime before the Senate meeting of January 1911 that Macmillan Brown stiffened Stout's faith in the orthodoxy.

(see Beaglehole, 1949, p. 143)

It seems that there was a long history of such conversions. Two members of the 1910-1911 Senate had been foundation professors in their respective South Island Colleges, Macmillan Brown from Canterbury and Shand from Otago. Each had argued for reform in earlier days. In 1877 Professor Shand argued in the *New Zealand Magazine* that the UNZ 'was not happily situated' in an article entitled "The Higher Education in New Zealand". He wrote:

If the University were a teaching body, all the difficulties which surround the question of examinations would at once disappear. The examinations would be conducted by the University professors, with whom might be associated for that purpose other examiners selected from the body of teachers without the University. In institutions where examinations are not looked upon as an end in themselves, but are regarded as subordinate and subservient to teaching, this plan has been found to answer perfectly; and there can be little doubt that it is the plan which will be best suited to the condition of this Colony for two or three generations to come.' (Shand, in Beaglehole, 1937, pp. 121-2)

He went on to argue that the time to grasp the opportunity was immediate and to fail to take it would lead to a situation almost impossible to undo, a situation which would handicap university development in the New Zealand colonies for generations to come. It certainly must have seemed far, far too late for Shand by 1910. For, thirty years earlier, when it had come to a vote in the Senate after the first Royal Commission on University Education had reported in 1879 Shand had not supported Macmillan Brown, Haast, Habens and Fraser when they voted for New Zealand examiners.

Macmillan Brown, too, was eventually to turn from pressing for reform. For he accommodated in a very industrious and competent manner to preparing his students for external examiners and, by his own account, worked sixteen hours a day, even through the vacations and "though the examiners were all external, I seldom or never had a failure and the class grew every year". (Macmillan Brown, 1974, p.111). By his own account he was exemplary in all his teaching and for those who want to know the secrets to his successful

teaching in a colonial university college his memoirs give a clear description (1974, pp. 108-112). His methods, he said, developed “a number of genuine poets and original writers” and no doubt he was a great loss to his College when he decided he had laboured long enough and moved to a comfortable retirement in 1895 at age fifty. His influence at the UNZ, however, was to last much longer and he was even to succeed Stout as Chancellor in 1923 and continued on in that position until his death in 1935.

Macmillan Brown is unlikely to have shown much sympathy when at a May meeting in 1910 the NZURA was formed. However, there was a considerable weight of support in the immediate community. Hogben, the Inspector-General of Schools, and a member of both the Victoria University College Council and the UNZ Senate, expressed his distaste for exams and was clear in his support of the reformers’ camp. The Mayor and some Wellington MPs were prominent on the platform at the foundation meeting of the Association. When Stout went to Victoria College Capping Ceremony on the 30 June he appeared encouraging towards the reformers. He said that reforming ideals were the proper and perennial concerns of universities everywhere. But he was also defensive along two fronts: the reformers were, he considered being too narrow, in that all they were interested in was the question of examinations (which was an unfounded allegation); and even if there were to be New Zealand examiners it could not be the professors alone. Already Stout was on the attack snidely suggesting that the reformers were uninformed and unconsidered in their outlook, and inescapably elitist.

By the Jan 11 meeting of the Senate Stout was mapping out his position:

I do not wish to make any charge against those professors who have been advocating what is called reform. I assume that they are activated by the very highest motives. (in Beaglehole, 1949, p. 143)

From there he went on to suggest that students had never had it so good with buildings, libraries, laboratories and that if they were not succeeding then the ‘reason must be sought elsewhere’. And then he proceeded in a more hostile tone lamenting there was not a climate of closer relations:

This “Campaign of Depreciation”, as I have termed it, was one which I think the Professors of our University teaching institutions should not have entered on, but as a Senate we are unconnected with the officers of these independent Affiliated Colleges. (Stout in the Senate Minutes, 1911, in Beaglehole, 1937, pp. 184-5)

The Senate was prepared to wait a year before looking further at questions of reform. The reformers were not. They had already sent out their survey. Laby and von Zedlitz, despite disagreements over style, produced their 196 page pamphlet, *University reform in New Zealand*. Then Laby, Kirk and eleven others petitioned for a Royal Commission and the petitioners and other interested parties appeared before an Education Committee of the House of Representatives chaired by T.K. Sidey. Sidey, was not only an Otago MP but also a member elected by local graduates to the Council of the University of Otago. In putting their case before the Committee the reformers suggested four crucial matters facing university education in 1911:

- 1 the external examination system
- 2 exclusion of professors from the framing of degree structures and syllabuses
- 3 the anomalous nature of the UNZ constitution and the divorce of the Senate and the UNZ from the colleges
- 4 ill-considered, un-co-ordinated and inadequate finances

In the third and fourth matters this brought an attack upon the way in which university provision was distorted by pleading for special schools. And this in turn led to the voicing of concerns about the University of Otago. During the first decade of the century Otago added further special schools to those it already had in medicine and in mining. In 1907 the Dental School was founded and by 1911 Otago was setting up a Home Science School. The reformers complained that establishing a professorship in Domestic Science was not something that should be left to an autonomous body to decide. In other words they were asking for a single university in which academic considerations took precedence and were decided by a governance body which was competent to make decisions. There was a second attack upon Otago as well when Laby gave evidence that there were inadequate funds to

support a Medical School in Dunedin. However, Dr. McDowall from Auckland countered that there could be no question as to the results from Otago where the size of school was an advantage bringing lots of support from professors to students, even if the school was light on practical and clinical experience in its instruction. Unfortunately any evidence of the reformers which painted faults in the system created a reaction in those who saw themselves attacked and could easily be interpreted as an indicator of provincial envy and rivalry. Support from Otago for the reform cause could hardly be expected when the autonomy it so deeply valued was under attack.

When the reformers put up their first speaker (after Herdman who really only acted as introducer) it was Atkinson the lawyer who appeared before the Committee, not as an expert but as a self-styled “man of the world” (I-13A, p 2). He put the dominant concern of the reformers in these words:

The change which was made by the Act of 1874, which repealed the Act of 1870, constitutes one, and I suppose the most important, of the crucial points in our case.... It was expressly stated in the Act of 1874 that the University as reconstituted was not for the purpose of teaching, but to conduct examinations. (Atkinson, 1911, I-13A p. 2)

In his evidence Hunter was to point out that there were three component parts to examining (i) defining the curriculum and syllabus (ii) organizing the exams by selecting examiners and such (iii) carrying out the exams, setting the papers, and marking the scripts. To be excluded from any one part might be tolerable, but to be excluded from all three was not. The only reason for exclusion was that one or other judgments was being made about the staff in the colleges: they were either incompetent, unfair in their judgments or both at the same time. If either of these circumstances held then it was time to investigate the teaching in the colleges according to Hunter. When it came to his turn von Zedlitz got to the heart of what many of the younger professors saw as the problem. Some of the professors teaching in the colleges had been there a long time and were stuck in grooves out of which they could not be easily prized:

There you have them on the University Senate, and members of the Senate like Mr Allen are exceedingly courteous towards these professional gentlemen, and naturally assume that they represent the view of the general body, and you know it is exceedingly difficult to put a man out who has been twenty years there, on the ground that he does not represent the view of others. We know that any changes are going to be very gradual, and I know that I shall not see some of them in my lifetime. Still we thought it worth while to put these matters before you. (von Zedlitz, 1911, I-13A p. 10)

This was the reasonable voice of reform. It was important to pass the torch and those too set in a tradition were standing in the way of those who wanted to participate enthusiastically. It was not that the Senate was a lay body, rather it was that the Senate, deferred to professors, or those who had once been professors, and these professors, the reformers said, did not “represent the view of others”.

Hunter’s evidence to the Committee is worth reviewing in detail for it reveals a voice which concerned itself with university ideals far more than for a spirit of universal provision. To one leading question that the main alteration wanted was for a conjoint Professorial Board he said yes. He was pressed by Thomson and by Allen on the question of exam standards generally and offered the opinion that matriculation levels were too low while junior scholarship standards were too high. Then he was asked about the number of universities in New Zealand and whether the time was ripe for four separate universities and Hunter replied it would make the colleges look “ridiculous” if they were given Charters to grant their own degrees. He then went on to tackle whether it was a question of population or a question of standards and had this to say:

Only a certain proportion of the inhabitants of the country are fit for the higher studies. You can only have a certain number of lawyers and doctors, because only a certain proportion of the population have the means of paying for their education. (Hunter, 1911, I-13A p. 15)

There are three parts to this rather common argument: only a limited proportion of the population is intelligent enough to benefit from a university education; only a limited, financially comfortable proportion of the population has enough money to afford a university education; and the economy is structured so that only a small number of university trained graduates can be absorbed into the workforce. The three claims do not come neatly together. Because those who can afford a university education are not necessarily coincident with those who are bright enough to benefit. However, the three claims all headed to the same conclusion: university education was not for everybody, could not be for everybody, but was for a financially comfortable, intelligent elite. For many, even the reformers themselves, this was a rather uncomfortable message. If there was to be a home for professors, it would not be a home that would welcome all comers. The UNZ favoured a slightly different ideal, an opportunity for as many as possible, in a manner however cheap and haphazard although it never voiced this position in a stark manner just as the reformers' ideal was never starkly put either.

Dr McDowell who had graduated from the UNZ in 1885 and had 12 years experience on the Senate came before the Committee claiming to represent the opinions of the Auckland Graduates Association. He said they unanimously opposed any change to the system of external examinations. In fact, when pressed at one point he said that there were two matters on which he was opposed to a Commission for such a Commission might lead, he thought, to internal examining and a threat to night classes. He was very staunchly in favour of the status quo and spoke glowingly about the work of the current members of Senate. He was, however, pushed to take a few steps backwards at one point when it was put to him that one of the Court of Convocation representatives from Auckland, and both from Victoria, cast their votes for internal examining when the 1909 Senate went to a motion on the issue.

An inspector at the Bank of Australasia, an A.P. Webster, put the case that the Colleges were poorly resourced and that the New Zealand system needed to be put upon a much sounder financial footing:

The work of the university is unending, and its wants indefinitely large. An institution professing to conduct the work of a university with manifestly inadequate resources both harms the cause of education and misleads the students for the latter fail to get the needed stimulus. The aim must be to secure an adequate income and efficient administration. (Webster, 1911, I-13A, p. 5)

He even made an attempt to bridge the older perceptions that the South Island Colleges were the responsibility of the local communities which had given them their head start in benefactions and local endowments.

The so-called endowments were granted in years gone by under the provincial Government. Those endowments are in effect State endowments. (Webster, 1911, I-13A, p. 6)

Although the South Island Colleges had advantages these were only relative to the extreme disadvantages of the Colleges in the North Island. Even the South Island Colleges were desperately under-endowed as the reformers' evidence showed.

When it was his turn before the Committee the Inspector-General of Schools, Hogben, agreed with the reformers and disagreed with the defending voice of the Stout faction in Senate. The UNZ system of external examiners was unique:

This is a feature peculiar to our University: in no other university I know of are the examiners merely outsiders who are altogether dissociated from the life and teaching of the university. (Hogben, 1911, I-13A, p. 89)

It was a peculiar feature that should not be unfairly confused with the examination systems at Oxford and Cambridge. While the five examiners who conducted the Mathematical Tripos did not teach those examined and gave their duties full-time to their examining they were full-time members of the university in which the examination was conducted. For Hogben the examining had to be kept in close association with the teaching. He went on to make a number of important suggestions which are summarised later in Section 9 (see pp. 142-3). Above all Hogben was for free education and for free university education. In this he was more idealist than Hunter and in

complete agreement with Stout. But except on that issue there was a considerable distance between the Inspector-General of schools and the Chancellor of the UNZ.

