LITERATURE AND THE READING PUBLIC IN AUSTRALIA

1800 - 1850:

A Study of the Growth and Differentiation of a Colonial Literary Culture During the Earlier Nineteenth Century

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CHAPTER V

ENGLISH LITERATURE IN AUSTRALIA : 1840 - 1849

"Everybody reads." [1]

During the eighteen-forties there was a marked increase in the population of Australia. Although transportation to the eastern colonies had virtually ceased by the end of this period, ample compensation came from the corresponding growth in the immigration of free settlers to the now respectable colonies. As these people were likely to have been both more interested in reading and more able to purchase books than the convicts, one is not surprised to find an equally marked rise in the number of books available. In Sydney at least, booksellers proper began to take over from book auctioneers towards the end of the decade, although the latter still did a busy trade. Book auctions predominated in newer colonies like Victoria, Queensland, South and Western Australia,[2] as in the earlier periods in New South Wales, where this had been found the most effective method with a fairly small, unstable population. The great mass of material available from booksellers' advertisements and catalogues of this period, especially in Sydney, precludes the detailed discussion attempted in previous chapters. A complete list of advertisements and catalogues for the eighteen-forties has consequently been

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[1] David Mackenzie, Ten Years in Australia (1845), p.44.

[2] To avoid confusion, modern state names have been used throughout.

included as an appendix, with the most significant sales and sellers outlined here.

Also to be found as an appendix is a list of the most frequently advertised literary authors during the thirty years from 1820 to 1849. As can be seen, Sir Walter Scott remained well in front for the whole period. In the eighteen-forties, however, the trend towards other best sellers also being novelists became much stronger. After Scott, J. F. Cooper, Dickens, Marryat and Bulwer Lytton greatly increased in popularity, whilst new authors like Charles Lever and Eugene Sue rapidly became known. One of the most notable changes in the English book trade during the nineteenth century - the production of cheap editions, especially of novels, ancient and modern, English, French and American - largely contributed to this. Although the established English publishers did not begin to issue cheap fiction to any great extent until the eighteen-fifties and after, such "Salisbury Square" collections of reprint novels as The Romancist and Novelists' Library and The Novel Newspaper were turned out in quantity[3] and were widely available in Australia, especially in the newer colonies and country districts. Naturally, it was also possible to buy the new

[3]Information on the English Book trade in this period comes mainly from Richard Altick, The English Common Reader, 1957 (1963), an invaluable guide to many aspects of nineteenth-century literature.

cheaper editions of more serious literary works, such as those printed by Charles Knight and the Chambers brothers, though these seem to have been mainly confined to centres like Sydney and Hobart where conventional booksellers were better established. Whatever their content, these lower priced books no doubt helped considerably to increase the proportion of colonists able to buy them, and so contributed greatly to the growth in numbers of both Australian booksellers and book readers during the eighteen-forties.

Before passing on to a discussion of these two aspects of the early Australian literary scene - the books advertised for sale and those actually found in private libraries or mentioned in private diaries and letters - it may be useful to look more closely at the authors most frequently mentioned in the advertisements and those most often reprinted or reviewed in local newspapers and magazines. Both book advertisements and lists of private libraries confirm that Scott, Byron and Shakespeare continued to be the most widely available writers, as in the previous decades. Some idea of the staggering increase in the number of books available in Australia in the 'forties is given by the fact that works by Scott were advertised over ten times as frequently as in the eighteen-thirties, as against an increase of under three times between the 'twenties and the 'thirties. A grand total of more than one and a half thousand of Scott's works were available in this decade alone. In addition, it should be noted that

figures in the list of authors most frequently advertised are based not on volumes, as in the statistics of total numbers of books advertised, but on works intended to be sold as a set. Thus the popular forty-eight volume Waverley Novels or the eighty-eight volume Complete Works of Scott carry the same weight in this list as a single volume of Marmion. Since the works of most other authors were usually advertised as one or three volume sets, with even editions of Byron or Shakespeare never going beyond seventeen volumes, Scott's predominance if expressed in terms of volumes advertised would be even greater.

The large amount of material available for this period makes possible some detailed analysis of the popularity of individual works by major authors. In the case of Scott, leaving out those many instances where his name alone was mentioned, sets of the Waverley Novels, usually the forty-eight volume edition (1829-33), were advertised over a hundred times, with separate novels also being frequently listed. Collected editions of his poetical works appeared seventy-eight times, with separate volumes of Marmion fifty-two times, The Lay of the Last Minstrel fifty-four times, The Lady of the Lake forty-nine times, and Rokeby sixteen times. There were also thirty-eight advertisements of biographical works, chiefly Lockhart's Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart. (7 vols., 1837-8), besides a large number of associated items

such as the Waverley Gallery, Waverley Dramas, Waverley Gems and so forth.

Works by Shakespeare and Byron were mainly advertised as various collected editions, with very occasional single volumes of Shakespeare's plays, and more frequently, single copies of Don Juan or Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, as in England, Byron's most popular works. The perhaps surprising presence of Fenimore Cooper next on the list of most frequently advertised authors points both to the influence of American novelists on early Australian literature, and also to the prevalence of reprint fiction in Australia at this period. Several of Cooper's novels - The Pilot (1824), The Pioneers (1823), The Spy (1822), The Last of the Mohicans (1826), Red Rover (1827), The Prairie (1827), The Water Witch (1830) and Lionel Lincoln (1825)[4] were featured in the Novel Newspaper which, as mentioned, was advertised widely throughout Australia. Apart from ninety-six advertisements for collected editions of his works, showing Cooper's appeal to the more wealthy as well as the poorer classes, these novels were the most often listed, ranging from forty-five copies of The Pioneers to only nineteen of The Prairie. Cooper's many other works, though all available, were not nearly so frequently advertised, the most common being The Heidenmauer (1832) with twelve appearances, Homeward Bound (1838) with ten and The Headsman (1833) with seven.

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[4] Dates are those of the first English editions.

Nor were Fenimore Cooper's new novels very extensively noticed in the Australian press, as compared to the attention given other writers like Tennyson, Thackeray or Disraeli whose works seem to have been much less available. On 23 May 1843, the Southern Australian printed a review, as usual at this period composed mainly of extracts from the novel, of The Two Admirals, a Tale of the Sea (1842), calling it "one of his great masterpieces - his greatest", only four copies of which were available from local booksellers, whilst on 12 December 1846 the Atlas reprinted the London Spectator's notice of Ravensnest (1846), advertised once each in Hobart and Sydney. Ned Myers; or, A Life Before the Mast (1843), reviewed in the Australian on 20 November 1844, was never advertised. A most interesting and highly critical review of The Oak Openings; or, The Bee-Hunter (1848) appeared in the Port Phillip Gazette for 29 January 1849. Unsigned, and perhaps original, it commenced, "The fair sex are accused of not being able to sink gracefully into old age - and certain novelists are open to the same charge", and went on to assert, "Mr. Cooper's most conspicuous quality now is twaddle". Overall it was a just and well-written account of Cooper's decline as a novelist, a decline which probably explains the preference for his earlier works, the Novel Newspaper not withstanding. A testimony to the popularity of one of these appeared in the Colonial Times on 29 August 1842: a poem, "Written after reading 'Cooper's Spy of the

Neutral Ground'", by the journalist John Morgan. Of a few accompanying comments on Cooper's work, the most significant, because accurate, was "His principal personages, such as the last of the Mohicans, the Pilot, and the Spy, appear to have absorbed his whole attention; upon the excellence of these, rest the success of his writings."

The surprising higher number of advertisements for Cooper than for Dickens can largely be explained by Dickens' works' nonappearance in the cheap reprint series, although six shilling editions of some of his earlier novels were available towards the end of the 'forties. Omitting instances where Dickens' name alone was mentioned, The Pickwick Papers was, as might have been expected, the most often advertised - eighty-seven times. There were, however, eighty-two references to Nicholas Nickleby and seventy-five to Master Humphrey's Clock (Barnaby Rudge and The Old Curiosity Shop). After these, there is a large gap to Sketches by Boz, advertised thirty-two times, Oliver Twist, thirty-one times, and Dombey and Son, twenty-four times, quite a respectable figure since it did not commence till 1846. Then came the Christmas Books, with sixteen appearances each of The Chimes (1844) and The Cricket on the Hearth (1845), fourteen of The Battle of Life (1846) and, surprisingly, only ten of A Christmas Carol (1843). The Haunted Man, not published until the end of 1848, was advertised twice in the following year. As in England,

the least popular of Dickens' novels in Australia, going by the number of advertisements, was Martin Chuzzlewit, listed only fourteen times although it had been published in 1843. David Copperfield, beginning in May 1849, had figured in three Australian lists by the end of that year. Dickens' other works were apparently not widely available: American Notes (1842) and The Pic-Nic Papers (1841) were advertised six times, and Pictures from Italy (1846) only twice.

As in the eighteen-thirties, Dickens continued to be the English author occupying by far the most space in Australian newspapers and magazines, with occasional complete serialisations of his works, and frequent short extracts and reviews, which often meant much the same. Although his older works were the most often advertised, his new productions naturally received most attention in the press. The Pickwick Papers and Nicholas Nickleby were, however, not entirely neglected - several papers had correspondents who wrote in imitation of Pickwick's Jingle, whilst, on 18 December 1847, the Launceston Cornwall Chronicle reported on the high jinks of a local group of "Pickwickian Cricketers", with many references to characters like the Fat Boy. Extracts from Pickwick appeared in the Port Phillip Patriot on 23 January and 3 February 1840, and in the Goulburn Herald as late as 1 July and 12 August 1848. In this same year, the Sydney Atlas for 18 March reprinted an article on "The Origin of the Pickwick Papers". Earlier,

on 22 May and 5 June 1840, the Tasmanian Weekly Dispatch had published its editor John Morgan's "Song" to the tune of "Believe me, if all those endearing young charms", based on the proposal of Jingle to Rachel Wardle. Morgan noted, "The above lines were written after reading the following - one of the best hit off scenes in Pickwick - where the worthy, and, for ever more, immortalized hero, makes his first acquaintance with 'Samivel Veller'." Another scene from Pickwick appeared in the same paper on 25 September 1840, with extracts from Nicholas Nickleby on 20 November and 11 December. The Adelaide Chronicle for 18 February 1840 had also printed extracts from Nickleby, whilst the entire novel was serialised in the Sydney Commercial Journal, concluding on 23 May 1840. A further instance of its wide popularity can be seen in Henry Carmichael's reference to "Do-the-boys Hall" in his Introductory Lecture Delivered at the Opening of the Twelfth Session of the Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts, June 3, 1844 (1844). Oliver Twist, lagging far behind these two novels in number of copies advertised, also does not seem to have rated a mention in the eighteen-forties' press; neither did Sketches by Boz.

Master Humphrey's Clock, however, which began appearing in April 1840, was serialised in the Australasian Chronicle from 5 December 1840 to 19 May 1841 and in the Launceston Advertiser from 24 December 1840 to 29 July 1841. Initially, the Adelaide Chronicle reacted coolly, saying on 11 November

1840, "We have received the first numbers of this new production from the pen of Boz - but it appears to be infinitely inferior to his previous works. After a careful perusal, however, should we think it likely to prove sufficiently interesting to our readers, we shall reprint, if not all, at least a part of it". Trusting in a promise of better things to come, the serialisation was commenced a fortnight later, with the note:

> We may mention that the present and several succeeding chapters are only a kind of introduction by which Boz introduces his characters on the stage whereon in future numbers we doubt not they will shine as brilliantly as Mr. Pickwick, Sam Weller, Nicholas Nickleby, and his other characters, which are so well known among almost every class of society.

Again one sees that Pickwick and Nickleby were thought of as Dickens' most popular works - just what was the class of society that did not know them? Evidently the later numbers lived up to expectations, since on 20 January 1841 the Chronicle apologised for the discontinuation of their serial: "Our supply of this publication is out - and there being no arrivals from England, we must wait patiently till the winds waft us a few more numbers to carry on the tale." The concluding scenes of The Old Curiosity Shop were printed on 26 January 1842. Short extracts from Master Humphrey's Clock also appeared in the Sydney Temperance Advocate on

21 December 1840, in the Hobart Morning Advertiser on 8 and 15 October 1841, and in the Launceston Courier on 25 January 1841. Later, Edward Kemp, best known for his satire A Voice from Tasmania (1846), was inspired to compose "Lines, Written on reading the death of Nelly, in Dickens' tale of the Old Curiosity Shop", printed in the Hobart Town Herald on 3 March 1846. Evidently the fate of Little Nell had as strong an influence on Australian hearts as on English ones, and in equally unexpected quarters.

Although, as has been mentioned, Martin Chuzzlewit's failure in England was paralleled by, or perhaps produced, a similar neglect by Australian booksellers, it was nevertheless fairly well received by the colonial press. On 2 May 1845, its serialisation was commenced by the Launceston Advertiser, continued without a break to 9 October, and resumed on 27 November. As in Adelaide, the editor apologised for the delay, writing on 23 October:

> "Martin Chuzzlewit" - We neglected to notice last week the omission in our pages of the continuation of this highly popular work, and for which we crave our readers' indulgence for a week or two. To enable us to publish this work a gentleman obliged us with the parts from which we have been making our extracts. By some accident two or three of the parts have been mislaid, and we are under the necessity of suspending the publication of our extracts until we obtain new copies from Sydney, where some single numbers are to be obtained.

Since the editor was presumably replying to readers' complaints, Martin Chuzzlewit must indeed have been "highly popular" in Hobart. It is also interesting to note that there were apparently no other copies available in Tasmania at this time, although one had been listed by George Rolwegan in the Tasmanian for 6 July 1844. The only other mention of Chuzzlewit before 1846 was Colman's advertisement in the Sydney Morning Herald on 16 April 1845, perhaps the source of the editor's new copy. Nearly all the later advertisements also appeared in Sydney papers, with the exception of one in Launceston in 1847 and one in Adelaide in 1849. Although no copies were advertised in Victoria, the seventeenth number of Chuzzlewit was reviewed, with the usual long extracts, in the Port Phillip Gazette for 7 December 1844, and the novel serialised between 24 May and 6 September 1845. Extracts also appeared in the Portland Mercury on 20 December 1843 and in the Geelong Advertiser on 11 April 1846. In Sydney, the Commercial Journal serialised Chuzzlewit from 16 April to 5 July 1845, whilst smaller extracts were printed in the Parramatta Chronicle for 13 July 1844, and the Australian for 20 January 1845, the latter proclaiming part Nine of the novel "decidedly the best...yet produced". A rather more critical comment: "Martin Chuzzlewit, though the thread of the story is not very interesting, abounds with

some choice and amusing bijoux", accompanied some "Scraps" from it printed in W.A. Duncan's Weekly Register on 12 August 1843, only seven months after its first number appeared. The Perth Gazette, however, prefaced its first extract, on 27 April 1844, with the comment, Martin Chuzzlewit "bids fair to equal any of its predecessors from the same prolific pen". Other passages from the novel appeared there on 4 May 1844 and 8 February 1845, whilst the Southern Australian printed extracts on 17 August 1843 and on 10 May, 6 August and 27 December 1844. Thus Martin Chuzzlewit, despite its relative unpopularity, was oddly enough reprinted more widely in Australia than any of Dickens' other works.

Dombey and Son was, however, as in England, received with greater acclaim. It was serialised, complete with reproductions of the original illustrations, in the Sydney magazine Heads of the People, commencing in the first issue for 17 April 1847, only six months after its initial part-publication. Later, on 18 December 1847, the editor of Heads of the People referred to Dombey as "perhaps, the favourite offspring of Charles Dickens" - no doubt, its serialization had done much to promote his new offspring. The Australian for 13 February 1847 had reviewed Part One of Dombey and Son four months after publication, with the usual long quotations and a comment on "the above singular and promising title". By 9 September 1848, the Australian Sportsman evidently felt the promise had been fulfilled:

Dombey and Son

The last arrivals from London have placed our Sydney booksellers in possession of the concluding part of this serial, which may now be procured complete in one handsome volume. To offer any critical opinion upon a work which has already obtained so large and deserved a share of public approval, were now unnecessary. It will be far more interesting to our readers to learn the fates of the chief actors in the story.

These they then proceeded to relate. "Graphic Scenes from 'Dombey and Son'", presumably taken from the collected edition, were published in the Atlas on 14 October 1848; extracts had earlier appeared in the Parramatta Messenger for 1 May 1847. Dombey and Son was also the darling of the Victorian press, and, one assumes, reading public. Extracts appeared in the Port Phillip Gazette for 3 March 1847; the Patriot for 26 April, 20 - 27 August and 1 October 1847, 13 April and 17 - 23 August 1848; the Herald for 29 June 1847, with Number Three termed "excellent"; and the Geelong Advertiser for 14 January 1848. In Adelaide, the South Australian Gazette reprinted the London Spectator's review on 13 March 1847, whilst the South Australian published extracts from the December number of Dombey on 22 and 25 June 1847.

Although David Copperfield only commenced publication in May 1849, it had been advertised three times in Australia, once in Hobart and twice in Sydney, by the following October. Even earlier, on 3 September, extracts from Part One had appeared in the Geelong Advertiser. This paper further

enhanced its claim to be one of the most active in the publication of both overseas and local literature, by printing on the following day extracts from Thackeray's Pendennis (1848-50), the only mention of this work in Australia before 1850. Passages from David Copperfield also appeared in the Melbourne Daily News for 26 August and 6 November 1849, the Port Phillip Gazette for 22 December 1849, and the Bathurst Advocate for 17 November 1849. Thus it seems to have been available in these centres, though not advertised by local booksellers.

Dickens' Christmas books were also better received in the colonies than one would judge from the number of copies advertised for sale. A Christmas Carol, in particular, which, as noted, was advertised least frequently, was rapturously reprinted and reviewed by the local press: perhaps it sold too well to need advertising. Certainly, with the exception of a mention in Tegg's list in the Colonial Times for 14 July 1844, and another in Ford's in the Sydney Morning Herald for 18 December 1845, no copies were advertised before 1847, when the demand was presumably diminished. However, on 1 March 1845, the Australian printed this announcement for the Royal Victoria Theatre:

THE EXTRAORDINARY SENSATION

Created by the publication of the latest work by the

INIMITABLE BOZ,

which has proved so successful that not one single copy now remains to be purchased in Sydney, has induced Mr. Griffiths to present it to his Patrons in a Dramatic form and the Performances on this occasion will therefore commence with (in five staves),

A CHRISTMAS CAROL

Dramatised expressly for this occasion, by the Author of the HIBERNIAN FATHER.

The performance, for Mr. Griffith's Benefit Night, was held on 3 March, and repeated the next night. Later this year, on 14 August, the Port Phillip Gazette also testified to the great popularity of A Christmas Carol:

> We are glad to lay before our readers the Christmas Carol, in prose, by Boz, which has been so much admired and declared superior to anything he has yet written. It is given in a condensed form, but the finer passages, it will be observed, are extracted without alteration. Our readers will be better and happier for the perusal.

Publication commenced in this issue under the heading "A Ghost Story of Christmas" and continued on 17 and 24 August. More appropriately, on 24 December 1844, the Colonial Literary Journal had also recommended Dickens' story to its readers as "a real Christmas tale....a tale that can be read with interest twice, aye, and thrice, - a tale that points out, with inimitable pleasantry, the moral benefit to be derived from a due and proper celebration of the festival alone....".[5] It had earlier serialised A Christmas Carol between 15 August and 12 September, whilst a still more prompt serialisation had appeared in the Southern Australian from 9 to 16 July 1844.

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[5]The Launceston Examiner for 29 December 1847, deploring some improper celebrations, exclaimed "Oh ghost of Marley! Oh shade of departed Scrooge! Oh gods of Christmas past and Christmas present Where was thy correcting influence; where thy humanising spirit that would teach all mankind to join with Tiny Tim in the little heartfelt prayer, 'God bless us every one'?"

Dickens' later Christmas books were greeted less enthusiastically; no doubt it was difficult to view them with the proper sentiment when they arrived six months or so after their intended festive season. The Launceston Examiner set the tone by writing on 4 June 1845, "Mr. Dickens has produced another work, entitled 'The Chimes'.....It is a Christmas present, but the reviews speak lightly of it, as compared with the Carol." A week later, the Port Phillip Patriot commenced a serialisation of The Chimes, "published as recently as 19th December", which ran till 17 June, whilst, on 21 June, the Atlas reprinted a review from the Illustrated London News. Another English review, from the London Atlas, had appeared in the Sydney Morning Herald for 9 May. Dickens' subsequent Christmas books were mostly noticed by the colonial press in this fashion, although The Cricket on the Hearth was serialised in the Hobart Town Courier between 13 June and 1 August 1846. A review of it from the Athenaeum appeared in the Atlas on 30 May, and another from the Liverpool Albion in both the Maitland Mercury from 17 to 24 June and the Port Phillip Gazette for 11 July. The Colonial Times ran The Battle of Life from 18 June 1847, whilst extracts were published in the Port Phillip Patriot for 20 May and the Parramatta Messenger for 5 June. Most papers were, however, content to reprint the London Observer's review, as usual crammed with extracts. This appeared in the Maitland Mercury

on 5 and 8 May; the Sydney Morning Herald on 20 May; the Port Phillip Patriot between 21 May and 1 June; the Port Phillip Gazette on 22 and 26 May and the Portland Guardian from 7 to 21 June. The Corio Chronicle for 13 October showed a tinge of originality by using instead a notice from the North British Review. Much less attention was given The Haunted Man - the market for Christmas stories, as Dickens himself presumably realised, had been satiated. An extract, "The Tetterby Family", published in the Maitland Mercury on 25 April 1849, was reprinted by the Melbourne Daily News on 2 June, whilst another appeared in the Perth Gazette for 14 September. Only one English review, from the Literary Gazette, was reprinted, in the August number of the Australia Felix Monthly Magazine.

Of the other works by Dickens published in the eighteen-forties, American Notes for General Circulation (1842) was fairly widely noticed in Australia, being serialised in the Sydney Morning Herald between 5 May and 9 June 1843. A review from the Times had also been printed by the Herald on 3 March. The Australian prefaced its 6 March reprint of the Evening Packet's review with this glowing commendation, which also enabled them to hit in passing at some competitors:

> In our last page will be found some extracts from the memoranda of "Boz" during his late transatlantic tour. We have perused these sketches of peripatetic philosophy and fun with much pleasure. A sparkling vein of pleasantry and satire, graphic, literary, and political, runs through the whole, exhibiting literally a new world of character, comicality, and pathos, in lively action. His masterly

sketch of the depraved condition of the American Press is worthy the serious attention of our citizens, who have lately shown, in their thoughtless purchase of the pestilential trash hawked about our highways, a careless contempt of the danger of rendering the Sydney Press an engine of social slavery in place of an Ægis of liberty.

This feeling that Australians had much to learn from the American colonial experience, seen also in relation to other American works, perhaps accounted for some of the widespread interest in American Notes. Like the Herald, the Southern Australian reprinted the Times review on 14 and 18 April 1843, and began serialising the whole work on 11 August. Extracts also appeared in the South Australian Register for 19 and 22 April; the Port Phillip Gazette for 11 March and 1 July; the Colonial Observer for 6 May; and the Launceston Advertiser for 25 May; whilst it was briefly noticed, along with Martin Chuzzlewit, in the first number of Arden's Sydney Magazine, September 1843.

Lacking this local relevance, and with the added handicap of a poor reception in England, Pictures from Italy (1846) attracted much less attention in Australia. Extracts appeared in the Port Phillip Patriot on 4 December, and the Launceston Advertiser from 10 to 17 December 1846, whilst a review from the London Examiner had been reprinted in the Atlas on 17 October. A presumably original review, perhaps by Richard Thompson, was published in the Sydney Spectator for 31 October. Unlike many of the English reviewers, the writer was generally still prepared to hail Dickens as a genius, commencing,

The public must by this time be aware that, let Mr. Dickens write on what subject he may, he will be sure to treat it in an original style. Whatever book comes from his pen will be essentially a new book. The world will have seen nothing like it before. He is one of those men, born once in a century, scarcely oftener, whose mind forms a new die distinct from all moulds that have previously appeared. He borrows from no one. His faults and his merits belong equally to himself. His impressions are original, and his mode of expression is original also. His intellect is creative in the sense of originating what is new, and he has wonderful wealth of language with which to grace his ideas. Everything he writes bears the genuine stamp of his own mind....There is a vitality in all his conceptions, which genius only can attain and mere art can never approach, for -

"What fine chisel could ever yet cut breath?"

Despite this, one of Dickens' most original features - his freedom from the cliché "correct" imagery abounding in most English and local writing of this period - came in for some criticism:

It would be a great mistake to confound this author's eccentricities of phrase with the character of his genius. They are part of the rawness of his youth. We hope he will soon throw them off. They might have attracted some notice at first, but now, he may be sure, they will rather impede than promote his popularity. They might pass muster in "Pickwick", but they will not do in works of a graver kind. They smack of affectation, and of a very vulgar sort of affectation besides. What are we to make of such an expression as this, applied to the streets of Genoa? - "They emit a peculiar fragrance, like the smell of very bad cheese, kept in very hot blankets."... Such horrid cockneyisms had surely better be left at home, ...

The final verdict was, however, highly in favour of both book and author, and prophetic of Dickens' future works:

This book, perhaps more than any former one by the same author, will set at rest the foolish speculation from time to time entertained whether Mr. Dickens be really a great writer, and will achieve a lasting reputation. There are passages in it, following rapidly on each other, which none but a man of the most eminent and original genius could have penned. We

believe that genius to be only yet in course of development, and that it is destined to attain higher and more honorable triumphs than it has yet won.

Another review of Pictures from Italy appeared in the same paper on 21 November 1846, but was composed almost solely of extracts.

Besides these reviews and reprints of specific books by Dickens, there were also many more general comments on his work, most testifying to the high esteem in which colonial readers, like their counterparts at home, held him. On 4 September 1847, Bell's Life in Sydney printed a sketch, "Scenes in Sydney. The Public House Concert", which included the sentence, "The greatest writers of the day, Dickens, Bulwer, Jerrold, Ainsworth, etc. etc., draw their description from actual observation, which readily accounts for their vividness and truth." Whilst most would now quarrel with the greatness of all this quartet, the author has certainly indicated the source of much of Dickens' genius. He also gives an interesting glimpse of the tastes of colonial readers at this time, probably applicable to most of the subscribers to Bell's Life, a sporting and comic paper mainly intended to appeal to working and lower middle classes. The reviewer of J.F. Murray's The World of London (1844) in the Atlas, mouthpiece of the squattocracy, on 7 December 1844, also refers to "the creative genius and pathos of Dickens", showing his appeal to all classes. Other evidence of Dickens' popularity may be found in the frequent

local reprinting of general articles on him. A biographical sketch, "Mr. Charles Dickens (Boz)" from Grant's London Journal, appeared in the Australasian Chronicle on 6 April 1841; the North British Review's "Boz and the Author of Waverley Contrasted", which claimed that Dickens' low life characters were much vulgarer than Scott's, in the Australian for 22 February 1846; and a report of Dickens' visit to the Glasgow Athenaeum in both the Port Phillip Patriot for 21 April and the Hobart Town Advertiser for 7 July 1848. In addition, some rather acid comments on Dickens and the current English literary scene, "Books Out and Coming Out: Boz and His Profits" from the Liverpool Journal, were reprinted in the Sydney Chronicle on 21 October 1847.

Although the already voluminous amount of material gathered on other aspects of the early Australian literary scene has unfortunately prevented any discussion of the local theatre except where colonial dramas were performed, one mention has already been made of a Sydney production of A Christmas Carol. Adaptations of works by Dickens and other popular authors, notably Scott, were frequently given in Australian theatres, presumably partly because of the general poor quality and quantity of contemporary plays, and partly to cash in on the success of these novelists. In Melbourne, for example, Conrad Knowles' new Royal Victoria Theatre presented several Dickens' pieces in 1844. On 17 January, the Port Phillip Gazette announced for the following night a second performance of Nicholas Nickleby, said to have been "received upon its last

representation with tremendous applause and the loudest shouts of approbation." A more sober confirmation of the popularity of this piece, in which Knowles himself played Squeers, his wife "Smike (the orphan boy)", is that it was given a further three times, on 27 January, 20 March and 11 May, the last being one of Knowles' final performances before his sudden death eight days later. In between these dates, an adaptation of Master Humphrey's Clock, with Knowles as Gilbert Gray and his wife as Alice, was presented on 28 and 30 March. An advertisement in the Gazette for 27 March announced

> First night of a new drama of great interest, founded on one of the works of the celebrated "BOZ."
>
> FROM the general satisfaction exhibited by the public, on the various evenings when the celebrated drama of Nicholas Nickleby has been performed; the Manager has determined on producing a series of dramas founded on the works of the above celebrated author.
>
> The Drama selected for THIS EVENING'S PERFORMANCE is founded upon one of his most popular romances, it is confidently expected that it will be received by the Patrons of the THEATRE, with universal gratification, ON THURSDAY EVENING, MARCH 28, will be represented for the first time at this THEATRE, a drama in two acts, entitled
>
> MASTER HUMPHREY'S CLOCK;
>
> OR,
>
> THE ORPHAN AND HER FRIEND.

This Dickens' festival continued with Oliver Twist on 1 and 4 April, again with Knowles and his wife in the leading roles

as Fagin and Oliver, and no doubt his other novels would have received the same treatment if Knowles' early death had not intervened. Another Melbourne theatre, the Queen's Theatre Royal, presented a version of the major work untouched by Knowles, The Pickwick Papers, on 9 and 14 October 1845. In keeping with the main source of reader-appeal, it was entitled "Sam Weller; or, the Pickwickeans". Earlier, on 13 May 1841, the Adelaide Queen's Theatre had given its version of "Nicholas Nickleby, or the Fortunes of Smike" with another famous husband and wife partnership, the Arabins, in the leading roles. The South Australian Register for 28 July 1849 carried a report of a recent revival of Nicholas Nickleby at the Queen's Theatre, showing this to have been easily the most frequently staged of Dickens' novels in the eighteen-forties.

Returning to the list of English authors most often advertised by Australian booksellers, it will be seen that Goldsmith fills sixth place not far behind Dickens. If, however, his histories and other non-literary works had been counted in this total, he would have ranked behind Byron, since Goldsmith's educational books were still extensively used in Australian schools. Of Goldsmith's works of imaginative literature, his complete or select works were advertised one hundred and fifty-three times, The Vicar of Wakefield only slightly less, one hundred and thirty-nine times, various combinations of his poetry, plays and essays eighty-two times

and The Citizen of the World forty-three times, with biographies making up the remainder. One reason for the large number of appearances of the Vicar was undoubtedly its common inclusion in cheap reprint series like the Novel Newspaper; William Lipscomb, for example, offering it in the Maitland Mercury on 21 June 1848 for one-and-twopence a copy.

There is a large gap between the number of times works by Goldsmith and novels by Charles Lever appeared in Australian book advertisements. Nevertheless, considering Lever's first novel, Harry Lorrequer, was not published till 1839, three hundred and fifty advertisements in the next ten years is no small sign of his popularity. Just as Henry Dowling's Australian edition of The Pickwick Papers highlighted the arrival of Dickens as the most celebrated new author of the eighteen-thirties, so William Baker's decision to reprint Charles O'Malley (1841), complete with Phiz's illustrations, in Sydney in 1842, emphasised Lever's place as the brightest new star of the 'forties. Most of the Sydney papers sang Baker's praises for this piece of colonial enterprise, though actually he did more for colonial literature by producing his later periodical Heads of the People than by furthering Lever's vapid fictions. This advertisement for Baker's Charles O'Malley appeared in the Colonial Observer on 6 April 1842:

CHEAP EDITION FOR THE PEOPLE.....

W. Baker having, at the solicitation of several of his friends, made arrangements for the publishing of an Australian Edition of the above work, in weekly numbers, begs respectfully to inform the reading part of the community that the first number will appear early in the ensuing month (April) should sufficient encouragement be held out to him to incur the expense necessarily attendant upon such an undertaking.....As only a limited number of copies will be struck off, parties desirous of becoming subscribers are requested to enter their names at W. Baker's, where a list now lies open for the purpose.

Subscription, per No., Illustrated, Sixpence - not Illustrated, Fourpence.

Evidently, at that low price, subscriptions were most readily forthcoming, and Baker later issued the novel in one volume in 1843. This was presumably the subject of some facetious remarks in the Australian for 6 March 1843:

We understand that Mr. Baker will soon be in the most enviable position of a publisher, as regards the Colonial copy-right of this reprint; inasmuch as he will scarcely have a copy left. This substantial encouragement of his spirited efforts to cater for the intellectual taste of the public is a just tribute to his talent and liberality.

Earlier, on 10 December 1842, this paper had enthused at even greater length:

CHARLES O'MALLEY - The reprint of this celebrated work by Mr. Baker, of King Street, has now reached the twenty-third number, and the superiority of typography which distinguished the first numbers of the work, has been kept up, and even improved upon as the publication has proceeded.....the work is most creditable to the industry and spirit of Mr. Baker, and as the dissemination of such publications among the community tends to foster a taste for the pleasures of literature, and, as a necessary consequence, exalts the moral and intellectual faculties, by presenting new ideas to the mind, and fresh subjects of speculation to the imagination, we hope the publisher will meet with that support which his undertaking deserves; for there can be no question that by the issue of such works, he is conferring an obligation upon the Colony, the effects of which, though not, perhaps, immediately apparent, will exercise a permanent and extensive influence on the character and tastes of its inhabitants.

One baulks at the thought of "a permanent and extensive influence" of Charles Lever on Australian writers and readers - is that perhaps the cause of it all? - but an influence can certainly be seen in the cliché-ridden tales of military life and Irish character-pieces predominating amongst the original fiction published in Australian newspapers and magazines during the eighteen-forties.

The Sydney Gazette, which on 11 January 1842 had printed an extract from Charles O'Malley, also praised Baker's reprint, saying on 12 April, "There is no work of modern times that has attained more deserved popularity." In its review of the first number of Baker's reprint, the New South Wales Examiner for 18 July 1842 acclaimed Lever's success with the reading public as

> ...equal to that of the renowned DICKENS himself. It is almost superfluous to praise a work which has been favorably reviewed all the world over. The adventures of the "Bold Dragoon" are narrated with infinite dash and spirit, and the work has the genuine con amore style about it, which never fails to recommend itself to all classes of readers.

One reader at least, however, was pleased by neither the work nor Baker's circulation of it. On 16 July 1842, while the Catholic newspaper the Australasian Chronicle was still edited by W. A. Duncan, it had commented

> Mr. Baker, we are glad to see, is bringing out a cheap and very elegant reprint of the celebrated "Charles O'Malley". We are almost ashamed to confess that we have not yet made ourselves acquainted with this highly popular work but we shall immediately dive into Mr. Baker's reprint, and if we

find that it deserves, in our judgment, one half the celebrity it is said to have obtained in England, we shall do our best to impress upon the colonial public the duty of rewarding Mr. Baker's praiseworthy endeavour to present them with a beautiful new edition.

As nothing further appeared, one assumes Duncan was not impressed by the novel, or perhaps was too busy with the controversies that soon lost him his paper to ever read it. On 6 and 9 December 1843, however, under the new editorship of Michael D'Arcy, unlike Duncan a patriotic Irishman, the Chronicle voiced a lone dissent from the general praise of Lever and Baker.

MR. LEVER'S 'IRISH' NOVELS.

A most impudent caricature of the Irish character having appeared in this colony in the shape of a reprint of CHARLES O'MALLEY, we give the following critique of that piece of flippant coxcombry, from the 'Nation', an able Dublin print.

Lever's work was obviously not designed to please "Young Irishmen", whether at home or abroad!

The Chronicle's attack, however, seems to have had little effect on the popularity of Lever, or of Charles O'Malley, extracts from which also appeared in the Port Phillip Herald, where it was called "this inimitable production", on 4 January, 12 and 26 April 1842; the Commercial Journal on 12 March 1842; the Adelaide Chronicle on 6 and 20 October and 1 December 1841 and 5 January and 13 April 1842,[6] and the Sydney Omnibus on 11 March 1843. Earlier, on 9 October 1841,

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[6]The Chronicle was also the only paper to refer to Harry Lorrequer, on 26 August 1840 describing it as "a series of papers lately published in Dublin after the Pickwick fashion. .....conveyed in a vigorous and racy vein."

this last paper had begun a serialisation, cut short on 18 December with the acid comment, "Our readers will excuse our not continuing Charles O'Malley this week...the Monitor having fallen in love with it and appropriated it, we must look out for something new." The Monitor had commenced reprinting Charles O'Malley on 10 December, beginning in mid-stream with the end of Chapter Nine.

Lever's later novels also figured prominently in Australian papers, despite another attack in the Chronicle for 17 April 1844:

"TOM BURKE OF OURS"
MR. LEVER'S "NOVELS".

We gave a short time ago a critique on the plagiaries - the literary robberies (novels they are called by himself), of Mr. Lever. But they are neither novels nor novel, all the finest passages being stolen from other original novels, such as Maxwell's, etc. We had hoped after that very just and biting exposé, that we should hear no more of this Mr. Lever's stolen goods exposed en etalage in this colony; and we are sorry to see in a recent weekly journal, a portion of "Tom Burke of Ours" sent out to the public as a treat.

Perhaps the gentleman who conducts that paper, does not know that Mr. Lever's disgusting and impudent caricatures of Ireland and Irishmen, are scouted by every lover of his country, and Irishmen of honour and taste...

This was presumably directed at the Sydney Guardian, a working class paper which commenced serialising Tom Burke on 16 March 1844. An extract from this novel also appeared in the South Australian for 11 March 1845. Lever's Jack Hinton was reprinted in another shortlived Sydney paper, the Dispatch, beginning on 4 November 1843 with the comment,

With a view to meeting the popular taste, we have determined on the weekly appropriation of a large portion of our space to the most popular extracts of English authors; and have commenced by the selection of "Jack Hinton, or the Guardsman", from the celebrated series of tales entitled OUR MESS, now issuing from the press, and from the popular pen of Mr. Charles Lever...

It continued with a few breaks throughout 1844, and was still unfinished at the last issue of this paper on 28 December. Jack Hinton was also serialised in the Colonial Times from 27 June 1843, with extracts appearing in the Port Phillip Gazette for 31 December 1842 and 12 October 1844, the Colonial Observer for 1 July 1843, and the Southern Australian for 17 October 1843 and 12 November 1844. The Atlas, another with no qualms about offending Irish sensibilities, reprinted Lever's "The Mishaps of Mr. Latitat Mabheim" between 30 November and 28 December 1844, and reviewed his The O'Donoghue: A Tale of Ireland (1845) on 26 July 1845: "This new work of Mr. Lever's promises to be one of his best, and is freer from the mannerisms and other defects in the treatment of his subjects, which we have formerly noticed." An extract from Lever's St. Patrick's Eve (1845) appeared in the Cornwall Chronicle on 9 August 1845.

Lever's next major work, The Knight of Gwynne (1847), was serialised in Heads of the People from 18 December 1847, whilst the Port Phillip Patriot, besides publishing an extract from this novel on 30 July 1847, also reprinted it in full from 10 December to 28 February 1848. On 4 February 1848,

the Melbourne Argus, perhaps rather enviously, pointed out that all these local publications of works by Lever, Dickens and others were in fact breaches of copyright, which had not escaped the English publishers:

> Literary Piracy. We observe in some of Mr. Lever's lately published serial works a notice from Messrs. Curry and Co., addressed to "Colonial Piracy", cautioning against republications of Mr. Lever's works. It is somewhat singular that this notice should arrive at the very time the Patriot is filching one of Mr. L's. latest works....

This account of Lever's popularity in terms of the works most extensively reprinted in Australia - Charles O'Malley, Jack Hinton and The Knight of Gwynne - is probably nearer to the truth than that gained from an analysis of book advertisements. Here St. Patrick's Eve heads the list with ninety-six appearances, but ninety of these come from auction sales by T.S. Mort in 1848, presumably of remainder copies. The other figures, however, seem to be a fairly good reflection of the popularity of individual works: sixty-two listings of Charles O'Malley, forty-eight of Arthur O'Leary, forty-three of Harry Lorrequer, forty of Jack Hinton, twenty-eight of The Knight of Gwynne, nine of Tom Burke and eight of The O'Donaghue

The enduring influence of Cowper, Burns and Bunyan, especially in the schoolroom, is shown by their ranking next in order of popularity, with Cowper seventeen listings behind Lever, Burns fifteen behind Cowper, and Bunyan nine behind Burns. Widespread availability of cheap editions of all these authors no doubt helped to heighten their popularity

amongst the young and the poor. As most of the advertisements of Cowper and Burns were for various editions of their select or collected works, with a sprinkling of biographies, they do not demand detailed analysis. The claim that The Pilgrim's Progress and Robinson Crusoe were the two most frequently read works in early nineteenth-century England[7] seems to apply to contemporary Australia as well, at least judging by the number of copies of these works advertised. Of the three hundred and twenty-three listings of Bunyan, two hundred and fifty-two were for The Pilgrim's Progress as a separate title, and a further twenty-nine for his Works, where it would also have been included. Thus it was advertised far more frequently than any single title by Scott, Cooper or Dickens. And although Defoe is five places lower than Bunyan on the list of most frequently advertised authors, of his two hundred and fifty-nine listings, one hundred and eighty-four were for Robinson Crusoe and twenty-four for his Works, again far more than for any contemporary novel. There were, of course, several cheap editions of The Pilgrim's Progress and Robinson Crusoe, both of which figured in Chambers' Publications for the People and the publications of The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge as well as in reprint series like The Novel Newspaper, and multiple copies

[7] See Amy Cruse, The Victorians and their Books (1935), pp. 291-3, 421.

were often offered by auctioneers. Another extremely popular work of this sort was the Arabian Nights, advertised one hundred and ninety-two times, though here more expensive illustrated editions tended to predominate.

Only five listings behind Bunyan was a totally different author, Eugene Sue, whose high placing is even more remarkable than Lever's, since none of his works were advertised in Australia before the end of 1845. No doubt because of his disreputable reputation as a French sensationalist, Sue's works were hardly ever mentioned in the colonial press, presumably with their family audience in mind. Exceptions were the Perth Gazette's 11 January 1845 reprint of the Magnet's review of The Wandering Jew (1844-5); the Atlas of 21 February 1846, which printed the Eclectic Review's notice of the same novel; the Corio Chronicle for 8 November 1847, with an article on Sue taken from Fraser's Magazine; and the Citizen, a Sydney working class paper, where The Mysteries of Paris (1843) was serialised from 6 March 1847, with the note "(Continued from No. 3 of the Sydney News)". Of Sue's works, the Australian best-seller was, as in England, The Mysteries of Paris, advertised one hundred and eight times. Then came Matilda; or, the Misfortunes of Virtue (1844) with fifty-three advertisements, The Wandering Jew with fifty, and Paula Monti; or, the Hotel Lambert (1845) with twenty. Smaller numbers of Sue's other twelve pre-1850 novels were listed, mostly in cheap editions, especially the Novel

Newspaper which also included the more common titles. Sue's novels could thus be bought for one or two shillings each, no doubt accounting for much of their popularity with the booksellers, and, one assumes, the reading public as well.

Sue's place on the list reminds one of the devil guarded at either end by angels, since only three fewer works by Milton were advertised. Then, as now, he was an author much read in the schoolroom, but perhaps also more in other places than at present. Of the three hundred and fifteen listings of Milton, one hundred and thirty-five were for his Poetical Works and ninety-four for his Works. There were also thirty-seven separate appearances of Paradise Lost, mainly in cheap editions, twenty-two of Paradise Regained, eight of his Prose Works and one each of Samson Agonistes and L'Allegro.

Bulwer Lytton, despite his reputation as one of the great popular figures of the Victorian literary scene, was, as can be seen, advertised less often in Australia than Fenimore Cooper and Eugene Sue. It is significant that Bulwer's novels, unlike theirs, did not figure in the Novel Newspaper or other shilling series, although some were included in Bentley's Standard Novels from 1833 onwards at six shillings each. The titles in this series - Eugene Aram (1832), Paul Clifford (1830) and The Last Days of Pompeii (1834) - were, however, not those found most frequently in

Australian book lists during the eighteen-forties. Of the three hundred and one advertisements for Bulwer Lytton, over sixty were for collected editions of his works or novels. In single titles, the early Pelham; or, the Adventures of A Gentleman (1828) still led the way with thirty-three listings, followed by Rienzi, the Last of the Tribunes (1835) with twenty-four, Paul Clifford with twenty-three, The Pilgrims of the Rhine (1834) with nineteen, Eugene Aram and Devereaux (1829) both with eighteen, The Disowned (1829) with seventeen and The Last Days of Pompeii with sixteen. Much smaller numbers of his other novels were offered, together with occasional volumes of his poems, plays and general works like England and the English (1833).

Although Bulwer Lytton's more recent novels were absent from advertisements - Lucretia; or The Children of the Night (1846) and Harold, the Last of the Saxon Kings (1848) each appeared once only, both in Adelaide - they were extensively noticed in the local press. On 12 June 1847, the Atlas printed a most interesting and well-considered review of Lucretia, beginning with high praise,

> The novel is written with passionate energy; and displays great knowledge of life, scholarship, taste, and eloquence. It contains passages of great beauty - some of extraordinary force and intensity. It fascinates the attention from first to last; yet we are never satisfied with the effect it produces. The subject is oppresive...

but going on to object morally to the "revolting" subject matter and aesthetically to the "toils of a troublesome plot". "R.T.P.", who reviewed Lucretia in the Hobarton Guardian for 18 and 25 August 1847, was even more condemnatory of Bulwer's "sickening and unpardonable revelations; poison and not medicine streams through his volumes, painfully and revoltingly, from the first page to the last", and his inconsistent plot and characters. Nor was the author of another lengthy review, though its length owed much to copious extracts, printed in the Port Phillip Gazette for 19 May 1847, any more pleased by Bulwer Lytton's latest novel. It was initially termed "A bad book of a bad school", later "High flown melodrama", with the conclusion

> In the excitement which is due to strong and progressive interest, he must yield the palm to his French contemporaries:- to the devices of M. Sue's Rodin, or to the poisoning scenes in the "Count of Monte Christo". But when it suits his humour to be shrewd, sarcastic, or genteel - he has a path and a manner of his own in which he is not excelled. By following the one, and giving fair play to the other, he would best consult the permanence of his reputation, - which is perilled by the present work.

Two unoriginal reviews of Lucretia appeared in the Port Phillip Patriot on 29 and 30 June and 2 August 1847, the former coming from the London Examiner. On 12 August, the Patriot also printed an article, "Sir E.B. Lytton and His Assailants", justifying his works against criticism of their "immoral tendency".

Lytton's Harold was, however, more favourably received by the colonial press, no doubt in part because, leaving modern evils to the French novelists, it retreated to the safer past. On 4 November 1848, the Atlas enthused

...a noble production of a brilliant but matured intellect. Perhaps none of Bulwer's previous works (certainly none of his historic fictions) contains more of his peculiar excellence and less of his peculiar defects. The dramatic power throughout is strong and vivid, but there is no straining after effect; all the striking situations arise naturally and nearly all are historically true. Proficient as the author is in a certain florid style of eloquence, which in his former works sometimes degenerates into meretricious colouring or gaudy verbosity, we observe in 'Harold' a rejection of all such clap-trap methods of engaging the attention.

Another review of Harold, probably a reprint from an English paper, had appeared in the Sydney Daily Advertiser on 18 October 1848, but was not quite so favourable as the Atlas's. On 14 October, the sixth number of the Australian Sportsman had published some extracts from a copy of Harold "received from London during this week". Though it declined to offer any criticism of the work, these were prefaced by a few sensible, if not inspired, general comments on fiction:

...since the days of Scott- since novels ceased to be contemptible - they have been, for the most part, historical. The majority are bad, and to those may be fairly applied the objection which urges the appearance of a writer of fiction on historical ground as a tacit confession of weakness in his peculair gift of invention. But Scott himself and others who followed him, have given us instances of effect in this department, to which the objection is not applicable. It is not the attempt, but the failure which comes of palpable unfitness for the attempt, that is to be condemned.

Whilst "contemptible" seems a little hard on Richardson, Fielding and others, the writer does fairly point to Scott

as the author who made novel reading and writing "respectable".

Some of Lytton's earlier works also attracted a small amount of attention from Australian newspapers. On 13 September 1842, the Sydney Gazette ran an extremely laudatory review of Zanoni (1842), praising its "exquisite atmosphere", its heroine -"a creature to excite a powerful influence in every bosom" - and its abundance "of poetical beauty, of lofty thoughts, and of exquisite human interest". After these vapours, it is a relief to turn to the Atlas, easily the most prolific and best reviewer of English literature at this time, for its 21 December 1844 remarks on Lytton's translation of The Poems and Ballads of Schiller (1844). Though as commendatory of Lytton as the Gazette's review, it was markedly better written, despite the author's display of an early "cultural cringe":

> We are indeed at a loss to express our approbation of the admirable manner in which Sir Edward has rendered the metaphysical reasonings, the aerial and evanescent beauties of the original into elegant, nervous, and vernacular English. It may perhaps be urged that this is a point on which a Sydney critic can hardly venture to pronounce an opinion, and we very cheerfully confess that we express our sentiments with much diffidence, founded as they are on our imperfect knowledge.

As a final example of Bulwer Lytton's influence on colonial culture, a poem by "N.", "The Angel of Dreams. (Suggested by Sir E.L. Bulwer's tale of 'The Pilgrims of the Rhine')", was published in the Maitland Mercury on 26 October 1844.

Next on the list of most frequently advertised authors one finds another of the star novelists of this period, Marryat, whose name was often paired with Lytton's by the

booksellers. Apart from collected editions of Marryat's novels, listed fifty-six times, the most common title was Poor Jack (1840), appearing in forty-seven advertisements. The seven titles issued in Bentley's Standard Novels format in 1838 averaged about a dozen listings each, with Marryat's other works advertised between thirteen times and once. The Children of the New Forest, now probably his best known novel, was not published until 1847, but managed to figure in four advertisements before the end of the decade. Several Australian papers printed articles and stories by Marryat, together with extracts from his novels, but no reviews of them have been seen. The Commercial Journal for 27 May 1840 and the Tasmanian Weekly Dispatch for 17 April and 1 May 1840 both included extracts from Jacob Faithful (1834); a story from Poor Jack appeared in the Sydney Temperance Advocate on 20 and 27 January 1841, and extracts from Percival Kenne (1842) in both the Perth Inquirer for 10 and 17 May 1844 and the Port Phillip Gazette for 5 April 1843. This latter paper had earlier published extracts from Marryat's Diary in America (1839-40) on 11 and 15 December 1841. A story, "The Merchant's Daughter and the Judge", featured in the first number of the Colonial Literary Journal, whilst "An Adventure in an African River", from Colburn's Magazine, was reprinted by two Sydney working-class papers, the Sentinel on 8 October 1846, and the Age two days later.

After Marryat on the list, come Defoe, already discussed, Thomas Moore, Harriet Martineau and Pope as an oddly assorted foursome. As with the other poets, most advertisements for Moore mentioned his Works, with expectedly, Irish Melodies (1821) and Lalla Rookh (1817) the most prevalent single titles. An English review of The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore. Vol. III, from the Morning Chronicle, was reprinted in the Australasian Chronicle for 29 May 1841, and various poems by Moore sometimes appeared in papers' Poet's Corners. Works by Miss Martineau were advertised only five times fewer than those by Moore, their cheapness presumably being again a partial explanation of their popularity. The majority of the two hundred and eighteen advertisements for Pope mentioned his Works, though a large number - eighty-five - were for his translations of Homer, no doubt a result of the continuing emphasis on the classics in education. Pope is followed on the list by six modern fiction writers: Ainsworth with two hundred and nine advertisements; Mrs. Ellis with one hundred and eighty-six; G.P.R. James with one hundred and seventy-five; William Carleton with one hundred and seventy-four; Washington Irving with one hundred and sixty-seven and Maria Edgeworth with one hundred and sixty-four, omitting The Arabian Nights, already discussed. Several of these writers were also often met with in colonial newspapers, another sign of their popularity. Ainsworth's The Miser's Daughter (1842) was serialised in

the Colonial Times between 9 August 1842 and 16 May 1843; his story "Alexander and the Princess" appeared in the Melbourne Daily News on 6 and 7 February 1849; while an English review of another novel, St. James (1844) was reprinted in the Commercial Journal for 2 August 1845. A presumably original review of James' The Man at Arms; or, Henry de Cerons (1844), in the Atlas for 14 December 1844, took a generally favourable line:

> Mr. James is one of the best, and certainly the most prolific, romancist of the day.... His fertile imagination is never at fault; and, though this rapidity may have engendered a looseness and sketchiness of style in his compositions, yet there is a never failing abundance of generous sentiment and pure morality breathing through them.

Again, as in the reviews of Bulwer Lytton, one notes the emphasis on a work's moral tone, a fundamental concept in contemporary criticism. Later, on 14 August 1847, the Atlas reprinted the London Spectator's review of James' The Castle of Ehrenstein (1847); the London Britannia's notice of The Convict (1847) appeared in the Australian, the Port Phillip Gazette, and the Geelong Advertiser on 21 April, 1 and 8 May 1848, respectively. Another Melbourne paper, the Patriot, had published an extract from Tales of the Smugglers (1843), attributed to James, on 22 October 1844. Two stories by the Irish writer, William Carleton, were reprinted in the Sydney Sentinel for 6 August and 24 September 1845, but he was not mentioned in any of the more respectable papers.

Since his works were available in fairly cheap series like the Parlour Library and Duffy's Library of Ireland, it is possible that his main appeal was to the colonial working classes, many of whom were, of course, Irish. The begetter of the vogue for Irish novels, Maria Edgeworth, had ceased to publish by the 'forties - her relative decline on the advertisements' list from her high place in the 'thirties no doubt reflects this - hence there were no reviews or extracts of her works in the local press. The Morning Chronicle for 4 May 1844, however, included an article on "Miss Edgeworth's Domestic Life", whilst the Athenaeum's obituary appeared in both the Melbourne Argus for 26 September and the Bathurst Advocate for 13 October 1849.

Johnson, next on the list with one hundred and fifty-nine advertisements, was another writer to show a marked decline in popularity with booksellers between the 'thirties and the 'forties, from fourth to twenty-sixth place. His Lives of the Poets was advertised most frequently, followed by his Works, Rasselas and The Rambler, with an occasional other title. After him comes a bevy of other eighteenth-century writers: St. Pierre, advertised one hundred and forty-eight times; Le Sage, one hundred and forty; Fielding, one hundred and thirty-nine; and Thomson, one hundred and thirty-one. St. Pierre's most popular work continued to be Paul and Virginia, Le Sage's Gil Blas and Asmodeus, or The Devil on Two Sticks, the latter often imitated by colonial authors.

In contrast, the majority of advertisements of Fielding were for his Complete Works, with Tom Jones the most popular single title, though closely followed by Jonathan Wild, Joseph Andrews and Amelia, in that order. Thomson was again most often represented by The Seasons, listed seventy-six times in editions ranging from the cheap one-and-threepenny to the lavish, with "Illustrations by the Etching Club". Frances Trollope, mother of Anthony, with one hundred and twenty-six advertisements, intervened before two other earlier writers, Cervantes with one hundred and twenty-five and Smollett with one hundred and twenty-two. While nearly all of Cervantes' mentioned Don Quixote, most of Smollett's advertisements were for his Collected Works, Peregrine Pickle being listed only thirty-one times, Humphrey Clinker eighteen and Roderick Random nine.

Mrs. Trollope's most popular work was The Life and Adventures of Michael Armstrong, the Factory Boy (1840), advertised twenty-six times, followed by Jessie Phillips: A Tale of the Present Day (1843), and Domestic Manners of the Americans (1832), both sixteen times, and The Widow Barnaby (1839), fourteen times. There were also several listings of her various other travel books and one or two for most of her other pre-1850 novels. Despite the evident interest in her work, Mrs. Trollope was rarely mentioned in the local press, one exception being her anti-Jesuit novel,

Father Eustace (1847), seized on with great glee by the ultra-Protestant Sydney Sentinel, earlier the sole printer of Carleton's stories. Naturally, there was little real literary criticism in its review, printed on 17 June 1847, apart from one remark that here Mrs. Trollope had eschewed "the inflated language and bombastic periods" of "works of fiction where the object of the author is to amuse the fancy rather than convince the mind". Of more interest is the comment on the paucity of local reviews of English literature, showing yet again the widespread reliance on English rather than Australian literary culture:

> We are aware that it has not been usual in this Colony to review works published in England; and, indeed, in most instances, such a course would not only be laborious, but futile and unproductive of good. We can safely trust our judgments to be formed, in reference to the merits of light literature, in general, by the periodical press of Britain. The experiment has been repeatedly tried, and rarely has it proved unsatisfactory.

The review, like most in this period, concentrated on telling the story of the novel and giving extracts. Since the editor felt readers might be unable to obtain copies of Father Eustace from public libraries, it was serialised from 24 June to 25 August.

After Mrs. Trollope on the list of most frequently advertised authors came the Miss Porters, with one hundred and eighteen advertisements between them; Swift with one hundred and eleven; Sterne with one hundred and five; Henry Cockton and Alexander Dumas with one hundred and three; Southey with one hundred and two and Mrs. Sherwood with

ninety-six. Of titles by Swift, his Works were listed fifty times, closely followed by Gulliver's Travels, forty-eight. Similarly, Sterne's Works were advertised fifty-six times, Tristram Shandy, thirty-four times and The Sentimental Journey twelve times. This brings one to the end of the forty authors offered most often by Australian booksellers, but complete lists of the most significant literary figures can be found as an appendix to this thesis.

Several other authors less frequently advertised than these forty, were, however, given a much greater amount of space in colonial newspapers and magazines. In particular, Douglas Jerrold of Punch, though only mentioned in thirty-one advertisements, had his works, especially the famous Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lectures (1846), reprinted in nearly every newspaper in Australia. Mrs. Caudle, in whole or part, appeared in the Australian, the Sentinel, the Commercial Journal, the Sydney Morning Herald, the Parramatta Chronicle, the Maitland Mercury, the Spectator, the Hobart Town Courier, which on 21 March 1846 also announced a forthcoming dramatic presentation of this work,the Cornwall Chronicle, the Port Phillip Herald, the Port Phillip Patriot, the Portland Guardian, the Adelaide Observer, the South Australian, the Geelong Advertiser and the Perth Gazette at various times between 1844 and 1846. Many of these papers also printed some of the imitative sequel, Mr. Caudle's Breakfast Table, whilst an Australian version, "Mr. Caudle's Breakfast Lectures"

came to light in the Geelong Advertiser from 11 to 18 March 1846 and was reprinted in the Sentinel on 2 April. Both imitations inevitably fell far short of the original. Jerrold's Story of a Feather (1844) was serialised in two Sydney papers, the Sentinel and the Age between May and June 1847, and his "History of St. Giles and St. James" ran in the Port Phillip Patriot from December 1845 to May 1846. Other works by him appeared in the Patriot on 22 and 23 May 1846 and 25 and 26 June 1847, with a reprinted review of his A Man Made of Money (1849) in the Hobart Town Advertiser for 9 May 1849.

After Jerrold, Judge Haliburton seems to have been the favourite source of extracts. His "Sam Slick" and other works were advertised twice as often as Jerrold's, though this may relate as much to their earlier dates of publication as to their greater popularity. They were, however, more often found in private libraries, being about the only fictional works included in the sale of Governor Gipps' effects on his departure for England in 1846. Stories by Haliburton and extracts from his longer works were found in the Australian, 1 April 1844; the Sentinel, 4 May 1848; the Port Phillip Gazette, 13 January 1844, 10 and 12 January 1848; the Port Phillip Herald, 29 March 1842; the Port Phillip Patriot, 10 May 1847; the Melbourne Daily News, 1 and 4 December 1848; the Perth Gazette, 13 and 27 July 1844; the Adelaide Chronicle, 18 August 1841 and the Adelaide Observer, 20 April 1844. The

latter was prefaced by an editorial note, again emphasising moral qualities, comparing Haliburton and Dickens, to the former's disadvantage:

> The book abounds with humour, and a most pleasant mixture of nonsense intermixed with strong and sagacious remark. In this respect, indeed, the author at least rivals Dickens, though he is very inferior to him in minute painting and picturesque description of images and manners; he also trespasses too frequently upon the point of vulgarity and repulsive coarseness, which Dickens very seldom does. Both of them are alike and nearly equal in humour, but Dickens carries the palm in all that regards feeling and good taste.

Haliburton was also the subject of two more of the infrequent colonial sallies into literary criticism. On 16 June 1841, the Temperance Advocate printed a letter comparing Haliburton and Swift, evidently written by someone deep in the bush, and hence an interesting indication that at least one settler thought of books as well as wool and tallow. He began,

> The critique on "Sam Slick", in a contemporary print, delighted me. In these eternal forests and with few books, it is a relief to turn from the newspapers with irritating politics, soporific leaders, and hosts of both old and young correspondents, infected with the cacoethes scribendi, to the fairy-land of literature. To one who is doubtful whether familiar friends may ever greet him in the green fields of England again; it is a luxury of the highest order to behold, as at the bidding of a magician, old thoughts rising before his fancy. Images which first date their existence to books read in our fatherland - and which were deemed gone for ever - now return with a vivid reality. It is a solace, Sir, which you, living in populous Sydney, and daily beholding the "human face divine", aye, with your love of books to boot, can form no perfect conception of.

Points of resemblance seen between the two authors were their simple styles - Haliburton was claimed to regard "the tribe of modern lackadaisical mamby-pamby [sic] scribblers with supreme contempt" - humour, indelicacy, political interest, patriotism,

sense of contemporary neglect of their works, and dramatic qualities. The third series of The Clockmaker; or, The Sayings and Doings of Sam Slick, of Slicksville (1840) had earlier been the jumping-off point for a lengthy article in the Sydney Morning Herald on 28 April 1841. Before giving the usual copious extracts, its reviewer made these perceptive and well-expressed remarks on the changes in literary and artistic tastes during the first half of the nineteenth century:

> The taste of the public is always tending towards extremes. At one time, nothing pleases but polished and pretty sentences, words finically selected, and periods smoothly turned; at another, quaint and unexpected phrases, and roughly hewn paragraphs, of interminable longitude are exclusively current; and at another, the matter, takes the lead of the manner, and the prettiest sentences, or the quaintest phrases will not do unless the subject be of sterling value, or the light thrown upon it be brilliant and attractive. A few years ago, the readers of works of amusement ran upon pictures of high and fashionable life with its flimsy and Frenchified phraseology, its unimpassioned incident, and its contracted barriers of exclusion, its frivolous pastimes, and its inseparable and insipid ennui. This could not last. There was no stamina in it, no body, - no spirit, - nothing but "the baseless fabric of a vision" to supply food for the restless craving of what the Germans call the aesthetic portion of human nature. A revulsion, a revolution, was certain to follow, and might have been predicted infallibly, by anybody conversant with the history of aesthetics, or the changes of public taste. The same polish and careful classicality of such painters as West and Westall were certain to pall on the public eye - to create a desire for something altogether different, and accordingly, we have the public craving supplied on the one hand by the soaring fancy and splendid creations of Martin, and on the other, by the richly polished humour of Wilkie, and by the famed broad grins and keen wit of Cruikshank and Seymour.
>
> In amusing literature, the same revulsion and revolution of public taste is no less obvious and striking. The Cottagers of Glenburnie, with its pictures of low life, took the place of the Man of Feeling, and Miss Edgeworth's Irish Bulls and

Irish Tales, and Lady Morgan's O'Donnell, led the way to the unrivalled career of Sir Walter Scott and his innumerable imitators, Cooper, H. Smith, Banim, Bulwer, and James, till the field, having become somewhat over-cropped, as a farmer would say, fresh fields and pastures new were sought out and revelled in by a crew of naval writers, following in the wake of Cooper's Pilot.

When Boz began his very singular career, he evidently did not know where his own strength lay, and hence his Sketches give but a very faint indication of the powers he afterwards displayed in Oliver Twist and Nickleby, the first of which was evidently suggested by Bulwer's Pelham, and Ainsworth's Rookwood, the germs of all being easily traceable to Schiller's Robbers, and the Beggars Opera. Ainsworth, we are sorry to record, has woefully misapplied his wonderful talents in his Jack Shepherd, which is apparently written with little higher purpose than to draw a revolting picture of theft, robbery, and murder.

Sam Slick .... belongs unquestionably to the same school of low life, but is in every point of view different from all others in plan, design, and execution. In morale, he comes nearest to Dickens, but his handling is altogether his own, and he takes much higher and more extensive ground. Boz anatomises and exposes the low jobbery of the workhouse, and the cheap Yorkshire boarding school, and similar human iniquities, on the small scale of every day life. Sam Slick, again, while he does not omit these, down to the lowest chicanery of bargaining and cheating, goes much farther, and aims at higher quarry, dissecting with a two-edged sword and a keen eye, abuses in religion and in government, both republican and colonial. He has made the power of his genius felt by his former series, and his cutting humour has effected improvements such as grave speeches and sober reasoning might never have been able to produce. We greatly want some such powerful humourist here, to expose abuses and point the way to an improved state of things; but much of what is in this third series of Sam Slick is meant to apply to the British Colonies in North America, will cæteris paribus be applicable here in Australia.

Again, as with the review of Dickens' American Notes, one sees the readiness to draw parallels between North America and Australia. "Slick's" influence in Australia can also be gauged from the popularity of one of his favourite sayings "Go-a-head", adopted in particular by the Sydney magazine Heads of the People, which ran a section entitled "Go-A-Head Heads". One voice of dissent had appeared in a review of The Letter Bag of the

Great Western (1839) in the Adelaide Chronicle for 11 November 1840: "His fun always seems to have sound sense and a practical moral in it, but his seriousness is as shallow as it is dull".

Thackeray's works, advertised forty-one times before 1850, were also frequently to be met with in colonial newspapers. A story from Fraser's Magazine appeared in the Commercial Journal for 25 January 1840, while the Perth Gazette reprinted the London Examiner's review of The Irish Sketch Book (1843) on 11 November 1843 and a poem from this work the following week. Notices of A Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo (1846) were found in both the Spectator for 26 August and the Port Phillip Gazette for 17 October 1846. On 11 June 1847, the Sydney Morning Herald reprinted a review of Mrs. Perkins' Ball (1846), extracts from which had been published in Heads of the People for 27 May. Some of Thackeray's Punch's Prize Novelists, admirable parodies of such current literary giants as Lever, James and Mrs. Gore, were also reprinted in this magazine in January 1848, and in the Port Phillip Patriot for 3 December 1847. This paper had earlier included extracts from The Snobs of England (1846-7) in its issue for 12 August 1847, as had the Perth Gazette for 15 January 1848, while scenes from Our Street (1848) figured in the Sydney Daily Advertiser for 2 June 1848. The Nottingham Review's notice of Vanity Fair (1847-8) appeared in the Sydney Chronicle for 30 June 1847, and extracts from the novel, attributed to ""Thack' the Snob-Killer", in both the Australian Sportsman from 21 October to

16 December 1848, and the Melbourne Daily News for 9 December 1848 and 1 January 1849. Amongst Thackeray's works advertised in Australia, Comic Tales and Sketches (1842) was listed seventeen times, The Paris Sketch Book (1840) eight, and Vanity Fair six; other titles once or twice.

Although only sixteen copies of novels by Benjamin Disraeli were mentioned in eighteen-forties' advertisements - three of Tancred (1847), two of Coningsby, or The New Generation (1844), one each of Vivian Grey (1826-27) and Henrietta Temple (1837), with eight listings of his name only - his works were nonetheless quite extensively noticed by the Australian press. A satirical drawing and poem on "The Author of Coningsby", from Punch, was reprinted in the first issue of Heads of the People, 9 October 1847, thus making Disraeli the only English author to be pictured in a local work in this period. On 7 December 1844, a short-lived Sydney paper, The Bee of Australia, wrote of Coningsby:

> A clever novel is notoriously not an every day performance. It requires knowledge of life, happiness of expression, and pungency of remark - the faculty of feeling keenly and describing well..... But to make any work valuable it ought to have some object peculiarly its own, and all is completed if that object is not merely original, but one which, half mystery and half known, at the moment peculiarly excites public curiosity.

English reviews of Coningsby appeared in the Port Phillip Gazette for 5 April and the Atlas for 12 April 1845, with two separate notices of Sybil; or, the Two Nations (1845) in the

latter paper on 13 September and 11 October 1845. Since neither was acknowledged, one assumes both were original, although viewing the work in completely different lights. The first gave unqualified praise to its subject matter,

> High as is Mr. D'Israeli's literary reputation, "Sybil" will add a brighter laurel to his wreath....He must be cold and stern indeed who can peruse this work unmoved. It is no idle tale of fiction; it is the voice of a suffering people calling upon their fellow-men - it is a history of the sorrows of the poor, drawn with all the nervous eloquence of truth, adorned with all the graces of a poet's fancy.

whilst the second damned it on aesthetic and moral grounds:

> It is not a defect in Sybil that it has less personality than Coningsby, but that it answers its aim less completely. What should have been the quiet, home-spun material of half the book, is embroidered out of all semblance of its homely self, by foreign ease and frippery..... Throughout Sybil, in short, we find not a little clumsiness; unworthy.....of so undeniably skilfull a workman as Mr. Disraeli.

Another review of Sybil appeared in the Port Phillip Patriot for 21 October 1845, and extracts in the Corio Chronicle for 26 January and the Southern Australian for 2 January 1846, the latter with the note, "As this new novel has excited intense interest in England, we make no apology for giving our readers some extracts from it." Again the assumption was that what was good for English readers must also be good for Australians. Reviews of Tancred, none seemingly original, were printed in all but the last of these four papers, on 7 August, 30 August and 13 October 1847 respectively, their editors evidently being the Australian champions of Disraeli and his causes.

Two other authors who received more than one mention in the colonial press were Samuel Warren and Leigh Hunt. Of the two, Warren was more popular with both newspaper editors and booksellers. His earliest work, Passages from the Diary of a Late Physician (1832-38), continued to be the most advertised, thirty-five times, followed by Ten Thousand a Year (1841), twenty-three, and Now and Then (1848), seven. The first, extensively serialised in the eighteen-thirties, also made further appearances in the Adelaide Chronicle for 10 June 1840, and the twin Sydney cheap papers, the Sentinel and the Age from November 1846 to February 1847. Both the Atlas for 13 May and the Port Phillip Herald for 3 June 1848 reprinted the London Spectator's review of Now and Then. Works by Leigh Hunt were advertised fifty times, the most common being his Essays (1817), London Journal (1834-5), Men, Women and Books (1847), Imagination and Fancy (1845), Jar of Honey from Mount Hybla (1848) and Wit and Humour (1846), in that order. English reviews of Wit and Humour, A Jar of Honey and Stories from the Italian Poets (1846) were reprinted in the Atlas for 27 March and 10 April 1847 and 20 May 1848, and the Spectator for 30 May 1846, respectively. The latter gave an amusing glimpse of contemporary knowledge of the poets represented in Hunt's work:

Dante, Pulci, Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso - these are names in every one's mouth. It is assumed that every person of average taste and information possesses some general knowledge of their works; allusions to them are frequent in the current conversation of society, and in all shapes of modern literature. As no one is forward to confess ignorance, there is, perhaps, more appreciation of these poets feigned than felt.....Could we see through all the affectations of taste, through all the shifts of pretence, we fancy the genuine admirers of the old Italian poets would be reduced to a very limited number. It is amusing in a public assembly to watch how the bulk of the audience take their cue from a few of the initiated when a Greek quotation is introduced, and vehemently applaud or laugh as they catch a glimpse of its sentiment. The same kind of hypocrisy pervades society. Every one assumes to be conversant with the "Commedia" and the "Gierusalemme", yet it is doubtful if one in a thousand knows more of them than can be picked up from general report.

Hunt's volume was, of course, designed to lessen this ignorance in the easiest possible way.

As a further sign of its lead in contemporary Australian literary culture, the Atlas was responsible for the only local review of a work by Herman Melville. Printed on 2 October 1847, its notice of Omoo: a Narrative of Adventures in the South Seas (1847) contained the prophetic

Doubtless we shall hear more of the author's adventures; for, though the vraisemblance of the history is well preserved, there are in the style and about the narrative indications of romance that suggest a power of prolonging these adventures to any extent for which a public may demand them.

Omoo was advertised twice in this decade, once in the Sydney Morning Herald on 30 August 1847 and once in the Hobart Town Courier on 25 November 1848; the only other work by Melville seen, Mardi, or A Voyage Thither (1849), was listed in the

Melbourne Morning Herald for 3 August 1849. Extracts from Omoo, entitled "Adventures of Herman Melville", appeared in the Adelaide Miscellany on 9 June 1849.

The Brontes, despite Jane Eyre's (1847) great English popularity[8], received even less notice in Australia than Melville. Jane Eyre was the only one of their works advertised before 1850, once in the Adelaide Times for 2 April 1849, and misspelt "Anne Eyre" at that! Oddly enough, no review of it appeared, though the Atlas reprinted the London Examiner's notice of Wuthering Heights (1847) on 8 July 1848, whilst the Melbourne Morning Herald for 31 January 1849 contained one of The Tennant of Wildfell Hall (1848), taken from "Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper". A poem by Currer Bell, "Presentiment", was printed in the Port Phillip Gazette for 5 April 1849. Likewise, no copies of Mrs. Gaskell's Mary Barton (1848) were advertised in this period, though a presumably reprinted review, with customary copious extracts, appeared in, of all places, the Portland Guardian for 25 June 1849. Mrs. Gaskell had, however, at least one Australian reader, for on 7 December 1849 the South Australian printed a poem by "Phantastes" ~~poem~~, "John Barton on His Death Bed".

Of three other prose writers who made brief appearances in the local press, Mrs. Gore, whose Snow-Storm (1845) was

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[8]See Kathleen Tillotson, Novels of the Eighteen-Forties, 1954 (1961), pp.258-9.

reyiewed by the Atlas on 6 June 1846, was fairly widely advertised in Australia - sixty-five times in all, The Soldier of Lyons (1841) and Agathonia (1844) being her most popular works. On 21 November 1846, the Atlas also reprinted the Edinburgh Review's notice of The Collected Writings of Walter Savage Landor (1846). There were only two advertisements of his works in the eighteen-forties, one less than for Balzac, who was still little known in Britain at this time.[9] Some excellent adaptations of two of Balzac's tales, entitled "Scenes of Private Life", were, however, published in the Cornwall Chronicle on 2 and 9 May 1846.

Before passing on to discuss the English poets noted in Australian newspapers during this decade, mention should be made of a few other novelists and prose writers who, though neither frequently advertised nor ever noticed by the press, have some significance for a study of the literary tastes then prevailing. Whilst, as has been shown, Fielding, Smollett and Sterne retained a considerable degree of popularity, despite their "coarseness", Samuel Richardson was one of only three literary authors whose works were advertised less in the 'forties than in the 'thirties,[10] falling from forty-five to thirty-six listings. Pamela was still far and away the most

[9] See Clarence R. Decker, "Balzac's Literary Reputation in Victorian Society", P.M.L.A., 47. (1932), 1151.

[10] The others were Tennyson and T.L. Peacock.

often found, with twenty-five advertisements, followed by Sir Charles Grandison with five, Clarissa with three, with another three for Richardson's Works. Although, in contrast, advertisements for Jane Austen increased from six to thirty-seven, her novels were only slightly more available than Richardson's. Mansfield Park, helped by five copies in one of T.S. Mort's auction sales, appeared ten times, Sense and Sensibility eight, Pride and Prejudice six, Emma four and Northanger Abbey and Persuasion three, with six listings of her Works. It is interesting to note that the first three titles were included in the auction catalogue of Hannibal Macarthur's books, discussed in more detail later.

Two of the most influential English literary figures of the Victorian era were just beginning to make their presence felt in Australia in the eighteen-forties, with twenty advertisements for works by Carlyle and six for Macaulay. Carlyle's French Revolution (1837) appeared six times, Past and Present (1843) four, and Heroes and Hero Worship (1841) three, with odd copies of other titles, nearly all in the lists of the Sydney booksellers Colman and Piddington. Works by Macaulay were also available chiefly in Sydney, with one 1848 advertisement for his Critical and Historical Essays (1843), and three the next year for the first volumes of his History of England (1849), though both the Essays and Lays of Ancient Rome (1842) were listed by the auctioneers Samson

and Wicksteed in the South Australian Gazette for 4 November 1848. In passing, one may mention the nine copies of G.H. Lewes's early novel, Ranthorpe; or, A Poet's First Struggles (1847), published as the unlucky thirteenth volume of Chapman and Hall's equally unlucky Monthly Series of New Novels, advertised for auction by T.S. Mort in 1847 and 1848, probably as remainders. Two copies of Lewes's next novel, Rose, Blanche and Violet (1848) were also listed in 1849, one in Adelaide and one in Sydney.

In a review of Bulwer Lytton's Lucretia quoted earlier, he was compared unfavourably with the contemporary French novelists, whose works became increasingly available in Australia during this decade. Eugene Sue and Alexander Dumas, the two most popular French writers in England[11], also led the way in Australia, with Sue, as has been seen, the eleventh most frequently advertised author in the 'forties, and Dumas the thirty-eighth. One hundred and three works by Dumas were listed, in Goulburn, Maitland, Launceston, Geelong, Brisbane and Adelaide, as well as the main centres of Hobart and Sydney: like Sue's, Dumas' novels were featured in the Novel Newspaper. So, too, were Victor Hugo's, advertised fifty-seven times in these same towns, the most popular being The Hunchback of Notre Dame (1833) and The Slave King (1833).[12] George Sand ranked next, with thirty-five advertisements from 1845 onwards, mainly of Conseulo

[11] See W. Roberts, "Dumas and Sue in English", Nineteenth Century, XCII, (1922), 760.

[12] As with other foreign authors, the dates are those of the first English editions.

and Old Convents of Paris, reprinted in the Parlour Library series in 1847, although the Sydney bookseller W.R. Piddington offered nine other titles, in French, on 19 December 1849. Since she was not a Novel Newspaper author, listings of Sand's works were more restricted geographically, mainly appearing in Sydney, with one each in Hobart and Launceston, and the two Parlour Library titles in Geelong. Another fairly popular French novelist was Paul de Kock, though once again, most of the twenty-five mentions of his works were advertised in Sydney - half of them in Piddington's 1849 list mentioned above - with one or two in Hobart, Maitland, Parramatta, Geelong and Melbourne. The commonest titles were The Barber of Paris (1839), Sister Anne (1840) and Brother James (1839). Of course, older French novels were still widely available; as has been seen, works by St. Pierre were continually advertised, as were, less often, those by Madame Cottin and the Countess De Genlis. Classical authors like Voltaire, Racine, Molière, and so on, were also frequently offered in sales of private libraries and, occasionally, by booksellers, though they have not been included in the appended list.

Nor have any figures been given of the advertisements for standard authors in other foreign languages, apart from Dante and Goethe, and the already discussed Cervantes and Le Sage. Works by Italian, German and Spanish authors were, however, also not

uncommon in private colonial libraries and sometimes found even in bookshops, mostly in English translations. And, of course, the Greek and Latin classics, still the foundation of the education system, abounded everywhere. Both Dante and Goethe were advertised markedly more than in the previous decade. Cary's famous translation of Dante made up half of the twenty listings of his works, whilst, among the seven more advertisements for Goethe, were six listings of both The Sorrows of Werther and Faust, five of Mrs. Austin's Characteristics of Goethe (1833) and four of the Autobiography. Although copies of Dante were available only in Sydney, Hobart and Melbourne, Goethe could also be obtained in Maitland, Launceston and Geelong. Works by Schiller also often figured in sales of private libraries and, more occasionally, in booksellers' lists.

The growing influence of North American literature can be gauged not only by the popularity of Fenimore Cooper, Washington Irving and "Sam Slick", and the brief mentions of Melville, but by the large number of advertisements for now forgotten writers like Dr. Bird, Brockden Brown, Dana, J.H. Ingraham, J.P. Kennedy, J.P. Paulding, W.G.Simms, N.P. Willis and many others. Most of these authors were represented in the cheap one-or two-shilling pirated editions of the Novel Newspaper, available in its earlier and later forms in nearly every major

settlement in Australia. Nearly all wrote novels cast in the currently best-selling moulds - mystery, naval and adventure stories, tales of fashionable life and low life - set sometimes in America, but just as often in the romantic strongholds of Europe, and rejoicing in such melodramatic titles as Ingraham's The Gypsy of the Highlands; or, The Jew and the Heir (1843) or M.M. Ballou's Fanny Campbell, the Female Pirate Captain (1845). On a more sober note, fifteen copies of essays and lectures by R.W. Emerson were also advertised, mainly in Sydney, whilst Nathaniel Hawthorne's Twice Told Tales (1849) was included in a list of new publications just received by Tennant and Co., printed in the Melbourne Morning Herald on 30 August 1849. Works by Longfellow, especially Hyperion (1839), another Novel Newspaper reprint, appeared in fifteen advertisements, and also, occasionally, in Australian newspapers: "The Reaper and the Flowers", in the Colonial Observer for 23 August 1842; "The Footsteps of Angels" in the Maitland Mercury for 18 November 1843; and "Excelsior" in the Sentinel for 8 October 1845. On 1 March 1848, the Port Phillip Gazette commenced a series on "The American Poets", by George Hume, who dealt first with Longfellow, also the subject of one of the Sydney Spectator's "Evenings with the Poets". This article, published on 3 October 1846, is particularly notable for its witty and accurate appraisal of Longfellow's poetic status. Its opening sentences, "The 'accomplishment of verse' has

become so general that it has long ceased to be a distinction. People think no more of it than they do of speaking French. It is part and parcel of 'a liberal education'", seem particularly apt when one contemplates the great mass of undistinguished original poetry printed in Australia in the first half of the nineteenth century. Equally aptly, the author said of Longfellow:

> He has an eye for the picturesque; an ear for the murmurous cadence of resounding verse; a sentiment of the poetical in nature; a knowledge of elegant literature; and a quiet, placid soul, happy in the cultivation of his muse. But with all this he is not a poet.

