A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY
OF SYDNEY'S CULTURAL LIFE.

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Anthropological and Social Science.

- by Florence Harding.

M. A., 1947
TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE STUDY

"A Survey of cultural activities in Australia (with particular reference to Sydney), to determine the role of these activities in society".

The scope of the research includes:

2. An account of the nature and extent of present-day cultural activities.
3. An analysis of the role of these activities in contemporary society - with special reference to the hypothesis that cultural activities have been stimulated during the war years.
4. A study of the constitution and role of the intelligentsia.

Florence Harding.
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INTRODUCTION.

The Aim and Method of the Study.

The aim of this study has been to seek the relationship between Australian culture and Australian society. Sociology and anthropology have established that all parts of society are closely related and interact on each other and that changes affecting one part have repercussions on the other parts which concern the whole social organism. Thus it is believed Australia's cultural development cannot be understood apart from its relation to those social, economic and political and geographical forces, for it is these factors which have determined the character and function of our cultural life.

It should be noted here that the term "culture" as used throughout this study is to be distinguished from the anthropological use of the word which refers to all those social phenomena such as traditions, institutions and customs which contribute to the totality of a society and which serve to distinguish one society from another. Culture has been used here in its narrower sense connoting those aesthetic products of society which are manifest in the arts of literature, painting, music, and drama. Thus an attempt will be made on the one hand to trace the influence of social forces on the separate arts and on the other to indicate the way in which culture may have effected society.

The original contribution to be made here, is not
in the presentation of any new or original facts about Australian history or literature - although original sources were frequently consulted. Nor has it been attempted to reconsider and revise the ground already covered by competent specialists in their own field of drama, literature, art and music. The original contribution to be made here lies in the nature of the approach which has been one of correlation and synthesis.

From the historical point of view general trends and influences have been considered more important than specific details. The aim has been to get at the root factors in Australian society, which have determined the nature of our culture.

Further an attempt has been made to analyse the class roots of Australian culture and show the way in which the social set up may have effected the nature of our literature and art. This investigation has been more concerned with the nature and extent and social implications of Australian culture rather than with any aesthetic judgments on its quality and form.

The problem has been raised of the place of the intelligentsia of the social position of writers, artists and musicians in contemporary society. As part of this analysis use has been made of the case study method, although no attempt is made to generalise from case study material - this technique serves the purpose of illuminating and clarifying general observations by reference to the particular.
The limitations of this study lie in the fact that such a vast field has been covered in a restricted space, for instance, the historical survey alone merits a complete study. On the other hand, it is believed that the attempt to correlate in one study, despite the sacrifice to detail, Australia's most important social and cultural developments, may offer a positive contribution. Numerous problems have arisen during the course of this investigation which it was not within the scope of the study to discuss, but it is felt that many of them offer opportunities for further research. To mention just two, for instance, the study of class in a penal society would reward investigation; while the problem and role of the intelligentsia could provide material for a thesis in itself.

METHOD:

From the point of view of method this study may be described in anthropological terms as a functionalist investigation. Its purpose having been to trace the interrelation of one aspect of Australian society to its other parts. Although for Section A, the historical survey, secondary sources had to be relied on through library material; for the Survey of the Contemporary Scene and the analysis of the role of culture and the intelligentsia in Sydney the practical techniques of field work was adopted. Material was compiled from personal participation, contacts and interviews over a period of six months.
PART (I)

AN INTRODUCTORY HISTORICAL SURVEY.
PART (A)

AN INTRODUCTORY

HISTORICAL

SURVEY.
A. HISTORICAL SURVEY:

In tracing the development of Australian culture, certain factors emerge to dominate and influence its entire course and orientation. The most important of these being the fact that Australia was settled as a colony of England. The study of a colonial society presents certain problems which are unique. Here we do not find a society whose institutions and ways of life have grown up naturally through the slow adaptation to the environment and careful selection and rejection of certain customs and techniques. Instead we see a group of people suddenly set down in a new and alien country cut off from all that is familiar and traditional. Clinging tenaciously to what they know they attempt to preserve those links with the society from which they came by grafting on the institutions and customs to their new environment, no matter how unsuitable many of them may be.

The colonisation of Australia is not the story of the conquest of a subject people and the consequent fusion of two cultures to emerge eventually as a new nation. The existence of the aborigines made little difference to the white colonists as they were insufficiently organised to interfere to any great extent with this settlement of the country. The story of the native Australian is an elusive one of constant withdrawal from the encroachment of the white man — wherever contact came the black man vanished. Thus the form that our society assumed arose from the planting of English institutions
on foreign soil. From its very beginnings Australian culture has carried over with it the basis of English culture in its language, traditions and spirit. This is proved not only by an examination of our institutions, but also by an analysis of our art and literature.