Stout appeared twice before the Committee, late in its sitting on Thursday 28 and again on Friday the 29th of September. Then he later sent a message on 3rd October to add a paragraph missing from one of his earlier statements. On the Thursday he ranged very wide on the difficulties in universities and the obfuscations they seemed in danger of promoting. On the Friday he was tackled quite closely on the UNZ and his claim that no university could possibly fulfil all its functions. Nevertheless, he thought there was no need for a Royal Commission and even if there were then the only place to find competent Commissioners would be among members of the Senate. As for the reformers he seemed to suggest they would do better to hold their peace until they had more experience. In particular he believed Laby had no right to criticize:

154. I gather from what you said that you are satisfied with the existing order of things?

No, I am not satisfied. I agree with progress – not by destruction but by slow evolution.

155. Do you think that there is destruction going on? – Yes, the professors have been denouncing the University. Professor Laby within a few months after his arrival began to find fault with the University.

156. He has a right to express his opinion? – I say he has not a right to express it after only a few months here. (Stout, 1911, I-13A p. 79)

I suspect the Committee saw through most of Stout's bluster. He was certainly a master of broad-brush generalization:

Both Oxford and Cambridge are the products of the semi-monastic rule of the middle ages and their systems are ill adapted to our circumstances. (Stout, 1911, I-13A, p. 62)

But there was more to Stout's evidence than that. On the Thursday he spoke only for himself with no authority to represent the Senate, so he said. He pointed to difficulties with the reformers' pamphlet and misrepresented it

where he could. He mentioned what reform the Senate, which he could not speak for, had in train and doubted it would be wise to put the professors in charge of the University leaving the Senate with no more than a power of veto. On the subject of research he really took off. He didn't think New Zealand could find the resources to match the Cavendish, but that aside, was the UNZ any worse off than Oxford which couldn't match science at Cambridge either. And then he attacked over-Germanization which was everywhere blighting the academic world, at the Sorbonne, at Oxford and at Cambridge. Stout took on the problems of academic trivia all around the world and sided laughing along with Rabelais at "Utrum Chimaera bombinans in vacuo possit comedere secundas intentiones" (Stout, 1911, I-13A , p. 66). Stout certainly liked to hold the floor. The next day however, following the evidence of Wilson, who loyally, but rather clumsily, followed Stout's position the Chancellor was cross-examined. Why the Committee inquired, given that Victoria was so poor, did it refuse to put up its fees. Stout suggested that the Council was bound not to do so by law. He probably knew that was not true, but it was his common retort to reduce opposition whenever challenged.

There was a thread through Stout's evidence which spoke of his abiding conviction that University education should be free. He mentioned how it was that no less than one twelfth of his own poor Shetland primary school went on each year to university. Stout held out the ideal of free education with considerable conviction. To one question he replied:

If I had charge of the funds and I found that a student had attained a certain amount of education, I would give him his University course free. (Stout, 1911, I-13A p. 79)

This was a theme that Stout returned to again and again and we can be sure it was something he dearly wished and explains some of his other positions. As he had explained in his contributions the day before:

In New Zealand with a scattered population, and with many people without means to attend universities, we must, if we desire to have higher education disseminated in New Zealand, allow the system of external students to continue for many years to come, if we ever give it

up. It is the only way that poor students in what are termed the backblocks, or in places other than the four centres of population, can obtain University distinction. (Stout, 1911, I-13A, p. 67)

Stout's position may not have been popular with all the professors but he had deep convictions about universalising educational opportunity.

The Education Committee reported Oct 25, 1911, and listed their conclusions along four lines of action in order to improve matters for the UNZ:

- 1 There was a case for using professorial staff in framing curricula and syllabuses and in conducting examinations
- 2 The UNZ was moving in the direction of reform, as the Nov 1910 conference of representatives from Professorial Boards demonstrated, so there was no case for a Royal Commission
- 3 On finance:
 - (i) fees should be uniform
 - (ii) all colleges should be adequately endowed and there should be statutory permanent grants from Parliament
 - (iii) that the Inspector of Schools, Hogben, should inquire into each college's financial position and requirements.
- 4 Libraries needed to be adequate and their support of science improved and Hogben should inquire into this as well.

In addition the Committee said that the UNZ should be congratulated for its sterling work

Hogben duly did as he was bidden and set forth the plights of the four colleges and suggested endowments for the colleges which would then have revenues which would grow at much the same rate as the Dominion.

Meanwhile there was growing pressure among professors for national professorial representation but the support across the colleges was mixed. Victoria and Canterbury were in favour of Professorial Conferences and were against the rather unwieldy process of reference back to individual

Professorial Boards in the Colleges and to the Courts of Convocation. It seemed that the professors were rather aghast at time-consuming acknowledgements of democracy which left decisions firmly in the hands of the Senators. And Stout was happy to note that the largest of the Professorial Boards, with the oldest tradition, that of Otago, was totally opposed to the idea of Professorial Conferences. And the Otago Court of Convocation went in much the same direction.

In 1912 the Senate then gave an indication of its reforming intentions. The reformers wrote to Auckland's O'Rorke and Otago's Allen hoping to shore up support for their cause. Professor Picken attended the Senate and wrote accounts of their proceedings for the Press. At the Senate Stout continued his attack upon the reforming professors as he had outlined it before Sidey's Education Committee. The professors, he claimed, were trying to run the university and there was nowhere in the world where this was allowed to happen. Exaggeration and misrepresentation continued to be Stout's main weapons but they were cushioned in impressive torrents of historical detail. Most telling of all he attributed to others his own unworthy attribute of academic snobbery and condemned them for it. Two votes at the Senate of 1912 were important and close. In the first Allen put forward a motion for NZ examiners. Macmillan Brown put forward an amendment that no lecturer could examine in the subject he taught. This satisfied Stout but upset four others who wanted more trust in teacher-examiners and sent their votes in the opposite direction. The vote was tied and Stout gave his casting vote to the status quo. In this way, although he could hardly know it at the time, Macmillan Brown had secured the transmission of payments to British examiners for a further thirty years. The second matter was in establishing a link to the professors by voting money to support a conference for Professors at some central venue. Macmillan Brown once again had an amendment but this one was lost. However, matters were closely fought when the freedom of the professors' agenda was considered. It was agreed by a single vote that the professors could consider curricula and examinations, and so they did. But their conference would not be held before the following November.

At Victoria the professors tried to gain direct professorial representation on Council. Stout suggested a counter proposal at the Council's meeting of September, 1912, and that the chairs of the Council and Professorial Board become *ex officio* members of each other's organization. And then at the October meeting he wanted to deal with Professor Picken's rather intemperate statement that:

A great majority of the students left the College less sound in body and mind and soul; than on the day they entered, except for the salutary influence of their personal contact with one another.' (In Barrowman, 2000, p. 33)

The Council proved more conciliatory than Stout would probably have liked. But the Council was on warning about the dangers of reform.

In the meantime the reformers looked to securing a certain voice at Senate and had Hunter nominated to the Court of Convocation election for the Mid-Central District and were successful.

In November the professors' conference met. Seven professors were sent from each college as representatives and the heads of the special schools (Mining, Medical, Engineering and Dental) also attended. Two recommendations emerged from their deliberations: they wanted to amalgamate the BA and BSc degrees; and they came out in favour of abolishing the external examinations. In the first of these they were for greater specialization through more repetitions of one or two subjects so that the work of BAs would be either linguistic, mathematical, scientific or sociological. All this would be possible, they hoped, for a 1914 start.

However, when the Senate met in January of 1913 Stout warmed to his theme of the preposterous prospect of having the inmates running the asylum. He even went further, he totally misrepresented Hunter's position before the 1911 Committee of the House, and suggested that the professors were demanding the fragmentation of the New Zealand system which was hardly true:

If these resolutions are adopted, the New Zealand University must

cease to exist, and the four Colleges would require to be constituted four Universities (Senate Minutes, 1913, p. 3 in Beaglehole, 1937, p. 212)

He then went on to worry about the resources being wasted upon reform when there were real questions facing higher education which needed supporting. But as Beaglehole noted the Chancellor never got around to specifying what those real questions were. Stout was greatly given to the triumph of rhetoric over substance, and his rhetoric seemed powerfully compelling.

When it came to look at the professors' recommendations for a single BA and the abolition of overseas examiners the Senate rejected both of the proposals from their professors: the numbers were 14:8 on the first and 17:6 on the second proposition. A notable feature of the Senate voting was that there were professors who turned their backs on the preferences of their own conference, so that in the Senate they now took it as their duty to vote with Stout. Furthermore, to ram their point home the Senate declared the Professorial Conference an innovation of little consequence, and not something to which further money should be devoted. There would be no second conference of professors in 1913.

1913 saw the last burst of activity for reform. By this stage even Otago had come to the reform programme. All the colleges co-operated in petitioning and there were as many as six petitions. Beaglehole says that 33 of the country's 44 professors had given their names to petitions which had 256 signatories in total (Beaglehole, 1937, p. 215). The UNZ's Senate had its own Constitutional Committee working and they brought forward three separate schemes for reform which they proposed to each of the colleges and their various Courts of Convocation. By 1913 the reformers seemed to have built up a sufficient head of steam. In Britain the Haldane Committee was reporting and the Committee on the Welsh universities was doing likewise.

The general effect of the reform progress since the Education Committee of the House sat in August to September of 1911 was that most of the work that

a Commission might have dealt with was accomplished. Hogben had reported corroborating the dire financial states of the Colleges, particularly the North Island ones. The professors needed to be accommodated further but the Senate had revealed they could not be relied upon for continuing good will. So two Bills were duly prepared and passed: there was the University Amendment Act and the Victoria College Amendment Act. The structure of the Senate was not changed but the professors were given a Board of Studies which would have five professorial representatives from each college. A grant was to be made each year from one seventh of the National Endowment. Both Auckland and Victoria would get £5,000 added to their original £4,000, so each would be getting £9,000, while Canterbury (£2,000) and Otago (£5,000) would be topped up. It wasn't the end of financial woes but it was something.

The NZURA had disbanded as it had promised prior to the University Amendment Act of 1914. There were defections from the Victoria staff as first Picken and then Laby left for Melbourne in 1915. Professor Arnold Wall, at Canterbury, once more took up the cause against Stout who continued to twist all the evidence and maintain at every turn that at various universities in Great Britain, Ireland and India the statutes set the institutions opposed to internal examining. Wall's short pamphlet in 1916, *A plea for a system of internal examination in the New Zealand University*, demonstrated, however, that the reformers were simply arguing for the system of examining that prevailed in the universities to which Stout referred.

When the Board of Studies created by the 1914 Amendment Act, which came into effect in April, 1915, finally met the spirit of reform lived on, promoted most actively by the Victoria and Canterbury professors. They were not particularly interested in wasting their time pouring over the reports of the external examiners, given, as they believed, such positions would soon disappear and they were more interested in promoting their own agenda. Consequently they voted that the examiners should be appointed for only one year at a time. Stout suggested that the Board's recommendations

must have been aimed at Parliament as they could not make recommendations to the Senate. The Senate now passed its own statutes to improve the BA and BSc degrees and sent them on to the executive Council for ratification as it had always done. But since the implementation of the 1914 Act the Executive Council wanted something more. The statutes were referred back to the Registrar as the Executive Council wanted assurance that the Board of Studies had been consulted. The Board of Studies existed, it had a role in law, and the Senate could not just ignore it.