An extract from The Belfry of Bruges (1846) was prefaced by this note, amusingly illustrating the most common contemporary form of poetic appreciation:

> Here we present you with a little flower which deserves a place in your anthology - that is, if you keep one, reader - bound in scrumptuous morocco, and its white pages filled by your own hand with all the little flowers of sentiment you have been able to cull in your wanderings. Copy this instantly in your neatest handwriting.....

His conclusion is also worth copying:

> .....in five years hence, in spite of your album, you will have utterly forgotten [Longfellow]; his voice will have no music to you; his words will have no witchery. Whereas the little poem by Tennyson which you copied.....still makes some chord vibrate, still seems "beautiful exceedingly"....

As this article shows, one should not judge early Australian appreciation of Tennyson entirely by the fact that only one volume of his work- The Princess (1847) - was advertised in the 'forties by William Ford in the Sydney Morning Herald on 21 June 1848, half the number available in the previous decade. No doubt

there were other unadvertised volumes for sale, whilst some poetry lovers must have imported them direct from England. From whatever source, Tennyson's poems also found their way into the columns of local newspapers.[13] The Australian for 25 July 1844 printed "Jeptha's [sic] Daughter" from "A Dream of Fair Women", with this testimony to Tennyson's fame:

.....it is in that delightful author's best style and could we hope to see some portions of it set to music and preserved amongst us in token of our appreciation of one of the most popular of modern poets, we should indeed begin to hope that "the powers who quicken earth, air, and sea with song" will learn to ween that there are "dews in Australie".

This same poem was reprinted in the Port Phillip Gazette on 14 August 1844 and in the Hawkesbury Courier on 19 March 1846. The Sydney Gleaner also printed one of Tennyson's poems, "Love and Death", on 2 October 1847, though misprinting his name as "Tennyzan"; and an article on him, "Abridged from Howitt's Sketches", appeared in the Melbourne Observer for 29 June 1848. Later, on 12 October 1848, this paper reprinted Part II of "The May Queen". Part III of this poem had earlier been included in the Spectator for 4 April 1846, with further evidence of Tennyson's popularity in Australia:

We know that, to very many of our readers, we shall afford much gratification by republishing the concluding part of Mr. Tennyson's beautiful poem of the "May Queen". The first two parts are familiar to most of them, the third we have not yet seen in any colonial publication.

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13 They may, of course, have been reprinted from English newspapers, magazines, or annuals.

This does suggest that most colonials read Tennyson in their newspapers rather than from their own copies of his works.

The Spectator was also responsible for a laudatory article on Elizabeth Barrett Browning, printed on 25 July 1846 as one of its "Evenings with the Poetesses".

> We now, in accordance with our promise, beg to introduce to our fair readers, one, who as well for her extraordinary acquaintance with ancient classical literature, as for the boldness of her poetic attempts, must justly claim to stand almost alone.....It has already been our privilege to submit several specimens of this lady's poetry to colonial readers, and we now select two of the most powerful and finished of her compositions.

The poems chosen were "Earth" and "Cowper's Grave". Although no copies of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's poetry seem to have been for sale in Australia in this period, poems by her also appeared in the Port Phillip Gazette for 17 and 24 March and 21 June 1847 and in the Portland Guardian for 17 May 1847. She was, as well, mentioned in an essay, "A Day with the Poets", in the Atlas for 15 February 1845, as "A poetess of the highest order.....whose style has been modelled upon that of the Greeks of olden days, the very essence of harmony and order." On 23 August 1845, the Launceston Examiner reviewed her Poems (1844) just as favourably:

> .....The present, particularly, may be considered an age of poetasters rather than poets, for rivers of rhyme pour as broadly and continuously from the yawning caverns of the press, as the streams descended from Old Atlas' front in classic times. .....In this wide waste of frivolity it is delightful to encounter a pure, refreshing spring like the offerings of the highly-gifted authoress of these volumes, who has evidently looked upon poetry as a very serious part of life; and has

subjected every thought and expression to the most severe analytical test ere she issued them forth to the world.... The melancholy which pervades her work is distinct from morbidness; the action throughout is not the action of turbulence, but deep and solemn; the thoughts are diaphanous and palpable, and breathed forth in words ringing and sonorous as trumpet notes.

In contrast, although Robert Browning received not a mention in the press, a copy of his Paracelsus (1835) was advertised in the Sydney Morning Herald on 23 April 1847 by the auctioneer Moore.

Other poetesses frequently encountered in Australian newspapers were the, at this stage, much better known Felicia Hemans, "L.E.L." (or Letitia Elizabeth Landon), and Eliza Cook. A presumably original article, "Illustrations of the Life, Writings, and Genius of Eliza Cook", by "G.B.P.", appeared in the Port Phillip Gazette for 19 February 1848, and, from 22 October to 5 November 1841, the Hobart Morning Advertiser ran a review of Laman Blanchard's Life and Literary Remains of 'L.E.L.' (1841). The Gleaner published an article on Miss Landon, "Abridged from Howitt's 'Haunts and Homes'", on 6 July 1848, with another on Mrs. Hemans, "from Howitt's 'Sketches'", the following week. Both Mrs. Hemans and "L.E.L." were still widely advertised in Australia in the eighteen-forties, works by the former appearing sixty-four times, and by the latter twenty-eight.

None of the major Romantic poets, apart from Byron, was promoted quite as often as these ladies, although there was a marked increase in the availability of works by and about

Coleridge - from three titles advertised in the 'thirties to sixty in the 'forties. Naturally, most of these were editions of his collected works or poems, but included fourteen of J. Cottle's Early Recollections, chiefly relating to the late Coleridge during his long residence in Bristol (1837-9), and the occasional Biographia Literaria, The Friend and The Ancient Mariner. Coleridge's "Youth and Age" was reprinted in the Colonial Literary Journal, the Sentinel and the Age, on 31 October 1844 and 26 and 28 November 1846, respectively. "My Baptismal Birth-Day" appeared in the Sydney Record for 24 February 1844, and "Hymn Before Sunrise, in the Valley of Chamount" in the Southern Australian for 18 April 1845. Rather surprisingly, Shelley ~~ranked equal with Wordsworth~~ was the next most popular Romantic poet, in terms of number of advertisements: twenty-seven mentions of his Poetical Works, in various editions, were found, together with one for each of St. Irvyne (1811), The Masque of Anarchy (1832), Essays, Letters from Abroad, Translations and Fragments (1840) and T. Medwin's Life (1847). Shelley's "The Cloud" appeared in the Spectator and Van Diemen's Land Gazette for 13 October 1846 and his "The Sensitive Plant" in the Southern Australian on 13 and 16 February 1844. There were also two laudatory references to him in the Atlas, both in reviews of other works, and both probably written by Robert Lowe, whose own poetry was heavily influenced by Shelley's. On 1 February 1845, the reviewer of Fanny Kemble's Poems (1844) said:

Moodiness and morbidness are the very antipodes of true poetry; and the pilgrim-bard who travels to their shrine has evidently mistaken her mission.

How eloquently and passionately has Shelley defined the spirit of poetry; and with what exquisite keenness and delicate perception has he laid open its golden origin through the dull mists of earthliness which envelope it!

This was followed by a long quotation from Shelley. A few weeks earlier, a review of Mary Shelley's Rambles in Germany and Italy in 1840, 1842, and 1843 (1844), printed on 17 January, had included the phrases "the noble, generous and spiritual Percy Bysshe Shelley.....that poetic transcendentalism which placed him so far beyond the ken of ordinary mortals." Incidentally, there were six advertisements for works by Mary Shelley - one for the Rambles, two for Lives of the Most Eminent Literary and Scientific Men of Italy, Spain and Portugal (1835-7) and three for Frankenstein (1818).

The growing enthusiasm for Shelley, and Romantic poetry in general, is also evident in this section of the Portland Bay Examiner's 22 January 1845 review of translations of Cossack poetry:

We will now give a specimen or two of their poetry, which from its very wildness - that characteristic, in fact, which is known as the Teutonic romantic (in opposition to the old and stiff school of the unities, originally taken from the Grecian poets) and which same Teutonic, to us possesses a peculiar charm. Yet be it understood, we love the Greek and Latin poets dearly; and we greatly wish that they - or, indeed, any other soul-stirring authors - were more frequently read by our money-seeking fellow subjects in this colony, so far distant from the great emporiums of enlightened intelligence at home. Nevertheless, the study of Schiller and Goethe, together with our own Coleridge, Byron, and - though last, not least - Shelly [sic], have imbued us, within the last twenty years, with an enthusiasm of the heart - if we may so speak - for the irregular or romantic school, which, excepting in some of their more sublime portions, we do not remember to have felt, in the

perusal of the old classics, even in the days of our adolescence.

Thomas McCombie, too, saw fit to make his romantic hero Godfrey Arabin an admirer of Shelley. Here, his raptures are contrasted with the more sober appraisal of an older squatter, again with the implication that Shelley's poetry was as widely read in the bush as in the cities:

> "You are an enthusiastic young man," the settler retorted; "and certainly, although I am a more every-day character, I admire the feeling you display. I wish I had never come from Old England: not but that I love the beauty of the wilderness, and my wife, who is a rose of the desert; but it never can be to me like my native land."
>
> "It is a beautiful wilderness," replied Arabin; " a man might live in it with no friend but nature."
>
> "You should have known Shelley," said the settler.
>
> "And do I not know him?" broke out Arabin. "Have I not communed in spirit with him for days - hours - years? It is a sad pity he was an unbeliever, for he has a power of thought which places him at the head of our English poets. He becomes indeed too often plaintive - too melancholy. Shelley's poetry is like the wind moaning wildly over a dark sea."
>
> "I cannot admire your description of his poetry," said the settler. "He is a writer of ability; at times, however, he becomes absurd, ridiculous, and unintelligible: but, in justice, I must add, that he has a power of sarcasm which has never been excelled."[14]

Although poems by Wordsworth appeared much more frequently than Shelley's in the local newspapers, they were ~~also~~ advertised only twenty-nine times; all but one - for Yarrow Revisited (1835) - being for his Works. "Grace Darling" was reprinted in the South Australian Register, ~~the~~ Port Phillip Gazette and the Sydney Morning Herald on 24 April, 1 June and 30 July 1844 respectively; "Confirmation" in the Sydney Record

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[14] Arabin; or the Adventures of a Colonist in New South Wales 1845 (1850), p.50.

on 6 January 1844; "Our Native Home", "Bubbles", "She Was a Phantom of Delight", and "The Sonnet" in the Colonial Literary Journal on 8 August 1844 and 23 January and 13 March 1845; "Sonnet on the Projected Kendal and Windermere Railway" in the Atlas on 5 April 1845; and "Advice to Young Ladies" in the Perth Gazette on 15 December 1849. On 20 December 1842, the Australasian Chronicle published a review of Wordsworth's Poems, chiefly of the early and late years, including "The Borderers", a Tragedy (1842), taken from the True Tablet. As in England[15], Keats was the most neglected Romantic poet, in terms of both the number of advertisements for his works and the references to him in Australian papers. Of the latter, there were only reprints of "Ode to a Nightingale" in the New South Wales Examiner for 23 April 1842, and "Sonnet, Upon Reading Chaucer's Poem of the 'Flower and the Leaf'", in the Colonial Observer for 5 July 1843. Sales of Keats' poetry were also, with the exception of one listing in Hobart, apparently confined to Sydney. Three advertisements appeared for The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats (Paris, 1829), two for The Poetical Works of Howitt, Milman, and Keats (Philadelphia, 1840), and two for Moxon's cheap 1846 edition of Keats' Poetical Works.

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15 See Jerome Hamilton Buckley, The Victorian Temper. A Study in Literary Culture (1952), p.20.

Besides Thomas Moore, mentioned earlier, two other contemporary poets who enjoyed a fair amount of popularity in Australia at this time were Robert Southey and Thomas Campbell. Works by Southey were advertised one hundred and two times, although only about half of these were for his poetry. His poem, "My Library", appeared in the Sydney Teetotaller on 9 August 1843. While there were sixteen fewer advertisements for Campbell, most of these listed collected or separate editions of his poems, especially The Pleasures of Hope. On 5 February 1845, the Sydney Morning Herald published "The Late Thomas Campbell. Author of "The Pleasures of Hope'. (Communicated)", signed and dated "M., January 1, 1845". The writer was probably the Rev. John McGarvie, since he mentions being a student at Glasgow University when Campbell was elected its rector, and the pseudonym is that of his earlier Herald articles. Despite giving some examples of Campbell's plagiarisms from other poets like Dryden, Thomson and Blair, on the whole he spoke well of the dead: "If Byron is the poet who astonishes, Campbell is the one who delights. If the first is the most popular, the other is the most beloved."

Another feature common to the literary scene in both England and Australia during the eighteen-forties was the revival of interest in the earlier English writers. Fourteen ~~copies of~~ works by Chaucer were advertised, as against two in the eighteen-twenties and eight in the 'thirties, whilst there

were no less than forty-eight advertisements for Spenser's poetry, as against none in the 'twenties and four in the 'thirties. Although listings of works by other earlier poets like Wyatt, Surrey, George Herbert, Donne and Herrick appeared less frequently, in all cases they were much more available than in the previous decades. So too, were the plays of Ben Jonson, Marlowe and Nash, Beaumont and Fletcher, Ford, Webster, Massinger, Tourneur, Congreve, Farquhar, Vanbrugh and Wycherly. An equally evident revival of interest in the earlier prose writers can be seen from the eighty-eight advertisements for works by Bacon, the eleven for Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy and the occasional one for Thomas Browne. Whilst these older prose writers and dramatists did not rate a mention in the colonial press, the poets were reprinted from time to time. The Colonial Literary Journal, in particular, published poems by Spenser, Wyatt, Herbert, Marvell and Herrick, as well as those of Pope, Burns and the more contemporary poets,[16] and Sir Walter Raleigh's "The Lye" appeared in the Atlas for 29 March 1845. Herrick seems to have been an especial favourite, despite only two advertisements for his work, both for The Hesperides. On 14 May 1842, the New South Wales Examiner published Herrick's "To Corinna - To Go A Maying", under the title "Gems from Our Earlier English Poets". The same poem had appeared in the Tasmanian Weekly Dispatch on 15 May 1840 with the comment:

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16 See issues for 5 and 12 September, 31 October, 14 November, 12 December 1844, and 9 and 16 January 1845.

We will notice Robert Herrick's poetry in our next. We think his truly poetic style of writing excellent; and that he was one of the best - if not the very best - of the English lyric Bards. We must comply with the desire expressed by many of our subscribers, and, in future, keep one corner of our Journal devoted to literary notices.

True to his word, on 22 May, the editor, John Morgan, reprinted Herrick's "To A Tuft of Primroses Fill'd With Morning Dew" and two stanzas of "A Thanksgiving for His Home", besides extracts from Sir Egerton Brydges' article on Herrick in the Retrospective Review, claimed as responsible for the revival of interest in his poetry. Unfortunately, Morgan's other promise to include more "literary notices" was not so consistently kept, though, in proportion to their number of issues and pages, all early Australian newspapers gave much more space to literature than their modern counterparts. Evidently, this was a response to demand as much as lack of other matter to fill their columns. On 2 September 1842, Herrick's "To Corinna - To Go A Maying" made a further appearance, this time in the True Colonist, printed at the request of John Morgan who, a week earlier, had praised verses by a local lady as "an almost perfect resemblance of the style of 'Robert Herrick'".

Turning now for a more detailed look at the Sydney book-selling scene during the eighteen-forties, one finds that, as in the earlier years, most works were sold by auctioneers. Some amusing, vivid pictures of auctions in Sydney during the forties were given by Godfrey Mundy in his Our Antipodes, or Residence and Rambles in the Australasian Colonies with a Glimpse of the Gold Fields (1857). On 1 September 1846, soon after his arrival, he recorded:

The number of auctions daily going on in Sydney is quite extraordinary; not auctions for the purpose of selling off houses and effects of departed or departing persons - though these happen often enough, too often for one's belief in the permanent prosperity of the community - but for the disposal by wholesale of imported goods, or by retail of tradesmen's stock on hand. A stranger would almost suppose that the buyers and sellers of the colony were too idle to transact business without the intermediation of a paid agent. . . . The chief attendants at these public auctions are brokers and keepers of miscellaneous stores . . . (p.9)

In another place he describes the notorious night auctions, banned later in the 'forties, and, from this, justifiably so.

The night auction was common when I first arrived in New South Wales. It seemed specially intended for the disposal of articles "that love the shade," and for the spoliation of the raw emigrant. The locale of the night auction was usually some small open stall. A ragged old pauper was seen and heard ringing a large bell opposite the door. A shabby, but sharp-looking salesman, leaning over a horse-shoe counter, under the light of the huge but blear and smoky lamp, arrested the passengers by a display of his wares. The idlers gradually curdled into a crowd. Delusive eloquence and a dim light did the rest. (p.101)

One imagines the twenty-five book auctions advertised in 1840, to be held by Messrs. Blackman, Yates, Lyons, Stubbs and the Australian Auction Company, were much more respectable affairs. Nearly four thousand, three hundred volumes were listed for sale but, as always, the actual number available was probably higher, since full figures were often not given in the advertisements. Also, most auctioneers now issued catalogues, and so hardly ever listed all their works in the newspapers as they had done earlier. Just over four hundred of the 1840 volumes were works of imaginative literature, most of them being by popular authors like Scott and Shakespeare. Thus, on 1 January, Mr. Blackman listed in the Commercial Journal, for sale two days later, many of the standard sets gracing the library shelves of this period: the Waverley Novels (48 vols); Byron's Works,

with Life by Thomas Moore (17 vols.); Crabbe's Poems (8 vols.); Boswell's Johnson (10 vols.); Milton's Works (6 vols.), "beautifully bound"; Hume and Smollett's History of England (10 vols.); Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (12 vols.) and Burns' Works (8 vols.). Similar collections of standard authors like Pope, Johnson, Goldsmith, Byron, Shakespeare and Scott were advertised by Blackman in the Sydney Herald for 24 February and the Australasian Chronicle for 17 December, and by Yates in the Sydney Gazette for 11 June. Towards the end of the year, possibly with the Christmas trade in mind, Yates held two sales featuring modern as well as eighteenth-century novelists and poets. On 17 November, the Sydney Herald commented, "Mr. Yates's sale of Books this evening will doubtless attract a large company of our colonial bibliographers. We perceive there are some excellent editions of Smollett, Fielding, Dickens (Boz), Cooper, Washington Irving, Shelley, etc." Since, with the exception of Shelley, all these writers were extremely popular, the prophecy was doubtless fulfilled. Some two weeks later, Yates again offered works by Dickens, Cooper and Washington Irving, together with others by Scott, Shakespeare and Goldsmith.

1841 saw over twice as many volumes advertised for sale at thirty-eight auctions, two particularly large collections being announced by Yates on 23 July and 17 August. [17] The first of these showed a new trend towards bulk importations, including fifty copies of Shakespeare's Dramatic Works and fifty of Burns' Works. Yates, who conducted most of the sales in the first half

[17] Unless otherwise stated, Sydney book advertisements appeared in the Sydney Morning Herald.

of this year, concentrated mainly on such evergreen and ever popular authors, though his "Superb Collection of BOOKS, many illustrated and in costly bindings", listed in the Australasian Chronicle on 29 June, featured modern writers like Ainsworth, Bulwer Lytton, Lady Blessington, Cooper, Dickens, Moore, Lockhart, Marryat, Hook and Scott. A very similar collection of authors appeared amongst the five hundred volumes offered by Messrs. Moore and Heydon in their first auction sale, announced in the same paper on 14 October. These auctioneers, operating first together and later individually, dominated the Sydney book auction scene for several years. Perhaps they took over Yates' business, since his last advertised sale was held on 24 August. Their next sale, also including Dickens, Marryat and Ainsworth, received an extensive "puff" in the Australian for 28 October:

> Moore and Heydon have an extensive Book Sale tomorrow evening. The catalogue embraces some of the leading works of our modern authors, as also, several important works on history, the arts, sciences, etc. etc. Persons disposed to form a useful library, should attend this sale. They are consigned from a principal house in the book trade in London, and must be sold for cash.

Though no mention is made of the particular house, publishers and booksellers like Henry Bohn and Edward Lumley were, as shall be seen, later to form profitable connections with Australian auctioneers. Moore and Heydon held four other book auctions in November and December 1841, their evening sale of "Rare and Valuable Books", advertised in the Free Press of 23 November, including "Jane Austen's Novels in 1 vol.", certainly a valuable book and one still rare in Australia in the 'forties.

2. "The Night Auctioneer" - W.G. Moore. From Heads of the People, 8 May 1847.

Also featured was "Sam Slick", a more readily available author.

At the other end of the literary spectrum, Samuel Lyons' "Classical Library", advertised in the Free Press on 18 September, contained Greek, Latin, Italian and Spanish as well as English works. The editor elsewhere referred to the "present difficulty of procuring Books of that description", a theme enlarged on in that day's Australasian Chronicle: "As it is seldom that book collectors can have an opportunity of gratifying their laudable penchant in this colony, there will no doubt be a great competition for some of these scarce works." Since no paper saw fit to publish an account of the actual sale, one must take it on trust that there were enough local collectors like Nicol Drysdale Stenhouse to bid spiritedly for items by Homer, Montaigne, Descartes, Spinoza and Montesquieu.

Needless to say, those requiring less exotic fare by Cowper, Crabbe, Thomson, Goldsmith, Milton and so on, were, as usual, well catered for in this and the following year. In 1842, although only a few more auctions were held, many more books were advertised - over thirty-two thousand volumes. Three extremely large sales were held towards the end of the year: Messrs. Howard and Watson offered five thousand volumes on 3 September; Moore and Heydon ten thousand on 23 and 30 September and 7 October; and Mr. Price another ten thousand on 7 and 14 December. While few details were given of the works for sale, it seems they were mainly by standard authors. Howard and Watson's advertisement referred to "School and Other Books" and mentioned Milton and Burns, whilst Price's included works

obviously well adapted for school prize-givings and children's Christmas presents : Addison's Works, The Pilgrim's Progress, Pamela, Byron's Select Poetry, Mrs. Helme's St. Clair of the Isles (1803), Mrs. Radcliffe's Romance of the Forest (1791), and Regina Roche's Children of the Abbey (1796). Sales of this type, fairly frequent in the 'forties, may have resulted from British publishers sending out-dated stock to the colonies. Certainly, an increasingly apparent trend in this decade was for Sydney autioneers to handle mainly eighteenth-century and earlier works, leaving the latest productions of Dickens, Lever, etc., to the booksellers proper.

In 1842, however, new novels were still prominent in auctions, especially in those of Moore and Heydon who, up to their parting company in November, had held half the year's sales. On 24 February, for example, they advertised "A More Choice Collection of Books than even those comprised in their late series of Book Sales", including novels by Marryat, Dickens, Bulwer Lytton, Cooper and Samuel Lover. In March and April, they held a further series of weekly sales, again featuring these authors. The Herald commented on 4 March,

> An important sale of books takes place this evening, at the Mart of Moore and Heydon . . . The catalogue contains works of great repute, embracing some standard Theological, Classical, and Historical Authors, as well as the usual shoal of light reading.

This disdain of fiction was not shared by the editor of the Free Press who wrote on 31 March of a sale advertised that day:

> We have glanced over the catalogue, which contains a great variety of works, many of which, particularly those of the novel class, are of first-rate description; as a proof of which we

need only mention that the list comprises several of the best productions of the inimitable Boz. From our knowledge of the low figure at which many valuable works are frequently sold at these rooms, we would seriously advise the reading public to attend the sale.

The advertisement, headed "Sale of the most popular Books ever known in the Colony", interestingly listed mainly writers of imaginative literature:

Lord Broughton; Canning; Thomas Jefferson; M. Thiers, Ex-Minister of France; Colonel Napier; Lord Bacon; Lord Bolingbroke; Shakspeare [sic]; Sir Walter Scott; Dickens (Boz); Sir E.L. Bulwer; Cooper; Miss Austen; Mrs. Austin; Lady Montague [sic]; Smollett; Fielding; Goldsmith; Coleridge; Shelley; Pope; Mrs. Hemans; Burns; Washington Irving; Moore; Howitt; Milman; Keats; Newton; Ainsworth; Lady Blessington; Dr. Bird; St. Pierre.

If one compares the twenty-five novelists and poets named here with those in Appendix II, one finds that the sale included all of the first ten except Lever, who in 1842 was just becoming known. His first two novels had, however, been listed in an earlier Moore and Heydon advertisement. As an interesting sidelight, it would seem that Nicol Stenhouse bought The Poetical Works of Howitt, Milman, and Keats (Philadephia, 1840) at this sale, since a copy now in the Fisher Library, University of Sydney, bears his signature and the date 1842.

Many of the same authors also figured in Moore and Heydon's other 1842 sales and in those conducted by Moore alone in December. A 15 December notice of one of them contains the amusing sentence - "The rooms will be well ventilated" - obviously a necessity on a muggy Sydney summer evening if a large crowd attended. Unfortunately, there is little more direct evidence as to the popularity of such sales, apart from the usual newspaper puffs about "considerable competition". The marked increase in the number of books imported does,

however, argue for an active bevy of buyers and, perhaps, readers. The Australian evidently felt such a body existed, for on 10 August it begged

> . . . to call the attention of the Literati of Sydney to the sale of books this evening by Mr. Stubbs. The collection is one of the best we have seen in this colony, comprising, among others, the works of Scott, Cooper, Dickens, Byron, Burns, Crabbe, Johnson, Goldsmith, Fielding, Mackenzie, a capital collection of histories, and a well selected assortment of general literature.

Again, one notes popular novelists in pride of place. Further proof of the novel's growing supremacy comes from the last auction held in 1842 - Heydon's first solo effort was a sale of "100 new novels" on 22 December.

1843 saw a reversal of the previous year's trend, with a much smaller number of volumes, close on eleven thousand, advertised for sale at eighty-two separate auctions. The severe depression which, following three years of expansion, set in around March 1843, probably was a factor in this. Large importations of books were scarcer, the biggest sales being one thousand volumes by Hebblewhite and Davy on 16 November and eight hundred by both Blackman and Mort on 24 September and 17 October respectively. On the other hand, the total number of sales was swelled by the auction of insolvent estates, some of which will be discussed in a later section on private libraries. In general, literary works auctioned - slightly more than a quarter of the total in this year - were the mixture as before of standard authors and modern novelists. Amongst the latter, one finds the first appearances of titles and authors continuing popular throughout the decade: Henry Cockton's Valentine Vox

(1840), W.J. Neale's Paul Perriwinkle or, the Press Gang (1841), Thomas Miller's Gideon Giles, the Roper (1840), the anonymous Charley Chalk; or, the Career of An Artist (1840), Thackeray's Comic Tales and Sketches (1841), Lever's Jack Hinton (1843), Dickens' Master Humphrey's Clock (1840-41), Mrs. Trollope's Michael Armstrong, the Factory Boy (1840), Mrs. Ellis's Family Secrets (1841), the "Sam Slick" works, G.W.M. Reynolds' Robert Macaire in England (1840), Carleton's Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry (1830) and Victor Hugo's The Slave King (1833). Nearly all of these can be found in advertisements for the series of regular "Thursday Evening King-Street Literary Sales" held by Heydon in April and May 1843. The delay between the publication of most of these works and their arrival in Sydney presumably indicates they were not ordered until word of their English popularity had reached Australia. Much shorter time gaps occurred towards the end of the decade, especially with guaranteed best-sellers like Dickens, where English agents seem to have immediately shipped off new books.

Heydon's former partner, Moore, held opposition sales on Friday evenings, on 28 April 1843 offering "Three cases of second hand books, carefully collected in London", including older but still popular titles like Smollett's Peregrine Pickle, Miss Porter's Hungarian Brothers, Ossian's and Milton's Poetical Works. The man later to replace Heydon as the chief Sydney book auctioneer, though more famous in other capacities, Thomas Sutcliffe Mort, held his first sale in this year, advertising a private library of four hundred volumes on 18 September, and

a further eight hundred unspecified volumes six days later. Apart from one sale in 1844, however, he did not commence book auctioning in earnest until 1845.

In 1844, though only a few more auctions were held, nearly twenty thousand volumes were advertised. Again, Heydon was the main auctioneer of invoices of new books, an advertisement in the Weekly Register for 2 March indicating "the celebrated publishing house of Fisher, Son and Co., Newgate-street, London" as one of his regular suppliers. His Thursday Evening Sales rolled on, seemingly unaffected by the depression, or increasing competition, and again many popular titles first appeared on his lists: Ainsworth's Rookwood (1834), Miss Bremer's Tales, Harriet Martineau's The Hill and the Valley, Bulwer Lytton's The Pilgrims of the Rhine (1834), Pierce Egan the younger's parody The Pilgrims of the Thames (1839), Mrs. Gore's Soldier of Lyons (1841), Surtees' Jorrock's Jaunts and Jollities (1838) and Hugo's Hunchback of Notre Dame (1833). Both modern authors and evergreens like Burns, Goldsmith, Cowper, Milton and Byron were well represented in a list of books to be sold by Heydon on 19 December, appropriately headed "CHRISTMAS PRESENTS !! NEW YEAR'S GIFTS!!", and described as "of a character which makes them particularly apropos at the present festive and heart-and-purse-opening season of the year".

Among Heydon's rivals, Moore continued his Friday night book sales, whilst on 22 May Tebbutt and Co. introduced their "Wednesday Regular Book Sales" with works by Scott, Shakespeare, Crabbe and Pierce Egan. On 30 September, P.J. Cregin appropriated Monday for his book night, including on that date works by

Shakespeare, Defoe and Cowper. Early in 1844, John Carfrae, formerly a Melbourne bookseller and auctioneer, conducted a "Grand Book Sale", commencing on 16 January. This description of his goods comes from an advertisement for the final evening, in the Australian for 6 February:

> An extensive assortment of recently published Works in History, Biography, Theology, Poetry, etc. Nearly all this superb collection were published in 1841, 42 and 43. The Publishers have spared no expense in getting up these Books. The rich and varied bindings in Morocco, Russia, and Calf, with the light and fanciful cloth, are deservedly admired. Among the numerous authors . . . it is only necessary to mention the names of . . . Byron, Scott, Tannahill, Burns, Wordsworth, Pope, Shakespeare, Goldsmith and Dickens.

Again, one sees mainly familiar figures, even if perhaps dressed more grandly than usual. A further "Important Sale", to take place on 30 and 31 July, was, according to Messrs. Davidson and Rudd, the auctioneers, "The MOST PERFECT LIBRARY ever Offered to the Public in this Colony". They certainly believed in their books sufficiently to advertise them in the earliest provincial paper, the Hawkesbury Courier, on 25 July, as well as in the Sydney media. Whatever a perfect library may be, Davidson and Rudd's was better balanced than most book auctions, containing a good proportion of Greek, Latin and French authors, the usual histories, biographies and theological works, new works by Dickens, Lever, Bulwer Lytton, Washington Irving and others, some early pieces of Australiana such as Breton's Excursions in New South Wales (1833), and a colonial rarity in Ben Johnson's Works. The Australian for 30 July rightly referred to it as "The most important sale of books which has taken place for some years in this colony". At over a thousand volumes, it was the second largest collection

advertised in 1844, and contained more serious literature than most others of this period.

Another interesting feature of 1844 sales is the occasional inclusion of a large number of copies of popular titles, presumably designed for the owners of bookstalls and the smaller booksellers. On 24 February, Carfrae offered no less than eighty-eight copies of Burns' Poems and Songs, besides two dozen each of The Vicar of Wakefield and Paul and Virginia. One of the earliest book auction catalogues included in the Mitchell Library's valuable eighteen-forties collection, for a sale by Heydon on 15 November 1844, also lists a dozen copies of each of The Sonnets of Shakespeare, Mrs. Hemans' Poems, Watts's Songs, Robinson Crusoe, and The Adventures of Philip Quarll (1823) and twenty-six of The Crimes of London. As bookstall owners were again the most likely purchasers, one has here some guide to the reading of the working and lower middle classes, whose tastes are unfortunately not recorded in many other places.

Although fewer book auctions were held in 1845, the number of volumes advertised increased by over three thousand. Again, certain auctioneers held regular weekly sales, Heydon retaining Thursday evenings, Moore Fridays, and John Carfrae taking Tuesdays. On 24 January, for example, Moore advertised his "Friday Evening Regular Book Sale" of that day - "1000 Books, cheap editions, 500 Children's Books". It is from about this time that publishers and booksellers really began to cater for the masses by offering works for a few shillings instead of a few guineas. Another of Moore's advertisements, for 18 July,

showed him again determined to advance Sydney culturally; he had "a room entirely devoted for the Sale of Books and Works connected with fine arts". In general, the books available here and in other places were much as before, with perhaps rather more of the standard authors and fewer of the latest productions of popular novelists. There were, however, still advertisements like that for one of Heydon's Thursday sales in the Sentinel for 8 January, which blazoned out "AMERICAN NOTES, by DICKENS, 2 vols." On 17 November, too, John Carfrae offered "The Mysteries of Paris, London, 1845 - a most extraordinary book", the first title by Sue advertised in Australia. This same sale also included Spenser's Works and The Plays of Massinger, two other authors who became increasingly popular in this decade. Much more typical of 1845 book auctions, however, was a collection advertised by Mr. Stubbs on 26 April as containing Miss Bremer's The President's Daughter (1843), five titles by Fenimore Cooper, The Arabian Nights, Miss Porter's Don Sebastian (1809), Mrs. Radcliffe's Sicilian Romance (1790), Richardson's Pamela, Young's Night Thoughts, Scott's Works, Cowper's Poems, Byron's Works, Burns' Poems and The Vicar of Wakefield.

Several auction catalogues for 1845 survive in the Mitchell Library collection, one for a sale by John G. Cohen on 14 July showing Fisher, Son and Co. still availing themselves of the Australian market. Their "most modern Publications, Embellished with Engravings, by the first artists, bound in a superior manner" included a few, at least, whose contents were as good as their covers: Dickens' Nicholas Nickleby, Sketches

by Boz and The Pickwick Papers, besides six lots of Scott's Works. Others, however, show popular taste at its most sentimental: four lots of Edward the Orphan and Mrs. Sherwood's Children of the Abbey, three of Prest's famous Fatherless Fanny and so on. Another sidelight on the mid-century Australian book trade is given by a catalogue issued by T.S. Mort for a sale on 26 November 1845. This contains several lots called "The Bushman's Library", consisting of such well-tried works as Goldsmith's Citizen of the World, Vicar of Wakefield and Poems and Plays; Isaac Walton's Lives; Scott's Lady of the Lake, Lay of the Last Minstrel and Marmion; St. Pierre's Paul and Virginia; Johnson's Rasselas; Sterne's Tristram Shandy; Thomson's The Seasons; Homer's Iliad; and other poetry by Burns, Crabbe, Gray, Collins, Milton, Kirke White, Beattie, Southey and Thomas Campbell, besides equally popular standard works on theology, biography and voyages. Apart from its exclusion of Shakespeare, this collection included all the major standard authors of the period and one would be interested to know how many bushmen actually purchased the twenty-two lots offered for sale. One would also like to know whether the idea for these "Bushman's Libraries" had come from Mort or the publishers - probably from Mort since single copies of some titles (which do, indeed recur in nearly every one of Mort's eighteen-forties catalogues) were also listed. This, therefore, suggests some support for the evidence of Alexander Harris and others as to the popularity of reading in the bush.

Over twenty-one and a half thousand volumes were listed for sale in 1846 at sixty-three book auctions. Since nine

auction catalogues for this year survive in the Mitchell Library, this total gives a truer idea than usual of the actual number of books offered. As an example of the underestimation that results from using advertisement figures alone, the notice for a sale by Cohen on 11 March 1846, published in the Australian four days earlier, listed forty-two volumes, whilst the catalogue for the same sale lists four hundred and sixteen. This was another collection of Fisher, Son and Co.'s "Select Works", mostly "beautifully illustrated", and including a large number of Drawing-Room Scrap Books for 1846, besides many other picture books and a few copies of evergreens like Young's Night Thoughts, Pamela, Fatherless Fanny and Milton's Poems. Other auctioneers, however, continued to sell invoices of more modern works. On 13 March, Moore offered Barnaby Rudge, Gleig's Allan Breck (1834), Cooper's Mercedes of Castile (1840), R.P. Gillies' Palmarco, or the Merchant of Genoa (1839), Prest's Ethelinde, or the Fatal Vow and many others in similar vein.

The largest 1845 sales of new books were held by T.S. Mort, who offered two thousand volumes on 15 and 16 January and a further one thousand on 28 and 29 October, catalogues for both being in the Mitchell Library. In the earlier sale, besides the usual standards such as Paradise Lost, Cowper's Poems, Young's Night Thoughts, the works of Goldsmith and Shakespeare, and novels by Dickens, Lever, Miller, Marryat, Cockton, Ainsworth and Cooper, there was a large number of older novels from the eighteen-twenties and earlier. Typical of these were C.B. Brown's

Wieland (1810); L.S. Stanhope's The Bandit's Bride (1807); David Carly's Secrets of the Castle (1806) and Francis Lathom's Polish Bandit (1824), with other equally exciting Gothic and adventure tales by Misses Roche and Porter, Mesdames Ward and Radcliffe, and many others. Possibly it was felt that the colonies provided a readier market for this highly-coloured fiction. The remainder trade seems also to have been responsible for some very strange bookfellows found in catalogue lots. One of the most striking of these is Lot 4 in another of Mort's catalogues, for 3 March 1846: "Family Cookery, Milton's Poetical Works, in 2 vols., Life of Jesus, and Dickson on Poultry." Obviously designed either for the bookstall owner or the beginner book collector who wished to satisfy both material and spiritual demands without delay!

Although in 1847 there were still at least fifty-nine book auctions held in Sydney, the number of volumes listed had dropped to about sixteen and a half thousand, and this again despite the augmenting of numbers from several surviving complete catalogues. About ten auctioneers were now active in the book trade, the most frequent and largest sales continuing to be those held by Mort - over one thousand volumes on 16 April and two and a half thousand on 14 December. These included mainly works by well-established authors, often in multiple copies. The April catalogue, for example, listed two dozen copies of a five-volume Shakespeare, the same of Burns's Works, and fifty of Cowper's Poems in two volumes. Moore was again the next most voluminous seller after Mort, with nearly two thousand volumes

for auction on 29 November. Once more, it is noticeable that the largest sales held by both men took place near Christmas. Moore's catalogues usually included more modern works than Nort's; on 26 February, he offered Lover's Treasure Trove, James' The Commissioner, Sue's The Wandering Jew, and Lever's Charles O'Malley, all current best-sellers in both England and Australia, extolled as "Just imported and the latest editions published". In contrast, a rare and intriguing item figured in Moore's sale for 1 October: "Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments, under the hand and seal of Shakespeare, including the Tragedy of King Lear, from the original MSS.", William Henry Ireland's forgery, printed in 1795.

In a rather different vein, an advertisement in the Morning Chronicle of 3 July 1847, for a sale by J.K. Heydon, gave further examples of the range of literature available even in the colonies at this period. Besides a large number of English works, mainly eighteenth-century, like Smollett's Works in six volumes, poetry by Swift, Gay, Goldsmith, Blair, Dryden and Collins, and a rarity in Wycherley's Dramatic Works, this "Choice Library" included twenty-five Greek and Latin works, two of them published in the sixteenth century, and several in French and Italian. Also of interest in this year is evidence of British publishers' growing involvement in the Australian market. On 6 April, Cohen advertised in the Australian three cases of books "from the Celebrated House of James Duffy, Dublin", appropriately incluing Thomas Moore's Irish Melodies. Another publisher whose catalogues became increasingly prominent was

Edward Lumley of London; Samuel Lyons announced an auction of books from Lumley in the Australian on 29 October 1847. No figures were given, but going by Lumley's later surviving catalogues, it would have been an extensive sale.

One of these, listing about two thousand volumes, to be sold again by Lyons on 6 September 1848, can be found in the Mitchell Library. Lumley evidently sent his catalogues out with his books, leaving it to his Australian agents to fill in the auctioneer's name and date of sale in the blank space left above "Sydney, 1848". Other catalogues from Lumley in the Mitchell Library collection were sent to Port Fairy and Launceston in 1848 and 1849 respectively. All these catalogues bear on the title page a device of a stork feeding its young and the encouraging note:

> N.B. When confined by illness, a wet day, or depressed in spirits, what better companion than a book? and when we consider that before printing was invented hundreds of pounds were willingly given for a work in manuscript, difficult to read, which work, with all the improvements of succeeding centuries, can now be had for a few shillings, is not this a reason for purchasing, more especially at the present sale?

In addition, before Lot 1, Lumley further exhorted "The Book-buyers and Booksellers attending this sale, that a little more liberality would not be thrown away. It will be easily seen that there are no RESERVE PRICES." Bibliographically, his catalogues were much more complete than those produced locally, with author and date of publication usually given as well as title. There were also frequent additional inducements such as original publication prices, descriptive commendations like "a beautiful specimen of Baskerville's celebrated printing",

"multitude of plates" and so on, and even some early examples of selective quoting from eminent critics. Thus Coleridge's "of all writings most purely English. Most perfect plot ever planned; how charming, how wholesome Fielding is" is reproduced for Tom Jones, perhaps to give the lie to those damning it as immoral, whilst Pope's "most noble and spirited translation in any language" touts for Dryden's Virgil. As can be seen, Lumley tended to offer the best-sellers of the past rather than the present - it is highly possible he was concerned with shifting surplus and otherwise unsaleable books off to the colonies. About a quarter of his stock were literary works, the same average proportion found in book auctions throughout the 'forties, the others, as he describes them, "Works on Religion, Fine Arts, Medicine, Law, Architecture, Biography, Travels, Education, Natural History, etc.". Amongst the literature were a few recent novels by Cooper, George Sand, Eugene Sue, Frederika Bremer and others, and two reprints of earlier authors in Carew's Poetical Works (1845) and Herrick's Works (2 vols., 1844), the later described as "one of the most beautiful of Old English Poets, combining playful gaiety of Anacreon and tender sweetness of Catullus."

Overall, nearly thirty-one thousand volumes were listed for sale in 1848, more than in any other year except 1842, although the actual number of sales continued to decline. This is partly the result of more complete auction catalogues surviving for 1848 - thirteen - than for any other year in the decade. Again the disparity between the number of volumes

listed in catalogues and newspaper advertisements can be seen in, for example, Mort's sale for 13 April, three thousand as against one hundred and fifty. Multiple copies of many works - such as "thirteen dozen and three" of Maria Edgeworth's Stories for Children and forty-four dozen of Instructive Stories - partly account for this discrepancy. As well as large numbers of other children's books, the catalogue listed mainly school texts and novels: eighteen copies of Mrs. Sherwood's Monk of Cimies (1839) and several each by Lever, Sue, Carleton, Martineau, Ainsworth and so on. There were also seven copies of Scott's Prose and Poetry, two of Pope's Works and twenty-four of Cowper's. Another most interesting feature was the inclusion of six copies of Alexander Harris's Settlers and Convicts (1847), besides one of Mrs. Vidal's Tales for the Bush (1845) and forty-three of an untraced work entitled America and Australia. At the opposite pole, the catalogue opened with over a hundred volumes of French works, mainly by literary authors like Voltaire, Rousseau, Racine, Molière, and the Countess de Genlis, even some French translations of Scott's novels!

The remaining fourteen sales held by Mort in 1848 - he continued to be the major Sydney book auctioneer - were not as memorable as this one, being the usual mixture of modern novels and standard works, on the literary side. The catalogue for one of 2 May announced

... a Miscellaneous Collection of New and Choice Works, Many of them highly Illustrated, and in the first style of binding:- comprising the Works of Sir Walter Scott, Shakespeare, Cowper, Goldsmith, Countess of Blessington, Cooper, Johnson, Eugene Sue, James, Dumas, Lever, Miss Martineau, Russell, Lister, &c. &c. &c.

As reflected in the order of these authors, three-quarters of the works listed were imaginative literature, including many by other popular figures like Carleton, Mrs. Trollope, Ainsworth and Burns. There were also numerous older novels of the fashionable life or Gothic variety: H.J. Coates' Lucis Carey; or, the Mysterious Female of Mora's Dell. An Historical Tale. By the Author of "The Weird Woman" (1831); Innes Hoole's Scenes at Brighton (1821) and Society and Solitude (1821); Francis Lathom's Fashionable Mysteries (1828) and the anonymous The Phantom, or, Mysteries of the Castle. A Tale of Other Times (1825). These were offered in lots of eight or nine titles, all no doubt eminently suitable for circulating libraries or bookstalls.

Two others of Mort's 1848 catalogues list works sent

> . . . from the Celebrated House of Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Covent Garden, Comprehending Works on Fine Arts, Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Heralding /sic/, Antiquities, Natural History, Medicine, Surgery, Mathematics, Mechanics, Natural Philosophy, Theology, Miscellaneous English Literature, Education, Poetry, Law, Novels, &c. &c. &c. Just Landed, ex Ganges.

In contrast to the usual pattern, the advertisement for the first sale on 7 and 8 September, in the Sydney Daily Advertiser of 5 September, mentions eight thousand volumes, though only just over two thousand three hundred are listed in the catalogue. As may be gathered from the catalogue title, a smaller proportion, though still nearly half, were works of imaginative literature, by the usual popular authors. The second sale, held on 3 and 4 October, with an identically worded catalogue title-page and similar stock, had been advertised on 2 October

as consisting of three hundred thousand volumes, though again fewer were actually listed in the catalogue. Perhaps the initial importation from Bohn had been of eight thousand volumes. Shakespeare was particularly well represented in this sale, with three copies of his Plays, thirteen of his Plays and Poems, three of his so-called Autobiographical Poems and four of Valpy's fifteen volume Pictorial Shakespeare. There were also two copies each of three "Shakspeare [sic] Novels" by Robert Folkestone Williams: Secret Passion (3 vols., 1844), Youth of Shakspeare (3 vols., 1839) and Shakspeare and his Friend (3 vols. 1838); evidently a liking for embroidery on the few bardic facts was not confined to the present.

The other most active book auctioneers in 1848 were George Lloyd, Cohen and, as before, Moore, who advertised on 16 February, "Six hundred volumes of new books, . . . all the new books of the day, - being the peoples' cheap editions". Cohen also specialised in modern works, a catalogue of eight hundred volumes for sale on 25 August including novels by Ainsworth, W.J. Neale, Bulwer Lytton, Carleton, Horace Smith, Mrs. Gore and Eugene Sue. Two others of particular interest because of their authors' connections with Australia were Charles Rowcroft's Fanny the Little Milliner (1846) and Mary Leman Grimstone's Woman's Love (1832). Both authors were fairly popular in early Australia, going by book advertisements; seven other copies of Woman's Love were listed by various auctioneers and booksellers in Sydney and Melbourne, along with thirteen of Character, or, Jew and Gentile (1833), also for sale in

Geelong and Bathurst, and three of Louisa Egerton; or, Castle Herbert. A Tale from Real Life (1830) in Maitland, Geelong and Brisbane. Fanny was the most frequently advertised of Rowcroft's novels before 1850, eighteen copies appearing in Sydney, Melbourne and Bathurst, including four in the Cohen catalogue. Only four copies of Tales of the Colonies (1843) were listed, all but one in Sydney, besides one each of his The Bushranger of Van Diemen's Land (1846), The Triumphs of Woman: A Christmas Story (1847) and Chronicles of the Fleet Prison from the Papers of the late Alfred Seedy, Esq. (1847), in Melbourne, Sydney and Launceston respectively.

The advertisement for Cohen's final 1848 sale, on 28 December, throws further light on the practice of reauctioning lots unclaimed by their purchasers. "At the risk of the former purchaser, J. Driscoll, Livery Stable Keeper, Pitt-Street", Cohen offered copies of Martin Chuzzlewhit and Guy Mannering, besides "One plated toast rack, Two parrots and cage"! Here is another small crumb of evidence on the reading tastes of the less educated and monied section of the population - as always, Scott and Dickens. It will also be remembered that the source of much of the other evidence on this, Alexander Harris, was able to make his "first deal in books" under similar circumstances of a buyer failing to claim his lot.[18]

Probably partly because of a further major depression which cursed the colonists in 1848, there was a marked fall in the number of books listed for auction in Sydney in 1849.

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[18] See Settlers and Convicts, 1847 (1954), pp.90-91.

Only forty-five sales were advertised, disposing of just over ten thousand volumes. The most sales, thirteen, were held by Moore, mainly small collections of one or two hundred volumes whose titles were not listed in the advertisements. One for 22 June, however, did mention Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy and Don Quixote. A similar concentration on older works can be seen in most of the other auction advertisements giving titles. A sale by Lloyd, one of eleven in this year, on 5 June, also included Don Quixote, besides Richardson's Works in eighteen volumes; one by Lyons on 24 July listed works by Smollett, Sterne, Burns and Johnson; whilst Mort's for 10 July had featured "a superior edition of Beaumont and Fletcher" besides the plays of Massinger and Ford. Mort's three 1849 auction catalogues are not especially interesting. The first, for a 15 January sale, contained several sets of the Parlour Library and Parlour Novelist and a quantity of older novels like Miss Porter's Scottish Chiefs and Mrs. Helme's St. Clair of the Isles. An invoice of books from "the celebrated house of Fisher, Son and Co.", to be sold by Mort on 26 March, was stocked, on the literary side, with equally uninspired works. The final surviving catalogue of "New and Valuable Books" for sale on 30 April, typifies the remainder of Mort's 1849 sales, at least as they appear in newspaper advertisements. Besides such old favourites as Gulliver's Travels, The Vicar of Wakefield, Paul and Virginia, Rasselas - even The Old English Baron - and the poems of Kirke White, Scott, Cowper, Pope, Milton, Crabbe, Burns and Byron, the catalogue included recent works

by Harriet Martineau, Sue, Bulwer Lytton, Lever, Ainsworth, William Howitt, James, Gleig, Carleton, Reynolds, Marryat, Dumas, Bremer, and Henry Cockton. Many of these authors reappeared in the largest book auction conducted in 1849 - by Mort on 21 and 22 December - "About 3000 VOLUMES, comprising the best assortment of Books ever imported into this market". Appropriately enough, this further consignment from Henry Bohn was headed "CHRISTMAS PRESENTS"; one imagines the greatest competition being aroused for such celebrated new novels as Dombey and Son and Vanity Fair. Six other works by Dickens were listed, including his recent The Haunted Man, with Thackeray also represented by his Book of Snobs. Dombey and Son had previously appeared in block letters at the bottom of an advertisement for a sale by Lloyd on 17 December. Presumably also timed for the Christmas market, this collection from "an eminent London Bookseller" contained, in addition, Vanity Fair, Samuel Warren's Now and Then (1848) and Macaulay's History of England (1849), as well as other modern novels by Dickens, Scott, Bulwer Lytton, Carleton, Lockhart, Michael Scott, Gleig and Miss Bremer.

Before going on to deal with the other half of the Sydney book trade of the eighteen-fourties, that conducted from bookshops and bookstalls, some account needs to be given of the extension of bookselling in this decade into the outlying districts, following the spread of squatters and other settlers. Certainly, some provincial booksellers were operating before 1840, as the association of Charles Beck at Campbelltown and William

Lipscomb at Maitland with James Tegg shows.[19] There are, however, no records of country book auctions before the 'forties, which saw the establishment, sometimes very briefly, of newspapers at Windsor, Maitland, Parramatta, Bathurst and Goulburn. The Hunter River Gazette, the first of these, advertised on 9 April 1842 a sale by Mr. Carruthers of just over one hundred volumes, including fifty-five volumes of The Monthly Review, or Literary Journal, a six-volume edition of Milton's Works, "beautifully illustrated by Turner", "The Works of Shakspeare, Scott, L.E.L., Marryat, Boz, Shelley, Miss Mitford, and other popular authors. Voyages, Travels, Criminal Trials, Plays, Books of Anecdote and Wit." In other words, a collection of the most widely read types of literature of the period - though Shelley is something of an interloper - and one surely calculated to appeal to the solitary bushman. The editor of the Gazette certainly thought so, exhorting his readers:

> Among the works advertised are some of standard merit, including several which have long been received into the number of British classics. Money is never better expended than in the purchase of books, which afford to us companionship during hours that would otherwise be passed in solitary and unprofitable indolence. The literary portion of the population, at least, will no doubt be attracted to this sale.

One would give much to know just what was the literary portion of Maitland's population at this time; as a class they were definitely better served than that of any other Australian country centre, since Lipscomb continued to sell books throughout

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19 See Volume I, p. 239 of this thesis.

the 'forties. Before discussing his stock, however, one must mention a few other auction sales, apart from those of private libraries, held in Maitland later in the decade. The Hunter River Gazette died at the end of June 1842, but from the beginning of 1843 its place was filled by the much more viable Maitland Mercury,[20] still published under another name today. A certain James Earnsey advertised two hundred volumes of School, Religious and other books there on 7 December 1844, for sale that day. In a throw-back to the barter economy of early Sydney, he was prepared to "take in exchange for goods bought privately Bacon, Butter, Eggs, Poultry, &c. &c.", so no doubt expected some local small farmers and their wives to be amongst his customers. Altogether over five hundred and sixty volumes were auctioned in Maitland in 1844, the remainder being private libraries sold by Mr. J. Ledsam.

Ledsam continued to be the chief Maitland book auctioneer throughout the eighteen-forties, selling over one thousand volumes in four sales during 1845. Again, most of these were private libraries, though one held on 15 and 17 February looks like a speculative consignment. In rather grandiloquent terms, this collection of eight hundred volumes, "the works of about one hundred celebrated authors", was described as being "adapted to the intellectual attainments of all, from the scholar acquiring the rudiments of knowledge, to the distinguished individual who has already reached the acme of literary greatness." Again, one would dearly like to know how many of the latter were

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[20] All subsequent details of Maitland book advertisements come from this paper.

to be found around Maitland. Also in 1845, P.J. Cregin, the Sydney auctioneer and bookseller, who had evidently taken a collection to Maitland, perhaps influenced by the literary attainments of its populace, advertised sales on 15, 16 and 17 March. Unfortunately, he did not list any of the works offered, though he did state his willingness to "give a liberal price for second-hand books", hoping no doubt to pick up some bargains for the trip back to Sydney. This seems to be the only example of a Sydney book auctioneer selling in country districts, though some booksellers, notably Colman and Piddington, later advertised in provincial papers and presumably sent books out to settlers.

Ledsam's two 1846 sales were both of private libraries, whilst in 1847 three other Maitland auctioneers were responsible for disposing of just over four hundred volumes. Mr. Dodds advertised two hundred of these on 10 July, mainly popular novels by Scott, Bulwer Lytton, James, Dickens, Cooper, Marryat, Galt, Miss Porter, Ainsworth and William Godwin. On 6 August, Mr. Crofton was to sell fourteen volumes of architectural works, whilst a few weeks later Mr. Melville offered two hundred and twenty volumes of unspecified novels, medical, mathematical and poetical works. Later sales by these three auctioneers in 1848 and 1849 were of private libraries, with Ledsam advertising three hundred volumes of "Classical Works, Works on History, Travels, Science, Agriculture, Veterinary Science, Mechanics, etc." on 7 April 1848. Also included in this sale, and presumably appealing to local readers as much as these practical

works, was "Sam Slick's" The Letter Bag of the Great Western.

No book auctions appear to have been held in Windsor during the years 1843 to 1846 in which newspapers were published there, and only one was recorded at Parramatta in the similar period covered by the Parramatta Chronicle and Parramatta Messenger. On 14 December 1844, the Chronicle advertised James Thomas Boylan's sale of eighty volumes of novels and romances. Besides eight works by Scott and two by Fenimore Cooper, he offered Hook's Births, Deaths and Marriages (1839), Marryat's Pacha of Many Tales (1835), Galt's The Stolen Child (1833) and other novels of the eighteen-thirties and earlier. Two particularly unusual items were Edgar Allan Poe's Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque (1840), the only work by Poe advertised in Australia in this decade, and A Love Story, by A Bushman, otherwise William Christie, published in Sydney in 1841.

In 1848, newspapers were established at both Bathurst and Goulburn. The only auction advertisement to appear in the Goulburn Herald, for some superannuated library books, will be discussed in the next chapter. On 6 May 1848, the Bathurst Advocate announced a sale by Mr. T.M. Sloman of "nearly five hundred volumes". Unfortunately, he did not give any titles, since a report of the sale in the next week's Advocate showed them to have been in great demand:

> The attendance at the sale was much larger than any we have witnessed in Bathurst for a long time past, and the prices realized indicate that literature is at a premium, and the inhabitants of Bathurst are a reading community. The bidding throughout was most spirited, and the competition for some of the works astonishing. The Sale was adjourned at sunset until the next day; and after an excellent sale which lasted through that day it was again adjourned to Friday.

This reception no doubt encouraged Sloman, now in partnership with a Mr. Tress, to hold two further sales, both of five hundred volumes, on 6 August and 10 October 1849. The first was composed mainly of popular novels by Eugene Sue, Bulwer Lytton, Cooper, Scott, Marryat, Dickens, Thackeray, Douglas Jerrold, Lever and Albert Smith, some of them in numbers. There was also a good quantity of equally popular magazines like the Sporting Review, the New Monthly, Bentley's, Hood's, the Belle Assemblee, the Dublin Magazine and the Family Herald. Whilst the second sale was slightly more varied, it also included such works as Lever's Harry Lorrequer, Carleton's Valentine M'Clutchy, Marryat's Poor Jack, Rowcroft's Fanny the Little Milliner, Reynold's Pickwick Abroad (1839), Don Quixote and The Arabian Nights, besides twelve copies of Sue's Godolphin Arabin and the same numbers of "Sir Thomas Mitchell's last Exploring Expedition" and "Dr. Leichardt's Expedition to Port Essington". As well, there were multiple copies of indispensables like Fenning's Universal Spelling Books, Pinnock's Catechisms, The Housewife's Guide, Buonaparte's Book of Fate, the Scab Act and The Masters and Servants Act, with plenty of Children's Picture and Story Books. Although there are no records of the popularity of these later sales, going by their contents they should have been just as successful as the earlier one, which presumably had been composed of works equally carefully selected to supply Bathurst readers with entertainment and practical help.

The demand for Mr. Sloman's books may have in part also resulted from the apparent lack of a resident bookseller at

Bathurst. Certainly, if one existed, he did not bother to advertise his wares, although at the bottom of a 4 August 1848 list for the Sydney bookseller William Moffitt, one finds "The above can be had at Bathurst from 'Mr. James's' Library, Durham-Street." Nor are there any records of a resident bookseller at Windsor in this decade. In both Parramatta and Goulburn, as also frequently in other Australian centres, newspaper editors and proprietors did a double service for the cultural cause by also supplying more lasting reading matter. The fourth number of the Parramatta Chronicle, for 27 January 1844, advertised a copy of Lever's Charles O'Malley "neatly bound, and quite new, to be sold cheap at this office." By 30 March, stocks had expanded to include, at two-and-six each, Cooper's The Pioneers and The Water Witch, Paul de Kock's Brother James and Paulding's Dutchman's Fireside, as well as the inevitable "Buonaparte's original Book of Fate" for ninepence. Evidently these works sold well, for soon the "Chronicle" Cheap Stationery Warehouse was set up, advertisements for school books on sale there appearing on 23 November 1844 and 19 April and 10 May 1845. Later this year, on 2 and 9 August, stocks included a number of "Interesting books for the bush" such as Robinson Crusoe, Fatherless Fanny, Young's Night Thoughts, Miss Porter's Don Sebastian, Scott's Marmion, Lay of the Last Minstrel, and Lady of the Lake, Miss Bremer's Strife and Peace and Woman an Enigma; or, Life and Its Revealings (1843), the latter no doubt vitally interesting to lonely hut-keepers. Some of these titles reappeared in a further advertisement in the

Chronicle for 6 September:

While all are complaining, how dull the times go,
Neither money or pleasure are stirring;
It may just be as well, for the people to know,
How the Stationery House is prospering.
Every thing there's so cheap, that some folk are induced,
To buy more than they want, as the chance is;
That others will be, by the bargains seduced,
And so they may be baulked of their fancies.

There's some go out strolling:- all listless, and glum;
For want of employment, or pastime:
If they to the "Chronicle" warehouse would come,
They'd get the best reading, in prose and in rhyme:
Either novels, romances, or travels by land,
Or stories of shipwrecks, or tales of the sea;
Or history - Magazines - new songsters - and
The Gleanings of Byron and Scot's /~sic~/ poetry.

There's Travels in Africa, by Park, and by Bruce;
A Tale of the North - Strife and Peace:
And Antar the Arib; and Captain Cook's Cruise;
Orphan Fanny, and Ocean's Calamities:
(And those who don't buy them, may borrow a peep;)
There's the Pilot, Pamela, and Popular Stories; -
Don Sebastian, and First Love: - very cheap;
Peter Wilkins: - World's Wonders and Glories.

Although such rhyming advertisements were fairly common in Australia in the early nineteenth century, further testimony to a greater readiness to burst into verse at any opportunity, this is apparently the only one dealing with books. Its quality does not, of course, make one wish for more, though it again clearly shows the popular taste in literature - novels, whether old or new, Scott's and Byron's poetry, and the ubiquitous "voyages and travels" of every book advertisement. It is also interesting to note the tolerance accorded the browser, a practice presumably as popular then as now, but rarely mentioned before 1850.

William Jones, proprietor and editor of the Goulburn

Herald, and possibly the similarly-named Sydney bookseller and circulating librarian whose business had collapsed in 1845, was no less backward in providing similar entertaining works to lighten the bushman's loneliness. On 24 March 1849, he offered such popular delights as novels by Bulwer Lytton, Dickens, Cooper, Scott, Miss Porter, Dumas and Victor Hugo, Humphrey Clinker, Tristram Shandy, Robinson Crusoe, The Arabian Nights, Johnson's Lives of the Poets, poetry by Cowper, Butler, Goldsmith and Thomson, and several histories and travel books, including again Cook's Voyages. No doubt he had good sales for The Chronicles of Crime; or, the New Newgate Calendar (1841), a type of reading apparently especially popular in bush-huts. Jones' "Cheap Reading for the Bush" - "Clarence, a novel, complete, with cuts" (Miss C.M. Sedgwick, 1830), Cooper's Lionel Lincoln, Camden, a Tale of the South (1830) and The Life of Nelson, all at one-and-three - should also have sold well. These works, and perhaps much of his other stock, seem to have been purchased from the major Sydney booksellers, Colman and Piddington, who advertised the same four titles, plus Cooper's Water Witch and Frances Glasse's Ned Clinton, A Tale of the Peninsular War (1825), in the same issue of the Goulburn Herald for one shilling each, "Storekeepers and others purchasing the above by the dozen charged 9s." Thus Jones was making a pretty fair profit on every copy sold to eager bush readers. A further list of "Cheap Books" offered by Jones on 4 August shows that such readers could have bought Scott's Poetical Works and various novels by Cooper for two-and-six each, a whole range

of modern and older novels for two shillings each, and a smaller number of standard novels, travel books and so on, for three shillings each. The low prices and the inclusion of many novels by American authors suggest that these were Novel Newspaper reprints, already mentioned as widely disseminated throughout Australia in this period.[21] An interesting comparison between the prices of Novel Newspaper reprints and works put out by more reputable British publishers is provided by a few additional titles listed in Jones' advertisement for 15 September 1849. Sue's Mysteries of Paris and Matilda were available for eight-and six each; Cockton's Valentine Vox for thirteen-and-six; Lever's Jack Hinton for twelve-and-six; Carleton's Valentine M'Clutchey for ten shillings and Surtees' Hawbuck Grange (1847) for twelve-and-six. All were, however, illustrated "with numerous cuts", a refinement absent from the cheaper reprints. And, when one compares these prices with those given in the appropriate English Catalogue of Books, one finds that Australian readers were charged remarkably little for the service of bringing such popular authors around the world to them.

The same slight increase on English prices is apparent in the advertisements of the doyen of country booksellers of this period, William Lipscomb of West Maitland. Despite the apparent low profit margin, Lipscomb was rivalled only by William Moffitt of Sydney in having sufficient business acumen to remain a bookseller all through the eighteen-forties. As previously mentioned, he apparently commenced business in 1839

[21] For a discussion of the Novel Newspaper see Michael Sadleir, XIX Century Fiction (1951), pp. 143-5.

in association with James Tegg, and continued independently after Tegg sold out in 1844. Lipscomb appears, along with Mr. Beck at Campbelltown and Mr. Armstrong at Penrith, at the bottom of Tegg's list in the Sydney Gazette for 23 May 1840, but Tegg had not been mentioned in a lengthy advertisement by Lipscomb in the Australian for 16 April 1840, giving a good idea of the range and strength of his stock. Beginning with the standard series - the forty-eight volume Waverley Novels, Scott's Complete Works in eighty-eight volumes, Miss Edgeworth's Works in eighteen, the thirty-eight volume British Essayists and so on - the list continued with histories, biographies, travel books, sermons, veterinary works and cookery books, Young's Night Thoughts rubbing shoulders with Ainsworth's Jack Sheppard, Collier's London Stage with Butler's London Sermons. In addition, there were "Standard Novels" by Bulwer Lytton, the Porters, James, Washington Irving, Cooper, Lady Morgan, Gleig, Godwin, Grattan and Mrs. Gore, "Bibles, Prayer Books, etc.", not forgetting those indispensable ornaments of Maitland no less than Mayfair drawing-rooms, the "Annuals for 1840". Overall, though perhaps deficient in the very latest works (apart from Annuals), Lipscomb's stock catered for nearly every literary taste and need of the time. Of course, he did not live by books alone; he was a stationer, druggist and grocer as well as bookseller, supplying such necessary but "fancy goods" as "Aromatic Pastiles . . . Morden's Patent Inkstands . . . Vinegarettes, Emery Baskets . . . Plated Tea Bells . . . With many other articles too numerous to mention

in an advertisement."

With the founding of the Hunter River Gazette, Lipscomb had a local means of crying his wares, an advertisement for his "Book and Stationery Establishment" occupying a prominent place on page one of the first issue, 11 December 1841. The works listed were similar to those mentioned above, with some interesting, though unsurprising, additions like Master Humphrey's Clock, Nicholas Nickleby, Sketches by Boz, Lockhart's Life of Scott, Defoe's Works in seventeen volumes, Burns' Works and The Arabian Nights, besides a few less common ones such as four of Jane Austen's novels. Lipscomb also figured as a bookseller in the first issue of the Maitland Mercury, on 7 January 1843, though this time as "Executor to the estate of the late unfortunate Maitland Mechanics' Institute, now deceased and insolvent." The books included in this sale, will, however, be discussed in the next chapter.

No further advertisements by Lipscomb appeared until 1845, but he presumably continuing selling books and other goods in the interim. On 9 August that year, he offered mainly modern works: several novels by Frederika Bremer and Susan Ferrier, others by George Sand, Washington Irving, Carleton, Ainsworth and Douglas Jerrold, poems by Ossian and Fanny Kemble, and The Ancient Mariner, besides children's books and "A variety of Song Books, suitable to all tastes, Comic, Serious, Dismal, and Sentimental." An advertisement printed on 27 December, rather belatedly headed "Christmas Present Books", predictably opened with a number of "Juvenile Works" and unpredictably

closed with a collection of "Puseyite Works" - mostly religious novels by such authors as the Rev. W. Gresley and the Rev. F.E. Paget. In between was a number of novels decidedly not religious, "the Cheapest Edition hitherto published", that is, the Novel Newspaper. On 8 May 1848, Lipscomb announced his receipt of another thirteen hundred odd volumes of the Novel Newspaper for sale at one-and-three each, whilst a further fresh supply had arrived by 6 September, together with some slightly more expensive books, including nine novels by Eugene Sue and Lewis's The Monk for two shillings each. Between these dates, on 21 June, he had garnished another advertisement of cheap literature with a little tale illustrative of its advantages in colonial life:

> "These cheap works are just the sort I want", said a bush gentleman residing in a cottage of the primitive style of architecture, and covered with nature's own tiles, as he was paying me £1 17s. 9d. for a lot he had just purchased. "They will just do to lend to one's friends, who never return them, or, for a friend who walks into the cottage during my absence on the run, and walks off with a book, my ebony short pipe, a fig of tobacco, my pocket knife, my flint and steel, or any other trifle I may have inconsiderately left on my solid circular table, which a matter of fact fellow who called one day styled a good big round stump."

Some of the works mentioned were certainly remarkably cheap, and the canny bush gentleman no doubt included in his purchases such Novel Newspaper reprints as Miss Helme's Louisa, or the Cottage on the Moor and Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel, both at tenpence, or Longfellow's Hyperion for a shilling. Another example of Lipscomb's skilful advertising of his cheap books occurred on 2 September 1848, when some of the one-and-threepenny items like Robinson Crusoe, The Vicar of Wakefield, Don Quixote,

Cook's Voyages and The Arabian Nights were listed as "Juvenile Works, neatly bound and suitable for presents." Under another heading, "Works of a Serious Character", one is amused to find Pamela, Cecilia and Evelina alongside Wilberforce on Christianity and Life of the Rev. J. Wesley. Lipscomb, of course, continued to sell more expensive works; a 12 May 1847 advertisement, for example, mentioned recent novels by James, Mrs. Trollope, Mrs. Gore, J.J. Morier, Hook, Bulwer Lytton, Harriet Martineau, Lever and Carleton.

The evident demand for books in Maitland, despite or perhaps because of the failure of the Mechanics' Institute, is also indicated by the appearance of a rival bookseller, John Broderick, whose first advertisement was printed in the Mercury on 16 November 1841. Headed "Cheap Book Shop and Circulating Library", this offered "A great variety of interesting NOVELS and ROMANCES, bound in embossed cloth, gold letters. Price 1s. 3d. each", apparently more Novel Newspaper reprints. Broderick also had for sale "A large collection of New and Second-hand BOOKS", amongst them Byron's Life and Works in two and seventeen-volume editions, and the works of Milton, Spenser, Pope, Cowper, Shakespeare and Massinger. The advertisement closed with the intriguing announcement of "A Lottery of Books and Pictures every Monday Night." Further light on this novel method of bookselling, catering to the already obvious Australian love of gambling, was given by Broderick in the Mercury for 25 July 1849. His "Great Lottery of Books, &c." included among its thirty-five prizes

SAUNDERS'S JOURNAL, 4 Large vols., elegantly bound and illustrated.
Adams's Modern Voyager and Traveller, 4 vols., richly bound, with coloured plates.
The Drawing-room Scrap Book, a large vol.
A beautiful Chinese Writing Desk.
A splendid Chinese Tea Caddy
A large Telescope
A very handsome Backgammon Board, &c.
TICKETS, 3s. EACH.[22]

Broderick also had for sale some new works by standard and modern authors like Byron, Burns, Moore, Milton, William Howitt, James, Lover, Lever and Pierce Egan, together with "A complete set of the Waverley Novels, 28 vols., elegantly bound in French calf; originally cost 20 guineas, now offered for 7."

The increasing advertisement of cheap books, reflecting the trends in British publishing away from the three-decker novel at one-and-a-half guineas to reprints at one or two shillings, can also, of course, be traced in the Sydney newspapers of the eighteen-forties. James Tegg, the major Sydney bookseller of the 'thirties, remained dominant in the trade until he sold out in 1844. Nearly half of about thirty-two hundred volumes advertised by Sydney booksellers in 1840 were Tegg's. Initially, he appears to have concentrated on modern rather than standard publications. An advertisement in the Sydney Gazette for 2 January, headed "Literary Recreation for the Bush" in further support for the theory that bushmen were great readers, included mainly novels and other light reading by such authors as Michael Scott, M.H. Barker, Samuel Warren, Dickens, Hook, Lady Blessington and Pierce Egan. Sporting-minded bush gentlemen - most of them

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22 For other examples of book lotteries see the Sydney Morning Herald, 29 April 1841, and the Melbourne Daily News, 29 March 1849.

seemed to be - were catered for by the Field Book of Sports, Harewood's Dictionary of Sports and the New Sporting Magazine, whilst lonely hours also could be brightened by the Dublin Penny Magazine, Flowers of Anecdote, Wit, etc., Joe Miller's Jest Book, with Additions and several collections of songs and music. Indeed, about the only serious works on this list were Lockhart's Life of Scott and Thiers' History of the French Revolution, both quite popular in their own way. Possibly this advertisement was designed to catch the eye of squatters and others down in Sydney for the Christmas break, with some consolations for their renewed solitude.

Another advertisement by Tegg, in the Gazette nine days later, exhibited a more usual range of modern novels, children's and school books, religious and practical works, whilst one at the end of the month concentrated on the productions of Scott, Marryat and Cooper. A larger collection, listed in the Commercial Journal on 4 March, contained, besides most of the authors already mentioned, some standard editions like Southey's Poetical Works and Boswell's Johnson, both in ten volumes, Grimshawe's eight-volume edition of Cowper and Brydges's six-volume Milton. The latest popular annuals for 1840, such as the Keepsake, Forget-Me-Not and Friendship's Offering, were given pride of place at the head of the advertisement, even though they reached Australia rather late for their designed role as Christmas and New Year gifts. This was presumably the collection referred to by the Australian on 4 April 1840:

We have inspected a catalogue of Mr. Tegg's for March, 1840, which shows on Mr. T.'s part a numerous and well-selected importation of Books. We shall particularly notice . . . the works of Sir Walter Scott, Lord Byron, of T. Hook, Marryat and Cooper, Peter Parley and the volumes of Charles Dickens.

Again one sees a good correlation between the authors mentioned here, presumably because of their great popularity, and those heading the list of most frequently advertised authors given in Appendix II.

Another interesting aspect of the increasing demand for cheap books is reflected in an advertisement in the Australasian Chronicle for 5 September 1840, showing French publishers, like Americans, as fond of pirating popular English works: "JAMES TEGG has received a small supply of FRENCH EDITIONS of the undermentioned WORKS, which he is enabled to offer at about one-third of the original price of the ENGLISH EDITIONS." With the exception of a few volumes of poetry, history and travels, all the works listed were modern novels by such popular authors as Ainsworth, Dickens, Bulwer Lytton, Cooper, Gleig, Edgeworth, Hook, Washington Irving, James, Marryat, Lady Morgan, Harriet Martineau, Scott and Mrs. Trollope. Amongst the poetry was the earliest collection of Keats, in The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley and Keats (Paris, 1829), besides works by Byron, Southey, Scott, Moore, Wordsworth, and other more minor figures. A few French and Italian classics - Madame de Staël, Corneille, Racine, Molière, Tasso, Dante and so on - were also in the importation, together with some no doubt much welcomed French fashion books like Petit Courier des Dames and Journal des Modes, and even a Selection of Psalm and

Hymn Tunes, as sung in the Episcopal Chapel of the British Embassy in Paris! One has an amusing, though probably erroneous, picture of the publisher's emissary attending services and busily scribbling down words and music as they were sung.

The number of volumes advertised by Sydney booksellers in 1840 was larger than for any subsequent year until 1847, perhaps partly because of the disastrous depression intervening in 1843. Only three advertisements by Tegg, together listing just over four hundred and fifty volumes, appeared in 1841, including, on the literary side, much the same collection of authors as in 1840. The Australian continued, however, to praise Tegg's stock, saying on 16 March, "Mr. Tegg has issued his new Catalogue, in which is to be found, all the leading Modern works, as also the principal British Periodicals, the leading Standard Publications, besides a great number of volumes which have not yet been announced in the Colony." On 21 October, it noted again: "We have just received Mr. Tegg's catalogue of books on hand, at his establishment, exhibiting a variety which affords an opportunity to everyone to form, or to complete an excellent library". Unfortunately, none of these catalogues seems to have survived, although an advertisement in the Australian for 18 November backed up some comments it had made a week earlier:

> By some of the recent arrivals, Mr. Tegg and Mr. Evans, the booksellers, have received nearly all the new works lately issued from the London Press. Among which may be noticed, the Pictorial Bibles and Prayer Books, Pictorial editions of Josephus, Shakespeare, Napoleon, Wordsworth, Lamb, and Campbell's Works, besides a variety of Magazines and Periodicals.

As this shows, the eighteen-forties were not only the decade of the cheap book but of the illustrated as well, with the words "cuts", "plates" and "numerous engravings" figuring prominently in advertisements.

In 1842, Tegg was again responsible for more than half of the eight hundred odd volumes advertised by Sydney booksellers. The majority of them appeared in a lengthy list of "Cheap Books. (To Close Consignments)" printed in the New South Wales Examiner on 16 April, which usefully included prices. Most of the literary works had been found in Tegg's earlier lists, perhaps showing them as poor rather than best sellers, though one does not know how many copies of each were imported. Amongst them were Clarke's Riches of Chaucer in two volumes for eight shillings, a twelve-volume edition of Cooper's Novels for four pounds, Milton's Poetical Works, with Life by Sir Egerton Brydges, six volumes, for twenty-seven shillings, besides standard works like Hudibras, Don Juan, The Arabian Nights, Campbell's Pleasures of Hope, Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare, Thomson's and Cowper's Poetical Works and Gulliver's Travels, ranging in price from two to five shillings, and therefore still more expensive than the Novel Newspaper reprints. Nevertheless, it was doubtless such works as these the Colonial Observer had in mind in hoping in 1842 for Mr. Tegg of London to continue to send out a liberal supply of his cheap editions of standard works "to improve the taste of our colony, and to form our colonial youth to vigorous thinking." Whilst there is little in Tegg's 1842 advertisements to support

this paper's objection to "a greater amount of light and trashy reading than we like to see", his complete catalogue probably included as many novels and other light works as in earlier years.

Such works were certainly prominent among the more than eleven hundred volumes advertised by Tegg in 1843, ironically, most of them appearing in a list printed by the Colonial Observer itself on 26 July: Lever's Charles O'Malley and Harry Lorrequer, Mrs. Ellis's Family Secrets, Hood's Whims and Oddities, and so on. Tegg's other major 1843 advertisement, in the Herald for 14 January, was another list of "Cheap Books" similar to those advertised the previous year. These presumably formed the mainstay of the "'General and Descriptive Catalogue', adorned with some excellent plates", issued by Tegg's father, the Reprint King of London,[23] which the Australian noted on 20 January, was "delivered gratuitously to those who call at Mr. Tegg's Establishment in George Street." Whatever the defects of Tegg senior's reprints - Altick relates that his Paradise Lost was completed with Canto X when the printer ran out of paper - the Australian was full of praise for his catalogue: "The description of each volume is highly instructive and entertaining". Tegg's final advertisement appeared in the Herald for 3 January 1844, with the usual mixture of standard and popular authors, Ainsworth, Bulwer Lytton, and Carleton alongside Don Quixote and Pope's Homer's Iliad and Odyssey. On 31 July, the Australian reported that Mr. W. A. Colman had

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23 See Altick, The English Common Reader (1963), pp.284-285.

taken over Tegg's shop and stock; Tegg himself died in 1845.

Colman's first advertisement, in the Atlas for 30 November 1844, featured works obviously chosen for their appeal as "Christmas Presents", its heading. All the bestsellers - Byron, Scott, Shakespeare, Cooper and Dickens - were there, besides Colburn and Bentley's Standard Novels at the English price of six shillings a volume. In addition, there were collected editions of the works of Milton, Coleridge, Shelley and Keats, L.E.L., James Montgomery, Southey, Cowper, Mrs. Hemans, Lamb, Ben Jonson, Burns, Fielding and Smollett, together with other standard authors like Gibbon and Hume. All were available at prices only slightly above those current in England; Colman noted, "The whole of the above are now offered at a great reduction on former prices; and will continue so until the present lot is disposed of." Colman's advertisements in later years show a similar mixture of the latest best-sellers and standard authors. Like other colonial booksellers, he also of course stocked a wide range of school and children's books, by authors such as Peter Parley, Mrs. Hoffland and Mary Howitt.

In 1845, about a third of fourteen hundred odd volumes advertised by Sydney booksellers were for sale at Colman's shop. On 7 May, for example, he offered "Cheap Miniature Editions of Standard English Classics, Poetry, Novels, and Tales", including works by Byron, Bacon, Scott, Moore, Burns, Campbell, Coleridge, Milton, Pope, Johnson and Thomson, ranging in price from four-and-six down to one-and-three. Later, on 30 June, he featured Clarke's Cabinet Library, "beautifully printed pocket size, and

done up in Illuminated Covers, at about one-fourth of the price usually charged for similar publications." Like the Novel Newspaper, this contained a fair proportion of American authors - Emerson, Longfellow, Dana, Bryant and others - as well as novels by Jane Austen and Frederika Bremer and the works of Coleridge, Byron, Southey and so on. Another cheap collection, advertised by Colman on 22 July 1846, Smith's Standard Library, contained mainly eighteenth-century classics like Rasselas, Paul and Virginia, Tristram Shandy and The Vicar of Wakefield, priced from one shilling to three-and-six. In addition, Colman frequently offered more recent works "considerably under the publication price", such as, on 5 August 1847, Ainsworth's Jack Sheppard, reduced from fifteen to ten shillings. A few months later, on 21 December, he advertised "New and Valuable Books"

> . . . which he will dispose of at very reduced prices (for cash only) by which parties will effect a saving of frequently one-third and in many cases one-half from the publishing prices. W.A. Colman ventures to hope for the extensive patronage of the enlighted community of New South Wales in his determination to supply their literary wants on terms so infinitely below all previously offered.

Even allowing for some copywriter's exaggeration, Colman could claim to be the first Australian bookseller to offer works like Mrs. Trollope's Michael Armstrong and Valpy's Pictorial Shakespeare at reduced rates. In the same advertisement he also pioneered the use of quotations from reviews of works for sale. Another list published three days later, concentrating on light literature suitable for "Christmas and New Year Gifts", also included such reductions as Albert Smith's The Wassail Bowl, a series of humorous tales and sketches (1843) for ten-and-six instead of a guinea,

and Samuel Lover's Legends and Stories of Ireland (1831) for the same price instead of fifteen shillings. Despite Colman's claims of benevolence, he is unlikely to have lost money on these works, which probably represent an early working of the remainder system. In some cases, for example, The Wassail Bowl, these works were reissued in England at lower prices, in keeping with the general reduction in the cost of books throughout the eighteen-forties.