The early colonists thought of themselves as Englishmen and a spirit of nostalgia pervades much of the writing up till the end of the last century. Writers and painters striving to preserve the links with their English heritage interpreted what they saw and heard in terms of the familiar English idiom. The earliest poems directly from the English romantic tradition. No attempt was made to interpret the country as it was seen; there are few references to local characteristics and colour, thus much of the early writing is little more than the artificial and lifeless echoes of the eighteenth century convention. Similarly the artist in painting the Australian landscape viewed it through English eyes - in the early paintings we look in vain for the dry, clear Australian sky and find instead the softness and mist of the English countryside; even the trees assumed the thick foliage of the artist's homeland. To him the Australian Aborigines are Europeans with dark skins - as Sir William Dixon pointed out, in commenting on one of the earliest drawings of the native people (done by Governor King), that, "Save for the lack of clothing, the figures are as unlike aborigines as they could well be. In

(1)

the picture the natives have painted toes, well developed muscles

(1) For reproduction see Bernard Smith "P lace, T aste and T radition", Plate 3.
and feet - the three particular characteristics the Australian native is noted for lacking". This early artist's idea of the native was the idealised eighteenth century version of the noble savage.

The impact of the country itself - its strangeness, the monotony of colour, the inversion of the seasons - on the first colonists is of considerable importance in an analysis of a colonial society. The new locality served to emphasise their isolation and the consciousness of their exile. The reaction was generally one of dislike and hostility.

Again and again in the early records we find articulate hostility to the environment - "this solitary waste of the creation", as a female convict described it in a letter. An officer in 1790 writing home could see no advantages in colonising such a country - he comments: -

"The country, my lord, is past all dispute a wretched one, very wretched and totally incapable of yielding to Great Britain a return for colonizing it. Amidst its native productions I cannot number one which is valuable as an article of commerce. There is no wood fit for naval purposes; no fibrous grass or plant from which cordage can be made; no substances which can aid or improve the labours of the manufacturer...."

(1) H.R.A. of N.S.W. Vol (II) p.746-747
(2) Ibid p.761
The strangeness of the bush oppressed them with its vastness, its songless birds and scentless flowers. Possibly Wentworth has given more graphically than anyone, a description of the bush as it seemed to these first settlers in his History of the Colony of N.S.W.

"If you afterwards suddenly face about to the westward, you see before you one vast forest, uninterrupted except by the cultivated openings which have been made by the axe on the summits of some of the loftiest hills, and which tend considerabily to diminish those melancholy sensations its "gloomy" monotony would otherwise inspire. The innumerable indulations of this vast expanse of forest, forcibly remind you of the ocean when convulsed by tempests; save that the billows of the one slumber in a fixed and leaden stillness, and want that motion which constitutes the diversity, the beauty and sublimity of the other...."

This influence of the landscape on the writer and artist persisted as will be seen until the nineties. It was not till then did the artist and writer begin to recognise that the country possessed a unique quality and beauty of its own. Even as late as the sixties Marcus Clarke, one of our first novelists was writing that, "In Australia alone is to be found the grotesque, the weird, the strange scribblings of nature learning how to write".

These factors - the nature of the country itself, and the carrying over of the institutions of an old established
culture to a new land contributed to develop a colonial consciousness and a resulting artistic imitativeness. This colonial "complex" to use Calverton's phrase continued up to the end of the nineteenth century when we can see the rise of Australian nationalism with its vigorous outpouring of literature with an assertive Australian bias. This coincides with the rise of the Labor Party and the alignment of many of the writers of the day through "The Bulletin" with this political group which, amongst other things stood for national independence and against British Imperialism.

(2)

As Calverton, in his study of American literature, has pointed out every colonial culture goes through certain stages of development. First, there is the stage of determined adaptation in which the colonists attempt to adapt their original culture to the new environment, stressing continuity between old and new. In Australia this stage continued to about 1860. The second is the stage in which the colonists begin to become conscious of themselves and the new conditions are starting to modify the old traditions to such an extent that differences become more important than resemblances. Here, we can see this transition beginning in the poems of Charles Harpur and then in the writings of Kendall and Adam Lindsay Gordon. The third stage witnesses the struggle for freedom from the mother culture - and the revolt in favor of a national culture.

(1) Liberation of American Literature.

(2) Ibid p.
This took place in our literature in the rise of "The Bulletin" school of writers - Lawson, Tom Collins, Victor Daly, Paterson, etc. - in our paintings with the establishment of highly individual school of Australian landscape painting pioneered by Tom Roberts and Arthur Streeton in the eighties and nineties. Finally there is the stage when the colony having achieved its independent nationhood, economically and politically, there emerges a cultured tradition of its own. Whether we have arrived at this point culturally is perhaps questionable.

Thus in this study of Australian society as expressed in terms of its cultural development colonisation is a factor which continually intrudes and influences all aspects of its evolution. Very often the explanation for many social and cultural characteristics can be found in the colonial basis of Australian society.

So far two basic influences have been pointed out as fundamentally affecting the history of our development. But it is believed that all aspects of society have a direct or indirect influence in shaping the nature of our creative culture. Economics, geography, politics, religion, class stratification, etc., have all been instrumental in producing our national literature and art. The problem to be studied here is concerned with examining the historical interaction of social and cultural forces; thus attempting to analyse our literature, art, music and drama against the background of society.