In 1918 the Board of Studies submitted four schemes by which internal-external arrangements might be modified and explained that in each of them there was provision for moderation of a student's performance which demanded some check beyond the examination by the student's own teacher. The Chancellor shifted his ground to procedural matters of constitution and law and saw any attack on the current arrangement as an attack on the *raison d'être* of the Senate and on the Senate itself. The Senate's only purpose, according to his argument, was to maintain the system of external exams in its purity – for that they were instituted by the 1874 Act and they would continue to carry out the role with which they had been charged. (see Parton, 1979, p. 37). Once again Stout interpolated his own particular special reading into the Act's much more general provision so demonstrating the remarkable powers that a colonial Chief Justice was wont to command.

Stout's preference was to snub the Board of Studies at every opportunity. The Board was inclined to resolve their problems with the Senate to see where their jurisdictions lay and where they could co-operate in representation at each other's meetings. In 1921 Stout was continuing to complain that he saw no need for a Board of Studies. The Professorial Boards in the Colleges were all that were needed. But gradually, step by step, Stout was losing ground.

8 THE TRIUMPH OF LOCAL CONDITIONS

Synopsis

After the 1914 Amendment Act the calls for reform tended to centre around the likelihood that the separate Colleges would one day become separate universities. The government, however, seemed reluctant to provide adequate resources for the single university it had and there was vacillation about whether separate university status would be a good or a bad thing for the Colleges and for the country. The general consensus in the 1920s and 1930s was that the country was too small to support separate universities. The Colleges grew although they were generally starved of resources. The Reichel-Tate Commission painted a pessimistic picture of the achievements of the UNZ but the government looked only at adjusting procedural matters and altering the constitution of the University. The Board of Studies was turned into a Professorial Board and the Colleges became constituted members of the UNZ rather than affiliates as they had previously been. There was reluctance to abandon the overseas examiner system though this came to be abandoned with the Second World War. After the War the only reform looked forward to was separate universities and it is ironic that after Reichel-Tate which brought the Colleges in to the University that the Colleges seemed inevitably set to leave it.

There was considerable dissatisfaction with the UNZ and those that were dissatisfied wanted some sort of change but consensus was always short-lived. The question that taxed parliamentarians and university college people was should the four university colleges become four universities. In 1920, spear-heading the Auckland demand, Segar floated the possibility at the Senate. Dettmann and Mahon from Auckland supported

him. From Victoria Hunter and Kirk joined in, and from Canterbury there was support from Hight and Wall. But the motion was defeated 13-7. The general answer was: some day, but not yet. New Zealand was thought to be too small to support more than a single university and Macmillan Brown was suggesting that when the population of the country exceeded 40 million the time would come for separate university institutions. Still a younger man from Canterbury, Hight, was submitting to the Reichel-Tate Commission in April, 1924, that the time had already come:

The time has come when no half measures will solve the many problems provided by the present University situation. (Hight in Parton, 1979, p. 198)

He was complaining about the Chancery-like paralysis that the Senate imposed upon reform and was arguing strongly for the establishment of a University of Canterbury. He had sufficient experience to know for he had been elected to Senate in 1911 and was to continue to serve there until 1927 after the report of the second Royal Commission that parliament did eventually agree to in 1925. Hight's mood in 1924 reflected the rumblings in the Colleges which by then echoed the Chancellor's alarmist views of 1911-12. Even the professors on Senate now recognised that the Senate was obstructing university development and had little real enthusiasm for reform. Another thirteen years later, however, in 1937, Hight would be heard singing a slightly less radical tune at a Conference of Australasian administrators and professors. Over the interval he had been appointed rector at Canterbury College. When Hight took up this position, following upon the unsteady Chilton, the fractious Wall had fretted that colonial Dobbins were being preferred over superior British academics from Home. But as it turned out Hight was a most loved and highly respected individual in what was a very unpopular position. From his position of authority in 1937 Hight was considering the sparseness of resources and was fretting about the possible expenses of independent universities. Here is how he expressed those worries;

Can New Zealand afford four, or it may even be six, university institutions, each striving to equip itself and function as a fully-developed university? To an observer that may seem what we are heading for in New Zealand without adequate thought of the cost and quality of the service that can be given in the immediate future. May not you in Australia be plunging into a

sea of troubles if you multiply your university institutions without thought of specialization? The point, I believe, was reached long ago when we should have set ourselves seriously to the task of preventing multiplication, even sometimes the duplication, of departments and schools. There is a strong pull for multiplication and overlap, and it is difficult to resist parochial, provincial and political forces. But limitation and even reduction are inevitable; they will be forced upon us by economic necessity, which may well be a sudden and violent process with all sorts of unfortunate reactions in the cultural field. This consideration makes it all the more desirable that the problem should be grasped by those who should be best fitted to expound a reasonable policy of the distribution of university functions within the country – namely the universities themselves. (Hight, 1937b, p. 8)

The quote reveals a fear of Balkanization and a general fear and hesitation about the future. Even so there is a clear hint in the plural phrase, “universities themselves”, the idea of separation out had taken up in the minds of the professorial manques. The question was could half-measures do something to restore Hight’s hopes for a unified, co-ordinated single university in New Zealand. The government’s response to the agitation for separate university status had been to appoint the second Royal Commission on University Education in New Zealand, the Reichel-Tate Commission. This Commission seems to have done much to bridge the gap between Hight’s 1924 frustration and his change of heart in 1937.

8.1 The Reichel-Tate Commission, 1925

This commission was presided over by Sir Harry Reichel, Principal of the University College of North Wales, and Mr Frank Tate the Director of Education in Victoria across the Tasman. The Assistant Director of Education, Ernest Marsden, was their secretary, and Hunter was deputed by Senate to advise on questions of fact. Hunter’s appointment met with disapproval from two Aucklanders, the ever-confident J.P. Grossmann and his dupe, Anderson, for both believed that the Senate’s appointee had a

closed mind on matters of university reform. So they wrote to Marsden withdrawing their application to give evidence. Stout, too, who knew so much better than anyone else how the UNZ should be governed, preferred to leave the Commission to do its work without offering them the help of any submission from himself. The Commission began its work in June, 1925, visited all four colleges and examined 171 witnesses. The UNZ they found had the highest rate of participation per head of population in the world, but whether as a consequence of this, or for some other reasons, it had the lowest university standards anywhere. The commissioners opened their report rather famously by summarising the evidence from many of the submissions they had received. The UNZ, they said:

offers unrivalled facilities for gaining university degrees, but ... it is less successful in providing university education (E-7A, 1925, pp. 11-12)

There was an undue emphasis on examinations and the external examinations had to go. They had little to commend the agricultural training at Lincoln College but suggested that a North Island College was needed. They recommended that teacher training should become part of the university system. (Unfortunately, the Teacher Training College system which had been set up in 1905 was not welcomed into the university system and the overtures of the New Zealand Educational Institute in 1928 were resisted.) One recommendation which met with success, however, was that the Board of Studies should be reconstituted as a Professorial Board. On the question of the constitution of the Senate Parton provides a clear account:

Their proposals on the constitution of the University can be readily summarized. It should be reconstituted as a federal teaching university with constituent colleges enjoying a large measure of autonomy in regard to curriculum and examinations. It should be governed by a council (not Senate) of twentyone members; six appointed by the Governor-General in Council (that is by the Government) as being persons of business knowledge, administrative capacity and interest in higher education; one from each of the four councils of the constituent colleges; five elected by Convocation, which was however forbidden to elect a university teacher; three professors nominated by the Academic Board ...; the Director of

Education; one member co-opted by the Council itself; and the principal of the University. (Parton, 1979, p. 49)

The path to all those reforms was far from immediate, however. On the constitutional side the Colleges were, in 1926, made constituent members of the University. And most of recommendations for the membership of the Council and the Professorial Board were taken up as the following table reveals.

Table 8.1 The composition of the UNZ Council recommended by Reichel-Tate and the Senate and Professorial Board enacted in 1926

| | Reichel/Tate 1925 | University of NZ Act 1926 | Professorial Board |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Governor-in-Council | 6 | 4 | |
| Graduates of district | 5 | 5 | |
| | | Chancellor | |
| Professorial Board | Principal 3 | Principal/VC 3 | 8 elected 8 appointed |
| Appointment from Councils | 4 | 8 | |
| Chair of Board of Education | DG Education | DG Education | 4 Chairs of Boards |
| Professors on Council | co-opted | empowered | |
| TOTAL COUNCIL | 21 | 23 max | |

So professors did gain greater sway in governance roles and one of the reformers, Hunter, who was to be Principal of Victoria College, 1938-1951, actually sat on the Senate of the UNZ for thirtyfive years from 1912-1947 and again in 1949, and was to chair the Academic Board for two years in 1949-50 some twenty or so years after it was finally instituted by reforms of 1926. The Victoria College Council minutes 23 March, 1950 (p. 35) noted that there had been a gradual devolution of control of courses and examinations to the College so that the new Principal replacing Hunter in 1951 would be in charge of an institution which “for all practical purposes and with few exceptions” was in charge of “its own degree courses, prescriptions and examinations” (Renwick, 2000, p. 40). That minute reveals that the pace of progress towards completing the reforms was slow and Parton’s history (1979) devotes its eighth chapter to Mr Justice

(later Sir David) Smith as the reforming chancellor, the sixth and last of the UNZ, 1945-61. But the reformers themselves had guessed that the progress to reform would be slow and that a process which had embedded the system they knew for about forty years of operation would take as many years again to change. Their estimation proved to be not far short of the mark.

One outcome following the Reichel-Tate Commission was that the University went from having four colleges to six. This development was symptomatic of the weakness of the UNZ and the haphazard and uncertain path to development around the special schools, something which mirrored the equally uncertain path to reform. Early in its history in 1881 Canterbury College had begun an association with an agricultural college attached out at Lincoln, a privately established college, on farmland southwest of the city. The college always had difficulty attracting students, was poorly resourced and confined itself to practical farming. Things did not go well for Lincoln and got very bad in 1922 when the then Minister of Agriculture, Nosworthy, withdrew the College's £500 government subsidy for seed research. And when the Reichel-Tate Commission sat Lincoln had no professor at all.

But, in the country as a whole, there was a growing interest in the question as to how many special schools in agriculture were needed in the country. For two considerable bequests had been made. One was £10,000 from Sir Walter Buchanan to the Board of Agriculture for agricultural education. The other was for £20,000 from Sir Logan Campbell to Auckland University College. Further than this, a report from the Supervisor for Agriculture in Victoria, Australia, Richardson on agricultural education in New Zealand, increased and excited attention on the matter of special schools.

There was considerable debate about the way agricultural education should be carried out, of the role of secondary schools, and of the way in which the government's agricultural centres at Cawthron, Wereroa and Ruakura should figure.