Colman continued to offer his cheaper books in 1847, when he advertised fourteen hundred volumes. His first list, for 9 January, included The Works of Thomas Browne (4 vols.,1836) reduced from forty-eight to thirty-four shillings, and The Works of John Donne, edited by the Rev. Henry Alford (6 vols., 1839), reduced from seventy-two to forty-two shillings. The latter is especially interesting in view of an entry in the English Catalogue of Books, 1835 - 1860, indicating that Henry Bohn reissued this work in 1848 at a slightly cheaper price of thirty-six shillings. This, and some other examples, suggest that Colman had come to an arrangement with Bohn enabling him to obtain books, shortly to be reissued more cheaply, at prices considerably below the original. Other works featured on "Colman's Cheap List of Books" in 1847 were, on 2 March, several novels by Lever, Marryat, Lover and Ainsworth at fourteen shillings each, and, on 7 May, described as "suited for general reading, and well adapted for country libraries", a number of Carleton's Irish novels ranging in price from three to twelve shillings, besides other modern and standard

works in the same price range, and Duffy's Library of Ireland at one-and-three a volume. On 27 September, Colman joined the many other Australian booksellers who sold The Novel Newspaper. As well as these cheap works, Colman also maintained supplies of the latest English publications, announcing on 25 August the arrival of magazines for the previous April, together with the first seven numbers of Dombey and Son. As he claimed of a new importation on 13 September, his stocks were "suitable to all classes of readers, comprising nearly every popular work at present in demand." The works listed in this advertisement certainly bear out his claim; they included two editions of the Waverley Novels and Shakespeare's Works, five by Dickens and Eugene Sue, four by Carleton, Lever, Carlyle and Ainsworth, three by Miss Bremer, Lover and Maria Edgeworth, the Parlour Novelist and Novel Newspaper series, the complete works of St. Pierre, Fielding, Smollett and Swift, and "The Poetical Works of Chaucer, Spenser, Byron, Moore, Southey, Wordsworth, Shelley, Campbell, Rogers, Mrs. Norton, Barry Cornwall, Leigh Hunt, Keats." On the less purely literary side, were standard histories by Roberton, Gibbon and Rollin, together with many other equally popular biographical, theological, medical, classical and practical works.

Early in 1848, Colman joined forces with W.R. Piddington, their first advertisement, in the Atlas for 26 February, being for a further supply of the Novel Newspaper. On 18 March, again in the Atlas, they offered another cheap series, the Parlour Library, containing novels by Carleton, Dumas, George Sand,

Gerald Griffin and others, at one-and-six a volume. This same advertisement also included a good, in both senses, helping of poetry by Shelley, Byron, Moore, Southey, Wordsworth, Lamb, Spenser and Mrs. Norton, besides two works by Leigh Hunt and James' recent Forest Days (1843). Another new novel by the ever, and over, productive James, The Convict (1847), figured in a further list in the Atlas for 29 April, along with other modern popular works like Albert Smith's Struggles and Adventures of Christopher Tadpole in search of a Name, a Relative, and a Wife, at Home and Abroad (1847), the Mayhews' The Greatest Plague of Life (1847), Samuel Warren's Now and Then, a Tale (1847) and Marryat's The Children of the New Forest (1847). A further collection of new works, with Geraldine Jewsbury's The Half Sisters, a Tale and J.B. Gogg's Arthur Trevelyn; or The Night of the Mind, both published earlier in 1848, was listed by the partners on 1 August. A month later, evidently anticipating a heavy demand, they called for subscribers for "a limited number" of the collected edition of Dombey and Son, "to be landed in a day or two."

In 1849, Colman and Piddington, and Piddington alone after March, continued to cater for a wide range of literary tastes and pockets, with similar selections of cheap editions and new publications. Amongst the former, Piddington offered on 21 April, "Cheap Editions of the Poets", including Shelley's Minor Poems for three-and-six, Keats' Poetical Works for two-and-six and Lamb's Specimens of the English Dramatic Poets, two volumes, for seven shillings; and, on 17 July, novels by

Dickens and Bulwer Lytton priced from four-and-six to six shillings. On 14 December, in good time for Christmas, he advertised a further two thousand volumes of the Parlour Library. A more unusual importation, announced five days later, of "a limited supply of the celebrated Novels by George Sand and Paul de Kock" in the original French, was priced at two-and-six per volume for the nine books by Sand and one-and-six for the thirteen by de Kock. At the opposite pole, Walter Scott's continuing predominance in the 'forties justified Piddington's 19 October description of the three pound, ten Waverley Novels in five volumes as "THE REAL BUSH LIBRARY!!!". The novels could also be bought individually, for from one-and-nine to three-and-six. As previously mentioned, in 1849 Colman and Piddington extended their business by also advertising in country newspapers. A list headed "Reading in the Bush" printed in the Maitland Mercury on 7 March included two of Cooper's novels and several others for one shilling each, or ninepence to "Storekeepers and other purchasing the above by the dozen". Perhaps some found their way into bush huts if squatters took advantage of this offer to include cheap novels among their other stores. A more extensive advertisement by Piddington in the Goulburn Herald for 16 June listed among "Books of Light Reading for the Fireside" such recent successes as Sue's The Mysteries of Paris and Matilda, besides novels by Lever, Lover, Cockton, Carleton, Lockhart, Warren, Gleig, Maxwell and other best-sellers, to be purchased by mail order. The "Country Gentlemen" who

apparently were seen as the likely purchasers of these more expensive works were "respectfully informed that all orders enclosing remittances, will be executed with fidelity and promptitude." Also, of course, with a mark-up for the bookseller's trouble, since the prices are generally slightly higher than those given in Piddington's advertisement of many of the same books in the Sydney Morning Herald for 1 August.

A further example of Piddington's care to maintain supplies of the latest popular successes can be seen in his 1 May advertisement in the Sydney Guardian of the Mayhews' The Image of his Father; or, One Boy, is more trouble than a Dozen Girls, published in September 1848 at seven shillings. Piddington's price of eight-and-six presumably represents his usual profit on new works. By 3 October, he had received the first number of David Copperfield, issued in May, and the collected edition of Vanity Fair (1848). From these advertisements it is obvious that colonists were kept well informed of the latest literary arrivals, with a delay of not more than a year between a popular work's publication and its reaching Australia. With Dickens' serials the delay was at its shortest, presumably because English agents sent out his works the moment they appeared. Although Vanity Fair does not seem to have been advertised in serial form, once its reputation was established booksellers lost no time in presenting the collected edition to the Australian reading public. At this period the tastes of Australian readers were obviously identical with those of English, since local booksellers automatically ordered English best-

sellers and there were no Australian authors popular enough to alter the situation. Going by booksellers' advertisements, copies of works by Charles Rowcroft, Thomas McCombie and Alexander Harris were extremely poorly supplied in comparison with those of Dickens, Lever, Cooper, Marryat and Scott.

Colman and Piddington's main rival in the Sydney bookselling trade was W. Ford, whose first advertisement appeared on 16 October 1845. Like the former, he divided his business between the supply of cheap reprints and recent publications, not forgetting the staple school texts, devotional works, periodicals and annuals. Ford's first advertisement was for "Chambers' Cheap Publications", a series featured by him throughout the decade. On 18 December 1845, his "New Books, Just arrived, ex 'Hamlet'", included some more modern works such as Dickens' seasonal Christmas Carol and Chimes and Rowcroft's Tales of the Colonies, the only advertisement for Rowcroft before 1848, when news of the success of Fanny the Little Milliner had evidently reached Australia. Ford did not advertise very extensively in 1846, concentrating mainly on "Cheap Standard Literature" by authors like Bacon, Goldsmith and Defoe, and other steady sellers such as Byron, Scott and Moore. All these authors can be found on his largest 1846 list, published on 7 December, of "Christmas Present, Prizes, and New Year's Gifts", along with Mrs. Gore's The Snow Storm, a Christmas Story, the only really modern best-seller, and additional poetry by Campbell, Rogers, Wordsworth, Shelley and Coleridge.

By 1847, Ford's business was evidently on a firmer foundation, for he inserted ten advertisements in the Herald, altogether listing over four thousand volumes, about half of the total offered by Sydney booksellers in this year. Amongst them were recent productions by Dickens, Eugene Sue, Mrs. Ellis, James and Samuel Warren, besides the usual standard authors. On 30 March, he advertised Dombey and Son, presumably the first part issued in October 1846, as well as some of the first works by Carlyle recorded for sale. Another interesting item, listed on 19 November, was Mrs. Vidal's Winterton: A Tale (1846), seemingly the only advertisement for this semi-Australian authoress before 1850, apart from those for her local publication, Tales for the Bush (1845). On 6 July he had also advertised McCombie's Arabin; or, The Adventures of a Colonist in New South Wales (1845), another Australian author who received about as little recognition from local booksellers. As can be seen, Ford was increasingly importing the latest works, including in his Christmas list on 7 December Lever's The Knight of Gwynne (1847), Henry Masterton, "July, 1847, James's last work", and Marryat's Children of the New Forest. He also dealt in the Victorian equivalent of the "Coffee table book", with such morocco-bound collections of plates as the Waverley Gallery, the Shakespeare Gallery and The Gallery of the Graces listed on 13 September as "suitable for presents for the drawing room table". Less wealthy book-buyers were, however, still catered for; on 11 August Ford announced the receipt of "his usual supply (being upwards of

ONE THOUSAND Volumes,)of Messrs. Chambers' publications". A further two thousand volumes of Chambers' "Cheap Standard Literature" were advertised on 27 September, whilst other cheap series such as the Parlour Library, the Parlour Novelist, Blackwood's Cheap Novels, Bogue's European Library, Bohn's European Standard Library and Clarke's Cabinet Library also figured in Ford's lists.

Similar trends are evident in the Fords' (now a partnership of W. and F. Ford) thirteen 1848 advertisements. Amongst the new works for sale were G.W.M. Reynolds's extremely popular The Mysteries of London (1846-50), Thackeray's Mrs. Perkin's Ball (1847) and Our Street (1848), James' Last of the Fairies (1847), Tennyson's The Princess (1847), Rowcroft's The Triumphs of Women (1847), Forster's Life and Adventures of Oliver Goldsmith (1848), Barham's Ingoldsby Legends (1847), The Diary of Samuel Pepys (2 vols., 1848) and From Oxford to Rome (1847). In many cases, these were the only copies advertised in Australia before 1850. 1849 saw a decline in the number of booksellers' advertisements, presumably as a result of the 1848 depression. Only about a tenth of the three thousand odd volumes offered for sale appeared in the Fords' seven advertisements, which were also much briefer than in the two previous years. Few new literary titles were listed, with the exception of Eliza Cook's Poems, and Marryat's The Little Savage (1848-49), advertised on 25 May. The Fords' other 1849 advertisements included a large number of theological, school and scientific books, further Chambers' cheap editions, and

the usual steady sellers like Don Quixote, Le Sage, Scott, Bulwer Lytton, Ainsworth, Burns, Dickens and Shakespeare.

Although Tegg, Colman and Piddington and the Fords were the major booksellers operating in Sydney in the eighteen-forties, several others were in business on a smaller scale, though often for only brief periods. An exception to this was William Moffitt, who carried on from the previous decade, and continued to prosper as a bookseller and stationer until the eighteen-seventies. Since he did not advertise as actively as the others already discussed, less information exists as to his characteristic stock. Going by an average of about one advertisement a year, however, he seems to have been less concerned with cheap literature, sticking to school books and standard works, though also featuring best-selling novelists. A list in the Australasian Chronicle for 21 January 1840 includes a large number of novels by Marryat, Cooper and other naval authors, besides nine works by Hazlitt, four by Thomas Moore, Wharton's edition of Pope, Lady Morgan's Book of the Boudoir, "a very excellent assortment" of French books, and "a various assortment of Standard Works, too numerous for an advertisement". No advertisements appeared in 1841, whilst the two in the New South Wales Examiner for 25 July and 8 August 1842 featured only medical works and "Stories for Beginners in French". According to the Australian Dictionary of Biography (1967, II, 242), Moffitt's prosperity enabled him to depart on a visit to England in March 1842, presumably leaving his store to a manager. His only 1843 advertisement, on 18 July, also

emphasised school books, with a few novels by Cooper and Mrs. Trollope, and he did not advertise at all in 1844 or 1845.

The growing competition from Colman and Ford may partly account for Moffitt's increased advertising in the second half of the 'forties. Many of the six for 1846 again featured school books and standards like The Arabian Nights, The Spectator, Don Quixote, Byron and Shakespeare, whilst Moffitt joined most other Sydney booksellers in advertising Catholic books, presumably to cater for the large influx of Irish immigrants following the 1845 Great Famine. Two lists for 10 October and 2 December, however, show Moffitt as the bookseller most concerned to rush out the latest English publications. The first starred Dickens' Pictures from Italy, "Published on the eve of the Packet's sailing", at the English price of seven-and-six, also including "Mrs. Gore's New Work. The Debutante; or, the London Season" (1846), The Countess of Blessington's Memoirs of a Femme de Chambre (1846), and Albert Smith's The Marchioness of Brinvilliers, the Poisoner of the Seventeenth Century (1846). In the second, were new works by Marryat, The Privateersman One Hundred Years Ago (1846) and Cooper, Ravensnest; or, the Red Skins (1846). Similarly, in 1847, Moffitt advertised on 18 February "A New Work by James - Heidelburg, a Romance", and on 25 November, Number 10 of Dombey and Son. Lever's new The Knight of Gwynne (1847) was given an extensive notice on 14 December complete with lengthy and, of course, highly favourable extracts from reviews in the Evening Mail, the Dublin Evening Mail and the Leeds Times. This advertisement

ended "N.B. - The Magazines for August will be landed in the course of the day, with several of the latest works from the London Press", again showing Moffitt doing his best to keep colonial readers abreast of the latest literature, a four months' delay being not too much worse than that experienced nowadays.

Few advertisements by Moffitt appeared in 1848 and 1849, in keeping with the overall decline in numbers of booksellers' advertisements from the peak of 1847. But it is evident that he continued to import the newest English works, advertising in 1848, Dombey and Son, Number 12, on 13 January, Number 14 for November on 23 March, and the January 1848 Number on 12 May, apparently ensuring a new number on his shelves each month, again only four months behind the original publication dates. These same advertisements also record the arrival of another serial publication, Whom to Marry, and How to Get Married, of periodicals like Bentley's and Douglas Jerrold's Magazine and of the latest volumes of the Parlour Library. Moffitt's three 1849 advertisements again concentrated on new publications, listing on 25 May some belated Christmas books, Dickens' The Haunted Man and the Ghost's Bargain and Thackeray's Doctor Buch and His Young Friends and, on 20 July, more solid fare in Macaulay's History of England and Sturt's Expedition into Central Australia (1849). His final list, for 22 October, opened with the announcement of

> A New Work, by Charles Dickens, entitled the Copperfield Survey of the World as it Rolled. . . . To be completed in Twenty Monthly Numbers, 1s. 3d. each. The first and second numbers are now on sale, the remainder will be received

monthly until completed; early application is requisite from those who would wish to become subscribers.

Even though Piddington had advertised Copperfield a few weeks earlier, here is another sign of Moffitt's determination to give Australian readers "the Last New Works", to borrow a phrase from this advertisement. Of course, he was making a good profit, since Copperfield sold for a shilling a part in England, but no doubt colonial lovers of Dickens were well prepared to pay the extra for such prompt receipt of his latest work. In general, Moffitt and other Australian booksellers of this period did not markedly increase prices of new books. In this same advertisement, for example, Disraeli's Coningsby at seven-and-six and Dickens' Barnaby Rudge, Bulwer Lytton's Eugene Aram, Pelham, Paul Clifford and Rienzi at five shillings each are identical with the London prices given in the English Catalogue.

Besides Moffitt and Tegg, George Evans was another Sydney bookseller who carried over from the eighteen-thirties. Although he did not advertise his books until 1842, some idea of his stock was given by the Australian, certainly the booksellers' friend at this time, on 17 November 1840:

> Mr. Evans has on sale some most useful and meritorious standard works: Rodger's [sic] Pleasures of Memory and Campbell's Pleasures of Hope, are among the number. These are printed in cheap form, and constitute a portion of what is called "The People's Edition". We would advise the public to pay Mr. E. a visit, as his collection of standard works is excellent.

Chambers' People's Edition evidently continued to be the mainstay of Evans' stock, since it took up most of his advertisement in the Australian for 23 September 1842. It

was, of course, founded on standard works, featuring on the literary side, Robinson Crusoe for one-and-eight, Bacon's Essays and The Vicar of Wakefield for eightpence each and Crabbe's Parish Register, and Other Poems for sixpence, with an occasional more recent work, such as Currie's Life of Robert Burns for one-and-two and Mrs. Hall's Stories of the Irish Peasantry for one-and-nine. Evans' only other advertisement had appeared in the same paper on 12 August 1842.

NEW BOOKS

THE following form part of a collection of standard works, just received . . . they are in elegant morocco and less expensive bindings. The greater portion is illustrated with exquisite engravings, by the most eminent English Artists, and has been published within the present or past year; a few, it will be seen, are reprints of the Standard English writers, and are in volumes of a size uniform to Murray's edition of Lord Byron's Works.

Amongst the authors were Scott, Byron, Moore, Burns, Mrs. Hemans, Swift, Smollett and Fielding, with a few more recent works by Lever, Mrs. Ellis, William Howitt and Ainsworth and an unusually large number of early dramatists - Beaumont and Fletcher, Wycherly, Congreve, Ford, Massinger, and Ben Jonson.

Evans' departure from business was recorded, also in the Australian, on 3 January 1843: "This gentleman, so long known in the colony, and so highly respected, has retired from active life, and has been succeeded in the book and stationery business by a Mr. Clarke." Clarke evidently did not take over Evans' loyalty to the Australian, his first advertisement appearing a week later in the Sydney Morning Herald. Like most others of the time, it included works by Dickens, Lever,

Marryat, Harriet Martineau, "Sam Slick", Campbell, Moore, Cowper, Thomson and Mrs. Hemans, besides a great variety of school books. Since no further advertisements for Clarke have been seen, one assumes that, like many of the smaller booksellers of this period, his career was brief and unprosperous. An exception to this was John Sands, though his success was based on stationery and printing rather than booksales. The New South Wales Examiner for 27 April 1842 printed his first advertisement, for school books, presumably the mainstay of his business in the 'forties. On 18 March 1846, he also joined several other booksellers in advertising Catholic works, appropriately in the Morning Chronicle, and offered his first literary books - Dickens' Cricket on the Hearth and Cruikshank's Table Book - in the Herald on 12 June the same year. His only other advertisement, for 23 March 1848, featured similar popular works like the cheap edition of The Pickwick Papers and Lever's new The Knight of Gwynne.

Amongst other smaller booksellers operating in Sydney in the eighteen-forties were G. and C. Morley, who first advertised their Circulating Library and Stationery Warehouse in the Australasian Chronicle on 13 August 1842. Like Sands', their stock was mainly school books and Protestant and Catholic devotional works, together with some of the usual popular and standard authors like Dickens, Lever, Pope, Burns, Milton, Cowper, Scott and Goldsmith. They seem to have remained in business at least until the middle of 1846. A briefer, but more spectacular career was that of Mr. John B. Edmonds, whose

entry into the Sydney book trade was extensively heralded in the Colonial Literary Journal for 4 July 1844.

LITERARY - We have been favoured with a perusal of a catalogue of valuable books which have been imported by Mr. J.B. Edmonds, and which are now open for public inspection at his residence, Darling House, Fort-street. They comprise the best works that have been issued from the press, upon every branch of literature and science, and are well worthy attention, both for their cheapness and real value, of the scientific and literary portions of the community. - We understand that Mr. Edmonds has made arrangements with an extensive bookseller in Europe, for keeping up a continual supply of the most popular and useful works; and that he is prepared to import books to order, at the London price, without any additional expense to those persons requiring them. We have no doubt this excellent opportunity of procuring books from Europe will be found advantageous, and will be readily embraced by those who wish to augment their libraries. - Communicated.

An equally grand advertisement in the Herald a month earlier gave more information on the source of Edmonds' books:

TO THE LEARNED PROFESSIONS,
The Committee of the School of Arts, the Heads of the Colleges, Clubs, and Schools, and all Lovers of the Fine Arts and Literature in New South Wales.

THE undersigned having arrived from London, per Her Majesty's first mail packet Mary Sharp, begs leave to make known to the above branches, that he has been appointed sole Agent to the House of H.G. Bohn, the celebrated Bookseller, of York-street, Covent Garden, from which firm he has imported one of the most splendid collections of Books, of every description of English and Foreign Literature, together with the Fine Arts, ever offered to an Australian public.

In keeping with this peroration, Edmonds' stock featured medical, zoological, classical and standard works, with a few lighter volumes by Marryat, Cockton, Maria Edgeworth and Lamb. A later advertisement in the Weekly Register for 19 July 1844, shows Edmonds hoped purchasers would come in addition from "Clergymen, Schoolmasters, Teachers, Scholars, Merchants, Masters of Vessels, Captains, Artists, and all Lovers of Arts, Sciences and General Literature". Besides many works designed

to tempt these worthies, his list also included several books by Mrs. Ellis, Samuel Warren's Diary of a Late Physician and "a great variety of novels", presumably of appeal as well to women, small tradesmen, settlers, and other more lowly types of readers. By the following year, however, it was evident that Edmonds' eloquent advertisements and London connections were not sufficient. On 21 August, he advertised a list "Selling Off at Reduced Prices", including a number of modern novels, Fielding's and Burns' Works and Valpy's Pictorial Shakespeare, all at prices below those given in the English Catalogue of Books. But even these bargains did not save Edmonds and, a month later, on 12 and 13 September, T.S. Mort auctioned the "remaining portion of Mr. J.B. Edmonds' valuable stock". The catalogue for this sale, in the Mitchell Library, lists about two thousand volumes, just over a quarter being works of imaginative literature. They included most of those mentioned in Edmonds' advertisements besides, among many other commoner authors, three copies of Donne's Devotions and Selections.

Another bookseller who first appeared on the Sydney scene at the end of 1844 was P.J. Cregin. He seems to have had a more successful career than Edmonds, perhaps because of a great diversity of interests, working as an auctioneer as well as a bookseller proper and even, as has been seen, taking books to Maitland for auction. An advertisement in the Morning Chronicle for 14 December 1844, lists among about three hundred volumes on sale at "Cregin's Book Mart, Hunter-street", works by Scott, Shakespeare, Marryat, Lever and Cockton, besides the

usual school books, religious and practical works, drawing-room annuals and collections of plates. A similar range appears in his only other list, in the same paper on 14 January 1846, which included in its modern authors Hazlitt's Lectures on English Comic Writers (1819), Thackeray's Comic Tales and Sketches, Lady Morgan's Dramatic Scenes (1833) and Child Rocliffe's Pilgrimage (1833) by the American novelist J.K. Paulding. Cregin's name and use of the Catholic Morning Chronicle suggests he was one of a number of Irish booksellers who commenced business in Sydney in the mid-'forties, perhaps as a consequence of the increase in Irish immigration at this time. Others were Charles Magee and P. M'Cormick, both of whom began advertising in 1845, though Magee had appeared as a book-buyer - "Ready Money given for Libraries and parcels of Books" - in the Weekly Register as far back as 12 August 1843. This same issue of the Register contained a similar advertisement by one "M. Smith, King-street, corner of Castlereagh-street", who has left no other record of his trade in books. Both men were presumably cashing in on the 1843 depression when books seem to have been among the first possessions sold. The only advertisement for Magee as a bookseller, in the Sentinel for 26 February 1845, was for forty-four volumes of school books. A year later, his stock was up for auction by Blackman on 23, 24 and 25 July. The catalogue for this sale, also in the Mitchell Library, shows that while school books may have been Magee's staple, he also stocked the usual range of theological, practical, historical

and travel books, besides standard authors like Milton, Gray, Pope, Crabbe, Scott, Johnson, Thomson, Smollett, Burns, Dryden, Byron, Cowper and Shakespeare. There were, however, very few modern authors apart from Bulwer Lytton, Cooper, Coleridge, Moore and Campbell. The most interesting feature of this catalogue is the inclusion of multiple copies of two of the earliest volumes of Australian poetry - six of Beverley Suttor's Poems (1839) and no less than twenty-one of Harpur's Thoughts. A Series of Sonnets (1845) - abundant evidence, in the latter case at least, of the poor estimation in which Australian readers held local poetry. A further hundred volumes owned by Magee, presumably his personal library, were advertised after his death for sale by Cohen on 27 October 1846.

Mr. M'Cormick's first advertisement, for 21 June 1845, labels him a "Law and Standard Bookseller. Sign of the Acts of the Council. 94, King-street East", and lists mainly medical works. Later advertisements, on 5 July and 23 August, however, included works by Shakespeare, Milton, Cowper and Thomas Moore, while on 1 May 1847 he offered a range of modern novels by Miller, Eugene Sue, Carleton and W.J. O'Neill Daunt as well as some of the cheap volumes of Duffy's Irish Library.

This collection was also stocked by another Irish bookseller, newspaper editor and proprietor, Michael D'Arcy, who first advertised in the Weekly Dispatch on 10 July 1847. Besides the Irish Library and other publications by Duffy, D'Arcy carried a good range of school books and the usual

standard literature, histories, travel and medical books. Like the other Irish booksellers, he did not import many modern novels, apart from those by Irish writers like Carleton. He evidently decided that South Australia offered more opportunities for bookselling than Sydney, for he began advertising in Adelaide in 1848.

Apart from these larger and smaller booksellers, many other persons were obviously selling books in Sydney during the eighteen-forties, usually as a sideline to some other business. Some are known by only one advertisement; a Morris Meek, for example, on 3 August 1846 listed twenty-one volumes on sale at his Stationery Warehouse. These included Robinson Crusoe for three shillings, Ainsworth's Jack Sheppard for four and Scott's Prose and Poetry for three-and-six a volume. Meek's stock and prices suggest he was catering chiefly for the lower class reader, with stationery as his main business. On 28 November of the same year, Woods and Meehan had about one hundred volumes of Duffy's Irish Library on sale at their "Dublin House", presumably a general store, together with some Catholic devotional works. The latter were also the stock-in-trade of one J. Moore, who advertised them on 2 June 1849. Shortly afterwards, on 4 July, a small collection of books, including Boydell's edition of Shakespeare, was listed on behalf of the storekeepers Kern and Mader of Hunter Street.

Other booksellers are known only from their appearances in auctioneers' advertisements and catalogues. On 4 February 1847, Mr. Heydon was to sell "The stock-in-trade of a Stationer (Mr. Tucker, George Street) who is leaving Sydney", possibly

the William Tucker, former proprietor of the Maitland Mercury, who advertised his Sydney business there in 1845. Like most stationers who also sold a few books, Tucker's stock was mainly school and religious works, with the odd standard anthology like Gems of Cowper. A bookseller on a larger scale, who had died intestate, one John Hogan, had "about 600 Volumes various Books, Fixtures, &c. &c." auctioned, "By Order of the Master in Equity", by T.S. Mort on 25 February 1848. And, on 29 May 1849, one hundred volumes of "good works" were advertised for auction by Moore as "The Stock-in-trade of a general dealer who is going to California".

Thus, there were a number of stratifications amongst Sydney booksellers of the eighteen-forties. At the top were the large firms whose main trade was books - James Tegg, Colman and Piddington, the Fords and William Moffitt - though they also had subsidiary interests such as printing and stationery. Then followed the smaller dealers, relying more on stationery and other goods, and catering for certain particular classes of readers with law books, school texts, religious and Irish works. Following them were the general storekeepers who sometimes included books among their stock, and, a class discussed in more detail in the next chapter, the circulating librarians, who also usually sold books as a sideline. Two other varieties of booksellers were the newspaper editor or proprietor and the bookstall owner. Some examples of the former have already been mentioned in relation to country centres. In Sydney, the chief seller of this class was W.A. Duncan, better known as editor of the Australasian Chronicle

and Weekly Register, and friend and encourager of Henry Parkes, Charles Harpur and literature and radical politics in general. He had, however, been a bookseller and publisher at Aberdeen for five years before emigrating to Australia[23a], and his Australian stock reflects his wide knowledge of ancient and modern languages. On 3 December 1840, Duncan advertised a variety of works in the Australasian Chronicle, using its office as his bookshop. Besides a number of his own publications, mainly theological and political pamphlets, though including his one shilling translation of Aroldo and Clara, a tale from the Italian of Silvio Pellico (1840), he offered sets of "One Hundred and Ten New Volumes for £15.15s., forming a unique library of the works of popular Authors". As one would expect, nearly all were novels by such popular authors as Washington Irving, Cooper, Ainsworth, Hook, Thomas Miller, Lady Blessington and many others. Since some of them, for example, Mrs. Grey's The Duke, J.P. Robertson's Solomon Seesaw and the anonymous Husband Hunter, had appeared only the year before in three volume editions at the usual price of one-and-a-half guineas, the colonial reader was really being offered a bargain. Duncan evidently saw the value of these sets for bush dwellers, advising that

> . . . ladies and gentlemen in the country desiring to possess themselves of so valuable a collection of standard works at such an immense reduction from the original publishing prices, can address a letter to Mr. Duncan (with an enclosure), and the parcel will be forwarded to any part of the colony.

Besides the sets, Duncan's collection included a number of other books "at from fifty to one hundred per cent. below the original English published prices", amongst them, Smollett's

[23a] See Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. I (1966), p.336.

and Fielding's Works, Nicholas Nickleby, Lockhart's Life of Scott and Shelley's Essays, perhaps French pirated editions.

By 1843, Duncan had established his "Depository of English and European Literature, King-street, East", publishing a lengthy list of the English titles available in his Weekly Register on 25 November. As might be expected, they ranged widely in both subject matter and date of publication, from "Addison's (Joseph) Works, complete, 4 vols. quarto, calf, neat, £4. 4s., Tonson's edition, 1730" to "Dickens' (Charles) Master Humphrey's Clock, 3 vols. royal 8vo. 11. 16s.", the bibliographical details being more complete than those given by any other contemporary bookseller. There were several other works by Dickens, and several also by Cowper, Dryden, Washington Irving, Thomas Moore and Shakespeare, together with such colonial curiosities as Sir Thomas More's Utopia or the Best State of a Commonwealth for three shillings, Barry Cornwall's 1838 edition of Ben Jonson for one pound and "Brydges' (Sir E.), Res Literariæ, 3 vols., 8vo., elegant, £1. 17s. 6d. - Only 75 copies of this work were printed, Vol. I at Naples, Vol. II at Rome, and Vol. III at Geneva." As can be seen from these few examples, Duncan's stock was on a much higher literary and intellectual plane than Tegg's, his only real rival at this time. On 16 December, Duncan advertised a further collection of over one hundred volumes of French books, including one of the first Australian appearances of a work by Balzac. Despite, or perhaps because, of the literary excellence of his stock,

Duncan does not seem to have prospered as a bookseller; one presumes his failure in this line contributed to the financial difficulties resulting in his going to Moreton Bay as customs officer in May 1846.

On 30 November 1840, Charles Kemp of the Sydney Morning Herald had offered the same sets of cheap publications as Duncan, in an advertisement, moreover, identically worded. Again, separate works were also listed "at greatly reduced prices", including Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Letters and Works in two volumes for sixteen-and-six, besides many of those for sale by Duncan. Another to offer sets of books was the auctioneer William Yates, who advertised in the Free Press on 13 January 1841, "twenty-nine of the most popular novels of the day, each complete in one volume, for £2.2.0." As the titles make clear, this was the Novel Newspaper in its earliest appearance in Australia. Despite the cheapness, Yates evidently had difficulty in finding buyers, perhaps because the type of persons to whom these books appealed did not have two guineas to spare. He had apparently expected small booksellers to be his main customers since a note at the end of the advertisement states "Five per cent allowed where ten copies are taken". On 30 June, he advertised the same sets at £1.12s.6d., and presumably was able to sell them at this reduced rate. It is noticeable that later booksellers all offered the Novel Newspaper in single volumes at one or two shillings each.

Amongst the smaller booksellers who may have bought some of Yates' sets were the proprietors of the Sydney bookstalls, although the earliest reference to them dates from the Sydney

Morning Herald of 17 May 1842:

BUYERS AND EXCHANGERS OF BOOKS

Of late a great number of persons have engaged in book-selling on a small scale; that is, by selling from stalls in the streets. On some of these are to be seen very excellent works, new as well as second-hand books, and these parties are ready to buy any bargain they can get hold of. There are also regular shows where books are bought and exchanged.

Naturally, the proprietors of bookstalls did not often bother advertising their wares. One of two exceptions was a certain Mr. McHugh who announced in the Morning Chronicle of 25 September 1844:

BOOKS! BOOKS!! BOOKS!!!

The following Genuine Books, are on Sale at Mr. M'Hugh's Book Stall, George-street, corner of Hunter-street . . . Moore's Prose and Poetical Works, 5 vols. . . . Plunkett's Australian Magistrate, last edition, . . . Mitchell's Australian Expeditions . . . Lang's History of New South Wales . . . In fact among his collection (of 1500 vols.) will be found something to suit the tastes of all.

Mr. M. intimates to the Public, that he gives a liberal price for Libraries, or small parcels of new or old books in all Languages.

One is amazed at the extent of Mr. McHugh's stock, and wonders just what he would have called a non-genuine book. Another bookstall owner advertised on 17 October 1846 in the Will O' the Wisp, a paper as ephemeral as its name, with apparently a mainly working class circulation.

CHEAP READING

J. Cook, Proprietor of the BOOK STALL, at the end of the Old Burial Ground Wall, George-street, begs to inform his friends and the public, that he has a large STOCK OF BOOKS on hand for Sale, also a CIRCULATING LIBRARY, consisting of the most Popular Novels.

J.C. will also lend books at sixpence per week only!

Some bookstall owners seem to have had a longer career than some of the more formal booksellers, perhaps showing that the lower classes, presumably their main patrons, were better read

than one might imagine from other sources. Certainly, Cook was still in business by 28 July 1847, when the Morning Chronicle reported "On Saturday night last, sometime after twelve o'clock, some thief removed one of the boards at the back of Mr. Cook's book-stall, near St. Andrew's Cathedral, George-street, and stole therefrom about forty volumes of valuable books." No doubt the bookstalls were flimsily constructed and an easy object of prey. Ironically, bookstall owners, like night auctioneers, were themselves attacked as receivers of stolen books. On 11 April 1846, this advertisement appeared in Bell's Life in Sydney:

STOLEN
FROM THIS OFFICE

A VOLUME of the 5th Edition of "Fistiana". The Book has the owner's name, Hugh Fred. O'Donnell, written across the leaf on several pages. The work has been traced to a book-stall in Hunter-Street, where it was purchased by the HONEST? genius of the place, for the sum of three shillings, and is now supposed to be in the possession of some gentleman in the interior, who re-purchased it from the aforesaid HONEST book-stall man in Hunter-street.

Any information leading to its restoration, or to the conviction of the thief, will be thankfully received, and moderate renumeration granted. Apply to the Editor of this paper.

As this had hit so near home, an attack on bookstalls was printed in the same issue:

BOOK STALLS - The facilities afforded for the disposal of stolen books by the proprietors of book stalls in Sydney, call for an immediate check. We did hunt down that species of pawnbroking which held out encouragement to theft of another description, and are now determined to give the receivers of stolen books the quietus. It is become next to impossible for an individual to retain a book in his possession on which he sets any value, so long as the thief can get an unprincipled purchaser, and when the bargain is closed, the book is laid in plant, until some gentleman from the interior enquires of the bookseller if he have got a book of such a description, when it is immediately produced from its hiding place, and a profit of 100 per cent

obtained. This we understand has been the fate of a book of Mr. O'Donnell's, advertised in another part of our paper, and has been the fate of several others, no doubt.

Although Bell's Life was probably exaggerating the prevalence of book-stealing in Sydney, this does seem to indicate an interest in reading and a demand for books unslaked by the large numbers advertised for sale. A reply to these charges, in the Sydney Transcript for 18 April 1846, provides some further interesting information on the history and operation of bookstalls in Sydney. It stated that the first bookstall had "commenced some five and a half years ago, and was situated in Hunter street" and claimed

> . . . were it not for their exertions in procuring second-hand copies of the best works published, at auction and private sales, which they are enabled to dispose of at considerably under the publishing price, very many of those works would remain a dead letter to the greater portion of the community.

Since neither of the two bookstall advertisements seen gave many details about their stock, one does not know just how appropriate this encomium was. Certainly, McHugh did not stock only the cheap novels, ballads, and so on, that one may have imagined, even if Cook's library did. From these few scraps of information, it seems the first bookstall in Sydney was established sometime towards the end of 1840, with one at least still functioning in 1847. Stall holders differed from booksellers proper in avoiding not only the expenses of a formal shop but also those of importing books from England, buying all their wares in the colony. They were most likely the main purchasers of those queerly assorted lots of books auctioneers sometimes delighted in.

Since many auctions were of new books, they were not entirely second-hand dealers, although they did serve as buyers and exchangers of books. Because of their cheap prices and more casual atmosphere, they were probably the chief suppliers of reading matter, for purchase or loan, to the poorer and working classes.

Apart from an almost complete absence of bookstalls, bookselling in other Australian centres during the eighteen-forties was much as in Sydney, though naturally on a smaller scale. There were, however, in these years no less than nine hundred and at most nearly sixteen thousand volumes advertised for auction at Hobart, and more variable numbers, from just over one hundred to over eleven thousand at Launceston, besides those available from the booksellers. The main Hobart book auctioneers throughout the decade were T.Y. Lowes, W.T. Macmichael, who became partners in 1846, and John Stracey, with four or five others prominent at various times. Many of the auctions conducted in 1840 were sales of private libraries, to be discussed later. Others show similar patterns to those held in Sydney; one by Macmichael, advertised on 17 January,[24] for example, included works by Shakespeare, Goldsmith, Cowper, Thomson, Pope, Butler, Burns and Byron. A similar concentration on standard authors is seen in other advertisements, by Macmichael on 4 August and by D. Taylor on 1 December, though the former also included some more modern authors like Scott, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Galt, Harriet

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24 Unless otherwise stated, Hobart book advertisements appeared in the Hobart Town Courier.

Martineau and Dickens, besides a number of French and Italian works. Amongst these, besides the usual names of Rousseau, Molière, Voltaire, Racine and Madame de Staël, were Victor Hugo, and a colonial rarity in Balzac.

Of the six book auctions advertised in Hobart in 1841, most were again held by Macmichael and mainly featured standard works, with an occasional popular volume by Ainsworth, Mrs. Ellis or Hood. An exception was his first sale for the year, announced on 15 January, of "Ten Cases STANDARD WORKS AND NOVELS", mostly Novel Newspaper reprints. The last sale for the year, advertised by Lowes on 25 November, also included a number of novels, by modern authors like Samuel Warren, Dickens, Dana and Marryat and by old favorites like Mrs. Radcliffe, R.M. Roche, Elizabeth Hamilton, and Mrs. Helme, as well as the usual poetry of Byron, Cowper and Burns. Apart from one sale by Lowes, again at the end of the year, all the book auctions in 1842 were conducted by a newcomer, John Stracey. He held three large sales of one thousand, nine hundred and one thousand volumes on 23 February, 12 March and 21 October respectively, but only the last was advertised in any detail, in the Hobart Town Advertiser for 18 October. It contained the usual literary works by Milton, Thomson, Young, Byron, and Dickens. A slightly smaller collection of just over five hundred volumes, advertised in the same paper on 4 March, was an equally unexceptional offering of "The Works of Scott - Marryat - James - Bulwer - Ainsworth - Dickens - Cooper - Neale - Morgan - Opie - Burn [sic], and other celebrated and popular authors." In contrast to these large sales in 1842, 1843,

depression year, saw nothing of note, apart from a few sales of private libraries, and the situation was not greatly improved in 1843. Two advertisements by D. Taylor in the Hobart Town Advertiser listed, on 20 September, some "New and Entertaining Books", including Master Humphrey's Clock, eighteen volumes of Colburn's Standard Novels and five of Bentley's Miscellany, as well as the usual Shakespeare and Scott, and, on 1 November, several copies of Novel Newspaper reprints. One final advertisement, in the same paper on 20 December, was for a sale by Lowes of many standard library editions such as Johnson's Lives of the Poets in seventy-five volumes, the twenty-five-volume British Theatre, British Novelists in forty volumes and Malone's Shakespeare in thirteen.

1845 saw a marked increase in the number of books auctioned in Hobart - about three and a half thousand volumes, including two thousand in one sale by Stracey. Again, on the literary side, most of them were by the usual standard authors, an exception being a sale advertised by Taylor in the Hobart Town Advertiser for 30 September which included modern works by Cockton, Lever, Ainsworth and Marryat, and a fairly rare item, Spenser's Faërie Queene. Although Taylor, Stracey and others continued to auction books in 1846, the largest sale was held by the new partnership of Lowes and Macmichael who, on 31 July, listed in the Hobart Town Advertiser, "Two Cases of Damaged Books, containing 1700 volumes being reprints of

Novels etc." The titles imply this was a further importation of the Novel Newspaper. While ten book auctions were advertised in Hobart in 1847, in several cases the numbers for sale were not stated, and hence the figures for this year show a marked and probably unwarranted decline. Even when volume numbers were given, titles for sale were frequently unlisted, the only reasonably complete advertisements being John Stracey's on 19 October and D. Taylor's on 24 December, both in the Hobart Town Advertiser. Stracey claimed,

> THE BEST COLLECTION OF BOOKS hitherto presented to the public notice in this colony, being late and genuine editions of the most popular and varied authors, handsomely bound, embellished, and adorned with numerous first rate plates and engravings, viz -
>
> The Works of James, Marryat, Victor Hugo, Morier, Grattan, Bulwer, Mrs. Trollope, Mrs. Gore, Godwin, Cooper, Ainsworth, Lockhart, Wordsworth, Laman Blanchard, Dickens, Mrs. Ellis, Boz, Scott, Chalmers, McDiarmid, Loudon, Walton, Cochrane, etc. etc.

The proportion and pride of place given to modern novelists amongst these "most popular" authors is noteworthy, as is the inclusion of Wordsworth. Many of these writers reappeared in Taylor's list, which also contained recent works by Lever, Lover, Cockton, Carleton and Thackeray, as well as the most popular older novels like Gil Blas, Robinson Crusoe, Don Quixote and Peregrine Pickle.

1848 saw the largest number of volumes offered for auction of any year in this decade, nearly sixteen thousand, including three thousand advertised by Taylor on 5 February, which from the appended quotation seem to have come from Lumley and Co.; "5000 Play Books, comprising most of all the modern plays extant", by Francis and Pyle in the Hobart Town Advertiser for 15 August; and a further five thousand volumes by Hay and Ivey

in the Britannia and Trades' Advocate on 9 November. In contrast to the previous year, these sales consisted mainly of standard authors like Addison, Akenside, Goldsmith, Cowper, Bunyan, Burns, Fielding, Gray, Milton, Pope, Shakespeare, Sterne and Young, with a few of the more popular moderns, Ainsworth, Byron, Cooper, Edgeworth, Southey and Scott. Although fifteen book auctions were advertised in 1849, only one less than in 1848, again many were not listed in any detail, so one sees another possibly false decline in the number of volumes for sale. Modern authors were the most frequently listed in this year, a new auctioneer, Mr. Worley, offering in the Hobart Town Advertiser on 20 July, "Choice Popular Works, the writings of Theodore Hook, Bulwer, Ward, James, Marriott /sic/, Mrs. Gore, H. Smith, Mrs. Hall, Mary Howitt, etc." Again one notes a preponderance of novelists, also to be seen in the "Monster Sale of Books", advertised by Lowes and Macmichael in the Colonial Times on 4 December, in good time for Christmas. Their authors were Ainsworth, the Countess of Blessington, Bulwer Lytton, Disraeli, Maria Edgeworth, James, Samuel Lover, L.E.L., Miss Mitford, Roscoe, Scott, Mrs. Trollope, Thackeray and Dickens.

In contrast, Launceston book auctioneers were more conservative in their eighteen-forties' offerings, though again many advertisements failed to detail the works for sale. Of twelve auctions announced in 1840, for example, totalling nearly five thousand volumes, only four in the later half of the year listed any titles. J.W. Bell's, in the Launceston

Courier on 12 October, mentioned works by Pope and Cowper, whilst George Eddie's, in the same paper a week later, featured Goldsmith, Byron, Johnson, Shakespeare and the Edinburgh Review. A similar situation prevailed with the half as many auctions advertised in 1841, though Eddie's list in the Launceston Advertiser for 7 January did include modern works by Cooper, Marryat and Dickens. Only just over a hundred volumes were advertised in 1842, amongst them copies of the Waverley Novels, Shakespeare's Plays, Cowper's Poems and the Spectator by Eddie in the Launceston Courier on 10 January, and works by Pope and Cooper by Mr. Kirby in the Launceston Examiner on 8 October.[25] A further emphasis on standard authors can be seen in the larger number of volumes, over fifteen hundred, advertised the following year. On 28 January, B. Francis offered works by Shakespeare and Johnson, and by Milton and Scott on 24 June. Whilst Mr. Underwood's first 1843 sale, on 30 March, included Thomas Moore, James, Dickens and Mrs. Ellis among its authors, his later ones featured Thomson, Bunyan, Crabbe, Shakespeare, Scott, Cowper, Goldsmith and Burns.

In 1844, once again, only very few titles of the two thousand, seven hundred odd volumes advertised for sale were listed in the newspapers. Mr. Weedon's announcement in the Cornwall Chronicle on 6 April did, however, show a preponderance of modern works by Byron, Scott, Bulwer Lytton, Cooper, Dickens, "Sam Slick" and Lever, perhaps his reason for giving this

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[25] Unless otherwise indicated, all subsequent Launceston book advertisements appeared in this paper.

unusual detail. In contrast, the only 1845 auctioneer to consistently list titles, Francis, again offered mainly standard works, with an occasional appearance of Byron, Cooper, Mrs. Ellis and Southey.[26] In the following year, he included Shelley and Coleridge, as well as Byron, Pope, Young, Shakespeare and Goldsmith, in his one advertisement of 7 November. As in 1846, there were only four book auctions advertised in Launceston in 1847. Two, both of seven hundred volumes, were held by Francis, but only the first, in the Cornwall Chronicle for 3 February, was listed in any detail. Besides five hundred volumes of unspecified "popular novels", it included the usual works by Bunyan, Cowper and Byron. A later sale by Underwood and Eddie, partners since 1845, on 4 July, featured Nicholas Nickleby, as well as Shakespeare, The Arabian Nights and Paul and Virginia. These same auctioneers held two large sales of three thousand and one thousand volumes on 8 January and 12 August 1848, but only a few titles from the latter were listed: modern works by Lever, Frederika Bremer and Reynolds and standards by Shakespeare, Le Sage and Cowper. Francis, both before and after joining-up with Pyle in the middle of 1848, continued to feature mainly standards, together with a few titles by Scott and Dickens and some Novel Newspaper reprints. Over eleven thousand volumes were advertised by Launceston auctioneers in 1849, by far the most for any year in the decade. Again few sales were listed in any detail; no titles appeared in Underwood and Eddie's advertisement on 31 October

[26] See the Cornwall Chronicle for 8 March, 30 July, 1 November.

for an auction of three thousand volumes, but by some good fortune the complete catalogue has survived in the Mitchell Library. It is another of those issued by Edward Lumley, with the customary quotations and exhortions to buyers, and a similar range of books. On the literary side there were many standard works by Bunyan, Burns, Milton, Pope and the other major eighteenth-century authors, together with more recent productions by Coleridge, Carleton, Miss Bremer, Dickens, Mrs. Gore, Gerald Griffin, William and Mary Howitt and Eugene Sue. From their general popularity, all of these, no doubt, found a ready market. And while Charles Rowcroft's Chronicles of the Fleet Prison (1847), in its only pre-1850 appearance, may not have been so sought after, competition was probably keen for some works on Australia thoughtfully included by Lumley: David Mackenzie's Emigrant's Guide, or Ten Years Practical Experience in Australia (1845) and Leigh's Reconnoitering Voyages, Travels and Adventures in South Australia (1839).

As in most contemporary Australian centres, auctioneers dominated the bookselling scene in Launceston in the eighteen-forties, few works being advertised there by booksellers proper. Henry Dowling remained the main bookseller, advertising about fifty volumes in 1840, including, in the Launceston Advertiser for 10 September, works by Bulwer Lytton, Cooper, Marryat, Dickens, "Sam Slick", and "Small lots of very cheap novels", showing that at this time he was more up-to-date than the auctioneers. No advertisements by him appeared in 1841 or 1842, the years of his visit to England, and only a few volumes

were listed in 1843 and 1844, none of much literary interest. After another blank year in 1845, Dowling took the unusual step, on 14 March 1846, of having his old books auctioned off, intending to reopen with new stock. This, listed in the Launceston Advertiser for 6 July, included eighty-six "Standard Novels", amongst them several titles by each of Miss Porter, Godwin, Jane Austen, Bulwer Lytton, Mrs. Gore, Cooper, Morier, Hook, James, Marryat, Mrs. Trollope, Ainsworth, Susan Ferrier, T.C. Grattan and Eugene Sue, besides a rarity in Peacock's Headlong Hall (1816). All were offered at "BELOW LONDON PRICES". Dowling continued to advertise mainly modern works in 1847 and 1848, though in the latter year he also listed standards by Cowper, Burns, Milton, Young, Pope, Byron and others as "Present or Prize Books" for children. No advertisements by him seem to have appeared in 1849.

Samuel Tegg, brother of the Sydney bookseller James Tegg, and since 1837 the major Hobart bookseller, commenced a Launceston branch in 1844, his first advertisement appearing on 27 November. Like Dowling's, his literary stock was largely modern novels, though he advertised neither extensively nor often between this date and the announcement on 9 October 1847 that he had "sold out to Robert Blake, under whose management the business was conducted during the absence of the former gentleman in England." Blake also concentrated on modern best-selling novels, listing on 24 November 1847 works by Dickens, Lever, Carleton, Samuel Lover, Marryat and Bulwer Lytton, besides seventeen volumes of the Parlour Novelist. An even larger advertisement by Blake on 22 January 1848 included

many of these same authors, together with works by James and Miss Bremer, twelve volumes of Punch, Fanny Burney's Diary and Letters (7 vols., 1842), and some standards by Sterne, Bunyan, Johnson, Pope, Defoe and Shakespeare. A month later, on 23 February, he offered volumes by Mrs. Gore, Mrs. Hall, Mrs. Ellis, Charlotte Elizabeth, and, very odd man out among these Victorian ladies, Milton. Despite his evident attempt to supply the Launceston reading public with the most popular standard and modern works, on 21 April 1849 C.J. Weedon advertised for auction "the estate of Robert Blake, insolvent - Several hundred volumes of new books on every kind of literature, with those of the circulating library."

Perhaps Blake's decline was hastened not only by the 1848 depression, but by the arrival of more serious competition than Dowling seems to have offered. Hawley and Co., who had been selling books in Hobart since 1845, opened a Launceston branch in 1849. On the literary side, they provided the usual mixture of modern and standard authors - Dickens, including his most recent, Dombey and Son, Scott, Mrs. Ellis, Dumas, Byron, Carleton, Cowper, Burns and Defoe - and the much less common R.W. Emerson and Sheridan. Like the other major Launceston booksellers of the 'forties, they were prepared to lend books as well, this advertisement ending "Dombey and Son, Roland Cashel/ by Lever /, and Periodicals Lent to Read", and further diversified their business by selling stationery, school and children's books, knitting needles, toys, cricket bats, perfumery and various other fancy goods. Such items

presumably were also sold by some of the smaller purveyors of books who had advertised in Launceston earlier in the decade. "The Little Emporium of Arts" listed works by Byron and Bulwer Lytton in the Launceston Advertiser for 19 March 1840, while a similarly titled, but not perhaps the same, "Little Emporium of Books, Toys, etc." offered Byron's Works, novels by Cooper and Marryat, and Novel Newspaper reprints in the Courier on 8 February 1841. A "Little Repository of Books, Stationery and Toys" had advertised, in the Cornwall Chronicle of 13 September 1840, popular works like Regina Roche's Children of the Abbey, Oliver Twist and Pierce Egan's Boxiana. The existence of another delightfully named little book shop, "The Pic Nic Shop", is known only from an advertisement of its decease. Amongst "the remaining stock in trade" Francis announced for auction in the Courier on 29 November 1841, were, appropriately, both the Pickwick Papers and Reynolds's imitation Pickwick Abroad and, less expectedly, Johnson's Lives of the Poets. The more prosaically named "Stationery and Toy Warehouse" also stocked mostly modern bestsellers like Lever, Dickens, "Sam Slick", Byron and Thomas Moore, together with the always popular annuals.[27]

As in other centres, certain general storekeepers in Launceston also included books among their stock from time to time. On 31 December 1842, Messrs. Cullen and Boon advertised school and children's books on sale at their Albert House, Charles-street, whilst, later, on 23 March 1849, Francis and Pyle auctioned five hundred volumes of books "at

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[27] See advertisements in the Courier, 6 February 1842, the Examiner, 23 April 1842, and the Cornwall Chronicle, 2 Sept.1843.

the stores of Mr. George Robinson, in consequence of his proceeding to the Mauritius". Another seller of books in early Australia, the newspaper editor or proprietor, was not as pronounced in Launceston as in newer provincial centres like Goulburn or Geelong, though Henry Dowling was associated with several papers in the 'forties, and on 18 March 1846, over thirty volumes were advertised for sale at the Launceston Examiner Office. Amongst them was a colonial rarity in John Donne's Works in six volumes for nine shillings a volume, presumably the Rev. Henry Alford's 1839 edition, originally published at seventy-two shillings. As in the earlier decades, many colonists preferred to by-pass the local booksellers and order direct from London. The Launceston Examiner for 23 October 1847 provides an interesting example of a London bookseller offering this kind of service:

> MESSRS. ORGER AND MERYON, BOOKSELLERS, STATIONERS, AND GENERAL AGENTS, 174, Fenchurch-street, London, beg to offer their services to parties in this and the neighbouring colonies, for the supply of BOOKS, MAGAZINES, NEWSPAPERS, and every other publication, selected both from new and second-hand catalogues, a large assortment of which is always retained on hand for this purpose, and copies are regularly forwarded to their various correspondents in their monthly parcels.
>
> Messrs. Orger and Meryon are now landing per Renown, about 40 parcels of Books and Magazines, all sent under one bill of lading, the expenses of which are apportioned by themselves in the half-yearly accounts of their correspondents, so that no trouble is imposed on the latter.
>
> The extensive connection already possessed by Messrs. Orger and Meryon, thus enable them to offer greater facilities for the transmission of parcels, by every ship, than any other house.
>
> They are also always happy to execute private commissions for the accommodation of their friends at Hobart Town and Launceston, and the adjoining colonies.

In Hobart, the major bookseller in the first half of the decade was Samuel Tegg; like his Launceston fellows, he stocked

mainly recent popular literary works, thus supplying a gap left by the auctioneers, who, even more than in other colonies, kept mostly to standards. In seven advertisements during 1840,[28] Tegg offered works by Byron, Scott, Moore, Southey, Dickens, G.W.M. Reynolds, Mrs. Ellis, Paul de Kock, Victor Hugo, Marryat, Cooper, Lover, Mrs. Trollope and other modern novelists, with only a few standards like Milton, Cowper, Crabbe, Defoe, Bacon and Shakespeare. His 1841 stock was similar, with the addition of further recent books by Ainsworth, Bulwer Lytton, Lever, Cockton, Gleig, "Sam Slick" and Mrs. Gore. As an example of the comparatively brief delay in bringing bestsellers to the colonies, Tegg's advertisements for 17 May and 22 July 1842 included Ainsworth's Guy Fawkes (1841) and Old St. Paul's (1841), Thackeray's Comic Tales and Sketches (1841) and Hook's The Widow and the Marquess (1842). Similarly, a list in the Colonial Times for 3 October 1843, printed in capitals Lover's Handy Andy (1842) and Lever's Jack Hinton (1843), as well as offering "the cheapest edition ever published" of the Waverley Novels, in one shilling parts. Another advertisement in the same paper shows that by 14 May 1844, Tegg had received The Christmas Carol (1843), Reynolds' Master Timothy's Book Case (1842) and Mary Howitt's Love and Money (1843). At the end of 1845, a year in which he advertised only two small collections of school and Freemasonary books, Tegg sold his business to James Walch, though, as announced in the Observer on 2 January 1846, he intended to act as Walch's London agent, thereby ensuring "a constant and

[28] See Appendix III for details.

regular supply" of books.

Unlike Tegg, Walch established a business still surviving in Hobart today, though as book publishers rather than sellers. In the Colonial Times for 24 March 1846, he announced his intention to continue Tegg's practice of taking orders "for British and Foreign Books, which, on arrival, he delivers at the London publishing prices". Walch's first advertisement to list titles, on 17 June 1846, showed him also following Tegg in importing the latest English bestsellers. Amongst them were Dickens' new Christmas Book, The Cricket on the Hearth (1845), Douglas Jerrold's enormously popular Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lectures (1846) and Sue's The Mysteries of Paris (1844). A large advertisement by Walch on 13 November 1847, though including few very recent works, once again featured amongst its imaginative literature mainly nineteenth-century authors like Carleton, Gerald Griffin, Harriet Martineau, Maria Edgeworth, Mrs. Hemans, Mrs. Ellis, Scott, Byron, Moore, Campbell and Southey. Similar lists appeared on 16 February and 25 October 1848, the former including Lever's St. Patrick's Eve and Sue's Paula Monti (1845), the latter a few older authors like Burns, Thomson and Goldsmith.

Besides Tegg, one other eighteen-thirties bookseller continued in business in Hobart until the middle of the 'forties, Mr. Davis of the Stationery and Seed Warehouse. In the Hobart Town Advertiser for 22 May 1840, he advertised "upwards of 5000 volumes", the second largest number ever mentioned at one time by an Australian bookseller before 1850. Although no

titles were listed in this advertisement, they were presumably mainly the school texts, children's books and cheap reprints of standard and modern works which generally seem to have made up Davis's stock. He did, however, import a few bestsellers, offering on 1 January 1841, Ainsworth's Jack Sheppard, Oliver Twist, Nicholas Nickleby, Mrs. Trollope's Michael Armstrong and various other recent works. On 14 May 1844, Davis announced his retirement from business in the Colonial Times, a selling-off notice in the same paper on 10 July listing his main stock of school books.

Of Hobart booksellers commencing business in the 'forties, the earliest to arrive was George Rolwegan, whose first advertisement, on 1 October 1841, offered "New and Useful Books, very Cheap". In contrast to the literature stocked by other local booksellers, these were all standard works by Goldsmith, Shakespeare, Pope, Milton and Cowper. The following year, however, his lists included the latest annuals, Lover's Handy Andy, and the serial numbers of Martin Chuzzlewit.[29] Rolwegan's final advertisement, in the Observer for 26 December 1845, for "upwards of 100 Scarce and Valuable Books", again featured standards like Boswell's Life of Johnson. On 3 September 1846, Mr. R. Fawcett advertised in the Australian,

> To Booksellers, Stationers, Lovers of Literature, Dealers, and the Trade Generally . . . The entire Stock-in-trade of a Hobart Town Bookseller and Stationer declining that business, and consigned here for unreserved sale. . . several hundred volumes of Books in the various departments of literature and science . . .

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29 See Appendix III for details of these advertisements.

Although the bookseller's name is mentioned neither here, nor in the complete catalogue in the Mitchell Library, it seems likely to have been Rolwegan. The stock listed for sale in the department of imaginative literature was mainly by such older authors as Smollett, Fielding, Johnson, Bacon, Milton, Goldsmith, Swift, Gray, Addison, Burns, Young, Cowper, Thomson, Shakespeare and Spenser, besides the usual works by Scott and Byron. If these were Rolwegan's books, he had evidently had no trouble in disposing of bestsellers like Lover and Dickens, but had found less demand for the more available standard authors, and hoped for a more discriminating reading public in Sydney.

Two other booksellers, who remained particularly active in the Hobart trade until the end of the 'forties, both seem to have commenced business towards the end of 1845. Hawley and Co., already mentioned in connection with Launceston, first advertised in the Colonial Times on 8 August 1845. This merely listed a few school books, and similar stocks were advertised in 1846. By the end of 1847, however, Hawley's establishment was evidently securely based. In the Hobart Town Advertiser for 4 December, he announced "the regular receipt, monthly, of the latest publications from London". The accompanying list of "books published on the eve of the sailing of the ARACHNE" included Dombey and Son, Hans Christian Andersen's Shoes of Fortune (1847), Mrs. Gore's Castles in the Air (1847), and Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lectures, along with many other literary works like Spenser and His Poetry and Butler and His Works. Similarly, on 23 February 1848, Hawley advertised

Medwin's Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley, Leigh Hunt's Men, Women and Books, Sheridan Knowles' Fortescue: A Novel and Lever's The Knight of Gwynne, all published in 1847. Later this year, on 24 May and 25 November, he listed several other new publications, amongst them Hunt's A Jar of Honey from Mount Hybla (1848), Samuel Warren's Now and Then (1848), Cooper's Ravensnest and Surtees' Hawbuck Grange (1847), besides many other recent titles by Leigh Hunt, Dickens, Mrs. Ellis, William Howitt, Albert Smith, Cockton, Dumas, Carleton, Reynolds, Gleig and Thackeray. The later advertisement also contained Melville's Omoo; or, Adventures in the South Seas (1847), one of only three listings of his works in Australia before 1850.

The other Hobart bookseller who appeared at the same time as Hawley, William Westcott, concentrated to a much greater extent on standard works. His first, characteristically expansive, advertisement, for 5 November 1845, amusingly ran

To book Collectors, the Learned in Titles and Colophons, Readers, etc.

W. Westcott, Argyle-street, the Initiator of book stalls, "bouquinist primary", on the shores invented by Van Diemen, has the sincere pleasure (because of his profit) of making his reverence, and advertising the above, that his stock is swelled by the accession of many hundred volumes, selected by a Member of one of our English Universities. Judged by the "economic" scale, they may be counted dear - by the sale catalogues of European Bibliopolists, moderate - by their intrinsic worth, very cheap. They include solid Ecclesiastical writers, such as Jeremy Taylor, Butler, Leighton, Mosheim, Bishop Mant, Robinson's Palestine, Grotius, Cave Boyle, Bishop Newton, Coleridge's favourite Baxter, Burnet, Harvey's Bible, etc. The best-esteemed historians, Robertson, Sismondi, Clarendon, NIEBUHR, Gibbon, etc. The ZOOLOGICAL Class is very strong. The POETRY choice - Chaucer, Spenser, Beaumont and Fletcher, Milton, SHAKESPEERE [sic], Molière, etc., besides the truly

valuable Maps by the Society for Useful Knowledge. The Penny Cyclopaedia perfect !! and many other works, quæ nunc perscribere longù est, as the Latin Grammar saith.

As this shows, Westcott not only had a higher class of stock, but a seemingly greater personal love of books than most Australian booksellers of the period. His reference to bookstalls is interesting, in implying that he had started business in this lowly way, as apparently the first bookstall owner in Tasmania. Later advertisements by him in 1846 featured similar collections of standard authors like Pope, Goldsmith, Thomson, Young, Dryden and Bacon, the only fiction being Lane's edition of The Arabian Nights and a 1652 copy of Don Quixote. On 13 September 1848, he announced

> 7000 Volumes of Books, Second-Hand, Much Reduced in Price, for Sale or Exchange, . . . Consisting of Divinity, History, Biography, Travels, Natural History, Poetry, and an unrivalled collection of Ancient and Modern Classics, original and translated; also the Penny and other Encyclopaedias; with works in every other department of Literature.

From the foregoing, one would imagine that Westcott, most unnaturally for a bookseller, was a complete enemy of the novel. However, an earlier large list of books, printed on 19 February 1848, had included fiction by Dickens, Dumas, Fielding, Cooper and Scott. Even more novels were to be found in the complete catalogue of Westcott's new and second-hand books printed in the Courier between 3 and 27 January 1849, though he was content to list them under "Miscellaneous" rather than the more usual "Novels and Romances" heading. Besides the authors already mentioned, he had recent works by Ainsworth, Frederika Bremer, Maria Edgeworth, Lady Morgan, Maxwell, Gleig, Sheridan

Knowles, Marryat, Bulwer Lytton, Mrs. Trollope, Carleton, Galt and Sue, together with older novels by Fielding, Smollett, Sterne and Swift. All were offered at or below publication price, another feature of Westcott's catalogue being the listing of prices and fairly full bibliographical details, thus linking him with Duncan as the two most informed booksellers of this period. Naturally, Westcott also had an excellent collection of poetry and drama, amongst it such colonial rarities as Shelley's Revolt of Islam (1818) for three shillings and his Masque of Anarchy (1832) for two, Coleridge's Poetical and Dramatic Works (1847) for five, and the French edition of The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley and Keats for ten, as well as the more common works of Byron, Cowper, Mrs. Hemans, Robert Montgomery, Milton, Shakespeare, Campbell, Dryden, Goldsmith, Pope, Scott, Southey, Burns, Spenser, Thomson and Young. Also included in this section were two local works, David Burn's Plays and Fugitive Pieces [redacted] (Hobart, 1842) for three shillings, and Fidelia Hill's Poems and Recollections of the Past (Sydney, 1840) for one.

The other major Hobart bookseller of the 'forties, U.B. Barfoot, evidently began trading at the beginning of 1846, his first advertisement appearing in the Observer on 13 February. Amongst the works offered were L.E.L.'s Poetical Works (1839), Mrs. Gore's Cecil, the Peer (1841) and Charles Whitehead's Richard Savage (1842). Like his contemporaries, Barfoot stocked the usual range of standard and modern

authors, as a lengthy list in the Hobart Town Advertiser for 22 October 1847 testifies. Despite his apparent early success - the Britannia and Trades' Advocate for 28 May 1846 commented

> Barfoot's Literary Establishment. - However doubtful may be the prospects of the Colony in other respects, it is certain that the inclination for useful knowledge, and even polite literature, is increasing. There cannot be a greater evidence of this, than the support afforded in Hobart Town to Mr. Barfoot's stationery shop and warehouse, in Elizabeth-street. We doubt if even at the most important places of fashionable resort in the Mother Country, a greater variety of useful, and really good articles, suited to the taste of the educated class of the community, could be found than at the Establishment to which we have alluded. All that is required is, the proposed Reading Room, which we understand will be open to the public in a few months.

- on 26 February 1848 Hay and Ivey advertised "Estate of U.B. Barfoot - About 700 volumes of books, principally of British authors - Byron, Shakespeare, Milton, Cowper, Young, Scott, Burns, etc. etc.", without making it clear whether he had died or become insolvent.

Two new Hobart booksellers commenced business in 1849, both again offering a fairly wide range of standard and modern works. On 13 June, John Moore advertised in the Hobarton Guardian volumes by Byron, Cowper, Pope, Shakespeare and Defoe, together with three poetical works by Longfellow, George Sand's The Devil's Pool, Sue's Mysteries of Paris and Matilda, Reynolds' Robert Macaire in England and various other moderns. Symonds and Huxtable's first list, in the same paper on 27 October, included Dombey and Son, David Copperfield in its only Tasmanian appearance, Barham's The Life and Remains of Theodore Hook (1849), Sir T.N. Talfourd's Final Memorials of Charles Lamb (1848), Knight's Shakespeare, and illustrated

editions of Thomson's Seasons and Gray's Elegy. A slightly later advertisement, in the Colonial Times for 16 November, also mentioned works by Byron, Milton, Hood and Mrs. Ellis.

Three other booksellers are known from only one advertisement, no sure indication of how long they managed to survive. On 26 July 1844, Thomas Browne advised readers of the opening of his new Stationery Warehouse in Liverpool Street, where they could buy illustrated editions, a great rage at this time, of The Arabian Nights, Shakespeare, Asmodeus, The Vicar of Wakefield, Robinson Crusoe and The Pilgrim's Progress, besides the works of Byron and Dickens. However long he survived as a bookseller, at the beginning of 1846 Browne started a new venture, the definitely short-lived Spectator and Van Diemen's Land Gazette. It was in this paper on 19 May 1846, that G. Munday of the "Miscellaneous and Commission Stores" advertised "for Sale or Loan, the Following WORKS, which are within the compass of the poorest"; the titles appear to be Novel Newspaper reprints, certainly very cheap. As noted earlier, William Westcott claimed to have been the "Initiator of book stalls" in Tasmania, but unfortunately did not say when he had commenced business. If one believes him, it must have been before 22 July 1845, when Francis McHugh, previously a bookstall owner in Sydney, set-up in the same trade in Hobart. He announced in the Colonial Times:

CHEAP BOOKS!!!

To Clergymen, Gentlemen of the Learned Professions, Librarians, Architects, School-masters, and the Trade . . . an extensive Stock of New and Second-Hand Books, including some first-rate works on Divinity, the Classics and

Mathematics, all the various Arts and Sciences, Law, Medicine, Surgery, History, Architecture, Voyages, Travels, &c. &c. - many being of a curious nature, as specimens of early typography, Astrology, Chess . . .

Despite the evidently flimsy nature of McHugh's premises, he seems to have been prepared to conduct all the types of business usual to booksellers at this period, even procuring books to order from Sydney. Apart from thirty-five volumes of the Quarterly Review, thirty-eight of the Edinburgh and four of the Dublin Penny Journal, again showing a stock of higher standard than one might have expected, the works listed in this advertisement had no literary interest.

Given Victoria's much later start as a colony, it is surprising to find in nearly every year of the eighteen-forties more books advertised for sale in Melbourne than in Hobart. This was particularly true of sales by auction, the lowest number, over eighteen hundred volumes, being listed in depression year, 1843, with the highest, nearly twenty thousand, in 1849. In contrast, in Hobart the lowest figure was a mere nine hundred volumes in 1844, and the highest nearly sixteen thousand in 1848. Even though Victoria had the highest population growth rate of any colony in the 'forties and Tasmania one of the lowest, this suggests a greater demand for books in Victoria, with its smaller, but free, population, than in Tasmania, where a large number of the inhabitants were still convicts. In 1840, nearly three thousand volumes of books were up for auction in Melbourne, more than half of them in a sale by the Melbourne Auction

Company, announced in the Port Phillip Patriot[30] on 29 June. Unfortunately, the auctioneers gave no details of their stock, a characteristic of most sales held this year, one exception being Mr. C. Williams' advertisement in the Port Phillip Gazette for 28 March, listing works by Scott, Marryat, Cooper, Gleig, Moore, Burns and James. This concentration on modern authors points to another difference between Victorian and Tasmanian book auctions in the 'forties, the former, perhaps because of less competition from established booksellers, including many more recent works.

At least nineteen book auctions were held in Melbourne in 1841, though, as most were fairly small, the number of volumes advertised was not much greater than in the previous year. Ten of these sales were conducted by Messrs. Forster and Davis, one of them, advertised on 25 March, including many novels by Scott and Fenimore Cooper. Most of their other 1841 sales, however, featured mainly the usual standard eighteenth-century authors like Cowper, Le Sage, Pope, Dryden, Smollett, Burns, Goldsmith, Defoe, Milton and Young. A very similar list of works was offered by Charles Williams on 22 March, though his sale also contained Coleridge's Poems in three volumes, and "A great number of English books, novels, etc. too numerous to mention". William Barrett advertised another mostly standard collection on 15 July, but, in contrast, he had for sale a few days later, "500 Novels and Romances, and

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30 Unless otherwise stated, all details of Melbourne book advertisements come from this paper.

other select works, - the entire stock of a well selected circulating library".

Fewer books were advertised for auction in 1842, though one large sale of over fifteen hundred volumes was held by Messrs. Carey and McDonnell on 15 September. Whilst the bulk of this collection, listed in the previous day's Gazette, consisted of Bibles and Prayer Books, it also contained multiple copies of works by Butler, Burns, Cowper, Goldsmith, Milton, Pope, Johnson, Bunyan, Byron, Scott and Shakespeare, as well as a few novels, amongst them, Disraeli's Contarini Fleming (1832). Some of the other auctions of this year included in their literary stock a much higher proportion of modern works. Mr. Green's sale on 22 March featured the recent Thackeray's Comic Tales and Sketches (1841), as well as works by Galt, Scott, and Lockhart. Another, advertised by Belcher and Power in the Gazette on 12 March, had listed the same Thackeray work, besides Oliver Twist and other moderns, whilst, on 12 May, Forster and Davis offered various titles by Dickens, Carleton, Bulwer Lytton and Cooper. Messrs. Carfrae and Bland, the most active 1842 auctioneers, were generally more conservative in their stock, though on 5 December they advertised no less than thirteen copies of A Love Story, by a Bushman (Sydney, 1841).

Carfrae and Bland continued to hold the most book auctions in 1843, again selling mainly standard authors. A report of one of their sales, in the Patriot for 20 July, "despite the bad state of the times, many of the works realised even more

than their original cost", indicates an active body of readers in Melbourne, given the number of books auctioned in these years. A similar collection of standard authors was sold by Forster and Davis, on behalf of William Hinton, on 12 August. The advertisement, in the previous day's Melbourne Times, is especially interesting in implying that children must often have attended book auctions, no doubt because of the current lack of Melbourne bookshops:

> William Hinton is particularly anxious to direct the attention of the JUVENILE portion of this community to the above sale; many of the works being admirably adapted to the tastes of such, and books in every respect suitable to be placed in their hands. He assures his young friends (though they often complain of being badly treated at the auctions) that every facility shall be afforded, for them to compete for any book they may choose, - he (W.H.) has no notion of their being shut out always. - Especially from BOOK sales.

Whilst there were few novels in any of these sales, another, advertised by Forster and Davis in the same paper on 3 November, was made up almost entirely of fiction by Scott, Dickens, Lever, "Sam Slick", Thackeray, Cooper, James, and Novel Newspaper reprints, with a sprinkling of poetry by Butler, Campbell and even Shelley. A further collection of fiction, mainly undistinguished novels but again including Thackeray's Comic Tales and Sketches, was sold by S. McDonnell on 22 June.

Eleven book auctions were held the following year, a new partnership, Brodie and Cruikshank, being responsible for two of the largest: "One Thousand volumes including Fiction, Periodicals, Poetry and Drama" on 11 April, and "Upwards of Nineteen Hundred volumes", mostly school and children's books,

with a few novels and poetry by Burns and Mrs. Hemans, on 12 December[31]. Mrs. Hemans had earlier figured in a sale advertised by Bland in the Port Phillip Herald on 2 January, along with Coleridge, Southey, James, Byron, Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Dante, Homer and Cowper. Another large sale of over seventeen hundred volumes was listed by Forster and Davis in the same paper on 12 March. Although religious and children's books made up most of its bulk, it also included a few standards like Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy and the more common Johnson's Lives of the Poets, besides ten copies of Dana's Two Years Before the Mast (1840) and a couple of other novels.

Some further large collections of books were auctioned in 1845, amongst them one of three thousand volumes, listed by William Easey in the Herald on 10 June. Although imaginative literature formed only about a ninth of these, there were novels by Bulwer Lytton, Lever, Samuel Warren, Maria Edgeworth, Hook, Mrs. Radcliffe, Smollett, Goldsmith, Defoe and Fanny Burney, plays by Shakespeare and others, and a wide selection of poetry by Young, Milton, Butler, Moore, Crabbe, Goldsmith, Thomson, Gray, Gay, Cowper, Dryden, Spenser, Kirke White and various other more minor figures. Another sale by Easey, advertised in the Port Phillip Gazetteer on 27 August, was much smaller - four hundred volumes - but contained some unusual early literature like Ben Jonson's Works and the poetry of Wyatt and Surrey, besides many of the standards listed above, and some more recent novels by Dickens and Ainsworth. The same issue of the Gazetteer

[31] See the Port Phillip Herald, 6 December 1844.

reported:

Book Sale - We are rejoiced to perceive, by the large sale of an admirable selection of standard works, (which took place at Mr. Easey's Market, on Saturday last,) appearances of an improvement both in the time and taste of the public. Works on science sold best, and at a very high figure, while works of every description of Belles Lettres, realised in the majority of instances, three times their cost price. There were several publications disposed of that would have well suited the Reading Room of the Melbourne School of Arts.

thus reinforcing other information on the great demand for books in Melbourne at this period. Whilst the sale referred to had been advertised in the Standard on 20 August, none of the three hundred and fifty titles offered were listed, so one unfortunately cannot tell just what books were bid for so eagerly. On 29 November, however, this latter paper did list in full the more than eighteen hundred volumes for auction by G.S. Brodie on 1 December. Amongst them were numerous copies of such ever popular works as Robinson Crusoe, The Pilgrim's Progress, The Vicar of Wakefield, Milton's Poetical Works, Young's Night Thoughts, Paul and Virginia, Thomson's Seasons and The Lady of the Lake.

Just over eleven thousand volumes of books were advertised by Melbourne auctioneers in 1846. The two largest sales, "Several Thousand Volumes" by Easey on 12 January, and three thousand by W. Empson on 12 August, were announced without any other details, though quotations in Easey's advertisement in the Gazette for 8 January show his collection to have come from Edward Lumley. A smaller sale by Easey, listed on 7 July, contained the characteristic mixture of standard and modern authors found so often in this period, works by Scott, Byron, Campbell, Bulwer Lytton, Washington Irving, Dickens and Lever

alongside Boswell's Life of Johnson, Don Quixote, Gil Blas, Tristram Shandy, The Pilgrim's Progress and poetry by Burns, Milton, Ossian, Pope and Thomson. Mr. P. Davis's offering in the Gazette for 5 August, however, featured mainly modern writers like "Sam Slick", Scott, Campbell, Lamb, Southey, Mrs. Hemans, Shelley and Irving, countered only by copies of Bacon's Novum Organum and Paradise Lost.

Once again, in 1847, when less than half as many books were advertised, the titles of works in the two biggest sales, held by Easey on 25 March and 24 April, were not listed. The content of one of his earlier, and much smaller, sales was, however, given in full in the Gazette of 10 March. Although described, in the usual auctioneers' rhetoric, as a "New and Valuable Choice Selection of Works, by the most celebrated modern Authors", it contained, on the literary side at least, works by Milton, Burns, Shakespeare, Cowper, Pope, Johnson, Swift, Smollett, Cervantes and Fielding, as opposed to only four more recent titles by Scott, Byron, Frederika Bremer and Washington Irving. In the following year, the number of books for auction increased to nearly eleven and a half thousand, mostly as a result of another large undetailed sale of seven thousand volumes advertised by Easey in the Gazette on 18 April. The most active 1848 auctioneer was J.W. Bell, the largest of his eight sales, listed in the Herald on 26 September, including works by Soott, Moore, Lever, Dickens, Eugene Sue and, odd-man-out among these moderns, Spenser, besides the notorious Memoirs and amorous adventures of

Harriette Wilson (1825), who from eighteen-twenties' references appears to have been a minor Fanny Hill.[32] Modern authors also predominated in a sale by Brodie, advertised in the same paper on 12 September.

As previously mentioned, 1849 was a red letter year for the Melbourne reading public, with nearly twenty thousand volumes announced for auction. Again, two of the biggest sales, "Several Thousand Volumes" advertised by Easey, and five thousand of "History, Theology, Novels, Arts, Sciences, Children's Books" by a newcomer, Tennant and Co., in the Melbourne Morning Herald on 29 March and 19 December respectively, were given without titles. Tennant had, however, earlier spread himself with a full list of another collection of four thousand volumes, occupying nearly all of page three of the Herald for 4 January. Included were about a thousand volumes of imaginative literature, ranging from Spenser's Works to the latest productions of Harriet Martineau, Miss Bremer, Lever, Carleton, Longfellow, Horace Smith, Sue and others, with all the usual standard authors in between. Of minor Australian interest, were the six copies of Rowcroft's Fanny the Little Milliner (1848). As this latter work shows, Tennant and Co., more than any of their Melbourne contemporaries, were intent on bringing the latest English publications to the colony. On 20 August, again in the Herald, they announced a "Choice Assortment of Books, and the only Copies of the Different Editions in the Colony, Published from 15 Dec., 1848, to 31 March, 1849 by Bentley, Smith and Elder, Longman,

[32] Seven copies of this work were also advertised by Hay and Ivey in the Hobart Town Advertiser, 9 January 1849.

Oliver and Boyd, and Murray. One Copy of each Work only for sale." On the list were more of Miss Bremer's novels, W.R. Wilde's The Closing Year of Dean Swift (1849), and two most interesting American works, Nathaniel Hawthorne's Twice Told Tales (1849) and Melville's Mardi, or a Voyage Hither (1849). In both cases, these were the only copies advertised in Australia before 1850, true also of Alexander Harris's The Emigrant Family, or the Story of an Australian Family (1849). Some of the smaller sales conducted by William Easey in 1849 were also advertised in full. On 24 February, he listed five hundred volumes of books in the Herald, including a number of works by Leigh Hunt, and others by Maria Edgeworth, Moore, Scott, L.E.L., Mrs. Hemans, Lamb, and Washington Irving. Amongst the novels were four copies of Rowcroft's Tales of the Colonies (1843) and two of his The Bushranger of Van Diemen's Land (1846), the only pre-1850 Australian appearance of the latter. Two further copies of Rowcroft's Fanny the Little Milliner also figured in a larger sale of over two thousand volumes advertised by Easey in the Gazette on 21 August, along with two of Charles La Trobe's A Pedestrian's Tour of Switzerland (1832) and one of Mary Leman Grimstone's Woman's Love (1832). In addition, this and other 1849 sales by Easey included works by Southey, Shelley, Cooper, Lever, Ainsworth, Cockton, Warren, James and Gleig among the moderns, and Thomson, Young, Goldsmith, Shakespeare, Wyatt and Surrey among the older authors.[33]

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[33] See also advertisements in the Melbourne Morning Herald, 6 February, 18 December 1849.