In studying the relation of culture and society it is believed that an insight into the nature of society can be gained
which could not be arrived at in any other way. We can see how people have interpreted the life of their age; how they have commented on or criticised it; how the state of society can very often produce certain art forms characteristic and indicative of the times; how in art and literature we can see social conditions reflected often more accurately than through any other medium. And on the other hand this study will attempt to show just how far the artist himself has had any impact on the society in which he lives. For example it will be demonstrated how during the benevolent dictatorship of Macquarie the closely regulated society influenced our first poet so that he produced the sort of poetry which would be regarded favourably by his despotic patron. Again it will be shown how during the nineties the artist, especially the writer, was to influence the attainment of our nationhood.

(i) 1788-1809 The Problem is Set.

An examination of the basis of Australian culture leads us first of all to an analysis of the foundation of the early settlement. Here it is we find the key to the explanation of the characteristics of later Australian society. It was during these years that the pattern was set from which later characteristics were to be formed. In the first decades the basic premises are stated on which are built the whole complex of our colonial development.

As has been pointed out the most important influence in our history has been the fact that Australia was settled as a colony and as a convict colony of eighteenth century England,
In Europe towards the end of the 18th century there was a generally unfavourable attitude towards colonies. It was widely felt that colonies tended to weaken the strength of the mother colony and the example of Spain was held up as irrefutable evidence. Indeed looking closer to home it was even maintained by some that they were positively dangerous as the case of the American War of Independence had illustrated.

So that when in 1769 as G.A. Wood has pointed out, the British Government whose main exploit was the destruction of the British Empire, was persuaded by the Royal Society to send James Cook to observe the transit of Venus at Tahiti, and afterwards to look for the 'theoretic continent' in the South Pacific it is unlikely the thought of a new colony came into the head of any minister... (to use Joseph Banks' useful phrase) it was a voyage of curiosity.... and there is not the least reason to suppose that the lounging opinions of Lord Grafton and his friends contained any plan to use the increase of human knowledge in founding colonies. Banks proposal that a colony should be established in Botany Bay seems difficult to understand in view of the general dislike of colonies in the year 1779, and of the exceedingly unfavourable opinion of N.S.W. which Banks had written down in his journal. The main explanation is the fact that the colony which it was proposed to found in Botany Bay was a colony of convicts. This was not the sort of colony that would lead to a dangerous depopulation of the Mother Country. It was to be a colony of those who might justly boast:
"True patriots all, for be it understood, (1)
We left our country, for our country's good".

In 1775 when the American colonists refused to accept any more convicts from England an acute problem arose as to what should be done with the enormous number of convicts who were accumulating "at the rate of a thousand a year". The immediate solution was to house the overflow which the bursting gaols could not accommodate in the derelict prison hulks on the Thames. This, however, could not continue indefinitely for between 1775 and 1790, the overflow amounted to some 8,000. Something had to be done and an obvious solution presented itself - why not a convict colony at Botany Bay? This idea had the advantage of disposing of the convicts somewhere out of sight where their offensive presence could no longer be seen and the chances of contamination would be diminished. On the other hand it also offered an opportunity for occupying this land mass in the South Seas before anyone else decided to and at the same time it would not be a drain on the population resources of the motherland. For this was a period of prosperity in England and although her population was increasing during the 18th century it was still not adequate for her needs. Her statesmen did not wish free men to emigrate when every able man was needed at home. Indeed depopulation had been a cry raised by the anti-colonials.


(2) "Phillip of Australia": Barnard Eldershaw.
Hence with this attitude as the backing of the foundation of the colony it is not to be wondered at that the indifference of the Home Government added to the difficulties of the early settlement. The very manner in which the first fleet was equipped speaks for this attitude. Thus writes (1) Captain Tench in his journal: -

"I wish I could answer to the liberal manner in which the Government supplied the expedition. But when the reader is told, that some of the necessary articles, allowed to ships on a common passage to the West Indies, were withheld from us; that portable soup, wheat and pickled vegetables were not allowed; and that an adequate quantity of essence of malt was the only anti-scorbutic supplied, his surprise will redouble at the results of the voyage. For it must be remembered that the people thus sent out were not a ship's company starting out with every advantage of good health and good living, which a state of freedom produces, but the major part a miserable set of convicts, emancipated from confinement, and in want of clothes, and almost every convenience to render so long a passage tolerable."