The Reichel-Tate Commission went some way to arresting the dangers of

fragmentation of effort. Peren, who had been appointed as Professor of Agriculture at Victoria took an initiative by drumming up support for his courses. The result was that he had enrolled 10 students by 1925 and was in a confident mood, not just before the Reichel-Tate Commission, but also before a Board of Agriculture Commission which had sat earlier in the year. Reichel-Tate suggested that in the South Island the courses at Lincoln were too predominantly hands-on and practical while the science at Canterbury College was altogether too theoretical. Auckland meanwhile, with its gift from Sir Logan Campbell, had hired Professor Riddet although it had no students at all. Sir George Fowlds, the Auckland Chancellor, took a hand and compromised. Auckland was prepared to pass up its ambitions for a special school in agriculture provided that somewhere in the North Island a School be established on a sound footing. The choice for Massey was far from certain. A considerable number of North Island sites had been mooted by different parliamentarians: Skyes from Masterton believed in a returned soldiers' farm in Wairarapa; Young (Waikato) and Apirana Ngata favoured Ruakura; the members for Waipawa and Napier, Hunter and McIllvride wanted some spot in Hawkes Bay; Smith from Taranaki thought that somewhere under his mountain would be ideal. There were South Island contenders also: Edie from Clutha wanted the Clifton estate; De La Perelle from Awarua wanted Southland. And then there was Nash who, coming from Palmerston North; thought that his area was ideally placed. The bids for a special school revealed the typical pattern of provincial politicking. Brooking (1977, p. 28) says that the final choice for Massey at Palmerston North was attributable to the support from a cross-section of factions and people. The Labour Party played its part for the Reform Party was hopelessly divided in its choices. Coates and Hawken shepherded the legislation through parliament. The recommendations from the Reichel-Tate Commission were important, and the Farmers Union under Wilson came in behind them. Hunter and Fowlds came together in a compromise in which Fowlds gave away all parochial ambition. And most importantly Professors Peren and Riddet threw in their lots together and settled on the Massey project on a site south side of the Manawatu River near Palmerston North. In the South Island, however, there were cries of neglect most vociferously led by the Canterbury members of parliament. Parochialism was not done

with and, just as was the case with Otago's School of Mines in 1905, the fortunes of the flagging Lincoln were revived.

So the most obvious outcome from Reichel-Tate was a revival for agricultural education and some more representative constitutional developments at the UNZ. Here is how Hight summarised the College expansion in New Zealand to the 1937 Conference of Australasian university educators..

There are two university bodies. The Academic Board composed of representatives of the Professorial Board and of the Dominion professoriate regarded as one constituency, with a few *ex officio* members, makes all recommendations respecting course, examinations, etc., to the Senate composed mainly of representatives of the Government, the councils, the graduates, and the Academic Board. Both bodies meet only once a year.

The number of university students in New Zealand is very high in proportion to the population, approximating to one for every 300 of the general population. Full-time students are in the minority. Later in this discussion the problems arising out of the weak financial and staffing situation will receive general notice. The fees paid by students are low; a course for the BA degree, spread over three or four years, may be completed for about £60. (Hight, 1937a, pp. 1-2)

However, another measure held that there was inefficiency and wastage in the UNZ arrangement. It is likely that both views were true. By any estimation the spending per student was low in New Zealand. Any move to break up into separate universities was likely to generate even greater spending. But then there was a desperate need for a lot more spending anyway.

As things stood the surest path to successful development relied upon local entrepreneurial skills coupled to provincial pride and important political patronage. The improvements at the Dental School shortly after the Second World War provide another

illustration of the process. In 1945 Dr Dodds had been Director of the Dental School for seventeen years. He resigned to go into private practice which he saw as more lucrative and less stressful. His replacement was a Dr Walsh who came from Australia. Walsh found that the treatment of patients who could not afford to pay was costing the School £5,000 whereas the Hospital Board was only paying the University £400 of those costs. The pinch had been on at the School as a consequence, skimping on staff, buildings and other capital equipment. So Dr Walsh came up with a plan which looked to the government for £250,000 for a new school, £50,000 to equip it, a statutory grant of £6,000 per annum to run it and a similar grant of £6,500 from the Hospital Board as their contribution. (Morrell, 1969, pp. 165-6). The system of special schools was starting to look very special indeed, not only independent and autonomous from the UNZ which had responsibility for nothing except standards (and there must have been some doubt about those) but autonomous in large measure from its own University of Otago. Each special school sought its independent pipeline of resources funnelled to it directly from the government.

As time passed further and further from the abolition of the provinces the revenues to support the university shifted from provincial to national provision. The following table records the shift at Canterbury College. For Canterbury the grants from the government immediately after the 1914 Amendment Act provided only a small percentage of the revenues to support the College's activities.

Table 8.2 The distribution of sources of income at Canterbury College, 1893-1971

| | 1893 | 1923 | 1948 | 1971 |
|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| Government grants | % | 6% | 51.0% | 84.0% |
| Fees | 4.0% | 17.0% | 21.0% | 12.0% |
| Rentals from endowments | 70.0% | 35.0% | 5.0% | 1.0% |
| Other revenue | 26.0% | 42.0% | 22.0% | 4.0% |
| TOTAL REVENUES | £11,262 | £26,932 | £163,458 | \$6,778,030 |

(source Garner, et al, 1973, pp. 432-3)

The state was clearly assuming a larger burden as time went on although the change was not welcomed enthusiastically by either the state or the university. Nevertheless, the growing reality was acknowledged by at least one professor at the 1937 Australasian

conference.

It has been said that in Western Australia there is a State university. It is my opinion that the University of New Zealand is tending more and more to become a State university, in actuality if not in constitution.. (Lawson, 1937, p. 11)

There was a reluctance, however, among professors to admit their dependence upon the government. They were wary of a loss of autonomy and academic freedom. The state, for its part, was reluctant to bear any extra burden. The North Island Colleges were the most burdensome to the state originally and Rocke O'Shea the Registrar at Auckland University College devised some tables to demonstrate that the provisions of the government in education was miserly and that only a relatively small proportion of the education budget was being devoted to the university Colleges. His figures given in table 8.3 reveal that government spending in education had more than doubled between 1915 and 1930. The spending per pupil in primary schools had gone up 72% in the period that the corresponding spending in secondary schools had gone up more than 33% while the spending per student in the university had actually fallen by almost 20%.

Table 8.3 NZ Government expenditure on education, 1915-30

| | Government (a) 1915 £000 | Spending (b) 1930 £000 | Ratio b/a | Per 1915 £ | Pupil 1930 £ | % Govt spending 1915 | Education 1930 |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| Primary | 1,114 | 2,332 | 2.1 | 6.8 | 11.7 | 78.1% | 71.6% |
| Secondary | 124 | 425 | 3.4 | 18.8 | 25.1 | 8.7% | 13.0% |
| Technical | 65 | 226 | 3.5 | no data | no data | 4.6% | 6.8% |
| Teacher training | 56 | 164 | 2.9 | 144.0 | 142.0 | 3.9% | 5.0% |
| University | 67 | 116 | 1.7 | 34.3 | 27.8 | .7% | 3.6% |
| TOTAL | 1,426 | 3,263 | 2.3 | | | 100.0% | 100.0% |

(source Parton, 1979, p. 105)

Government politicians would have looked at the tables and concentrated upon different ratios. The government was still spending in 1930 less than half the amount per head on primary students that they were spending in the secondary schools. And they were spending more per head on university students than they were spending on each student at secondary school. Even so, more than 70% of the education budget was being spent in

the primary schools. If the growing demand for free secondary education for all was to grow the university might have to continue to take a low priority.

O'Shea, however, had further tables. Most telling was the fact that following the Reichel-Tate Commission the government spending on the university rose only slightly until 1930 but then, as the Depression bit, it fell off badly so that in 1933 it was only 57% of what it had been in 1924. In Great Britain the spending had climbed more steeply from 1924 to 1930 and then, despite the Depression, the amount of spending was at least maintained. Journalists like William Lane in the first decade of the 20th century had taken to calling New Zealand Better Britain. In the 1930s they could not be quite so confident.

Table 8.4 The percentage changes in government spending on universities in NZ and GB compared 1924-1933

| | 1924 | 1929 | 1930 | 1931 | 1932 | 1933 |
|--------------------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| New Zealand £000 | 97 | 109 | 116 | 71 | 55 | 57 |
| % of NZ 1924 base | | 112.4% | 119.6% | 73.2% | 56.7% | 58.8% |
| Great Britain £000 | 1,238 | 1,550 | 1,798 | 1,828 | 1,828 | 1,828 |
| % of GB 1924 base | | 125.2% | 145.2% | 147.7% | 147.7% | 147.7% |

(source Parton, 1979, p. 106)

Rocke O'Shea had a point. But the University and its Colleges would have to recognise their dependence and accommodate their potential allies in the Education Department in order to improve their position. Their quest for autonomy and independence would not win them resources and pork barrel politics to supply the special schools was surely proving a rather uncertain vehicle for growth for encouraging growth.

8.2 Set and marked in New Zealand, 1948

Constantly strapped for resources the Colleges found the path to reform was rather twisted. There was a certain amount of vacillation and the demands for autonomy and separation was taking precedence over the matter of external examinations, a characteristic of the university scene which continued to attract conservative support. The Auckland professors were even more persistently reluctant than Canterbury had been over the appointment of a Principal and they were probably hampered as a

consequence of not appointing one until the appointment of Maidment in 1949. At Victoria, matters were not left quite so late and Hunter took the Principal's job in 1938. Shortly before the Reichel-Tate Commission, in 1923, the Association of University teachers was founded and this body looked to securing improvements in salaries and parity with the situation in Australian universities as their mission. Lack of parity persists as a problem even today.

Some academic innovations were short-lived. The PhD degree was first offered in New Zealand in 1922. Stout poured his accustomed scorn on the pretentious suggestion that a degree intended for Chemists should be termed a degree in Philosophy. The Board of Studies persisted but it was difficult to find candidates with the time to undertake the full-time studies demanded. Easterfield was by this time the director of the Cawthron Institute and he was anxious that his institute should be regarded as a university college within the meaning of the PhD regulations. His bid foundered on the conservative rejection of his idea from the Board of Studies. The PhD program foundered likewise and no doubt Stout took some perverse satisfaction when the Senate abolished the degree. It was not to be re-instituted before 1944, about the time that the University was finally shaking off the shackles of external examinations.

The demands for reform were being sought on many fronts and the co-ordination across them was not great. The economic depression made any sort of survival seem more pressing than reform, and before people knew where they were the Second World War was upon them. Some aspects of reform were overwhelmed by such occurrences. The colonial dependence on overseas' examiners was finally shaken by the uncertainty of shipping during the Second World War. Here is how the matter was summed up by Victoria's most recent chronicler.

The war also hastened the demise of the external examination system. In 1940, after more than 10 years of tedious struggle within the university bureaucracy, the colleges took responsibility for examining their own students for stage-one arts and science courses. The precariousness of transworld shipping during

wartime prompted the extension of this hesitant reform to stage-two papers a few years later, and it was extended to stage three and honours from 1948. (Barrowman, 1999, p. 62)

So why had the matter which the UNZRA had taken to be the most marked evidence for a more independent stance towards commanding a confident approach to university education in New Zealand taken so long to achieve? Sinclair (1983, pp. 178-183) provides a clear picture, painting the case of a colonial university that was so dedicated to produce a better Britain that it consistently refused to accept or make the most of the institution that local conditions had created. In the Auckland College in 1939 there were fifteen professors, nine of whom were British, and three others had done most of their training in Britain. "The leadership was British" (p 178). But it was 12,000 miles from its British roots and not sufficiently nourished by them to maintain its enthusiasm for research. The university was surrounded by meanness and was concerned for its own survival in a penurious situation as it battled through the 1930s as Tables 8.3 and 8.4 reveal. It had little spirit or appetite for a more independent stance.