In contrast to the situation in both Sydney and Hobart, very few booksellers proper were in business in Melbourne in the eighteen-forties, or, at least, did not advertise their wares to any great extent. In most years, fewer than a hundred volumes were advertised for sale at bookshops, and no bookseller seems to have remained in the trade for longer than a couple of years. Hence they shall be discussed chronologically, rather than ranked in order of importance, as for the other capitals. On 4 April 1840, the Port Phillip Gazette announced that the Book and Stationery Warehouse in Collins Street would now be conducted by William Kerr instead of John Pascoe Fawkner, the originator of bookselling and circulating libraries in Victoria. Kerr's stock, as shown by an advertisement in the Port Phillip Herald for 1 September 1840, consisted on the literary side of works by such oft-found authors as Byron, Scott, Shakespeare and Bulwer Lytton. By 6 June 1841, Kerr had joined up with a M. Holmes, their lists for 29 July and 9 August again featuring mainly bestsellers like Byron, Scott, Shakespeare, Marryat, and Dickens, with a few rarer items in The Letters and Works of Lady Wortley Montagu, edited by Lord Wharncliff (1836) and Lamb's Essays of Elia (1833). This partnership seems to have been short-lived, since Holmes appeared alone at the bottom of the Book and Stationery Warehouse's advertisement in the Gazette for 26 February 1843. Most of the works on this list were modern novels by such popular authors as Hook, James, "Sam Slick", Ainsworth, Cooper, Horace Smith, Marryat and Bulwer Lytton,

whose wife was also represented, along with several other literary ladies like Lady Morgan, Mrs. Gore, Mrs. Ward, Mrs. Grey, Mrs. Hall and Harriet Martineau. Considering this glittering array, Holmes' advice, "As there is only one copy of each of the above works, early application is necessary", was surely equally necessary. By 11 May 1843, Fawkner had once more resumed his old business, now named "Fawkner's Stationery Commission Warehouse", the works listed being only "Boys' and Children's Books". On 29 May, however, he offered three copies of Thackeray's Comic Tales and Sketches, often on sale in Melbourne at this time, besides other works "new and half the English prices".

It is a little confusing to find another bookseller operating in Melbourne in the early 'forties, also from a Collins Street address, named William Ker, without the second 'r' but with a "Jun". His stock, as shown in a list in the Port Phillip Herald for 1 September 1840, was very similar to the other William Kerr's, including works by Byron, Scott, Shakespeare and Burns, but they can be usefully distinguished by the fact that an advertisement for the Book and Stationery Warehouse appeared on the same page of this paper. A more extensive advertisement by Ker, in the Herald on 13 August 1841, featured Leigh Hunt's Indicator, Lamb's Essays of Elia, Wordsworth's Yarrow Revisited, quite a rare item, and Sketches by Boz, as well as Paul and Virginia and Don Quixote. One other Melbourne bookseller operating briefly in the first few years of the decade was John Carfrae, whose shop was visited by Georgiana McCrae on 9 December 1841:

"Lizzie, the boys, and I spent an hour in Mr. Carfrae's shop inspecting the fine books brought by him from Edinburgh",[34] presumably the school books advertised on 16 December 1841. Carfrae, however, evidently soon learnt that in early Melbourne, as in early Sydney, it was better to sell books by auction than by more traditional methods. In the Port Phillip Gazette for 8 January 1842, H.H. Atkinson advertised "The whole of Mr. Carfrae's collection" for auction two days later. The next week, this paper reported

> Mr. Atkinson, who has lately laid down the surveying chain, and taken up the hammer, disposed of a large number of books, the property of Mr. Carfrae, during a three day's sale, from five to ten per cent. above the invoice price, a clear proof that the inhabitants of Australia Felix have a taste for intellectual amusements.

By 9 April 1842, Carfrae had himself become a book auctioneer, in partnership with William Bland, and towards the end of the next year, left for the even more profitable Sydney market, where he was one of the main book auctioneers in 1844 and 1845.

In these same years in Melbourne, five new booksellers advertised their wares, though only one, Mr. Pittman, was heard from again later. He was responsible for the great leap in the number of volumes advertised by booksellers in 1845, with his announcement in the Gazette on 24 December of "One Thousand Volumes of New and Cheap Literature". The authors mentioned were Milton, Byron, Cooper, Miss Porter, Mrs. Radcliffe, Miss Burney, Miss Sedgwick, Miss Bremer, and Elizabeth Helme, testifying to the great popularity of these women novelists past and present. Pittman reappeared in the

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[34] See Georgiana's Journal (ed. Hugh McCrae, 1934), p.46; (Reprinted Angus & Robertson, 1966, p.52)

Herald for 31 March 1846, with an offering of Catholic books, and the Observer for 24 August 1848, with most of Dickens' and Lever's works, including their two most recent, Dombey and Son and The Knight of Gwynne, all the novels of Marryat, Cooper and Bulwer Lytton and twelve volumes of Punch, a very up-to-date stock. The other four booksellers who advertised in the middle 'forties, in contrast, kept mainly to standard authors, Adam Murray listing the Spectator, Rambler, Tatler, Guardian, Dryden's Virgil and Pope's Homer in the Herald on 5 April 1844, and William Kelly an eight-volume edition of Sterne in the Gazette on 1 June. In 1845, Edmund Sayce advertised some children's books in the Melbourne Courier for 18 June, whilst in the same paper on 10 December, a Mr. S. Goode announced his commencement in the book and stationery business, with a stock of about five hundred volumes of new and secondhand books, including works by Burns, Cowper, Young and Defoe.

Two further new booksellers began advertising in Melbourne in 1846. Mr. J. Maclehose, who offered Thomas McCombie's Arabin, or the Adventures of a Colonist in New South Wales (1845) in the Gazette for 19 August, readvertised it in the same paper on 3 February 1847 as "reduced to five shillings". Once again one sees that works by colonial authors were apparently not well received in Australia, though Maclehose added some favourable quotations from English reviewers to convince readers of the book's worth, despite its local origin. Evidently surviving this lack of success with McCombie's work,

Maclehose was still in business on 25 April 1848, when he advertised some unspecified new books just received at his Glasgow Stationery Warehouse, another example of the continuous Scottish influence on the Australian book trade. Returning to 1846, a Mr. G. Cooper had listed a few school books in the Gazette on 21 November, whilst earlier, on 29 July, another small collection, including Arabin at the original price of eight-and-six, had been announced as on sale at the Gazette Office, McCombie, of course, being connected with the Gazette at this time. Another new bookseller, William Clarke, advertised twice in 1847. The first, in the Gazette for 13 January, listed a variety of modern and standard authors: the usual Cowper, Byron, Shakespeare, Johnson, Miss Bremer, Pope, Fielding, Smollett and Swift; whilst the second, in the Herald for 7 December, concentrated mainly on modern novels by Scott, Marryat, Bulwer Lytton, Lever and Dickens. In this same year, Clarke was also selling books in Geelong, as shall be discussed later.

The final bookseller to appear in Melbourne in the eighteen-forties, P.J. Cregin, had previously advertised books in Sydney in 1844 and 1846. His first Melbourne list, in the Melbourne Morning Herald for 5 February 1849, offered, "at moderate prices", the customary collection of standard and modern works by Shakespeare, Swift, Fielding, Pope, Burns, Defoe and Cockton, Reynolds, James, Dickens, Harriet Martineau, Eugene Sue. A further advertisement in the same paper on 20

December, though giving no titles, presents an interesting explanation of why no bookseller was able to survive for long in early Melbourne. Unfortunately, it is not possible to reproduce the variety of type embellishing this address to the reading public by Cregin and his new partner Moore, possibly the prominent Sydney bookseller of that name:

CHEAP
STATIONERY AND BOOKSELLING
ESTABLISHMENT,
COLLINS STREET.

CREGIN & MOORE

IN presenting themselves before the public as
WHOLESALE STATIONERS AND BOOKSELLERS,
deem it a duty they owe to themselves and the community at large of this flourishing district, to give a synopsis of what they intend to accomplish in their new establishment.

The high prices of all kinds of stationery and books, is a subject of complaint amongst all classes, while, in the prices of almost all other kinds of goods, there is an approximation to the home prices, those of articles of this description remain exorbitantly high. This may be accounted for by the fact that, hitherto, the investment of capital in this particular business, owing to the very limited demand, has not been sufficiently remunerative. The increasing wants of this populous district bid fair to second the exertions of some enterprising parties in the stationery and bookselling department, who, while they pursue their avocation in a spirited manner, will at the same time confer a lasting benefit on the community at large.

CREGIN AND MOORE

have long contemplated this desirable change, and, by the extensive arrangements which are being made by them, will effect a

CONSIDERABLE REDUCTION

in the prices of all articles in the stationery and bookselling business. How far such an undertaking will be appreciated by a generous public, time will determine. - The merchant, the lawyer, and the store-keeper, will be supplied with their respective requirements, at unusually low prices. The drawing-room may be supplied with articles of elegant and fancy stationery, at a trifling cost, and the lovers of literature, by the facility with which they will be able to gratify their taste, will forget that this is only the land of their adoption.

As has been seen, the book auctioneers, with fewer overheads and more immediate returns on investments, were able to

weather this situation better than the conventional booksellers, as had been the case with a similar small population in early Sydney.

In contrast, in the Victorian country districts of Geelong and Portland more books were advertised for sale by booksellers than by auctioneers, as also happened at centres like Maitland and Goulburn in New South Wales. The reasons for this are difficult to deduce, but perhaps it was because, at least until the final years of the 'forties, the populations of these towns were too small to support an auction, whereas booksellers could rely on the custom of surrounding bush families during their periodic visits for fresh supplies. Only two book auctions were held in Geelong before 1846, by Lewis Davis on 21 March 1842 and by the Melbourne firm of Carfrae and Bland on 12 July 1842, no literary works being listed in either advertisement.[35] Neither were there any among the forty odd volumes announced for auction by A. Levy on 10 January 1846, whilst his advertisements for four hundred and seventy volumes respectively on 11 June and 27 July 1847 did not list any titles. A report in the Advertiser for 15 June, however, gives some idea of the contents of the first sale:

> The prices bid for the works of popular authors, exhibit a proof that the Geelongites are not deficient in a desire to receive literary amusement and instruction from the possession of standard works. Some of the lots were badly assorted, those that would have bid high for good books, did not choose to pay at the same rate for the bad.

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[35] See the Geelong Advertiser, 14 March, 11 July 1842. Unless otherwise stated, all details of Geelong book advertisements are from this paper.

A common problem, as some Sydney auction catalogues show. On 8 November 1847, the Corio Chronicle printed a more extensive report of another of Levy's sales:

> . . . a lot of books consisting of upwards of six hundred, new pocket volumes, chiefly abridgements of the most popular English, French and American novels, which were readily brought up at an average price of sixteen pence a volume or one hundred per cent. above the home publishing price. Such a sale, at a time when the town may be said to be almost emptied of the country working classes, to whom this opportunity would have proved a great attraction, is a remarkable indication of the taste for reading disseminated through our limited and hard-working community.

This sale, advertised in the same paper on 30 October as containing "One Thousand volumes of neatly bound Books, consisting of novels by Sue, Radcliffe, Cooper, Dumas, etc. etc. etc.", was presumably made up of cheap reprints like the Novel Newspaper. In view of the conflicting evidence on the reading habits of bush workers, the Chronicle's comment about the appeal of these cheap novels to "the country working classes" is especially significant.

Whilst only a few volumes were advertised for auction in Geelong in 1848, at least twelve book auctions were held the following year. Most were fairly small affairs, with one large sale of twelve hundred unspecified volumes announced by Messrs. Carver and Dalton on 22 December. Earlier, on 6 September, these partners had offered four hundred volumes, including works by Smollett, Burns, Sterne, Shakespeare, Johnson and modern novels by Cooper, Miller, Dumas and Mary Howitt. Several of the same works were listed by Messrs. Hill and Hitchins in the Corio Chronicle for 29 August, along with others by Byron, Sue and W.B. Jerrold, and a number of the

usual British and American authors found in the cheap reprint series. The other 1849 auctions held in Geelong contained similar selections of modern and standard literary authors, although one advertised by Mr. Fawcett on 21 April also included McCombie's Arabin and Australian Sketches.

In the earlier part of the 'forties, before the auctioneers had tested the strength of the market, Geelong readers were kept fairly plentifully supplied by James Harrison's Geelong Stationery Warehouse. Here one finds another of the many connections in early Australia between newspapers and bookselling, since Harrison had edited the Geelong Advertiser from its commencement in November 1840, and became its proprietor in 1842. At first, he was associated in his bookselling business with John Scamble, who also printed the Advertiser in 1842. Their early advertisements featured mainly cheap novels, such as Miss Porter's Scottish Chiefs, Cooper's Pioneers, Godwin's St. Leon, Paulding's Dutchman's Fireside and Paul de Kock's Brother James, listed on 12 June 1841 as "BUSH EDITION of the NOVELIST, consisting of the following twelve standard novels at one-sixth of the usual price". A later advertisement in this year, on 11 September, also included most of the customary standard authors like Milton, Bunyan, Goldsmith, Young, Thomson, Cowper and Burns, besides poetry by Scott and Byron. Many of these same authors reappeared on a larger list of nearly two hundred volumes printed on 4 April 1842, together with other modern poets like Bulwer

Lytton, Moore, Campbell and, more surprisingly, Wordsworth and Shelley. Whilst few works were advertised by the Stationery Warehouse in 1843 or 1844, Harrison offered nearly seventeen hundred volumes in 1845, including over a thousand from his now defunct Circulating Library. On the literary side, these were much as before, though some early Australian literature also appeared. An advertisement for 1 March listed James Martin's Australian Sketch Book (1838) for one-and-six, A Mother's Offering to Her Children; by a Lady, Long Resident in New South Wales (1841) for three-and-six, and copies of the New South Wales Magazine and Port Phillip Magazine. The latter reappeared on 10 September in the list of Harrison's library books, priced at three shillings, together with Christie's A Love Story, By a Bushman for seven shillings and Cunningham's Two Years in New South Wales (1827) for eight. Earlier, on 5 August 1844, Harrison had advertised the first two numbers of McCombie's Australian Sketches, at sixpence each.

By 24 June 1846, Harrison was offering, in addition to many of the previously mentioned works, a number of popular old and new novels, some of which seem to have been Novel Newspaper reprints. A similar collection of English and American fiction, again probably cheap reprints, was advertised by him on 22 January 1847, along with the usual standards, The Pickwick Papers and McCombie's Arabin. On 31 December of this year, a somewhat mystifying, because unsigned, advertisement appeared headed

NOVEL NEWSPAPER

NOW PUBLISHING,

In Parts, Octavo, Each Part Containing One Or More Complete Works, STANDARD LIBRARY EDITION of the following Popular Novels and Tales, printed from their Original Texts, without the slightest Abridgement, thus giving for EIGHTEEN PENCE, works originally published at a GUINEA AND A HALF!

Then followed the titles of many works by Eugene Sue, Cooper, Bird, Miss Porter, Mrs. Radcliffe, Miss Lee, Scott, W.G. Simms and the other English and American authors found so often in Australian booksellers' lists in this period. One would dearly love to know whether Harrison or some other enterprising Australian printer did actually reprint these works or whether the "Now Publishing" merely referred to a happening in far-off England. The wide spread of these titles in Australia - found in Maitland, Brisbane, Melbourne, Sydney and Hobart as well as Geelong, where they also seem to have made up many of the auctions held there in 1847 and 1849 - might suggest they were printed locally instead of all imported, but this ambiguous advertisement is one's only piece of evidence. Unfortunately, the cheap and flimsy nature of the Novel Newspaper reprints has apparently led to few of them surviving: even an avid collector like Sadleir found only a couple of the later titles:[36] so the question is unlikely ever to be answered. Certainly, some of the Novel Newspaper titles from this advertisement, as well as cheap editions of other English and American novels which had also figured in Lipscomb's Maitland sales, were advertised by Harrison on 3 August 1847.

[36]See XIX Century Fiction (1951), p. 145.

Another of his lists, for 4 January 1848, specifically mentions the Novel Newspaper, whilst many of its titles recur in a lengthy advertisement of over four hundred volumes printed on 3 May 1848. Here also, one again finds McCombie's Australian Sketches for seven-and-six and Arabin for eight shillings.

Between 24 May and 21 June 1849, Harrison printed six lists of books "just unpacked" at his New Stationery Warehouse. Overall, modern novels predominated among the literary works. Besides the titles in the Novel Newspaper and the Parlour Library series, they included most of the works of nearly all the popular authors of the day - Reynolds, W.B. and Douglas Jerrold, Cockton, Miller, Carleton, James, Dumas, Maria Edgeworth, Maturin, Eugene Sue, the Mayhew brothers, Mary Howitt, Bulwer Lytton, Thackeray, Lever, Horace Smith, Lady Morgan, Gleig, Hook, Mrs. Gore, R.P. Ward, Mrs. Trollope, Cooper, Godwin, Marryat, Dickens, Byron and Scott. Of course, there were also the usual standards by Shakespeare, Butler, Cowper, Kirke White, Pope, Milton, Bloomfield, Falconer, Johnson, Defoe and Bunyan. Amongst colonial works were, once again, Arabin as well as Louisa Meredith's Notes and Sketches of New South Wales (1844). Three later lists published on 4, 6 and 8 September featured additional novels by Mrs. Gore, Harriet Martineau, Mrs. Trollope, Lady Bulwer Lytton, Cooper and Dickens, and further standard authors like Dryden, Goldsmith and Crabbe. Altogether in 1849, Harrison advertised nearly five hundred and fifty volumes of books, over four hundred of which were imaginative literature, mainly modern novels.

In 1847, Harrison's Geelong monopoly of newspaper publishing and, virtually, of bookselling was countered by the appearance of Clarke and Beaver's Stationery Warehouse and Corio Chronicle, first issued on 8 September. Here, a fortnight later, they advertised some of their literary stock, including poems by Cowper and Robert Montgomery and two novels by Frederika Bremer. An extensive list of two thousand volumes of novels, just received, ex Slains Castle, published three days later, seems to have been made up of the Novel Newspaper, in this case certainly imported, and other cheap reprint titles. After 27 October 1847, Clarke ran the Chronicle and Stationery Warehouse on his own, advertising a further new importation of books on 13 December. Amongst them, apart from new copies of works already mentioned, were Shakespeare's Works, Warren's Ten Thousand a Year and three of Dickens' Christmas books. No further advertisements for books appeared, and by 1 June 1848, Clarke had sold the Chronicle to Richard Forrest. One other bookseller, Mr. J.J. Williams of Corio Street, made a brief appearance in Geelong newspapers early in 1849. He advertised plays by Shakespeare and Massinger on 18 January and other standard works by Bunyan, Fielding and Goldsmith in the new Victoria Courier and Working Man's Advocate on 24 February, before fading from the scene. One assumes that, like Clarke, he was unable to compete with Harrison's well-established business.

Since the only other newspapers published in Victoria before mid-century were produced in the Portland district,

this is the only other centre from which one has information about literary activities. Naturally, these were on a much smaller scale than those of Melbourne or Geelong. While the Portland Mercury and Portland Guardian both commenced publishing in August 1842, no book auctions were announced before 1847, when a Mr. G.G. Crouch advertised five hundred unspecified volumes on 5 April, and a further eleven on 21 June.[37] Although no auctions were advertised in 1848, one of Edward Lumley's voluminous catalogues, labelled "Port Fairy, 1848", survives in the Mitchell Library. The blank space for the auctioneer's name was not, however, filled in, so it is doubtful if the sale ever took place. Like Lumley's other catalogues, it contained a fairly wide selection of modern and standard literary authors amongst its over twelve hundred volumes. A similar number of volumes was advertised for auction by Crouch on 1 January 1849, so it is just possible that this, "one of the largest book auctions, that has yet taken place in this town", was of the works in Lumley's catalogue.

As one would expect, conventional booksellers were also scarce in Portland in the 'forties. Whilst one advertisement for a Portland Stationery Warehouse appeared in the Mercury on 26 October 1842, listing A Mother's Offering to Her Children, nothing further was heard of this firm. Nearly five years later, A.R. Cruikshank, perhaps the auctioneer who had sold books in Melbourne in 1844 and 1845, advertised nearly one

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37 Unless otherwise stated, all details of Portland book advertisements come from the Portland Guardian.

hundred volumes on 30 April 1847. Most of them were by such popular modern writers as Lever, Martineau, Cockton, Bremer, Carleton, Scott, Sue, Mrs. Trollope, Marryat, Douglas Jerrold, Albert Smith, Ainsworth, Lover and William Howitt, showing once again the great appeal of modern novels to Victorian booksellers and, presumably, their customers. Of course, for the old-fashioned, and children, there were also Asmodeus, Gil Blas, Robinson Crusoe, The Spectator and works by Shakespeare, Milton and Cowper. In between these two booksellers' advertisements, a few works were offered for sale at both the Mercury and Guardian offices, journalists again contributing to colonial culture in more ways than one. In the case of the Mercury, the contribution was even greater, since the works listed on 31 May 1843 were all colonial publications - A Mother's Offering, The Australian Sketch Book, William Woolls' Australia. A Moral and Descriptive Poem (Sydney, 1833) and a few numbers of the South Australian Magazine and the New Zealand Magazine. The Guardian's 8 September 1845 offerings were some more usual, but doubtless equally useful, school books.

To complete the account of literature available to readers in the eastern half of Australia during the eighteen-forties, mention must be made of the small number of works advertised in the Moreton Bay Courier after its foundation on 20 June 1846. Considering the tiny population of Brisbane at this time, books were actually more plentiful than one might have expected. Initially, most books were sold by auction, the method found

most successful in the early stages of the other colonies. Mr. T. Dowse, the only Queensland book auctioneer of this decade, advertised "300 Volumes of Choice Standard Works" on 24 August 1846. On the literary side, they consisted mainly of popular fiction by Cooper, Bulwer Lytton, Hook, Dickens, Reynolds, Martineau, Thackeray, Ainsworth and Marryat, showing that Queenslanders, despite their isolation, were able to keep up with the latest bestsellers. Gulliver's Travels, Robinson Crusoe, The Arabian Nights, and the works of Shakespeare, Byron and Cowper were also included, besides Christie's A Love Story, By a Bushman. A further two hundred volumes offered by Dowse on 24 October again showed a fair selection of modern and standard authors - Frederika Bremer, Byron, Washington Irving, Maria Edgeworth, Shakespeare and Swift - besides two volumes of the Edinburgh Review and the twenty-two-volume The British Poets. In contrast Dowse's sole 1847 sale, listed on 22 May, included mainly more substantial fare like seventeen volumes of Schiller's Works in German, The British Essayists, Rasselas, Cowper's Table Talk and Young's Night Thoughts. But perhaps there were at this time no appreciative scholarly readers in Brisbane; after a blank year in 1848, Dowse's two 1849 sales appear to have been composed mainly of modern novels once more. The first, announced on 10 February, consisted of "400 Volumes of Entertaining Works", with Marryat, Cooper, Scott, Ainsworth, Dumas, Sue and Bulwer Lytton the authors mentioned. Fiction also seems to have predominated in "A quantity of Books (Novels,

Histories, etc.) to close a consignment", advertised on 29 December.

Dowse's wife, Ann, made her contribution to the Brisbane literary scene by opening its first circulating library, and selling books as well. Her stock, both for buying and borrowing, advertised on 10 June 1848, was made up of cheap reprints of the Novel Newspaper. She also had a few school and religious books, besides Boswell's Life of Johnson and Johnson's Lives of the Poets, which, interestingly enough, could apparently only be purchased by persons buying one of the novels as well. Perhaps, after all, standard works were in great demand in Brisbane at this time. Like Ann Dowse, the four other people who advertised books in Brisbane in the late 'forties did so only once, and cannot have provided anything like a regular supply. On 8 May 1847, Mr. R. Davidson of Kangaroo Point offered a few works, amongst them novels by Carleton and Miss Porter and Duffy's Library of Ireland. A further forty volumes, mostly religious books, were advertised by M. Power on 22 April 1848. On 6 October 1849, H. Bulgin, "of the Bazaar", presumably a general storekeeper, announced "a case of BOOKS, just arrived from England . . . comprising some of the most STANDARD POPULAR WORKS", without listing any titles, whilst thirteen volumes, none of them imaginative literature, were advertised by James Swan a week later.

Of the other colonies, South Australia, in keeping with

its more highly organized settlement, had, as has been seen, regular supplies of books right from the start. As usual, more books were sold at auction than in book shops, though the latter were not lacking, especially towards the end of the decade. At least a thousand volumes were advertised for auction in every year except 1842 and 1845, with a fairly steady increase to almost twelve thousand volumes in 1849. Two firms were responsible for auctioning just over twelve hundred volumes in 1840. On 7 April, Bentham and Co. advertised in the Adelaide Chronicle a "Gentleman's Library, consisting of the works of the most popular Novelists, Essayists, and other standard writers" - Dickens, James, Cooper, Bulwer Lytton, Washington Irving, William Godwin, Johnson and Bunyan. In the same paper on 23 September, they succinctly offered "780 vols. for the schoolmaster; 70 new novels; 100 various subjects; 27 vols. works of Scott", the largest sale of this year. Nathaniel Hailes, perhaps better known for the satiric poetry published in many Adelaide papers under his pseudonym "Timothy Short", and his partner Peek listed another collection of the usual standard and modern authors, Scott, Maria Edgeworth, Boswell, Hood, Shakespeare and Sterne, in the Southern Australian for 7 August.[38]

In the following year, over four thousand volumes were put under the hammers of three other auctioneering firms. The most active was Mr. I. Nonmus, who held seven sales, the largest, of more than a thousand volumes, on 7 September. In

38 Unless otherwise stated, details of Adelaide book advertisements come from this paper.

this, and his others, one finds such familiar figures as Swift, Shakespeare, Milton, Bulwer Lytton, Byron and Campbell. Similar collections of standard and modern authors were sold by Mr. F. Wicksteed, later to form one half of the most prominent Adelaide book auctioneers of this decade, and the Adelaide Auction Company. The latter announced a large sale of fifteen hundred volumes in the Adelaide Independent for 28 October, but the only literary work mentioned was The Pilgrim's Progress. Master Humphrey's Clock, The Hunchback of Notre Dame and Kennedy's Rob of the Bowl had, however, been included in an earlier sale of 4 August. As mentioned above, 1842 saw only three and a half hundred volumes of books advertised for auction in Adelaide. A.H. Davis offered works by Shakespeare, Fielding, Hannah More, Scott and G.W.M. Reynolds in the Adelaide Examiner on 7 and 21 September, whilst J.B. Neales advertised two unlisted collections of one hundred and one hundred and eighty volumes in the South Australian Register on 1 October and 31 December. Despite this inauspicious start, Neales was to remain the chief Adelaide book auctioneer until 1848. In 1843 he persisted in his habit of giving few details of the works for sale, a practice also followed by most other auctioneers in this year, advertising four hundred and three hundred volumes of unspecified novels on 18 August and 1 September respectively and other even more indefinite collections. The few authors mentioned by Neales and the other auctioneers were, perhaps predictably, Shakespeare, Dickens, Lever, Byron, Moore,

Sterne. In 1844, again, Neales gave few details of the contents of his eight sales, apart from such general descriptions as, in the Adelaide Observer for 28 September, "Byron's Tales, Novels, Magazines, etc.". The only other firm selling books in this year, Lambert and Son, were, however, more forthcoming on 22 March, mentioning among one hundred and fifty volumes for auction that day works by Byron, Goldsmith, Burns, Thomson, Shakespeare, Milton and Pope. An earlier advertisement in the South Australian Register for 17 January of one thousand volumes had, on the other hand, been as bare of titles as Neales'. The next year, Neales did not even list the number of volumes among the "Three Cases of School Books, Novels, etc." he advertised in the Observer for 15 February. In consequence, 1845 shows the smallest auction figures for any year in the decade, the only other sale being one of two hundred odd volumes by B. Solomon, announced in the South Australian Register on 6 September.

Although Neales' early sales in 1846 were described equally scantily, two advertisements in the South Australian Register for 29 April and 6 May mentioning "Children's books, Dickens' Novels, school books, annuals, etc." and "106 volumes of Novels" respectively, he made some amends with a lengthy list in the South Australian Gazette for 23 May. Among the one thousand volumes for auction were works by Bunyan, Byron, Campbell, Defoe, Goldsmith, Cervantes, Maria Edgeworth, Eugene Sue and G.W.M. Reynolds, a few Gothic novels, and the very rare

Herrick's The Hesperides. The only other person auctioning books in Adelaide in 1846 was the Government Auctioneer - amongst some "Surplus Furniture from Government House", announced for sale in the Adelaide Observer of 26 September, were "300 Vols. Books (various)". One regrets the absence of further information as to just what was being thrown out. Nor was much information given on the contents of a further six sales held by Neales in 1847, including one of a thousand volumes announced in the Observer on 21 August. Another advertised in the same paper on 13 February, however, received a fuller listing, perhaps because of its highly popular works. Amongst this "Large and well selected library just imported" were various works by Dickens, three novels by Ainsworth, two by Lever and one by Marryat, Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lectures, Gil Blas, Sterne's Works and ten volumes of Punch. The only other book auction in 1847, held on 18 December by E.N. Emmett, and also advertised in the Observer, contained equally popular novels by James, Sue, Lever, Dickens, Thackeray and Defoe, and three volumes of the new Parlour Novelist collection.

Until his retirement from business at the end of September 1848, Neales continued to be about the only person auctioning books in Adelaide. Among his eight 1848 sales were two large collections of four and two thousand volumes, announced on 6 June and 8 September respectively, the latter described as "consigned by Mr. H.G. Bohn, publisher London". In a departure from his previous practice, Neales gave fairly full content lists of all the sales he held in 1848. They

included a wide selection of all the popular standard and modern authors: in the first class one finds Defoe, Sterne, Massinger, Swift, Boswell, Shakespeare, Crabbe, Cervantes, Le Sage, Smollett, Fielding, St. Pierre, Johnson, Bunyan, Pope and Goldsmith; in the second, Southey, Coleridge, Scott, Edgeworth, Lever, Dickens, Ainsworth, Bremer, James, Carleton, Sue, Bulwer Lytton, Hook, Marryat, Thomas Moore, Mrs. Trollope, Cockton, Byron, Gerald Griffin and Washington Irving. Neales' business was taken over by Samson, Wicksteed and Co., who continued to present extensive advertisements of their many auction sales. The six held in 1848 included many of the popular authors listed above, the largest, thirteen hundred volumes, advertised in the South Australian Register for 25 October, being composed almost entirely of imaginative literature. 1848 also saw the return to book auctioning of Nathaniel Hailes, who offered on 29 November Moore's Irish Melodies, Illustrations of Byron, and Laman Blanchard's Life and Literary Remains of L.E.L.

Hailes held four further sales in the first half of 1849, the largest, eighteen hundred volumes, advertised in the Adelaide Times on 26 March, featuring popular novels by Dickens, Cooper, Scott, Warren and Ainsworth. Two others of five hundred and a thousand volumes were not listed in detail; works by Shelley, Fielding and Smollett were, however, included in his final auction, announced, again in the Times, on 4 June. Samson, Wicksteed and Co. were far and away the most active Adelaide book auctioneers in this year, conducting no less than twenty-two sales, seven of a thousand volumes or higher.

Modern novels continued to predominate amongst the imaginative literature, with works by Lever, Gerald Griffin, Dickens, Cooper, Eugene Sue, Scott, Maria Edgeworth, Ainsworth, Marryat, Dumas, James, Bulwer Lytton, Hook, Mrs. Trollope, Mrs. Gore, Washington Irving, Miss Bremer, Gleig and G.W.M. Reynolds being frequently listed. There were also many copies of works by the more popular modern poets like Byron, Moore, Campbell, Mrs. Norton, Scott, Southey and Mrs. Hemans, together with the usual older prose and poetry by Cervantes, Sterne, Johnson, Boswell, Defoe, Swift, Bunyan, Richardson, Smollett, Fielding, Cowper, Burns, Milton, Thomson and Pope. Two much rarer items, G.H. Lewes' Rose, Blanche and Violet (1848) and Thomas Browne's Works in four volumes, are found in advertisements in the Adelaide Times for 19 March and 6 August respectively. Also of interest was the inclusion of many Novel Newspaper titles in a sale held on 11 July. Occasionally, Samson and Wicksteed enlivened their advertisements with a few exhortations to book buyers. In the South Australian Register for 11 April, for example, they said of a coming sale of over one thousand volumes:

TO BUSHMEN
To Parties inclined to start a Circulating Library in a Country District
SAMSON, WICKSTEED AND CO.
. . . Call the attention of the above to the
POPULAR NOVELS,
for Sale positively without Reserve, on Friday next.

Unfortunately, one does not know whether any bushmen heeded this advice, though the indications are that South Australian settlers, at least, must have thought of other things besides

sheep and wheat. Later, on 28 July, in the same paper, a collection of another thousand volumes, including poetry by Scott, Byron and Burns, and Scott's Tales of a Grandfather, was brought to the attention of a different class of readers: "Gentlemen who are fond of good, new, useful, splendidly embellished, magnificently bound books are recommended not to come to the Auction Mart except with an intention of bidding for every cheap lot". Another quotation, from an advertisement for three cases of books in the South Australian Gazette of 23 August, shows that Edward Lumley had not been behindhand in extending his activities to South Australia: "These books are from the well-known establishment of Mr. Lumley, of London, and are similar to those sold periodically by Mr. Neales, which have given to [sic] much satisfaction to the public".

In 1849, Samson, Wicksteed and Co.'s main competition came from a new auctioneer, Thomas Anslow, who held nine book auctions and also sold books over the counter. His stock for both methods of selling seems to have consisted chiefly of modern novels, especially those by Scott, Dickens, Lever, Cooper, Marryat and Ainsworth.[39] Anslow also appears to have been the only Adelaide auctioneer to operate at a country centre in this decade, announcing in the South Australian Register for 21 July 1849 that on 28 and 29 July he would sell two hundred volumes of books at Kooringa, Burra Burra, site of the famous South Australian copper mines.

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[39] See Appendix III for details of Anslow's advertisements.

N.P. At the other end of the decade, another auctioneering firm, Bentham and Co., had offered the forty-eight-volume Waverley Novels for retail sale in the Adelaide Chronicle on 17 March 1840. Adelaide readers did not, however, have to depend only on auctioneers for a constant supply of books. Charles Platts, who established Adelaide's first circulating library in 1840, also had volumes for sale there throughout the 'forties. Presumably like his library collection, these seem to have consisted mainly of modern bestselling novels. On 25 November 1841, for example, he announced in the Adelaide Examiner the recent receipt of "Books for the People; Books for the Bush", including Cockton's Valentine Vox, Neale's Paul Perriwinkle, Marryat's Poor Jack, Lover's Rory O'More (1837) and Dickens' Master Humphrey's Clock besides "1000 Popular Novels, Romances, Periodicals, etc." Other bestsellers offered in later years were Martin Chuzzlewit, on 15 December 1843, Lever's St. Patrick's Eve (1848) on 7 April 1848, and Dombey and Son and Thackeray's Our Street (1848) on 20 June 1848. Whilst an advertisement in the South Australian Gazette for 8 February 1849 was unusual in listing standard authors like Milton, Butler, Pope, Cowper, Kirke White, Shakespeare and Boswell, besides Scott, Byron and Dumas, two others in the Adelaide Times for 2 and 23 April of this year again showed Platts determined to provide Adelaide readers with the most recent popular fiction. Amongst the works for sale were Lever's The Knight of Gwynne (1847) and three of his earlier novels, three recent productions by James, Thackeray's Vanity Fair

(1848), Ainsworth's St. James (1844), Samuel Warren's Now and Then, Bulwer Lytton's Harold (1848), Mrs. Gore's Castles in the Air and, in its only pre-1850 Australian appearance, Charlotte Bronte's Jane Eyre (1847).

At the end of 1840, Lady Franklin, wife of the then Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land, paid a brief visit to South Australia, and amongst other things, appears to have patronised the Adelaide booksellers. On 30 December, she noted in her diary, now in the National Library at Canberra, "Platts to pay for books. Macdougall's to pay". Other members of her party, however, apparently did not think much of the local stock of books, since on the same date she recorded, "A Book Society is abt. to be formed at Adelaide - Mr. Jackson recommended that they shd. send for books from Dowling's at Launceston." The reference to Macdougall is explained by another entry two days earlier, "to Macd.'s shop - got out, bought maps - Mr. M. dark, goodlooking - has books to sell there and statn." Macdougall, however, advertised his wares only once, on 5 February 1841, merely listing two popular annuals, so cannot have continued in business for very long, despite his good looks, presumably devoting his main attention to his newspaper, the Southern Australian. Three other booksellers advertising in Adelaide early in the 'forties seem to have had equally brief careers. On 26 March 1840, Barzillai Quaife, better known later in Sydney as a proponent of popular education and opponent of capital punishment, advertised, appropriately enough, over

fifty volumes of Knight's cheap publications, but was not heard from again. A Mr. W.D. Poole also advertised only once, on 24 February 1843, though his stock contained more best-selling items like Master Humphrey's Clock, Charles O'Malley, Harry Lorrequer and Byron's Life and Works. Not quite so reticent was Robert Thomas, a bookseller in London from 1802 to 1836,[40] who advertised his wares five times between 17 March 1841 and 23 July 1842, mostly in the Adelaide Chronicle. The first of these announced a stock of books "From the celebrated houses of Fisher, Son and Co.", another London firm also active in the Sydney book trade, consisting mainly of standards like Knight's Pictorial Shakespeare, The Arabian Nights, Bacon's Essays, Goldsmith's Citizen of the World and Hannah More's Works, with a couple of more recent volumes by Mrs. Ellis and Harriet Martineau. Most of these works reappeared in Thomas's later advertisements, one of 2 June 1841 for "a large invoice of Reprints of Standard Works, which they will be able to sell at extremely low prices" also including among its authors Burns, Byron, Milton, Cervantes, Defoe, Mrs. Helme, Gay, Thomson, Bunyan and Scott.

Another to offer cheap reprints was William Bulpitt, "Broker, and General Dealer", who listed fifty-eight volumes of the Novel Newspaper, priced from eightpence to four-and-six, in the Adelaide Observer on 16 December 1843 and 17 February 1844. James Stephens, proprietor of the Observer and later of the South Australian Register, another example of the frequent combination of the newspaper and bookselling businesses in

[40] See George Pitt, The Press in South Australia. 1836-1850 (1946), p. 2.

early Australia, appears to have taken over Bulpitt's stock, since the same titles were advertised on 4 May 1844 as "for sale by Mr. John Stephens, Bookseller, Stationer, and General Commission Agent". Stephens seems to have been adept at the take-over business, the same advertisement announcing he was operating from Platts' former bookshop, Waterloo House. Platts did not take kindly to this new competition, nor to the possible implication that Stephens had taken-over his business as well, printing in the South Australian Register for 4 May a "NOTICE AND CAUTION TO THE PUBLIC" which, among other things, accused Stephens of "obtaining possession of his shop by bidding a higher rent for it". These charges were strenuously denied by Stephens in his Observer on 11 May. Stephens remained Platts' main rival in the bookselling trade until 1848, his advertised stock being chiefly made up of the Chambers brothers' publications, of which he claimed in the Register for 23 September 1846 to be "the sole agent for sale in South Australia", and Novel Newspaper reprints. His final advertisement on 24 April 1847, also in the Register, offering "1500 volumes select, new and cheap popular works", featured among its imaginative literature the Novel Newspaper in its later form, with works by Sue, Dumas, Miss Bremer and recent American novels, besides a copy of McCombie's Arabin.

Although Stephens appears to have left off bookselling in 1847, a new rival for Platts soon appeared in the form of Michael D'Arcy, previously discussed in relation to the Sydney trade. On 8 February 1848, D'Arcy announced his commencement in business with a

. . . Stock purchased for Cash from Fisher and Co. London, he is enabled to dispose of it at prices hitherto unknown in this Colony; being determined to conduct his business upon the principle of small profits and quick returns.
5000 Children's Books.
1000 Novels, School Books, Standard Works in Science and Literature.

A lengthy advertisement by D'Arcy in the Observer for 29 April 1848, headed "REFORM YOUR BOOKSELLERS' BILLS", followed up this theme by stating, "Having made arrangements for periodical supplies from a wholesale house, he is enabled to sell at prices that will defy competition, and at least fifty per cent. under the charges made by the booksellers a few months ago." This approach was, of course, similar to that taken by another former Sydney bookseller, Cregin, in Melbourne the following year. Amongst the works listed by D'Arcy were twelve by Fenimore Cooper, ten by Marryat, seven by Bulwer Lytton, five by Mrs. Ellis, four by Thomas Moore, three each by Lever and Miss Porter, two each by Dickens, Carleton, Cockton and James, and single titles by Galt, Hook, Godwin, Albert Smith, Lover, Victor Hugo, Gerald Griffin, George Sand, Harriet Martineau and Samuel Warren. There were also a few volumes by older authors, like Mrs. Radcliffe's Works, Gil Blas, Paul and Virginia and Johnson's Lives of the Poets, though it is evident that D'Arcy, like most contemporary booksellers, saw modern novels as the mainstay of his trade in imaginative literature. D'Arcy continued to advertise his wares in 1849, one list in the South Australian Mercury for 11 August including Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Byron and Burns, as well as

several of the popular authors mentioned above. One other bookseller appeared in Adelaide right at the end of the decade, E.S. Wigg, a firm still in business today. His announcement in the Adelaide Times for 17 December 1849 offered unspecified "General Literature, Evangelical Works, School Books, etc."

Western Australia, with its blotched start and extremely small population growth, was more poorly supplied with books than any other Australian colony in the eighteen-forties. In many ways, the bookselling scene in Perth during this decade closely resembles that in Sydney before 1820. A few storekeepers included books - generally school and children's ones - among their wares, a few collections were sold by auction, a few persons advertised their libraries for private sale. About the only things missing were the requests for return of borrowed books. As in other states, too, journalists helped to supply more enduring reading matter than their weekly sheets, the first book advertisement of the 'forties, in the Inquirer[41] for 23 December 1840, mentioning that a few children's books, by Mrs. Sherwood and others, suitable for Christmas presents, were on sale at the Inquirer office. Two auctions of private libraries, to be discussed later in this chapter, were held in 1841, and four general book auctions in 1843, all but one by F. Mangles and Co. Only the first of these, advertised on 12 July, was

41 Unless otherwise stated, all details of Western Australian book advertisements are from this paper.

described in any detail: "A LARGE selection of useful and amusing books, consisting of spelling and other school books, lives of distinguished and illustrious characters, historical and religious work [sic], and various other stationery." It is safe to assume Mangles' other book auctions were similarly composed, and that useful works also predominated among the "variety" of books listed amongst the goods available at his store advertised on 23 August 1843. Certainly, "Spelling books" appear to have been the only publications included in the contents of Mr. C. Clarkson's Stores, auctioned by I. and W. Samson on 25 January 1843, and later, on 20 September, were also advertised by John Wicksteed of the Union Hotel, Fremantle. Another Fremantle storekeeper, Mrs. Lewes, offered yet more spelling books in the Perth Gazette on 14 September 1844, whilst in their Western Australian Monthly Magazine for April 1844, the Wesleyans had announced that school and religious books were on sale at their Mission House. On 2 May 1849, M.E. Okely also listed "Spelling Books, Story Books for Children" as his only literary wares, with G. Shenton advertising an "Assortment of very superior SCHOOL BOOKS" in the Perth Gazette for 8 June 1849.

During 1844 and 1845 more than three hundred and fifty volumes were announced for auction at seven of L. and W. Samson's sales. Unfortunately, like Mangles, they did not list any of the titles, contenting themselves with an occasional general description like, in the Perth Gazette for 23 March 1844, "A case of books, comprising scrap books,

Shakespeare's, Byron's and other works, an assortment of School Books, etc. etc. etc. from the house of Fisher and Co.", or, in the same paper for 1 March 1845, "150 Volumes new Standard Works on Divinity, History and Biography". Sometime in 1846 or 1847 W. Samson evidently left Perth, quite possibly to reappear in Adelaide as part of the prominent auctioneering firm, Samson, Wicksteed, and Co. After a lapse during these two years, on 20 December 1848 L. Samson advertised "a choice selection of valuable Works" for auction. Books figured in eleven of his 1849 sales but these were advertised in even less detail than before. Although Mangles seems to have resigned the auctioneering hammer to the Samsons, he still occasionally had books on sale at his store, offering on 7 October 1846, "Historical and other works . . . A Variety of Novels and entertaining Works at low prices" and, on 7 January 1847, providing the only detailed Perth book advertisement of the 'forties. Nearly one hundred and forty volumes, more than half of them literary works, were listed. Available "At Very Reduced Prices" were many of the most popular standard and modern authors - Pope, Cowper, Milton, Thomson, Young, Le Sage, Cervantes, Swift, Shakespeare; James, Scott, Marryat, Lady Blessington - besides a few less common, like Spenser and Shelley. Unfortunately, the two other book advertisements of the period, both in the Perth Gazette, followed Samson's rather than Mangles' later practice. One on 28 October 1848, "For Sale. About 300 volumes of standard Works - Apply Mr. MELLERSH, Woodlands,

York", seems to refer to a sale of a private library, whilst the other, a fortnight later, was for George Skinner's auction of "A Number of Books" at Northam.

From all of this, one concludes there were no specialised booksellers operating in Western Australia before 1850, books being only occasionally available from auctioneers or general storekeepers. Of course, as in the other colonies, settlers did not have to depend only on local supplies of books. An examination of the Perth Gazette's shipping lists shows several private importations of books by, for example, J.R.C. Walters on 9 October 1841, H.E. John Hutt, Esq. on 9 April 1842 and J. and M. Carter on 10 January 1846. A select, if small, reading public in Perth is also indicated by the several Book Clubs, to be discussed in the next chapter, the large advertisement for subscribers to Gould's Birds of Australia which appeared in the Gazette on 30 July 1842, and the few private libraries announced for auction in the 'forties.

Private libraries, and general information on the Australian reading public in this decade, are the matter of this final section. So far, discussion has centred on the works of imaginative literature available in Australia in the eighteen-forties, and the persons who sold them. Turning now to the much more poorly documented subject of the persons who bought these works, and actually read them, one finds that most material relates to the higher strata of society. Working-class readers, as in England, must have formed an increasingly

greater proportion of the reading public, and presumably purchased much of the cheap literature, such as the Novel Newspaper reprints, so widely advertised in this period. However, with the notable exception of Alexander Harris, they seem to have had neither the leisure nor the inclination to keep notes of their reading and libraries. Auctioneers' catalogues of private libraries, one's other major source of information, also generally list the belongings of clergymen and others of the upper classes departing for heaven or Europe, even the insolvent sales featuring mostly notables like Hannibal Macarthur who had fallen prey to the frequent financial crashes of this period. No doubt poorer readers, in Sydney at least, sold their libraries to bookstall owners, or disposed of them anonymously at one of the general night auctions held regularly by Moore and others. In discussing the literature found in colonists' libraries, one is therefore dealing chiefly with what a small portion of the population read, or at least owned. An amusing description of a night auction in the Sydney periodical Heads of the People for 8 May 1847 does, however, give one occasion to doubt whether auctioneers' descriptions of their clients can always be relied upon:

> . . . The auctioneer, as he praises the lot, inspires you with a sense of your own worthiness. At the instant he is selling the volume, the price of which is to get you your supper, he is telling the crowd that it belonged to the library of a man of eminent literary habits. The half-dozen of silver spoons you brought with you from home, are described as the remnant of the family plate of a person of distinction, who is about to proceed to India. The Cashmere shawl and silk dress, which he pronounces unrivalled in the Colony, were the property of a lady remarkable for taste and fashion, who had

perished at sea.

Owing to the severe depressions and the general population increase, many more private libraries were auctioned in Sydney in the 'forties than in the previous decades. Of seven advertised in 1840, three were described as "The property of a Gentleman leaving the Colony", usually for England. The four libraries whose titles were listed were composed mainly of the great and popular standard authors. On 10 January, Samuel Lyons advertised in the Monitor, for sale that day, "Property of Mr. George Wilbie, Retiring from Business", including the eighty-eight-volume edition of Scott's Works, and others by Byron, Burns and Shakespeare. "A very fine edition of Shakespeare" and Scott's Works were also to be found in Mr. Hart's "Valuable LIBRARY" announced for sale by the Australian Auction Company in the Australasian Chronicle for 21 January. Hart, however, evidently also kept up with the latest literature, since his collection contained as well as the works of Bulwer Lytton, Marryat, Cooper, James, Ainsworth, Maria Edgeworth, Lockhart, Grattan, the Countess of Blessington and the Hon. Mrs. Norton. Another avid novel reader was the anonymous "Gentleman leaving the Colony for England", whose one hundred and sixty-five volumes were listed by Blackman in the Australian on 17 November. Besides works by Cooper, Mrs. Trollope, Gleig and Washington Irving, he had collected ten volumes of Bentley's Standard Novels and "Eighty-eight Popular Novels and Romances, included in fourteen parts,

large 4to, of the Romancist and Novelist's Library".[42] His library was, however, not deficient in more solid standard fare like histories by Hume and Smollett and Gibbon, "A splendid general Atlas", Bibles, Law Books, Dictionaries, twenty volumes of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, "several Works on New South Wales", and, on the literary side, Lockhart's Life of Scott, Byron's, Pope's and Swift's Works, and a nine-volume edition of Shakespeare, "with copious index". All in all, this was extremely typical of the colonial gentleman's library of the period, though perhaps including more light literature than many would have cared to own, or own to. Francis Fisher, for example, whose "valuable Law Library. Also, a Portion of His Private Library" had been advertised by Blackman in the Sydney Gazette five days earlier, was more conservative in his literary tastes, owning the British Essayists in thirty volumes and a sixty-volume edition of Scott's Novels and Poetical Works. The latter was listed in capitals, a further tribute to Scott's continuing popularity. Two other private libraries advertised in 1840, both again by Blackman, who continued to dominate this aspect of book auctioning in the first half of the decade, were not listed in any detail. One, in the Sydney Gazette for 6 February, was anunusually large collection of seven hundred volumes of "Ancient and Modern Authors"; the other, in the Herald for 17 January, "A Choice Collection of Historical, Religious, French and other Works, the property

42 See Sadleir, XIX Century Fiction (1951), pp. 164-5 for details of its contents.

of William Kerr, Esq., leaving for England". It is, however, possible they may have belonged to William Kerr, the journalist, who only got as far as Melbourne, where he became editor of the Port Phillip Patriot and, for a time, a bookseller. If so, his tastes in reading seem to have been more severe than those of the majority of his fellow colonists.

Of five auction advertisements for private libraries in the following year, only two gave figures and only one titles of works for sale. On 29 August, Lyons advertised in the Monitor "several hundred volumes of standard and popular works" belonging to F.L. Campbell, Esq., a former Colonial Treasurer who, although this was for once not stated, had recently left for England. The libraries of three other former public servants, Thomas Farrington, assistant Colonial Secretary, Francis Moore, Crown Prosecutor, and Thomas Macquoid, Sheriff, were also for sale in 1841, but unfortunately not listed in any detail. The only fully advertised library, by Dodds in the Australasian Chronicle on 4 September, belonged to another anonymous "gentleman about to leave the colony". Nearly half of the two hundred volumes were imaginative literature, by, predominantly, Scott and the usual eighteenth-century authors like Sterne, Cowper and Young, with Richardson's Sir Charles Grandison as a less common item. This library was also rich in English periodicals such as Blackwood's Magazine and the Edinburgh Review and in the little volumes

of the Library of Entertaining Knowledge.

1842 is the first year for which complete auction catalogues of private libraries survive in the Mitchell Library, although, unfortunately, the catalogue for Lyons' sale on 27 February of the household goods of John Eyde Manning is missing the pages devoted to the Library. This former Registrar of the Supreme Court was only one of the many victims of the severe depressions haunting New South Wales in the eighteen-forties. The other 1842 Catalogue, for a sale by Blackman on 6 August, is entitled

> To the Clergy of New South Wales, Committee of the Australian Library, and Literary Gentlemen of the Colony. A Catalogue of the Valuable Library of the late Rev. Henry Fulton, Comprising some of the most rare and valuable Works of Ancient Authors, many of which are not to be found in any other Library in the Colony.

As one might expect, the six hundred and seventy odd volumes owned by this clergyman, school teacher and classical scholar were mainly theological works, Greek and Latin classics and mathematical and other school books. Only a few volumes come within the scope of this thesis; appropriately for the mentor of Charles Tompson, English poets were represented by two copies of Thomson's Seasons, Cowper's Poems, Gay's Fables, Young's Night Thoughts, Akenside's Poems and The Beauties of Blair, whilst the only novels were in French - Gil Blas and Œuvres de St. Pierre. Eleven other private libraries were auctioned in 1842, three being mainly collections of law books: seven hundred volumes belonging to the late Chief Justice Sir Francis Forbes, advertised by Lyons on

25 July; an unspecified number of John Kinsella's by Blackman on 20 June; eighty volumes, "The Property of a Gentleman retiring from the Profession", by Foss and Lloyd on 23 August. This unnamed lawyer had evidently also been a keen fiction reader, since many of a further one hundred and forty-three volumes of "General Literature" were novels. Along with eighteenth-century works like Joseph Andrews, Clarissa, one of only two copies advertised in Australia in this decade, and Smollett's Adventures of Ferdinand, Count Fathom, he had owned more recent three-deckers such as Mrs. Gore's Women as They Are (1830), Howard's Jack Ashore (1840), R.M. Roche's The Nun's Picture (1836) and, a most appropriate title which I have been unable to trace in the bibliographies, The Briefless Barrister, A Novel. His library also included the more common standards like Chalmers' eight-volume Shakespeare's Plays, Dryden's Miscellaneous Works, Swift's Works in seventeen volumes, Johnson's Lives of the Poets, Milton's Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained, Thomson's Seasons and the Edinburgh Review from 1803 to 1819. Another anonymous gentleman whose interest in literature was even more up-to-date had his library advertised by A. Polack on 15 July as

> One of the most select collections of BOOKS ever offered to public competition, the property of a gentleman who has been for some years past collecting them with careful attention, and are equally valuable as elegant. Among them will be found editions of Milman, Southey, Scott, Bulwer, Irving, Cooper, Hazlitt, Marryat, Boz, D'Israeli, Goldsmith, Canning, Porter, &c.

Also included were Coleridge's Works and some law books which

suggest this reader may have been another lawyer.

Among the seven other private libraries auctioned in 1842, that of the actor Conrad Knowles, advertised by Stubbs on 29 August, also included works by Dickens, Marryat and Southey, as well as Moore, Byron and Shakespeare, "most of them in expensive and highly finished bindings, and good editions". Knowles evidently also read Bulwer Lytton, since his play Salathiel, or the Jewish Chieftain (1842) was an adaptation of one of Lytton's less popular novels, Lelia; or, the Seige of Granada (1838). An unusual reason was given for the sale of Knowles' books, his removal to "a more convenient residence", but perhaps he was also short of money as he had been involved in the failure of the Olympic Theatre earlier in 1842. Moore and Heydon's 16 March sale of "a highly classical and tasteful library" of just over one hundred and thirty volumes, including Moore's Irish Melodies and Campbell's Pleasures of Hope and Gertrude of Wyoming, had been motivated by the more usual reason of the owner's departure from Sydney. A Mr. H.O. Ayrane, also "leaving the Colony for Europe", had his extensive collection of nine hundred volumes of "English, French, Italian and Spanish Books" advertised by Lyons in the Australasian Chronicle for 31 December. As this, and a few other auctions show, there were at least some colonists in Sydney in the 'forties with an interest in literature that went beyond the common standard and popular English authors. Perhaps it is significant that Ayrane is described neither as a gentleman

nor an esquire, since people of this class seem to have been generally more conservative in literary taste. As an example, the library of M. Whyttaw, Esq., advertised by Foss and Lloyd on 9 June, contained among its one hundred and twenty odd volumes Cowper's Poems, Pope's Poetical Works, Kirke White's Remains, The Spectator and Gil Blas, and of more recent literature only Michael Scott's popular Tom Cringle's Log (1833). Although the library of another gentleman, appearing under W.C. Moore's banner in the Australasian Chronicle on 29 December, was more extensive, with at least six hundred volumes, it was also heavy in works by Fielding, Smollett, Byron, Goldsmith, Cowper, Milton, Falconer and Mackenzie. He did, however, possess two very recent works, Samuel Warren's Ten Thousand a Year (1841) and William Howitt's Student Life in Germany (1841), besides Roscoe's Novelists Library, a further one hundred unspecified novels and a hundred "play books". The libraries of two clergymen, the Rev. Messrs. Wylde and Mackenzie, were advertised by Blackman in the Colonial Observer for 23 July, but with no hint of their contents.

By 1843, with the effects of the current depression being more strongly felt, fourteen private libraries were advertised for auction in Sydney, together with three at Maitland. Although only three of these were actually labelled sales of insolvent estates, it is probable many of the others came on the market for similar reasons. The catalogue for a sale by Blackman on 17 October is headed

In the Insolvent Estate of W.H. Moore, of the Surry Hills, Gentleman . . . Upwards of Eight Hundred Volumes of Historical, Biographical, Statistical, Surgical, Medical, Theological, and Scientific Works, Both Ancient and Modern - Decidedly the Largest and Best Private Library Ever Brought to the Hammer in New South Wales.

As this indicates, Moore, a former Crown Solicitor, did not have an extensive collection of imaginative literature. His library was, however, particularly rich in works by Johnson and Boswell, and contained two fairly uncommon early items in Thomas Browne's Works in four volumes and Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy in two, besides a goodish number of periodicals, mainly from the eighteenth century. In contrast, another insolvent, G.K. Mann, whose books were advertised by Polack on 9 August, had owned copies of The Pickwick Papers, Ainsworth's The Tower of London (1840), Bentley's Magazine, Lane's edition of The Arabian Nights and Mrs. Hemans' Poems. The library of the third insolvent, Josiah Skerritt, contained only twenty-five volumes, none of themnamed in Johnson's advertisement for 1 June. Most of the other 1842 sales were of books belonging to anonymous gentlemen, consisting, on the literary side, generally of a fairly equal mixture of standards and modern works by the usual authors like Goldsmith, Milton, Shakespeare, Dryden, Swift, Sterne, Butler, Johnson, Fielding and Smollett on the one hand, and Byron, Scott, Moore, Marryat, Samuel Warren, Cooper, Campbell, Bulwer Lytton, Dickens, Lever, "Sam Slick", Ainsworth, Godwin and Cockton on the other.[43] A similar pattern is shown by Blackman's advertisement in the

[43] See advertisements by Hebblewhite and Davey, 9 June, 18 July; Carfrae, 28 November, 6 December; Stubbs, 2 December; Mort, 18 September; Heydon, 10 August.

Australian for 12 April of "the effects of the late Charles Marten, Esq." who had evidently been a fairly well-to-do merchant. His library of about one hundred and eighty volumes was extremely typical of the period, containing standard editions of the works of Milton, Crabbe, Burns, Byron, Scott and Shakespeare, together with Bulwer Lytton's Pelham (1827) and numerous volumes of periodicals like the Quarterly Review and Blackwood's Magazine. Less typical were two gentleman's libraries advertised by Heydon on 18 May and 1 August as including a large proportion of popular, modern fiction such as Lover's Rory O'More (1837), Lever's Charles O'Malley (1841), Neale's Cavendish; or, the Patrician at Sea (1831), Marryat's Poor Jack (1841), Thackeray's Comic Tales and Sketches (1841), Carleton's Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry and Frederick Chamier's The Life of a Sailor (1832), showing the great interest in Irish and naval stories characteristic of this period in England and Australia. In contrast, another gentleman's library listed by Heydon on 21 December uncharacteristically contained a high number of classical works and some early English books like "The Primer, A.D. 1566" and a 1650 edition of Thomas Browne's Vulgar Errors. Heydon lauded this certainly uncommon collection as follows:

> Amateurs will find a few scarce publications in the English language; and classical scholars now have an opportunity of inspecting the largest general collection of classics perhaps yet seen in the colony. The clergy, also, and controversalists in general, may procure several scarce works not usually to be met with.

It is pleasant to see that this classical scholar and antiquarian also had a taste for "Boz's Works", his only other listed works of English literature being Milton's Paradise Lost and Pollock's far inferior but extremely popular religious poem The Course of Time (1827).[44]

The three sales of private libraries at Maitland, all auctioned by Jeremiah Ledsam, show country readers to have been fairly conservative in their tastes. Amongst more than one hundred and twenty volumes belonging to the late John Champian, Esq., advertised on 22 June, were Butler's Hudibras, The Vicar of Wakefield, Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, and Thomson's Seasons. This latter perennial also figured in a list on 7 September of one hundred and fifty volumes owned by Mr. Wicks Norton, late Commercial Tavern, Newcastle which, despite his calling, were mainly religious, especially Methodist books, along with a few other staples like Robinson Crusoe and The Pilgrim's Progress. Sixteen volumes advertised on 26 October for sale three days later at "the late office of Mr. J.S. Meir, High St., West Maitland (late Commercial Bank)" were also chiefly theological works.

1844 saw eleven auctions of private libraries in Sydney, five of them because of insolvency. Probably the most notable insolvent was Alexander Spark, the merchant, a former acquaintance of Wordsworth and a leading colonist for over twenty years. Unfortunately, no details of his library

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44 See Altick, op.cit., p.387. By 1869 it had sold 78,000 copies in England, and was advertised fourteen times in Australia in the 'forties.

were given in Lyons' advertisement in the Australian for 10 February of "upwards of 500 volumes of rare and expensive works by the most admired authors", and the catalogue of this sale does not seem to have survived. Nor does one know any of the titles of the three hundred and fifty volumes belonging to Henry Moore, Miller's Point, advertised, again by Lyons, on 30 April. Lyons, who seems to have had virtually a monopoly of insolvent sales in this year, had earlier, in the Australian for 5 January, announced the auction of an even larger library owned by John Rostron:

> Six hundred and forty-seven volumes, and six hundred and forty-three numbers, parts of illustrated works, unbound, comprising the finest collection of English standard works, of the best editions, on History, Biography, Science, and the Belles Lettres, lately offered to the public, most of them handsomely bound.

A later advertisement, in the same paper on 9 December, did finally mention a few of the authors - Scott, Byron and Maria Edgeworth among them - included in the three hundred volumes of Stephen Cox's library, along with "some valuable Law Books, and periodicals of the day". A further six hundred volumes of law books, belonging to an insolvent solicitor, Edward O'Reilly, had been advertised by Stubbs in the Australian on 23 January.

As with the insolvent estates, many of the other advertisements of private library auctions in 1844 gave only numbers and not titles of works for sale, which, although providing some indication of the size of colonists' libraries, are of no help in ascertaining their literary tastes. Thus, on 23 April, Salamon advertised "four hundred volumes

of popular and standard literature" belonging to Mr. W. Herst, Hereford House, the Glebe; a similar number, property of a departing gentleman, was offered by Lyons in the Australian on 9 March, and "about one hundred volumes" owned by the late Richard Helen, Esq., by Blackman on 31 July. The only two advertisements to list titles were Heydon's of "A Gentleman's Library", on 4 January, mentioning The Pilgrim's Progress, Dickens' Old Curiosity Shop, Marryat's Poor Jack and Scott's Works, and Chapman's more extensive announcement of the sale of a "Superb Library of an Eminent Professional Gentleman proceeding to England" in the Australian on 19 December. This featured "Moore's Works, beautifully bound in morocco, gilt, 10 vols.; Bulwer's Works, bound in red morocco, 10 vols." both "fresh from the hands of the English morocco Binder", along with the usual standard library editions of The Waverly Novels, The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott, The Works of Lord Byron, with Life by Thomas Moore, Hume and Smollett's History of England and, on a lighter note, Dickens' Barnaby Rudge. All in all, an extremely appropriate library, especially in morocco bindings, for an eminent professional gentleman, either at home or abroad, at this period. Blackman's

> Catalogue of the extensive and well-selected Library of a deceased Clergyman, consisting of upwards of 600 volumes of books, Among which will be found some of the most scarce and valuable Works of Ancient Authors in theology, biography, statistics, also surgical, medical, and scientific works, Many of which are not to be found in any other Library in the Colony . . .

for sale on 2 November, is also very representative of the tastes of an educated clergyman of the eighteen-forties. In the field of English literature, its contents were almost identical with Henry Fulton's library - Cowper's Poems, Gay's Fables, Thomson's Seasons, Young's Night Thoughts, The Beauties of Blair - perhaps because these were all published by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, with a solitary, and rather ancient, novel in Thomas Amory's John Buncle (1756).

More unusual were the books belonging to a Mr. Henry Parsons, who, from his library, seems to have been a Catholic schoolteacher, advertised for sale in Maitland by Ledsam on 18 January 1845, "to defray expenses for storage". Besides the Spectator and Paul and Virginia, they included Hans Christian Andersen's The Nightingale (1846), Rose Sidney (an Interesting tale) (Anon., 1833) and Besnard's A Voice from the Bush in Australia (1839). On the 22 February, Ledsam listed a more extensive collection of over one hundred and thirty volumes belonging to a Mr. Beattie, typical in its intermixture of works by Shakespeare, Smollett, Sterne, Pope, Milton, Goldsmith, Burns, Byron, Scott and Dickens. A less common item, indicative of the sprinkling of foreign authors in Beattie's library, was Goethe's The Sorrows of Werther.

In Sydney, the libraries of several notables were auctioned in 1845, the largest that of former Colonial Secretary Alexander McLeay, "removing to the country". Consisting of nearly four thousand volumes, it for once justified the superlatives in

Blackman's "decidedly the largest and most valuable collection of Books ever brought to the hammer in New South Wales". Although McLeay was not an insolvent, the financial difficulties he experienced in the 'forties may well have been responsible for this sale of the "major part" of his library, undoubtedly one of the best, if not the best, then in Australia. The catalogue for this sale, on 1, 2, 3 and 4 April, with books divided into various subjects, fortunately survives in the Mitchell Library. Reflecting McLeay's especial interests, it was strongest in Natural History, though works on Divinity were nearly as extensive, whilst about a quarter of the volumes were grouped under the headings Belles Lettres, Essays, Novels, Romances, Poetry, Drama, and Magazines. McLeay also owned many works on History, Voyages and Travels, Geography and Topography, and smaller, but still respectable, numbers on Biography, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Medicine, Fine Arts and Antiquities, Agriculture, Philosophy, Education, Moral Philosophy and Political Economy. As usual with a man of his vintage, born 1767, most of his literary works dated from the eighteenth century or earlier, including such standards as Boswell's Life of Johnson, Goldsmith's Essays, Vicar of Wakefield and Citizen of the World, Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, Johnson's Rasselas, Richardson's Sir Charles Grandison, Sterne's Works, Mrs. Radcliffe's Romance of the Forest, all the famous eighteenth-century essayists, Dryden's and Pope's classical translations, and the customary poetry by Ossian, Gray, Thomson, Falconer, Beattie, Kirke White, Shakespeare, Pope, Swift, Bloomfield,

Crabbe, Young and, much rarer, Wyatt and Surrey. In nineteenth-century works, McLeay's taste seems to have been strongly influenced by his Scottish ancestry. He owned "The Original Edition of the Waverley Novels, 74 vols.", Scott's Tales of a Grandfather and all his poetical works, John Galt's Autobiography (1833), Annals of the Parish (1821), Ringan Gilhaizie (1823) and The Spaewife (1823), Lockhart's Some Passages in the Life of Mr. Adam Blair (1822) and poetry by Burns, Campbell, Hogg and other Scottish authors. Recent non-Scottish writers in his collection were Southey, Moore, Milman, Marryat, Washington Irving and Horace Smith. One notes that two authors usually found in private libraries, Byron and Dickens, were not included in this sale - either McLeay had never bowed so far to popular taste, or they were among his favourites and retained in his possession.

Amongst other notables' libraries was the five-hundred-volume "Extensive and Valuable Law Library" of the late Chief Justice, Sir James Dowling, advertised by Stubbs in the Australian for 6 January. Another prominent lawyer who sold at least part of his library in 1845 was Roger Therry, presumably before his departure to become resident judge at Melbourne. The works he chose to leave behind him, as shown by Lyons' list for 24 January, were again extremely typical of the tastes of educated Australians of the time: the Waverley Novels, Scott's Prose Works, Moore's biographies of Sheridan and Byron, Carlyle's History of the French Revolution (1837), a three-volume edition of Shakespeare, "with an index

to the remarkable passages and works", and thirty volumes of the Quarterly Review. Scott and Byron were again well represented among the one hundred and fifty odd volumes listed in the "Catalogue of Household Furniture . . . To be Sold By Auction, By Mr. S. Lyons, At Beulah, (On the North Shore) the Residence of W. Gibbes, Esq." on 10 July 1845. This North Shore gentleman also owned a number of novels by Cooper and Bulwer Lytton, together with M.H. Barker's popular sea stories Land and Sea Tales (1836) and Tough Yarns (1835). A Dr. Wallace, who had his household furniture, including nearly two hundred volumes of books, auctioned by T.S. Mort on 31 March, was more conservative in his tastes in imaginative literature, owning mainly eighteenth-century standards like the British Essayists, Blair's Belles Lettres, Tooke's Pantheon, Boswell's Life of Johnson, Johnson's Lives of the Poets, Smollett's Works, Cowper's Poems, Pope's Poetical Works, Ossian's Poems, Burns' Works and Dryden's Virgil. His collection of nineteenth-century works was equally typical: the Waverley Novels, Byron's Works, Don Juan, Lady Blessington's Conversations with Lord Byron, Warren's Diary of a Late Physician and The Beauties of Washington Irving. The only auction catalogue from early Australia naming a woman as vendor was issued by Blackman for a sale of the "Superior Household Furniture" of a Mrs. Butler of Macquarie Place on 15th and 16th instant 1845 (the month has not been identified). She, or possibly her late husband, had owned three hundred volumes of books consisting, on the literary side, of fairly equal numbers of eighteenth-century standards and more modern novels. Again, one finds works by Cowper, Pope,

Richardson, Goldsmith and Young on the one hand, Dickens and more obscure novelists on the other, besides the usual poems by Byron, plays by Shakespeare, Paul and Virginia and The Arabian Nights. Another library auctioned in 1845 belonged to the Rev. M.A. Adam, and went under John Carfrae's hammer on 7 October. Like those of other clergymen sold in this decade, its five hundred volumes were composed mainly of theological works, including many early editions from the sixteen and seventeenth centuries. Adam's collection of imaginative literature, though small, was varied, ranging from Elizabeth Hamilton's 1808 novel The Cottagers of Glenburnie, through The Pilgrim's Progress, Paradise Lost and Burns' Poems to Dante's Divina Comedia, a French version of Gil Blas and Goethe's Drama. In 1834 a fifty-five-volume edition of Goethe printed in Stuttgart was the most interesting of about a hundred volumes, "the library of a gentleman just arrived in the colony", auctioned by Carfrae on 11 November this year. Although it is obvious that gentlemen leaving the colony sold their books to avoid the cost of cartage to England, and perhaps also because second-hand prices were higher in Australia, one is more puzzled by those sold on arrival. In the case of this gentleman, a lack of funds may have led to his loss of a no doubt treasured and rare collection of Goethe's works. Another "gentleman just arrived" whose books were advertised, again by Carfrae, on 23 September, probably however, brought them with him as a speculation, since they were "all new, the last and best editions", and included such highly popular

authors as Dickens, Cooper, Bulwer Lytton, Marryat, Ainsworth, and Morier, a large number of volumes of the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews and multiple copies of several other works like Maria Hack's English Stories (1820-25). Singled out for special mention was a scarce uncensored version of M.G. Lewis's Gothic classic The Monk, "printed verbatim from the first edition". Blackman's 20 February Australian advertisement of the one-hundred-and-fifty-volume library of a "Gentleman embarking for Europe" contained a more conservative collection of literature by Shakespeare, Milton, Burns, Dickens, Scott, Moore, Campbell, Marryat, Goldsmith, Bunyan and Byron.

1846 saw the sale of ten further private libraries at Sydney and two at Maitland. Amongst the former were several more belonging to notables, the most prominent of them being Governor Gipps who left for London on 11 May 1846, no doubt only too pleased to escape the jibes of ~~Wordsworth~~ Wentworth and the Squattocracy. A catalogue of "Plate, Books, Household Furniture . . . To be sold by Mr. Blackman, 7th and 8th instant" survives in the Mitchell Library. Although over three hundred volumes of books were listed, only a few of them come within the range of this thesis - volumes of the Edinburgh, Quarterly and Westminster Reviews, Thomas Hope's Anastasius (1819), "Sam Slick's" Bubbles of Canada (1839), Memoirs of George Sand and Fabliaux; or, Tales of the 12th and 13th Centuries. It is, of course, difficult to tell whether these represented the limits of Gipps' taste in imaginative literature, or were simply the works he was

content to leave behind. One of Gipps' antagonists, John Dunmore Lang, had a much more extensive and interesting collection of books sold by Blackman on 13, 14 and 15 May 1846, presumably to raise funds for one of his many journeys to England later this year. Over two thousand volumes were listed in the catalogue, though a note on page two indicated they did not all come from Lang's own library:

> N.B. A large proportion of the Works comprised in this catalogue - in the departments of General Literature, Philosophy, and Science - were purchased in London and Edinburgh, in the year 1831, to form a Library for an Institution in Sydney, the Committee of Management of which agreed to purchase them, in the first instance, at their cost price; but were afterwards obliged, from want of funds, to throw them upon Dr. Lang's hands.

This was presumably the embryo library of Lang's ill-fated Australian College. Among the books under the heading "General Literature, Philosophy, Science and Jurisprudence" were the Works of Johnson, Isaac Disraeli's Curiosities of Literature (1824), the Rev. H.J. Todd's Some Account of the Life and Writings of John Milton (1809), Cowper's Poems, The Works of Ossian, Lockhart's Life of Robert Burns, La Divina Comedia di Dante Alighieri (3 vols., Avignon, 1816), two copies of Johnson's Lives of the Poets, The British Essayists (38 vols., 1823), Byron's Works, Collection Complete des Œuvres de J.J. Rousseau (33 vols., Geneva, 1782), Bell's Edition of Shakespeare's Plays (9 vols., 1774), Milton's Paradise Regained, Samson Agonistes, and minor Poems, with his Essay on Education (Glasgow, 1747) and Novelas Exemplares de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedia (Madrid, 1613), claimed to be the first edition of Cervantes'

novels. One sees that the students were to have been provided with a fairly full range of the great authors of European literature. Many other volumes listed under the headings "History, Voyages, Travels, Biography, Topography, etc." and "Theology, Sacred Criticism, Church History, Practical Religion and Devotion" presumably came from Lang's own library. Like other colonial clergymen, he was evidently interested in old books, the catalogue including several from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and giving unusually full bibliographic information. Lang was apparently also, like Governor Gipps, a fan of "Sam Slick", since among his more recent works were The Bubbles of Canada (Philadelphia, 1839) and Letter Bag of the Great Western; or, Life in a Steamer (New York, 1840).

Another prominent colonist who sold at least some of his books in 1846 was William a'Beckett, one hundred volumes being advertised by T.S. Mort on 22 January, just prior to a'Beckett's departure to become resident judge at Melbourne. Amongst them were copies of Byron and Shakespeare, Gould's Birds of Australia and William Howitt's Student Life in Germany, presumably those a'Beckett had decided he could spare from a probably much bigger collection. One thousand volumes were certainly owned by "the late Rev. J.J. Smith, of the Paterson", listed in another catalogue now in the Mitchell Library, for sale by Mort on 28 and 29 October 1846. Unlike the other clergymen whose libraries were sold in the 'forties, Smith did not own very many old books, but had a more comprehensive

collection of English poetry, including works by Scott, Pope, Spenser, Milton, Gray, Byron, Young, and Kirke White and Hayley's Life of Cowper (1803-04). Also in his library were the great eighteenth-century essayists, The Vicar of Wakefield, Maria Edgeworth's Fashionable Tales (1814) and even Bulwer Lytton's The Last Days of Pompeii (1839). More up-to-date in his tastes was Henry Ginn, Esq. who, "in consequence of his intended departure for England", had his library auctioned by Blackman on the 24th of an unidentified month in 1846. Amongst his two hundred and sixty-five volumes were Scott's Novels, Prose and Poetical Works, complete in eighty-eight volumes, Michael Scott's Tom Cringle's Log, The Pickwick Papers, Lever's Harry Lorrequer, Ainsworth's Rookwood and L.E.L.'s Poetical Works. The libraries of four anonymous gentlemen, also "leaving the Colony", were auctioned in this year. Sales by Moore and Blackman on 21 March and 12 June respectively, contained mainly eighteenth-century works by Swift, Johnson, Crabbe, Goldsmith, Smollett and Gray, together with the almost obligatory Scott and Shakespeare, and a few more recent authors like Lamb and Campbell. Scott, Shakespeare and Campbell also figured in a sale by Salamon on 3 November, along with the standard seventeen-volume edition of Byron, Master Humphrey's Clock, and the oft-encountered Don Quixote, Robinson Crusoe and Asmodeus. A more unusual gentleman's library was advertised by Heydon in the Australasian Chronicle for 3 June. Appropriately, it featured mainly Irish and Catholic works, including nine by Thomas Moore and Lady Morgan's Florence

Macarthy. Two announcements in the Maitland Mercury for 29 April and 17 June of sales by Jeremiah Ledsam unfortunately did not name any of the books contained in Mr. J. Stewart's library of one hundred and fifty volumes, or W.M. Arnold, Esq.'s larger collection of three hundred, but do give a further indication of the extent of country libraries at this period.

Fewer private libraries were sold in 1847, mostly on behalf of unnamed gentlemen leaving the colony. Two such sales, by Mort on 15 and 17 February, were made up of fairly equal numbers of old and new authors: Ben Jonson, Shakespeare, Swift, Sterne, Pope and Goldsmith on the one hand, Dickens, Eugene Sue, Mrs. Trollope, Scott, Southey and Wordsworth on the other. Similar authors appeared in two further gentlemen's libraries sold by Moore on 17 and 24 December, the latter having the distinction of being "The Last Evening Book Sale by Auction", new legislation making evening sales illegal after the end of the year. The only identified gentleman to sell off his books in 1847, John Gordon, Esq., also leaving the colony, had a catalogue of his library issued by Mort, for sale on 30 July. About a third of his six hundred odd volumes were works of imaginative literature, again fairly evenly divided between standard and popular authors. Reappearing once more were Robinson Crusoe, Don Quixote, The Arabian Nights, Hayley's Life of Cowper, and poetry by Spenser, Pope, Goldsmith, Kirke White, Moore, Southey, Scott, and Byron. Gordon also owned four books by Dickens, Charles

Lamb's Works, Maria Edgeworth's Tales and Novels in sixteen volumes, and various other novels ranging from Pride and Prejudice to The Last of the Mohicans.

A marked increase in the number of readers disposing of their libraries in 1848 - sixteen as against six in 1847 - was no doubt a consequence of the further depression of that year, though, as before, only a few were actually sales of insolvent estates. Of these, the most notable was the sale of the library of Hannibal Macarthur by Edward Salamon on 24 July. The catalogue, another fortunately surviving in the Mitchell Library, lists about eight hundred volumes, half of which were literary works, and provides a welcome insight into the tastes of a member of an old colonial family. As might be expected from what has already been said on the libraries of the colonial gentry, Macarthur's books dated chiefly from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Amongst the earlier works were such oft-found items as Don Quixote, Gil Blas, The British Essayists, Boswell's Life of Johnson, Goldsmith's Works, Pope's Works in ten volumes, Burns' in four, Cowper's Poems, Thomson's Seasons and Richardson's Sir Charles Grandison. Whilst there was a fair number of other novels by Scott, Maria Edgeworth, Robert Plumer Ward, Susan Ferrier and Jane Austen, none was of a particularly recent vintage. Macarthur's tastes in modern poetry were equally conservative, chiefly Scott and Byron, though, admittedly, also Wordsworth. Apart from these English authors, Macarthur had owned the usual standard editions of works by Molière, Racine, Rousseau,

Dante and other more minor foreign writers. Given all this, one is surprised not to find either of the great Reviews amongst his periodicals, though he did have many volumes and parts of the Literary Gazette, Blackwood's, Fraser's, the New Monthly and the Penny Magazine, the latter, the only one dated, going up to 1845. Evidently, Macarthur depended on these for his lighter and more modern literature. As one would expect, his library was also rich in early works on Australia and New Zealand, containing most of those published from Wentworth's Australasia (1823) to Francis Dutton's South Australia and Its Mines (1846). One final eye-catcher in this catalogue is lot 120, a fine example of the local habit of lumping the oddest works together: "Du Monceau's Agriculture, 2 vols.; Pride and Prejudice, 2 vols.; Bells Hughes, 2 vols.; Rabbit Keeper's Guide". One other insolvent, "T.W. Bowden, Salem House, Glebe", also had his library auctioned by Salamon, on 8 November 1848, but it was described only as "About 22 volumes of popular and standard works."

Various other well-known colonists sold all or part of their libraries in 1848, though not in such embarrassing circumstances as Macarthur. Roger Therry, who had disposed of some of his books in 1845, had a further portion of his library auctioned by Lyons on 6 January. Besides a large number of law books, it included over a hundred volumes of literature, generally of more recent date than those in his earlier sale: Moore's seventeen-volume edition of Byron,

Campbell's Poems, S.C. Hall's Beauties of the Modern English Poets, Professor Wilson's Miscellanies (1842), Hazlitt's Lectures on the English Poets (1818) and Spirit of the Age (1825), Leigh Hunt's Indicator (1834), The Pickwick Papers, Nicholas Nickleby, Judge Haliburton's Sayings and Doings of Sam Slick, Bubbles of Canada, and Letter Bag of the Great Western and Eugene Sue's The Wandering Jew: showing him to have been well conversant with all the chief modern authors of poetry, criticism and light fiction. The 1845 sale had contained Therry's Quarterly Reviews, this one his, presumably to one of his liberal outlook, more treasured Edinburghs, complete "from the 1st number, in 1803, to the 117th number, in 1833". The library of another eminent Australian lawyer, Richard Windeyer, who had died in December 1847, was auctioned, also by Lyons, on 31 January 1848. Unfortunately, the advertisement of his "most exquisite and choice assortment of Standard Works, in Literature and Law", in the Australian for 14 January, listed only a few of them, such as the usual eight-volume edition of The Spectator.