But this was just the beginning of the gross neglect which hampered Phillip and retarded the development of the young colony. Again and again the lack of provisions and the delay in the arrival of supplies caused despair in the hearts of the colonists. A picture of a recurrent situation is given in this extract from one of the letters of a surgeon:

"It is now so long since we have heard from home that our clothes are threadbare. We began to think the mother country has entirely forsaken us. As for shoes, my stock has been exhausted these six months and I have been obliged since that time to beg and borrow among the gentlemen, for no such article was to be bought. In this deplorable situation famine is staring us in the face. Two ounces of pork is the allowance of animal food for four and twenty hours, and happy is the man that can kill a rat or a crow to make him a dainty meal...... I dined most heartily the other day on a fine dog, and hope I shall again have an invitation to a similar repast. The animals that were meant to stock the country are almost all butchered...." (2)

(1) Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay, p. 52.
(2) H.R.A. S (I) Vol. (II) p. 770
Thus not only did Phillip have to overcome the difficulties of settling a strange and seemingly barren country with a handful of convicts not prone to overwork, but also the apathy of an unsympathetic Government at Home. Despite all this with his courage and inspiring example he held together the small and intransigent community and guided it through its hardships, so that when he left there were signs of considerable achievement to his credit. Agricultural progress had been made - there were rural settlements at Parramatta (then Rose Hill), the first substantial buildings erected, and the infant town of Sydney laid out according to a plan. With his departure the first constructive epoch our history closed.

When Phillip departed, worn out with the struggle, the colony was left in the hands of the N.S.W. Corps who had recently arrived. The ensuing developments are of some significance in relation to the later development of Australian society, for with the entrenchment of the military group as landholders and merchants the seeds of an influential upper class were sown. Although the N.S.W. Corps was drummed out of the Colony with the arrival of Macquarie many of them remained to become established and later respected (when their early associations had been forgotten) members of the aristocracy.

During the interim period before the arrival of Hunter, between 1792-1795, the soldiers consolidated their position very firmly. Their leaders, Grose and Paterson handed out large grants of land to their friends who used convict labor without scruple to work their estates from the government. Among
these officers was John Macarthur who, says Wood, was an able and vigorous man and there were others like him whose enterprise as farmers did great service to N.S.W. But in another respect their work was disastrous, for they used their position to win a monopoly of the colony's trade and commerce. Thus on the rare occasions when a ship called at Sydney, the officers would pool their resources and buy up its cargo. "Then by using their monopoly power they could sell goods at an enormous profit; often as much as five hundred percent", which had disastrous consequences for the poor farmers and who were struggling for their very existence.

Added to this was the shortage of currency which the officers soon overcame by adopting a new type of currency — rum.

So firmly entrenched did they become that not even the firm attempts of the far from weak Governors Hunter and King could oust them from their position. Finally, the Home Government sent out Bligh and it was during his term of government that the Colonial Office became convinced that the situation in N.S.W. was preposterous. Bligh forced the issue and rebellion ensued. It became obvious that something had to be done to curb the power of the soldiers. The Bligh rebellion had shown that the Governor who was meant to be a despot had really no power at all in the face of the strong and wealthy officers. So it was decided to recall the N.S.W. Corps and send out Macquarie with his own 73rd Regiment to replace it. From then on the Governor became a despot in fact instead of in theory. The first immediate

(1) FLW. Wood, Constitutional Development of Australia. p. 20.
bitter struggle for existence was over and the stage set for a period of consolidation under the benevolent despotism of Macquarie.

During the first twenty years of hardship and endurance there was little time to indulge in the artistic activities which require leisure, while the immediate problems of existence were so pressing. Nevertheless, this period did produce some works of art but only in the field of painting. That most of these early paintings were works of art was incidental as they were prompted by scientific investigation. The first Australian artists were scientists. At the time of Cook's voyages, naturalist-artists were attracted to these expeditions to record the fauna and flora of the different countries they visited. This emphasis on scientific recording was continued during the early years of the settlement at Sydney as is evident in the work of Thomas Watling. John William Lewin and Gould. In addition to this type of drawing some of these artists attempted landscape; an example of one of the earliest of these being a view of Sydney Cove painted in 1794 by Thomas Watling. Governors Hunter and King both indulged in painting. Hunter painted studies of birds while King made one of the earliest drawings of the natives (referred to above).

These early artists were little impressed with the country they found - there was a harshness and sameness which did not appeal to them. Watling in a letter to relations in Scotland voiced the general opinion when he complained that "the
landscape painter may in vain seek here for the beauty which arises from happy-opposed offscapes. Bold rising hills, or azure distances would be a kind phenomena. I however confess, that, were I to select and combine, I might avoid that sameness (1) and find engaging employment".

In addition to this lack of harmony with his environment which the early artist experienced, the organisation of society was not inducive to self-expression. Attempts to indulge in such non-productive pursuits as painting or writing would not be regarded favourably. Thus what efforts were made to express the country pictorially was limited to some views of Sydney Cove which were no doubt officially sanctioned - their value for record purpose probably being recognised. N either was there any creative writing produced at this time, although there is some remarkably fine prose to be found in official despatches and personal diaries. The reasons for this lack of creative expression as has been indicated are to be found partly in the struggle for existence which occupied the main attention of the first settlers, partly in the hostile reaction to the landscape, and partly but perhaps most important of all in the restrictive nature of daily life itself.