But as they had been in their evidence before the Reichel-Tate Commission the professors were highly critical of the students they had to deal with. The students just were not up to scratch and should not have been at university. Much of their energy was devoted to rectifying this situation. Blaming the education system and the standard of teaching in secondary schools was a negative aspect of this. Trying to raise the standard for matriculation was another. Stout had pointed out in his 1911 testimony how university teachers could hardly object to an external examination system when they controlled such a system to set the entry level for the university. His point was fairly made, and in fact a majority of professors were continually and wholeheartedly to defend an external examination system that they supported to uphold standards. There is frequently a very determined conservative voice in universities, particularly better established universities, which often, but not always, serves a very useful function. (It was probably not a good thing that Cambridge

refused entry to women as late as 1947). In Auckland Professor Anderson condemned 'Beebyism' and 'soft pedagogy' and other traces of communist influences. There was strong opposition in the NZU Colleges to the idea of accrediting which was brought up by Reichel-Tate and was supported by a parliamentary committee in 1930. Macmillan Brown denounced accrediting to the Senate in 1931 as Sinclair records:

'Competition is nature's method', he proclaimed, and said that 'all teachers from Socrates downwards' had regarded an external examination as 'the heart and soul of teaching'. (Sinclair, 1983, p. 181)

Many others at the University agreed with him. The best way to protect standards was with external examinations. And it was not until 1944 that the Education Department could succeed with accrediting against the determined resistance of many professorial voices. The standard in the Colleges until then, and indeed much later, was always a British standard, so it was safest to have a British test. The thought was probably that until the Colleges stood alone it was safest to have an external examination. It provided an equal chance to all and was a guard against undue influence and the system of patronage. It had had a lot going for it and that is why it persisted so long.

As dependence upon external exams disappeared other changes were prepared for. Shortly after the War in October 1946 the Academic Board was firmly resolved that the time had come when New Zealand would be best served by four separate universities and therefore the difficult path to that outcome must first be mapped out and then travelled.

In 1948 the Senate set up its own Senate University Grants Committee which included the reforming Chancellor Smith, the Vice-Chancellor, Professor Gordon and five other appointees of the Senate. Their job was to visit all the Colleges, inquire into their financial needs, and report these faithfully to the government of the day. The Senate in 1950 saw the first quinquennial grant made to universities and some sort of attempts were being made at long term planning. There was even a formula for an ideal student:staff ratio of 14:1 and an ideal distribution of staffing was mooted in the 3:4:5:6 formula for professors: senior lecturers: lecturers: and junior lecturers. This

would have seen 50% of the staff in the senior lecturer and lecturer grades. But the prospect of having a full one third of the staff at junior lecturer level was not welcomed.. Planning there was; but the planning was not popular in all quarters.

Nevertheless, at the same time that the reforming Chancellor, Smith, was looking to lift profiles in research the government was agreeing with the professors that the old system, had been sorely underfunded and was in need of changing. In 1952 the Senate appointed George Currie as the UNZ's ninth Vice-Chancellor. He was to be its last. The preoccupations of the Senate were to change:

There is little evidence that, immersed as it [the Senate] was in detail, much of which could have been dealt with in other ways, it ever grasped the importance, seen immediately by Sir George Currie when he took up the vice-chancellorship, of giving the maximum autonomy to the colleges as a condition of making the federal system work. Rather was it dominated by the assumption, accepted without serious question, that courses which led to a common degree should be as nearly identical as possible – a formula for mediocrity, not for excellence. The board epitomized the close watch which faculties and professorial boards of the colleges kept on each other, until it was relaxed by the imminent dissolution of the University (Parton, 1979, p. 250-1)

In 1956 the Senate recommended that Auckland , Victoria and Canterbury should, like Otago, be called universities. An Act of parliament followed which effected the required changes of name 1 Jan, 1958. Before long the Chancellor was suggesting a Royal Commission, while the Minister of Education was looking for a Committee and was turning once more towards the UL for inspiration. Sir David Hughes Parry was not only an emeritus professor in law from the UL but he was also the president of the University College of Wales. So he was chosen to chair the committee. The other two members of the Committee were Dean Andrew from the University of British Columbia, and Dr Roy W Harman, the general Manager from the Colonial Sugar Refining Company. They did their work

efficiently and reported to the Minister of Education paying special thanks to their secretaries Holmes and Rowley who had contributed much to their “appreciation of New Zealand conditions” thus lightening their studies.

The Hughes Parry Commission opened their report with a challenge:

What role the universities should play in the New Zealand community will depend in large measure upon the kind of society New Zealand is willing to pay for.

... if NZ does want and is willing to pay for a more developed economic, social, and cultural life, then the university must play a much greater role in the New Zealand community, and must be much better supported financially than they have been in the past (Parry, Andrew & Harmon 1959, p. 7)

The Hughes Parry Committee thus set the possibilities in their first chapter and went on to spell out what the costs would be. They spoke of urgency and of the colleges being seriously understaffed (1959, p. 57). They spoke of important national needs.

The number of teachers in the State post-primary schools at the end of 1959 is about 4,200. It is estimated that these schools will require over 7,000 teachers in 1967 to cope with the increased number of pupils in the schools at that time. (1959, p. 19)

And above all they spoke of costs and implied the consequences of under-investing:

The need to adopt a course of action must, of course, be measured against the cost. It is important, however, in weighing the cost of the new salary scales we are recommending to note that persons – qualified or unqualified – will have to be found to man the lectures theatres and laboratories and that the universities will have to pay in rank – for less

able or younger persons – what they cannot pay in salary. This practice has been found in other countries to be uneconomic and harmful. It involves paying more than the international market value for inferior work and service while at the same time depriving the youth of New Zealand of opportunities of forming their own standards of real excellence by coming in contact with a due proportion of excellent minds. The increase in Government grants required to implement these new qualified staff of the medical and dental Schools, at present in the universities is £1,285,045 per annum. (Parry et al.,1959, p. 53)

As it turned out the country was ready to say that university education and research was important, that it needed a number of universities and that it was willing to pay the cost.

The Hughes Parry Committee recommended the Universities be given autonomy with their own Councils. They recommended these Councils should be similarly structured containing three officers of the university (Chancellor and Pro-chancellor from the general community; a Vice-Chancellor from the academic staff); four appointed by the government; three professors nominated by the professorial board and one academic staff below the rank of professor; four elected by the Court of Convocation; and four co-opted by the Council itself. The term of membership should be four years with replacement in each category complete. The Committee recommended a University Grants Committee – for 1 Jan 1961 and the new universities a year later. And much of this came to pass. A new chapter in university reform in New Zealand was begun.

9 POINTS TO END WITH

Synopsis

The study concludes showing that the UNZ was gradually changing as it grew and summarises the four waves of influence internal to the systems that governed it and that swept the moods of the nation and its politicians. Then it moves to summarizing whether the need for reform was as great as the NZURA maintained, concluding that in 1910-1914 there were important problems obstructing the UNZ's development. Following that is a summary of the main obstacles to reform: a lack of sympathy for elitist aspirations; the weight of history, particularly the institutional weight of South Island university college development; and the decisive and oppositional weight commanded by Macmillan Brown and Stout. Then lastly there are some of the lessons from the stories of the UNZ and the NZURA which hold some relevance today. In particular there are the difficulties of striking a balance which is inclusive of all voices and of avoiding the negative consequences of control and examinations. But above all there is the continuing challenge of establishing governance which acknowledges the dependence upon the resources of the state, but allows the higher university ideals for autonomy and academic freedom to flourish.

The UNZ could have taken a different turn when challenged in 1910-14 but it did not. If it had done so it may not have come to its end when it did. As it was, everybody including its sixth and last Chancellor, who took office at the end of the Second World War, was ready to see it go. That it might have survived if it had more completely reformed when challenged is, of course, speculation. However, there is some

justification for such a claim given that the University of London, facing much larger odds, continues on today with some semblance of unity. However, the conditions in which the UL was nourished were rather different from those which the UNZ faced.

9.1 The waves of opportunity

It is possible to detect four different waves in the history of the UNZ where each wave saw different groups dominating the formation of the institution. In the different waves different assumptions were made manifest and different values realized. The same sorts of questions, however, kept facing the institution throughout its life but on each wave they appeared to be given different weights. Four of the questions that kept on recurring to those who shaped the university were: how would it be possible to avoid wasting resources; how could students be attracted and best catered for; how was it possible to exert control and to take charge of events; and how would it be possible to set up a university system which would serve the needs of everyone. While all four questions, and many others associated with them persistently recurred, during each wave in the life of the UNZ one of the four questions would, in turn, dominate over the other three. Solutions most appropriate to the problems associated with each particular question would dominate during that wave. This meant that during each wave men dominated the scene who interpreted previous history and rendered the symbols involved in the university's current dilemmas, thus making most sense to the majority of their subordinates. It seems that the moments of each wave suited particular men and those whom the moments favoured flourished. This is not to say, however, that there were not decisive points when those who had the power could have taken events down a different course.

The first wave swelled from well before 1868 but certainly from 1868 trailing on through to the New Zealand University Amendment Act of 1902. It was the time of the politicians asking how could they avoid wasting resources. Before 1868 the general answer had always been that the colony was too small and it was best to spend nothing at all on university establishments. A more positive response to the question came

when the politicians framed the Endowment Act of 1868, and intended to provide scholarships, so that those sons who showed exceptional aptitude could be given a chance to study in Britain. Then once the provincial enthusiasts at Otago had shown that the most niggardly of approaches would not suffice, first Macandrew and then Tancred opened up space for all sorts of other questions. Still it was the time of the politicians, with most places on the Senate filled by politicians chosen for life. To begin with there were only two colleges approaching university status and these had more Council members than there were staff or graduates. But the local provision was thought of as a second best, which was demonstrated by the fact that so many of the Canterbury College Board, as we saw, continued to send their sons to England for their education. When push came to shove and the conservation of resources came to assume undue proportion this question had detrimental affects as in the cases of Aldis and Bickerton,. At those times procedural justice would take precedence over constitutive justice. And in those times, as for most of the first wave, politicians dominated decision-making.

The waves are subjectively created and the passage from one to another is evolutionary, rather than revolutionary so they overlap considerably. The second wave was the time of the university founders and its colonial administrators, and it stretched from 1879 after the report of the first Royal Commission until the Amendment Act of 1914. The predominating question was how could students be attracted to tertiary study and the general answer to that question was by making sure that they had opportunities to do it part-time. The problems associated with this question were also intimately associated with the treatment of Aldis and Bickerton. Colonial administrators wanted to interfere and control both timetabling and the curricula. The special schools were started but these frequently had difficulties in attracting students. In this wave Tancred the politician who initially took on all the work of the UNZ gave place to the Tancred who devolved duties to other colonial administrators in the four Colleges that eventually emerged. In spite of the opposite preference of the professors who had considerable influence on the first Royal Commission, the politicians (with their conservative attitude that Britain was dependably best) and the colonial

administrators decided that external examinations set in Britain would inspire confidence in their degrees and make them attractive everywhere. And when professors were elected to places on the Senate they were co-opted to accept the symbolization of the colonial administrators and enact the externally examining university. It was not just professors that were converted. The assumptions on which a politician like Stout once operated changed and in their changing Stout grew to command ever greater support among the other colonial administrators.