Another leading Sydney citizen, James Wilshire, Mayor in 1844, had his household furniture, including about five hundred volumes of books, sold by George Lloyd on 19 December 1848, in consequence of his "removing into Town" from his "Villa Residence, at Potts' Point, Wooloomooloo". Lloyd advertised Wilshire's books on 14 December as "comprising, in fact, everything requisite for forming a complete ENGLISH GENTLEMAN'S LIBRARY", and the catalogue lists the usual standard and popular literary

works: Shakespeare's Plays, The Spectator, The Tatler, The Guardian, Boswell's Life of Johnson, Johnson's Works, Crabbe's Life and Poems, Cowper's Poems, Young's Night Thoughts, Tom Jones, Joseph Andrews, Butler's Hudibras, The Waverly Novels, The Lady of the Lake, Moore's edition of Byron's Life and Works, Sketches by Boz, The Pickwick Papers, Martin Chuzzlewit, Sam Slick the Clockmaker, Harriet Martineau's Popular Tales and Warren's Diary of a Late Physician. Thus, despite being a radical in politics, Wilshire had very conservative literary tastes, the only uncommon item being Christie's Love Story, by A Bushman. Wilshire stood for the Australian interest in politics, so it is appropriate that his should be one of the few private libraries to include a local literary work. A much more unusual collection was advertised by John Rickards in the Sydney Daily Advertiser on 1 August as

> The whole of the valuable library of the late Mr. Ayrane, comprising about 700 volumes of popular and standard works. Amongst others, Shakespeare; Ben Jonson, Massinger, and Ford's Works; Life, History, and Memoirs of Napoleon; Œuvres de Balzac, Molière, and Rabelais; Spanish, German, and French Dictionaries; Holy Bible, etc.; Wandering Jew and Mysteries of Paris . . .

As this was presumably the same Mr. Ayrane who had sold nine hundred volumes, again including many foreign works, prior to his departure for England in 1842, he must have been one of the most avid and omnivorous of colonial readers. Other 1848 advertisements, giving no details of the works for sale but some further insight into the characteristic size of colonial libraries, were Lyons', on 8 February, for four hundred volumes belonging to "a deceased clergyman of the Church of Scotland", made up, like most clerical libraries, of "Standard Works on

Divinity, Classical Works and Miscellaneous Literary Works", and, on 22 January, for five hundred volumes, "property of Clark Irving Esq."; and John Cohen's on 20 December for "600 volumes of choice works, many excellent editions of our last Divines, Poets and Novelists" owned by Robert Porter, Esq., Sherborne Lodge, Glebe. Glebe was, of course, one of the most fashionable parts of Sydney in the 'forties, so it is not surprising to find so many private libraries lodged there.

In addition, in 1848, there were the customary auctions of books belonging to anonymous gentlemen departing, like Mr. Porter, for England. On 5 May, Stubbs advertised in the Australian "A very valuable collection of books, including Standard Works by Scott, Byron, Bentley, Marryat, etc. etc.", whilst, three weeks later, Pickering offered over three hundred volumes, apart from the inevitable Shakespeare and Waverley Novels, mainly on Australian topics. Amongst them was the only copy of Alexander Harris's Settlers and Convicts (1847) recorded in a private library before 1850. A more typical collection, advertised by Lloyd on 14 December, included two editions of Shakespeare, Don Quixote, The Spectator, Lockhart's Life of Scott and the Works of Pope and Sterne. One final 1848 library auction has interest as an example of a colonial schoolmaster's library. On 14 December, Cohen was to sell six hundred volumes

> At the Normal Institution, Elizabeth-street, . . . previous to the removal of the proprietor, Henry Gordon, Esq., to Illawarra: Science, Mathematics, History, Poetry, English and French Literature, Travels, Astronomy, Surveying, Engineering, Moral and Natural Philosophy, Divinity, Political Economy, Botany, etc.

If Gordon's pupils had been instructed in all these subjects, they must have received a very well-rounded education; it is unfortunate that none of the titles were given.

In contrast to the previous year, only four private libraries were advertised for auction in 1849, the largest being one thousand volumes from the insolvent estate of R. and H. Scott, sold by Lyons on 14 February. Again, no titles were listed, and only a few appeared in the advertisement by Moore on 22 June of "Property of a gentleman leaving for California", an instance of the great effects of the American gold rush on Australia in 1849. Four days later, Salamon listed some works belonging to the "late John Loftus Hartwell, Esq., Staff Surgeon", including the frequently found ten-volume edition of Boswell's Life of Johnson. The final private library auctioned in 1849, by Mort on 27 September, contained sixty-six volumes belonging to Mr. Henry Keck, the recently dismissed Governor of Darlinghurst Gaol. Perhaps his gloomy and trying former duties had influenced his tastes in literature, since nearly all were novels and other light works, among them several by each of Dickens, Lever, Marryat, Eugene Sue, Bulwer Lytton and various other popular novelists, besides thirteen volumes of Punch. Keck's standard works were also of the less-heavy variety: Asmodeus, Don Quixote, Robinson Crusoe, Gil Blas, The Arabian Nights, Hudibras, The Waverly Novels and collections of Sterne, Smollett, Burns, Moore and Byron. It would seem likely that Keck's tastes were typical of many colonists below the rank of gentlemen, whose libraries were usually not honoured

with full listing in auctioneers' advertisements or catalogues.

Among the collection of eighteen-forties' auction catalogues in the Mitchell Library there are two undated ones I have been unable to assign to any definite year. One of these, for a sale by Lyons on 12 August, of the insolvent estate of Mr. Leslie Duguid, Cook's River Road, possibly dates from the 1848 depression. Like Henry Keck, Duguid, also not granted an "Esq.", owned many recent novels by Dickens, Lever, Reynolds, Samuel Warren, Morier, Bulwer Lytton and Judge Haliburton. Among his one hundred and seventy or so volumes one finds as well a good number of religious works, a few on history and agriculture, The Pilgrim's Progress, Addison's Works, Scott's Poetical Works, Sterne's Works, Byron's Works, Paradise Lost, Mrs. Heman's Life and Works and Shakespeare's Plays. Duguid's collection therefore falls midway between the standard gentleman's library and the concentration on light popular authors found in Keck's. The other undated catalogue, of the library and other household goods of W.F. De Salis, Esq., Fort Street, leaving for England, to be sold by Blackman on "10th instant", must have been issued between 1844, when De Salis was listed as a member of the Australian Club, and 1846, when Blackman ceased holding auctions. Although De Salis's library was more "gentlemanly" than either Keck's or Duguid's, including in its two hundred volumes many law books, histories and travels, he evidently shared their liking for modern fiction. Oliver Twist, Sketches by Boz, Carleton's Tales of Ireland, Thackeray's Paris Sketch Book

and Reynolds' Robert Macaire in England were the most notable in this class, whilst his only standard literary author was Shakespeare.

In keeping with their smaller populations, the evidence relating to private libraries in other Australian states is much slighter than that for New South Wales, but generally bears out the same conclusions. On the average, private libraries, at least those belonging to gentlemen, contained about two hundred volumes, with something between a quarter and a half of these being works of imaginative literature. As they headed the list of most frequently advertised authors, so Scott, Shakespeare and Byron were the three most often found in private libraries, along with varying proportions of the older standard authors and the more modern novelists. By and large, their popularity, too, was consistent with their places on this list, apart from Cooper and Eugene Sue, whose appeal was possibly more for the lower classes of readers. In general, auctioneers advertising private libraries in Tasmania did not give as many details of contents as their Sydney counterparts and, since no complete catalogues survive as they so luckily do for Sydney, consequently one has a less clear idea of the tastes of Tasmanian readers, though many obviously owned quite extensive libraries. In 1840, three private libraries were sold in Hobart and one in Launceston, with more details than usual given of the works they contained. The books owned by the late Rev. Philip Conolly, the first Roman Catholic chaplain of Tasmania, advertised by T.Y. Lowes

on 18 January, formed a typical clerical library of this period, mainly "a great number of Greek, Latin, and French Works, by the most esteemed Authors in Theology, Ecclesiastical History, and Literature", with a few others like Johnson's Lives of the Poets. On 24 February, Lowes was again the seller of a characteristic library of a gentleman leaving the colony, containing a range of works on history, science, theology, jurisprudence and classics, and, among its literature, Shakespeare, Scott, Goldsmith and Molière's and Racine's plays in French. John Collicott, a former auctioneer and later postmaster in Hobart, left a library of three hundred volumes on his death in July 1840. Sold by W.T. Macmichael on 16 October, it also included the usual standard literary works by Shakespeare, Byron, Johnson, Dryden, Pope and Cervantes, and the standard histories by Gibbon, Robertson and Rollin. A Mr. William Kidson of Launceston, whose seven-hundred-and-fifty-volume library was advertised by J.W. Bell in the Cornwall Chronicle for 4 November, had equally conservative tastes, owning works by Scott, Shakespeare, and Cowper.

Only two private libraries were sold in Hobart in 1841, information about one of them coming solely from this post-auction report in the Hobart Town Courier for 13 August: "The sale of the library of the late Archdeacon Hutchins took place yesterday at the Auction Company's Rooms. The competition in many instances was very spirited, and the sale altogether went off well; some of the books sold much beyond the publishing prices."

Assuming Hutchins's library had been similar to those of other contemporary clergymen, there must have been a considerable demand for theological and classical works in Hobart in 1841. On 24 December Lowes advertised, in the Tasmanian, nineteen volumes of books belonging to Charles McLachlan, Esq., proceeding to England, amongst them the usual works by Scott, Goldsmith, Shakespeare, Byron and Moore. The only private library auctioned in 1842, "The Property of a Gentleman who has left the Colony", listed in the Hobart Town Advertiser on 26 April, also included Scott and Byron, as well as Swift, Boccaccio and other unspecified novels and poetical works. The first Tasmanian reader to have any very recent literature sold was Alfred Garrett, Esq., The Pickwick Papers, Sketches by Boz and Cockton's Valentine Vox (1840) being among the small number of his books listed by Lowes in the Hobart Town Advertiser on 13 January 1843. The same issue of this paper contained an advertisement by John Stracey for the auction of the five-hundred-volume law library of S. Stephen, Esq., as well as one hundred and fifty volumes of miscellaneous works and a further hundred of "Curious and Amusing Works". A smaller law library of one hundred and seventy volumes, belonging to E.P. Atkinson, Esq., was advertised by Benjamin Francis in the Cornwall Chronicle for 4 March 1843. Launceston was also the venue of the six Tasmanian libraries sold in 1844. On 10 April, Bell listed in the Launceston Examiner some of the "Two hundred and fifty volumes of BOOKS, the property of a

gentleman proceeding to England", he was to sell five days later. Amongst them, as one would expect, was "The prose works of Sir Walter Scott, complete". In the same paper, on 25 May, the library of the late Dr. Huey was advertised by his widow. It naturally consisted mainly of medical works, with a few standard literary authors like Shakespeare, Burns, Johnson, Byron and Le Sage. Of four other private libraries advertised in the Cornwall Chronicle during 1844, only one was listed in any detail.[45] Weedon was to sell on 12 September, three hundred volumes of books belonging to a Mr. Cunningham, proceeding to England. Perhaps because he was not a gentleman, Cunningham had read Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey as well as Byron, Scott and Moore.

Three further private libraries were auctioned in Launceston in 1845. On 1 February, D. Taylor announced in the Launceston Examiner a sale of "five hundred volumes of works, including two hundred of law books, many of which are recent publications, the property of his honor /sic/ Mr. Justice Montagu, who is about to proceed to England". As Montagu does not seem to have left Tasmania in 1845, this sale may never have actually taken place. After his later financial difficulties and dismissal from office at the end of 1847, Montagu's plight was well stated in the Britannia and Trades' Advocate for 13 January 1848: "In consequence of the recent decision of the Government, Mr. JUSTICE MONTAGU is under the absolute necessity of selling every article he

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45 The other three were advertised on 13 January, 17 February and 6 April, for sale by Francis, Weedon and Bell, respectively.

possesses". Only two hundred volumes of "Valuable Books, handsomely bound" were, however, mentioned for auction by Stracey the following day, so perhaps he had sold part of his library in Launceston in 1845. Returning there, Weedon advertised one hundred volumes of books belonging to the inevitable gentleman leaving the colony, and including the equally inevitable Shakespeare and Arabian Nights, in the Examiner for 9 April. In the same paper on 10 December, Mr. Williamson announced the sale of the library of the Rev. Alexander Mackenzie, typically containing mainly theological and classical works. Of the two Hobart sales in this year, one, advertised by Stracey in the Hobart Town Advertiser for 30 December, was also for a clergyman's library. Though none of the Rev. J.J. Ewing's books were listed, one assumes they were of much the same type as Mackenzie's. Earlier in the year, Messrs. Hay and Ivey had advertised some books belonging to Mr. D'Arcy Haggitt in the Observer for 22 August. They included several eighteenth-century standards like Boswell's Life of Johnson, The Spectator, Gil Blas, and Fielding's Works in nineteen volumes.

1846 saw four more private libraries go under the hammers of Hobart auctioneers. Lowes and Macmichael's 11 April advertisement of the library of the late Robert Kerr, Esq. regrettably gave no details of its contents, nor did Stracey's announcement of his sale of "100 volumes of valuable books - By direction of Dr. Belcher, 51st Regiment", in the Hobart Town Advertiser for 7 July. Another member of the 51st, which was

evidently going to India, Lieut.-Colonel Elliott, sold some of his books under Lowes and Macmichael's auspices on 3 August, including works by Byron and Burns. The same auctioneers disposed of "A Large Collection of Historical and Classical Works" belonging to a Mr. Lightfoot on 15 December. Although another five private libraries were auctioned in 1847, again none of them were advertised at great length. On 18 February, Lowes and Macmichael were to sell the Medical Library of J.P. Rowe, besides the novels and other new and valuable works of an already departed gentleman. Six days later, Stracey had for auction two hundred volumes, "best editions of scientific and amusing works now extant", on behalf of the Collector of Customs, G.H. Barnes, Esq., and, on 15 December, an unspecified number of works belonging to John Whitefoord, Esq., who, like Barnes, was leaving for England. Another sale by Lowes and Macmichael, announced in the Hobart Town Advertiser for 6 July, consisted of the Law Library of the late T.W. Rowlands, Esq. When authors do, finally, appear in Weedon's 27 February advertisement in the Cornwall Chronicle of the property of James Raven, another traveller to England, they are, inevitably, Scott and Byron. In 1848 and 1849, Tasmanian auctioneers were equally reticent about the contents of seven private libraries they had for sale, though both Weedon's advertisement, in the Launceston Examiner for 16 December 1848, of one thousand volumes belonging to W.H. Breton, Esq., and Worley's announcement of his sale of the one-thousand-and-four-hundred-volume library of the Rev. Henry Fry, in the Hobart Town Advertiser

for 30 January 1849, give a useful idea of the extent of some personal libraries of this decade. In both cases, and, indeed, in most of the other sales held in these two years, the library owners were leaving the colony, usually for England,[46] with Francis and Pyle's advertisement, in the Launceston Examiner for 24 February 1849, of five hundred volumes of medical, surgical and other useful books belonging to the late Dr. De Dassel, giving the other major reason, death. In the same paper on 13 June 1849, Francis and Pyle also announced a sale of three hundred volumes owned by a Mr. Fitzgerald, who was merely leaving for Hobart. From the works listed, his library appears to have been largely classical, though he also owned a fairly uncommon English item, Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy.

From all this, it is obvious that, as in New South Wales, the numbers of lawyers, doctors, clergymen and gentlemen selling off their libraries in Tasmania was out of all proportion to their actual percentage of the population, though, of course, these would be the persons, with some academic background and financial security, one would expect to own the most books. In comparison with the New South Wales private libraries, one notices how few Tasmanians appear to have owned copies of the more popular modern novelists, but this may merely be a function of the much less detailed information available from Tasmania. The same lack of detail is found in the advertisements for sales of private libraries published in Victorian newspapers

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46 See advertisements by Lowes and Macmichael, Britannia and Trades' Advocate, 14 December 1848; Colonial Times, 5 January 1849; and by Worley, Colonial Times, 20 November 1849.

during the eighteen-forties. What evidence there is, however, tends to show that Victorians, besides owning the usual Scott, Byron, Shakespeare and eighteenth-century standards, had more modern authors on their shelves than did their Tasmanian counterparts. This, of course, would tie in with my earlier comment on the greater availability of modern works in Victoria than in Tasmania.

Most private libraries sold in Victoria in the first half of the decade, however, seem to have had fairly conventional collections of imaginative literature. On 22 April 1841, W.R. Belcher listed twenty-one volumes of books belonging to "a gentleman leaving Melbourne for the country", including works by Byron and Shakespeare and the eighteenth-century favourite, Falconer's Shipwreck. Similarly, Carfrae and Bland's advertisement in the Melbourne Times for 9 April 1842 of "the library of a medical gentleman about to retire", featured Scott, Shakespeare, Byron and Burns. A lengthy announcement by these auctioneers, in the same paper on 18 July 1843, listed the library of "a gentleman about to leave the province", with the note, "The literary pursuits of the proprietor having given him considerable advantages in their selection, this library may be depended on, as consisting of publications of the best editions and containing works of the most useful class." Appropriately, the majority of his nearly four hundred volumes were classed under the headings "Science, Philosophy, &c.", "Travels", "Law Books", "Theological Works" "History" and "Miscellaneous", but he did own over a hundred volumes of

literature, including poetry by Voltaire, Moore, Byron, Shakespeare, Scott, Dryden, Cowper, Kirke White, Campbell and Ossian and some fairly modern fiction like W.S. Landor's Pericles and Aspasia (1836), a rare item in early Australia, Thomas Hamilton's Cyril Thornton (1830), Croker's Fairy Legends of South Ireland (1825) and the American Charles Osborn's Confessions of a Poet (Philadelpia, 1835). This literary gentleman's books were evidently in great demand, since on 20 July the Port Phillip Patriot reported "despite the bad state of the times, many of the works realised even more than their original cost".

The library of the late Mr. R.H. Bryant, advertised by William Bland in the Port Phillip Gazette for 27 January 1844, was, apart from the unusual addition of Shelley's Poetical Works (4 vols., 1839), almost the archetypal standard colonial library of the period: Shakespeare's Works in fifteen volumes, Scott's Marmion, Lady of the Lake and Rokeby, Boswell's Life of Johnson, Byron's Works, Beauties of Byron and Cowper, Goldsmith's Citizen of the World, Pope's translations of Homer, Young's Night Thoughts, Thomson's Seasons and Paradise Lost. In the same paper on 27 July, William Easey announced his sale of two hundred volumes in an insolvent estate, their literary content being extremely similar to the above, even to the inclusion of Shelley, though with a few extra items like Mrs. Ellis's Summer and Winter in the Pyrenees (1841) and Washington Irving's Salmagundi (1823). Between these two, on 20 March and also in the Gazette, T.C. Riddle had advertised one hundred

and fifty volumes belonging to a gentleman leaving the colony, which, in contrast, contained no imaginative literature. Nor had there been any of note in a similar sale by Forster and Davis on 22 January 1844.

Advertisements for the auction of six private libraries appeared in 1845, although one, by Brodie and Cruikshank on 5 February, gave no details of its content, and another, by Easey in the Gazette for 7 June, consisted only of law books. Nor were any titles listed in Thomas Green's 15 January Gazette announcement of the sale of the late Mr. Kelly's books, though these were interestingly said to consist of eight hundred volumes of "Novels, Romances, etc.", perhaps additional proof that Kelly was no gentleman. Victorian gentlemen were, however, not always completely conservative in their literary tastes since A.H. Hart's list of a departing gentleman's library in the same paper on 10 June included not only works by Byron, Scott, Milton and Burns, but novels by Miss Porter, Samuel Warren, Pierce Egan, Dickens, Cockton and "Sam Slick". A similarly motivated sale, advertised by Williams and Wheatley on 28 October, also featured Dickens' Master Humphrey's Clock alongside Milton's Works and Young's Night Thoughts. In contrast, Archibald Cunninghame, Esq., who by his one hundred volumes of medical works was a physician, had owned only two literary works, Johnson's Lives of the Poets and Hazlitt's Table Talk; at least, these were the only two among two hundred other volumes listed by Brodie, again in the Gazette, on 27 December. Whilst only one personal library appears to have been auctioned in Melbourne in 1846, it was given a usefully

detailed advertisement by Easey on 13 November. The large number of law books indicate that its owner, the late Mr. Edward Sewell, Esq., may have been a solicitor. He was evidently also an avid novel reader, like several Sydney lawyers, with over eighty volumes of recent works by Lever, Bulwer Lytton, James, Mrs. Trollope, the Countess of Blessington, Hook, Lady Bury, Morier, Marryat and many more minor figures. As well as these, he owned the usual standard authors like Scott, Moore, Goldsmith, Campbell, Shakespeare, Cowper, Milton, Byron, Pope, Sterne, Johnson and Southey, volumes of the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, and a few less common items such as Lamb's Essays of Elia. Overall, about half of his four hundred or so volumes were literary works.

Unfortunately, none of the private libraries sold in the remainder of the eighteen-forties were listed in as much detail as Sewell's. On 7 January 1847, Easey was to sell another departing gentleman's library, containing the works of Shakespeare, Scott, Byron and Sterne and Paul and Virginia. Mr. C.L. Hussey, another apparent non-gentleman, whose two hundred volumes of books were advertised by Brodie on 11 February, had owned Charles O'Malley, Wordsworth's Poems and volumes of Punch and Bentley's Miscellancy as well as standards like The Spectator and Hume and Smollett's History of England. A further sale by Brodie of the library of James Rae, Esq., was not advertised in any detail on 27 February. Titles were also lacking in Easey's 12 April announcement of the auction of one thousand, five hundred volumes belonging to the Rev. J.S. Bolden, proceeding

to England, apparently the largest private library sold in Victoria in the 'forties. Like other clergymen's libraries it was probably strongest in classical and theological works. A much smaller collection of thirty-five volumes owned by one G. Willoby was listed in the Gazette on 7 August 1847 as "unclaimed property in steamer Aphasia's store - to be auctioned unless claimed in 14 days". Most of his works were on medical subjects, with one volume of Blackwood's Magazine and three of that standard schoolroom anthology, Elegant Extracts. Presumably even these were valued by Willoby, since they were not relisted in a further advertisement on 16 August. They are an interesting pointer to the sort of literary works likely to be owned by colonists less well-to-do than most of those discussed here. In 1847 also, A. Levy advertised some unspecified books belonging to the late Mr. Alexander Laird in the Geelong Advertiser for 8 June.

On 21 March 1848, the same paper published T. Forster's announcement of his sale of Mr. William Weene's library, said to include "a new and beautiful edition of the Waverley Novels." Earlier, in the Port Phillip Herald for 17 February 1848, Easey had advertised "100 Volumes of Standard Works, the property of a party relinquishing business". An even more unfortunate lack of detail is found in P. Davis's 4 October 1848 Gazette advertisement of

> The Select and Extensive Collection of Standard Works forming the library lately belonging to Mr. Kerr, Editor of the Argus.
> The sale includes among other valuable works the

Edinburgh Review, from its commencement to the close of Lord Jeffrey's Editorship, enriched with the names of the authors of the principal papers, and very handsomely bound.

As it is but seldom that the inhabitants of Melbourne have such an opportunity of enriching their libraries, the Auctioneer anticipates a numerous attendance.

One wonders just what became of this truly valuable piece of literature, and regrets that more was not said on the library of a person who played such a prominent part in early Australian cultural life. The only private library sold in Victoria in 1849, advertised by Messrs. Hill and Hitchins in the Corio Chronicle on 11 April, was described equally unhelpfully merely as "Property of Cecil Byron, Esq., H.M. Customs (who is leaving the Colony for England)".

Even less is, of course, known about the libraries owned by colonists in Queensland, South and Western Australia, although newspapers were issued in all states during the eighteen-forties. No private libraries were advertised for sale in Queensland in this decade, and only nine, none listed in much detail, in Western Australia. The forty-eight-volume Waverley Novels was, however, included amongst the "Furniture, etc." of Captain Fisher, 51st Regiment, "leaving the colony", to be sold by L. and W. Samson on 19 April 1841, whilst on 18 August this year Agett and Stokes advertised as the property of the late Captain Graham, "A number of Law Books (late editions), two sets of History of England, Gibbon's Roman Empire, and a variety of others."[47]

In keeping with its higher population and the greater

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47 For other advertisements of Western Australian private libraries see the Perth Gazette, 14 January 1843, 29 November 1845; the Inquirer, 3 January, 21 March, 9 May, 26 September 1849.

numbers of books available there, South Australia saw many more private libraries sold during the 'forties. Again, most of these belonged to lawyers, doctors and other members of the colonial gentry. In the Adelaide Chronicle for 13 May 1840, Nathaniel Hailes advertised a hundred-volume Law Library and an "extensive Library of Modern Works in General Literature" belonging to the late Thomas Eaton, Esq., Solicitor, who like other colonial lawyers, seems to have been an avid reader. Unfortunately, as with most of the other libraries sold in Adelaide at this time, his collection was not described in any greater detail. On 23 April 1841, for example, F. Wicksteed announced an auction of the "Effects of the late Mr. Thos. Pratt . . . a few books, at the risk of purchasers at a former sale" and requested the return of any borrowed books belonging to Pratt. Later in the year, the Adelaide Auction Company was equally reticent about the "Books belonging to Captain Hindmarsh R.N. whose family are about to return to England" it was to sell on 17 July. I. Nonmus was only slightly more helpful in his advertisement in the Adelaide Examiner for 23 December 1841 of

> 200 or 300 volumes by the first authors, property of - Ward, Esq., surgeon, who is about leaving the province for England. The books consist of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French literature, and standard works in medical and general science, and a number of elementary books of classical and modern languages.

though this does show Ward to have been a very scholarly surgeon. Equally scholarly was an anonymous gentleman also leaving the colony who drew the attention of "the Religious Public" to his collection of Theological and Classical books

in the same paper on 19 May 1842. Amongst the fifty-four volumes listed for private sale was a copy of The Pilgrim's Progress.

Four further private libraries were advertised by Adelaide auctioneers in 1843. On 2 May, Lambert and Son offered the "Valuable library of a gentleman lately residing in North Adelaide" and, three days later, A. H. Davis the "Library of a Gentleman deceased". He had owned more than two hundred volumes, including eighty-nine by Scott, seventeen by Byron, twelve by Johnson and five by Goldsmith, a most gentlemanly literary collection. The library of another late gentleman, William Bernard, Esq., was described by J.B. Neales on 22 September only as "100 vols. law and other books". Earlier, on 16 May, Neales had been slightly more forthcoming in his advertisement of the seven-hundred-volume "Superb Library of the late Doctor Harvey, comprising all the last Medical, Horticultural, Agricultural, Classical, and Musical Works". Unfortunately, on 22 October 1844, he said nothing at all about the books belonging to Robert Gouger, Esq., a prominent early colonist of South Australia, the only private library sold this year. None was advertised in 1845, and 1846 saw only the law library of the late G.F. Shipster, Esq., for sale, again by Neales, on 6 March. In 1847, Neales advertised another "Extensive Law Library of the late Thos. Taylor, Esq." in the Adelaide Observer for 13 February, and a collection of books belonging to Captain Sturt in the South Australian Register for 17 April. Since Sturt's journals

show him to have been a well-read man, one is not surprised to find that most of the volumes listed were imaginative literature: the works of Shakespeare, Milton and Byron, The British Essayists, Scott's Novels and even Blackwood's Magazine from 1835 to 1841.

On 30 May 1848, Neales as Government Auctioneer, announced the only apparent library sold for insolvency in Adelaide in the 'forties. This collection of one Bryant was also unusual in containing "recent popular novels", no doubt a choice piece of evidence for those who still saw novel-reading as immoral and time wasting. Adelaide's climate must have been unkind to lawyers in the 'forties, since another law library of a late solicitor, James Johnson, Esq., was sold by Nathaniel Hailes on 20 November 1849, along with his "Books in General Literature". Another insight into the literary tastes of Adelaide citizens of this decade comes from an advertisement for missing books along the lines of those found frequently in early Sydney but very rarely at any later date. In the South Australian Gazette for 15 July 1848, H.S. Hulkes, of the Commercial Exchange, called for the return of a rather strange assortment of works: Mrs. Hemans' Songs of the Affections, Swendenborg's Conjugal Love, Campbell's and Cowper's Poems, both in two volumes, the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th volumes of The Spectator, Hawker's Instructions to Young Sportsmen and Zimmerman on Solitude. Certainly, Hulkes, and his borrowers, had widely-ranging literary tastes. The four private libraries sold in Adelaide in 1849 were all listed in

rather more detail than those of earlier years, and one notes the appearance in all of modern poets and novelists. In the Adelaide Times for 12 February, Samson, Wicksteed and Co. advertised the library of J.M. Phillipson, Esq., which included amongst its one hundred and twenty volumes Sue's The Wandering Jew and Coleridge's Works as well as the standard editions of works by Byron, Johnson, Shakespeare, Boswell, and foreign authors like Marmontel, Racine, Molière, Montaigne, Montesquieu and Schiller. Similarly, in the same issue, they offered two hundred volumes of valuable works, "Property of Hon. Captain Frome, M.C., proceeding to England", amongst them a recent novel by James and Moore's Loves of the Angels besides the Waverley Novels, Don Quixote, Scott's Poetical Works and the Works of Shakespeare, Pope, Cowper and Ossian. A later sale by them, advertised in the same paper on 1 October, as the property of a gentleman visiting England, consisted of three hundred volumes of apparently even more up-to-date literature, with Scott, Lever, Cooper and Hook the authors mentioned. Another three-hundred-volume library belonging to Dr. Allison, Reed Beds, advertised by Emmett in the Times for 22 January, had also contained novels by Scott, Cooper, Miss Porter and Dickens, as well as Byron's, Goldsmith's and Shakespeare's Works, Scott's Poems and Paradise Lost.

For other information on colonial libraries, one must dig deeper into personal diaries and letters and published reminiscences and usually, as noted in Chapter I, the digging

is rather unrewarding. Most colonists seem to have said either nothing about their reading or to have said a great deal, so that occasionally one comes across a payable lode. Of course, information from these sources is even less representative than that from auction sales, being again confined mainly to the upper classes and to those, moreover, with the necessary literary skill, time and persistence to keep diaries. Since diaries are often associated with the greater leisure of youth, it is not surprising to find that the most complete account of a colonist's reading in the eighteen-forties was written by a teenage boy. He was, however, no ordinary teenager, being one of the famous Murray family, his mother the author of the first novel printed in mainland Australia, The Guardian, discussed in the previous chapter. John William Buckle Bunn was thirteen when he started keeping his journal, but the first four little volumes are unfortunately missing from the Mitchell Library's collection. The remaining portion commences with "Year the 3d. From 29 March to 29 August 1845" and continues till June 1848. During these years, Bunn lived on his uncle's property, Woden Station near Queanbeyan, and seems to have had a great deal of spare time, spent reading, playing, roaming round the bush and writing his journals. As Gwendoline Wilson's recent Murray of Yarralumla (1968) demonstrates, Bunn's mother and uncle both read widely, and presumably it was from their libraries that most of his books came. Mrs. Wilson also quotes a letter from Bunn's other uncle, Terence Murray, written to him on 24 March 1843,

He told his nephew that he had found The Chronicles of the Canongate, The Pioneers, The Borderers and The Last of the Mohicans for him, but that his books were in such a state of confusion he could not find some others he had wished to lend him . . . hoped that, when he was back again, William would come and stay at Yarralumla and look among his books. (p.144)

Earlier, she describes Terence Murray's own reading as a young man as consisting of the classics, scientific works and philosophy,[48] the usual staples for a ~~would-be~~ gentleman of the period, but it is evident he had also found time to enjoy Scott and Fenimore Cooper and wished to pass this enjoyment on to his nephew. Scott's novels were, in fact, Bunn's favourite reading in 1845. Since he seems to have done some reading nearly every day, he was able to finish The Pirate between 7 and 10 April, Peveril of the Peak between 7 and 10 May, Kenilworth between 13 and 18 June, Heart of Midlothian between 20 and 27 July - on 26 July noting "read until late" - Quentin Durward between 30 July and 3 August, The Monastery between 5 and 10 August, The Abbot between 11 and 15 August and The Fortunes of Nigel between 16 and 26 August. By then he had evidently exhausted the Waverley Novels, or they had exhausted him, for there are few later references to Scott. On 8 January 1848, Bunn wrote "Got 'Marmion' but an excessively torn copy; do not like it as much as I expected". This did not, however, put him off Scott's poems, since on 25 May 1848 he noted he had ordered a copy of them. On 8 June, in one of his last entries, Bunn refers to a "discussion in French on Scott's Novels" when it was contended that Kenilworth was the worst, in being pointless, and Guy Mannering much better

[48] Op.cit., pp.40-41.

written.

As well as reading Scott, Bunn also kept up with most of the other popular novelists of the time, finishing Lever's Harry Lorrequer on 2 April 1845, and ~~seemingly~~ rereading it between 28 May and 5 June. On 15 March 1846, he was lent a copy of Jack Hinton, finished five days later with his customary praise, "liked it very much". Earlier in the year, on 12 January, he had also borrowed Charles O'Malley but did not bother to record his opinion of it. Bulwer Lytton, on the other hand, received Bunn's highest accolade, "liked it exceedingly". This was applied to Pelham, read between 3 and 9 April 1845, and read again from 7 to 11 June, when it was finished at 11 p.m. On 3 November 1846, another friend lent him Eugene Aram, and again he finished it in five days. Although no praise of it was recorded, the book must have made some impact on Bunn, since in almost his last entry, for 29 June 1848, one finds his uncle, James Murray, trying to persuade him to learn Latin by saying "Eugene Aram did so". Other popular novels read by Bunn in 1845 included Monk Lewis's Bravo of Venice (1804) on 4 May, Ainsworth's Jack Sheppard (1839) on 20 and 21 June, Hook's Sayings and Doings (1826) between 1 and 4 September, Cockton's Valentine Vox, the Ventriloquist between 9 and 18 September - another he particularly liked - and Mario Visconti[49] between 1 and 6 December, also "liked very much".

Bunn does not seem to have devoured quite so much modern fiction in later years. In 1846, he read Lady Lytton's

[49] A title I have been unable to trace.

Bianca Capello (1843), Mrs. Gore's Soldier of Lyons and Harriet, possibly the anonymous Harriet and Her Cousin; or Prejudice Overcome (1823), besides those novels already mentioned, and, in 1847, for which the entries from February to mid July are missing, Manzoni's Betrothed Lovers (1845), a work quite often advertised by colonial booksellers, in two days, noting on 19 July, "read 550 pages of 12mo English type of it to day", Cooper's The Borderers and Miss Agnew's Geraldine (1837). Of the latter, he wrote on 19 December, "Mr. Kavenah here today he lent Mamma 'Geraldine', and asked me twice to read it", and, on 21 December, "I have the influenza . . . lay down half the day while Mamma read 'Geraldine'", presumably aloud. The Bunns were, of course, Roman Catholics; on 30 September 1847, the Catholic-inspired Sydney Chronicle had announced

> At the request of several friends, we have determined to re-print in the columns of the Chronicle Miss Agnew's celebrated work "Geraldine, a Tale of Conscience". There are not, we believe, more than some eight or nine copies of this work in the colony. At the time of its publication, it created considerable sensation in England, and we have no doubt it will be read here with great interest. The first portion will appear in our next.

Bunn did not, however, reveal any personal great interest in this evidently rare novel. As in so many contemporary English and colonial households, reading aloud seems to have been a fairly common practice with the Bunns. William noted on 14 April 1848, "Reading (that is Mamma reads) 'The Borgias' in Dumas' 'Celebrated Crimes'". Perhaps Mrs. Bunn was concerned to censor out the worst passages, though she had not scrupled to base her own The Guardian on incest. Incidentally, in

connection with this early Australian novel, Mrs. Wilson claims Bunn was unaware of his mother's authorship till near her death,[50] but on 20 April 1845, he recorded "read Mamma's 'Gardian' /sic/." He had finished it two days later, but made no comments on his reactions, presumably feeling his mother did not quite measure up to his heroes, Lever and Bulwer Lytton.

Naturally, Bunn's reading was not confined to novels; he makes constant reference to current periodicals, many of which were also borrowed from friends, including the Illustrated London News, Chambers' Journal, Punch, Bentley's Miscellany, the Saturday Magazine and Fraser's Magazine, and was also not averse, at least when younger, to reading drawing-room books like The Forget-Me-Not. In a more serious vein, he seems to have made a concerted attack on Shakespeare in September and October 1845, running through As You Like It, Cymbeline, King John, Julius Caesar, Antony and Cleopatra and The Merchant of Venice one after the other. About a year later, he returned to the fray, reading Macbeth, Timon of Athens, The Tempest and Two Gentlemen of Verona. Of Macbeth, he noted on 30 September 1846, "first play I ever saw acted", presumably on a trip to Sydney, where Shakespeare's tragedies were fairly frequently performed. Being a child of his time, Bunn, of course, did not neglect the eighteenth-century authors, reading Sir Launcelot Greaves between 14 and 18 April 1845, The Spectator on 26 December 1845, 7 March, 19 and 20 July and 6 September 1846,

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50 See Murray of Yarralumla, p. 89.

and Rasselas on 29 and 30 November 1846, recording "liked it very much". Later, on 11 June 1848, he gave further praise to Johnson: "Read Johnson's letter to Chesterfield, it is capital". He seems to have had more trouble with Voltaire, noting on 29 September 1847, "read part of an Essay of Voltaire's, on epic poetry I think but I am not sure". Earlier in the same month he had read Richardson's Pamela, although he suspected in an abridged edition,[51] whilst, on 1 January 1848, "about 50 pages of 'Gil Blas'". Le Sage's novel, for all its lasting popularity, does not seem to have engaged Bunn to the same extent as more modern works since, some months later, on 22 March, he wrote "Could do nothing so lay on the sofa in the study and read 'Gil Blas'".

On the whole, Bunn's early experiences with poetry do not seem to have been particularly numerous or happy, although he was later to write verses himself.[52] His disappointment with Marmion has already been mentioned, and, on 17 April 1848, he was even more critical of Longfellow's Hyperion, "a confounded book that I can't make out the meaning of yet". Earlier this year, on 4 February, he had pronounced a verdict on Wordsworth's Peter Bell, "good enough but exceeding bad some parts", with which few would be disposed to quarrel. The only other reference to poetry occurred on 10 June 1846, "Heard and wrote Campbell's poems", at a time when Bunn was not given to much critical comment.

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51 Perhaps a Novel Newspaper reprint?

52 Included in the Bunn manuscripts in the Mitchell Library.

One writer whom Bunn obviously deeply appreciated, as did many others at this period, was Lord Macaulay. On 15 April 1848, he recorded "Opened 'Macaulay's Essays' at 'Ranke's history of the Popes' began and never stopped till I finished it (nearly fifty pages)". The work in question was presumably Critical and Historical Essays Reprinted from the Edinburgh Review (1843). Other historical works read by Bunn during these years were Thiers' History of the French Revolution, The History of the Inquisition, La vie du pape Sistus V and Voltaire's Histoire de Charles XII. The latter had evidently been ordered from either England or a local bookseller since, on 17 February 1848, Bunn wrote "Wright told me that the 'Information for the People' and 'Charles XII' were on the road but not 'Lectiones Selectae'". By 13 March, these works had finally arrived:

> Was lying down on the big chest when George came in in the dark and touched me with something. I got up, he ran away into the parlour, I followed him and saw by the light of the candles 'Chambers' Information for the People' and 'Charles XII' which Connell had just brought; cut the pages and read the former.

Bunn did not, however, begin Charles XII until 18 April, and took till 20 May to finish it, with the disappointed comment, "After all it is not so very interesting". As may be gathered from the above, Bunn's journals also tell a little about the ways in which country readers obtained their books at this time. There are several additional references to the arrival of boxes of books, such as, on 16 March 1845, "The drays came weighed etc. the load - Mamma got books (Carlisle's) [sic]". It is

interesting to note another mention of a work by Carlyle, Sartor Resartus (1833), in an 1843 letter from Terence Murray to Mrs. Bunn, quoted in Murray of Yarralumla (p.144). A later most interestingly full account by William, on 23 January 1848, of a literary discussion during dinner at a nearby property, Girwindera, again shows the prominent place still held by eighteenth-century authors - Pope, Swift and Johnson being referred to - and the generally high level of literary culture prevailing amongst these families. In contrast, one of the most recent works mentioned by Bunn is found in an entry for 15 April 1848: "Went to Queanbeyan for James, he gave me Leigh Hunt's 'Men, Women and Books' in unpacking the books". As a copy of this work had been advertised by the Sydney bookseller Ford on 19 November 1847, it is difficult to tell whether it had been obtained from him or ordered direct from England. A reference on 6 June 1848 to an argument "on the comparative cheapness of English and Continental Booksellers" does, however, suggest that some works were ordered from abroad.[53] Earlier that year, on 19 April, Bunn had been looking at "the Quarterly Review's List of Publications" presumably with a view to finding any new books he might wish to buy. Although Bunn's Journal unfortunately ends in 1848, he evidently maintained the literary interests established in his youth, in 1859 purchasing the Braidwood Dispatch and Mining Journal and also

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53 An examination of the shipping lists in such papers as the Shipping Gazette and Sydney General Trade List, 1844-1860, shows that many colonists continued to import boxes of books in the eighteen-forties.

founding the Braidwood Literary Institute.[54] As a final testimony to the literary culture of these particular early settlers, Stewart Marjoribanks Mowle, a close associate of Terence Murray, recalled in his "Reminiscences, 1822-51" that in 1849, "We used to read in addition so we did not lead an unintellectual life, although a rough and hard one. There was an extensive library at Yarrowlumla /sic/, and the whole surroundings were of a refined character".[55]

Some further valuable insights into the reading habits of country settlers in the eighteen-forties come from notes kept by another teenager, Annabella Innes, published as Annabella Boswell's Journal (ed. Morton Herman, 1965). Like William Bunn, Annabella's early reading seems to have been largely confined to popular novelists, especially Scott and Fenimore Cooper. During some months of isolated life, after her father's death, on the family property at Capertee near Bathurst in 1840 she

> . . . read greedily such books as we possessed, chiefly the Waverly Novels, which then and always interested me. I read most of them aloud as well as to myself. We had Cooper's novels also, which fascinated me then, but somehow I have never read them since, and have no wish to do so . . . I regret that some of the books we had were denied to us, among them Shakespeare, which seems strange to me now, but my mother was old-fashioned in her ideas and somewhat of a disciplinarian. (p.37)

As one might have expected from the author of The Guardian, Mrs. Bunn obviously had much more liberal views on literature than Mrs. Innes. In January 1843, the Innes's moved to Port Macquarie to live with Annabella's uncle, the prominent

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[54] See Murray of Yarralumla, pp. 260-261.

[55] From the original manuscript written in 1899, now in the Mitchell Library.

colonist, Major Innes, and she found many more books to read: "There was a good library in the house, and a regular supply of books from the Sydney Library" (p. 53). Later, in her description of her uncle's house, she mentions that the library contained "three large book-shelves from the floor to the ceiling filled with many choice books" (p. 56). As in the Bunn household, reading aloud was evidently popular at Port Macquarie, the two works mentioned in this context being both by Dickens, a surprising omission from Bunn's authors. On 18 December 1844, Annabella recorded "One of the party reads aloud while the others work. Our book is The Old Curiosity Shop. We are deeply interested in Little Nell, and enjoy it doubly when my aunt reads." (pp. 110-111). Again, on 31 August 1847, she wrote

> Mr. Smith has been reading aloud to us every evening from after tea till ten o'clock and has finished Martin Chuzzlewit. It is just the book for reading aloud, and he reads very well. I think even the author would say he had done it justice. We have had some fun appropriating characters from it. Margaret is Mercy, I am Charity, Dido is Miss Todgers, and patronizes Mr. Smith, who is pronounced by all to be her "youngest young man" (no doubt). (p.145)

Although this fun with Dickens does not seem to have been a formal attempt to dramatise the work, an earlier reference to a novel method of acting Scott's "Young Lochinvar" and the opening speech of Richard III gives further insight into both the types of amusement created in the bush and the general literary climate (p. 72). Another popular work read by Annabella was Michael Scott's Tom Cringle's Log, frequently advertised in this period, and often found in colonial libraries. In the schoolroom, older English authors naturally held sway:

Annabella mentions learning Cowper's "Praise of the Country" on 27 January 1844 (p. 81), whilst later that year, on 8 October, she wrote

> We finished learning the fifth book of Milton's Paradise Lost, and are all delighted with it, though we do not exactly "dance for joy". Our other poetry lesson just now is Goldsmith's Deserted Village, which is a very favourite piece of mine. (p. 102)

Perhaps part of the continued advertisement of older literary works in Australia in the 'forties was related to their extensive use in education - certainly standard works by Cowper, Goldsmith, Milton and others were often listed as children's prize and present books.

Some additional information on youthful reading comes from "Fragment of a Diary Kept by George Gordon M'Crae. Thirteen Years of Age. Arthur's Seat, Wango, Australia", reproduced in Georgiana's Journal: Melbourne a hundred years ago, 1841 - 65 (ed. Hugh McCrae, 1934). On 11 December 1846, George McCrae, a future poet and novelist, recorded "After breakfast we went to lessons, finished Goldsmith's Roman History, read a part of Cornelius Nepos's life of Hannibal . . . the Saturday Magazine to read." (p. 201). Later references to his school work mention the reading of Middleton's Life of Cicero, the Bible, Paradise Lost, apparently a standard text, Virgil's AEneid and Caesar's Commentaries and Histories. (pp. 206-7). As this shows, colonial boys were still educated mainly through the classics, although a few dissenting voices had begun to question the system. Many Australian booksellers' advertisements also demonstrate the predominance of Greek and

Latin writers amongst literature studied in schools.

McCrae's mother, Georgiana, gives several rather more useful glimpses into the literary culture of the period in her journal, which makes up most of the above work. She had arrived in Melbourne in March 1841, bringing with her several boxes of books (pp. 6-7). On both 28 May 1842 and 25 April 1843, she noted the arrival of further books from London (pp. 56, 81), whilst a reference on 16 July 1842, "Dr. Thomas drove out for his wife, but left his sister for a few days to help me arrange the books in the book-shelves" (p. 60), implies that the McCrae library must have been of a considerable size. After the family had moved to Arthur's Seat in 1845, she noted on 12 June, "Worked till 6 p.m. carrying books into the house, which is roofed but not yet floored" (p. 164). In addition, works were frequently borrowed from friends, including those of the two most popular authors mentioned by Mrs. McCrae, Frederika Bremer and Mary Howitt, which came from relatives of the Howitts in Victoria.[56] On 15 June 1844, she wrote, "The boys and Lucy went to Dr. Howitt's, to return Our Neighbours; and Mrs. Howitt sent me another of Miss Bremer's pleasant novels, Family Cares and Joys" whilst, later that year, on 10 September, "Mrs. Howitt sent me Mary Howitt's new book Rural Life in Germany", and, on 15 October, "The boys took

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56 Mary Howitt was responsible for most of the current English translations of Bremer's works.

back to Mrs. Howitt Rural Life in Germany, and brought home Miss Bremer's President's Daughter."[57] A reference on 30 September, "In the evening, the boys read in turns from Rural Life in Germany" (p. 132), shows the Victorian practice of reading aloud to have also been common in the McCrae household. As this same work was read aloud on 9 May 1845 (p. 161), it must have been either reborrowed or purchased by the McCrae's. Another work read aloud, about the same time, was Mrs. Moody's New Home in America, "telling of her troubles on first settling in the bush", obviously most congenial to Mrs. McCrae at this period of moving into her rural home. An earlier letter from George McCrae, written from Arthur's Seat in March 1845, mentioned another American work, "We have been reading very amusing book called : A New Home . . . Who'll Follow?; or a sketch of country life in Michigan, by Mrs. Mary Clavers." (p. 143). A further example of the popularity of accounts of American settlers' experiences, discussed earlier in this chapter, comes from the Adelaide Examiner for 6 May 1843, which had serialised A New Home - Who'll Follow? Or, Glimpses of Western Life (1839), with the comment

> It must be confessed that whatever pretensions the City of Adelaide may have boasted in bygone times, it is, in the present depressed state of affairs, but a dull little town, and offers few incidents worthy of being recorded . . . To those who have not the means of purchasing books, or much time to spend in reading them, these pages will be particularly appropriate . . .

Fortunately for the McCraes, they seem to have laboured

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57 See pp. 124, 131, 133.

under neither of these difficulties. Mrs. McCrae's other reading appears to have been of a more serious tone, and at one stage she makes a rather critical reference to a woman friend being "all the evening . . . absorbed in a novel" (p. 156). On 30 July 1843, she "Read the memoirs of the Emperor Alexander, also an account of the gentle wife of Mr. Shepherd and her intercession on behalf of Lord Byron" (p. 91), whilst on 13 October that year she mentioned receiving two volumes of Channing's Sermons (p. 95). The only reference to her husband's reading occurred on 8 February 1844, when the work was Lady Sale's Journal (p. 107). Other comments on books, again showing the exchange of volumes between friends which must have been an essential part of literary life in early Australia, were made on 19 March 1844 - "Handed Mr. La Trobe The Mirror, vol. 6" (p. 113) - and 16 November 1844, "Returned to Dr. Clutterbuck his Brande's Manual of Chemistry" (p. 139). As is evident from these and other remarks, the McCraes moved in the highest circles of Melbourne literary society. One who must later have also been a prominent member of it was William à Beckett, the sale of some of his books having already been discussed. A greater insight into his literary tastes would seem to come from some "Records of Reading" printed in the only extant issue of the Sydney Australasian Odd Fellows' Quarterly Magazine for July 1845, under the pseudonym "Malwyn", later adopted by à Beckett for the poems he sent to Melbourne newspapers. Prefaced, "These

papers are from the private journal of the author, and were never intended for publication. It is necessary to state this, to account for the apparent egotism and freedom with which they are written", they provide some of the most interesting literary criticism to come from early Australia:

> Macaulay's Essay on Milton.
> Ed. Review, No. 84, 1825. (Read Dec. 26, 1842) I like the style of Macaulay - it is nervous, clear, easy, and pointed. Neither exuberant, nor elaborate, he uses words just sufficient to convey his meaning, and ornaments just sufficient to convey it with grace.
> Bulwer
> . . . There is something very beautiful and touching in his writings, and which, notwithstanding all the sneering and carping of criticism, will, I think, render them permanently and deservedly popular. . . . of those I have read of his novels, I prefer "Night and Morning" . . . I have not yet read "The last of the Barons", of which I hear much, but I can easily conceive that the author of "Night and Morning", could write more than one novel superior to "Pelham", "Rienzi", "Eugene Aram", "Last Days of Pompeii", or even"The Disowned". "Paul Clifford", I never could get into the marrow of. His plays are beautiful poems; and the "Lady of Lyons" is as dramatic as it is poetic. "Money" I like, but not in an equal degree. There are some fine passages in his "Duchess de la Valliere", but as a play, it is a failure. . . . Apropos of novels in general, I know none that ever left a more disagreeable impression upon me than "Caleb Williams", excepting, perhaps, Victor Hugo's "Esmerelda". Each possesses intensive and thrilling interest, but in closing the pages of either, we could wish they were instantly forgot. . . .
> Martineau
> I began to read "Deerbrook", a novel, by Miss Martineau, in the usual quantum of three volumes - gave it up after a few chapters.

Since these were headed "Records of Reading - No. 1", one greatly regrets that no further issues of the magazine have survived.

One final comment from Georgiana's Journal, written on 11 November 1844, provides a rare insight into the reading habits of one who had appeared in a courtroom in a very

different capacity to à Beckett: Phillip Hervey, a bank manager transported for forgery, who now kept the Observatory on Flagstaff Hill:

> One evening Mr. McCrae called at the Observatory and asked Hervey for a light for his cheroot which had gone out. Hervey immediately rose up to get the light, but, in doing so, let a book fall from his lap. Mr. McCrae went to pick it up, and, to his great surprise, found it to be Aeschylus! (p. 136).

No doubt there were other gentlemen convicts like Hervey who tried to retain the literary culture of their past. In "Colonial Sketches. No. 1. The First Engagement. By a Wanderer", printed in the Corio Chronicle from 2 August to 6 September 1848, one of the bush workers says of another, "he believed he had been lagged from Oxford, but that he was a regular 'mope-hawk' and that instead of joining his mates in a spree, he was always either reading or writing". These comments and McCrae's surprise seem to indicate that any sort of serious reading among the non-establishment classes must have been very rare indeed. As mentioned earlier, little is known about the reading habits and literary tastes of the convicts and working classes; it is even impossible to say exactly how many of them were able to read at all. The overall figures for literacy in England and Wales, taken from the Registrar-General's returns, and quoted in Altick's discussion of this problem,[58] show that in 1841 sixty-seven per cent of males and fifty-one per cent of females were literate. But, as Altick points out, these figures, based on ability to sign the marriage register, are no sure indication

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58 See The English Common Reader, (1963), pp. 170-171.

that such a high proportion of the population ever attempted, or were able, to read even the simplest kind of literature. Figures for Western Australia, quoted in the Inquirer for 15 October 1845, were similarly based on the eight hundred signatures on the births and deaths registers for the previous four years, with the same assumption that those who could sign their names could also read. They show that seventy-three per cent of males but only forty per cent of females could write at least "well", so that, on the average, literacy was lower in Western Australia than in England, especially in the categories "Could write well" and "Had received superior instruction". As indicators of how many persons could actually read, these statistics are, of course, open to the same objections as the English figures. Some possibly more accurate figures given in the Colonial Observer for 9 February 1842, based on over seven hundred women receiving situations through the agency of the Sydney home for female immigrants, show that only thirty-one per cent of them could read. Assuming these to be characteristic of the working class as a whole, one would estimate that about fifty percent of working-class men were then able to read, though, again, few of them probably ever attempted anything as long as a novel. More elaborate statistics were provided by Ralph Mansfield in his Analytical View of the Census of New South Wales for the Year 1846 (1847); he claimed that seventy-eight per cent of males and seventy-seven per cent of females over twenty-one could read, the situation being slightly reversed for those

between five and twenty-one, where seventy-four per cent of males and seventy-seven per cent of females could read. As one would expect, inhabitants of Sydney were more literate than those in the rest of the colony. (pp. 87-90). As the working class then apparently made up over eighty per cent of the population,[59] this gives a higher estimate of their literacy than the earlier figures, though again, the no doubt simple test used in the census, and the ability to actually read books, were probably vastly different things.

Most of the extant comments on working-class readers relate to reading in the bush. Some historians have made much of the bushman's love of reading; Russel Ward, for example, says "Contemporaries noted also that the bush workers had a passion for reading and versifying", and quotes from James Demarr's Adventures in Australia Fifty Years Ago (1893):

> At a certain out-station one day in the early 'forties, a man arrived 'with a joyful countenance' and a copy of Nicholas Nickleby. In the hut that night another man began reading to a company consisting mainly of old hands who, however, 'advised that the reading should be stopped, until the men of two or three stations near us, had been invited' to share in the feast. By the light of 'a piece of twisted rag stuck into a pint tin of melted fat' the book was read on successive nights to a full hut, and if the reader 'could have read till daylight' the audience would not have tired.[60]

Of the other contemporaries referred to by Ward, the best support for this theory comes from J. Sidney's A Voice from the Far Interior of Australia (1847):

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59 See Russel Ward, The Australian Legend, 1958 (1966), p. 19.

60 Ibid., p. 103

Our Bush servants have a passion for reading, and story-telling, which is a substitute for books in all wild countries. Nothing would be easier than to take advantage of this passion for working out good ends. I had a good many books, voyages and travels, novels, etc. and, next to a glass of rum, the loan of a book was the greatest favour I could bestow. Night after night, especially in wet seasons, have I seen them sitting in a circle round a fire, smoking their pipes and baking their dampers in the wood ashes, each man with a pipe and a pot of tea before him, listening with the intentness of children while the "best scholar" read the story. After my books had been read by every one on the river, I exchanged them for a complete set of Scott's novels. This sort of exchange is common with us. I remember a shepherd who used to travel with a pack of books, that he bartered whenever he could. (pp. 23-24).

This amusing description of two stockmen reading, and of their general ideas on literature, is given in Thomas McCombie's Arabin, 1845 (1850):

"But I say, what book is that? Is it the cove's?"
"Yes," replied Bob; "and there is such a regular fine story in it about an Irishman."
The two began to spell through the story, which was contained in a volume of "Chambers's Edinburgh Journal." The hero was Paddy O'Reardon, or some such name, who did many excellent things in a trip which he made to France. Neither of the characters could read, - the tale was so exactly to their taste, that they spelled it through, waiting occasionally to enjoy fits of inward mirth.
"I say, Bob," said the guide, "who wrote that? Was it Shakspeare?"
"Poh!" replied his companion, "Do you think Shakspeare could write anything like that? Walter Scott wrote it in the 'Edinburgh Journal,' to be sure!" (p. 34).

A bush worker with a better appreciation of Shakespeare is recorded in the work by James Demarr referred to earlier.

One of the shepherds was very fond of recitations, and his favourite author was Shakspeare, a volume of which he had with him, bought in Sydney. It was astonishing how many of the passages in Shakspeare he knew off by heart. . . . This man was also an "old hand," an emancipist. (p. 235).

In his Our Antipodes, or Residence and Rambles in the Australasian Colonies (1855), Godfrey Mundy mentions a shepherd who "lay lazily supine, reading 'Bentley's Miscellany' - as I

was near enough to perceive" (p. 31), whilst Richard Howitt's Impressions of Australia Felix (1845) refers to Scottish shepherds reading and discussing Burns (p. 125), who was even apparently sung by the aborigines: "It was odd enough in this strange land to hear such creatures singing the beautiful songs of Burns - correctly too - with a grand rich voice" (p. 86). The passage from Howitt cited by Russel Ward runs

> I see in the first number of the Port Phillip Magazine that some shepherd or hut-keeper is accused of having in his bush-dwelling the works of Homer, &c. This, the writer seems to think a very strange affair - as though the possessor or enjoyer of such works was out of his proper element, or situated there by a combination of circumstances unsought for on his part. (p. 255)

The surprise, similar to that of Mr. McCrae at finding an ex-convict also reading the classics, was presumably occasioned by the rarity of such works in the bush, workers seeming generally to have preferred novels and magazines. Later, Howitt paints a less rosy picture of the availability of literature in the bush and the shepherds' inclination to read:

> Then the English peasant reads the newspaper of a more intelligent people, and the more frequently exchanged book. His news is about a land, too, and a people which are known to him, and in which he feels a lively interest. An English newspaper or book in Australian huts are read over and over again until they know them off by heart.
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> I have met with men in the Bush, solitary at a cattle station, and they and the hut, and their one or two well-thumbed books, have all had the same smoke-dried appearance, a kind of brown-glaze, as though they had been there, a kind of country heirlooms, from old patriarchal times, and would last so, smoke-embalmed, for ever.
>
> I knew a mechanic in Melbourne, who once resided near Nottingham; and was a subscriber to the Artizans' Library. He was married two years before he left England: during which time he had lived very comfortably; had dived deeply into the marrow of books, old and new; had saved 141.; and now what is the exchange? He is getting a bare livelihood; seldom sees a person who knows anything of his old pursuits or enjoyments; a little talk of books, and a book, are become, indeed, to

him most precious. Moreover he, in coming to the colony, is afraid he took a step which he shall never be able to retrace.

After all, men in Melbourne are not so listless and lost as out in the country. I have observed to shepherds and hut-keepers what a pleasant kind of life they seemed to have of it; the answer was a negative shake of the head. One man, a Scotchman, said, if he took a book out along with him, the hot sun, the hot winds or rain were sure to spoil his reading, if not his book, and, what was worse, he lost his sheep through book-attentiveness. (pp. 292-3)

This Scotchman's objections to reading were echoed by the stockmen in "A Nipping Super. An Original Bush Story, by a Bushman", published in the Geelong Advertiser between 1 and 18 July 1848, one of the most enjoyable and informative original tales to appear in this period. In the first instalment, the author spends the night in a stockman's hut, and the discussion turns to reading,

". . . By the bye, mate, can you read? excuse me for asking the question, but I have got the Life of Jack Sheppard in the hut here, and it's as good a thing as ever you read in your life," and here he brought me down the life of the celebrated thief, which was the only book which constituted their joint library.

"Does the master," I asked, "ever lend you books to read?"

"Why, I dare say he would if a man axed him," was the reply, "but then they gets knocked about so in a hut, that a man doesn't like borrowing them, and returning them again all torn perhaps."

"Chambers' Information for the people is a very good book," I observed, "and you ought to borrow it off him."

"Well, I wanted these blackguards," replied Deny, laughing heartily at the epithet he bestowed on his mates,"I wanted them to get some sort iv a book, and pass a part o' the night away in reading some yarn or other, but then, they wont be said by me."

"It's all very well in talking about reading books," interposed Joe, "but I'll tell you what it is, a man that's working hard all day, and then comes home and has to cook his bit o' grub, it isn't reading that troubles him much, but going into his bed to ease his bones; if all these larned men had to do the same as us, believe me there wouldn't be much books, or reading either, in the world."

Obviously, these men had not read an earlier article in the same paper for 27 August 1847, under the heading "Bush Libraries":

We have great satisfaction in observing that a disposition is manifesting itself with bushman who in several of the districts are subscribing for the purchase of cheap but entertaining and instructive books. This is a good sign, and if well encouraged by employers acting with a little liberality in starting such undertakings, the benefits reaped by it will be incalculable; that which will exclude a pack of cards from the bushman's hut and keep the pipe from continually adhering to his lips - which will set him thinking and help to strengthen his moral character, must tend to make him a better servant, and consequently of greater value to his master. We should like to see the thing become general; at a comparatively trifling expense, a number of good books might be obtained and circulated to the servants on every five or six stations. The men on trial will be found to be liberal to themselves for such a purpose.

No doubt it would have suited James Harrison, as bookseller as well as editor of the Geelong Advertiser, if such a scheme had gone into wide-spread operation. A story, "The Emigrant", serialised in the Geelong Advertiser during 1848, also refers, in an episode printed on 5 September, to the master's desire to educate his men:

If they want books to read, the master will lend them such as he has got. I never knew a master yet that would not do so, and indeed many masters take a secret pleasure in seeing such a desire for intellectual pleasure and improvement manifested by their servants.

Most bush worker's libraries, however, were probably as scanty and sensational as that of the characters in "A Nipping Super". In "Romance in Real Life. An Original Story By a Blue Shirt", also printed in the Advertiser, 10 May 1848, Bill tells Dick, "'I heard you read the Newgate Calendar the other night'", a work whose great popularity is attested to by John Henderson in Excursions and Adventures in New South Wales (1851).

. . . When I first entered the house of a family to which I was introduced, I found the two sons (lads of fourteen) quarrelling who should have the Newgate Calendar to read; while, on the drawing-room table, lay the immoral rhymes of one, and

the infidel productions of another English poet;[61] and this in a house where there were four ladies, and two of them young ones!

It is astonishing that the pursuit of knowledge and the luxury of books, which would be such a solace in the loneliness of the bush should be so little cultivated. Settlers will be found without a book in their possession; and I remember to have once been benighted at a station, where I could find nothing to read, except the aforesaid Newgate Calendar, which appears to be quite a colonial favourite. (pp.290-1).

So, too, in some notes on "Bush Society" published in the Atlas on 11 March 1848, one finds, "For books, alas! the Newgate-Calendar may be met with as often as the Bible, nay, they are often companions. Joe Miller forms a frequent addition; and the Heathen Mythology may be found as a rare commodity."

Much further evidence on the scarcity of reading matter in the bush comes from James Demarr's Adventures in Australia, making it clear that the joyous reception of Nicholas Nickleby described by him was in large measure a product of the novelty of the situation. In an earlier account of a trip from New South Wales to Victoria in 1840, he wrote

During all our journey we had never seen either a book or a newspaper, but it was no unusual thing in those days to be many months and not see either one or the others. But at last the doctor was fortunate enough to find a book at the cattle station; got the loan of it, and brought it to our camp. The arrival of this book was a perfect god-send to all of us. It was the life of Mary Queen of Scots, by a Mr. Mackay, and a clever and masterly defence it was of the unfortunate queen. I was appointed to read it aloud to the company at night, our only light being that given by a piece of twisted rag stuffed into an old pint tin, filled with the fat skimmings of our meat pot.

There were no candles, or lamps, then, on the Yackondandah. Our audience were not content with once reading of this book, but partly owing to its being the only thing we had to read, and

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61 Byron and Shelley?

more on account of the interest which it excited, for the men seemed never to tire of it, it was read over and over again, and with endless discussion about its contents. . . .

With the exception of Jack Fannon, none of these men could read or write, but all had heard something relative to Mary Queen of Scots. . . .

This book was the only bit of reading we had the good fortune to meet with, until our arrival in Melbourne. (pp.75-77)

On the Victorian cattle station where the Nicholas Nickleby episode occurred, Demarr suffered from an equal lack of books.

My greatest want was something to read, in the matter of books or newspapers. To a person fond of reading, it is no small deprivation to be two or three months or more and never see a book or newspaper. Sometimes, but rarely, we got a newspaper, perhaps months old, but no matter how old, it was always welcome. Going one day to the sheep station opposite, I found they had, by some means, got possession of a book. And what sort of a book does the reader think? Not a pleasant novel, but "Watt's Logic, or the right use of reason." This I borrowed, thinking it better than none; but fond as I was of reading, and although I had so much leisure time, so little did it suit my taste, that I have taken it in hand I may say scores of times, and I do not think I ever had the patience to read it for half an hour before laying it down again. . . .

This was the only book I could get for about three or four months. I tried the head station, but Mr. B., our employer, never seemed to have a book. What books he had were generally borrowed from some distant station. (pp.118-19)

He was even more deprived whilst working on a station in New South Wales in 1842, writing of his employer,

I have no recollection of his ever having a book or a newspaper, or ever seeing either myself, until my arrival at Moreton Bay, a period of nine months. . . . In all my journeyings in the interior, I had only seen three books, one of them being that dry old book, Watt's logic. (p. 190)

Similarly, on a Queensland station in 1843, Demarr found only one book, Cruikshank's Three Courses and a Desert, lent him by the son of the manager. (p. 220)

More expectedly, from the shortage of works for sale there, books were equally scarce in the bush of Western Australia, as one learns from a series of "Letters from a Country Settler" published in the Perth Inquirer during 1845. In his third

letter, 17 September, the settler remarked: "If we succeed in inculcating in our children a love for reading English authors, we may trust to their own desire of improvement for increasing hereafter their stock of information." The next week, however, he was not so sanguine:

> You are well aware, Mrs. Hornet, that whilst most of the young people in this colony are capable of reading words of even four syllables, there is but a very small quantity of literature at their disposal, there is, in short, no encouragement to them to increase the stores which they have already accumulated.

One young person who felt this lack of literature very keenly was William Forster, later a leading contributor to the Atlas. On 20 January 1841, whilst exiled at a station on the "River Clarence 500 miles north of Sydney", as he headed his letter, he complained to his friend J.S. Dowling of

> . . . the want of Society, the want of books, the want of amusement and the thorough solitude of body and mind that a bush life entails on its votaries. . . . I have at present no amusements but just such as fall upon me unawares having exhausted my slender shelf of books long ago.[62]

On the other hand, many squatters seem to have had quite large libraries. The Bunn and Innes families, and the McCraes for part of the 'forties, were living in the country, whilst Richard Howitt gives this picture of life on squatting stations near Melbourne:

> There, under what is called by the natives the sheac tree, profuse of waving tresses, that sigh sedgily in the wind, you may seat yourself, how cozily, with a book. Here English and Scotch Gentlemen are more closely secluded in a land that is itself a retirement, and enjoy with a freshness, seldom known in society, the most beautiful of our famous national literature. For them Milton and Shakespeare, Byron and Burns, have sung; and Scott, Cooper, Mitford or Austen, have for them woven the web of never-tiring fiction. Then how pleasant beneath such

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62 From the original in the Mitchell Library.

skies to read Vathek, the Epicurean, Kehama, and Thalaba. (p. 164)

Whilst Howitt's description may seem somewhat idyllic, most of the works he refers to were in plentiful supply in Australia in the 'forties, and often found in private libraries. An even more popular list of authors read in the bush is given in Alfred Joyce's A Homestead History.[63] Before coming to Australia, Joyce had been an active member of the London Mechanics' Institute, and says of his reading in 1837,

> Meals were taken at a nearby coffee-house, where there was a good library, and all the magazines and periodicals of the day. It was from this library and in these dinner hours that I read most of the authors of that time, Bulwer, G.P.R. James, Marryat, Ainsworth, Ingoldsby Legends, Dickens and others, including Cooper and a good few other American writers. (p. 24)

From his later descriptions of the entertainments in vogue on his Victorian squatting station, it is evident Joyce took with him to Australia the tastes in reading so developed: "In the evenings, there was whist, draughts, or reading, and a good deal of the latter, as I had brought out with me a good collection of books, including Dickens, Scott, Cooper, Marryat, and most of the popular authors of that day, and the well-established classics." (p. 113). Another Victorian squatter, Alexander Mollison, told his sister Jane in a letter written on 13 January 1847, "I have a little library at Colliban containing about a hundred volumes . . . I have no recreation but reading."[64] David Mackenzie, author of Ten

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[63] Ed. by G.F. James, 1942 (1949).

[64] From the original in the La Trobe Library, Melbourne.

Years in Australia (1845), claimed fishing, hunting, shooting, riding and reading were the chief bush amusements (p. 99), and continued

> I have already stated, that the people of this colony are fond of reading. In the bush this is a favourite amusement. In several huts you enter, you see the proprietor of the station wearing his regatta shirt and fustian dress, and inhaling the fumes of tobacco through a short black pipe, which he occasionally draws from his mouth, in order to wipe away from his eye the tear of joy or of sorrow, as he reads one or other of the novels of Sir Walter Scott, or of Fenimore Cooper, or of Dr. Bird, or of Bulwer, or of Smollett, or Tom Cringle's Log Book, or Sam Slick, or Dickens's Works, or Chambers' Journal. You will also see, resting on roughly-constructed shelves behind him, a few volumes on history, chemistry, philosophy, and travels by sea and land. You will be as agreeably surprised as I have been on finding so large an amount of intelligence among long-bearded bushmen wearing nothing but fustian. (pp. 103-4)

Again, one notices a close correspondence between the authors mentioned and those most frequently found in book advertisements. One of these, by James Tegg in the Sydney Gazette for 2 January 1840, extolled the benefits of books for the squatter:

> . . . the selection consists principally of works of a light and amusing character. We recommend them to our bush friends. While reading these, after the toils of the day, the mind whose locomotion (if we may be allowed the expression), is illimitable, is led back to scenes fresh in the memory of the reader and the associations of bye gone days, are vividly recalled, reminding the voluntary exile of the link that still subsists between him and those - far - far away.

The collection, discussed in detail earlier in this chapter, contained works by several of the authors mentioned in accounts of bush reading - Michael Scott, Dickens, Theodore Hook and Joe Miller (of Jest Book fame). As has been seen, booksellers directed their advertisements to bush readers on various other occasions, with the emphasis usually echoing Tegg's "light and amusing reading", an emphasis certainly reflected in the records

kept by Annabella Boswell, William Bunn and Alfred Joyce, and in many of the other comments on bush reading.

An exception is E.M. Curr's account in Recollections of Squatting In Victoria (1883), the most detailed description of a bush library, and also interesting for its comparisons between settlers' reading in the 'forties and at the time the book was written.

> Having endeavoured to give the reader an idea of the struggling times of my bush life when I had plenty to do, and the profits of the station were small, we come to its second phase, when the concern had grown, leisure became plentiful, and time often difficult to dispose of. At that period, reading became our chief resource at Tongala. In the matter of books I believe we were better off than most of our neighbours, though those in our possession had been got together in a haphazard sort of way, at various times and without any idea of making a collection for the bush. However, from a pair of stout wooden pegs in the wall-plate of the sitting room of our rough, but not uncomfortable, slab hut . . . hung, in the place of honour, some shelves made of bark, on which were ranged our literary treasures. These volumes, our great resource for years against ennui, for want of something new, were read, re-read, and discussed, I cannot say how often. In fact, several of them became studies in our small circle. Amongst them were a number of histories, ancient and modern, Bourrienne's "Napoleon", Segur's "Histoire de Napoleon et de la Grande Armee", O'Meara's "Voice from St. Helena," "The Court and Camp of Bonaparte," "The Allambra, or New Sketch Book"; the plays of Racine, Corneille, and Molière; the poetical works of Milton, Shakespeare, Byron, Tommy Moore, Scott, and Burns.
>
> There were also several of the Waverley Novels, some of them in French translations, "Travels in the East", by Lamartine, Stephens, and Chateaubriand; Silvio Pellico's "Le Mie Prigioni", Horace's "Odes", Pope's "Iliad", Junius's "Letters", some of Florian's works, Sterne's "Sentimental Journey", "Blackstone's Commentaries", Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations"; two or three elementary works on natural science; "Youatt on the Sheep and Horse"; and a pile of old magazines, chiefly Blackwood's, and amongst them those in which the "Noctes Ambrosianae" had appeared. We had, besides, a few colonial works, such as "Major Mitchell's Explorations", and the "Memoirs of Jorgen Jorgenson, ex-king of Iceland," whom I remember to have seen when a clerk in my father's office.

Altogether our collection amounted to about a hundred and fifty volumes, of which those mentioned are fair samples. None of them, perhaps, were left entirely unread; diversity of taste, however, leading to one of us interesting himself in one subject, and another in another. A subject we all enjoyed was Eastern travel . . . As the reader may imagine, the confinement of our reading within such narrow limits was not a matter of choice. It arouse from the circumstance that books were hardly obtainable in Melbourne in those days. As an instance of this, I may mention that, having taken a fancy to learn something of the discovery and conquest of America, I tried to obtain "Herrera", "Bernal Diaz", and some other works, but without success. Of the volumes in our collection, very favourite ones with me were those of Washington Irving . . .

For the first few years at Tongala we hardly ever saw a newspaper, and seldom made an addition to our library. Neither when a new book did find its way to us, was it altogether an unmixed blessing, as it was not pleasant to be aware of the fact and not take advantage of it; nor, on the other hand, could one read in comfort with one's brother sitting opposite smoking, and apparently going through "Hamlet" for the hundredth time, whilst conscious that he was in reality only waiting for the new volume to be laid down, that he might take a hurried glance through its pages. And, talking of books, I am reminded of how seldom now-a-days one sees some which were met everywhere forty years ago. A few of this sort, such as Addison's "Spectator" and Johnson's "Rambler", we had at Tongala, but they were not much in favour. Unfortunately, Boswell's "Life of Johnson", which all of us had read before, was not in our collection; so that the conversations of the brawny lexicographer at the Mitre Tavern with Burke, Garrick, Beauclerk, Goldsmith, and his other intimates . . . were only amongst the recollections of our readings. . . . But though books in those days were scarce in the colony, the squatters' shelves, as far as I saw them, were better provided than at present, and typical of a more educated class; for if, now-a-days, from many a home elaborately furnished from attic to basement, Chambers's Cyclopaedia and a score of novels were removed, the remnant would not be great. (pp. 359-361, 369-371)

Again, one notes that most of the works mentioned by Curr were often advertised for sale, and found in catalogues of private libraries. This is also true of a settler's collection listed in McCombie's Arabin.

Dr. Arabin turned over the books upon the side table. He made a running commentary upon their authors as he proceeded. "Shakspeare, the greatest man that ever lived, for intellectual power. 'Falconer's Shipwreck,' don't know him. Bulwer, a

dandified author, but a writer of considerable repute. Shelley, my favourite, is not here. Pope, a fine versifier out of fashion. Byron, a powerful writer, but a little man. Virgil, pooh! 'Hume and Smollett's History of England', a valuable work of reference. 'Moore's Works,' a thing of tinsel, a peacock in the most gorgeous feathers; gay nonsense, which has nevertheless acquired for the author an ill-merited reputation." . . .

"Fee-fa-la-de! there is not a thought worth retaining in a cart-load of such poetry; one thought from Burns or Bunyan is worth the whole work, to a real judge of poetry. If I might guess the manner in which it was composed, I should say it was with a dictionary open before the poet, that he might extract fine, sweet-sounding words, and that these words were put down as ideas by mistake. I would sooner have Geoffrey Chaucer's original vulgarity . . . (p. 104)

As one may gather from the above, this doctor turned squatter is depicted as much better read than the majority of early colonists, and more references to books occur in Arabin than in any other Australian novel of the period. Besides the authors mentioned here, Washington Irving, Mrs. Hemans, Cowper, Kirke White, Keats and Landor crop up in the course of the story, whilst a further insight into McCombie's literary views comes from this description of Arabin's early reading:

. . . He was no sooner established in a lodging-house, than he began to feast upon the contents of the circulating libraries. Hitherto he had merely fallen in with works of fiction by chance, and with the exception of one or two of Sir Walter Scott's novels, they had been romances of the old school - emanations of the Minerva Press, as it has been designated; but now he revelled among the works of fiction which then almost daily issued from the press. The great change in the quality of the fictitious literature of the country was a leading feature of the time. The vulgarity, crudeness, and mawkishness which had marked the former school of fashionable romances was no longer to be observed; the works of Miss Edgeworth were the first which marked a new school, and soon after Sir Walter Scott was hailed as the head of a renovated style of fictitious literature, for as before the most improbable tales has been dished up with a seasoning of satyrs, hobgoblins, &c., Sir Walter Scott's tales

on the contrary were founded upon the more permanent basis of history, and being moreover executed in a style which almost placed imitation at defiance, they were not only favourable received, but the author acquired, perhaps, a more enduring fame than any former prose writer in our literature. The young scholar often neglected his lessons to indulge in his passion for novel-reading; he made little distinction between the good and the bad; indeed, he devoured everything in the shape of a romance which came within his reach. Here we may remark, that many may observe in Arabin some resemblance to the character of Waverley; we firmly assert,however, that we have not copied from the great work of the "Wizard of the North;" indeed, it is because the character is founded upon truth and permanent that it must resemble. The future career of Arabin will have no affinity with "the fortunes of Waverley," for, from the peculiar constitution of society in the present day, there are many Waverleys and Arabins. (pp. 5-6)

If one may believe McCombie, this sort of literary background may have been common to many of the early settlers; certainly, the love of novel-reading became much more pronounced in this decade.

A few other scattered pieces of evidence on reading in the bush have been collected. "Australia's Sons", a poem by "Theta" printed in the Port Phillip Patriot for 12 December 1844, contains some lines on the evidently characteric bush amusement: "He hath joy at home with his pipe and book / If the tempest howl without". The same picture, though with the apparent absence of pipes, was painted by "Naturæ Amator" in his "A Week in the Bush", serialised in the South Australian Odd Fellows' Magazine from July 1844 to April 1845. In the first chapter, the author reads The Tempest whilst camping out at night, "This I enjoyed for some time, till on looking up I felt the contrast was too great; old Shakspeare's [sic] 'Tempest' would not agree with the quiet of an Australian wilderness". (Vol. I, p. 140)

Later, they spend some time on a station:

> When the Farmer and his boy returned from their afternoon labour, we all drew round the fire, the evening being cool, to enjoy its invigorating warmth. After some miscellaneous conversation, the companion of my journey down, took from among his books Milton's "Paradise Lost", a great favourite of his, and read two or three passages from the first and second books. He then paused, to allow the farmer to offer his remarks on what he had probably heard for the first time . . .

The next evening, "when conversation came to a stand-still, we read the books belonging to my companions, of which they had a good store, and among them several of the British Poets." (Vol. II, p. 65). The more wealthy squatters were equally given to reading, Mundy writing in Our Antipodes,

> . . . the grazier grandees, the squatting magnates, like some I had the pleasure of visiting, are the aristocrats of the land. Many of them are well-educated gentlemen - Eton and Oxford, Westminster and Cambridge men, who contrive to spare time for the culture of the mind as well as that of wool and tallow . . . and who maintain their connexion with the higher aspirations of humanity by a constant supply of books, periodical publications, correspondence with Home . . . (p. 62)

As an example of one of these, he mentions a visit to Mr. Icely's station in November 1846:

> The evenings of Coombing were passed very agreeably: music and singing were not wanting; there was plenty of books; and on the table, just as might be in a country-house fifty miles from London, lay the last numbers (four or five months old, of course) of the Illustrated London News, Punch, and other periodical publications. (pp. 65-66).

The same publications are cited in an account of a Western Australian settler's reading given in E.W. Landor's The Bushman; or, Life in a New Country (1847).

> He discourses not only of the crops and colonial politics, but of literature, and the last news from England; for like many of the other colonists he receives the English papers, and patronizes the Quarterly Review. On the sofa lie the latest numbers of Punch and the Illustrated London News - some four months old, of course - for the ladies like fun and pictures, whilst their father laboriously wades through a three months'

accumulation of the Times. (p. 123)

As shown earlier, four or five months was the general time-lapse between the publication of such popular items and their arrival in Australia.

Richard Howitt also makes a few additional references to bush libraries, saying of a visit to his friends, the Bakewells, "Of books there was also a good display; 'Friends, substantial friends, and good,' in the forest." (p. 324) An earlier remark, in an account of a visit to Captain Reid, at the foot of Mount Martha, "The book cases were well furnished with - not always the case in the bush - good substantial old, and elegant modern literature" (p. 144), again suggests, however, that many bush libraries contained little but sensational fiction. At least one imagines such cheap novels would have been eagerly read, not always the case with the works in the grander squatters' libraries, if one may trust the anonymous author of "Colonial Sketches. No. 1. The First Engagement. By A Wanderer", a short story referred to earlier. His hero, Isaiah Weeks relates, "the next morning Mr. Peachum sent for me into the library (for all the parvenus have a library; show being the only use to which the well bound books are subjected)". In contrast, this description of the supposed library of one Theophilis Perkins, village schoolmaster, was given in the Hobarton Guardian for 27 June 1849, as part of a series of "Wanderings" written by one who, like Asmodeus, could become invisible at will: "Plutarch's Lives, Shakespeare, Thompson /sic/, Young, Cowper, various Histories and Biographies, a few Sermons,

Several Theological Works, Literary curiosities, the Bible, both Protestant and Catholic, the History of the Saracens, Sale's Koran and Whiston's Josephus." On the literary side, and indeed in the proportions of other works if not their numbers, this bears a marked resemblance to many of the extant catalogues of clergymen's libraries, and presumably had an equally utilitarian purpose.