Up to 1822, the end of Macquarie's administration the colony was ruled as a gaol. Every aspect of life was decreed and regulated.

For the first twenty years until a free class of settlers established themselves there were two rigidly defined (1) Quoted by Wm. Moore "Story of A ustralian Art" p.13.
groups in the community the rulers and the ruled. Gradually the convicts whose sentences had expired began to form a strong and vocal group; they became the emancipists whose conflict with the exclusionists or officer class came to a head during Macquarie's term of office. However, until 1809 the upper class was formed by the officers of the N.S.W. Corps, and the lower by the convicts. As the latter became free it did not mean that their social status was altered, they were still debarred from the entrance into the polite circles and not even the added advantages of wealth which many of them accrued later could gain them social prestige... But in the first days there was no conflict; discipline was stern and the division between convict and officer so wide and so marked that there was no questioning of the position each was occupying.

The history of our earliest aristocracy is the history of the New South Wales Corps. When Major Ross and his Marines were relieved in 1790-91, the British Government decided to form a special corps of men for service in the colony to replace the marines. Grose was put in charge of the recruiting programme. The prospect of joining a corps whose only occupation was policing convicts was unattractive to vigorous types of individuals - hence the quality of the men recruited was of a poor standard. There is considerable evidence to show that the dregs of the motherland composed this group, as for instance, the following dispatch of Governor Hunter to the Duke of Portland in 1796:

"I should feel myself deficient in that duty which
I owe to his Majesty's service in this part of the world were I not to take a liberty which I have no reason to believe your Grace will be offended at - I mean, in remarking that the manner in which this corps has, since employed upon this service, been recruited does in a great measure weaken the effect or service which we would expect to derive from the assistance of the military. Soldiers from the Savoy, and other characters who have been considered as disgraceful to every other regiment in his Majesty's service, have been thought fit and proper recruits for the N.S.W. Corps, which, in my humble opinion, my Lord, should have been composed of the very best and most orderly dispositions. They are sent here to guard and keep in obedience to the laws, when force may be requisite, a set of the worst, the most atrocious characters that ever disgraced human nature; and yet we find amongst those safeguards men capable of corrupting the heart of the best disposed, and often superior in every species of infamy to the most expert in wickedness amongst the convicts. Our stores, provisions and granaries must be entrusted to the care of those men: what security can we have in the hands of such people? None my Lord. Your Grace will see the impropriety of such recruits being sent to this country......It might probably be thought expensive to relieve them...... but I cannot help believing, my Lord, that the service would be much benfited by such a measure...." (1)

While a letter from Secretary Nepean to the War Office dated 11th September, 1797 relates how a private marine John McGinnis was tried at Court martial for sedition and was sentenced "to receive 1,000 lashes and to serve for life in the N.S.W. Corps".

This type of individual, however, was not exclusive to the rank and file, the character of the officers was little better to which this letter from the Rev. William Henry to the London Missionary Society bears testimony. On 29th August, 1799, (2) H.R.A. of N.S.W. Vol.(III), p.65.

(2) H.R.A. of N.S.W. Vol.(III), p.298

Footnote: (*) The Savoy was a military prison situated near the site where Waterloo Bridge now spans the Tames
he wrote: -

"Religion is truly at a low ebb here, and there is little probability of it being otherwise until matters take a great change in the colony. It is become quite fashionable among the officers and others who should set the convicts a good example, to stay away from church and neglect the worship of God, and it ceases to be deemed foolishness with some of them to scoff at religion and sacred things and treat the holy Scriptures of truth with contempt and ridicule". (1) "There are few of the officers who are not either Atheists or

And this is what the Rev. Samuel Marsden had to say of their behaviour: -

"Hunter the Governor attends divine service. The convicts are marched in long lines to the church. The inferior officers imprudently are absentees. The influence of so wretched an example is not necessary to increase the corrupt style of public manners. Their private lives and bold concubinage with the female convicts retard the (2) progress of good morals."
(ii) **Benevolent Despotism 1809-1821.**

When Macquarie succeeded to the position of governor he was determined to reverse the policy of his predecessors. His aim was to rule the colony for the benefit of the convicts and not the officers and in consequence his term of office was marked by a series of bitter class quarrels.

The Governor had unlimited powers and until 1814 - when the road was made across the Blue Mountains - the little colony was geographically well situated to be ruled as a gaol. The settlement, called in by the impassable barrier in the west, its expansion limited, turned its face towards the sea. The highlight of existence was still the advent of ships from England bringing news of "home" to the exiles.

Thus Macquarie with his great powers ruled as the complete autocrat, tempered by his wisdom and humanitarianism. He made the laws, decided what taxes should be paid, granted land or withheld it as he pleased. On him devolved the judiciary he could pardon or put to death. He was responsible for providing the subsistence of the colony and often its survival depended on his judgment.