The third wave which began about 1903 with the reconstitution of the Senate and extended on to the time of the Reichel-Tate Commission in 1925 was largely the time of the professors. Their questions were how was it possible to reclaim control of the curriculum and make the university what, in their terms, it ought to be. The professors seemed to be the dominating force and the Wellington professoriate certainly brought their rational arguments forward to great effect in their reform pamphlet in 1911. The professors were not everywhere agreed, of course, but their voice was certainly officially reflected in the scathing condemnations of the UNZ in the Reichel-Tate report. Still, despite their ascendancy the professors were reminded that they could not take complete charge. Stout and Macmillan Brown were the narrow winners in 1912. And in 1914-15 the case of von Zedlitz clearly showed that the political power of the majority in the national electorate, however prejudiced it might be, reached in and determined who could be appointed in a university college. Nevertheless, during the third wave the professors were active in asserting their role in the UNZ and in its affiliate colleges and they won a Board of Studies that was later replaced by a Professorial Board after Reichel-Tate.

The fourth wave from 1914 to 1961 could be characterized as the time of the officials of the state. They were asking how the university system could be made to serve the whole country and all its people. The officials of the state included a newer type of parliamentarian like Wright, Coates and Massey, members of the Reform Party, and not necessarily all that generous to the UNZ. But the officers of the Education Department were more important than these politicians, and they created a voice with

which the professors did not always agree. Hogben was one of the most important of these and his testimony before the Education Committee in 1911 was comprehensive and revealed a genuine desire that university education should be free to all. This was not a new idea for like all four questions it had a part in every wave. But in the fourth it was recurring more frequently and was being taken more seriously. Much earlier Tancred had insisted that there should be university opportunities for all in his argument to curb Otago's pretensions. A little later Stout was always driven by strong universalist convictions which had been bred into him during his first years on the remote Shetlands. But in the fourth wave the universalist demands for a national system was rounding itself out. After Reichel-Tate it was the concern of those professors-cum-administrators who saw themselves less and less as professors and more and more as officials of the state. Hunter was one such, and Hight another. Then under David Smith as Chancellor nearly everybody seemed to become concerned about the national interest. The Senate established its University Grants Committee in 1948 "to enquire into the financial needs of University Education in New Zealand, and to advise the Government on those needs and on the application of any grants that may be made by Parliament towards them" (Senate Minutes 1947-8 in Parton, 1979, pp. 166-7) And finally, with a focus on the national interest, the UNZ terminated its existence.

9.2 A need for reform at the UNZ?

As we picture it here the time of the NZURA was at a point where the second wave was ending and the fourth wave was about to begin, while the third wave was cresting. And the question for the time, and for this study, is: was there really a serious problem in need of the reform in the UNZ or was the situation something much less? How widespread was the demand for university reform? Was the demand for reform merely a chronic, if negligible, condition within universities, as Stout suggested to the graduates at Victoria in 1910? Was it merely a fashionable sympathy with movements in London and Wales? From what we have encountered though it seems there really was something much more than that. Certainly the triumphal view was not unheard.

When Sir James Hector retired as Chancellor giving place to Stout in the shake-up of 1902-03 he spoke triumphally of the NZ degree's worldwide acceptance and declared "Nothing but great praise has been given to the high class work the students undertake in the University" (in Parton, 1979, p. 27). But such self-congratulation merely perpetuated a delusion, for Ramsay, in his reply to the NZURA, was not alone in offering a very different opinion.

The University of Edinburgh, in addition, was less than confident about the UNZ's MA with Honours. And when J. A Thomson gave his evidence to the Education Committee of the House he was able to explain the difference between passing in New Zealand and resuming studies with his external examiner at Oxford. He found himself behind with much work to catch up on as he testified:

My examiners did me the honour to tell me that I was an easy first in New Zealand and barely scraped through in the same class at Oxford. (Thomson, J.A., I-13A, 1911, p. 46)

But there was even more evidence of inferiority. In 1905 when the NZ Parliament sought Privy Council support for the Senate's extension to nineteen degrees the Privy Council exerted its authority and suggested not so fast. It delayed assent for two years and then was prepared to grant a Charter covering only nine of the suggested degrees. Stout had to recognise that the Privy Council did not trust the UNZ, something which brought him to entertain thoughts about independence from the Royal Charter. He needed confirmation and approval, however, from somewhere in the outside world but he certainly didn't get it from Starr Jordan during his 1907 visit. Beaglehole summarised the opinions on the need for reform quite aptly:

Rivulets of criticism had flowed before, and the Senate had been able to cope with, or at least to ignore them. It was not so easy to pass over Jordan. (Beaglehole, 1937, p. 174)

But it was not too difficult either. And the Senate did nothing.

One voice, independent of the NZURA, was that of the Inspector-General of Schools,

George Hogben. He contradicted the prayer for a Royal Commission that Herdman had sought when he made his second appearance before the 1911 Committee. He claimed that a Royal Commission could learn no more than the Committee had before them, and that the Education Committee had sufficient competence to place legislation for reform of the UNZ before the House. In this his opinions came close to those of Stout. But he was in no doubt that reform was necessary. As it turned out Hogben had the ear of the Committee. It was Hogben who suggested that a Board of Studies be instituted. Hogben also favoured the representation of a number of different educational and professional constituencies on the lay bodies running the Colleges and the University. Both these points were included in the 1914 Act.

Hogben’s evidence contained constructive suggestions and ideals in addition to his criticisms. He testified around ten points, although three of those, III, VII and IX (in the list below) really covered the same area, that there should be no fees, and that all who qualified should have free university education.

The ten suggestions that he put to the Education Committee are summarized in Table 9.1:

| Tables 9.1 Hogben’s suggestions for university reform 3 rd Oct, 1911 (summarised from his testimony, I-13A, pp 87-90) | |
|--|--|
| I Constitution of the UNZ | There should be a “Senate” with appointment from various constituencies. The roll for the Court of Convocation should be general and not be divided by district. There should be academic representation but in a minority. There should be a Board of Studies and the Inspector-General of Schools should be on the Board of Studies. |
| II External examinations | “The harmful effect of laying emphasis on examinations rather than education itself is to my mind the most vicious thing in our education system today. This emphasis is most pronounced and most inevitable when the examiners are external examiners.” |
| III Scholarships | Scholarships should be awarded by the Colleges to every student who qualified for study |
| IV Evening students | Evening students should be encouraged. Hogben himself |

had been an evening student at University College, London. But evening students should also be encouraged to become day students.

| | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| V Exempt students | People should be encouraged to study privately but students who did not attend the university should NOT be granted degrees. |
| VI Number of institutions | Four Colleges are inevitable and anything less would be undemocratic |
| VII Fees | "I would have all university teaching free to all that are qualified; but boarding scholarships would be necessary besides payment of fees. A slight extension of the present bursary system would give free tuition to all qualified persons." |
| VIII Libraries | "The want of libraries is absolutely woeful, but it is the need which is most easily repaired." |
| IX Fee payments | Professor's salaries should not be supplemented with fee payments. |
| X Constitution of College Councils | There should be particular representation, not a general constituency for elections. |

Hogben had different solutions to the NZURA about the direction of the reform of the UNZ's constitution but there is little doubt from his testimony that he believed that the constitution of the UNZ needed to be altered. Furthermore he had testified that examinations as he knew them at Cambridge in the tripos were vicious and very harmful, and that external examinations must certainly go.

Herdman, in his evidence, reported two resolutions to the Education Committee from an Australasian Conference on Education (at which New Zealand did not attend) clear in the belief that here was an external criticism that there were serious problems with the UNZ. They were:

1. That in the interests of university education it is desirable that the organized body of professors should take a definite and systematic part both in the drawing up of degree curricula and syllabuses and in the degree examinations.
2. That the purely external system of examination is detrimental to university

education. (Herdman, I-13A, 1911, p. 96)

In their pamphlet the NZURA had gone a little further enumerating four difficulties on p 12 but then working through 5 in detail pp 33-37. Here are the seven they gave:

- | | | | |
|---|---|----------------|-------|
| 1 | the neglect of research | p. 33 & Ch VII | p. 12 |
| 2 | the subordination of teaching to examinations | p. 34 & Ch V | |
| 3 | bad methods of appointment | p. 34 & Ch III | p. 12 |
| 4 | unsuitable type of B.A. degree | pp. 34-37 | |
| 5 | low standard of B.A. degree | pp. 37-42 | |
| 6 | the absence of adequate libraries | | p. 12 |
| 7 | poor facilities for teaching | | p. 12 |

As the reformers pointed out these faults were slow to appear and not easily detectable. It was because they were not readily evident, that there was the possibility of doubting their existence, hence the readiness to believe the more glowing accounts of the UNZ as claimed by Hector, Macmillan Brown and Stout. However, that there really was room for considerable improvement should hardly be doubted.

9.3 The failure of the NZURA

The Reform Association failed in its objectives in 1910-14 for a number of reasons. It presented a truly marvellous and cogent document and it had managed to fire up heat and excitement in the Capital. But it needed more than that to carry its arguments before the Senate, or to win them where they would need to be won, in the hearts and minds of all the professors, and then in the hearts and minds of a consistent majority of their Parliamentary representatives. There were probably three strands of opinions, values and beliefs that supported various groups of the professors against any urgency for reform: a satisfaction with the status quo; a provincial allegiance which distrusted the younger set at Victoria; and a defensive reaction to the criticism that evidence for reform engendered.

First there was satisfaction with the status quo. Macmillan Brown may have cast support for this with a rosy glow when he was writing his memoirs but he was surely not alone in

his enthusiasm for external examinations. He presented it as a tradeoff where the professors would externally examine the schools on the proviso that in their turn their students would be examined elsewhere.

Most, if not all, of the professors were strongly in favour of external examinations especially in competitive arenas. They were willing to take their share in the work of the entrance examination and the entrance scholarships but glad to feel that their own work should be judged by examiners in England. It was this perhaps as much as anything else that kept up harmony amongst the colleges and the professors. (Brown, 1974, p. 133)

There is other evidence that many of the professors were reluctant about change. When Hunter had been three years teaching Mental Science at Victoria he was dissatisfied with a syllabus which he himself had studied in the classes of Professor Salmond at Otago. It was a syllabus dominated by the texts which had for the most part been written by the external examiners, with material that confined itself to work that had been established before 1850. Hunter wrote to the other three Colleges proposing changes near the end of the academic year in 1906. Professor Salmond, however, then reported to the Senate in 1909 ‘that the proposed changes had been “disapproved” in a “somewhat peremptory manner”’ (in Renwick, 2000, p. 15). This disappointment was typical for the reformers. At much the same time Easterfield, also at Victoria, was equally rebuffed with his proposal for examining more practical work in science.

So the support for the status quo was reasonably apparent as an opposition to the younger set at Victoria. This opposition was most marked at Otago, and to some extent elsewhere in the South Island. So although there was a strong reform element at Canterbury it did not link its support closely with the Victoria effort. Similarly, with Auckland. There had been voices raised for reform, along with clamour for more government support, a matter which a Councillor, F.E. Baume, newly elected to Parliament in 1904, resurrected in Wellington. But Auckland professors were fighting on a second front, alongside their Council, but against a great alliance of public groups in their site row, a matter which was quite fiercely fought from 1909 until after the First World War.