Apart from the catalogues of private libraries mentioned earlier, less is known about the tastes in reading of city dwellers as opposed to bush folk. Louisa Anne Meredith, in her Notes and Sketches of New South Wales (1844), gives a generally unflattering picture of Sydney readers in the early 'forties:

> . . . The circulating libraries are very poor affairs, but, I fear, quite sufficient for the demand, reading not being a favourite pursuit. The gentlemen are too busy, or find a cigar more agreeable than a book; and the ladies, to quote the remark of a witty friend, "pay more attention to the adornment of their heads without than within." That there are many most happy exceptions to this rule, I gladly acknowledge; but in the majority of instances, a comparison between the intellect and conversation of Englishwomen, and those of an equal grade here, would be highly unfavourable to the latter. An apathetic indifference seems the besetting fault; an utter absence of interest or inquiry beyond the merest gossip, - the cut of a new sleeve, or the guests at a late party. "Do you play?" and "Do you draw?" are invariable queries to a new lady-arrival. "Do you dance?" is thought superfluous, for everybody dances; but not a question is heard relative to English literature or art . . . (pp. 49-50)

One of the exceptions to Mrs. Meredith's strictures was most certainly the Rev. William Gore, who lived near Parramatta, and whose diaries, kept from 1849 to 1862, reveal an exceptional acquaintance with the great English writers of the period.[65] His diary for 1849 was much less detailed than those for some

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65 The originals are in the National Library, Canberra.

subsequent years, and therefore it is significant that he bothered to record his reading at all. The first reference to books, on 16 February, concerns once again the common pastime of reading aloud, and the book that was, perhaps, most often employed for this: "Evening as usual reading Pickwick aloud". Other records of Gore's 1849 reading were made on 27 February, 28 March and 18 May; among the works mentioned was Cooper's The Pioneers. Mrs. Meredith, naturally another exception to her own diatribes, was also a lover of Dickens, as can be seen from her "The distinctions in society here remind me of the 'Dock-yard people', described by Dickens, that keen and kindly satirist of modern follies." (p. 52). She also seems to have been the first of several commentators to see an only too valid comparison between colonial newspapers and the "Eatanswill Gazette" and "Independent" of The Pickwick Papers:

> It is my sincere opinion that some of the colonial editors here have mutually resolved on attempting an exact imitation of the style and manner of these renowned papers, for their leading articles bear a most curious resemblance, fraught with the most deadly hatred of each other, and the same unmeasured powers of abuse and wholesale condemnation. (p. 54)

Of course, this kind of vituperative colonial rivalry was current before Pickwick was published, so one might just as easily claim Dickens was the imitator, though, no doubt, in this as in most other features of early Australian newspapers, the editors were probably only following an English practice admirably captured by Dickens. Mrs. Meredith's intimate acquaintance with The Pickwick Papers had earlier been shown

in her description of an extra hazard of ship-board life - would-be pigeon shooters who proved just as inept and dangerous gunmen as Dickens' Mr. Winkle. (p. 26) On the same page, the sight of an albatross recalls to her "Coleridge's wild and wondrous tale of the 'Ancient Mariner'". Other references made by Mrs. Meredith to books and reading concern the choice of a bookshelf on board ship (p. 2), and the common practice of reading to while away the lengthy voyage to Australia: "I very soon disposed of all the light reading to be found on board." (p. 8) Later, whilst living at Homebush,

> One great pleasure we enjoyed at this time, but have since been wholly deprived of, was that of having plenty of books, as we subscribed to the Australian Library in Sydney, and could send for a fresh supply once or twice a week. We did not obtain many new works of fiction, but of less fashionable literature, as Biographies, History, Travels, &c. we had abundance. (p. 161)

As has been mentioned in earlier discussions of the books in the Australian Subscription Library, it did originally contain very few novels, though, later in the 'forties, the committee bowed to the ever increasing "fashion" for fiction.[66] It was a fashion still decried as immoral by some of the more pious colonists, though perhaps not as stridently as in the previous decades. A series entitled "The Family Visitor" appeared in the Bathurst Advocate during 1848, evidently intended to inculcate moral principles along the lines of those good Victorian ladies who distributed tracts to the poor.

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66 See the discussion in the following chapter.

In the first number, printed on 6 May, the anonymous author enlarged on the evils of defamation, certainly a cardinal colonial sin, saying

> . . . when we express our fears that this vice will spread, we allege as a powerful reason, the loquacious habits of our youth, and their generally small amount of reading; or the reading of works at best but trash; and, in many instances, decidedly of the worst stamp of literature.

That "trash" should be interpreted as "novels" is made clear in Number V, printed on 24 June, which also contains some amusing comments on Louisa Meredith's apparently widely known criticisms of colonial culture, or the lack of it.

> Most of our readers, we presume, are aware that Mrs. Meredith, though we are no lords, in our social intercourse has fixed us on the "Wool Sack", to talk about Tallow! This is "too bad" as Lord Liverpool used to say; and the only remedy is to increase the love of learning. The learning which the District demands of our youth is not to be found in the Penny Magazine, nor furnished by the locust tribe of vile and trashy novelists.

David Mackenzie also deplored the colonists' over-fondness for fiction:

> You will, no doubt, be greatly surprised when I inform you that there is a general thirst for reading throughout Australia. I took some pains to inquire into this fact; and the result of my inquiries has been that there is an immense number of books of a certain class read throughout the colony. Everybody reads. But I am sorry to add that the reading chiefly in vogue is of a light and frivolous character. There is not a bookseller or librarian here but will tell you that, while celebrated works on divinity, history, and science, are allowed to mould on their shelves, the demand for works of imagination is greater than the supply. The Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts, however, has already done much, and promises to do a great deal more, in checking this love of fiction, and creating a desire after more rational and intellectual enjoyment. (p. 44)

But even the School of Arts was to be increasingly criticised in the latter half of this decade for including too many novels

on its shelves.[67]

Such criticisms of the productions of "the locust tribe" were not, of course, confined to Australia.[68] Several Sydney Protestant newspapers in the second half of the 'forties reproduced English attacks on fiction. A Presbyterian fortnightly, the delightfully, and given the prevailing conditions, aptly named Voice in the Wilderness, reprinted on 1 November 1848, a condemnation of novel reading from the British Banner, also, it seems, aptly named. Earlier, on 24 May 1845, the Southern Queen, A Newspaper for the City and the Bush, and The Chronicle of the National Church had printed under the heading "True Estimate of Popular Literature",

> It is constantly urged upon us that our pages would be more acceptable to the general reader if they furnished him with a greater store of lighter and more amusing reading; and it has been suggested that a reprint of popular tales and works of fiction might seasonably diversify our too serious and sombre page. This may be true, but our paper was not established for any such purpose. Neither do we think that those friends who compel us thus to notice their suggestions, are fully aware how unhealthy a tone of feeling has of late years been insinuated into the national mind, by the popular literature of the day - nor indeed of the close connexion that exists between popular literature and crime.

In support of these views, they reprinted "a London contemporary's" condemnation of the works of Bulwer Lytton and Harrison Ainsworth. The Christian Standard, or Weekly Family Journal of Religious, Literary and Commercial Intelligence also based a leading article, "The Reading Public", printed on 27 August 1848, on current English attacks on cheap fiction, especially of the Salisbury Square variety.

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67 See the discussion in the following chapter.

68 A lengthy and extremely useful account of English opposition to imaginative literature may be found in Altick, The English Common Reader (1963), pp. 110-116, 123-26, 194-98, 231-34.

An English Newspaper (the EXAMINER) terms the current popular literature of the poorer classes "THE DRAM DRINKING OF THE MIND", and justly attributes to it much of the crime and diseased moral feeling which the weekly and daily journals, in their records of the proceedings of our courts of justice bring to light. In fact, nothing can exceed in ribaldry, indecency, and every species of worthlessness, the low, cheap, literature of England. One Lloyd, a wholesale speculator in literary demoralization, furnishes the mental food of millions, and what sort of nutriment he supplies, we learn from the following extract from the DAILY NEWS . . .

We have been recently led to make inquiries as to the sort of literature which mainly circulates among our poorer classes in Sydney and in the country, especially in the squatting districts. On examining the issues of the circulating libraries, and the sales of the cheap booksellers, we find that works of fiction, some of them of a questionable character, form the staple mental food of a large portion of OUR population. Works of history, geography, science, or even biography and voyages and travels, are considered too DRY AND UNINTERESTING, because they do not contribute to that state of intellectual intoxication which to some has become, from long indulgence, a necessary luxury. We are persuaded that this unhealthy condition of the popular mind is traceable not merely to the character of its literature, but to the unnatural physical excitement which is created and maintained by the use of intoxicating liquors . . .

Discounting possible exaggeration and bias, this attack does at least show that the "poorer classes" read something, which one might otherwise be inclined to doubt. Amusingly, despite these criticisms of light reading, the Christian Standard continued to accept advertisements from booksellers featuring the hated novels. On 9 December 1848, for example, shortly after the above attack, Messrs. W. and F. Ford advertised a large number of works by Dickens, James and other equally popular and "unimproving" writers. The Standard itself was not as strict as the Southern Queen, reprinting Nathanial Hawthorne's "The Celestial Railroad" on 12 August 1848. On 22 February 1849, nevertheless, it returned to the fray with

a leader on "Books", probably by Barzillai Quaife, the editor. This, whilst again condemning the preference for "trashy" novels, is particularly interesting for its advocacy of Australian publications and its statement of the then often-expressed belief in the need for a strong Australian literary culture. Hence, though long, it shall be given almost in its entirety.

> We shall be glad to see the day when it will be less absolutely necessary than it is now, to seek amusement and instruction wholly from imported literature; but judging by our best means of observation respecting the habits of colonists, we are sad with misgivings that a very considerable time must elapse before our hopes are realised. There are here almost no producers of books, because there is no market for such an article of colonial manufacture. We are aware that price is an element in the cause of this non-production. With a population so immensely inferior in number, no one can dream that books can be written or printed at English prices; and, unfortunately, every thing is measured by money. Thus it happens, that colonial publications cannot be produced at all, or, if any were produced, could not be sold, because they must be dearer than those which are imported. . . .
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> The influence of this disposition is reflective - it operates backwards and forwards. Books are not produced, because there could be found no purchasers; and, again, the purchasers lack the literary spirit, because there are no books created to promote it. It has always been found, that where one bookseller could scarcely live by driving a scanty trade, several would succeed by carrying on an extensive traffic. The reason is, that the first in the field has had to create a reading taste, by which his subsequent corrivals [sic] have profited. Within a certain limit, the very trade promotes itself. Once give rise to a literary habit among the people, and the appetite for books will become more and more craving, and will communicate itself from one to another throughout society. The bibliopolist, therefore, who at first found it a hard matter to live, will, in the end, establish a trade as enduring and as extensive as the operations of human thought.
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> The bookseller is only one member of the fellowship. The author, and the printer, and the journalist, all belong to the same guild: each one aids every other. If there be competition among them it is most wholesome - for it is, in fact, the competition of thought with thought, until the community is filled with thought, and the passive intellect of even the unreflecting

vulgar becomes brilliant - corruscates [sic] with gems of knowledge and meditation.

We shall be told that our remarks are not quite true; because it is a fact that the importations of books into this colony are very considerable, and that therefore there must be readers, and a reading taste ever increasing. We acknowledge the importations. Were the mass of these of the right kind, we might offer little resistance to the objection. Let the circulating libraries, of all descriptions, tell what sort of books are the chief pabulum of mind in Sydney. A rabid delight in romance, some of it the most silly and mawkish, some of it even the most vicious trash which intellect can generate, is not the literary craving which can answer any good purpose. The want of which we complain is, a tone of mind habituated to think as well as read - to dig for hidden treasures, as well as to glance over the surface which conceals them. The books which can do good are those which require students to profit by them, and which are calculated to make every one a student who opens them. We have few students - few who buy on purpose to study - who turn away with nausea from trash - who deal, in all their researches, with mind, not with matter and accident, or with these only in relation to mind. It is hard to find thorough readers, look where we will. A book which does not tempt the unhealthy aspiring, with incitements almost like intoxication, will rarely be borne with patience to the end. To read a work through, and to reason out attentively all along, is not the practice of the people, generally, of this hemisphere.

Of course, education, when we can bring up our systems into healthful and effective working, is to be a chief remedy for this disease of mind. Yet the mental habitudes created by systems of education require to be watched, cultivated, improved, or the love of the silly and sentimental will still supersede the desire of the solid and weighty. A man's body is formed for labour as well as for pleasure - so it is with his mind. Mere recreation is rarely a right object to pursue. The mind has its labours, which it must resolutely undergo, or it cannot be healthy and vigorous. Think of a community of invalids, all emaciated, enervated, sipping now and anon a sweetened beverage, but never rising to action. What a condition for a society! Apply this to mind. Make all readers, novel readers. Let thinking be an intolerable endurance, which must ever be avoided. And multiply such readers, till every person in the State be one. What a picture of intellectual inanition! How unfit every member of such a society for sober duty! How deficient must it then be in those great and high purposes to which the human race is yet destined! Now education, all-important as it is, does no more than put the first spring of thought in motion, and give it its proper direction. The true education is self-culture after all. The man trained to read, and taught what to read, must read, and read the right things. Those who expect every thing future from the education of youth, should begin the intellectual reformation by severely tasking themselves.

And when all is done, there must be bookmakers, as well as book-buyers and sellers, in order to bring about the result so desirable. We can, it is true, pretty largely purchase from home; but, to depend wholly on this, destroys native power, so essential to the development of these infant States. Every thing which can be made here ought to be purchased here, in order that, as a community, we may cultivate the important habit of self-dependence. And we should set on foot all the local manufactures possible; every one making it a point of high consideration to purchase the thing so produced on the spot, though at some disadvantageous difference of quality and cost, rather than send to a distant country for the article. All this applies to books, even in the commercial sense: it applies still more forcibly to them in regard to those mental habits among the people, without which no community can ever be really prosperous.

Every species of literary enterprise, then, not only deserves, but demands, to be encouraged by the citizens of Sydney and the colonists of New South Wales - provided only, that we always except the pandering to the vicious desires and disorderly habits among the people. He is a very faithless friend to the future population of this colony, who does not, laying aside all petty considerations, act upon this principle to the utmost of his power.

Next to moral virtue, and in a very high degree auxiliary to it, is the expansion and corroboration of the intellectual powers. Mere trade may foster sensual thraldom. A nation of thinking men will be a nation of inexhaustible resources, whatever the physical capabilities of their country may be. Books are the materiel of thought, and the means of its utterance. The best security for sobriety, and patient exertion, is a state of the mental faculties braced up by diligent culture.

No doubt these sentiments were applauded by Charles Harpur and other struggling Australian writers but, unfortunately, then as now, when a comparison with the arguments over Australian television content can be made, few others seem to have heeded them.

Another most interesting exposition of the moral advantages of literature appeared in the Bathurst Advocate for 21 April 1849, as part of a leading article, "The Lady", designed to show how this paragon should be created. Although sharing Mrs. Innes's feeling that Shakespeare was unsuitable for young ladies, the

author was more tolerant of novels than many of those quoted above.

> In the third place, let the young female be careful in her reading. Young, Milton, Akenside, Thomson, and Cowper, will form the mind on far more correct principles, and cultivate the taste much more readily than any others of our English poets. Unfortunately young ladies think that if they quote Byron they prove their poetical taste; whereas they can scarcely glean a valuable or useful idea from any of that poet's writings. Shakespeare, however expurgated be the edition of his works, we cannot recommend to the young female. We do not go so far as to advise her not to read novels; such an injunction would be as absurd as it is illiberal. Many novels are of unexceptionable propriety, and teach excellent morals; and as for the objection that they fill the head with "love and such like stuff", we can only say that the principles of a pure, sincere, and virtuous love may be studied by any young female who herself aspires to the honour of matrimony. . . . The novels of Walter Scott are, for the most part, perfectly harmless, and often times highly moral.

Since most of the authors cited here were readily available in the 'forties, young ladies should not have found it too hard to follow this advice, provided they could resist the temptations of Byron and Shakespeare, whose works were also most probably on their fathers' bookshelves. In contrast to this writer, two poets whose verses appeared in the Port Phillip Gazette during 1844 saw novel reading as a very poor preparation for "the honour of matrimony". On 20 March, "A.R.", probably the prolific Scottish versifier "Auld Reekie", wrote of his quest for the perfect wife,

> Some lasses, I ken, set at e'en,
> Till its maybe a bit o' the mornin',
> Readin' novels and bleerin' their een,
> When their stockin's they ought to be darnin'.

Similarly, in "Lizzy's Lament" by "M.F.", printed on 22 June, the old and lonely spinster mourns that she was too proud to marry because "The novels we read pit our heads a'agree"! But at least these ladies were not subjected to the horrors

related in another poem, printed in the Sydney Gazette on 19 February 1842:

One night, when surrounded with old dusty works,
Of travels mid'st Countries of Pagans and Turks,
And deeply imbued with such lore;
And the minute hand told me 'twas past one o'clock,
At least by my watch; when my arm felt a shock,
And Somebody tapped at my door.

I candidly own I was in a great fright,
For my eyes grew quite dim, and so did my light,
And fear seemed to seize all my frame;
So I got softly up, and bolted my door,
Pretended to sleep - Lord! how I did snore,
For dread, least it, should knock again.

But locks, bolts, and bars, were not of much good,
For a female walked in, - in spite of the wood,
And laughed so enchantingly sweet;
Good even, fair Lady, said I with a smile,
Whils't I prayed and entreated the gods all the while,
To prevent her from taking a seat.

Tom Campbell, and Milton, for a cushion she took,
And Old Billy of Stratford; - that excellent book, -
Then laughed out, quite glibly once more;
Poor Neil Arnott's Physics; and lectures by Blair,
She scattered and flung 'neath my old wooden chair,
And looked round the room for some more.

She ransacked my book-case, and tore out the leaves
Of Paul Clifford, young Aram, and other great thieves,
Whom Bulwer has given to fame;
Then Homer's and Virgil's and Euclid's and Burke's
With Horace's and Ossian's - all capital works,
Were destroyed, without the least shame.

The Bible and Prayer-book, and Junius' letters,
Which, since time immemorial, have ne'er seen their betters,
All shared the same rascally fate;
And Magazines, Pamphlets, and Newspapers too,
With Essays by Bacon, and others, 'tis true,
Were left in the same awful state.

Oh Devil! cried I - I wish that yourself,
Was a nice little book - bound in gold - on the shelf,
I'd have my revenge for all this;
I'd take you down gently, and in a great rage,
Destroy all your leaves from the first title page,
Nor leave you the last one, Finis.

Hush! Hush! my young friend, you must not be so cross,

I'll give you a something to square all this loss,
And then you shall own I am kind;
I'm the goddess of Pleasure! my poor little lad,
To allow you to study were really too bad,
'Twill injure your health you will find.

I will take you to groves, gravel-walks and sweet bowers,
Where in Love and in Pleasure, you shall pass all your hours
And never grow tired or faint;
Where Damsels attendance shall dance on your will,
And sparkling Champaigne, and Nectar instill,
A charm in lieu of restraint.

'Avaunt! you young tempter,' I cried in great spite,
'Youv'e [sic] destroyed all my books - get out of my sight'
When she changed on a sudden her mould;
She shook my poor bones, 'till I woke with affright,
When my old servant - detestable sight!
Came to tell me - my breakfast was cold!
Signed - HEBE!

New paragraph [Some final conclusions to this lengthy chapter on the fortunes of, mainly, English imaginative literature in Australia between 1840 and 1849: first, an exceedingly large number of books was advertised for sale in Australia in this period. As the figures given in Appendix I show, in these ten years 215,734 volumes had been advertised in New South Wales, 79,231 in Tasmania, 865 in Western Australia, 87,046 in Victoria, 48,195 in South Australia, and 1,291 in Queensland. Of course, not all the books available for purchase found their way into advertisements, while others may have been advertised more than once. Again, not all those advertised may have been sold, but since many booksellers continued to prosper, and auctions were usually conducted on the "no reserve" principle, one assumes that a good many were. In addition, many of the wealthy and better educated colonists, such as Mrs. McCrae, brought books with them from England, and continued to send orders to

European booksellers. The auction catalogues of private libraries show that some colonists owned many thousands of books, whilst libraries of one or two hundred volumes were not uncommon in both city and country homes. In contrast, the working classes, bushmen at least, seem to have had to be content with only a few books, well-thumbed or ignored according to taste. For, as Mrs. Meredith and others indicate, the owning of books and the reading of them were two entirely different matters, and even at this stage probably about fifty per cent of the population were virtually illiterate. Advertisements, library lists and personal records testify to the continued dominance of Scott, Shakespeare and Byron, the lasting popularity of many eighteenth-century and earlier writers, especially in the schoolroom, and the growing influence of the "locust tribe" of modern novelists. If one may take the Christian Standard's and other observers' comments for gospel, novels formed the main reading of the poorer classes in both town and country, whilst the diaries of William Bunn, Annabella Boswell and the Rev. Gore, besides much other evidence, show novels to have been equally popular with the more well-to-do. If many from this latter class thought literature had no place in a developing country, many others saw it as the necessary moral basis for a truly prosperous development. Accounts of the amount and type of reading done by all classes were naturally coloured by the interests and prejudices of the recorder. It was no doubt a hopeful wish for the continued success of his periodical,

the Heads of the People, a Punch-like miscellany, that prompted its editor to give his own opinion of the Sydney reading public in the Preface to Volume II, 16 October 1847:

> It is recorded of Malherbe, that on hearing a prose work of great merit extolled, he drily asked if it would reduce the price of bread! Neither was his appreciation of poetry much higher, when he observed, that a good poet was no more service to the Church or the State than a good player at nine-pins! There are many in this Colony who entertain the same opinions; but, amongst the mass, there is a general craving for literature, which springs forth like an oasis amidst the aridity of business and mercantile pursuits.

Unfortunately for his hopes, the Heads of the People never reached Volume III, the mass, whatever its hunger, evidently preferring, like the rest of the population, to satisfy it with English rather than Australian fare. Local magazines continued to be short-lived, and novels and poetry by or about Australians appear to have been in few libraries. The tastes of Australian readers were still identical with those of British, in so far as they can be ascertained from lists of best-sellers and so forth. Of course, colonial literary tastes, or hungers, if one believes some commentators, had other forms of satisfaction besides the actual purchase of books and magazines. Just as a colonist may have owned books he never read, so he could have read most standard and popular authors without ever owning a single volume. The continued growth of Australian public, circulating and mechanics' institutes' libraries in the eighteen-forties is the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI

LIBRARIES, MECHANICS' INSTITUTES AND LITERARY SOCIETIES: 1840 - 1849

> Nor can anything more effectually neutralise the evils of remote distance from the centres of literary movement in the Old World, than the unreserved enjoyment of an ample store-house of learning.[1]

As in the previous decades, no Australian library in the eighteen-forties was "public" in the sense understood today. Many, like the Sydney Australian Subscription Library, continued to severely restrict their membership, while all invoked some kind of payment. Nevertheless, the growth in the availability of literature for purchase seen in this decade was paralleled by a growth in numbers of books for loan, and it is especially interesting to trace the extension of library services to country districts and newly established colonies like Moreton Bay. Mechanics' Institutes were also spreading more widely across the continent, and, if they failed to fulfil all their announced aims, did at least provide further access to books and an increasing number of lectures on literary subjects. The latter will be discussed at the end of this chapter, as another aspect of the colonists' awareness of English literature, especially poetry.

In Sydney in the 'forties, the Australian Subscription and School of Arts' Libraries continued to supply the higher forms of literature to the few and many respectively, whilst an increasing, though essentially transitory, number of

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[1] Preface to the Catalogue of the Christ's College Library, in the Diocese of Tasmania (1848), p. v.

circulating libraries catered even more widely for the lovers of romance and melodrama. As before, an account of the history of the Australian Subscription Library in this period can be found in F.M. Bladen's Public Library of New South Wales. Historical Notes (1911). Highlights were the final acquisition by the Library of its own building in November 1845, and John Dunmore Lang's attempt to break down its exclusiveness in the previous year. During the ceremony for the laying of the foundation stone of the new building, reported in the Sydney Morning Herald on 15 February 1843, Dr. Charles Nicholson expressed his view of the value of English literature to colonials:

> It is by cherishing a taste for the productions of those mighty intellects, who have shed such undying lustre over the literature of England, it is by adopting as our own the transcendent models they present, of wit, and learning, and genius, that the aspirations and enthusiasm of generations yet to come - of some future Shakespeare, some unborn Milton, some Byron, or some Scott, is to be awakened and sustained, and led to the consummation of those intellectual triumphs, of which it is our hope and belief Australia will one day boast.

Again, in Nicholson's choice of literary exemplars, one finds confirmation of Scott's, Byron's and Shakespeare's preeminence at this period. Alexander McLeay, in a speech after laying the foundation stone, pointed with pride to the Library's collection of eight thousand volumes, although regretting that reference books, especially scientific ones, were not better represented.

Ironically, one of the chief of J.D. Lang's later criticisms of the Library - deeply resented by McLeay - was its containing too many works of a light and trashy character. The proposals Lang wished to put to a Special General Meeting

of the Proprietors of the Library were advertised in the Australian on 10 February 1844. Standing first and second on the list, and the only two actually proposed, were the establishment of a special committee, excluding past committee members, to inquire into the Library's affairs, and the discontinuation of the system of admission by ballot. Others were in a similar vein, aiming to ensure a more democratic committee by requiring regular retirement of members, the resignation of the present committee and the dropping of offices like Patron, President and so on, and a more democratic body of readers by reducing the annual subscription to one pound, in line with School of Arts and circulating library charges. At the actual meeting, reported by W.A. Duncan in his Weekly Register on 24 February, Lang's charges of inefficient management, centred upon the poor quality of the books in the Library, were delivered in his usual highly-coloured style:

> The Catalogue of the Library exhibited a collection of the merest trash-novels and romances, exceeding in proportion works of sterling merit. He would not have objected to see a few works of the élite of the authorship of the class; but until the standard works of the English language had been placed upon the shelves of the library, it was the duty of the Committee to expend money in this description of works with a sparing hand indeed. Perhaps, however, the Committee were too much engaged in keeping exceptional characters out of the Committee - persons that would have complained, and that loudly, of such a system - to attend to the proper business of the Committee . . . Instead of purifying and elevating the literary taste of the Colony, by means of this Institution, it would appear, to judge from the works on the shelves of the library, that the object was rather to degrade that taste.

Lang also charged the committee with not attempting to get any discounts on books purchased through their London agent, and

allowing him to send out any books he pleased - "A monstrous arrangement, worthy of a committee formed in an institution at Tarban Creek" - usually of an expensive, ephemeral nature like Lockhart's Illustrated Ballads. Lang's motions, however, received little support, even from those who had originally seconded his request for a Special Meeting. Some of the charges were refuted by the Rev. Dr. Ross who claimed that, of thirteen thousand volumes in the library, a rather marked increase on the eight thousand instanced by McLeay a year earlier, less than two thousand were novels. Later, on 18 July 1844, Lang's paper, The Colonial Observer, printed in a leader on "The Australian Subscription Library", his answers to Ross's defence, stating that his criticisms had been directed not only at novels, but also at the "trash" found under other heading such as Biography, History, Geography and so on. Since the Australian Subscription Library had originally been founded to provide standard reference works otherwise unobtainable in the colony, Lang's criticisms were reasonable enough, and even supported by McLeay's earlier remarks.

A check of the Catalogue of the Library issued in 1843, shows that it then contained over sixteen hundred and fifty volumes of Works of Fiction, as against fourteen hundred of Biography and History, six hundred and seventy of Geography, Voyages and Travels, about two hundred and eighty of Theology, a hundred of Political Economy and Commerce, two hundred and ninety of Classics, seventy-two of Agriculture and two hundred

and nineteen of Poetry and the Drama. Amongst the novelists represented were all the popular figures of the time: Dickens, Mrs. Trollope, Morier, Gleig, Washington Irving, Bulwer Lytton, James, Scott, Jane Austen, Mary Mitford, the Miss Porters, Lady Morgan, the Countess of Blessington, Maria Edgeworth, Paul de Kock, Hook, Maxwell, Galt, Banim, Cooper, "Sam Slick", Mrs. Gore, Godwin, Neale, Fanny Burney, Lever, Disraeli, Dr. Bird, Ainsworth, Harriet Martineau, Cockton, Carleton, W.G. Simms, Paulding, Samuel Warren, Mary Shelley, Lady Bury, Marryat, Mrs. Radcliffe, Victor Hugo, Lover, Douglas Jerrold, G.W.M. Reynolds, Fielding, Cervantes, Le Sage and Defoe: many of whom Lang would no doubt not have classed as the élite. Nor could he have been too happy about the inclusion of two copies of Jack Sheppard, or suggestively-titled works like The Lover and the Husband; or, The Woman of a Certain Age (1841), edited by Mrs. Gore, and The Old Earl and His Young Wife (Anon., 1841). It was a far cry from the early days of the Library when Scott was about the only novelist included. Incidentally, in keeping with the interest in American works noted in the previous chapter, there was, as can be seen, a considerable number of works by Americans, some, such as The Husband Hunter; or, "Der Schiksal", bearing Philadephia imprints. The only Australian work in this section was A Love Story, by a Bushman, two copies, whilst amongst the Poetry were Henry Parkes' Stolen Moments (1842) and the Rev. W.B. Clarke's Lays of Leisure (London, 1829). In other respects, the poetry and drama class was very typical of private library collections, if more extensive, with poetic

works by Beattie, Burns, Byron, Campbell, Butler, Cowley, Cowper, Crabbe, Dryden, Mrs. Hemans, Kirke White, L.E.L., Robert and John Montgomery, Milton, Moore, Milman, Mrs. Norton, Ossian, Pollok, Southey, Rogers, Scott, Thomson, and even Wordsworth and Shelley, and plays by Beaumont and Fletcher, Bulwer Lytton, Congreve, Goethe, Fielding, Ford, Ben Jonson, Massinger, Otway, Shirley and Shakespeare, besides six critical works by Hazlitt. Although Coleridge's poetry was not included, his Biographia Borealis and Biographia Literaria were listed under Biography and History.

Supplements to the Catalogue printed in 1845 and 1847 show that the committee continued to buy many works of fiction, despite Lang's criticisms. The 1845 Addenda lists an additional three hundred and twenty-six volumes of novels, including seven new titles by James, five by Fenimore Cooper, four by Lever and Mrs. Trollope, three by Mrs. Gore, two by Lover and Marryat and one each by Dickens, Disraeli, Ainsworth and Bulwer Lytton. Amongst authors not represented in the 1843 Catalogue, were Frederika Bremer, now with four titles, Thackeray, with The Irish Sketch Book, Eugene Sue, with Mysteries of Paris and Charles Rowcroft with Tales of the Colonies and A Man Without a Profession (1844). An additional colonial work, S.P. Hill's Tarquin the Proud, and Other Poems (Sydney, 1843), was also found among the nineteen volumes added to the Poetry and Drama Section, along with Bulwer Lytton's translation of Schiller's Poems and Ballads (1844) and several of the Shakespeare Society's productions. In 1847, again,

works issued by the Shakespeare and Camden Societies made up most of the nine new volumes in this section, one of them being Barron Field's edition of Heywood's Fair Maid of the Exchange. Amongst only ninety-nine new volumes of fiction, perhaps diminished by the Library's financial problems as much as by objections to the inclusion of novels, were Dickens' Dombey and Son "(publishing)" and Cricket on the Hearth, Disraeli's Sybil, Carleton's Valentine McClutchy, Sue's Matilda, besides four new works by James and Cooper, two by Lever and Mrs. Gore and one by Marryat. An item from the Committee's Minute Book cited by Bladen perhaps explains this reduction in the number of new novels, since in June 1844 they had instructed their London agent to send only five pounds worth of new books per month and to include no more works of fiction. (pp. 24-25) In 1847, however, despite a continuing lack of money, the agent was told to forward regularly, as published, works by Dickens, Bulwer Lytton, Mrs. Trollope, Disraeli, Warren, Lever and Maxwell (pp. 27-28), all the most respectable popular novelists of the time.

An interesting description of the workings of the Australian Subscription Library in this decade comes from a letter by one "Rusticus", printed in the Launceston Examiner on 13 October 1847. He was concerned to refute some criticisms of the Library recently made by Mr. Henty, President of the Launceston Library Society.

Mr. Henty speaks of the government of the Sydney Library in 1842. At that time the institution was not only imperfect

in its arrangements, but much impaired in its government from the want of suitable accommodation. Since that period the new library "of great architectural pretension" as Mr. H. justly calls it, has been so far completed as to admit of its occupation: and the building is acknowledged by many travellers, whose position in society enabled them to form a correct opinion, that for magnificence of external design and execution, and for the extent of its internal accommodation, it has no rival in this hemisphere, unless it be the sister institution at Calcutta.

The public room at Sydney is 80 feet long, 40 feet wide, 30 feet high, with a handsome gallery extending entirely round it, and contains between 14,000 and 15,000 volumes, to which are added continually, the current publications of the day: when finished according to the original design, which I believe will not be long hence, it will be cased with a carved wainscot of polished cedar. On the opposite side of the lobby is the reading-room, of moderate but comfortable dimensions, open to visitors I think from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m., and thoroughly supplied with the best periodicals, and the leading metropolitan, and provincial journals. The site of the building is particularly eligible; it adjoins the large domain, and commands a splendid view of the far-famed harbour (from new Government house to the heads) which takes in most of the beautiful and stylish villas of Wooloomooloo, the residences of the leading citizens.

The constitution of the society consists of two classes of members, proprietors and subscribers. The admission of the former is an entrance fee of £6 with an annual subscription of 30s.: of the latter, an entrance fee of 30s. with a subscription of £3. The proprietors, however, alone enjoy the chief privileges of the institution - such as being eligible to sit on the committee - of giving their personal friends who may visit the colony admission to the reading-room - and of naming such books as individually they may wish to be purchased: these purchases, however, go through the committee. Whatever the government of the institution might have been in 1842, I apprehend the supervision of the committee, the arrangement of the works, and the activity of the librarian, are now such, that no volumes could be lost, no abuses committed, without being immediately detected and rectified.

The character of the works in this library, I think I may safely assert, will bear comparison with that of any similar institution in the world - whether we take theology, history, science, or general light literature. It is true, in former days many ridiculous novels were purchased, which being public property must still remain in the library; but, it must be remembered if this circumstance be regarded as a defect; that it is only since the days of Sir W. Scott, novel writing has improved sufficiently to be regarded as a component part of standard, and unexceptionable literature. At the present day no works of fiction, but those bearing the impress of lofty

genius, meet with perusal or sale in England; and none but such I am certain, would now be admitted into the Sydney Library. . . .

This library like the one at the Cape, from the liberal manner in which it is patronized by the eligible classes of the community, supports itself; but it is to be regretted, that a short time ago, party spirit, and sectarianism crept into its councils, and threatened to disturb its harmony, if not to endanger its usefulness for the future: I refer to the occasion of two Aldermen being black-balled from political prejudices, when proposed as proprietors; and of the Bishop seceding upon religious grounds, from the office of Patron, on the talented Rev. Dr. Ross being elected to that of secretary. Feelings like these, in connexion with the management of an institution affecting the intellectual condition of the community, by which a small faction seek to exclude the families of respectable citizens from the pleasures and benefits of reading, cannot be too deeply deplored, or too strongly reprobated. . . .

Amongst the many noble institutions of Sydney, glorious evidences of the almost incredible benevolence, enterprise, and liberality of her citizens, none stands more pre-eminently conspicuous than her magnificent library; and if there were no other proofs, it alone would be sufficient to refute the falsehoods of those enemies of the colonies at home, who stigmatize their inhabitants as - what some here by the continuance of transportation would fain make them - a mass of unleavened ignorance and immorality.

"Rusticus's" letter, besides its useful descriptions of the physical appearance of the library and the workings of its membership system, shows once again the difficulty of generalising about colonial attitudes to literary culture on the basis of contemporary opinions. As a patriotic Australian and opponent of transportation, he naturally presents Sydney citizens in a much more favourable light than do other observers, like Mrs. Meredith, not sharing his motivations.

Given "Rusticus's" bias in favour of the Library, it is significant that he demonstrates the dangers of a continued use of admission by ballot. Lang's 1844 criticism of this system had received wider support at the Special General

Meeting than had his objections to the contents of the Library. Roger Therry, in particular, made an eloquent plea for the relaxation of this rule in view of the present "transition state" of the colony. In reply, Alexander McLeay cited the use of balloting in learned bodies like the Royal Society, overlooking the wide differences between such institutions and a so-called "public library", supported by government grants. His views, however, won the day and the exclusiveness of the Australian Subscription Library continued to be its most heavily criticised feature throughout the 'forties and, indeed, until the ballot system was dropped in 1852. Although feeling Lang's resolutions had deserved defeat because of their "virulent spirit", W.A. Duncan, in the issue of the Weekly Register that reported the Meeting, acknowledged

> . . . despite the statistics of Dr. Ross, . . . a very large proportion of the books are of a light and worthless description, though it is but fair to say that it contains many valuable historical works, and other books of reference, which might be sought for in vain elsewhere in the Colony.

He also disagreed with the admission rules, and thought the subscription "unnecessarily high". A writer in the Australian for 13 July 1844, commenting on the financial difficulties caused by the erection of the new Library building, made the oft-expressed point that a more liberal system of admission would ensure more members and hence more money, "so long as that exclusive and objectionable system remains in force, very few gentlemen will like to run the chance of being blackballed in the first instance, and having the fact

proclaimed in the Legislative Council, under cover of Privilege, afterwards." It is again abundantly clear how strongly politics influenced this aspect of the early Australian cultural scene, justifying the Colonial Observer's classing its article on the Library as "Colonial Politics".

Other comments on the deleterious effects of the exclusiveness of the Australian Subscription Library were made in a series of articles on "The Literary Institutions of the Colony", published in one of the best of the decade's magazines, The Colonial Literary Journal, between 4 and 18 July 1844.

> The Library . . . is large, extensive, and valuable, perhaps more so than any other in the colony. This of itself is so strong a recommendation, that we are not surprised at its hitherto flourishing condition. Albeit, its sphere of usefulness is perhaps too much confined to one grade of society, and that too, a grade which can derive the least benefit from its advantages.

Later, in some general remarks on public literary institutions, which the writer, like many contemporaries, saw as "the safest guardians of religion, morals, and virtue", it was claimed that "An aristocratic literary institution is an anomaly". On 4 April 1844, "Senex", in a letter to the editor of the Australian, had seen the Macquarie Street site of the new building as emblematic of the Library's exclusiveness:

> It is truly convenient to the Bent-Street Club House, to Government House, and to such of the Government offices thereabouts. But Government officers after all are but public servants - and it is not for them, nor yet for those who can afford to have books and papers of their own, that such an Institution should be formed or kept up. The very erection of this building in that situation records the feelings of this Society towards the Public.

Interestingly enough, he proposed the market buildings in York Street, apparently very close to where the City of Sydney Public Library was later housed for many years, as the ideal site for a public library.

Although, as the Colonial Literary Journal stated, the Australian Subscription Library had prospered prior to the 'forties, its finances never seem to have recovered from the strain of erecting the new building, and, despite later liberalising of membership, it slowly declined until taken over by the state in 1869, to form the nucleus of the present Library of New South Wales. Nevertheless, at least until the eighteen-sixties, the Library appears to have had the best collection of books in the country, even though their value was limited by their exclusiveness. Some useful statistics on the use of the Library in 1846 were given in the 1847 Supplement to the Arranged Catalogue. Nearly eight hundred new volumes had been purchased that year, making the total contents now thirteen thousand, nine hundred volumes. Over forty-three thousand volumes had been "issued and received during 1846", with seven thousand, seven hundred and fifty persons visiting the Library to change their books and almost four thousand, seven hundred using the Reading Rooms. These figures look quite impressive, until one realises that the population of New South Wales in 1846, many of whom would still have been living in or near Sydney, was almost one hundred and ninety thousand.

As in the earlier decades, the dispossessed made various attempts to establish rival libraries on more democratic

principles. On 19 December 1840, the Australasian Chronicle's leader, presumably written by Duncan, proposed the formation of a new Public Library, since the Mechanics' Institute Library contained too few works of value and the Australian Subscription Library was open to too few persons. This had perhaps been prompted by a letter from "A Denizen of the Counting-House", printed in the Sydney Morning Herald on 7 December, deploring that young clerks and other white-collar workers, who would never have got into the Australian Subscription Library, and may have felt the School of Arts beneath them, had "no place where after the duties of the day they may find proper and sufficient relaxation and amusement cojoined with useful instruction." He thought the establishment by them of "a Subscription Library and Reading Rooms . . . would be the means of preserving many a young man from much trouble and folly". Whether or not as a result of this letter, the following year saw the foundation of the Commercial Reading Rooms and Library, whose Rules and Regulations were printed by Kemp and Fairfax in 1842. At a guinea per annum, its subscription was much lower than the Australian Subscription Library, and, though there was provision for balloting for membership, in practice anyone with the necessary money seems to have been accepted. In the letter already quoted, "Senex" remarked

> Look at the Commercial Library in George Street, men of all ranks meet there, and not only is there no such thing as exclusion in admission to this Institution, but subscribers are invited to join. The fact is established by this Institution, that men may meet without becoming acquaintances or considering themselves bound to salute each other: and I

have there seen men personally obnoxious to each other, quietly enjoy their mental amusement at the same table.

Despite its liberal admission policy, the Commercial Library never seems to have really prospered, and had ceased to exist by 1846. As its full title shows, the emphasis was on the reading rooms, and in the early years it supplied mainly newspapers and magazines. Its subscription was still fairly high, especially as no provision was made, as with the School of Arts and circulating libraries, for quarterly or monthly payments, whilst better collections of books could be found in the latter libraries. Comments in the Australian for 19 September 1842 suggest that initially few persons joined the Commercial Library: "We are happy to say that the Society is now in full operation, and from the excellence of the arrangements, we do not doubt that ere long its list of subscribers, as well as its sphere of usefulness, will be very considerably extended." But, on 4 November 1842, the Dispatch reported that the Library had lost half its members since July, and hence was financially "exceedingly embarrassed":

> Really, this is one of the most distressing instances of the bad times, when young men are compelled to resign such useful and reasonable recreations, as are afforded them by the library and reading room of this institution.

No doubt as a consequence of this, a slight reduction in the annual subscription, and the dropping of the ten shillings entrance fee, were advertised in the Australian for 26 December 1843. Although the object of the Library was here given as "the dissemination of Literature", emphasis was placed, as in

all its earlier advertisements, on

> . . . the latest Periodicals, including the Metropolitan, Provincial and principal European publications, consisting of New Works, Magazines, Reviews, Journals, Gazettes; also London (daily and weekly), Edinburgh, Dublin, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and other Provincial Newspapers, together with all the Colonial Publications.

An advertisement in, oddly enough, the Victorian Portland Mercury for 21 June 1843, had been signed by the poet S.P. Hill, as Honorary Secretary.

In its series on colonial libraries mentioned earlier, the Colonial Literary Journal saw the Commercial Library's main defects as the unnecessarily late arrival of British newspapers and the "beggarly account" of books in the library, "(if it be not considered an anomaly to call it a library)". The latter was "a great draw back to its usefulness and its prosperity; and it is, therefore, with unfeigned pleasure we hear of the intended augmentation". To finance this augmentation, the committee decided to run a course of lectures, along the lines of the School of Arts lectures. Although given by such worthy figures as Henry Carmichael, J.D. Lang, Robert Windeyer and Alexander Michie, none were on specifically literary topics.[2] A letter from "Yorick", ostensibly on these lectures, was printed in the Australian for 14 May 1844. Most of its space was, however, devoted to the Commercial Library itself, and suggestions for its improvement. After claiming the Library was most useful for

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[2] See the advertisement in the Australian, 23 April 1844.

just that sort of young clerk referred to in the earlier Sydney Morning Herald letter, who could "spend his leisure hours in reading their fascinating pages, instead of wasting both his time, his health, and his means at taverns, billard rooms, or houses of ill fame", "Yorick" hoped more people would join and also donate books to build up the scanty collection. The most interesting part of his letter concerns the need to include novels: "The public taste, I much fear, is still so vitiated, that novels must be introduced into a library, to make it succeed." "Yorick's" argument was similar to that used in the previous decade to justify the inclusion of light reading in the School of Arts' Library - novels are necessary to attract members - with the same pious hope that once the taste for reading has been established, "The mind must then be occupied; and when its lighter food is all exhausted, it will be glad to turn to more substantial and wholesome fare." Such theories obviously reckoned without the growing number of novel writers and the growing status of the novel as a literary form.

Although the lectures given in aid of the Commercial Library seem to have been fairly successful, it was apparently still unable to purchase sufficient books to satisfy readers' cravings. By 18 July 1846, at the latest, it had ceased to exist, for the Australian, chronicle of most of its fortunes, carried an advertisement for Hebblewhite's auction of its books a few days later. The list of titles indicates at least an attempt to attract subscribers, including most of

the novels of Marryat, Bulwer Lytton, Cooper, Hook, Mrs. Trollope, Ainsworth and Scott, apart from the omission of Dickens and Lever, all the best-sellers of the time, besides other popular works like Scott's, Byron's and Pope's poems, Shakespeare, Smollett's Works, the British Essayists and Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Undeterred by the Commercial Library's fate, on 22 August 1846, Francis Bellingham announced in the Morning Chronicle his willingness to fill the void with his Sydney Subscription Library and Reading Rooms, "supplied with a liberal selection of the best Periodicals of the day, with the Principal European and Colonial Newspapers, and a well chosen Library of Books for circulation among the subscribers and their families." As nothing further has been seen on this venture, one assumes it was unable to attract sufficient members to ever become firmly established.

The third library discussed at length in the Colonial Literary Journal's series was that of the Sydney School of Arts. Although a more detailed account of the fortunes of this Society will be given in a later section on Mechanics' Institutes, it seems appropriate to make a few comments here on the progress of its library. The Journal's writer, rather unusually, thought this library did not contain enough novels:

> There are many persons who belong to the Society purely in consequence of the advantages derivable from the library, and it is not to be wondered at, that such persons should loudly murmur of the paucity of all works of fiction which its shelves display. A sprinkling of light reading is requisite. The mind cannot always successfully grapple with the severer requirements of study.

However, in the spirit of having things both ways which characterises this series of articles, he continued

But we are rather pleased than otherwise, that in lieu of romance, the Committee of the Institution have been more anxious to stock the shelves of the library with valuable works on the arts, sciences, biography, history, and such like. It is a shame and a sin that such an institution should not be supported.

The question of including fiction in the School of Arts' Library cropped up continually in the committee's Annual Reports during most of the 'forties. On 17 February 1840, the Sydney Morning Herald reported

At the late meeting of the members of the School of Arts, one of the charges insinuated against the committee was, that the library contained little else but novels. In order to show that such an insinuation was groundless, we, at the request of an officer of the institution, publish a list of some of the works contained in the catalogue that are not novels. . .

Then followed an enumeration of the number of volumes on various subjects, such as over five hundred on History and Biography, about half as many on Voyages and Travels, fifty-seven of Poetry, one hundred of Reviews, Magazines and Periodicals, and so on. Justification of the inclusion of novels may be found in the Annual Report for 1840:

. . . the Committee have been anxious that a judicious choice should be made of the best standard books, whether in Science, Belles Lettres, or fiction; of books of the latter description, works of fiction, it has been found necessary (whilst decided preference has been felt to supply our shelves with productions of more sterling character), to gratify the taste of a large portion of members by the purchase of the best standard novels and romances, as they are published, of existing writers. In thus courting the popular taste, and devoting a portion of our funds to the ephemeral Literature of the day, the Committee have still kept in view the necessity of supplying what still constitute "desiderata" in our Library, viz. - the best works in Physical Science, History, Biography, Travels, &c. (p. 18)

Criticism was not, however, silenced by this seemingly sensible proposal, for in the Annual Report for 1843 one again finds the

committee concerned to show they are purchasing serious works as well as fiction:

> Complaints having been sometimes made, to the effect that there was an undue preponderance of light literature in our library, the Committee, without admitting their justice in the particular instances, could of course never question the propriety of such an institution as this containing within it, not merely the means of gratifying the popular taste for light reading, but also intellectual food for those of our fellow-members, whose inclinations or tastes led them to the perusal of works of a more strictly scientific character. In conformity, therefore, to a frequently expressed wish of members to that effect, the Committee early in the last year, passed a vote for the immediate purchase, in England, of the last edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannia; together with such other lately published works of established reputation, as the means at the command of the Committee would permit. (pp. 9-10)

Only a passing reference to fiction was made in the Report for 1846, with the usual justification of it as a preliminary to more serious reading,

> It is gratifying to refer to the Library, which is kept in a state of efficiency by the cautious selection of books of standard character, with such a sprinkling of the less abstruse kind of reading as is desirable to lead on, by easy steps, those who have not previously devoted much time to reading of any kind. (p. 14)

Some examples of the 1846 committee's careful selection may be found in the School of Arts Minute Books, now in the Mitchell Library. On 4 November, they agreed to purchase Lever's Jack Hinton, James's The Commissioner, Cockton's Valentine Vox and Marryat's Peter Simple, held Le Sage's Gil Blas and Lady Morgan's Florence Macarthy over for further consideration, and rejected the works of Eugene Sue.

In the 1847 Report, there was a much stronger defence of light reading, despite the claim that some of the large number of resignations in this year - over a third of the total

membership - were caused by

> . . . a third, but not a very numerous class, having skimmed over our limited stock of works of fiction, without deriving from them that taste for more solid reading, the creation of which is one and perhaps the most legitimate of the objects of fiction, have abandoned themselves to the inglorious charms of inactivity, regardless of those treasures of knowledge which are hidden in the depths they have not ventured to explore, and in which the shelves of this Institution might have enabled them not sparingly to participate. (p. 9)

After some statistics on the number of books purchased in 1847, the Report continues

> In the choice of books, while your Committee have, as far as possible, kept in view the higher objects of the Institution, they have felt it right to add such a proportion of works, of a lighter class, as may enable the Members, in some degree, to keep pace with the literature, as well as with the science, of the age. Were they disposed to neglect, altogether, those writings of instructive and entertaining fiction with which the British Press at present so largely teems, they might acquire a reputation for severity and solidity, but would certainly fail in giving satisfaction to the great bulk of the Members, in the mind of many of whom, as has been observed, the love of study has yet to be awakened; and who, as being the constituents of your Committee, are of course entitled to have their wishes and tastes consulted as far as it may conveniently be done.

Again the Minute Book reinforces these statements, the Committee having agreed on 2 June to purchase the works of Albert Smith, as published, and, on 6 October, Dumas' Memoirs of a Physician, Glieg's The Hussar, Horace Smith's Arthur Arundel and G.P.R. James' The Gentleman of the Old School (1839). In addition, at the 7 July 1847 meeting, it was resolved that

> In consequence of our Agent in London having misunderstood the Order respecting the sending of Works as published, and also as to their State, your Committee recommend that certain Nos. of Dickens' Work viz. Dombey and Son be purchased in Sydney until our agent shall have had time to act upon the information of his error.

In making this concession to the tastes of members - rather than as before insisting upon improving them - the committee

was perhaps departing further than they realised from the original aims of mutual improvement and instruction. "Senex's" earlier remark that any public library must contain novels to retain its membership was obviously being brought increasingly home to the School of Arts' Committees, and there was no more soul-searching on the value of novels in the remainder of the eighteen-forties. That novels were read much more than any other works in the Library can easily be seen from a report by the librarian entered in the Minute Book on 3 August 1848. It stated that, exclusive of volumes currently in circulation, the library contained three hundred and twenty-eight good and five hundred and twenty-two defective volumes of novels, as against, of other works, fifteen hundred and forty-eight good and only three hundred and twenty-five defective volumes.

Comments by outsiders on the question of the suitability of fiction for mechanics were also mainly confined to the first half of the decade. An even more whole-hearted approval of novel-reading, at least of certain kinds, than any already quoted was printed in the Monitor on 19 February 1840, in response to some of the current criticisms of the School of Arts Library.

> Scott's, Smith's and Bulwer's novels, together other with /sic/ modern Historical novels, are fitter reading for all classes of men, from the highest to the lowest, than half the books of history and science published. That is to say, they do more to make happy the fire-side. It is sufficient for men of all professions and trades that they understand their business, and attend to it in proper hours. Let them attend from 6 to 5 or 6, and when they come home, it will be more just,

more kind, and promote their happiness and good spirits a great deal more to read a sensible Historical novel of Scott's to their wives and daughters, than sit sullen and selfish in a corner, reading some dry work which the family cannot enjoy.

These arguments, however, would not have convinced the writer in the Australian for 4 March 1845, who attributed the great decline in membership of the School of Arts, now less than half what it had been at the beginning of the decade, largely to the institution's "illegitimacy of character": "the introduction of light reading in the shape of novels to the exclusion to an equal extent of works of science, by means of which useful knowledge may be disseminated". The School of Arts obviously faced the same problems as the Australian Subscription Library - both libraries had originally been intended to supply the woeful lack of reference works in the colony, but both found that in order to keep operating they had increasingly to turn to the inclusion of novels. As the Australian's writer himself admits, most of the books borrowed from the School of Arts' Library in this period were novels, and it was all very well for him to say, "Let those who wish to read such productions carry their subscriptions to the circulating libraries". Despite his assertions, it seems likely that the other factor he mentions, the crippling depression of the early 'forties, was, as with the Commercial Library, the major cause of the School of Arts' loss of membership, which would probably have been greater rather than less if the library had contained no fiction. Looking at the question nowadays, with less belief in the perfectability of

man, it is obvious serious literature and reference works, like other higher forms of art, can only be adequately provided by government subsidies larger than the two hundred pounds given annually to the School of Arts in the 'forties. This very fact of government subsidy was, of course, an argument used by the opponents of fiction for the working man, and even by one "Working Man" himself, proposing in the People's Advocate for 17 February 1849 the establishment of an "Operative Mechanic Institute of Practical Philosophy, in imitation of the model afforded us by the Chemical Society of London":

> "What!" I think I hear some quid nunc cry out, "do you forget that noble institution, the School of Arts, in Pitt-street, supported as it is by Government patronage, and under the fostering influence of all the men of science in the country?" Stop a bit, my friend. Can you call this impudent imposture, whose shelves are stocked with the refuse of the circulating libraries, the trashiest and most prurient effusions of the Minerva press - which possesses a disorganised apparatus, never drawn from its congenial dust except on the occasion of some public lecture - boasting a mineralogical cabinet which no one ever sees - from which all its original founders, mechanics, have been expelled or driven in disgust; can you by the utmost stretch of courtesy call this wretched abortion a Mechanics' School of Arts? What a misnomer!
>
> Why it is not twelve months since the committee were haggling about the price of the Supplement to Ure's invaluable Dictionary, and finally rejected the purchase, and at the same time lavished upwards of three guineas for a splendid illustrated edition of some of the novels of Sue, which, from the very splendour of their embellishments, were liable to destruction in half the time of a sixpenny edition.

Obviously, "A Working Man's" last argument had some point, especially as it appears that considerable mistreatment was given the School of Arts' books. The Heads of the People for 23 September 1847, included in a list of current nuisances, "those who deface and tear books from the School of Arts",

whilst "Yorick", in his earlier letter on the Commercial Library, had written at the end of his defence of fiction:

> Fines should be strictly enforced when books, which have been lent out, are dog-eared, torn, or dirtied, by the carelessness of those who have borrowed them. From the want of this regulation being attended to in one of the Sydney libraries, which shall be nameless, many of the volumes are in such a filthy condition that the very appearance of them is enough to disgust a person who has been accustomed to peruse books read by gentlemen only. I, myself, am acquainted with several parties who ceased to become subscribers in consequence of this, and also from many of the books being imperfect from having leaves torn out from different portions of them. The most interesting passages were often removed in this way. . .

The School of Arts' Library seems the most likely candidate for this criticism. Perhaps some of the lack of care can be attributed to the poet Samuel Prout Hill, who was librarian from January 1845 to his resignation in 1848. As the Annual Report for this year shows, Hill resigned to avoid being dismissed: "It was with some pain the Committee noticed that the value of Mr. S.P. Hill's services became much impaired, and that his conduct was creating considerable dissatisfaction. Whilst these circumstances were under consideration, Mr. Hill tender**er**ed his resignation". (p. 12) Hill was replaced by Francis Bellingham, formerly of the now defunct Commercial Library and Sydney Reading Rooms, who evidently had much to do in the early months, as the 1848 Report states:

> The LIBRARY has received a large share of your Committee's attention. They found it under the hand of the late Librarian completely disorganised and as the only method of arriving at its actual state, they were forced to close it at an unusual period, and to call in the Books. Upon comparing the number of Books on the shelves with the Stock Book, it was found that 396 Volumes of Books, besides 20 Volumes of bound Magazines, and 120 numbers of unbound Magazines, were missing. It is but

right to add that, so far as your Committee know, this includes the whole of the deficiences since the commencement of the Library. Further, 250 Volumes have been rejected from the shelves as being worn out, imperfect, or otherwise unfit for circulation. (p. 9)

As against these losses and rejections, just over three hundred new works had been purchased in 1848, making the total collection then more than three thousand, seven hundred volumes. The additions, perhaps in answer to continuing charges that members read only fiction, were said to be mainly "desirable Works by authors of ability, and as they circulate very rapidly the selection seems to meet with the approbation of the Members. They consist less of pure fiction than of biography, travels, and other works, combining a large share of instruction with amusement." (p. 9) Though, of course, this is the year the committee evidently bought that expensive edition of Eugene Sue!

An examination of the amount spent each year on new books, as recorded in the Annual Reports, shows, like the decreases in membership, the declining fortunes of the Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts in the eighteen-forties. In 1840, membership was over six hundred and more than two hundred and forty pounds were spent on new books; by 1847, there were less than five hundred members, with just over seventy pounds spent on books; by the end of the decade, membership had fallen to three hundred, and only thirty pounds had been sent to London in 1849 to purchase books. At least in the early period, the Society was able to congratulate itself not only on a relatively large membership, but also on the great demand for its books. In

the Annual Report for 1840, one finds

> . . . it only remains to add, for the information of the public, (for the members the fact is too well known to be adverted to now,) that the greatest avidity is felt to enjoy the advantages of reading which the Library affords. Crowds of applicants attend the nightly issue of Books, of many of which it is necessary to provide duplicates; and as an interesting fact, illustrating the propensity felt by the members of the Institution generally to read - to seek relaxation and enjoyment in the resources of our well selected Library - it may be mentioned that during the past year not less than 40,000 volumes have been issued on loan to readers, a fact which should certainly go some length in disproving the calumnies which have been so liberally heaped upon this colony, and which would represent its inhabitants as destitute of every enlightened and generous impulse, and as regardless of everything beyond the mere acquisition of wealth. (p. 18)

These figures, equivalent to an average of more than sixty-five volumes per member in 1840, are certainly most impressive, as are those given in an equally congratulatory paragraph in the Sydney Morning Herald for 29 May 1841: "The taste for reading is rapidly gaining ground in Sydney. On Thursday night no fewer than 170 members applied for books at the library of the School of Arts." Together they indicate that, at least in the first years of the decade, the majority of School of Arts' members were active book borrowers, even if they read mainly fiction.

An examination of the Catalogue of the Works in the Library of the Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts (1842) does, in fact, show a predominance of works of fiction - there were nearly four hundred titles listed under "Novels, Romances and Tales", as against only half as many for "History and Biography", one hundred under "Voyages and Travels", and well under fifty for each of the other headings. e.g. thirty-nine titles in

"Mechanical Arts and Sciences". Although it is pointless to buy into a now long dead controversy, obviously those who saw the library primarily as a means of technical education had some reason for complaint. Perhaps, however, as their opponents claimed, the provision of so much fiction actually did more to educate members than an equal number of less-read technical works would have. In general, no exception could have been taken to the novels in the Library, apart from their being novels, since works by popular and esteemed authors like Scott, Cooper, Marryat, Maria Edgeworth, Bulwer Lytton and James predominated, whilst most of the works of Jane Austen, Dickens, Mrs. Trollope, Hook, "Sam Slick", Washington Irving, Fielding, Richardson, Smollett, Sterne and the other major eighteenth and early nineteenth-century writers were also included. The poetry collection was much slighter, but contained the collected works of Pope, Crabbe, Milton, Burns and Byron, three editions of Cowper, Young's Night Thoughts, Thomson's Seasons, and even Selections from Wordsworth. Other literary items could be found grouped under various other headings, such as Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy under "Natural Philosophy", Bacon's Essays under "Essays" and The Letters of Junius under "Miscellaneous Works".

As the above discussion makes clear, the question of whether or not ostensibly public libraries should contain fiction as well as more serious books was the chief concern of those connected with them in the eighteen-forties. Two other types of libraries were mercifully free from these

controversies: small libraries established by religious and other specialist groups completely prohibited novels, whilst the commercial circulating libraries completely depended on them. Several of the first type came into being in the 'forties, though little is known of their workings. On 7 February 1840, the Monitor announced

> Reading Gratis for the Public. - There is a considerable Library attached to the Friends' Meeting House, Macquarie-street and consisting of works on Piety, Morality, Natural History, and various other branches of the Arts and Sciences, from which any person, by satisfying the Librarian that the book will be read in the time allowed, or at least returned within that period uninjured, may obtain any work in it without charge.

The Church of England Book Society, whose dawn was hailed "with unfeigned pleasure" by the Sydney Gazette for 3 August 1841, had as its objects

> . . . to establish a Library of approved Theological Works, in accordance with the tenets of the Church of England, and of Moral, Scientific, and Instructive Publications, not opposed to them; and also to provide for the delivery of an Annual Course of Lectures for the further promotion and encouragement of the principles, according to which the Library is established.

The low subscription of ten shillings annually, or two-and-six quarterly, with an entrance fee of two-and-six, was no doubt designed to attract as many of the working class as possible. Little more is heard about the fortunes of the Library, although the delivery of lectures in September and October 1843 was reported by the Sydney Morning Herald. On 18 July 1844, the Colonial Literary Journal wrote, of this Society

> . . . we hear little, and know less. The circle of its influence is somewhat limited; although we have no doubt that, within its own sphere, it must be productive of many

beneficial results. We heartily wish it a more extended field in which to exercise its legitimate power.

The Sydney Morning Herald for 31 July 1849 carried an advertisement for a presumably separate institution, the St. Philip's Parochial Library. Open to "subscribers to the Parochial Association of 12/6 and upwards", it was said to contain nearly a thousand volumes of works on Agriculture and Horticulture; Astronomy, Mathematics and the Mechanical Arts; Biography and History; Geography, Voyages and Travels; Natural History and Philosophy; Periodicals and, last but no doubt not least, Theology. Amongst other specialist libraries of this period was the Sydney Jewish Library, apparently founded in 1846. A report in the Sentinel for 29 April 1847 mainly lists gifts to the Library, including two large ones of books and money from London Jewish firms, five pounds from the Sydney auctioneer Samuel Lyons, and the works of Burke, Bacon and Froissart from Dr. William Bland. The Sydney Law Library, established in 1842, issued a collection of its Rules that year. Although "open to members of the legal profession as proprietors and to the public as subscribers", the high annual subscription of ten pounds sterling must have kept its membership extremely select. This was also true of the Australian Medical Subscription Library of 1846.[3]

As in the earlier decades, circulating libraries proved very ephemeral, continually being disposed of and commenced, presumably often with many of the same books. Of the two such libraries established in Sydney in 1839, the one run by

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[3] See George Nadel, Australia's Colonial Culture (1957), p. 85.

Mrs. John Solomons was auctioned off at the end of 1840. William Yates' advertisement in the Herald for 15 December mentioned "upwards of Seven Hundred Volumes of the choicest works, amongst which are those of Scott, Marryatt [sic], Cooper, Smith, Mrs. Ward, and many other popular Authors". Advertisements by William Jones, the other 1839 book lender, whose library lasted till 1845, also show such modern novelists as the mainstays of colonial circulating libraries. On 28 January 1840, he requested the Australasian Chronicle

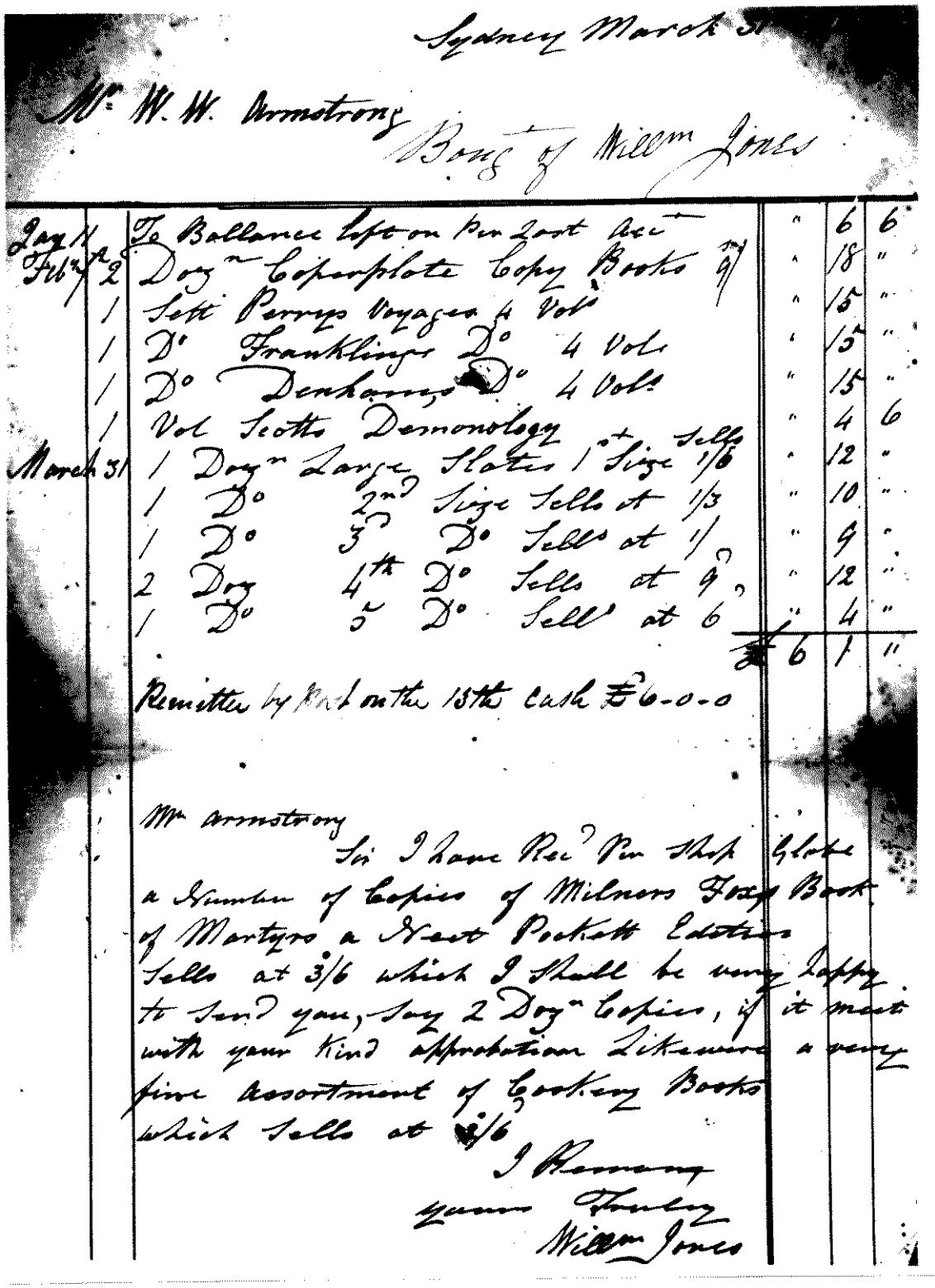
> . . . to state that the works mentioned in an article which appeared . . . in the last number of the Colonist, and were there asserted as not to be had of any bookseller or librarian in the Colony - are in the circulating library of Mr. Jones, and in the possession of many booksellers and others in Sydney.

The article in question, published three days earlier, ran

> We have often been surprised at the deficiencies which exist in the catalogues of those libraries which have been kept in Sydney, as well as in the stock of books kept on hand by our booksellers. The works of the English novel writers of best repute scarcely reach this colony until we have seen extracts from them copied and re-copied into all the colonial papers, and it is then often a matter of great difficulty to procure them; some of Cooper's and Marryatt's [sic] best works are not yet in the colony. When one looks at the connexions at home of some of our booksellers, and the ample opportunities which others have of keeping up a constant supply, we are not a little surprised at such inattention to their own interests.

The Colonist had certainly chosen bad examples for a complaint perhaps justified in respect of other authors like Disraeli.

Like most other early circulating-library proprietors, Jones sold books and stationery as a side-line. A rare manuscript invoice dated 31 March 1840, reproduced as an illustration to this thesis, relates to goods purchased from Jones by W.W. Armstrong, the Penrith bookseller who also



Sydney March 31

Mr W. W. Armstrong

Bought of Willm Jones

Jany 1		To Ballance left on his last Acct		6	6
Feby 2	2	Doz^n Copperplate Copy Books 9/		18	
	1	Sett Perrys Voyages 4 Vol^s		15	
	1	D^o Franklings D^o 4 Vols		15	
	1	D^o Denhams D^o 4 Vols		15	
	1	Vol Scotts Demonology		4	6
March 31	1	Doz^n Large Slates 1^st Size 1/6		12	
	1	D^o 2^nd Size Sells at 1/3		10	
	1	D^o 3^d D^o Sells at 1/		9	
	2	Doz 4^th D^o Sells at 9^d		12	
	1	D^o 5^th D^o Sell at 6^d		4	
			£	6	1	11

Remitted by Post on the 15th cash £6-0-0

Mr Armstrong

Sir I have Rec^d Per Post Globe a Number of Copies of Milners Copy Book of Martyrs a Neat Pocket Edition Sells at 3/6 which I shall be very happy to send you, say 2 Doz^n Copies, if it meet with your kind approbation Likewise a very fine Assortment of Cooking Books which Sells at 3/6

I Remain
Your Obed^t Servt
William Jones

3. Part of a manuscript invoice from William Jones to W.W. Armstrong, dated 31 March 1840. Original in the author's possession.

figured in James Tegg's advertisement in the Sydney Gazette for 23 May 1840. Besides copperplate copy books and slates, Armstrong had bought some of the always popular voyages and a copy of Scott's Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft (1830). In a note at the bottom of the invoice, Jones offered to send him two dozen copies of the equally popular Foxe's Book of Martyrs and "a very fine Assortment of Cookery Books".

In advertisements for his library, however, Jones continued to emphasise the latest fiction, on 30 December 1840 announcing in the Monitor that he had added the works of Bulwer Lytton, Marryat, Cooper and other standard authors to his library, claimed to be "as large if not the largest in the Colony." A few months later, he had no competitors, as his amusing 18 May 1841 Herald advertisement shows:

> . . . he has recently added to his previously extensive collection upwards of five hundred (500) volumes.
>
> He would respectfully suggest to all classes of the community the necessity of providing amusement for the long evenings of the approaching WINTER - and he presumes that every taste may be gratified from the varied contents of his shelves, where the student may find the lucubrations of wisdom, and the butterfly of literature may feast on the flowers of poesy, or revel in the bright imaginings of the novelist. How pleasant, when the wintery [sic] storm roars without, to
>
> "Stir the fire, and close the shutter fast,
> Let fall the curtains, whirl the sofa round,
> And while the bubbling and loud hissing urn
> Throws up the steamy column, and the cups
> Which cheer, but not inebriate, wait on each."
>
> to welcome peaceful evening in, and by the aid of our favourite author to drive dull "Ennui" to less favoured circles! None should neglect by the aid of the only Circulating Library in the colony to provide themselves with rational and cheap entertainment for the dreary evenings of winter.

A few days later, the Herald described Jones' Library as "worthy of patronage, for although there is a pretty large quantity of

what is generally known as 'light reading', there is also a very excellent supply of works containing sound information." In the absence of any surviving catalogues, one must take this claim for granted; certainly, fiction received most stress in Jones' advertisements, including one in the Australian for 10 April 1844, which emphasised "BULWER'S AND MARRYAT'S NOVELS COMPLETE. The only complete sets of these Works in the Colony". Most of this advertisement was concerned to justify Jones' Library in the face of new forms of competition:

> In stating that this is one of the best selected Libraries in the Colony, W.J. believes he may safely do so, from the following circumstances:- First, from having had forty years' experience in the Business, and having been Proprietor of a Library for thirty of that period, during which time it has always been his study to purchase the BEST BOOKS - well-knowing they are always in demand. Secondly, that his Agents in England, forward regularly every new work published there, immediately it is issued from the Press.
>
> The extent of his Library is well known to all who have Patronised him; but to convey a faint idea of how much more numerous his Volumes must be than those of the recently established PENNY A VOLUME LIBRARIES, he would mention, that whilst it is the custom with others to number every volume they are possessed of, he attaches a number only to each set of his Library Books, whether they be in one volume, or fifty: and yet, were he to number all his Sets, he would out-number his opponents, even at the rate of a set to a volume.
>
> A System of Lending Books out by the volume, or set, has recently been introduced by those who are in the habit of purchasing at Auction second hand, and frequently imperfect Works, but which the Advertiser wishes to be understood, he does not follow: for though the charge usually made, of a Penny a day per volume, in every respect dearer than is made by W.J. to his annual Subscribers, still it would by no means recompense for the inconvenience that would arise from such a system to his regular subscribers. For instance, to annual Subscribers, the charge is not one penny a day; and they can always have a complete set to read, and which they may change as often as they please, for any other work in the Library. Whereas, under the other system, if you have only one set of three volumes for a week, it will cost nearly three times as much as the annual Subscriber pays. Moreover, in the catchpenny, or penny-a-day-per-Volume-Libraries, when you get one volume of a Work, it is quite uncertain when you will get the other; or if you name a Work in their Catalogues, which they have not got -

"it is out". Now, such a disappointment never occurs to Parties subscribing to Jones' Library, - as he always imports from two to six copies of every valuable work, so that if the Library copy be out, the subscriber is immediately supplied from the DUPLICATE SETS.

Despite these manifest advantages, by the following year Jones' Library had also gone to the auction block, perhaps to provide further stock for his cheaper competitors. Four thousand volumes were advertised by Hebblewhite in the Herald for 10 March, including novels by Dickens, Samuel Warren, Ainsworth, Bulwer Lytton, Mrs. Ellis, "Sam Slick", Cockton and Marryat. Although Jones later returned to bookselling whilst running the Goulburn Herald, he does not seem to have taken another chance on a library.

One of the chief of Jones' "penny-a-day" rivals must have been William Baker, publisher of the colonial edition of Charles O'Malley, who ran "Cheap Reading Rooms" at his Hibernian Printing Office, King-Street, East. On 26 August 1843, he announced in the Weekly Register,

> JUST RECEIVED, the first three numbers of Tom Burke of Our Mess, by Harry Lorrequer, also Jack Hinton with numerous other good works, only one penny per volume, per day.
> N.B. - Country gentlemen will find this Library very convenient while in town as there is a public Reading Room, where can be seen all the Sydney Newspapers, Periodicals, etc.

The same two novels, together with Martin Chuzzlewit, appeared in an advertisement for Baker's Sydney Circulating Library in the Australian for 9 March 1844, not long before Jones' criticism. Baker's Library nevertheless outlived Jones' - obviously the system had more appeal for poorer readers - since a further list of works is found in the Australian Medical

Journal, of which Baker was printer and proprietor, for 1 September 1846. As well as the usual volumes by Lever, it included novels by Bulwer Lytton, Samuel Warren, Lover, Ainsworth and others, "Besides Every Popular Work of the Day". Unfortunately, neither the Australian Medical Journal nor Baker's Library survived 1847. On 25 January, Baker announced in the Herald:

LIBRARY FOR SALE

WILLIAM BAKER requests that all parties who have any of his Library Books in their possession, and who have paid nothing for reading for the last four years, will return them, as he has entrusted

MR. W. G. MOORE to dispose of his library, either by private sale or public auction . . .

N.B. - A large number of printed catalogues can be given if purchased by one party, with Index and Library Book.

Evidently nobody wanted to take over the Library in these bad financial times, for, on 16 February, again in the Herald, Moore advertised eight hundred lots of Baker's books for auction. He was still disposing of them by 8 October 1847, when the Herald listed the ubiquitous Harry Lorrequer, Jack Hinton and Charles O'Malley.

A Mr. J. Moore ran a rival cheap circulating library in George Street in 1846, an advertisement in the Sydney Weekly Transcript, "The Paper for the Working Man", on 9 May, claiming two thousand, five hundred volumes of books were available, and, "In order that reading may be within the reach of every person, his charge will be as usual, only 6d. per week". Amongst the works in his Supplementary Catalogue were eight by Dickens, six by the Banim brothers, five by Mrs. Trollope, four by Ainsworth and Eugene Sue, three by

Cockton, Gleig, Captain Chamier, Maxwell and Harriet Martineau, and one each by Bulwer Lytton, Marryat and Lever. Moore's Library was also said to contain "the complete works of the most popular writers of the present day - viz.: Scott, Cooper, Bulwer, Marryat, James, Hook, Washington Irving, Grattan, Miss Porter, Miss Edgeworth, Lady Morgan, Mrs. S.C. Hall, Mrs. Gore, Miss Sedgewick, Miss Helme". Moore's library was still operating in 1848, when he advertised in the back of W.H. Wells' A Geographical Dictionary; or Gazetteer of the Australian Colonies. Another offering "Cheap Reading" in 1846 was J. Cook of the Book Stall, George Street, works in his "CIRCULATING LIBRARY consisting of the most Popular Novels", being also available "at sixpence per week only!", as he informed readers of the Will O' the Wisp on 17 October. One final circulating library advertisement comes from the Sydney Daily Advertiser for 11 September 1848, inserted by an apparent newcomer to this field, Mrs. M.A. Stephens of Bathurst Street, who had chosen the more conservative method of lending books on an annual subscription of one pound, with corresponding half-yearly and quarterly, but not weekly, rates. Her advertisement is, as she believed her stock to be, both amusing and instructive in its demonstration of the typical tone of colonial salesmanship and the equally typical concern for readers' moral welfare:

> M.A. STEPHENS begs most respectfully to return her thanks to the inhabitants of Sydney and its vicinity for the kind support they have hitherto extended towards her humble endeavours to please the public taste. It is with pleasure she informs them that she has lately made an addition to her Library of some of the most popular works of the day, which she confidently trusts

will meet with the approbation of those who patronise her, and hopes that while there may be much to please the eye, amuse the ear, and instruct the mind, there will be nothing to offend the strictest morality. She is aware that being a beginner she cannot compete with others for numbers, but she pledges herself that she has many more than are included in her catalogue - and that is upwards of 700 complete works. She fearlessly invites inspection, and believes that the lovers of a choice book will not be disappointed.

As in Sydney, attempts were made to found book societies, mechanics' institutes and circulating libraries in country districts of New South Wales throughout the 'forties, with similar difficulties in maintaining them in the face of financial depressions and readers' apparent lack of interest in anything but fiction. No Mechanics' Institute seems to have been operating at Windsor during this period, although there were some circulating libraries. On 25 July 1844, the Hawkesbury Courier announced the opening of an apparently short-lived Reading Room, and on 15 January 1846, of a circulating library at the Courier Office, to "principally comprize well chosen Novels, Romances, etc." The catalogue of this library, printed in the Courier on 8 October, accordingly contained mainly novels by Scott, Lever, Cooper, Dickens, Marryat, Eugene Sue, Fielding, Smollett, Sterne, Fanny Burney and many others of lesser note. There was, however, also a small selection of the usual poets - Pope, Ossian, Milton, Young, Butler, Falconer, Byron - besides Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy and a few standard histories, biographies, voyages and travels, and magazines. The Courier folded only a month after this list appeared and so, presumably, did George Eager's Windsor Library. The next year, a Mr. George

Walker proposed to open his Windsor Reading Room and Library, "where the advantages of a constant supply of the leading magazines and newspapers of Great Britain, with an excellent collection of standard works, will be secured to subscribers." The Sydney Age for 10 April 1847, which printed the announcement, was "happy to hear that Mr. Walker has already received promise of very liberal support in his enterprise".

The Parramatta Library, established in 1844, provides another example of the predominant association of circulating libraries and newspaper men in Australian country centres during the 'forties. Edmund Mason, publisher of the Parramatta Chronicle, announced on 27 July that he had

> . . . instructed his Sydney Agent to attend the various Book Sales, for the purpose of purchasing Novels, Romances, Travels, Biographies, etc. to be appropriated in establishing a First Class Library in this town.
>
> The first portion . . . consisting of above one hundred of the most popular Novels and Romances of the day, have been received, to which an addition will be made weekly.

Initially, charges were twopence per volume for one day, and a penny for each subsequent day, with provision for monthly, quarterly and annual subscriptions at a later date. Three weeks afterwards, Mason published a list of books "ready for distribution", including The Pickwick Papers, Martin Chuzzlewit and Master Humphrey's Clock, together with other novels by Scott, Cooper, Marryat and several lesser writers. By 14 September, the Library contained additional novels by Scott and Cooper, Lister's Granby, Hook's Births, Deaths, and Marriages, The Newgate Calendar and Burns' Poetical Works. Although it was not mentioned again, the Library presumably

survived at least until Mason sold the Chronicle a year later.

Earlier attempts to establish a library at Parramatta had been unsuccessful, as the Herald recalled on 7 April 1841, in its account of the newly-formed Parramatta Mechanics' Library and Reading Room. This had been opened with "about five hundred volumes of useful and entertaining works", and the Herald enthused,

> . . . we have no doubt it will be highly beneficial to the Township, as, for years past, this town has been destitute of any thing that could afford rational amusement to any number of the inhabitants; especially the working classes, who, in consequence of this, were rapidly falling into the pernicious habit of spending their evenings in the public houses; but now not a few of them prefer the reading room.

Whether this reformation failed to be maintained, or the infant Society suffered from the seemingly inevitable squabbles amongst its "respectable office bearers", a brief report in the Herald for 3 December 1842 announced the dissolution of the "Parramatta Book Society". The "Parramatta Clerical Book Society", presumably a Church of England body, was, however, still "in good condition".