At this time there had emerged three distinct classes in the colony. They were the officers the "exclusionists", the convicts and emancipists; and the free immigrants. The officers formed the upper stratum in the community. They were determined to assert their superiority and fiercely opposed the

(1) Macquarie's World, p.115-116
Governor's policy of encouraging the emancipists. On occasion they had to sit at the Governor's table with them, but no emancipist was ever invited to dine with them. So rigid were they in their determination to maintain their exclusive status that one young officer was dismissed from his regiment for playing cards with an ex-convict, as a warning to others who might be tempted to betray their class.

What "social" life there was existed among the officers, balls, race-meetings, dinners, water-parties and kangaroo-hunts. Various regiments came to Sydney, each of them bringing traditions and codes complete in themselves. They were determined to remain intact and they did. As M. Barnard says the "military" were the most colourful section of the community, if only by reason of the uniforms they wore, and thus colonial existence was the most artificial and detached (1) because the least permanent". Economically too they were a drain on the colony. Their military duties occupied only a small portion of their time and so they indulged in all sorts of trade and speculation from which many made considerable sums of money. But this was not put back into the colony, but sent home to England for investment there. Illness also led them to seek relief from boredom through alcohol. Many sources indicate that an excessive amount of drinking went on - For example in 1813 Macquarie wrote of the "gross irregularity and alarming degree of licentiousness" of men and officers alike.

(1) Macquarie's World, p.115-116
They raged about the town exhibiting scenes of disgraceful riot and confusion, to the dread and terror of peaceful inhabitants. In this new community there were no institutionalised class stratification - no means of telling where people fitted socially. The usual criteria of class family background, education, locality and so on - were missing, so new ones had to be invented. The desiderata of a gentleman was firstly that he should be a free man and secondly acceptable to the military caste. Wealth was no indication of respectability as the case of Simeon Lord demonstrated. He had risen with Macquarie's encouragement from a ticket of leave man to become one of the wealthiest traders in Sydney and yet he was not admitted to the society of officers and gentlemen. As M. Barnard put it, "Blue blood had nothing to do with it. Only convicts brought their pasts with them from England. The presence of a subject people had its usual effect on society, though technically convicts were subject only to the Government. Their presence heightened every man's opinion of himself and gave him by contrast a most pleasing illusion of immaculacy. Freedom was a cloak that covered many sins. Some of the rich men of the Colony were emancipists. Socially their money profited them nothing. It was an impertinence...."

(1) Quoted from M. Barnard, Ibid, p.116

(2) Ibid, P.24.
Although many of the officers returned to England there were a number who remained to make their fortunes in the new country. Many became absorbed into high official positions. Thus we read in the Sydney Gazette March 10th, 1821 that:

"His Excellency the Commander of the Forces has also been pleased to appoint Lieut. William Wilson of the 48th Regiment to act as Engineer and Inspector of Public Works at the settlement of Port Macquarie, with a salary of Five Shillings per diem"....

Gentworth in the chapter of his book advocating the establishment of a Legislative body, gives us a contemporary's view of the class divisions in the community of his day strongly deploring the attitude of the officers, he writes:

"In this, as in most other societies, there is an aristocratic body, which would monopolise all situations of power, dignity and emolument, and put themselves in a posture to dimine alike over the governor and the people. If you consult one of this faction (they deserve no milder appellation) he will tell you that it is dangerous to vest any authority beyond the narrow circle of his own immediate friends. Until the administration of General Macquarie, this body considered themselves of an equal right to the governor's confidence, as if they stood in the same relation to him which the nobility of this country bear to the King, and were de jure his hereditary counsellors..... At the prosperity, however, and importance of this faction, the present governor has levelled many a deadly blow within these last nine years; but more particularly in prohibiting the military to hold lands, to be concerned in traffic, in raising to situations of the highest trust and dignity many deserving persons who had been convicts, and in throwing open the ports of the colony to an unlimited importation of all sorts of merchandise......... The covert aim of these men is to convert the ignominy of the great body of the people into an hereditary deformity. They would hand it down from father to son, and raise an eternal barrier of separation between their offspring, and the offspring of the unfortunate convict. They would establish distinctions which may serve hereafter to divide the colonists into castes..... and they would have the present race branded with disqualifications not more for the sake of pampering their own vanity, than with a view to reflect disgrace on

(1) History of the Colony of N.S.W. p.346
the offspring of disfranchised parents, and thus cast on their own children and descendants that future splendour and importance, which they consider to be their present peculiar and distinguishing characteristics. Short-sighted fools! they foresee not the consequences of their narrow machinations.

Little distinction was made socially between convicts and emancipists no matter how capable and useful to the community an emancipist might be, the brand of Cain was on him and he was debarred from entering the circles of the self-styled aristocrats whose only standard of social worthiness was the mark of a free man. Macquarie realised that it was the emancipists who would develop the country and was far seeing enough to encourage such a group who had placed their stake and future in the new land.