Distraction about other local concerns was easily turned into hostility towards Wellington. Any possibility of support from Otago – always remote – would have been so diverted by the attack on the standing of Otago’s medical school, launched by Hunter’s older brother, Irwin. That there was some truth in the attack, with more New Zealand students preferring to study at Edinburgh than Otago, did not help to leaven the hostility. Most of the criticism levelling charges of inferiority at the New Zealand university colleges was meant to be inclusive of all establishments, since all suffered considerable handicaps. However, some of the criticism of lack of research and failure to specialise were directed at Auckland. Criticism of appointments which demanded an impossibly wide range of subject teaching had particular staff like Grossmann in mind. Grossmann, of course, had his local critics, but criticism of Auckland, did not make allies of Auckland.

The reformers needed support from Parliamentarians because as much as the professors were hampered by the Councils, and their reluctance to trust their teachers, all the Colleges (not just the most impecunious two in the North Island) were hampered by lack of resources. There was reluctance everywhere to invest in education. It wasn’t just down to a shortage of prosperity in the colony. From 1895 through to 1920 the whole country was prospering with only a minor recession in 1908. Many people in New Zealand considered themselves to be more prosperous than the people of the United States. Some like Professor Hunter saw the lack of generosity towards education as a British thing. In an address he made to the Wellington Branch of the Social Democratic Party in 1917 he paralleled the failure in New Zealand to a failure in Britain. He lamented the low wages for teachers (at £70 for men and £50 for women very much less than a professor’s salary that could be ten times that). Here is the general drift of Hunter’s argument:

There is always the idea in education of “cutting our coat according to the cloth,” but it is obvious to anyone that in the British Empire the cloth will be forthcoming if only the people feel their nakedness.

The United Kingdom spends 182 millions per annum on alcoholic liquors, £3

18s. per head , and (according to last figures I have) about 36 millions of funds on education. Millions of pounds on racing and amusement for every fraction spent on genuine education.

In New Zealand our education bill is 1¼ millions, 19s. 3d per head; our liquor bill 4½ millions, £3 14s. per head ; our tobacco bill more than our education bill; our totalisator investments 4½ millions, ...

In the face of these facts can we say we cannot afford to educate our children?

We do not believe in education, that is why we are content with so little, and that is a fact that is beginning to be recognized, but that has always been reflected in the action of the politician. (Hunter, 1917, p. 17)

The New Zealand politician might argue on Hunter's figures, that assuming some parity in buying power between the colony and Home his country was spending 43% more per head on education than in the United Kingdom However, such a reading would leave unchallenged Hunter's later contention that "It is notoriously difficult to create in the English public even a fleeting interest in education" (Hunter, 1917, p. 17). That leads us back to a general proposition that there was a long tradition which shaped the values of different contributors to the provision of university education in New Zealand. Then coming from another direction there was opposition from those who did not wish to see any money devoted to university spending because it was money devoted to reinforcing the status quo. Society needed changing, and changes in society would not be assisted by strengthening the university system.

There was always soul-searching lest a university education should simply reinforce old class distinctions. This meant that large sections of society were deeply ambivalent about the importance of university education and those it benefited. When Professor Segar wrote to the *Herald* in May 1910 seeking the support of Auckland citizens 'Democrat' replied:

in opposition to Professor Segar, we believe the University to be a class institution. ... Certainly there are boys and girls from our own class whose exceptional ability at the primary and secondary schools has carried them on to the University, where they have achieved success, but the training they have received there, and the traditions and influence of the college, have, in the vast majority of cases, resulted in their entering one of these learned professions [law, medicine, teaching, etc.] ... They are no longer 'workers' in the sense that this is usually understood. Such a result may be inevitable, it may be desirable, but in either case it proves my contention that the University is a class institution.. ... So much for the fact that the University is a class institution; and, further, I consider it at least doubtful that university training, as at present constituted, is a benefit to the working man. The study of dead languages, the research into ancient history, and the unapplied theories of science may constitute intellectual exercise valuable in itself, but their impracticable nature makes them of little value to industry and commerce. What we require in our foremen and managers is not so much abstract intellect as the knowledge gained by actual work, shrewd common sense, the power to read men, and the ability to lead them, qualities which are not pre-eminently the result of university training. (in *Herald*, June 16, 1910 in Sinclair, 1983, p. 105)

Those sentiments were not confined to citizens in Auckland or those in the working classes. In 1910 the chairman of the Christchurch Technical College and mayor of Christchurch, Charles Allison, worried that "speaking generally, the university colleges and secondary schools were for the benefit of the wealthier classes, and that the workers" could not afford to send their children to them. (Gardner et al. 1973, p. 149). Allison was reasonably fair in his comments but gradually provision for education was becoming more widespread. While there were doubts, and consequently, no great enthusiasm at a populist level to give support to the university colleges or even to notice their demands for reform there was a general tide for universal provision of education including university education which crept in one direction irrespective of the wash of the waves above it.. The tide moved at its own pace. The colony's numbers attending state primary

schools in 1910 had less than doubled in the thirty years since 1880 while the numbers at secondary schools had increased by more than 500% although there were still only 9,100 attending. University numbers were also rising, approaching 2,000. And as the Reichel-Tate Commission explained in 1925 New Zealanders were better represented at university per head of population than anywhere else in the world. And as we saw they also pointed out that the university they attended paid a price for achieving that level of universality.

Despite these surges of sentiment which favoured the status quo and defeated the reformers the intersection of events in 1911 was such that reform could have been carried if Stout had swung behind them as the reformers had hoped. Now if the passage of events is ever determined by individual influence, by individual temperament, by personal convictions and values it was determined by the individual preferences of a university professor retired eighteen years in 1911 who knew the value of the examination systems, and who knew how to prepare students for them. For the outcomes rest upon the determination, foresight, stupidity, call it what you will, of Stout and Brown.

Brown was crucial. In the brief speech to his students when he retired at fifty he declared

“he was afraid his ideals had become attenuated, and if he had stayed much longer, he would have had no ideals at all. ... He would almost go so far as to advise his students to cultivate idleness to some extent” He announced his conversion to the belief that the sciences were more important than the arts.

(in Gardner et al, 1973, p. 106)

He must have devoted a lot of his new leisure to his writing but neither of his utopian novels *Riallaro* or *Limanora* make for stimulating or instructive reading today. By his own account and that of his younger daughter he was stretched between the two sides of his formative character, his Puritan mother and his carefree sea-going father. In his seat on the Senate the Puritan mother seemed to continually guide him. And for him success in teaching was marked by the pass-rates of his pupils before the overseas examiners. He was part of a network of the University's dedicated pioneers.

That network of old voices satisfied with their accomplishment was strongly woven, and is more likely to be overlooked today than it was at the time. The members of the first Royal Commission formed a strong bond taking months to move together around what was a difficult country. But allegiances went beyond that. Brown used to take his vacation with Dr Hector, the man who became the second Chancellor. Then later on he would holiday with von Haast, another companion on the Senate. (see Brown, 1974, p. 130). Still later von Haast's son Friedrich would take a place on the Senate. We can see in this a close network of South Island acquaintances on Senate who came to hold similar dependable views. Von Zedlitz referred to it politely in his testimony before the Education Commission in 1911 (see p. 108). And it was not something that the 1902 reform had greatly weakened. Although three of those who had been members of the Senate since its beginnings, Hector, Rolleston and Grace, lost their places at that point little of the old continuities were interrupted. Macgregor had not been around so long but he also lost his place in 1903 as did another with whom Brown shared a bond, Archbishop Redwood. Even so Sale and Cook both worked through the change of 1903 and were not to leave the Senate until 1908. So there was some change. But the patterns of Senate attitudes were not greatly changed under the new rules.

Brown's own conversion to a belief in the external examination system is reasonably explicable. It is clear that in his first years he marked the classics papers along with Sale. His early votes in the Senate for local examinations may well have been votes for an examination fee from which he personally benefited. However, Brown's position at Canterbury College became more and more secure, a circumstance bearing both a handsome income from fees as well as a heavy burden, as he claimed, of 16 hour days through a long week. So he had little to personally gain once the examining role had gone overseas from the prospect of that extra work returning should there have been a reversion to local examining. He would have been reluctant for more work, but he would have been equally unhappy at the prospect of being passed over as examiner, or having his candidates examined by other local men. He records that he was sought after by Otago University when they were looking to set up a Chair in English, Canterbury were willing to add £100 to his annual salary to retain him, he was already earning almost as

much as his salary from fees from his classical students, and he had every prospect of earning even more from the students in English subjects. (Brown, 1974, p. 89).

Macmillan Brown was a conservative voice on Senate and that his influence with Stout was decisive is highly probable. Beaglehole probably talked the matter over with the reformers he knew so well in his teaching at Victoria:

What happened they could never quite make out, though in after years Hunter put the disaster down to the intervention of Macmillan Brown, once a professor at Canterbury who had profited largely from the System, conservative, obstinate, influential and Stout's successor as Chancellor: he had 'talked to' Stout. Now, and henceforth, was Stout less than judicial, magnificent in misrepresentation, the advocate, the leader of a party; (Beaglehole, 1949, p. 142-3)

If events are ever swayed by individual voices then they were swayed in the 1911-12 by the voices of Macmillan Brown and Stout. But single voices of influence usually express the hopes of some solidly institutionalized body, and that body in the case of the UNZ was a South Island body. Stout, of course, had left Dunedin and, more than Seddon, was the founding strength of Victoria College. That is why the reformers had expectations of him. But the UNZ that had developed was a South Island university and the history of its early development determined the institution that it became. Over that early history a network of institutional loyalties had sprung up which was tested by the NZURA but proved robust against their hopes. Time and again the people of Dunedin obliged with appeals when they appeared to overreach in the building of special schools. The governance of their university was not confined to their College Council but was shared in part by the Synod and the Board of Property who played their hand from time to time in the choice of Presbyterian Church Chairs. So although the generosity of the people of Dunedin was not sufficient to make life comfortable or certain for professors it was involved enough to create ownership and loyalty. The students and recent graduates, too, were given their part to play in the University of Otago Council Election Act 1891. As the people of Otago saw it the rest of country had never matched their generosity or enthusiasm for university development. And

consequently they were unlikely to join in university reform if that was merely a clamour for money which the rest of the country, as they saw it, did not deserve. There was not going to be much in it for Otago if the reform were to succeed and as the Amendment Act of 1914 revealed their conservative judgment was not far from the mark.