The fate of various libraries and societies established in Maitland during these years was generally no more fortunate. On 29 May 1840, James Cox, Treasurer and Secretary of the Maitland Book Society, advertised in the Sydney Morning Herald a forthcoming meeting "for the sale of the Books of last year, the circulation of one hundred and seventy works just received from England, and payment of subscriptions for the current year." Evidently, the Maitland Book Society had been organised on the common plan of a continuous turn-over of its

library. One does not know if it was still in existence by 11 December 1841, when the new Hunter River Gazette proposed the formation of a Mechanics' Institute at Maitland. This institution was duly formed, but soon ran into difficulties, on 5 February 1842, its committee announcing the bookseller William Lipscomb had claimed its library for non-payment of debt, "and, if his demands are not satisfied before the 1st March, the books will be delivered into his possession on that day". The Gazette thought it "a pity . . . that the members cannot so arrange matters as to enable them to settle the claim . . . without parting with the library, and so make another attempt to carry out the aims of the institution". It would seem that such an attempt was made, though it only staved off the inevitable for, on 7 January 1843, Lipscomb humorously advertised in the Maitland Mercury that, "having been appointed Executor to the estate of the late unfortunate Maitland Mechanics' Institute, now deceased and insolvent", he offered its library for sale at reduced prices. Perhaps the Maitland Institute would have done better if it had followed its Sydney brother in stocking plenty of fiction; only a few of about one hundred and twenty volumes on this list were novels, amongst them James' Darnley and Michael Scott's Tom Cringle's Log.

Its death was not, however, the end of the mechanics' institute movement in the Hunter Valley. The Newcastle Mechanics' Institute, founded in 1835, evidently continued to thrive, though not often mentioned in the press. On 23

September 1846, the Mercury did announce a lecture there on poetry by Dr. John Stewart, postponed to 30 September. In addition, the Patrick's Plains Institute seems to have begun in 1845, an account of its first Annual Report being given in the Mercury for 9 May 1846. Although having only fifty-eight members, it had sponsored twelve lectures during the year, and owned a library of "216 volumes, on the subjects of arts and sciences, history, biography, travels, philosophy, agriculture, natural history, mechanics, novels, poetry and polite literature, which have been extensively read." Despite these achievements, the committee thought it "improper to disguise the fact, that they have not met with co-operation from that class for which the Society was principally established". But this seems to have been the common complaint of mechanics' institutes, whether English or Australian, idealists ultimately finding most mechanics preferred public houses to reading rooms.[4] On 15 April 1848, the Mercury advertised the sale by auction of "100 volumes of outread BOOKS, and other property belonging to the Singleton Mechanics' Institute," which is perhaps to be identified with the Patrick's Plains body. An earlier attempt to found a more high-class "Hunter River Society, For the Promotion of Literature, Science, and The Interests of Agriculture", with obligatory library, does not seem to have gone beyond its announcement in the Colonial Observer for 24 September 1842.

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[4] See Richard Altick, The English Common Reader (1963), Chapter 9: "The Mechanics' Institutes and After."

To fill the breach left by the decease of the Maitland Machanics' Institute, and perhaps also to make use of its probably unsaleable library, Lipscomb proposed his own Circulating Library and Reading Room in the Mercury for 4 November 1843. His humour is again shown in this advertisement, as is his wisdom in including plenty of "light reading" in his collection:

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION

	Per annum. £.	s.	d.
To the Circulating Library	1	0	0
Circulating Library and Reading Room . . .	1	5	0
Reading Room only	0	10	0

Subscriptions to be paid half-yearly in advance.

The mode of receiving and the period for keeping the books will be regulated as nearly as possible on the plan of the Sydney Mechanics' Institute.

The works will be of a miscellaneous and popular character, such as will suit the tastes, habits, and feelings of all classes, consisting of popular Elementary Works of Science, History, Travels, Biography, Novels, Romances, Poetry, Politics, &c. In the Reading Room will be found the British and Australian Monthly and Quarterly Periodicals of every shade of politics.

The following are books which Mr. Lipscomb has now on hand, which will be immediately available for the library, and he proposes expending half the amount of the subscriptions received, in the purchase of the newest works every half-year, as they arrive in the colony:- Sir Walter Scott's Novels and other Works; the Writings of Smollett, Fielding, Bulwer, Cooper, Hook, Miss Austin [sic], the Misses Porter, Godwin, Mrs. Trollope, James, Marryatt [sic], and other celebrated novelists; the Poetry of Byron, Moore, Scott, Southey, Wordsworth, Millman, Montgomery, Burns, Bowles, and others; Historical Works - Tyler's History of Scotland, Dr. Lingard's, Goldsmith's, and Hume and Smollett's History of England, Bishop Burnett's History of his Own Times, Gibbon's Decline and Fall, Miss Aiken's Memoirs, &c; Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopoedia, Loudon's Works on Gardening, Agriculture, and Villa Architecture; the Family Library; the Society's Works on Sheep, Horse, and Cattle; Huskinson's and Brougham's Speeches, &c.

Mr. L. will also take care to procure books of wit and humour, such as Punch, the works of Thomas Hood, and other droll fellows. In fact, being naturally fond of fun himself, he can easily appreciate its good effect upon others, and should consider himself guilty of a dereliction of that duty

he owes to his subscribing fellow citizens if he did not use his utmost exertions to provide such works as would beguile a gloomy hour, and draw a smile from the gloomy and lengthened visages of those who are pondering over the difficulties of the times - provided they pay their subscriptions with promptitude and regularity.

The above is a mere general outline of the plan on which the library will be conducted. A subscription list is now open at the Book Shop, West Maitland, to which upwards of thirty names of the Votaries of Science, Taste, and Literature are already appended, and immediately one hundred subscribers are obtained the Library will be commenced.

These qualities evidently paid off, for by 29 June 1844, Lipscomb was almost ready to open his Library. In this Mercury advertisement, perhaps motivated by Lang's recent attacks on the Australian Subscription Library, he took care to emphasize the more serious works to be found on his shelves:

Many persons have an objection to subscribe to Circulating Libraries, in consequence of their containing works of a light and ephemeral description only. To obviate this objection, the projector, being naturally of a grave and reflective turn of mind, has determined to introduce works of a more sterling and standard character, amongst those of a lighter and more amusing description.

His list of works now commenced with "The English classical Essays of Addison, Steele, Tickell, Goldsmith, Johnson, &c.", followed by augmented numbers of Historical, Poetical and Scientific Works, with Novels, now also including Lever's and Dickens', bringing up the rear. Lipscomb's playful spirit, however, once again asserted itself in another plea for prompt payment of subscriptions, evidently as sore a point with library as with newspaper proprietors:

. . . As he has already been at considerable expense in binding and purchasing books, he cannot afford to give credit, his own being at a very low ebb in Sydney he is obliged to purchase for cash; as the following extract from a shrewd fellow in Sydney

to him will show:

"SIR - In reply to yours requesting credit for goods, I beg to decline, on the following grounds: I understand you have had heavy losses in business the last three years, and have been swindled out of a great deal of money lately. I am not such a fool as to trust a man who wants credit. - Yours, &c., GREGORY GRIPE."

Unfortunately, in such a period of financial distress, even a library as well organized as Lipscomb's was unable to survive for very long. On 8 February 1845, he announced its closure "to collect the books together" - interestingly, the missing volumes listed were Dickens' A Christmas Carol, four novels by Scott, the first volume of Alexander's Life of the Duke of Wellington and the second of Madame du Barry's Memoirs. This closure was only a prelude to the final one, with "The Remaining Portion of W. Lipscomb's Circulating Library" advertised for sale in the Mercury on 1 March 1845, mostly at four shillings per volume. As one would expect, novels predominated, including, besides those authors already mentioned, works by Galt, Grattan, Gleig, Thackeray, Peacock, Victor Hugo, Paul de Kock, Mrs. Gore, Susan Ferrier, Horace Smith and Cervantes.

After the failure of the early Book Society in Bathurst, its inhabitants seem to have lost any taste for further combined efforts. There were, however, at least two circulating libraries there in the 'forties. On 2 December 1848, the Bathurst Advocate called "the attention of the literary public to Mr. C. James's Circulating Library; he has (within the last few days) made an increase to his stock of books, among which are to be found many interesting volumes." An advertisement for the library a week later cited the usual terms of one pound

per year, whilst a further editorial comment mentioned "nearly eight hundred interesting works" as contained in James' Catalogue. It is uncertain whether James was still operating by 29 September 1849, when a Mr. John R. Jones announced the opening of his circulating library. Unfortunately, none of the catalogues of either collection appear to have survived.

A little more is, however, known about Joseph Collins' Goulburn Circulating Library. This was first advertised, in the Goulburn Herald for 15 July 1848, as containing "a variety of the best and newly published standard works extant in Novels, History, Biography, Travels, and general polite Literature", with a further announcement on 26 August of a new addition of seven hundred volumes of "choice Books". A more specific idea of the contents of Collins' library comes from his auction advertisement on 11 August 1849, for the sale of six hundred volumes of perused books, "in order to make room for a fresh supply". Included were Smollett's History of England, Shakespeare's Plays, Burns' Works, the twenty-volume British Essayists and Prior's Life of Goldsmith, besides many novels and romances Collins did not bother to list in detail. The need for such a collection in Goulburn had been expressed in a letter to the Herald a week before Collins' first advertisement, complaining of the lack of books in the town.

SIR - It has long been a matter of surprise to me, and to many other persons, that in our flourishing town there is no public library. I am one of those unfortunate persons who have nothing to do, and, strange as it may appear, there are many in Goulburn in the same predicament. The only way in which we manage to dissipate our 'ennui' is reading, in my opinion a most rational mode of so doing; but, alas! after

exhausting our own store of books, and reading all we can beg or borrow, we are as badly off as ever, and I know not what fearful results may ensue if we have not a further supply. I am sure that if some spirited individual would start a circulating library, his undertaking would meet with due encouragement. In Bathurst, a town of no greater importance than this, a library has been established, and I see no reason why we should not have one here. I, for one, would subscribe to so valuable an institution, and I know several other ladies who would willingly do so too. . . .

A LOVER OF READING.

Although the deficiency had been at least partially met by 23 September 1848, on that date the Herald made the establishment of a Public Library the subject of one of its leaders, filled with the usual diatribes against colonial neglect of everything "not directly or indirectly connected with 'profit and loss'". It concluded with the pious hope that townsmen would show "there is still sufficient intelligence and desire of information amongst them, to appreciate and support a Public Library, and that no delay will be lost in wiping out the reproach, that so thriving and wealthy a community can scarcely muster 150 volumes of books of real improvement." Presumably Collins' collection was included in this total. At any rate, Goulburn had to wait considerably longer for a proper Public Library.

In Tasmania during the eighteen-forties, libraries and literary institutions seem to have been subject to the same problems as those in New South Wales: bedevilled by exclusiveness, lack of interest and money, and arguments over the place of fiction. One bright spot, however, was the relative success of provincial book societies, which hardly

managed to get established on the mainland at this period. For most of the 'forties, Hobart readers had to rely on either the Mechanics' Institute Library or one or other of the fluctuating circulating libraries, despite two references to a Hobart Town Public Library before its eventual founding in 1849. On 21 February 1840, the Hobart Town Advertiser announced that such an institution was

> . . . now open daily from four till six o'clock, at the residence of Mr. Woolley in Macquarie-street. We observe by the list that the number of shares is not yet forty. There are plenty of novels for the ladies, but we are sorry to see all the magazines locked up in one room, inaccessible. The institution is one which really ought to be supported, and we hope it will be.

This public library was perhaps also the subject of a paragraph in the much be-purpled prose of Hobartia. A Sketch, published anonymously in Hobart in 1840: "Do literature's gems attract thy mind, then to the library go, and on the table spread behold the literary tribute of the world, or scan the journals of Hobartia's teeming press". (p. 6) Despite such hopes and praises, the library does not seem to have survived for long, and on 24 June 1845, one finds the Observer writing

> A Public Library - It has been remarked more than once of late in our hearing, what a want there exists in Hobart Town of a Public Library of standard authors, ancient and modern. With many members of the legal profession, a little army of divines, a fearful number of medical men, and very many gentlemen in public offices, or in the enjoyment of independent circumstances, there is no library for the general use of the members of the professions in particular, or for all the classes which have been named. We do think that this is owing to the object never having been properly contemplated or its attainment sought; and that, were a judicious proposal of something of the kind submitted it would obtain very prompt and general support.

But this suggestion was not adopted till 1849, prompted by Governor Denison's inclusion of two hundred pounds for the

purchase of books for a Public Library in the estimates of government expenditure for that year. Details of the founding of the Library were included in the Preface to its first Catalogue, issued in 1849. At the initial meeting, held on 29 May 1849,

> . . . fifty-four gentlemen and one lady gave in their names as Members of the Library; and a circular letter requesting the support of the Settlers and Inhabitants of the Colony having been sent to 637 heads of Families, the result was, that, up to the opening of the Library on the 1st August 1849 . . . fourteen persons became Life Members, and one hundred and ten became Annual Subscribers. (pp. v-vi)

As this implies, the Tasmanian Public Library was nearly as exclusive in practice as the Australian Subscription Library. Its progress between the May meeting and the August opening was well-chronicled in the local press, though coloured by their various political viewpoints. On 20 June, the Hobart Town Courier wrote: "The subscription to this library, which is to contain works of reference for all classes, is lower than that collected by our Sydney neighbours, where a public library has been founded some time, which now contains 13,700 volumes." Whilst, at ten pounds for Life Membership and two for Annual, the Tasmanian Public Library was somewhat cheaper than the Australian Subscription Library, these charges were obviously still beyond the means of many in the community. And at a later meeting, reported in the Courier on 30 June, it was made clear that all classes were not to be admitted, Bishop Nixon's motion for admission by ballot on the Sydney model being carried over Governor Denison's for open membership. This decision earned for the new Library the hatred of the

radical Hobarton Guardian. On 7 July, it wrote of this "'Aristocratic Library'",

> We hear that a most expensive house has been taken for the residence of the secretary, one room of which is to be devoted to subscribers for six hours per day, Sundays excepted. We also understand that the room is to be carpeted! etc. etc. We hope the public will protest against one penny of their money being expended for the comfort and extravagance of this library, as they can now see what was the drift of Bishop Nixon in advocating an annual subscription of two pounds.

Returning to the attack four days later with a leader on "The Miscalled 'Public!! Library'", the Guardian castigated Nixon for advocating the exclusion of mechanics and other non-gentlemen, even though Denison, in making the original grant of public money, had aimed to found a truly public library. It gave further vent to its anger on 28 July: "This private institution will be thrown open at noon on Wednesday next, and will continue so until six in the evening daily, Sundays excepted, for the convenience of officials and accommodation of the élite of Hobart Town!"

On the same date, the more conservative Courier contented itself with reporting, "There are at present 450 volumes in the new library, and a number of the best and latest periodicals; and an order has been sent to England for the purchase of new publications to the amount of £150." An ink note in the 1849 Catalogue, now in the Mitchell Library, shows that besides this, two hundred and ten pounds had been spent at local booksellers, presumably the source of most of the first volumes. Since popular modern novels were readily available in Hobart at the time, it was evidently from choice rather than necessity that none were included in the Library.

Whilst there was quite an ample supply of standard literature - Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, Burns' Poetical Works, Boswell's Life of Johnson, Pope's, Cowper's and Shakespeare's Works, Sheridan's Dramatic Works, Isaac Walton's Complete Angler, Medwin's Life of Shelley and many others of equal value - the nearest approach to fiction were Swift's Works, Don Quixote, Gil Blas, Paul and Virginia, Rabelais' Works, N.P. Willis's Pencillings by the Way (1835) and a donated copy of Horace Smith's The Tin Trumpet (1836). Thus, initially, the Tasmanian Public Library was even purer than the original Australian Subscription Library collection, which had at least contained the Waverley Novels. One wonders how many mechanics would have wished to join, even if they could have. Whilst one must commend the decision to concentrate on standard and scarce literary, historical and scientific works, and to prefer Goethe's Autobiography, Molière's Works, Schlegel's Dramatic Art, Schiller's Don Carlos and Sismondi's Literature of the South of Europe to the latest novels of Dickens, Lever, Marryat and so on, it did not make the Library prosperous. Granted its rigid admission policy, the Library still had only eight more annual members and twenty more life members by May 1851, and failed to survive the eighteen-sixties. A paragraph on the current progress of the Library, in the Hobart Town Advertiser for 14 December 1849, shows a continued determination to shun the usual popular novelists:

> The Committee of the Public Library have recently purchased a considerable number of new Standard Works for the Library which

now stands at nearly 1000 volumes. This is not bad when it is considered that the Library has only been established for four months. During that period 777 visits of Members have been recorded and 381 sets of books have been taken out of the Library by readers. Among the Works recently purchased are those of Brougham, Campbell, Catlin, D'Arblay, D'Israeli, Hall, Lamb, Maxwell, Hooker, Loudon, Lockhart, Mitford, Pardoe, Southey, Stephens, etc. etc.

In contrast, the Library of the Van Diemen's Land Mechanics' Institute contained a fair proportion of fiction, whose inclusion never seems to have been subject to the criticism found in Sydney. In the early years of the decade, certainly, members were more concerned about the actual survival of the Institute than the contents of its Library. A government grant of one hundred and fifty pounds a year, recommended in 1838, had still not been paid by the end of 1841, as noted in the Annual Report for that year (pp. 6-7). During this time, the society had become increasingly indebted, and lectures and meetings were virtually at a standstill. The radical Tasmanian Weekly Dispatch most actively criticised this situation, and especially Governor Franklin, both for refusing to pay the government grant until it had received English sanction, and for failing to attend the Institute meetings, though ostensibly its patron.[5] By the end of 1842, however, as one finds in the Annual Report, the grant had finally been approved, and the back payment of four hundred and fifty pounds enabled the Institute to pay its debts and send two hundred pounds to England for the purchase of apparatus and "about 240 volumes of scientific and other selected works

5 See issues for 29 May and 18 December 1840.

to the value of £100." (p. 7) Later Reports testify to the continuing demands on the Library and its continuing enlargement. Thus in the Report for 1844, the committee relate that, after having decided to admit members at the rate of two-and-six per quarter, they discovered "an increasing call for books, and have therefore opened the Library an additional evening in the week; they are also desirous of adding many other works that may be acceptable to those who are thirsting for the attainment of rational knowledge" (p. 8). On the same page, one finds the only attempt during this period to in any way justify the inclusion of fiction in the Library:

> In conclusion, your retiring Committee most anxiously entreat that the original design of the Institute be kept steadily in view, by providing for the youth of our colony - always including such of the humble classes generally, as are of fair moral deportment - the largest amount of sound instruction, combined with the largest amount of cheap and innocent amusement.

The original aims of the Institute seem to have been lost sight of, with the tone of the above suggesting it may have deserved some of the charges of exclusiveness levelled at it,[6] and most similar societies, during this period. Nevertheless, the Annual Report for 1845 claimed for the Library "An increased circulation of the various publications beyond that of any former period - the obvious result of admitting members from the working class on payment of half-a-crown per quarter." (p. 8) This interest in reading was evidently maintained in the following years, with the committee also frequently complaining that supply of books was unequal to demand. In

[6] See the Hobart Town Courier for 11 June 1840, which suggested it might "more appropriately be called the Hobart Town Literary and Scientific Association".

the 1847 Report, for example, they wrote, "The average issue of Books from the Library in the last year was fully equal to that of any former year. . . . The Library consists of at least 1000 volumes, but the demands of readers call for a considerable addition to the stock." (p. 7) As there were nearly two hundred annual and honorary members and eighty-nine quarterly subscribers at this time, the number of books available per member was, indeed, considerably below that of the Sydney Mechanics' Library. By 1848, however, there had been some improvement since, although membership had slightly decreased, the Annual Report recorded the purchase

> . . . of 197 volumes of works of a popular character to the amount of £55. 6. 9. The Library has thus been advanced to a better position than it has occupied at any previous period.
> The Committee have resolved to recommend that the minimum sum of £50 be annually appropriated to the purchase of books. (p. 6)

At least some of these works had been bought in the colony, the Hobarton Guardian for 14 October 1848 reporting the purchase of thirty pounds' worth at a recent auction sale. A week later, the Hobart Town Courier claimed these new books, presumably mainly novels, were "of such a character as to commend the institute to continued and increased patronage." Later, on 16 June 1849, it reported another addition of one hundred and sixty volumes to the Library. A Catalogue of the Library issued in the same year shows a decided preponderance of novels, nearly all of them purchased by the Institute itself rather than donated, and presumably mostly in the last few years. As against forty-one titles listed as "History, Chronology, and Antiquities", fifty-seven as "Natural History", seventy-three

as "Voyages, Travels and Descriptions of Countries", seventy-seven as "Theology, Education, Metaphysics, and General Literature", eighty-two as "Natural Philosophy, Arts, Sciences and Manufactures", and smaller numbers under other headings, one finds one hundred and twenty-five titles under "Fiction". Most of the best-selling authors of the 'forties were extensively represented - Scott, Maria Edgeworth, Cooper, Bulwer Lytton, Dickens, Marryat, Frederika Bremer, James - with one or two titles by Sue, Thackeray, Mrs. Trollope, Ainsworth, Galt, Lever, Lover, Hook, Morier, Gleig, Victor Hugo and Carleton. There were also the usual older works like The Arabian Nights, Asmodeus, Don Quixote, Gil Blas, Robinson Crusoe, Pamela, The Vicar of Wakefield and A Sentimental Journey, though, oddly enough, neither Tristram Shandy nor any by Fielding, Smollett or Jane Austen. Amongst the nineteen works listed as "Poetry" one finds collections of Burns, Byron, Cowper, Crabbe, Moore, Scott, Campbell and Shakespeare, besides the less common Spenser, Voltaire and Leigh Hunt, and two colonial productions, David Burn's Plays and Poems and James Knox's Poetic Trifles, both presented by their authors. In addition, standard literary works by Defoe, Goldsmith, St. Pierre, Swift, and Burton were grouped under various other headings.

As usual, one has no evidence as to what books were most frequently borrowed, but assumes that, as elsewhere, they would have been novels. Some justification for this is found in an advertisement by the Librarian in the Colonial Times for 14 January 1848, listing the books missing "over the last three

or four years". Of the twenty-six volumes, nine were works of fiction, including Volume One of Scott's Rob Roy, Sketches by Boz, Cooper's The Prairie and Ainsworth's Rookwood - only Rob Roy reappears in the 1849 Catalogue. Beauties of the Prose Works of Southey and Volumes Two and Eight of Moore's Poetical Works were also missing, besides a number of periodicals and practical works on mechanics. In providing an ample, and apparently popular, supply of the latter, the Hobart Mechanics' Institute was at least fulfilling its original aims better than the Sydney School of Arts, where such practical works formed a much smaller proportion of the library.

As well as these two more or less public libraries, there were also, as in Sydney, various other Hobart libraries catering for different sections of the population. Although most of the early Australian gentlemen's clubs must have contained libraries for their members, little is known about their contents. One exception is the Hobart Union Club, some at least of whose books were advertised by the auctioneer T.Y. Lowes in the Hobart Town Courier for 16 June 1843. Besides a large collection of the expected British and colonial newspapers and magazines, including the Edinburgh and Westminster Reviews, its library had included the equally to be expected works of Scott and Dickens. Further down the social scale, the Hobart Town Merchantile Assistants' Association, established in February 1847, by 1849 had eighty-five members, a library and regular debates, as the Tasmanian Magazine and Masonic Register for

31 March reported. The Wesleyan Subscription Library, founded in 1827, evidently continued to lend books, and a Jewish Library was also set up in Hobart in 1845. On 8 August, the Observer reported, "We are happy to find that a Library, in connexion with the Synagogue, will be formed. A number of valuable books on Hebrew Poetry and Literature have already been presented to the Institution." The formation of a Total Abstinence Library was announced in the same paper on 13 February 1846; the rules and regulations of the Hobart Town Catholic Library, "Established 16th June, 1846", printed in the Hobart Town Herald for 16 December 1846. The most ambitious religious library, probably in the whole of Australia at this time, was that of the Church of England Christ's College, available to Tasmanian clergy as well as the students. Its foundation is described in the Catalogue of the Library published in 1848.

> It must be gratifying to the friends of Tasmania to know, that every book in the Library commemorates the good will of some one or other of a numerous list of benefactors. The first donation was made so long ago as the year 1839, when the Committee of the London Tract Society, upon learning the design of establishing a College in Tasmania, presented ten pounds' worth of theological works to the Library. (p.iii)

After an account of numerous subsequent benefactors, the Preface closes with this view of the Library's place in Tasmania's cultural growth: "Nor can anything more effectually neutralize the evils of remote distance from the centres of literary movement in the Old World, than the unreserved enjoyment of an ample store-house of learning." Naturally, the Library was

richest in works on Divinity; there were more than six hundred titles under this heading, another three hundred and fifty under "Classics", more than two hundred under "History" and seventy or so on Mathematics and Physics. As well, about three hundred titles listed as "Miscellaneous Literature" included a wide range of old and new English poetry - works by Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Ossian, Goldsmith, Cowper, Pope, Burns, Young, Gray, Scott, Southey, Coleridge, Wordsworth (three separate editions) and even Shelley, though not Byron - besides many other literary standards like Bacon's Essays, and Works, Ben Jonson's Works, two editions of Dante's Divina Comedia, three of The Spectator and another two of Johnson's Works, Sterne's Works, Voltaire's Works, Milton's Prose Works and Walton's Complete Angler. Nor was fiction completely prohibited, with recent works like the Waverley Novels, Washington Irving's Knickerbocker and Alhamba, Marryat's Pacha of Many Tales, Maria Edgeworth's Harry and Lucy and the Rev. George Brittaine's Recollections of Hyancinth O'Gara (1828) included, as well as classics such as The Vicar of Wakefield, The Life and Adventures of Peter Wilkins, Gulliver's Travels, Robinson Crusoe, Don Quixote and The Arabian Nights. Needless to say, more sensational writers like Bulwer Lytton, Sue, Ainsworth or Lever were not represented, and Le Sage, Smollett, Fielding and Richardson also evidently considered too coarse for theology students. Like the Mechanics' Institute, the Christ's College Library included the local

productions of James Knox and David Burn, probably again as presentation copies, and, more surprisingly, Henry Savery's The Hermit in Van Diemen's Land (1829), whose libellous tendencies were perhaps considered sufficiently diminished by the passage of time. All in all, it was an extremely liberal literary collection for a religious institution, and must surely have helped close some cultural gaps in the way hopefully indicated in the Preface to its Catalogue.

An earlier attempt to provide a similar service for less privileged classes had been reported in the Britannia and Trades' Advocate for 18 March 1847:

> An individual, who believes that practice is far better than precept, is anxious to promote in Hobart Town the establishment of a Library and Reading Room for the Working Classes. He considers it a praiseworthy object and that to direct the "masses" to a right tone of thinking, and acting, is to lead the way to results unquestionably beneficial.

Nothing, however, seems to have come of this endeavour, and, as in Sydney, "the masses" presumably borrowed most of their books from the circulating libraries' abundant supplies of novels and other light works. One of the largest of these in Hobart continued to be the Derwent Circulating Library, of which J.W. Walch issued a lengthy catalogue in 1846, after he had taken it over from Samuel Tegg. More than eight hundred and fifty works were listed, mostly novels by such popular authors as Cooper, Maria Edgeworth, Bulwer Lytton, the Misses Porter, Lever, Lover, James, Marryat, Harriet Martineau, Hook, Galt, "Sam Slick", Carleton, Gleig, Ainsworth, Dr. Bird, Washington Irving, Dickens, Mrs. Trollope, Mrs. Gore, Horace Smith and Scott. There was also a goodish number of prose

works by Jane Austen, Peacock, Smollett, Fielding, Johnson and Goldsmith, poetry by Burns, Byron, Crabbe, Cowper, L.E.L. and Scott, plays by Ford and Massinger, though not Shakespeare, and the customary popular English magazines like Bentley's, Blackwood's, Ainsworth's and Fraser's. Nor were colonial authors completely neglected - one finds James Martin's Australian Sketch-Book and A Love Story, by a Bushman, together with two of the novels of Mary Leman Grimstone, a one-time Hobart resident. Several Australian works were also amongst the histories, biographies, travel books and other odd works sprinkled here and there through the novels. Naturally, the Derwent Circulating Library, like others of its class, did not aspire to any really serious works, leaving them to the Mechanics' Institute and religious libraries. Altogether, there were about eighteen hundred volumes of books in Walch's Library, all but about three hundred of them being novels. His charges were rather higher than those prevailing in Sydney, one guinea for admittance to the reading room, and two guineas annual subscription to the library.

Serious competition was evidently offered by Barfoot's new Circulating Library, advertised in the Colonial Times for 7 April 1846. Barfoot, who like Walch and most other Tasmanian circulating library proprietors, was also a bookseller, boasted no less than four thousand volumes, "the best that can be provided in London, selected to order, to comprise the best and latest works of the first authors." Unfortunately, no other details of this library are available, but one assumes that the

"first authors" were again mainly popular modern novelists.

This was certainly the case with another circulating library operating earlier in the 'forties, Pulleyn's Hobart Town Library of Liverpool Street. On 5 January 1841, Pulleyn advertised in the Tasmanian Weekly Dispatch as new additions to his library, typical Novel Newspaper titles like Dr. Bird's Infidel's Doom, Charlotte Smith's Old Manor House and Cooper's The Last of the Mohicans. A more varied new collection, announced in the Colonial Times for 18 January 1842, included several works by each of Marryat, Bulwer Lytton, Lady Blessington, Dickens and Neale, besides other popular titles by Cooper, Ainsworth, Hook, Washington Irving, the Hon. Mrs. Norton, Reynolds, Mrs. Gore, Gleig, Mrs. Trollope, Cockton and "Sam Slick". In addition, there was a number of typically-sounding circulating library titles like Rosalia St. Clair's Fashionables and Unfashionables (1827) and the anonymous Nun of St. Agatha. An Historical Romance of the Sixteenth Century (1830).

As well as these more formal libraries, another bookseller, George Rolwegan, announced in the Colonial Times for 28 May 1843, the formation of a Reading Society, to circulate popular English periodicals. Earlier that year, the first number of the South Briton; or Tasmanian Literary Journal had advertised Booth's Coffee and Reading Rooms as

> Just opened, upon the principle of the celebrated Parisian Cafes, in a central and eligible situation . . . /also/ a Subscription Reading Room and Library, to which gentlemen can have access, from nine o'clock in the morning to eleven at night, by paying one shilling a month.

One hopes Mr. Booth's attempt to revive the old coffee-house tradition in Hobart met with the necessary support, although

nothing further has been seen on this venture.

The availability of library books in Launceston during the eighteen-forties was more or less the same as in Hobart, although Launcestonians prided themselves on establishing a public library several years before their southern neighbours. On 30 May 1849, the Launceston Examiner wrote of the new Hobart Town Public Library:

> Many years ago a valuable collection of books existed at Hobart Town, purchased by private funds, and designed to be the nucleus of a public library, but subscribers by removal or death, nearly all disappeared, and the few remaining members divided the books among themselves. It is therefore highly necessary that the new institution should be connected with government to secure its permanency. The subscription is however far too high to render the library a public benefit, - it ought not to exceed one guinea. We observe that an appeal is to be made on behalf of the library to the inhabitants of the north, who cannot possibly derive any benefit from its establishment. In Launceston a public library was formed some years ago, and though its course has been unostentatious, it has progressed satisfactorily, and scarcely a ship arrives from England direct, which does not bring an accession of standard works. The members are only waiting for a free local government, to associate it in the control of the institution, and to obtain that share of the public funds to which it may be entitled. The object of its supporters is to provide, for the use of the town and country, a supply of works more valuable than those found in private circulating libraries, or in those of Mechanics' Institutes: books too varied and costly to be otherwise within the reach of individuals. The subscription is now a guinea per annum, but when opened to all will most probably be reduced. Time is necessary: a valuable library cannot be created in a year, but it is gratifying to know that a beginning has been made in the two towns, and that as usual the public spirit of Launceston anticipated the favored city.

Earlier, on 2 July 1845, the Examiner had answered a letter calling for a public library with the information that one had been organized twelve months previously, and "the first orders of books have been received". Sure enough, later that year, Henry Dowling printed The Rules of the Launceston Library Society.

Established 1845. It appears to have been the most liberal of the larger public libraries founded in Australia before 1850, despite the retention of balloting for membership. Provision was made for an unlimited number of members, including ladies, at the low rate of one pound entrance fee and one pound annual subscription, with new books selected by a ballot of members at quarterly meetings. The object of the Society was given as "the establishment of a permanent collection of useful books, in every department of literature." Thus, like the later Hobart Town Public Library, it aimed to exclude novels and seems to have maintained this resolution throughout the 'forties. Nothing further is heard of this Society until 3 April 1847, when a report of one of its annual meetings appeared in the Examiner. Although established for nearly two years, it still had only thirty to forty members, possibly because of the exclusion of fiction. All works were, however, accessible to the general public for reference purposes. Later in 1847, on 25 September, the Examiner printed a longer account of the Society's Annual General Meeting, including voting on new books. These were mainly scientific, historical and travel works, though Coleridge's Literary Remains was also chosen. As retiring president, William Henty, of the famous Victorian pioneering family, gave the customary address "on some of the chief events of the literary and scientific world since the previous meeting", embracing the aims of the Society, literary developments in England and literary institutions in the Southern Hemisphere. For present purposes,

the first subject is the most interesting, since Henty gave a clear expression of the current arguments both for literary societies and against novel reading:

> Looking to the comparatively humble and contracted sphere of our labours, it might be viewed simply as the union of a few to supply their literary wants by a contribution of their means to a common stock; but regarding it as I cannot but do, with the prospect of its securing to us a permanent library of standard authors, and other sources of mental improvement, as one of our best and most available means of cultivating the intellectual taste, and gratifying it when awakened; as a valuable educational institution, using that word in its highest sense as the means of educing and exercising the full powers of the human intellect, and gathering into it the enlarged and refined stores of science, and of an ever increasing and improving literature, I look to it as occupying a high place amongst our local societies. If we regard it even as a mere source of rational occupation, supplying to both young and old the mental gratification derived from books, which in the words of Dr. Channing are worth more, regarded merely as a gratification, than all the luxuries on earth, it claims no ordinary share of our care and attention.
>
> The great principle which we cherish in the constitution of our society is its permanency. This it is which distinguishes it from the usual features of a book club. Our objects embrace not new books merely or works of passing interest, but authors of merit, whether old or new - standard works of reference and of science. These are our aims, though in the early formation of the society many works of miscellaneous, though I trust not of light reading, may be expected to enter. . . .
>
> To be a lover of reading, was at one time synonymous with being a lover of knowledge; but it is not so now: hardly a lounger over periodicals and serials, but reads in quantity as much as the student, reversing the old maxim, as though he reads many things, he does not read much. The case with the present generation is to instil therefore, not a desire for reading, but a thirst for knowledge and self improvement, to form a sound judgment of books; and direct the mind carefully to study and cherish such as are good and useful, and lead on in the road to the great temple of knowledge, and to discard and avoid those light productions which will assuredly impair the intellectual powers, and detract from the usefulness of him who indulges in them. Towards such ends I feel assured this institution is well calculated to assist.

Subsequent reports in the Examiner for 24 June 1848 and 6 June 1849, on new works ordered for the Library Society, show a determination to keep to these high principles. The fifteen

and forty-one new works, respectively, were again mainly scientific or historical, with literature represented only by Leigh Hunt's Indicator and Coleridge's Biographia Literaria. A similar preponderance of serious works is found in the catalogue of the Library published in the Examiner on 27 June 1848. Of the one hundred and eighty-five volumes listed, only The Amber Witch, Irving's Bracebridge Hall, Rowcroft's Tales of the Colonies, N.P. Willis's Dashes at Life and Harriet Martineau's Popular Tales could really be termed fiction, although there were various other literary works such as Borrow's The Bible in Spain and Gypsies of Spain, Lady Blessington's The Idler in Italy, Isaac D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature, Mrs. Ellis's Summer and Winter in the Pyrenees, Leigh Hunt's Selections from the British Poets, W.S. Landor's Works, Lamb's Essays of Elia, De Quincey's Confessions of an English Opium Eater, Scott's, Southey's and Hood's Poems and the Quarterly, Edinburgh and Westminster Reviews. In slightly more serious vein, one also finds Carlyle's Past and Present, Sketches of the History of Literature and Learning in England, Macaulay's Essays and Schlegel's Lectures on the History of Literature. Despite this evident lack of frivolity in the works selected, the Launceston Library Society was unable to attract any government support. On 10 October 1849, the Hobart Town Courier, reporting the Society's Annual General Meeting of a few weeks earlier, announced that a request for such aid "had received a cavalier reply" from the Lieutenant-Governor.

"The second general meeting" of the Launceston Mechanics'

Institute, established in March 1842, was also told of the government's refusal to grant them any financial assistance, as one discovers from a committee report reprinted in the Launceston Examiner for 15 October 1842. As the Institute apparently had depended on donations to form its library, it is little wonder the committee wrote, "The scarcity of popular works in the library has lessened in a great measure the interest once manifested in that most useful and essential part of the machinery of the institute." A list of current donations, included in this report, shows them, indeed, to have been composed of "improving" works, with the possible exceptions of Washington Irving's Astoria, The Vicar of Wakefield, The Spectator and "From Master H. Button, Repository of Anecdote and Wit, 2 vols.". Thus it had not been possible to maintain the happy situation recorded in the Examiner a few months earlier:

> Through the liberality of the public a very excellent library has already been formed, without any expense to the institute; and a reading room has been opened, in which members can spend three evenings of the week in improving their minds; and I am happy to state that many of them have already availed themselves of this favourable opportunity of obtaining knowledge.[7]

Since the Institute apparently had at this time one hundred and seven members and only one hundred and seventy volumes of books, it is not surprising both Reading Room and Library so soon declined in patronage.

Nevertheless, the Institute managed to survive, and by the time of its 1844 Annual Report, the Library had increased

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[7] See a letter from "Spectator", 11 June 1842, pp.109-110.

to nearly five hundred volumes of books and over a hundred of magazines, although membership remained virtually the same. The librarian reported "that during the last six months 1043 volumes have been circulated amongst the members being an average of 22 on each evening of the library being open", or of ten per member. A list of recent acquisitions shows the Institute as not averse to literature, since it included purchased copies of The Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott, in forty-eight volumes, Bell's British Poets in one hundred and nine, and The British Essayists in forty, besides donations of The Pickwick Papers and Pope and Warburton's eight-volume edition of Shakespeare. Although no catalogue of the Library has survived, it would appear that about half its books must have been literary works, even if not of the most popular variety. By 1846, it had increased to nearly eight hundred volumes of books and five hundred periodicals, and, considering membership was still not much above a hundred, the reported increase in circulation is even more interesting. In an account of the Annual General Meeting in the Examiner for 4 November, a circulation of five thousand volumes was claimed, an average of about thirty-six per member. The following year, as again recorded in the Examiner, on 20 October, membership and circulation were both slightly down, though a further hundred volumes had been added to the library. A list of missing books published in the Examiner for 14 July 1847 shows novels, whatever their proportion in the library, as high amongst those mislaid; it included the second volume of Scott's

Pirate, Michael Scott's Tom Cringle's Log and Maxwell's Tales of Waterloo. Also in 1847, Dr. Paton, the Institute's President, gave an address on "Light Literature", to be discussed later in this chapter, but mentioned here as probably the only occasion in Australia before 1850 when novels were the subject of a Mechanics' Institute lecture. 1848 saw a further decline in both membership and circulation of books, although the committee commented

> From the extensive circulation of these books, together with the periodicals, the committee are led to look upon this as the most useful department of the institute, and could wish to see it considerably enlarged. . . .The library is resorted to by very many of the junior members, who are continually enquiring for something new, as the books on hand become familiar to them.[8]

Evidently concerned about the decline in membership and poor attendance at lectures, the committee announced in the Examiner on 6 June 1849, "anxious that all, and particularly the working class, may participate in the benefits it is calculated to confer, [they] have determined to open the lectures to the public without charge." The only fee was now ten shillings per year for use of the reading room and library of twelve hundred volumes, and they concluded with "an APPEAL to the MECHANICS of this town to support the institution called by their name, and established for their good." Although one does not know how many actual mechanics heeded this appeal, by 20 June the Examiner was able to report five hundred instead of fifty at Institute lectures, though rather foolishly denying the free admission was responsible. Fortunately, the committee's

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8 See the Launceston Examiner, 28 October 1848.

generosity seems also to have stimulated a wider interest in the aims of the Institute, and by 24 October 1849 it was able to boast nearly two hundred members and a circulation of almost seven thousand, seven hundred and fifty volumes of books and numbers of magazines during 1849. Again, one assumes novels considerably boosted the circulation figures, since a further list of missing books, printed in the Examiner on 20 June 1849 as "missing since April", were nearly all fiction, including Scott's Rob Roy and The Pirate, Michael Scott's Cruise of the Midge, The Pickwick Papers, Marryat's Pacha of Many Tales, Gleig's The Subaltern and Sterne's A Sentimental Journey. In their Annual Report for 1849, the committee also saw fit to caution "younger members", "Be sparing of the fiction; but restrain not your appetite for the multitude of facts which the works of history, science, and art furnish."

Before discussing the Launceston circulating librarians, who, like their brethren everywhere, took little notice of this advice, mention should be made of a few other semi-public libraries found there during the eighteen-forties. Prior to the establishment of either the Mechanics' Institute or the Launcestion Library Society, a Launceston Book Society seems to have provided some of the services of both. On 8 February 1841, for example, the Launceston Courier reported a lecture on electricity given under the auspices of this Society, whilst, on 11 June 1842, it carried a request for members of the Society to return "volumes belonging to the circulation of last year."

Nothing more is heard of the Book Society, which presumably worked on the plan of a continuous turn-over of its library, and one assumes it died a natural death with the establishment of the other Launceston literary institutions. Although no religious libraries seem to have been functioning in Launceston at this time, it was the home of the Tasmanian Teetotal Society's Reading Room and Circulating Library, advertised in the Launceston Advertiser for 2 March 1843. Members were obviously expected to be teetotal about more than liquor, since "Books of religious controversy, novels, plays, romances, etc., are excluded."

Another variety of library, not confined to Launceston but discussed here since the source of information is the Launceston Examiner, was that issued to convicts under the new probation system adopted in Tasmania in the eighteen-forties. On 21 January 1843, the Examiner printed "a list of works supplied for the use of the probation parties, ex Janet Izat, on the 17th November. Twelve copies of each work - total, 3463 volumes." Thus, the government was at least generous about quantity, this being many more than in any other Tasmanian library of the time. As expected, the works were mainly of a religious or moral character, with a smaller number under the usual headings of manufactures, natural history, history, biography and travels. On the literary side, they consisted of those volumes found in the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge's catalogues and in clergymen's libraries generally - eighteenth-century standards such as Gay's

Fables, Cowper's Poems, Rasselas, Robinson Crusoe, Thomson's Seasons, Young's Night Thoughts and Falconer's Shipwreck, besides fictionalised tracts like The Dairyman's Daughter and more modern religious poetry like The Christian Year. Even so, this must have been a marked improvement on the books previously supplied, or not supplied at all, to convicts. In discussing the reading habits and tastes of early Australians, the convict population has usually been left out, under the assumption that most of them did little reading, even if they were literate. The question of convict literacy, and availability of books in prisons, and later on assignments and tickets-of-leave, is a fascinating though complex one - too complex, unfortunately, for the scope of this thesis. As mentioned in earlier chapters, some educated convicts evidently brought books to Australia with them or acquired them afterwards, whilst many bush workers, the majority of whom had been convicts, seem to have been avid readers. However, there was apparently little official attempt to cultivate a taste for reading amongst convicts until the establishment of the Tasmanian probation system, which aimed to reform as well as punish. Again, going by what is known of the tastes of bush readers and the Australian working class in general, one wonders just how much use the Probation Libraries' pious and wholesome collections received.

Probably, the probationers would have been much more eager to patronise the Launceston circulating libraries, had these been available to them. As in the other major early Australian centres, several such libraries were operating in Launceston for

varying numbers of years during the eighteen-forties, though, unfortunately, little information on them has survived. The main one, as in Hobart, was run by Samuel Tegg who, in the Examiner for 17 March 1847, advertised an addition of six hundred volumes to his collection. Robert Blake, who took over Tegg's bookselling business in 1847, continued to run the library until his bankruptcy in 1849, when the library books were amongst those auctioned by C.J. Weedon on 25 April. A possible contributory cause of Blake's insolvency may have been losses on the library, chiefly through missing books and unpaid subscriptions. On 3 January 1849, he placed this cautionary advertisement in the Examiner:

> BLAKE'S CIRCULATING LIBRARY. - This library will be closed until the 1st January, 1849 [sic][8a] in order to give time to those kind persons who have had sundry sets of Books for periods long exceeding the time allowed (many for months), to make up their minds to return them. After the above-mentioned date, all books not returned will be charged at the full London prices to the parties holding them.
>
> R.B. returns his grateful thanks to his punctual subscribers, without whom his library would realise a loss.

An earlier Launceston circulating library was run by a Mr. Brick of Charles Street, who advertised it in the Examiner for 30 April 1842 as containing

> . . . a variety of works, upon almost every subject, many of them scarce and not to be met with in other libraries. It also comprises the standard novels of the day: amongst the latter will be found Scott's, Cooper's, Marryatt's [sic], Bulwer's, Dickens's, and Morgan's.
>
> From the rapid increase in the number of subscribers, the proprietor has been induced to purchase several sets of the works of each popular author, which will insure to parties the immediate loan of any of these works at a moment's notice.

His terms, said to have been just reduced, were only slightly higher than those prevailing in Sydney, twenty-five shillings

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[8a] Perhaps 31st January, 1849.

a year, and he also offered to loan parcels of books to country subscribers. Charles Street was also the venue of a later library, run by F. Riva, who, in an advertisement in the Cornwall Chronicle for 2 June 1849, gave his terms as the more usual guinea a year, but unfortunately said nothing of his stock. This same subscription was cited by Henry Dowling, when proposing in the Examiner for 17 June 1848

> . . . to re-open his old established CIRCULATING LIBRARY on the 1st of July, if a sufficient number of subscribers offer.
>
> This library comprises upwards of ONE THOUSAND VOLUMES of standard and modern books, including some of the most recently published works of fiction now added; and the best British periodicals will be regularly obtained. . . .
>
> Arrangements are made for the purchase of the most popular works of the English press, as published - to which purpose a very large proportion of the subscriptions will be annually appropriated; the proprietor being determined to make this Library in every respect deserving public support.

Despite his noble aims and excellent arrangements, it is doubtful whether Dowling ever received enough support to re-open. In Launceston, as in the other main Australian centres, circulating libraries were a precarious form of business in the 'forties.

Although no Tasmanian newspapers were published outside Hobart and Launceston during this decade, some information on libraries in other centres can occasionally be found in the major papers. The Bothwell Literary Society, mentioned in Chapter III, continued to flourish in the 'forties. On 3 January 1840, the Hobart Town Courier enthused that this Society had

> . . . risen without ostentation, and apparently without effort, by the force and effect of union alone, and the desire to cultivate Science for its own sake, to be by far the best

conducted and most apparently useful institution in the island. Some short time since we published an account of their late proceedings, which have been characterised with the desire to promote information, and extend it by precept as well as example amongst the lower orders of the population, and teach them the value of knowledge, by the price which their betters set upon it.

An attempt to found another country library, presumably also to benefit the "lower orders" as well as their betters, was applauded by the Cornwall Chronicle for 6 February 1847.

In conjunction with the early closing of shops, at Campbell Town we are glad to find that a library is about to be established, on the premises of the Government Schoolmaster, for which purpose Walter Davidson, Esq., and other influential gentlemen have intimated their intention to subscribe on a liberal scale. A supply of books from Hobart Town is expected shortly, and many of the inhabitants are prepared to subscribe their guinea a year for the privilege of access to a good collection of standard works. We wish the project success.

Like so many others, this project does not seem to have had much success, since in the Launceston Examiner for 19 December 1849, one finds

CIRCULATING LIBRARY. In accordance with the expressed wish of many residents in the districts of Campbell Town and Ross, a public library will be opened on the 1st January, at the Macquarie and Ross stores. The library will be supplied during the ensuing year with such books as may be obtained here, but for 1851 arrangements have been made for quarterly shipments direct from London.

Despite the great increase in the numbers of books advertised by Australian booksellers and auctioneers in the eighteen-forties, who would seem to have been able to supply nearly all the usual popular and standard works, libraries still imported most of their collections direct from London. Perhaps they were obtained slightly cheaper, but it was also probably a function of the widespread prejudice against all things colonial. One other Tasmanian country library had been mentioned by William Henty in his 1847 address to the Launceston Library Society;

he thought it "a great gratification to learn that at Evandale, through the exertions of the Rev. R. Russell, an institution has been established with an excellent list of subscribers and the best prospects."

Melbourne, as a sign of the remarkable cultural development which characterised its early years, had, by the eighteen-forties, a Mechanics' Institute, a number of church and other semi-public libraries and a circulating library though, as yet, no "public" library along the lines of those in Sydney, Hobart and Launceston. As an editorial in the Port Phillip Gazette for 3 April 1844 regretted,

> It is a fact, at once both singular and lamentable, that although in Britain every town and hamlet, and even every parish, boasts its circulating library, yet in Melbourne, the capital of Australia Felix, there is not any establishment of the kind. So far as we are aware, there is no source from which the literary man may obtain books, unless he happen to find works to suit his taste at a bookseller's shop, and then he has to purchase them. There cannot be a doubt, if a public library were formed, and if it were conducted properly, that it would add materially to the enjoyment of the inhabitants of both Town and District.
>
> The idea is not a novel one; it has often occurred to us, and has frequently been brought under our notice by intelligent friends and correspondents. We are induced to refer to the matter at the present moment, because we observe a very fine collection of books in the auction rooms of Messrs. Brodie and Cruikshank, which is to be sold in a few days. The question is, can there be anything done towards forming a Subscription Library at the present moment? "Money is scarce," but the books are likely to sell cheaper on that account. We calculate that two hundred volumes from the collection might be purchased for 3s. a volume, which would only be £30, and that number of really good works would form a select library.
>
> We think there are few literary men in the town who would not give a pound towards forming an establishment from which such an amount of good might reasonably be expected. At any rate, we do not think that we overestimate the "friends of knowledge", when we calculate that thirty persons might be found to subscribe this small sum.

But, as correspondents to both rival papers were quick to point

out, there was already in Melbourne a public library of four hundred volumes attached to the Mechanics' Institute. On 18 April, the Patriot published a letter from "G." claiming

> . . .A new and separate Public Library would require an expenditure for suitable premises and Manager or Librarian, which would materially trench upon the funds otherwise applicable for books. Now, as the Mechanics' Institute (now happily purified and re-organized) offers both these indispensables ready formed, together with the services of competent managers, and the nucleus of a Library and Reading Room, would it not be far better to save the cost of rent and Librarian by coalescing with that Institution. - It is to all intents and purposes a Library and Scientific Institution - a library of general literature is part of its plan, including periodicals and "light reading" - and I much doubt if Melbourne can afford TWO Public Libraries at present. One pretext for establishing a new Library is the desire to procure novels; - there is no exclusion whatever to such works in the Mechanics' Institute, and were there funds, it is not to be doubted that a selection of such works would be regularly procured, as well as works of mere science. As, however, it is stated that some of those whose duty it is to direct, refine, and elevate the public taste in literature, as well as in morals, are supporters of the proposed Library, I cannot suppose that there is any wish to direct the reading public of Melbourne, exclusively, to the novel writers; and, if there be no such wish, why raise a new Institution, which must certainly injure the old one, by diverting funds from which would be much better employed in enlarging (in every branch of Literature) the Library of the Mechanics' Institution?

Earlier, the Gazette for 6 April, in response to a similar letter in the Port Phillip Herald, had termed the Mechanics' Institute Library "not suitable for the wants of all classes", which perhaps meant those who considered it too unexclusive. A week later, it reported that sufficient subscribers had come forward to found a Public Library, but not in time to purchase Brodie and Cruikshank's books.

Perhaps these subscribers included many of the gentlemen whose activities were later described in the Standard and Port Phillip

Gazetteer for 11 January 1845:

> . . . within the last month, a number of gentlemen have formed themselves into a committee for the purpose of establishing a select and "exclusive" reading club. The members are to be limited to forty in number, and the terms are one guinea entrance fee, and an annual subscription of £2.

Among the supporters of this venture were such Melbourne notables as Charles La Trobe, Redmond Barry, Roger Therry and Dr. Howitt, besides "several solicitors, and some of our principal merchants". They were to operate on the usual book club method of auctioning volumes after one year to purchase a fresh lot for the next year. Aside from his connection with this, perhaps unsuccessful, reading club, Sir Redmond Barry stands out, as no one person does in any other colony, as predominantly responsible for the growth of literary culture in early Melbourne. He had been the founder of the Melbourne Mechanics' Institute, and was later to play a major role in the establishment of both the State Library of Victoria and Melbourne University. In addition, as Henry Gyles Turner recorded in his The Aims and Objects of a Literature Society (1903), Barry had earlier turned his own books into a miniature public library. After discussing John Pascoe Fawkner's Melbourne Circulating Library, Turner relates of Barry,

> In the very modest house which in 1842 he occupied in Bourke Street. . . he set aside one apartment free of access at all times to the working men of the town, and furnished it with the nucleus of a library of good standard works, and current magazines rather more up to date than the solid reading which Fawkner had imported from Van Diemen's Land. (p. 13)

Turner goes on to give a perhaps somewhat rosy picture of Victorian culture in the eighteen-forties, though one in part borne out by the rapid growth in number and quality of newspapers,

the large book auctions, and the number and extent of public libraries which sprang up all in the space of ten years:

> I have often been told by early colonists that the period from about 1845 to the irruption of the gold miners, was socially and intellectually a most agreeable era. The attractions of a new country, in the foundation of which there was no convict taint, and where the climatic conditions, and the prospects of fortune were so promising, stimulated a very high-class immigration. It was a bright feature of those times that large numbers of young men, scions of good families, flocked out in unusual proportions, and infused into the somewhat primitive surroundings the charm of high culture and refined manners. (p. 14)

Some of these young men no doubt patronised the Melbourne Mechanics' Institute which, like others of its kind, seems generally to have done more for the middle classes than the workers. Although founded in 1839, the Institute does not appear to have been firmly established until about 1844, when the committee wrote in their Annual Report, "The progress and operations of the past year have been highly successful". (p. 3) They claimed two hundred and twenty members and a library of six hundred and fifty volumes, listed in a catalogue appended to the Report. Although there were only thirty-two novels, the committee evidently felt bound to offer some defence for their inclusion:

> Your committee have been chiefly anxious to store the shelves of the Institution with works of a standard character in Literature and Science; but they are not sorry to find that many of the popular novels of Cooper, Sir Walter Scott, and other distinguished writers, have already found an entrance, as no public library could be regarded as either complete or generally attractive without a considerable proportion of the lighter description of literature. (p. 11)

Most of the novels were those found in cheap collections like the Novel Newspaper: Cooper's Spy, Pilot and Lionel Lincoln, Clara Reeve's The Old English Baron, The Vicar of Wakefield,

Pamela, Joseph Andrews, The Mysteries of Udolpho and so on. In addition, there were half a dozen of Scott's novels and Dickens' three latest, Nicholas Nickleby, Barnaby Rudge and The Old Curiosity Shop. The Library also contained a surprisingly large collection of poetry and drama, twenty-eight works, mainly by eighteenth-century and earlier authors, but including Wordsworth's Poems and Byron's Complete Works. Other literary titles were again chiefly eighteenth-century standards like The Spectator, Goldsmith's Essays and Johnson's Works. The lack of more modern works in the Library may have been partly caused by most of them being donations; nearly three hundred volumes were acquired in this way in 1844. However, most of the novels mentioned earlier were said in a report in the Gazetteer for 4 December 1844, to have been purchased by the Library. This fact somewhat wrecks the Argus's 14 July 1849 defence of the Library's collection:

> A contemporary (the Herald) reports a reverend speaker at the late teetotal meeting (the Rev. J. Forbes) as stating that the Library of the Mechanics' Institution 'consists of nothing but novels' . . . The Library . . . is certainly not quite so select as might be wished; but as it is composed chiefly of donations, and the purchases have been rather the best that could be had, than what was wanted, it is wonderful that so good, and at the same time so extensive a collection has been obtained.

Earlier, on 4 August 1848, the Argus had reported a total of one thousand works in the Library, and an idea of the true proportion of fiction included can be gained from the complete catalogue of it printed in the Port Phillip Patriot during July that year. Just over three hundred and seventy of the works listed were novels, now being predominantly by such popular

modern figures as James, Morier, Mrs. Gore, Bulwer Lytton, Ainsworth, Lover, Lever, Hook, Mrs. Trollope, Carleton, Cockton, Samuel Warren, Dumas, Hugo and Sue, plus additional titles by Scott, Cooper and Dickens and a few more by earlier writers like Jane Austen. Thus, by 1848, over a third of the Melbourne Mechanics' Library was fiction, and this class had shown the greatest proportional increase since 1844, tenfold as compared to, say, "Biography", which had only grown from twelve to forty-four titles.

Those content to abjure the temptations of modern novels were widely catered for by the church libraries, which seem to have had a much faster development in Melbourne than in other Australian centres. As early as 13 June 1842, the Port Phillip Patriot published a list of the recently arrived Congregational Library of the Scots' Church. This contained about three hundred works, naturally mostly of a religious or moral character, though including the usual odd historical or travel book and the obligatory poetical works of Milton, Crabbe, Cowper and Bloomfield, Thomson's Seasons and Young's Night Thoughts. More uncharacteristically, it also featured some recent poets like Coleridge, Campbell, Mrs. Hemans and Scott and even two pieces of fiction, in the admittedly very mild form of Scott's Tales of a Grandfather, and Joseph Sutcliffe's Emily Rowland; or, the Young Christian (Religious Tract Society, 1836). Nevertheless, on 10 September 1842, the Melbourne Times wrote that this Library contained

. . . many excellent books, but, with all due deference, we beg

to express our opinion, that there should have been a greater proportion of historical and general literary works. Any person may avail himself of the advantages upon being approved by the Committee which, however, must always be composed of members of the congregation.

The rival John Knox's Free Presbyterian Church later set up a rival Congregational Library, a catalogue of which appeared in the last issue of the Free Presbyterian Messenger for Australia Felix, in May 1848. Its three hundred and twenty-six volumes were again chiefly moral and educational works, and included less literature than the Scots' Church Library, though, besides poetry by Milton, Crabbe, Goldsmith, Ossian and Thomson, and a Life of Cowper, there were four novels, amongst them Robert Pollok's Ralph Gemmel (1829) and Helen of the Glen: A Tale for Youth (1830). The Anglican Melbourne Diocesan Lending Library, apparently also founded in 1848, was considerably more extensive than the Presbyterians'. On 12 January 1849, the Argus claimed this library contained about eight thousand volumes, available on payment of an entrance fee of two-and-six and six shillings a year, much cheaper than any of the other large public or circulating libraries of this period. The Melbourne Mechanics' Institute, for example, whose library was said by the Argus for 2 February 1849 to contain a mere four thousand volumes, charged ten shillings entrance fee (five shillings for mechanics) and a pound a year. But although the Diocesan Library Catalogue issued in 1848 shows it to have contained a goodish number of works on History, Natural History, Voyages and Travels, besides volumes of the Penny Magazine and Chambers' Edinburgh Journal and Miscellany, on the literary side

it was even poorer than the Presbyterian libraries. Its only poetry was Scott's Lady of the Lake, Cowper's The Task and an anthology called Reading in Poetry, its only fiction Robinson Crusoe, The Pilgrim's Progress, Mrs. Hall's Sketches of Irish Character (1829-31), Mary Sherwood's The Two Sisters (1827), Hannah More's Tales for the Common People (1834), Elizabeth Sandham's Lucilla (1819) and the anonymous The Two Brothers (1837), all, no doubt, extremely innocuous. As customary, the majority of the books were on moral or religious topics, with a very plentiful supply of tracts.

For those in search of more sensational reading, about the only supplier, apart from the Mechanics' Institute, was John Pascoe Fawkner, Melbourne's first circulating-library proprietor, who seems to have had few rivals in the 'forties. In 1840, his Book and Stationery Warehouse and Circulating Library passed to William Kerr, but Fawkner resumed control in 1843. An advertisement for Fawkner's Melbourne General Circulating Library, in his own Port Phillip Patriot on 22 May 1843, gives the annual subscription, "exclusive of Newspapers, Periodicals, and Annuals", as three pounds, an extremely high rate at this time. A list of new additions to the Library, printed a week later, shows, as one would expect, popular modern novels to have been Fawkner's standby. It included works by Thackeray, Dana, Samuel Warren, Bulwer Lytton, Horace Smith, Marryat, R. Plumer Ward, Lady Morgan and G.P.R. James and, since these could then be borrowed no where else in Melbourne, Fawkner presumably had plenty of custom, even at

his exorbitant fees. The only other evidence of a circulating library operating in Melbourne before 1850, is William Kelly's advertisement in the Port Phillip Gazette for 1 June 1844. Kelly's library seems to have been much less grand than Fawkner's: of forty-three volumes listed, only Sterne's Works in eight volumes could be classed as imaginative literature.

In contrast to the scarcity of information about Melbourne's circulating libraries, one finds abundant detail on the apparently flourishing concern operated by James Harrison at Geelong. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Harrison not only ran a library and book-store but, like so many of his provincial bookselling contemporaries, a newspaper, and fortunately was not chary of space for his own wares. At fifteen shillings a quarter, with two shillings' reduction for advance payments, Harrison's library was almost as expensive as Fawkner's, but he does seem to have made a serious attempt to supply the best light and solid, ancient and modern literature. An advertisement in his Geelong Advertiser for 26 June 1841 listed amongst additions to his previous stock of five hundred and fifty volumes, not only the Waverley Novels, Miss Porter's Hungarian Brothers, Marryat's Peter Simple, Cooper's Prairie and Spy and Mrs. Trollope's Vicar of Wrexhill, but also Pride and Prejudice, Shakespeare's Plays and translations of classical authors like Pindar, Anacreon, Virgil and Xenophon. Harrison's "puff" for a further list of additions, printed on 21 February 1842, seems in this case to have been truer than usual:

> The recent additions comprise a varied assortment of the most popular works of living authors; although principally

comprised of works of fiction, the library will be found to contain a sufficient number of Historical, Biographical, and Scientific works, to render it attractive to the more studious reader, and to blend the "useful" with the "entertaining" in due proportion.

Amongst the new works were heavier periodicals like the Quarterly, Westminster and Edinburgh Reviews, besides the more popular Blackwood's, Fraser's and New Monthly Magazines, thirty-four volumes of historical and geographical books, Hazlitt's Table Talk and poetry by Crabbe, Beattie, Lamb and Bulwer Lytton, as well as many more novels by Jane Austen, Galt, Disraeli, Maria Edgeworth, Marryat, James, Mrs. Trollope, Peacock, and numerous other lesser lights. A few months later, on 15 August, another large selection of novels was added, including, besides further works by many of the authors already mentioned, several each by Maxwell, Morier, Ainsworth, Godwin, Defoe and Bulwer Lytton, Dickens' Nicholas Nickleby and "a number of duplicate copies of the most popular works." Shortly afterwards, on 3 October 1842, Harrison announced a few shillings' reduction in his charges, suggesting his Library was prospering, as it certainly deserved to. He also, however, shared the common problem of keeping track of his books in a fluctuating pioneer society, on 22 May 1843 calling for the return of fifty-two lost volumes. Here, again, one finds abundant evidence of Scott's great popularity, since no fewer than fourteen of these were by him, with others by Defoe, Godwin, Miss Porter, Bulwer Lytton, Samuel Warren, Carleton, Mrs. Trollope, James and even Hannah More.

In subsequent years, Harrison continued to provide Geelong

readers with the latest and best fiction, a "monthly list of additions" published on 5 August 1844 including the most recent works of both Cooper and Marryat, Douglas Jerrold's Adam Bluff, Job Pippins, and other Men of Character (1838), Mrs. Gore's Cecil; or, the Adventures of a Coxcomb (1841) and a third copy of Ainsworth's notoriously popular Jack Sheppard. Later, on 2 July 1845, he advertised "THREE HUNDRED VOLUMES New and Standard Novels, in addition to the 1500 already composing the Library." Heading the list were Lever's Jack Hinton and Charles O'Malley, followed by others by Lady Morgan, Hook, G.W.M. Reynolds, Dr. Bird, Michael Scott, "Sam Slick", and so on. Colonial productions were, however, not entirely neglected, since amongst these novels one finds copies of J.D. Lang's Transportation and Colonisation, the Port Phillip Magazine, the South Australian Magazine, and the Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science. All in all, Harrison's collection would seem to have been equal to that of any other circulating library operating in Australia at the time; regretably, he was forced to dispose of it shortly after this last advertisement. On 10 September 1845, he announced

BARGAINS OF BOOKS

The undersigned, having determined upon giving up his Circulating Library, in consequence of not having sufficient time to attend to it, will commence selling off the whole of his valuable collection, consisting of eighteen hundred volumes of books in all departments of literature.

The Books will remain for sale by private contract at the prices given in the following list, for a few weeks, and the remainder of the stock will then be cleared off by private auction.

The "portion of the Books" listed ranged in price from one-and-three per volume for "odd Volumes of Sir Walter Scott's works",

and such obscure novels as the anonymous Perplexities of Love (1787), to four shillings per volume for popular works like Tristram Shandy, Marryat's Newton Foster and Cooper's Lionel Lincoln. Nevertheless, all the works were remarkably cheap for that time, especially in Victoria, where book prices generally seem to have been high.

The anonymous proprietor of the new Geelong Circulating Library appears to have been one of those who benefited from the cheapness of Harrison's books. He quickly stepped into the breach, announcing his new library on 1 October, with terms half the price of Harrison's, though for a much smaller and poorer quality collection. A catalogue printed in the Advertiser for 29 April 1846 lists only about four hundred volumes, almost all novels, many drawn from Harrison's one-and-three-a-volume class. Amongst such generally low-quality fiction, however, were a few better works by Cooper, John Galt, Defoe, Gerald Griffin, Thackeray, Scott, Jane Austen, Bulwer Lytton, Godwin, Marryat and Sterne, most of which seem also to have originally been in Harrison's library. There is no record of this library having survived beyond 1846.

Undoubtedly, the reading public of Geelong was the poorer for Harrison's decision to give up his library in favour of his printing and bookselling activities, and the loss of his excellent collection may have been one of the motivating forces for the subsequent formation of a Mechanics' Institute at Geelong. An earlier attempt to found a Geelong Literary Institution at the beginning of 1845 had apparently quickly

come to nought. Ironically, the announcement of the commencement of this Institution, in the Advertiser for 13 January, states that Harrison had been appointed its Secretary and Librarian at a salary of thirty-five pounds, so it is possible these new duties, with a probable conflict of interests, may have been partly responsible for the sale of his own library. Although nothing further was heard of this Institution for several years, it was evidently functioning long enough to acquire some sort of a library, since, on 11 September 1847, the Corio Chronicle urged that the Geelong Mechanics' Institution amalgamate with "the Literary Association of Geelong (defunct) to obtain use of its library." Three days earlier, the Chronicle had been scathing about the poor condition of the Mechanics' Institute:

> Corio has had we hear, for some time, an Institute, in name, similar to the Melbourne School of Arts, but with the exception of half-a-dozen files of colonial papers, and about fifty volumes of dilapidated books, it has nothing to show for its claim, to be ranked amongst the literary institutions of the colony. This will never do, if the Geelongites hope to acquire a scientific character, at all commensurate with their mercantile advancement. The managing committee have a reading room in Yarra-street, and there are funds we are informed for the purchase of a library. If, now they can arrange to have a few lectures delivered in connection with the Institute, and adopt some animated plans, of beating up for donations and subscribers, we do not despair, of seeing it soon, in a position to claim from the Government, an annual grant in money, similar to that voted for Melbourne.

The suggestion of amalgamation to improve this library evidently bore fruit, if slowly, since on 22 October 1847, Harrison called in his paper for a Committee Meeting of the Literary Institution, "to take into consideration an application for the loan of the Books now in the hands of the Secretary." Whether or not the

application was approved, by 13 May 1848, when a catalogue of the Mechanics' Institute Library appeared in the Advertiser, it contained many more than fifty volumes, dilapidated or otherwise. Some were certainly recent purchases, since nine days earlier, the Chronicle had announced:

> Mechanics' Institute, - The frequenters of the Reading Room and subscribers at large to this useful Society, will learn with considerable satisfaction that a fresh lot of books have been added to its Library, chiefly consisting of novels and other such light literature as its shelves were previously much deficient in.

This deficiency of novels, formerly supplied so abundantly by Harrison, may have been one of the main reasons for the apparent lack of interest in the Library. George Arden, better known as a journalist, at this time Secretary of the Mechanics' Institute, prefaced the Library catalogue with

> As it does not yet seem to be generally known that the Mechanics' Institute possesses a Library which is of course free to subscribers the subjoined list of the works now lodged upon its shelves and ready for circulation, distinguishing them according to the usual mode of classification, is published for general information.

Amongst just over three hundred volumes of books, magazines and newspapers listed, were sixty-four volumes of "Novels, Tales, etc.", the largest category, including, of course, The Waverley Novels, and equally popular works by James, Lever, Dumas, Cooper, Maria Edgeworth, Hook, Carleton and Le Sage. There were also ten volumes of plays, by Shakespeare, AEschylus and others, twenty-three of standard poetry by Byron, Pope, Burns, Southey, Milton, Dryden, Kirke White, Ossian and Scott, with equally standard works like Boswell's Life of Johnson, Johnson's Works, The Spectator and The Tatler listed under

various other headings. Altogether, nearly half the library's holdings were literary works of one sort or another.

Attempts were also made during the eighteen-forties to found a Mechanics' Institute at the other chief Victorian country centre of Portland. On 14 January 1843, the Portland Guardian announced the recent formation of a Portland Scientific and General Literary Society, to "embrace the principles of both a Mechanics' Institute and a Debating Society". Some weeks later, on 4 February, it reported the Society's intention to send sixty pounds to England to purchase books, whilst, by 8 March, the rival Portland Mercury was claiming that, with seventy members and fifty pounds in hand, the Society was a certain success. Despite this hopeful start, and its grandiose title, on 18 December 1848 the Society was declared by the Guardian to be "a dead letter and perfectly useless to the inhabitants." In the interim, it seems to have achieved little, and only rated one mention in the press, on 28 June 1845, when the Port Phillip Gazetteer stated that La Trobe had sent a donation of five guineas, probably in lieu of a requested government grant. Undaunted, the Portlandians determined to try again, forming a new Reading Society, or Mechanics' Institute, in May 1849. At first, the Guardian's outlook was gloomy; in a long editorial of 11 May, it claimed that, just as the previous Literary Society had been hampered by having elaborate rules but no rulers to carry them out, so this Institute had gone to the opposite extreme by electing office-bearers before it had been properly constituted.

"Temper democratic" seems to be putting in an early appearance here:

> Besides, the idea of a society which could hardly muster two dozen members, to be guilty of the conceit of electing officers with the bombastic titles of "President", "Vice-Presidents", and all the foppery of a mimic aristocracy! There is too much aping greatness and magnificence to be useful and valuable about such appointments. . . in a small community where all are pretty much alike, each struggling, in his own way, for a decent subsistence for himself and his family, and where all these distinctions between each other are so faint, as with difficulty to be discernible, appointments of these kinds are wretchedly out of character. What with Teetotal Presidents, and Presidents for a Benevolent Society, and now, again, Presidents for a Reading Society, almost every man in the place will, in a short time require to prepare himself for a Presidential chair of some kind or other . . .

Nevertheless, by 23 July, the Guardian was prepared to admit

> The Mechanics' Institute is through the kind exercises of Messrs. Clay and Claridge becoming a most valuable auxiliary to the improvement and amusement of the town. These gentlemen through their disinterested efforts have made a useful library available to a large class of readers.

An advertisement in the same issue claimed there were already two hundred and fifty volumes of "Standard Works" in the Library, available for a half-guinea entrance fee and one guinea annual subscription. Some idea of the contents of the Library can be gained from the appended list of missing books, which included the tenth volume of Bell's Shakespeare, Paley's Natural Philosophy and Burke's On the Sublime and the Beautiful. Obviously, there could not have been very many works of fiction among the "standards".

In South Australia, as mentioned in Chapter III, a Literary and Scientific Association had been formed even before the

settlers had left England, in keeping with the highly-organized system of colonisation adopted there. Like so many of the other plans, however, this had proved unsuccessful, and the Mechanics' Institute subsequently established in 1838 had also become a virtual dead-letter by the eighteen-forties. In a letter, "Literary Institution", printed in the South Australian Odd-Fellows' Magazine for October 1843, "W.A.H." complained that it held no classes, and only one lecture per quarter, instead of every fortnight. In addition, "no books are allowed to be lent out, or taken from the room, even by the members themselves." He concluded, "Co-operation and support have been wanting on the part of the inhabitants, to place this Association upon a sure and firm footing." Subsequent criticisms of the inefficiency of the Adelaide Mechanics' Institute were made in letters from "An Artizan", published in the Adelaide Observer on 17 August 1844 and 1 February 1845. In the first, he voiced the usual complaint that the Institution was not being run by or for mechanics, and, in the second, proclaimed "The only library of reference accessible to Mechanics is nailed up, coffined, 'quietly inured', and thrust into a back warehouse among unsaleable goods." After this, it is not surprising to read in the same paper for 21 August 1847 of an attempt to found another Adelaide Mechanics' Institution, with mention of the two previous failures. By 1 July 1848, as the South Australian Gazette reported, this Institution had more than four hundred members, with a library of over two thousand works.

1848 also saw a successful move to merge this new Mechanics' Institution with the South Australian Subscription Library. In her "Diary of A Visit to South Australia in December, 1840 to January, 1841", now in the National Library, Lady Franklin mentioned on 30 December current efforts to form a Book Society. It was not until 26 October 1844, however, that the Adelaide Observer printed the prospectus of the South Australian Subscription Library. Like the Launceston Library Society, it aimed to provide the foundation of a public library, and so did not plan for yearly disposal of books, or consider them the personal property of members:

> With a view to the permanency of the Library when formed, the Society is so constituted as to preserve the Books from dispersion in the event of its dissolution, which cannot however take place without the express consent of four-fifths of the members. On such an event the Library and other property of the Society will become vested in three public functionaries for the time being of the Province, for the gratuitous use and benefit of the Colonists.

This more liberal attitude was also reflected in the fairly moderate annual subscription of two guineas, and in the allowing of admission without ballot up to 12 November 1844. Further interesting information on the Library is found in a letter from "O." printed in the Observer for 15 February 1845, in answer to criticisms made in the South Australian Register,

> With regard to the spirit of "cliquism" of which the Editor of the Register expresses so great a horror, the circumstances which could alone have afforded ground for such a charge will, when fairly examined, be the best proof of its falsity. A number of gentlemen having met together for the purpose of forming a Book Club found that there were too many to carry out conveniently the object for which they were assembled - many expedients were proposed, and in the course of the discussion the possibility of establishing a Public Library was suggested. The idea was received with general approbation, and thus the Society, which was before strictly private,

assumed a public character, and the foundation of an Institution was laid, which, if the views of its originators are fairly carried out (and I see no reason to doubt that they will be so), is likely to become one of the most important and most useful that a Colony or any other community can possess. . . . As to there not being fifty reading men in Adelaide, the fact of upwards of 100 subscribers having already paid their two guineas towards a library not yet in operation requires no comment.

It is certainly much to be regretted that so great a delay should have taken place in the arrangements for opening the reading-room and circulating the books, and I think we have a right to expect from the labours of the Committee results proportionate to the time they have expended in maturing them.

In earlier comments on the Subscription Library, the Register for 24 December 1844 had drawn a sorry picture of attempts at cultural improvement in Adelaide:

It has been the bane of Adelaide that things begun with spirit have often failed for want of persevering and continued care in the details of management. It would be painful and tedious to enumerate our many miscarriages - our castles in the air. Colleges of which a brick was never laid, - school-houses half finished, and nearly torn again to pieces - clubs again and again revived, but again to sink in poverty and debt - discount societies insolvent - ruining half the town, and finishing (like the Persian who was to swallow his seven brothers), by half ruining themselves - agricultural societies - but we pause - let us rather look forward and that, we may hope for better things, study to avoid the rocks on which we split before. . . .

It will be an error to choose for either office any gentleman, only because he is a gentlemanly nice fellow, and a well read man. . . Let the Librarian in particular be well acquainted with the outsides of books, let him see that they are regularly returned, kept cleanly and in order, and it will matter little to the subscribers what he knows of the inside.

On 7 January 1845, too, the Register described a recent meeting to determine whether to open the Library's reading room immediately and buy books locally, or follow the usual practice of sending to London for them. James Stephens, as a local bookseller, was naturally in favour of the first proposal, saying

As regards books here, many of the best kind were, to his knowledge, constantly offered, and usually much below English prices. He was sure many purchases might be made here with advantage. A late afflicting dispensation would, most probably, occasion Mr. Shipster's Library to be thrown into the market. It was the best and most valuable ever brought into the colony. Many donations had been received. The books given by Mr. George Morphett were alone more than any member would be likely to read in twelve months. . .

Nothing further was heard of the progress of this Library until 19 February 1848, when the Observer reported on a committee meeting to discuss the proposed merger with the Mechanics' Institute. This was agreed to on the terms

That there should be a complete amalgamation of the two Societies, under some new title to be agreed upon; that the Mechanics' Institute should contribute, in books and money, an equivalent value to that of the present collection of books of the Subscription Library; and that from the period of junction, one half of the entire subscription to the united institutions should be applied to the purchase of books to increase the library.

In view of the apparent slow progress of the Library, and the disastrous history of Adelaide Mechanics' Institutes, this merger of resources was obviously extremely wise, though it inevitably must have made the Mechanics' Institute even less the province of the working man than previously. But, as has been seen with the other colonies, difficulties in arranging classes and lectures, and attracting working class support, in practice resulted in all Institutes being little more than subscription libraries under another name.

Issued later in 1848, the Catalogue of Books belonging to the South Australian Library and Mechanics' Institute ran to a respectable twenty-five pages, showing a remarkably good selection of books for such a young institution. As usual, "Fiction", with one hundred and thirty-two titles, was the

largest single category, though only ten better than "Travels, Voyages, etc.", a class especially rich in works on Australia. Like the collections in other institutional as opposed to circulating libraries, most of the novels were by well-established popular authors, nearly all of Bulwer Lytton's, James', Scott's and Dickens' works being included, besides others by Cervantes, Defoe, Goldsmith, Sterne, Disraeli, Washington Irving, W.S. Landor, Eugene Sue, Godwin, Lockhart, Leigh Hunt, Marryat, Michael Scott and Harriet Martineau, and Rowcroft's Tales of the Colonies. The Poetry and Drama section was also more extensive and up-to-date than in most other libraries. Besides all the usual standard authors - Burns, Dryden, Falconer, Goldsmith, Gay, Butler, Ossian, Pope, Thomson, Shakespeare, Byron, Campbell, Milton, Crabbe, Scott and so on - and a few less common ones like Massinger, Sheridan and Spenser, it also included poetry by Leigh Hunt and Shelley and Bulwer Lytton's translation of Schiller's poems. The "Belles Lettres" category, not usually found in Australian library catalogues, was equally modern, with Schlegel's History of Literature and Hazlitt's Round Table as well as older works like The Beauties of Sterne. As frequently, literary works were also found under various other headings: Bacon, Goldsmith, Addison, Carlyle, Schlegel and Lamb contributed to "Miscellaneous", along with Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy; Dickens' American Notes and Thackeray's Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo appeared as "Travels, Voyages, etc."; and, more expectedly, two copies of Boswell's Life of Johnson and a Life of Burns as "Biography".

Figures for the circulation of library books included in general reports of the Institute published in 1849 show a rising appreciation of the contents of the Library. On 27 January, the Observer noted just over seventeen hundred volumes in the Library, worth nearly five hundred pounds, exclusive of three hundred and twelve pounds' worth of books not yet arrived from England. At the end of 1848, the three hundred and forty members of the Institute had between them accounted for a circulation of over twenty-six hundred volumes from October to December, an average of more than two hundred a week. By 20 October, when the South Australian Register published the Institute's report for April to September, membership and average weekly circulation were still much the same, but there had been a steady rise in overall circulation from just over eight hundred volumes in April to more than a thousand in September. A set-back to the Library's progress was regretfully announced, the shipment of new books from England being "so far damaged as to render their abandonment necessary". They had, however, been insured and, in addition, the government had granted two hundred pounds for 1850, with the proviso it be spent on books. That this money was put to good use can be seen from the vast increase in size of the new Catalogue issued in 1851; as an example, there were now over six hundred novels on the shelves, about a five-fold growth in the space of three years.

Besides this public library, there seems to have been a private reading society, the Adelaide Book Club, functioning

in 1848, at least, when, on 4 November, Samson and Wicksteed advertised in the South Australian Gazette a number of volumes for auction by order of the Club's Secretary. They were mainly recent works such as Leigh's The Emigrant (1847), Mrs. Gore's The Popular Member and Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome and Essays. Whether this auction represented the close of a short-lived venture, or one of the periodic sales held by these kinds of Book Societies, is, in the absence of other evidence, impossible to determine. The South Australian Odd Fellows also apparently ran a library in connection with the Adelaide Lodge, as announced in their Magazine for August 1845. It was said to have two hundred volumes and sixty subscribers, whilst "All brothers of whatever lodge may become members on payment of 2s. entrance, and 1d. per week subscription. The books are allowed to circulate." (p. 118) Unfortunately, nothing is known about its contents; whatever they were, they were available remarkably cheaply.