Separate again from the emancipists and the officers were the free settlers who took up land. From them the rural population began to develop. Whether they became gentleman farmers or poor small landowners they were socially more acceptable than the emancipists. Amongst the former were men who came from England with land grants direct from the Colonial Office - mostly they were completely ignorant of rural matters and in Macquarie's eyes they were a dead loss to the Colony. He wrote to Lord Bathurst in 1814: -

Nearly the whole of those persons, who have arrived here in the Character of Settlers, have been ignorant of everything in the farming line, and have in consequence generally proved totally inadequate to the tasks they have undertaken, and on these occasions they immediately look to the Government for assistance to extricate them from difficulties their ignorance had previously involved them in".

The social distinctions were perhaps more apparent
than real, theoretically the official gentry might not mingle with the rest of the community, but in reality necessity compelled a certain degree of co-operation. Try as they might the officials could not isolate themselves. An instance of this can be seen in the educational arrangements. By this time considerable advances had been made in establishing schools - already there were two public schools in Sydney maintained by the Government for the instruction of convict's children. But in addition there were in Sydney and other parts of the colony as Wentworth gives evidence, "several good private seminaries for the board and education of the children of opulent parents". At these establishments for boys only, "a good classical education" was imparted. Thus, unless private tutors were employed - and when available they were - the sons of emancipists and officials had to attend the same school. A report of the half yearly examination of the pupils of Dr. Halloran's establishment, appeared in the "Sydney Gazette" of June 30th, 1821. The account describes the work of this "valuable Institution" and tells us that among the prize winners were Masters Simeon Lord, Robert Campbell and James Chisolm - which indicates that the fetish of separation could not be carried out in practice.

Having examined the main features of society of this period, let us look at the literature and painting of the time. Up till Macquarie's rule there had been no literary expression at all. It is true that the first newspaper, "The Sydney Gazette" had been established in 1803, but like most things in the
colony it was under the strict supervision of the Governor and could only publish what he sanctioned. Macquarie was the first Governor who recognised the importance of the arts and believing that the colony could not be complete without developing its cultural as well as physical life attempted to establish by regulation, as he did everything else, the formal evidences of culture. He, therefore created the position of Poet Laureate and appointed Michael Massey Robinson an ex-convict to the office. Robinson is now regarded as the first Australian poet. Through his poems - which consist of some twenty-one odes - we find both directly and indirectly a reflection of the times.

Indirectly the nature of the poems and the style in which they are written with the numerous eulogies of Macquarie and the laudatory comments on his achievements reflect official onus on the poet. The forced quality of his writing suggests that he is more concerned with pleasing the Governor than expressing his own ideas. An indication of the despotic organisation of the period. From 1810 to 1821 he composed an ode to celebrate the birthday of King George (III) (4th June) and Queen Charlotte (13th January). In style these poems are directly in the accepted eighteenth century convention - full of artificialities, cliches, classical allusions, abstract nouns and capital letters. Michael Massey Robinson is our first exponent of a poet with the colonial complex. The country itself had made no impression on him, as a poet, thus the bush is referred to as the "woodlands wild" and he speaks frequently
of the 'verdant vales'. Phrases which conjure pictures of
England's green rather than the harshness of the Australian
landscape.

Nevertheless, if we read the Odes from 1810-1821
we are able to gather the story of the Colonies development
at the time, for they are interesting comments on local current
affairs. Thus the June Ode of 1810 celebrates Macquarie's reform
of the female orphan institution. The Odes of 1811 praise
Macquarie's treatment of the aborigines and the bells of
St. Phillip's Church; those of 1812 lamented the illness of
George (III) and waxed ecstatic over the taking of Mangalore.
In 1816 the crossing of the Blue Mountains is commenmorated.
On June 1817 Macquarie's schools and new hospital are praised
thus: -

"To form those Schools that train thy youth
To paths of Piety and Truth;
To aid that Refuge Pity spread
To shield the houseless Orphan's Head;
To rear yon fabric, that with stately Boast,
Shews its white columns to the distant coast;
Within whose walls pale sickness rears its Head,
Fresh, with calm slumbers, from the cleanly Bed".

In January Ode 1818 there are references to mercy as tempering
justice and which are no doubt guarded allusions to Macquarie's
emancipist policy

"..... Thro Albion's happier Isles,
Mercy with Grace spontaneous Smiles;
Pure as descend the morning Dews,
She softens - when misfortune sues;
And, nurs'd with Pity's balmy Fear,
Behold her Blossoms flourish, Here!

Time was, when friendless and forlorn,
The Exile droop'd expos'd to Scorn;
For Prejudice, with Brow severe,
Had spurn'd Contrition's starting Fear;
Indignant heard, unmov'd beheld
The Throb the captive Bosom swell'd.

But Mercy had her Day of Triumph nigh,
And her proud passport was - Humanity!
Australia saw the cherish'd Scions shoot,
And pure the Hand that guarded, deal the fruit!"

The January Ode of 1819 refers again to Macquarie's
policy of public works, in particular the South Head Lighthouse.
In June 1819 Macquarie's aboriginal school was
praised because it

"Shelters with pious Care the houseless child -
The born inheritor of Woodlands wild".