Canterbury, too, had its history of endowment provision. And this meant that in 1911 its governance Council had responsibilities for institutional developments which extended well beyond Canterbury College. In addition to its special school, the School of Engineering, it had responsibility for the Astronomical Observatory, the School of Art, the Museum, the Public Library, and both the Boy's and the Girl's High School. This might have made the professors a little impatient but it meant a strong network of commitment to matters educational and cultural and a tangle of relationships which balanced the interest of the university against those of its other institutions and was not likely to give a high priority to university reform. By the first decade of the twentieth century there was a mood for reform among Canterbury professors but it was fostered more by recent overseas recruits like Wall and did not carry with it all of the more recently appointed local men. One legacy that the well-qualified early professors did not bestow with their early labours was collegial unity. Campbell captured the relationships among early professors this way:

They did not mix socially with one another and no two seemed to have got on together. Brown hated Haslam (partly, it is thought, a Scottish vs English feud). All the others ostracized Bickerton for his socialist views and envied him for the popularity of his public lectures (or possibly more accurately, the fees brought in). Cook certainly did not number Bickerton as amongst his most favourite people. Hutton and Bickerton were both evolutionists. Cook probably not. Only occasionally did feuds erupt, and in the main the Professors behaved civilly to each other but had little to do with one another outside of the College. (Campbell, 1999. p. 80)

This situation prevailed before 1900 but twenty years later Canterbury was still largely divided where the professors from Home had rather a dim view of local recruits. If relations were this fractured within a single College there was little hope for agreement among professors from different Colleges. However, when they had the opportunity to

meet there was, as witnesses to the Education Committee put it, a prospect of achieving majority decisions. The tactic of keeping them apart proved fairly successful for Stout until 1914. But even after the Board of Studies had been established the general rule was that professorial members of Senate could not be relied upon to pursue the majority decision of a Board of Studies resolution once they moved into the environment of the Senate.

9.4 Lessons from the stories of the UNZ and the NZURA

Most of the lessons which flow from this study remind us of the importance of culture, its long run underflow, and the some of its elements continually impel and are then manifest in action. The actions of Oxford and Cambridge, the Scottish universities, and the University of London in Box 3 of Figure 2.1 (p. 21), although we have not dwelt upon it, colour the belief systems which were acted out in New Zealand. It is not easy to read which way the causal relationships run whether actions form beliefs or beliefs form actions but the suspicion is as Hatch explains when she expands on Schein's rudimentary schema that the processes (realization, symbolization, manifestation and interpretation) "flow in both directions" (1993, p. 675). Take the case of the actions in organizing a university. The story I have dealt with shows a continuity through a path which links back to the collegial ideals of Oxford and Cambridge. The college-university ideal survived in a much attenuated fashion at the UL. It then passed through the separate interpretive-symbolic sub-cultures of the professors and the colonial politicians in New Zealand, being mediated through slightly different perspectives in different interactive systems. However, the systems could come together and experience common points of intersection, and it was the aim of the reformers to increase such intersections at governance level, something they took to be a good thing.

And even today in universities in New Zealand there are interpretations of collegiality, though it is realized in a much more intensified form of specialization, a development which has been common to universities throughout the world. This prompts the question are universities in New Zealand really the same as universities everywhere else? They operate in an international milieu and are driven by similar ideals but they are as different

from other institutions as the UNZ was in turn different from the UL, and even more different from Oxford and Cambridge. The differences remain significant. In one sense Beyer's diagram has something going for it in that the boxes 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 represent self-reinforcing repositories dependent upon the cultural, societal and organization systems, the role sets and personal ideologies (boxes 1-5) and values of those working in them. As a theory it helps to express something of the way in which a certain particularity is filtered out from common roots. But it is inadequate to the extent that there is no link back from behaviour in box 8 to the systems, roles and values where the generating mechanisms originate. After all systems don't operate if no behaviour is exhibited there, behaviour which is particularised and ordered among different roles. It is not just that ideologies and values are enacted in those areas. So it is best to interpret Beyer's diagram as suggesting sources of motivating mechanisms, and although it records many reciprocal effects it is still a partial model ignoring other important matters.

But some values continued to be quite resistant to behaviour. Again and again in the stories of both the UNZ and the UL the professors expressed an ideal which was deeply opposed to their common practice, which was to accommodate part-time students. But the reasons that the classes in the colleges were held in the early mornings, after five o'clock or at the weekends were because during the working day the students were engaged in full-time employment. Studying, if it was given much time at all, was a secondary consideration. At Canterbury College in 1923 there were less than a 1000 students, 38% of those were not matriculated, and only 32% were full-time. In 1924 before the Reichel-Tate Commission less than 35% of the students in the Colleges were full-time students. Even in 1960 when the UNZ finally went out of existence only 40% of the students at Victoria University College were full-time. But misunderstandings over the effects of part-time students were possible on all sides as the dismissal of Aldis showed. Nevertheless, everywhere the colleges accommodated to the circumstance which they shrank from as their great handicap. In Auckland it was the professors who joined with the students in the first site row and favoured a location, near or actually in the Government House grounds, a place to which part-time students could walk from their city work, rather than somewhere further afield near Hobson Bay or on some more

spacious American-campus-like setting in Epsom. If the country was to serve the frequently expressed value of universal opportunity then the compromises to provide opportunities for an eager, but less prepared, part-time clientele had to be made, rather than a choice favouring a more leisured, highly prepared academic elite. The sorts of trade-offs made during the life of the UNZ were trade-offs that continue on today as universities in New Zealand are less and less the preserve of elites, and as there is more and more emphasis on life-long learning.

Another lesson from the story of the UNZ is that the accommodation to make-do standards can lead to a sort of hybrid vigour. Bickerton's story reminds us of the advantages of combining make-do, practical skills with an academic training. He was a populariser and created his own clientele in pioneering circumstances, combining his practical trade-learned skills with the presentation tricks of Puncheon and Sturgeon. Rutherford had probably picked up some of those skills already in his early life at Rai Valley, Havelock and Nelson but his experiments on Hertzian waves and cycles in the Tin Shed and then the cloak-room turned den were a positive preparation for his later career. From all accounts it was Rutherford's practical skills, those learnt from Bickerton, more than those picked up in the 6 hours per week of postgraduate mathematics lessons taught by Cook, that inspired people who later worked with the man. It is unlikely that a Board of Governors with a weight of professorial representation would have done more to save Bickerton in 1902 than one which reflected a bit more of his wide public support. For Bickerton was disapproved for the catholic nature of his experimental approaches both by colleagues as well as by a good number on the Board. But Professorial representation on Council might well have saved Aldis for the other professors in Auckland certainly approved of his timetable adaptations. Bickerton's case teaches lessons to all parties about the importance of treasuring research skills and paying the price of tolerance that will allow for equifinality in teaching outcomes, and in that illustrates a continuing story in teaching circles. Aldis's case on the other hand demonstrates the importance of the reformers' case that a better understanding of the practical implications of university development under local conditions was necessary, and could have been assisted with better representation of professors in governance

structures.

Whether such representation might have altered the vote on external examinations is far from decidable. Professorial support for the external examinations was quite widespread as we have seen. And after the professors were granted a Professorial Board in the UNZ the external examinations continued to dominate the curricula in New Zealand through the lean years of the 1930s and well into the following decade. It is really impossible to say what the fate of the UNZ would have been had the NZURA proved more successful in converting Stout and Macmillan Brown to changing their position in 1911-12. If they had swung in behind Hogben and Allen in the Senate and Herdman and Allen in the House of Representatives what else might have been possible and would the path to dissolution which certainly seemed inevitable after the Second World War have continued. It is too hard to say. But did Stout's incalcitrance in 1912, which he justified to stave off the splitting of the UNZ into four separate universities, simply make that ultimate outcome inevitable? There was noticeable vacillation on the issue following the 1914 Amendment, but despite the vacillation displayed by people like Hight separation into autonomous institutions was always a feature of the agenda, a one-day-when thing, from that time on. Would a single university have proved stronger and better able to progress than the separate provincial universities which resulted after 1961?

Such a university would have been more unambiguously an institution of the State. Would such an institution have been a stronger, better endowed university? It might have faced as many threats as added opportunities? The one thing to say is that it might have been possible to sustain such a university. And in that there is a reminder for governance in New Zealand's universities today that despite the confluence of systems and the embedded institutionalization of systems, roles and values which have long histories that seem to point in a given direction, alternative paths are still possible. But it sometimes takes an act of trust to turn the course of events.

And the story of the UNZ also teaches lessons about trust that are relevant today. The professors' complaint was that without trust they could not do the job they were paid for.

Ramsay from London agreed and pointed out that professors that could not be trusted to examine their students were not worthy of their job. The professors needed that measure of trust and there was a need for mutual trust between professors themselves. However, trust must be tempered with prudence, and continual evaluation. The story of Grossmann reminds us of the limits to trust and what can go wrong in a world where the demand for resources is insatiable and the spread of opportunities and pressures uneven. That the professors at Canterbury did not trust each other did not save Haslam. That there was a considerable social and financial distance between professors and others that shared their teaching functions may have contributed to Grossmann's temptations and breakdowns in trust. That possibility can be left to other studies. But it would be naïve to think that the UNZ would have grown stronger had the professors run the Colleges and the University. But then the reformers never claimed any such privilege in their pamphlet and that Stout should claim that they did merely illustrates one of the failures in trust. The UNZ and its affiliated colleges were small institutions but they demonstrate that smallness on its own is not sufficient for trust. The problems of organization are considerable, but to ignore the problems of linkages between levels as organizations grow and to exclude any significant groups leads to proliferation of problems. Evaluation at a local level, and the power to act at a local level, is important to the building of trust.

External examinations also destroyed trust, according to the reformers, and they had the potential to leave teachers unmotivated since their attention to what really mattered in research and in teaching would be left unremarked, unrecognised. Perhaps such a claim was extreme but there are plenty of instances in the story of the UNZ which suggest that there really were such problems. However, the conviction of Stout that domination of any education system by examinations is destructive and Hogben's conviction that the tripos he knew at Cambridge was vicious are a reminder that while exams are necessary they have a destructive element that must be vigilantly ameliorated if university systems are to flourish. The considerations that reformers and their informants raised on the matters of examination evaluation remain relevant.

There is also the question of resources and the competition for those resources provided

from the government which more than anything shaped the uneven development of facilities throughout the four centres and created a certain amount of resentment as a consequence. From the foundings in 1869, 1873, 1883 and 1899 the uncertainty over resources dominated the structure of the UNZ and the provincialism which diminished its development. A more even and a more generous university provision did not have prospect of emerging until the Senate set up its University Grants Committee in 1948. The State's own University Grants Committee was to follow some years later. Perhaps it would have been impossible to conceive of such an arrangement during the time of the NZURA. And perhaps the resource distribution which had some effect upon the support for the status quo, and the fear of the winners in the then current contest, lest their meagre advantages of the time be threatened, were always going to create barriers that the reformers could not surmount. I would contend that they were important but not decisive and that if Macmillan Brown and Stout had swung something more was possible. However, the lessons about the contention for resources and the shape this gives to motivation is a lesson not best forgotten.

But above all there is a challenge to university governance in the story of the UNZ and the NZURA. Whatever the size of universities as they grow, and the problems that they face which grow with them, they still need to do better in protecting their ideals than the UNZ and Victoria were able to do in the case of von Zedlitz. Even when the war was over von Zedlitz was not reinstated at Victoria. Wattie points out (2000, p. 142) that von Zedlitz was writing in 1919 that he

was told in confidence "that cabinet have already decided to renew against me the prohibition against obtaining employment which they enforced during the war. Probably this will close for ever the doors of V.C. to me, which I can hardly regard as a disappointment; but it goes a good deal further than that. Depressed me not a little."

Governance structures in universities that cannot guard against such substantive injustice are in need of reform and to be able to withstand the type of challenge that Victoria could not in the von Zedlitz case continues to be their ultimate test. There came an acknowledgement of that, an acknowledgement of the worthwhile status of university

values, a reminder of the difficulty of defending them, and the hint of a happy ending. For in 1936 von Zedlitz, despite his previous difficulties, was made a Professor Emeritus of Victoria University College.

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