Although naturally more expensive than this, Charles Platts' Adelaide Circulating Library, at ten-and-six a quarter, was still cheaper than similar bodies in Victoria. Nevertheless, it managed to remain in operation all through the 'forties, apparently largely because Platts took care to include all the latest popular novels. An advertisement in the Adelaide Independent for 14 October 1841 lists as "lent to read", Lever's Harry Lorrequer, Warren's Ten Thousand a Year, Mrs. Trollope's The Widow Married (1840), Master Humphrey's Clock and all of Dickens' other works, besides eight hundred popular

novels, romances, periodicals and so on. On 25 November 1841, Platts announced in the Adelaide Examiner an addition of two hundred volumes to his stock, including Cockton's Valentine Vox, W.J. Neale's Paul Periwinkle, Douglas Jerrold's Heads of the People, Lover's Rory O'More and Marryat's Poor Jack. He also sold copies of these and other popular works as a side line. By 26 August 1843, as he claimed in the Adelaide Observer, Platts' Library consisted of "2500 popular Novels, Romances and Periodicals; and the proprietor has made arrangements for increasing his catalogue by every arrival from England." A further advertisement, in the Observer for 30 March 1844, mentioned Martin Chuzzlewit in addition to the novels previously listed, adding, "A large increase in his catalogue enables the Proprietor to offer improved facilities for persons residing in the country to become subscribers." Platts continued to feature Dickens' works in his advertisements - they had evidently been very profitable for him - listing Dombey and Son, The Battle of Life, and The Cricket on the Hearth in the South Australian Gazette for 10 July 1848, along with equally popular magazines like Punch, Douglas Jerrold's, Ainsworth's, Bentley's, Fraser's and Blackwood's. By 9 October 1848, as he proclaimed in the Adelaide Times, Platts' Library contained "Nearly 3000 Volumes Novels, Romances, Voyages, Travels, Periodicals, etc.", rather a slow rate of growth in comparison with earlier increases, at a reduced subscription of nine shillings a quarter. Obviously, business must have been good, which, along with the rapid growth of the South Australian Subscription Library, suggests some

truth in the frequent claims that South Australia was the most cultured of all early Australian colonies. Platts was, of course, assisted by the absence of any real rivals in the circulating library business. Robert Thomas, another Adelaide bookseller, did advertise his new Commercial Exchange and Reading Rooms in the Adelaide Chronicle for 20 January 1841, but these seem to have been short-lived, and would, in any case, have concentrated on newspapers and magazines. At one time there was also apparently a "Splendid Library, about 1000 volumes" connected with the appropriately named "Shakespeare Tavern", advertised for auction by Lambert and Son in the South Australian Register for 17 January 1844, on account of the proprietor's visit to Sydney.

Only a little information is available about literary and cultural activities outside Adelaide in the eighteen-forties, as there were no provincial newspapers in South Australia in this decade. As early as 14 January 1843, however, the Adelaide Examiner announced that settlers at Balhannah had subscribed to form a public library there "on the most liberal principles". They asked for donations of books and money, since

> It is the first District Public Library yet constituted in the colony, and being available to a large number of shepherds and agriculturalists dispersed through the Mount Barker country, cannot fail of disseminating much instruction, affording at the same time the means of rational recreation to many whose spare time is now, to use the mildest term, idly thrown away.

Once again, morality and utility are found as the chief handmaidens of culture. On 16 October 1847, the Adelaide Observer printed a brief report of the quarterly meeting of the

Hindmarsh and Bowden Mechanics' Institute. At that time, it had forty members, with a library of two hundred and fifty volumes, plus a further one hundred and fifty on loan from members, "especially Mr. John Ridley", better known for his development of wheat-harvesting machinery.

An extremely good example of the manifold contrasts between the planned settlement of South Australia and the haphazard colonisation of its western neighbour can be seen in the differences in cultural development of the two states. Although founded nearly ten years earlier than Adelaide, Perth was very far behind when it came to the availability of literature. As has been seen, there were no regular booksellers there in the 'forties, and the only libraries seemingly in operation were two book societies founded in the 'thirties. In various announcements in the Perth Gazette, one finds some scraps of information on their activities. On 25 July 1840, the secretary of the Western Australian Book Society advised members, "A new selection of Books having been recently received from England, . . . the old books now in circulation, will be sold by Auction, and other business transacted . . . 27 inst.". By 10 December 1842, the Society was still in operation, though apparently not well-supported:

> At a meeting . . . held 8 December, it was resolved - That all members who pay their subscriptions due for the year 1840 before the 22nd instant, will be allowed the privilege of reading the books now to be sent for a balance of £22/19/4 being in favour of the Society.

The rival Swan River Reading Society seems to have had a slightly

firmer basis. On 29 August 1840, its secretary announced a forthcoming meeting on 10 September, "members requested to pay subscriptions for the ensuing year, new members to apply before the meeting. The members who wish any particular works written for, are requested to give a list of the same at the time of the meeting." On 1 April 1843, he advertised a "meeting to be held on 8 April to arrange to procure a further supply of books from England", and it was presumably these books that were to be distributed at another meeting on 14 June 1844. As can be seen, both Societies were organised on the principle of a continuous turn-over of books, so neither could be termed a public library in any real sense. In 1842, an attempt was also made to found a Mechanics' Institute at Perth, the Gazette for 12 February advertising a meeting three days later, to which "All persons interested are earnestly invited to attend, to hear the report of the Committee." The Institute got as far as holding another meeting on 15 March, "to receive the Report of the Committee appointed at the last meeting, and to elect members", but apparently no farther. Perth had to wait until 1851 for a functioning Mechanics' Institute.[9]

In 1849, however, a Mechanics' Institute was established at Brisbane, largely through the efforts of W.A. Duncan, now sub-collector of customs there. On 22 September, the Moreton Bay Courier announced a preliminary meeting to form a "Lyceum

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9 See George Nadel, Australia's Colonial Culture (1957) p. 125.

For Literary and Scientific Discussion, Lectures, Etc.", and by 6 October was able to report that the Society had sixty members, with Duncan as its President. Some idea of the early activities of the now-named Brisbane School of Arts and Sciences was given in the Courier on 17 November: "The reading room of the institution is now supplied with many useful books, including late numbers of the leading magazines of England and Scotland." Two days earlier, members had discussed "Are the writings of Lord Byron beneficial or injurious in their tendency?" deciding, perhaps predictably, for the former, whilst, on 29 November, Duncan was to give the opening lecture on "The Connexion Between Literature and Commerce". This was said, in a report published on 1 December, to have been attended by "a respectable and intelligent company". A more practical connection between literature and commerce had earlier been made by Mrs. Ann Dowse, wife of the leading Brisbane book auctioneer, who, on 10 June 1848, advertised in the Courier the opening of a Circulating Library "at her Cigar and Stationery Establishment". Her collection was composed entirely of volumes of the Novel Newspaper, which she also offered for sale. Although the title of Mrs. Dowse's establishment suggests a readier appreciation of tobacco than books in Brisbane, no doubt there was plenty of interest in the romantic and sensational works of W.G. Simms, Eugene Sue, Fenimore Cooper, Mrs. Radcliffe, Monk Lewis and Victor Hugo, and some may even have borrowed Pamela, Dodd's Beauties of Shakespeare or Coelebs in Search of a Wife. The Courier, at

least, was enthusiastic:

> Our readers will perceive by an advertisement in this day's paper that Mrs. Dowse, of North Brisbane, has attempted to supply one of the greatest wants of the district, namely, a circulating library. The number of volumes to commence with is very fair, and the selection judicious, and it will be seen that additions are to be made as occasion offers. In the future selections we would recommend that some standard works on the various sciences should occupy a conspicuous place; the present catalogue being somewhat deficient in this important branch. The settlement is evidently not sufficiently advanced to support a Reading Room, but there is no doubt that a Circulating Library which will enable the public to obtain interesting publications will meet with every encouragement and support. Mrs. Dowse deserves great credit for being the first to establish a library of this kind, and she has our best wishes for her success.

The reference to the Reading Room presumably was occasioned by the earlier lack of success of the South Brisbane Reading Rooms, advertised on 21 November 1847 as open with

> . . . papers from Moreton Bay, Sydney, Melbourne, Geelong, Launceston, Hobart Town, Adelaide, and New Zealand; others will be added when a sufficient number of Subscribers have been procured. Subscription, Two Guineas per annum - one-half in advance.

Evidently, Brisbane readers were not prepared to pay such a high price for mere colonial productions.

Returning from the one pre-1850 lecture given at the newly-formed Brisbane School of Arts and Sciences to a more lengthy consideration of the lectures sponsored by other Australian institutions during the eighteen-forties, it is instructive to note that Duncan's lecture apparently dealt in part with imaginative literature. Although Mechanics' Institutes initially attempted to emphasise scientific and practical subjects, their libraries, as has been seen, became

increasingly filled with novels as the decade advanced. Similarly, their usual difficulties in obtaining volunteer lecturers on scientific topics resulted in an increasing number of lectures also being on imaginative literature. While most of these dealt with poetry, or general matters of literary taste, once, at least, a Tasmanian audience was treated to a series on "Light Literature", otherwise novels.

The lack of both properly qualified lecturers, and a more connected series of lectures and classes, was a criticism frequently levelled at the Sydney School of Arts. In Number Five of a series of "Sketches of Sydney", published in the Australian on 22 June 1842, the writer complained of "a certain inferiority in the intellectual state of Sydney" and the absence of any serious attempts to improve it:

> A "Mechanics' School of Arts", so called, we also possess, but with the exception of the benefit of the library attached to it, it is totally inoperative as to any of the advantageous workings of such a society at home. This may be, and probably is, more the fault of the members of the Institution than the officers to whom its management is entrusted, as were there more extended requirements upon them, no doubt more extended provisions would be made. A course of lectures is delivered during the season, but they are of too desultory a nature to be capable of conveying any very permanent and useful information.

A more outspoken attack on School of Arts' lectures was made later that year, in the Colonial Observer for 24 September, its malice probably motivated by the committee's refusal to allow J.D. Lang to give religious lectures in the institution's hall rent-free.

> To pretend that the School of Arts has ever been a place of instruction either for mechanics or for Colonial youth generally, is absurd. It has been nothing of the kind, any more than the Spouting Club, alias the Debating Society. It

has merely been a place of amusement, like the said Spouting Club, and the Victoria Theatre; and, not infrequently, scarcely even that. Even if the lecturers were always men of education and ability in their respective departments - and the case has often been notoriously the reverse - what instruction, we ask, can a young man, anxious for self-improvement, derive from one Lecture on this science, and two Lectures on that, and three Lectures on a third? The idea of instruction being attainable under such a Hop, Skip, and Jump System, is out of the question. There is no Royal road either to science or learning, as the worthies of the School of Arts seem to imagine, where people may become learned or scientific without perceiving it, merely by keeping on the middle of the pathway.

Further criticism of the poor qualifications of many School of Arts' lecturers may be found in the Australian for 6 May 1846:

> Individuals have put themselves forward as public instructors in mechanical arts, in poetry, and in general literature, who were tangibly ignorant of the very principles of the subjects they presumed to elucidate. The lectures of these persons consist in promiscuously compiled narrations of what somebody else has said and done. If they do venture beyond this, they either get out of their depth, and so flounder about to the end, or the matter communicated is of that elementary nature, that every schoolboy above the age of ten years is expected to be acquainted with. . . . Lecturing at the School of Arts is no doubt extremely gratifying to the vanity of tyros and pretenders, but their vanity must not be pampered by sacrificing the interests of a useful public institution.

As a final example of the continuous attacks on the School of Arts in the 'forties, this sentence from the People's Advocate for 10 February 1849, though not directed at the lectures in particular, is remarkable for its vehement and vivid expression : "The unpretty singularities of Botany Bay are not confined to its flying foxes, its wrong-ended, inedible pears, etc.; it has a Mechanics' Institute (?) which grows from the social tree narrow end first, and is as tasteless and unnutrimental as its native pear."

Against these criticisms, there is evidence that, in the first half of the decade at least, School of Arts' lectures

were fairly well attended. On 14 August 1841, the Australian itself had recorded,

> The attendance at the lectures, debates, etc., at the School of Arts, has, of late, become so crowded, as to be inconvenient; and, in consequence, none but members will in future be admitted to either. The fact of there not being sufficient room in the present theatre, should induce the present committee to take the earliest possible means of rendering available the land given to the institution by Government, and expending the funds subscribed for the erection of a new theatre.

Similarly, the Colonial Literary Journal for 27 June 1844 remarked on the popularity of lectures given by both the School of Arts and the Commercial Reading Rooms at this time. Obviously, if lectures had not been reasonably well attended, the Reading Rooms would not have used them for fund-raising. In the previous year, however, the New South Wales Examiner for 17 August had printed a letter from "A Member of the School of Arts, of Several Years Standing", complaining that its lectures were poorly attended because of competition from the Debating Society. As a contrast to the many criticisms quoted above, this rosy picture of the School of Arts was given by David Mackenzie in his Ten Years in Australia (1845):

> . . . The lectures hitherto delivered in the institution have been gratuituous and voluntary, no paid lecturer having yet been engaged by the committee of management, who have repeatedly expressed their gratification at finding their wants in this respect abundantly supplied by free-will offerings. Men of all classes, of all religions, and of every shade of politics, are equally zealous in patronising the Mechanics' School of Arts. In short, it is the only really public institution in Sydney. We number among our lecturers several of the most influential and talented men in the colony, such as their Honours Justice A'Beckett and Justice Therry; Dr. Nicholson, M.C.; Dr. Wallace; R. Windeyèr, Barrister and M.C.; Professor Rennie; the Rev. Henry Carmichael, A.M. (author of an interesting work on New South Wales); T.W. Cape, Esq., for many years headmaster of Sydney College; and several other literary gentlemen of eminence and respectability. The course of lectures is very comprehensive,

including, with the exception of politics and controversial divinity, every subject on which it could benefit the mechanic to be informed. That much interest is felt in these lectures, not only by the mechanics for whose benefit they are chiefly provided, but by the public in general, may be inferred from the large attendance of the members, and the fact of reporters from the press being regularly sent there, and a large portion of the newspapers' columns being frequently allotted to the publication of such reports. And this happened even when the subject of lectures was not much calculated to amuse or interest a popular audience. I had occasion more than once to make this remark during a course of lectures, delivered there by myself, on experimental philosophy, though they were not remarkable in any way either for their novelty, or their application to the mechanical arts. I would recommend every emigrant who intends remaining in Sydney, or its vicinity, to become a member of this institution. The expense is a mere trifle, and the benefit is invaluable. The facility with which money may be accumulated in this colony, and the numerous avenues which are here open for the profitable investment of capital, have an obvious tendency to divert the public attention from scientific pursuits to the sordid and debasing idea of pounds, shillings, and pence; and I feel assured that to any man of cultivated mind, newly arrived from England, the existence of a flourishing Mechanics' School of Arts in Botany Bay, numerously attended by all grades of society, from the Governor down to the chimney-sweep, must appear like an oasis in the wilderness - a solitary green spot, with its refreshing streams, on which the eye of the weary traveller rests with delight. (pp. 44-45)

Mackenzie was at least accurate in saying lectures were frequently reported in the local press, a fact which fortunately enables some further insights into colonists' views on imaginative literature. Generally two or three lectures on literary themes were given each year, despite frequent contentions that such topics were unsuited to a Mechanics' Institute. In 1840, William à Beckett continued his series of lectures on Poetry, his concluding one being printed in full in the Colonist for 14 November. After some lengthy general remarks on the benefits of poetry, showing him to be a true child of his age, if better-humoured than many pundits, he went on to discuss some individual modern writers. First mentioned was Henry Halloran, who received some warm praise:

In the course of these lectures I have more than once alluded to the name of Mr. Halloran, as a gentleman deservedly distinguished in the poetic department of colonial literature. His effusions have been chiefly given to the public through the medium of THE COLONIST newspaper; and notwithstanding the coldness with which newspaper verses are generally received, those of Mr. Halloran have, I believe, always been found to meet with a welcome reception. For my own part, I may say, that I have never omitted to peruse them, and in the perusal have never failed to be gratified. His principal performance in point of length, is a poem descriptive of the conflagration of the Hibernia; but meritorious, as it undoubtedly is, it will probably suffer in the estimation of those who remember Lord Byron's account of the shipwreck of Don Juan; not that I would ascribe any thing like imitation to Mr. Halloran, for, as I shall presently observe, his style appears to be perfectly original. He is indeed essentially anti-Byronic - in many respects it resembles that of Shelly [sic], and again we are often reminded of Wordsworth and Coleridge. From an over-desire, perhaps, of simplicity, he sometimes verges on puerility - but on the whole his poems are marked by a classical chasteness of diction, that accords well with the pure feeling and graceful sentiment, in which they, for the most part, abound. . . .

It is much to be regretted that this gentleman's poems have not been collected in a volume - for independently of the pleasure they would render to all lovers of poetry, the publication would be of great service to the literary reputation of the colony. It is impossible, in this place, to do adequate justice to their merits - suffice it to say, that the manuscript collection before me, contains hardly a single poem that is not worthy of appearing in print.

Despite his approval of Halloran, though with a correct assessment of the major influences on his work, and equally eulogistic comments on Rogers, Campbell, Southey, Mrs. Hemans, L.E.L. and Hood, à Beckett was at least capable of more appreciation of Keats and Shelley, especially, than most contemporaries.

Keats and Shelly [sic] are two poets who have been much maligned by the reviewers, and misunderstood by the public. In truth, their genius is of too high an order to meet with that immediate appreciation which more ordinary mortals succeed in obtaining. Keats, however, has had the eulogy of Lord Byron, and that, perhaps, is sufficient for his fame. Shelly is not without his admirers, but they are few in comparison with his merits. There are passages in Shelly, which have never been

surpassed by either Milton or Shakspeare [sic], even in the much abused-Queen Mab, and in his terrific drama of the Cenci, many such are to be found. For sweetness and pathos, few things can compare with the "Dedication to the Revolt of Islam", and the Stanzas written in Dejection near Naples. His "Cenci" is a performance as wonderful as the subject is monstrous. Milton's delineation of Satan does not excel Shelly's description of the mortal fiend, personified in the character of Cenci. Such wretches seldom exist in reality, but still more seldom the poet who has power to depict them.

Although he praised The Cenci, à Beckett saw little point in closet drama in general - "the Stage alone is the place where dramatic composition can receive adequate appreciation" - and made a sensible and vigorous reply to criticisms of the theatre and its licentiousness:

. . . should its history be found to develope no other career in its patrons and votaries, than one of profligacy and vice, it would be no more an argument for the abolition of theatres, than the continuous existence of heretical preachers and misguided congregations would be an argument for the abolition of churches.

In English drama, however, he could name only Sheridan Knowles, Bulwer Lytton and Serjeant Talfourd as recent authors worthy of note, complaining of the dominance of French translations, especially those relying on spectacle, "with their diablerie of spirits and imps". Overall, à Beckett's literary sense was sounder than most of the other Sydney lecturers on literature, and one should not judge too harshly his desire to encourage colonial writers with over-fulsome praise of Halloran. Of course, if he had been more perceptive he might have noticed Charles Harpur as well, though much of the latter's best work had not yet appeared.

A list of the lectures at the School of Arts for 1841, printed in the Australian on 10 June, included

Four on Taste, or AEsthetics, including Style; illustrated from Spencer [sic] for the age of Elizabeth; and from Addison and Pope for the age of Anne; by John Rae, Esq. A.M....
Two on Criticism, illustrated by the poetry of Byron and the prose of Sterne; by - Martin, Esq.

The Annual Report for 1841, however, states that Mr. Martin, presumably James Martin of Australian Sketch-Book fame, gave only one lecture, on "The Character of Byron as a Poet". Little information on these lectures found its way into the local press, though some idea of Rae's views on taste can be garnered from this lush account of his third lecture in the Sydney Morning Herald for 5 August 1841:

He gave a very luminous and beautifully composed narrative of the changes, which English style gradually underwent, from the Elizabethan era till the age of Queen Anne - from the romantic sweetness of Spenser - the universal language of Shakspeare - and the strained wit, the personal satire, the artificial regularity, and gross obscurity of Dryden and his worthless contemporaries, down to the exquisite polish and pretty elegance of Addison, and the shrewd terseness and elaborate finish of the poetry of Pope.

From this, it is obvious Rae had few original ideas on English literature, being merely concerned to parrot out "what other men had said" before him. In 1842, a Mr. Slatterie gave three evidently equally conservative lectures on "The Life and Writings of Cowper", though the New South Wales Examiner's 15 August report of the first of these was chiefly devoted to discussing why so few people had attended it, laying most of the blame on the lack of interest shown "by the leading men of the colony". In contrast, two 1843 lectures on "Literature" by the poet S.P. Hill were said by the Herald for 9 September to have been "very numerously and respectably attended". This comment was made at the conclusion of a long account of Hill's lectures;

a more succinct, and unintentionally amusing, version appeared in the Colonial Observer for 10 September.

LECTURES ON LITERATURE
(Communicated)

Mr. S.P. Hill has been delivering, in the Hall of the Mechanics' School of Arts, two lectures on this above highly interesting subject.

The lecturer has been before the public on more than one occasion as a gentleman of talent, and indefatigable industry in the cause of literature; and we feel much pleasure in being able to say that his appearance on the occasions referred to, did not detract from the character he has earned. The lecturer gave a rapid and comprehensive sketch of the Literature of Britain, comprising - Historians, Biographers, Poets, Novelists, Dramatists, Newspapers, and Reviews. Being limited to so short a time as is usually assigned to lecturers, and having a most extensive subject to treat of, it was of course impossible for him to enter into minute details. His remarks, therefore, were of a general nature, relating rather to the Class of writers in any particular department of literature, than to the individual works of particular authors. We were much pleased with the lecturer's disposition of the subject, which enabled him to get over a good deal of ground in a short time, and with the taste he displayed in his selections from the Poets, who have always been reckoned an important class of men, and whose works have tended to refine and elevate the mind perhaps more than those of any other. . . . The lecturer's remarks on Novels were very sensible, and well calculated to give a correct idea of that amusing, though too frequently pernicious class of books. He censured severely novels of an immoral tendency, such as Jack Sheppard, Humphrey Clinker, &c., which he observed were dangerous in the hands of almost any, and especially so to the young, whose minds were too susceptible of contagion to peruse without great natural detriment, the life and exploits of a notorious rake. The works of Sir Walter Scott and Dickens, on the contrary, he remarked, were of a very opposite character, there being nothing in the writings of either of these talanted [sic] men to unhinge the mind from virtue or polute [sic] and contaminate the morals.

The thought of anyone dealing with all this in two lectures recalls criticisms of the "elementary nature" of School of Arts lectures, perhaps seen most clearly in the comment, no doubt very flattering to Hill, that poets "have always been reckoned an important class of men"! In view of Hill's later position as paid secretary and librarian of the School of Arts,

the Herald's more detailed and apparently verbatim account of his remarks on fiction is worth quoting.

> . . . "In reference to the objection I have to this class of works as a whole, I would observe that the moral which is supposed to be conveyed in the work, is always, or nearly so, looked upon, both by the writer and reader, as secondary to the fame acquired in writing it by the one, and the pleasure derived from its perusal by the other. And the scenes of vice and iniquity, and the debauchery and vulgarity, and too often of downright immorality, through which we have to wade (and which has been introduced to carry out the plot of the tale) render it a matter of very great uncertainty whether, when we arrive at the end of the novel, for the one lesson of morality inculcated, we have not been made acquainted with fifty of a directly opposite nature."

As can be seen, Hill's prose was just as bad as his verse. Perhaps the strain of having to lend out all those immoral novels to School of Arts' members contributed to the rudeness and inefficiency which eventually caused his dismissal as librarian, though it seems rum was also a major factor.

In 1844, the Colonial Literary Journal printed extensive extracts from five lectures "On the Genius and Character of Robert Burns" given by John Rae. Like Hill's lectures - though remarkably unlike them in the amount of space accorded a single author - these were claimed, in the first report, on 15 August 1844, to have been very popular: "We were much delighted to see a lecture, on a subject not supposed to be generally interesting, attended by an overflowing audience, who shewed, by the greatest attention, their full appreciation of both the merits of the subject, and the capability of the lecturer." Evidently, there had been some of the usual criticism of poetry as an unsuitable lecture topic, since Rae opened by insisting poetry was "not unsuited to, nor unappreciated by, any class of the community;

also, that, even at the worst of times as regards monetary depression, there is no necessity for depriving ourselves of the pleasures of imagination". Rae's lectures, as one gathers from the frequent quotations in the reports, were sentimental in tone and fulsome in both praise and style, with that love for the over-blown sentence so unfortunately characteristic of much of the prose of this period. A lengthy account of his comments was also printed in the Sydney Morning Herald for 17 September 1844.

A list of the 1845 lecture season found in the minutes of a School of Arts' committee meeting held on 6 August 1845, gives W.T. Cape as speaking on "Ancient and Modern Fable" on 25 August, and S.P. Hill on "Taste as Applied to the Sublime and the Beautiful" on 6 October. Some idea of the contents of the latter can be gained from a report in the first issue of the Melbourne Standard; or, Mechanics' and Working Man's Journal, 1 November 1845, also showing the current widespread interest in this type of lecture. Apparently, Hill's chief aim had been to demonstrate that "the definitions of Taste, as given by Blair, and others, were incomplete and unsatisfactory, inasmuch as they rendered it necessary that we should at all times, and under all circumstances, be under the immediate and undying influence of Taste." He also sought to prove that Beauty did not "exist independent of the Mind" and that there was no absolute standard of Taste. On the surface, Hill's contentions seem acceptable enough, even if not especially original, though some aspects of his lecture evidently earned him the scorn of

Charles Harpur.

In 1846, six lectures on literary subjects were included on the list published in the Australian for 28 April: three by R.K. Ewing on Modern Poetry, and three by Charles Nicholson on Early English Literature. The first set is of most interest, both because they were extensively reported in Sydney newspapers, and because they resulted in Charles Harpur's satirical poem "The Temple of Infamy". As with most accounts of local lectures, the reporters seem to have been as eager to give their own views on the topic, in the style of the great Reviews, as to present what was actually said. Hence, one gets some valuable insights into not only what Ewing and Harpur, but the three reporters as as well, thought of Modern Poetry. Indeed, of poetry in general, since Ewing evidently devoted much of his first lecture to the vexatious question "What is Poetry?" All three reporters agreed in praising Ewing's eloquence and elocution, his knowledge and appreciation of modern poetry, and his success in "carrying a crowded audience with him throughout", as the Australian said on 27 June. However, they disagreed in varying ways with both his general comments on poetry, and his remarks on specific poets. The fullest account of what Ewing actually said may be found in the Spectator's reports for 13 and 27 June and 4 July, the first two summarising his comments, the last and longest containing copious quotations, probably taken direct from his text. Presumably Charles Harpur was correct in claiming that Richard Thompson, editor of the Spectator and himself a would-be poet, had been responsible for these reports. The 4 July report

opens with long quotations from Lord Jeffrey and Leigh Hunt on "What is Poetry?", before going on to quote Ewing himself on this question. His definition, supported by extracts from Byron and Keats, was naturally cast in a very Romantic mould:

> A 'passion' which is ever searching for the beautiful and perfect, and which, when conceived in its purity, is of a nature holy in itself, and purifying in its effects, and consequently shrinks from all that is polluting and vicious. It is ever longing for harmony and agreement, as without them there can be neither beauty nor perfection, having found them, it meditates and admires until pleasure produces exuberance, and the mind, under the influence of such strong excitement, spontaneously pours forth the conceptions it has formed, the feelings by which those conceptions have been created, in language easy, natural and flowing.

Little wonder this concatenation of scraps from all the Romantic theorists aroused Harpur's scorn and ire! Also, as the Australian reviewer devoted much of his space on 13 June to saying, Ewing's definition is an essentially narrow one: "We regard poetry like painting and sculpture. The art may be used in promoting virtue or vice, truth or falsehood, according to the principles and taste of the poet. Whereas, we understood Mr. Ewing's idea of poetry to be, that it was essentially good and lovely." Earlier, this reviewer gave his conception of poetry as

> . . . a body of thoughts so combined as to excite the faculties at large, or to bring into powerful action the greatest number of the faculties, such as love, tenderness, wonder, justice, benevolence, courage, fear, hope, joy, grief, etc., at the same time acting on, if not convincing the judgment. A composition whether in prose or verse, is therefore poetical in degree, according to the greater or lesser number of the faculties which it calls into activity, and the amount of that activity. Versification is a mere art superadded, to convey the idea to the mind in a more musical form.

thereby sidestepping completely the problem of the difference between prose and poetry that much plagued Ewing, Thompson,

and his authories. Ewing, himself, had tried to convey the distinction through a contrast between cannons as they appear in Wellington's and Napoleon's war dispatches, and as they appear in Paradise Lost, but really only said that in poetry, cannons are poetical, and vice versa. Charles Harpur, in a letter to the Spectator which Thompson refused to print, used this passage as an example of Ewing's inability to "judge justly of poetical merit": "nothing more senseless could have emanated even from Samuel Prout Hill himself."[10] Without going into the details of Thompson's claim of a misprint in this passage, Harpur's countering denials and so on, it is enough to say that, even with the correction, Ewing's contrast was senseless.

The most sensible report of Ewing's lectures was printed in the Sydney Morning Herald for 1 July, its writer agreeing that Ewing's cannon passage was "trite and meaningless": "Now what can be more trite than this - stern prose on a certain subject is prose; and poetry written on the same subject, is poetry." Earlier, he had given this very succinct account of Ewing's statements on poetry:

> Mr. Ewing commenced his lectures with the oft repeated question - the unanswered, and unanswerable question, "What is poetry?" Rejecting the answer given by some, that it is the expression of the imagination; by others, that it is only beautiful prose; and the description of the ancients that it is imitative art; Mr. Ewing appears to fall in with the idea of poetry given by Byron in the 4th Canto of Don Juan - "that poetry is but a passion". We were unable to trace any other distinct definition of poetry by the lecturer, although he entered at great length as to what the nature and design of poetry is, when exercised in its purity. We cannot consider

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10 Quoted in J. Normington-Rawling, Charles Harpur. An Australian (1962), p. 119.

his remarks on this head as very philosophical, and in fact throughout, like most young lecturers, Mr. Ewing appears to have sacrificed philosophical discussion, to a gorgeous ornateness of style, and an exuberance of sentiment.

The writer himself, like the Australian's reporter, saw poetry as having a wider scope than Ewing allowed, dealing with the sublime as well as the beautiful, the sublime "not necessarily confined to the good". His later definition of the poet's power to create new experiences for the reader, allowing for the mid-Victorian terms used, seems to come closest to a modern understanding of the poet's art:

A mere matter of fact - a mechanical fact, awakens in his soul a train of associations so vividly depicted on his imagination, that he pours them forth with even more distinctness, arrayed in language more glowing and more striking, than if such events had actually taken place under his own eye; and which holds over the minds of others a power to awake the same sense of beauty in them, which had slumbered till called up by the "Enchanter's wand".

As an example of the "gorgeous ornateness of style" the Herald's reporter objected to in Ewing, one may take his justification of the suitability of poetry for mechanics, given in the Spectator's first report on 13 June.

"Why then, I would ask, should we be met with a sneer when proposing to introduce the mechanic as well as the merchant - the poor as well as the rich - into such society as this? If poetry communicate good, do not their station and condition require that they be the first that shall be made partakers of it? It is on the sinews and the nerves of the working class that the strength and stability of our ancient constitution depend; it is from the poor man's brow that the riches of the noble, and the wealth and splendour of the crown are distilled; and shall he, whose sun riseth but to call him to his toil, and setteth but to speak of his fatigue; whose days are spent in monotony, and whose life is passed in one continual effort - to live; shall he who is thus deprived of the physical enjoyments of life be denied also the recreation of his mind? Is it because he is the daily inmate of a workshop that he must be deemed unworthy of listening to, and incapable of appreciating the beauty, feeling, and pathos of the Poet's Strains? Away with such pigmy sentiments!

They accord not with this enlightened age. The genius of the nineteenth century spurns them as relics of those dark times when man, chained down by superstition on the one hand, and tyranny on the other, was taught to believe that ignorance is bliss."

The sentiment conveyed in this quotation received loud applause.

The reporters of Ewing's lectures were just as divided over his praise of individual poets as over his definition, or non-definition, of poetry. Ewing's plan of attack was outlined in the Spectator just after the passage quoted above.

With Cowper a new era in British poetry commenced; and from that epoch the Lecturer signified his intention of considering the works of the poets who have appeared. His lectures are classed into three different divisions. - The first embracing a period of forty years; in which appear Cowper, Burns, and Wordsworth: the second commencing with Southey and ending with Robert Pollok, and including the great body of modern Poets: the third to embrace three of the principal minors, viz. - Kirke White, Keats, and Bloomfield, and afterwards the lecturer intends to spend an hour amongst the Colonial Poets.

Some of Ewing's classifications, especially that of the last three poets, seem very strange today and, indeed, did not pass without comment even in 1846. The Herald's writer, in particular, showed a generally much better appreciation of poetic merit and the similarities between various poets, than either Ewing himself or the other reporters. After agreeing with Ewing's praise of Burns andCowper, he said

. . . His observations on the poetry of Wordsworth, although awarding to the prince of poets of our own age, no small share of praise, did not please us so well. Mr. Ewing does not appear to enter into, or understand, the simplicity of Wordsworth's poetry; a simplicity which is confined to the subject and style only, and not to the ideas which are expressed. The two first poets noticed in the second lecture are Southey and Coleridge, who are classed together much to our dissatisfaction. What resemblance exists between Southey and Coleridge, except in the selection of mysterious themes, we cannot tell. Mr. Ewing says the same of his classification with Wordsworth, with whom, he says, he holds no kindred; but we take this to be from Mr. Ewing's peculiar reading of Wordsworth, as noticed above. Coleridge,

though oftimes wild and romantic in his selection of subjects, is singularly simple and beautiful in his language, and in the adaptation of his similes he much resembles Wordsworth. . . . Lord Byron, apparently Mr. Ewing's high priest of modern poetry, and Percy Bysshe Shelley are next coupled together, and we admit that their merits were cleverly and elaborately treated. But we must enter our protest against this unnatural union. Poetry can furnish no two authors more dissimilar in the style of their compositions, the poetic diction, or the motives and the ends for which they wrote. We have not space now to go into this comparison, but it is painful to have two dissimilar poets associated simply, we believe, because the tone of mind of both, tended towards scepticism. The poetry of Shelley is little known, and those who try to read it begin with Queen Mab, which they throw down, and never look to the minor poems, which are well worth their attention. . . . The three British poets reviewed in the third lecture were Henry Kirke White, Robert Bloomfield, and John Keats. Certainly somewhat of an odd association. To each of the former he assigned high praise, deserved at least by the first; but to Keats he is lavish of his applause. He hails him "first as a genius amongst our modern poets;" and proceeds to exalt his strains as the very essence of poetry. To the great promise of Keats as a poet, we add our testimony, but cannot go so far on the path of admiration as our lecturer: Keats ought to have been classed with the Shelley and Coleridge school, of which he was an ardent disciple.

The other poets discussed by Ewing, whose estimation of them was conceded by this writer to be generally sound, were Scott, Mrs. Hemans, Robert Pollok and Henry Haynes Bayley. His omission of other women poets like Johanna Baillie - "the poetess of the passions" - L.E.L. and Mrs. Norton was, however, criticised.

Thompson was also disappointed by Ewing's slighting of the fair sex, taking up, in his second report, the cudgels especially for Elizabeth Barrett Browning, though rather spoiling the effect by calling her "Louisa":

. . . we can scarcely recognise the admission of Thomas Haynes Bayley into the brilliant circle to whom Mr. Ewing introduced his audience in his second lecture; neither can we admit the high claims set up for Robert Pollok, or approve of the hasty

allusions to, or entire omission of, such names as Wilson, Joanna Baillie, Crabbe, Hood, Alfred Tennyson, E.L. Landon [sic], B. Simmons, Landor, Milnes, or our great favourite, Louisa Barrett.

Thompson's third article on Ewing's lectures contained a more lengthy discussion of his opinions of those poets who had been mentioned. Like the Herald's reporter, he was in full agreement with Ewing's praise of Cowper and Burns, but bypassed Wordsworth without comment to attack the high estimation of Byron as out-of-date,

> Twenty years ago, Mr. Ewing's extravagant praises might have been acceeded to by the multitude, but inasmuch as he professed to lecture on Modern Poetry, he should have remembered that "many twinkling things" have appeared within the last few years, which certainly have not "wheeled around" Byron as their "common centre".

conveniently attributing the loud applause given Ewing's remarks on Byron to sympathy with the lecturer's eloquence rather than opinions. After claiming Shelley as his idol, and quoting "The Cloud" as sufficient justification, Thompson passed on to rescue Scott from Ewing's correct consignment to a poetical order below Byron and Shelley. In so doing, he showed himself Ewing's equal in "gorgeous ornateness":

> The genius of Scott, so far from loitering, in lowly dress, through fields in a humble attitude, reposed upon the Helmet and the Sword, was always in contact with Chivalry, and Chivalry became the passion of his soul. Scott's massy claymore befitted "The world of banners, tents, and sun-bright armoury". Whilst the jewelled hilt of the ornamental dirk of Byron more appropriately graced the cabinet or boudoir.

This was followed by a more summary account of Ewing's other remarks, his

> . . . just and eloquent tribute to Mrs. Hemans - his prodigal praise of Campbell - his somewhat clumsy admixture of Moore's Melodies with O'Connell's Rint-system - his sneering allusions

to that accomplished poet and critic, Leigh Hunt - his hasty nominal list of other "bards of glorious renown", Wilson, Millman, Crabbe, the two Montgomeries, Sotheby, Proctor, Hogg, Lamb, Cunningham, and Clare - his panegyrical introduction of Haynes Bayley - and his enthusiastic eulogy of another of his idols, Robert Pollok.

Making no comments on Ewing's opinions of Kirke White, Keats and Bloomfield, Thompson ended by repeating his criticism that Ewing "considerably underrates the claims of the really Modern Poets, the contributors to the leading journals and magazines of the present day", this time getting Miss Barrett's name right.

Most of the Spectator's report on Ewing's third lecture was given over to a discussion of his remarks on colonial poets - dismissed in the Herald with little more than "But a poem on which to rest our colonial pretensions to greatness we do not yet possess." Here Ewing was more comprehensive, probably from an understandable inability to single out any great names, citing most of the known poets who had contributed to the Sydney press.

The writers whose compositions the lecturer alluded to were Messrs. H. Halloran, W.C. Wentworth, W. Foster, R. Lynd, Sylvester /sic/, Wools /sic/, H. Parkes, C. Harpur, R. Lowe, and C. Thompson /sic/, "The Australian Shepherd", the Rev. John Duffus, Messrs. S.P. Hill, and John Rae, "Æneas", Mrs. Dunlop, and Ourselves. We have already expressed our dissent from Mr. Ewing's taste in quotation, and we think he might have devoted more time to an analysis of the beauties, and less to the defects, of Australian Poetry. We admit that there was much justice in his examination of the extravagantly high claims set up for Mr. C. Harpur by some injudicious friends; and yet that gentleman has produced compositions of much merit. Whatever be his faults we will forgive them, if it be only that some lines of his to an "Echo on the Banks of the Hunter", (published in 1843) formed the inspiring theme for the following beautiful stanzas by Mr. Henry Halloran.

Needless to say, this back-handed compliment must have done little to pacify Harpur, already smarting under Ewing's attack on the Weekly Register's alleged comparison of him with Milton. In his

remaining remarks on colonial poetry, Thompson charged Robert Lowe, quite correctly, with almost plagiarising Shelley's "The Cloud" in his "The Moon", ending with the common complaint that local authors had merely displayed their powers in "fragments, having no connexion, and deriving neither light nor interest the one from the other", and the hope that Ewing's lectures might urge them to greater things.

As mentioned earlier, Ewing did inspire at least one colonial to produce a fairly long piece of poetry, though one that neither he nor Thompson would have admired and which, in fact, has never been published. Charles Harpur's "The Temple of Infamy", written in 1846 just after Ewing's lectures on poetry, survives only in two manuscript versions in the Mitchell Library. Whether or not Harpur attended the lectures in person, he certainly saw the reports of them in the Spectator, including the second, where Thompson wrongly printed "Parkes" for "Harpur" in the passage

> Whilst the claims of Messrs. H. Halloran, R. Lynd, Lowe, and other colonial writers of deserved celebrity, were hastily disposed of, the lecturer rather cruelly lingered over a most severe, though nobly minded, castigation of Mr. H. Parkes, the pet protege of the late editor of the Weekly Register. Mr. Duncan's comparison of Parkes with Milton was a glaring piece of absurdity which did not require the exposure Mr. Ewing thought proper to give it; and although we joined heartily in the laugh which he raised at the expense of the Register Sonnetteer and his friendly critic, we could have wished that the writings of the authors we have just named had received the attention which they assuredly demand from any one who professes to analyse the pretensions, and expiate on the merits, of colonial poetry.

Thompson corrected this error in the outer forme of the paper, and once again apologised for it in his introduction to the third report of Ewing's lectures on 4 July, when he also printed a letter

of denial from Parkes himself. Parkes pointed out that he and not Duncan had been responsible for the much maligned praise of Harpur:

> The sum of my "absurdity" and "sin" which afforded the Pitt-street audience so much "laughter" is contained in the following sentence - "Mr. Harpur is a poet not unworthy to be named with those august sons of genius (Milton, Shakespeare, Wordsworth, &c.,) "though he may never attain to their universal fame".

Before concluding, Parkes swore his devotion to Australian literature, which he apparently saw in an as utilitarian, if more radical, light as most of its current champions: "My heart is, and if I had a purse, that too should be, in the cause of Australian Literature, believing that where sweetest bloom the flowers of Poesy, there ever, strongest and hardiest, will grow the tree of Freedom."

Harpur, whose interest in literature and poetry was much purer than that of Parkes, Thompson, Ewing or any of the other eighteen-forties' theorisers, also sent a letter to the Spectator, greeted as follows:

> We have also received a long communication (partly in prose, partly in rhyme) from Mr. C. Harpur, in reference to Mr. Ewing's strictures on his poetry and poetical criticism; but we really cannot find space for it this week, nor do we think that so angry a tirade will answer any good purpose. We expressed our opinion that the lecturer's castigation of Mr. Harpur was a cruel one, and we consider that enough has been said on the subject.

For Harpur, however, it was far from enough; he sent a further letter, which Thompson condescended to print on 18 July, although protesting that "out of sheer charity to himself we would, but for his clamourous appeal to be heard in person, have withheld" it. Here Harpur charged Thompson with helping Ewing avoid exposure of his ignorance by not printing the previous letter

and by correcting the passage contrasting prose and poetry discussed earlier. But, as he ~~justly~~ went on to assert, this one correction could not prevent Ewing's lectures as a whole being judged "preposterous and ignorant". In consequence of all the controversy, he had determined

> . . . it shall cost me a pamphlet: in which, I promise you, I will give both yourself and Mr. Ewing, with some others, a lustier idea of literary castigation than has ever yet rattled, like a peal of thunder, athwart the self-conceit of either you, him, or them . . .

The pamphlet was, no doubt, "The Temple of Infamy", but Harpur never seems to have been able to afford to publish it, or perhaps was unable to find a publisher prepared to chance the libel suits it would almost certainly have occasioned. Here is his description of Ewing and S.P. Hill:

> Vacant the entrance yet a Space was Seen,
> But coming Steps were heard, and, there between,
> Two coarse yet simpering voices high in glee -
> Their theme, the sweets of Taste and Poesie.
> The colloquists soon entered, and then stood
> Linked arm in arm in loving brotherhood:
> Stood gazing, and as struck with rapture, then
> They kissed each other, did these girlish men,
> And fondly wept, a piteous pair to see,
> Brimful of friendship, sentiment, and tea!

Later, they are even more tellingly called "Two lovely lillies on one tender stalk". Harpur was even less complimentary to John Rae,

> Twas his to figure 'mid the scribbling race,
> That fly-blow in Australia's sunny clime -
> Man-midwife-general of rascal Rhyme!
> Even H-ll declares he never should have shown
> The ass's ears, had he been left alone;
> And the sad Shepherd, having tailed his sheep,
> Damns R-e and <u>Rhyme</u> ere he in peace can sleep.

Further attacks on Ewing and on Richard Thompson are contained

in a foot-note to lines on the "Port Macquarie . . . Special Poet" included in Ewing's "muster Roll" of Australian poets:

. . .Twas indeed a most slanderous affair; most of the names upon it being those of the vilest rhymers, and to arrange which under the title of poets, was every bit as incongruous as it would be in a work of Natural history, to treat of Asses under the head of Horses. The following squib was fired at that time against the critical position which the above charlatan had assumed in Ewing's behalf.

A Sad Case

being that of the Editor of the Looker-on, after leaving the last Publick House on his way homeward from Ewing's concluding Lecture on Modern Poetry:

My consciousness seems getting right
Since spewing
But did I go to hear tonight
Friend Ewing?

Clutching the lamp-post in the act
Of reeling,
O'er me some glimmering of fact -
Seems stealing.

But was it Parkes or Harpur he
Did whip so?
Alas! to think one's memory
Should trip so!

Is it because my brain is sore
With thinking?
Or that I've been this week or more
A drinking?

Or that, through Trulla Freelove, Cupid
Abused me,
And with a jordan knocked me stupid
Last Tuesday.

Again one sees the old-fashioned coarseness characteristic of so much of Harpur's satire - if this is the poem he sent to the Spectator, small wonder Thompson did not publish it!

As a further sign of the general level of interest in literature in Sydney during the eighteen-forties, one finds Thompson asserting that many besides Parkes and Harpur had written to him about Ewing's lectures. On 18 July, when he published Harpur's letter, Thompson introduced a new series of

"Evenings with the Poetesses" with these remarks:

> The very many communications which we have received in reference to those nice points in the metaphysics of poetry whereupon we lately ventured, during certain hours of relaxation from graver studies, in our "EVENINGS WITH THE POETS"; - the manifold variety of direction which has been given to Thought in the letters - some angry, some complimentary, all guarantee that our assertions as to the healthy state both of feeling and taste in Sydney have not been exaggerated. And at a moment when the periodical literature of New South Wales assumes so much of a mechanical aspect; when genius is regarded simply as so much exchangeable value to be bartered for so many shillings (we were nearly making the mistake of writing guineas) per week; the assurances, thus conveyed to us, that the effect of poetry and poetical criticism is excitement, even in this (according to Mr. Braim) most 'immoral city' of the South, are agreeable proofs of the value of those general principles which we have felt it our duty not only to lay down, but, as far as possible, to show the application of.
>
> In our late reviews of Mr. Ewing's Lectures we entered certain protests against his taste in quotation from Modern Poets. These protests having been, in turn, protested against by various of our correspondents, we have resolved to devote a few evenings to a further consideration of the subject, and in order to disarm, in a degree, our male antagonists, whose elaborate arguments and lengthy essays on Imagination, Fancy, Thought, Wit, and Judgment, we candidly confess we have neither time nor space to deal justice to, we shall devote these evenings to the 'BRITISH MODERN POETESSES'.

Thompson's arguments about encouraging local literature look rather specious in the light of his refusal to actually print or discuss his correspondents' opinions, which one would much rather have had than the productions of such now deservedly-forgotten figures as Mrs. Brooke, "the Poetess of Cuba". This unwillingness to really consider Australian writers was, of course, what most irked Charles Harpur, who resented the implication that colonials should accept in silent gratitude all the ill-digested European culture served up to them by such would-be authorities as Ewing and Thompson. In the next issue of the Spectator, for 25 July, Thompson did print one letter

from the appropriately colonially-named "Sandy Stockwhip, Bachelor's Hall, Bush", presumably because "Sandy" took Harpur to task for resenting Ewing's criticism, handing out the usual platitudes about critics being the handmaids of poetry and so on. But, by then, Thompson must have felt the locals had had enough say. In the "To Correspondents" section the following week, he printed, "SANDY STOCKWHIP : C.F.P. : ALPHA : L. : G.R.W. : ŒNONE; who, one and all, seem to write under the inspiration of Mr. Ewing's eloquent appeal to the Poets and Poetesses of Australia, must pardon us for defering, for the present, an examination of their contributions." As J. Normington-Rawling says, "The deferment was long. We who come after can only express our chagrin."[11] There is, however, a suggestion that the contributions were poems rather than critical articles; the Spectator, again despite Thompson's apparent faith in Australian writers, generally preferred to publish English rather than local verse.

In 1847, S.P. Hill once again graced the School of Arts podium, giving three lectures on Drama. As one gathers from a report in the Atlas for 9 October, these, like so many contemporary lectures on cultural topics, seem to have been little more than an inevitably cursory summary of the history of the subject from its misty beginnings to the present.

> On Tuesday evening, Mr. S.P. Hill delivered the third and last of his lectures upon the Drama, to a numerous and interested audience. In his second lecture . . . the lecturer took up the

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11 Charles Harpur, An Australian (1962), p. 120.

history of the Drama where he had left off in the first lecture, viz., at the fall of the Roman Empire, and adverted to its revival in Italy, France, and England, each of which countries claims priority in this revival. Thence he brought it down to the days of the Commonwealth in England, when the Drama in that country, was much neglected, owing to the stern fanaticism of the Roundheads, and the dejection and depression of the Cavaliers. The lecturer expatiated upon the great perfection it reached, and the high estimation in which it was held in the reign of Elizabeth; he gave a brief account of the different dramatic writers, and noticed the merits of each, dwelling at considerable length upon the works of the immortal Shakspeare, and illustrating his remarks by numerous apposite quotations and felicitous recitals. . . . In his third and last lecture, Mr. Hill traced the history of the Drama from the Commonwealth down to the present time. He alluded to the immorality and open licentiouness of the stage in the time of the profligate Charles the second; and more recently the objectionable comedies of Congreve, Dryden, and others. Otway, as being the first tragedian of his day, received a merited tribute to his genius, as did also Addison for his tragedy of Cato. Horace Walpole, Home, Lillo, and others were also noticed. It was reserved for Garrick to revive the performance of the plays of Shakspeare, and to bring forward more prominently in public notice these celebrated productions, which had either been forgotten, or were so much mangled as to lose their original beauty. Cumberland and Colman followed, and Sheridan decidedly one of the most successful writers of comedy that we possess. More recently we have had able productions from the pens of Lord Byron, Sheridan Knowles, Sergeant Talfourd, Bulwer, and others, but it must be confessed that the public taste is not favourable to the higher walks of this department. The more fashionable circles tolerate nothing but Italian operas, and the lower classes evince a decided predilection for hybrid melodramas or low farces. Shakspeare is more read in the closet than witnessed in the theatre, and the stage in lowering the standard of taste has unquestionably lost much of its influence. The number of female dramatic writers is not large, but we must not forget to pay to the names of Mrs. Centlivre and Joanna Baillie the tribute that is due to them.

In 1847, too, the committee wondered in its Annual Report whether

> . . . a Class for the study of the Literature of our own country would not form a useful and desirable introduction to the graver investigations of mathematical and metaphysical science, or even to the study of scientific accomplishments. (pp. 12-13)

Nothing, however, seems to have come of this suggestion, perhaps prompted by the difficulties in getting teachers of scientific subjects and in attracting members to these classes. 1848 saw

only two lectures on "The Life and Writing of Oliver Goldsmith" by W.T. Cape, not reported in the newspapers, whilst there were no literary topics on the lecture list for 1849, Hill having retired in disgrace to Tasmania, and even old faithfuls like Cape apparently having nothing further to say.

At least in the first half of the 'forties, Sydney also possessed a Debating Society as a separate offshoot of the School of Arts. Its history was briefly related in a report of its first Annual General Meeting in the Australian for 12 May 1843.

> For several years, a class called the Debating Class, in connection with the Mechanics' School of Arts, held meetings for the discussion of disputed questions, but owing to various causes, the attendance was irregular, and the members by no means numerous, at least previous to the Winter of 1841. Towards the middle of this Winter, several members of the School of Arts, who had been connected with similar societies in Britain, joined the class, and infused more spirit into the discussions and greater regularity into the management than heretofore. The consequence was, a rapid increase of popularity, and an extraordinary influx of members to the class, so that the theatre of the Institute was much too small for the crowded audiences that attended.
>
> When the class was in this very flourishing condition, misunderstandings arose between the members of the Class and the Committee of the School of Arts, chiefly respecting the management and superintendence of the debates. An appeal was, therefore, made to a General Meeting of the members of the School of Arts, the result of which was, the entire separation of the debaters from the Institution and the formation of the Debating Society, as it is now constituted, on the 4th October, 1841.

The appended list of topics debated in 1842 shows the Society's leading lights to have been almost all School of Arts literary lecturers, members of the self-styled intellectual and cultural coterie satirised by Harpur in "The Temple of Infamy": John Rae, S.P. Hill, Charles Kemp, Mr. Slatterie and so on. Three of the

eight topics debated in 1842 had literary interest: "'Are Novels and Romances beneficial to society?'" had been "opened by Mr. Slatterie for the affirmative, and after four nights' discussion was decided for the affirmative"; "'Whether Oratory or Poetry has the greatest influence on society?' was opened by Mr. E. Fletcher for Mr. Allen, in favour of Poetry, and after three nights' discussion it was carried for Poetry"; whilst "'Are Theatrical Representations beneficial?' was opened by Mr. P.R. Holdsworth for the negative, and after two nights' discussion was carried in the affirmative." The heavy emphasis on the moral usefulness of literature, so much a feature of current criticism, is particularly apparent here, and one imagines little genuine literary appreciation was found in these debates. Several contemporaries, in fact, saw them as singularised only by the debaters' conceit. On 24 September 1842, the Colonial Observer, in its article on the School of Arts quoted earlier, referred to the Debating Society as the "Spouting Club", adding

> . . . it unquestionably leads the young colonial proprietor of an attic story totally unfurnished, who might otherwise have been induced to apply at the proper quarter for the requisite mental "furbishing" to fancy himself as the ne plus ultra of science, of knowledge, of eloquence, of refinement, merely because he has got himself advertised for the part either of speaker or of respondent . . .

In somewhat gentler vein, a writer in the New South Wales Examiner just prior to this, on 17 August, had accused the Debating Society of stealing away the audience from School of Arts lectures to its more dramatic and less demanding entertainments, and suggested the Society should cease publicising its meetings through advertisements and lengthy newspaper reports of proceedings.

He gives, in this amusing picture of Debating Society meetings, a further interesting glimpse of the cultural life of Sydney in the eighteen-forties.

> . . . The debates . . . (with one or two exceptions) are the crude effusions of a parcel of young men, who have yet a great deal to learn in the most ordinary matters. They form a sort of shilling "farce", at which the audience expect to be amused, rather than instructed. Among the auditors are lads from twelve to twenty, who attend these "farces" armed with immense sticks, and when a speaker plays the fool more outrageously than usual, they come down with a thunder of applause, and the speaker smiles with complacent self-satisfaction, and fancies that this is "FAME". There is no effort of the mind required to get one's money's worth at this place. The audience laugh, and think it excellent fun, and are entertained as much at this Theatre for one shilling, as they would be entertained at Mr. Knight's Theatre for five. And the speaker, in his turn, is sufficiently repaid for his efforts, by the wonderful self-exultation which follows upon the applause of the juvenile portion of his audience, and by the splendid figure which he cuts in the lengthy report of his own good things, which, with the good things of all the rest, occupy some short time thereafter, the columns of the Sydney Herald.

Whether or not as a result of such strictures - the financial depression probably being more forceful - little is heard of the Debating Society after 1843.

The following year, however, the Colonial Literary Journal for 12 December reported the existence of a Debating Society at Parramatta, where "questions of local and general interest to the colony are discussed. Attached to the society are a library and elocution class, and the admission fee is a mere trifle." Like most provincial cultural bodies, it presumably had a fairly short life. In 1845, the Maitland Mercury carried brief accounts of lectures on literary topics given at the Singleton Mechanics' Institute. Mr. Henry Bailey, himself a versifier of typically little talent, had lectured on "Poetry and the Drama" on 26 May, whilst on 4 August, Mr. W.C. Lesley had spoken on "The Genius and Character of Burns", neither particularly original topics. Mr.

Lesley had also included the customary pious justifications of his subject, claiming poems "tended to smooth down the asperities, not only of the condition of mechanics, but of every other class of labourers, and that they also tended to soothe and solace many a lonely and solitary hour."

In Hobart, where, as has been mentioned, the Mechanics' Institute apparently did not feel the need to justify including fiction in its Library, lectures on literature seem to have been delivered without such apologies. On 6 August 1841, the Hobart Town Courier wrote of a lecture on "Early English Poetry" by James Knox, another local poet, "A numerous auditory attended, and testified their gratification by repeated bursts of applause. The quotations were very appropriate, quaint and interesting, embracing the peculiar features which marked the poetic genius of the age." Unfortunately, no details were given of the particular authors discussed, but presumably Chaucer was the leading light. This success evidently prompted Knox to carry on, since in the Courier for 27 May 1842, he is listed to lecture "On the English Poetry of the Elizabethan Æra" later in the season. Amongst other literary lectures given in Hobart in the eighteen-forties were several by familiar figures on equally familiar topics. In 1847, R.K. Ewing delivered three lectures on Modern Poetry, presumably substantially the same as those given in Sydney the previous year. This report in the Hobart Town Advertiser for 24 August 1847, however, suggests

some modification of the most controversial third lecture:

> Mr. Ewing delivered his concluding lecture on Modern Poetry, at the Mechanics' Institute on Friday last. The night was wet, but in spite of the weather, the Hall was crowded to suffocation. . . . A Review of the works of Bloomfield, H.K. White, James Montgomery, Keats, Tennyson, T.K. Hervey, and a number of others, formed the subject of the lecture, which was listened to throughout with great attention. In concluding the lecture, the reverend gentleman said he hoped before long to see many native poets spring up in Tasmania. . . . A new era had arose and in a short time the general cultivation of the arts and sciences would extend to every part of the island. In conclusion he would say that if he had succeeded in raising a taste for poetry, in only one of those, who had heard his lecture his object was realized . . .

Small wonder that, as the 1847 Annual Report of the Mechanics's Institute noted, Ewing's lectures were "manifestly in accordance with the good taste and benevolent feeling of the audience." (p. 6)

In 1849, another Sydney refugee, S.P. Hill, was also reworking his old lectures for a new audience. Amongst Lectures Delivered at the Mechanics's Institute, Hobart Town, during the first part of the Session of 1849 (Hobart, 1849), one finds "The Principles of Taste" by S. Prout Hill, Esq., replete with quotations from Akenside, Burke, Shakespeare, Addison and Goldsmith. Hill's other favourite topic was advertised in the Courier for 27 October, "On the Evening of Friday, the 2nd proximo, S. Prout Hill, Esq., will deliver a lecture 'On the History and Influence of the Drama' - 'From the Reign of Anne to the Present Time'." The other lectures printed in the 1849 volume - a unique happening in itself - were predominantly cultural rather than scientific in theme. John Lillie, the President, had opened the season with "The Perception of the Beautiful as an Element in Civilization", whilst others

had expiated on "The School of Athens, as it assimilates with the Mechanics' Institution", "Expression as Applied to the Fine Arts" and "On Reading". The last, by the Rev. W.R. Wade, actually dealt with reading aloud, illustrated by passages from Guy Mannering and Dickens' American Notes as well as Cowper's Letters. Even the Colonial Secretary, J.E. Bicheno, discoursing on "The Philosophy of Botany", had found it necessary to quote Cowper and Shakespeare, and mention Milton and Thomson.

Lectures on cultural topics were also frequently given at Launceston in the eighteen-forties, especially in 1847, when they were extensively reported in the Launceston Examiner. Again, certain critics felt Mechanics' Institutes should deal only in scientific and practical subjects, a writer in the Launceston Advertiser for 25 June 1846 repeating the two oft-heard pleas for more mechanics to join the Institute, and for it to give more lectures on mechanical subjects. The Rev. Charles Price, who lectured on English Poetry shortly after, felt obliged to begin with the usual defence of poetry as a fit topic, going by a report in the Examiner for 15 July. His lecture characteristically traced the history of poetry from its beginnings to the present, commencing with Chaucer and going by the usual stages to Cowper, with a heavy condemnation of the indelicacy of Restoration Drama in between. In concluding, he invited the Scots and Irish to lecture on their national verse, an offer apparently not taken up, perhaps because, as the Examiner had noted a few days earlier, the attendance at Price's

lecture "was not so numerous as it ought to have been".

As mentioned above, lectures on music, painting, printing and literature, as well as on scientific subjects, were given in Launceston in 1847. Two of the most interesting were the opening address by the President, Frederick Maitland Innes, on "The Importance of the Cultivation of a Knowledge of General Literature, In Connection with the Circumstances of Colonial Communities",[12] and one by Dr. Paton on "Light Literature", the only pre-1850 Australian lecture to concentrate on novels and novelists. Innes's basic argument directly countered the many contentions that, in both their lecture halls and their libraries, Mechanics' Institutes should avoid the contamination of novels and other light works. He began by citing evidence in favour of educated working men, then proceeded to the less accepted argument against a purely utilitarian education, claiming a knowledge of history, philosophy, poetry and fiction, as well as science and technology, to be particularly important in colonial cultures lacking the general level of civilization of Europe:

> Now let the principle of utility be stated as an objection to the cultivation of a taste for poetry, or to that description of fiction which restore to us as in a living form the features of by-gone times, - let it be stated I say, among a people born and bred as our offspring are likely to be, and unless reflection supplies an answer, it is but too likely that mind will be cut off from some of the highest sources of instruction and of pleasure. But in the old States of Europe, there are perpetual and universal counteractions to it - the constitution of society itself is there too strong for its ready admission.

After enlarging on this last sentence, he went on to show how the reverse applied in colonial society.

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[12] Printed in the Launceston Examiner, 16 June 1847.

. . . as a community, we are destitute of all, or nearly all, those influences upon the value of which I have insisted; we are without history, without leisure or learned classes, - without local associations of an elevated and inspiring character, - we are without exterior provocatives to the enlargement and cultivation of all the faculties of our nature. These must be supplied, or a substitute found for them as the dictate of reflection, unless our condition is to degenerate. Communities like ours are not likely to be deficient in shrewdness, discrimination, quickness; the reverse is their well-known characteristic; - but, they are in danger of wanting the depth, refinement, richness, compass, - soul, - in the character of their intelligence, and against this tendency all who wish well to the advancement of mind, - in the largest sense of the word - ought to struggle. It is no mere imaginary apprehension that from the absence of certain influences society will degenerate - the evil has been experienced already; it has been observed in a country far more advantageously circumstanced, geographically and otherwise, than this.

The last reference was presumably to North America, another instance of the way in which developments there were used as a touchstone for Australia.

In going on to state the contributions Mechanics' Institutes could make to this struggle, Innes was careful to emphasise that they were never intended to be only for mechanics: "The designation of such institutions has been adopted for comprehensiveness - as expressive of the idea that they are not class or exclusive seminaries, and the composition of this meeting attests the fact that they are not recognised in this light." Even if viewed so narrowly, however, they were never intended to be purely utilitarian and, especially in colonial conditions, "paramount attention should be given to those mental tastes and pursuits which have the strongest tendency to refine, elevate, and enlarge." Innes then discussed the value of such pursuits: history, biography, fiction, philosophy and poetry. Given his unusual

inclusion of fiction in such elevated company, his remarks in its justification have a particular interest.

> To fiction, many well-meaning persons are accustomed to object; but it is uniformly found that their objections resolve themselves into objections not to the principle of fiction but to its perversion. Indeed, it is impossible to avoid in any general condemnation of this description of writing, the dilemma of proscribing a great part of the Sacred Scriptures, where truths the most important, and appeals to our devotional sensibilities the most inspiring, are conveyed in the form of fiction and dramatic writing.

Good novels were claimed to be valuable

> . . . as auxiliaries to history, as illustrations of the operation of particular principles, as vivid pictures of a state of real life which it is important to us to know something of, and of which we cannot learn anything so well as by this mode of character. . .

as well as for their moral lessons and insights into human character. Whilst Innes's approach to fiction might itself seem too utilitarian nowadays, it is well to remember just how radical his justification of novel-reading was at this time, and also that contemporary literary criticism emphasised moral and didactic rather than aesthetic values. His choice of illustrative examples were in themselves a partial counter to this objection, since they were all popular modern novels - Dickens' Pickwick and Oliver Twist, Bulwer Lytton's Eugene Aram and Pelham, Plumer Ward's Tremaine - rather than the more readily accepted Goldsmith and Scott, and even included some of the "Newgate-novel" type so often condemned on moral grounds.

Innes's arguments for poetry were slighter and more conventional, along the lines of those already advanced by many poetry lecturers in Sydney and other centres. Before passing on to a consideration of Dr. Paton's lectures on fiction,

themselves a by-product of Innes's remarks, his final peroration is worth quoting, if only to regretfully note that this grand dream seems yet unrealised.

> Cast upon this remote island, with the high function devolving upon us, of impressing a character upon generations yet unborn, it is our duty to seek to sustain in those who come after us the intelligence, the moral worth, freedom, the refinement, the graces, which distinguish the land from which we have sprung, and this we cannot do, unless we bring its poetry and literature to bear upon the general mind. Nay, more, unless we bring these to bear more powerfully than alone they do in Europe, for here we are dependent more upon ideas, - here there are fewer aids from institutions, laws, and circumstances.

Paton's lecture on "Light Literature" received a sound summary in the Launceston Examiner for 9 October 1847:

> The lecturer treated the subject briefly, but skilfully, dissenting from the extreme "teetotalism" of those who would exclude all works of Fiction from their libraries: but, at the same time, reprehending the practice of indiscriminate novel reading. The doctor happily satirised the lackadaisical character of many fashionable modern novels - adverted to the demoralising tendency of others - passed lightly over the insipidity of harmless thousands - and contended for the utility of those which made fiction the means of developing and illustrating human character, of refining sentiment, and elevating the mind. Perhaps we shall be enabled to publish the lecturer's paper, which cannot fail to be read, as it was heard, with much interest, for it embraces a subject often discussed, and in which every family is concerned.

The complete text, published in the Examiner on 16 October and 3 and 6 November, revealed Paton to be, if not as high-minded as Innes, or a very great novel critic, at least sensible in his attitudes to both novels and the reading of them, besides a more entertaining and stylish speaker than Innes, or most other contemporary lecturers. He began with this light-hearted justification of his subject:

> . . ."mouton - all mouton - nothing but mouton", as some say of our colonial dinners, will pall upon their taste; and as occasional fish and fowl relieve the bill of fare, so a little "light

literature" will perhaps agreeably break the monotony of scientific dissertation.

This equally apt illustration was given of the changing tastes in fiction: "There is the waltz or the polka of the library-table as of the ball-room floor; and but a few of the reading-public adhere to the stately minuet or the simple country dance of a byegone literature." The even more striking, "Thus readers produce authors: though a reaction afterwards takes place, by which they mutually reproduce each other - just as maggots bring on putridity, and putridity in return multiplies maggots", graphically demonstrates Paton's disgust for authors who so trim their wares to the market place.

Paton also gives a most interesting summary of the changes that had taken place in the reading public over the past fifty or so years:

> Nor is this department of literary study limited, as it was in days not long past, to what might be called the privileged order. . . It has pervaded all classes, orders, genera, and species of society, from the judge to the javelin man - from the pulpit to the sawpit - from the matron of the mansion to the milliner's apprentice.

He is especially sound on the reasons why women, in particular, had become such avid novel readers, rejecting the usual patronising comments on their supposed inate love of romance and sentiment.

> The modern chivalry, from the summit down to the verge of positive labour, has thought fit to render a great mass of women little else than idols to be blindly worshipped, or statues to be admired. . . . Some will say, why do they not study history, botany, mineralogy, conchology, and the other ologies; but they have tried it, - and tired of it; and, besides, who studies without a motive? The fair students have no such motives as their lordly masters and admirers, or perhaps they find that

blue-stockingism is an eccentricity which rather deters than attracts; and they think they are "very well without it". They are not encouraged, shall I say they are not allowed? to turn their acquirements to use, and the catastrophe, for good or evil, is next to inevitable, and the novel is had recourse to.

Paton continued with some equally sound and entertaining descriptions of the types of novel currently being produced:

Seeing this, some ponderous male writers, and some lighter female ones, have set themselves to the task of correcting, directing, controlling, and managing the public taste; some by writing novels themselves, both by way of occupation and example; and others by dictating to novel writers, rules both for plot and character, and style. Thus, some write historical novels, that people may be tricked into Hume and Alison, as we sweeten jalap. Others write religious novels, so that while we fancy that we are about to recline in peace upon our sofas, and smooth down the wrinkles of the heart, we find ourselves entangled in dramatic sermons, where the sacred is mixed with a due proportion of the profane, that it may be readily received, and the more agreeably digested. They carry us from love to religion, or the religion of love; from intrigue to piety, teaching or inculcating pious, or rather impious frauds, and contravening the whole dictates of Scripture, and all the lessons of experience, by making the good man invariably successful, and the irreligious inevitably unfortunate. . . .

Or the tales may belong to the class which treat of morals and manners, and these, in fact, form the great bulk of our novels. The morality is often very musty, and the manners are often very mean; and he who would attempt to make deductions for his own conduct, would often find himself much more indebted to his own understanding than to his author. There are tales from which, whoever directly deduces any thing, will deduce nothing but evil, and there are others from which no ingenuity could deduce anything at all. There are still more which contain such portraitures of good and evil, that it seems an equal chance whether we shall not be tempted to choose the evil and reject the good, whether for praise or imitation.

After a lengthy diatribe against the exaggerated and extensive portrayal of vice in fiction, especially in "silver-fork" novels, Paton passed on to a consideration of the various types of fictitious composition. He first glanced briefly at drama, correctly pointing out that many pieces most suited to the stage are not enjoyable reading, and vice versa:

We want both action and poetry on the stage, but rather action; both poetry and incident in the closet, but rather poetry. Of the strictly dramatic poem, as well as of the theatrical drama, there are but few readers, and it is on the detailed or narrative drama, whether in prose or verse, that I wish to say a few words. These shall be, 1st the construction; 2ndly, of the characters; and 3rdly, of the moral tendencies of such compositions . . .

Paton's remarks under these headings, though revealing no great literary insights and, unfortunately, referring to few specific works, were, like his earlier comments, at least eminently sensible. For example,

Painful catastrophes in the tragic department are not so common as happy terminations. They require more talent, and to the majority of readers they are much less satisfactory; and it is the usual practice to distribute as much practical happiness among the characters in the concluding scenes as is consistent with justice and with the structure of the story.

He advised "wise" authors to follow nature, avoiding both insipidity and improbability, and striving for a lively, clearly-written and continuous narrative, without digressions or subsidiary plots. After describing various types of novels - Gothic, modern romances, tales of real life, love stories, historical fictions, sea stories and so on - with some delightfully ironic summaries of typical plots and properties, Paton turned his attention to characterisation.

As to character, it should be original, if possible. In these formal days, when men and women are ground down to a fixed standard, originality is not readily found. But a character need not be insipid; at all events, it need not be improbable. Things that never did and never can occur in life are nothing to anybody, and characters who are every day doing things to astonish and confound cease to engage the attention, by the unnatural glare and glitter of their pretensions, which are not an imitation, but a mimicry of nature and truth. Any thing over done is disagreeable in cookery or poetry; and there is nothing more so in tales, whether in prose or verse, than representations of human nature in a worse light than it is in real life.

From this, he launched into a further attack on the excessive emphasis on villains and vice in modern fiction, and on the over-use of low life characters, reminding writers that they are not all Crabbes, Dickenses or Scotts: "Coarse language, vulgar dialect, and low manners will not constitute a novel, any more than fine words, sentimental phrase, and dandified elegance: the one, if read, will be perused with pain and loathing; the other with weariness and contempt."

On his third point - "the useful tendency and effect of works of fiction" - Paton said

> I know that I am about to tread on disputed ground - on a debatable territory. To combat the opinions that have been uttered, denouncing it altogether, as an idle dream - a foolish, if not a wicked notion, - would be a work of supererogation. Let us grant that much of its tendency is evil . . . Shall we then condemn the works of great and better authors of written fiction, because some have lent their pen to other than the legitimate and wholesome ends of this species of composition?

After pointing out that most objections to fiction came from "religious people" who had, however, not hesitated to use religious novels, replete with "the most mawkish sentimentalities" and "the most pernicious details of immorality", for their own didactic ends, Paton concluded with some suggestions on the correct attitude to novel reading, particularly in the young:

> We encourage by all means in our power a taste for the fine arts, and we select songs and music, and pictorial illustrations in full measure, for our juvenile and other friends: why do we not the same in the drama and in the novel? Both classes of composition appeal to an instinctivity of our mental and physical constitution. By pointing them to the higher productions of imaginative genius at first, we secure them against any liking for the low, and vulgar, and vicious trash of novels. Place those works in your libraries, and you will by the same method raise and purify the taste of the working classes; you will correct an evil which you cannot altogether prevent; you will increase the enjoyments by

elevating the sentiments of all; and while your and other kindred institutions are striving to extend the benefits of knowledge and direct the public mind to useful and elevated pursuits, you will thus be helping

"To touch the soul by tender strokes of Art,
To warm the genius and to mend the heart."

Thus, Innes and Paton were more advanced than the Sydney Mechanics' Institute theorists, and others who accepted novels only as a necessary evil for the encouragement of serious reading, since they both argued for a value in fiction itself.

On 21 October 1848, the Examiner announced that Dr. Paton would read another paper on "Light Literature" at the Annual General Meeting of the Mechanics' Institute, but four days later noted this had been postponed owing to poor attendance at the meeting. There is no record of it having been given subsequently, though the following year Paton lectured on "Polite Literature and Poetry", as mentioned in the Institute's Annual Report, printed in the Examiner for 24 October. This report also notes four lectures on "Modern Poetry" by, once again, R.K. Ewing. From the accounts of these lectures in the Examiner earlier in 1848, they seem to have been substantially the same as those given in Sydney and Hobart, and again were frequently applauded by a crowded audience. Ewing does, however, appear to have devoted more time to female poets, especially Mrs. Hemans and Mrs. Norton, his neglect of poetesses being, of course, one of the objections raised by Richard Thompson.

In Melbourne during the eighteen-forties, the Mechanics' Institute started badly by becoming heavily indebted through the erection of an apparently over-elaborate building. In his Impressions of Australia Felix (1845), Richard Howitt noted, "The Mechanics' Institute in Collins Street is very well as a building - not so the debt upon it, 1600 l. It has a library, very small". (p. 117) Lecture programmes do not seem to have been in regular operation until about 1845. On 25 August 1843, the Melbourne Times reported both a "lamentable falling off of subscribers" - now only totaling thirty-five - and the equally lamentable fact that, though only thirteen lectures had been delivered in the four years since its establishment, the Institute's expenses, exclusive of the building, amounted to fourteen hundred pounds. A slightly more hopeful note appeared in a subsequent report on 13 October 1843: Governor Gipps "had received with a favourable eye the application which has been made to him to relieve this institution of some of its embarrassments by liquidating the amount which has been raised by mortgage upon the building." Of the few lectures given in the early 'forties, the only one with any literary bearing was George Arden's on "The Mechanical Agency of the Press in the Dissemination of General Knowledge". As reported in the Port Phillip Patriot for 1 June 1840, this was the usual historical tour through all forms of communication since the dawn of human life. A similar approach was adopted by Arden in his 1847 lecture on "Literature" to the Geelong Mechanics' Institute. This, printed in full in the Corio Chronicle for 22 and 25

September, was overall rather prosy and boring, replete with long extracts from scholarly works on the Greeks and Hebrews, and a briefer summary of European literature down to that of North America. Little wonder the Chronicle reported

Before concluding his subject, the lecturer stated, that, the pressure of other employments, together with the difficulty he had experienced, in making the topic of interest to a somewhat limited class, he would take leave both to condense his matter, and shorten the philosophical application he had intended of his theme, to the circumstances of Australia. The audience was comparatively thin, but their approbation particularly of its concluding portions was warm and gratifying.

Like this audience, one feels only the concluding paragraph of Arden's lecture deserves the applause of quotation:

Having thus seen from the most ancient to the most modern Times, that the Greatest Nations have been the most enlightened, and that literature has flourished most under the most liberal governments, does it not behove us, the founders of a race, whose destinies are analogous to those of the American Republics, to seek out and cultivate the elements of a local literature, and although, we have not the wealth and wisdom of the Chaldeans and the Egyptians, the boundless rule of the Arabians, the genius and skill of Greece, the pomp and luxury of Rome, or the ancient traditions, the classical associations, the pregnant history, or the highly civilized position of Italy, France and England, have we not a clime, as fair as that of Corinth, spirit as free, as the Archaian, an energy as hardy as the Roman, a genius as diversified as the Italian, and a sagacity equal to the Anglo Americans. If these be joined to the political standing, religious dignity, and commercial precendency which we derive from England, and be then sealed by the National Independence, which the ordinary course of Times and Events, must bring, what is to prevent us, standing proudly forward, to challenge the young Races of the World, to an exhibition of Literary strength and scientific ability. Without plunging you afresh into detail, I need, I am sure, only point out the elements which surround us, in natural history, in physical geography, in meteorological phenomena, in the primitive examples of a human race, language, and customs, in experimental constructions of society, nay in moral union, educational undertakings, and in religious cordiality, such as the world never saw and men never dreamt of, and which I say, exist, ready to our concerted operations, to fix your attention, on the importance of practically, personally and collectively

applying, the profound truths which I have endeavoured to illustrate for your advantage and information.

The other main Victorian lecturer on cultural topics in this decade was Sir Redmond Barry, already mentioned as one of the founders of the Melbourne Mechanics' Institute. In 1847, he delivered "An Introductory Lecture on Architecture, Sculpture and Painting" there, and, in 1849, another on "Music and Poetry", both of which were also printed as pamphlets in these years. Barry's later lecture contains a definition of poetry: "the art of creating from intellectual materials, by an effort of imagination, that which is beautiful, pathetic, sublime, or terrible": similar to those advanced by other contemporary lecturers, though avoiding the pitfalls of attempting to differentiate between prose and poetry. His examples were equally conservative - Shakespeare, Milton and Ossian. Nevertheless, this lecture was extremely popular, as the Argus reported on 25 October 1849:

> Last evening Mr. Barry delivered a lecture on Poetry and Music. The attendance was larger than at any previous lecture during the season, and afforded an intellectual treat to those who were present. Mr. Barry did ample justice to the influence which the twin sisters frequently exercise over the passions, and after briefly dwelling upon their disputed origins, and quoting, with good effect, some familiar passages from Shakespeare, Milton, and other authors, concluded with a peroration replete with refined and popular sentiments. The lecture was frequently and deservedly applauded.

The popularity of poetry as a lecture topic, presumably because of its freedom from the controversies surrounding other forms of imaginative literature, can again be seen in South

Australia. On 23 June 1843, the Southern Australian reported a recent lecture to the Mechanics' Institute by Thomas Wilson, Esquire, on "English Poetry from the reign of Henry VIII down to Charles I. 1540 to 1640", but without any details on what was said. As one learns from an article in the South Australian Magazine for October-November 1843, however, Wilson's lecture was a further sign of the growing interest in early English authors mentioned in the previous chapter. He aimed to introduce authors "now rarely to be found except on the shelves of the zealous and wealthy collectors of old English poetry". Hence, one finds him discussing and quoting "The amiable and unfortunate Earl of Surry [sic], the first refiner of our language" and John Skelton, "whose metrical vagaries of the grossest nature were very much relished at Henry's court", besides Heywood, Sidney, Raleigh, Spenser, Drummond, Shakespeare and many other lesser lights.

A later lecture on poetry given to the Institute by the Rev. F. Coyle was summarised in the Adelaide Observer for 25 November 1848. Unlike the other lectures already discussed, this was mainly concerned with the writing of poetry. Coyle's prescriptions were tough: the would-be poet should be thoroughly acquainted with "the laws of versification", grammar, rhetoric, logic, metaphysics, the English classics, translations, at least, of Greek and Latin authors, works on Hebrew and Oriental literatures, and modern languages: "Two hours every day would enable a man of mind to read German, French, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese in two years." Rather more practical were his

suggestions on the type of poetry most suited to beginners:

> Moral poetry seldom rises higher than mere commonplace, a sickly sentimentality. Praise of the living or dead, unless by a master pen, "one half will never be believed, the other never read". Satire promised more success. The writer was generally more sincere, consequently more at home. (A laugh.) Patriotism was as likely as religion to inspire disgusting cant. The lecturer thought love the softest subject for a beginner. . . . Commencing upon easy subjects, the aspirant to poetical distinction may in time attempt the epic, and even the drama, observing always to use the simplest words, to keep as close to the original Saxon as possible, to be always certain that he understands himself, to keep within the limits of possibility and probability, to avoid all affectation of language or sentiment, to never have more than a "touch and go" allusion to old mythology, or aught else that bears not "the form and pressure" of the times.

After reading the mass of poor verse published in Australia before 1850, one regrets more would-be poets did not hear or heed Coyle's sound advice. As he indicated, religious, patriotic and eulogising themes, all, alas, extremely popular, invariably resulted in sentimental, overwritten pieces, and even the majority of love poems were soft to the point of insubstantiality. Local satirical and humorous poetry certainly strikes one as the best overall group, perhaps because, to reverse Coyle's order, writers were more at home, consequently more sincere, or, at least, less shackled by conventions and clichés of the "poetic".

Coyle's lecture on poetry was the only one on a cultural topic to be reported in any detail in the Adelaide press. If, however, the author of an article, "South Australia as It Is", in the New South Wales Magazine for April 1843, may be believed, lectures of this type were fairly common early in the 'forties. Mounted on the hobby-horse so ably opposed by F.M. Innes, that

Mechanics' Institutes should stick to the mechanical, he pronounced

> . . . We may advert to the intellectual state of South Australia, perhaps there seldom has been a community which included within so small a range so large an amount of intelligence and talent, as is evidenced by the frequent and excellent lectures delivered at the Mechanics' Institute. It is to be regretted however that those lectures are not more appropriate both in style and subject to the class for which they are professedly delivered, they seem to be got up rather in compliment to individuals than for the benefit of Mechanics, instead of lectures on Chemistry, Mechanics, Perspective, Combination of Colours, something of practical utility to the Artizan, "the Pleasures of Hope", "the Beauties of Literature", "the Abolition of Capital Punishment", &c.!!! are served up as intellectual treats to a fashionable assembly. Whether this be attributable to the cause surmised above, or ignorance of Physical Science, it is for the South Australians to determine, certain it is the evil exists, and they ought to rectify it. (p. 176)

But, despite such constant carpings, and equally frequent contentions that colonists were only interested in money-making, it is evident from this discussion that mechanics and other classes were not to be deprived of literary learning and amusement. They successfully insisted on the inclusion of novels and other light works in libraries, and generally greeted with enthusiasm any lectures on literature. The frequent, detailed reports of these lectures in the local press also testify to at least a supposition of popular interest in them. The press's other contribution to those who not only wanted to read and discuss literature, but to write it, forms a large part of the subject of the next chapter.