A sigh of the times is evident in the June ode for 1820 which has
no reference to Macquaries. This was the time Bigge was in the
colony making his report on Macquarie's administration.
Robinson was discreet enough to realise that eulogies of the
Governor might not be well received. However, with Bigge's
departure in 1821 the poet is free to write as he likes. Thus he sympathises with Macquarie's doubts about the nature of Bigge's report:

"Tho' startled Hope, with anxious Eye,
And trembling Fear with boding sigh,
In chilling Sympathies await,
The Fear of impending Fate".

The only other poet of this period was Barron Field, the Chief Justice, who less constrained than Robinson because of his social position could voice quite openly his hostility to the country. Field's "First Fruits of Australian Poetry" the nostalgia of the exile, the antipathy to the country is voiced in no uncertain terms. In his "Kangaroo" he has no hesitation in declaiming his opinion.

"Kangaroo, Kangaroo!
Thou Spirit of Australia,
That redeems from utter failure,
From perfect desolation.
And warrants the creation
Of this fifth part of the Earth,
Which would seem an after-birth,
Not conceived in the Beginning
(For God bless'd His work at first,
and saw that it was good),
But emerg'd at first sinning,
When the ground was therefore curst;
And hence this barren wood!"

While in another poem, some critics have hesitated to use the term, his longing for England and his sense of isolation is very vividly expressed. But not only are his "First Fruits" worthy of attention here for their expression of the early settlers nostalgia and reactions to the country itself, but in the following quotation we have an example of that break with
tradition which all colonial societies experience. There is no "past tense" as Field puts it; here there are no visible monuments of a common heritage of achievement which is an important factor in integrating society; here there can be no "heart communings with ancestral relics" and what is left is anticipation. The title which is "On Reading the Controversy Between Lord Byron and Mr. Bowles" is merely a peg on which he hangs his nostalgia. To quote:

"Whether a ship's poetic? - Bowles would own, Of here he dwelt, where Nature is prosaic, Unpicturesque, unmusical, and where Nature - reflecting Art is not yet born; - A land without antiquity, with one, And only one poor spot of classic ground. (That on which Cook first landed) - where, instead Of heart-communings with ancestral relics, Which purge the pride while they exalt the mind, We've nothing left us but anticipation,

Where's no past tense, the ign'rant presents all. Or only great by the All hereafter! One foot of Future's glass should rest on Past; Where Histr'y is not, Prophecy is guess - If here he dwelt, Bowles (I repeat) would own A ship's the only poetry we see. For, first, she brings us 'news of human kind', Of friends and kindred, whom perchance she held As visitors, that she might be a link, Connecting the fond fancy of far friendship, A few short months before, and whom she may In a few more, perhaps, receive again. Next is a ship's poetic forasmuch As in this spereless city and prophane, She is to my home, wandring phantasy, With her tall anchury masts, a three-spir'd minster crown'd; her bell our only half-hour chimes. Firstly, a ship is poetry to me, Since piously I trust, in no long space, Her wings will bear me from this prose-dull land".

Through the painting of the day that we may also glimpse the nature of the social world of Sydney. Just as Macquarie gave official recognition to the poets so he adopted
a similar attitude to the artist, which was part of his general aim of developing all aspects of the colony's life. One writer has asserted that he adopted this policy of official government patronage as part of his struggle against the entrenched economic power of the retired military and free-settler class headed by Macarthur and Blaxland, which was the only other group in the colony who were in a position to patronise the arts. This is one very valid reason but there was also the fact that such a policy is in keeping with the general despotic nature of his rule.

Macquarie wanted to appoint an official artist to his administration and actually made such a proposal to the British Government that John William Lewin be permanently employed in the colony, as such. Characteristically the unimaginative Colonial Office could see no benefits deriving from such an arrangement and the request was refused. Not only did Macquarie realise the value of the artist and writer to the community but he actually took practical measures to assist them, for instance he secured a pardon for the artist Joseph Lycett and assisted Lewin in every possible way to earn a living, eventually appointing him, to the position of Coroner. Later he arranged for Lewin to accompany the Macquarie Progress over the Blue Mountains to paint a set of views of the country as the party advanced. It was Macquarie too who appointed Francis Greenway as the first Government Architect to whom we owe the finest examples of colonial architecture.

(1) Bernard Smith, Ibid. p.37
During Macquarie's term of office we can see the establishment of a settled aristocracy - the Macarthurs and Blaxlands had assumed the role of the landed gentry. The retired officers and remaining members of the New South Wales Corps such as Colonel Johnston had established themselves on large estates adjacent to Sydney. Captain Piper lent colour to social life with lavish entertainments at his villa at Point Piper. The life of this upper stratum is reflected in the paintings of the time - in the numerous pictures of these country houses modelled in the English 18th country house landscape tradition, and in the demand for portraits. Just as in England it was the accepted thing for the upper class to have their portraits painted so here the tradition was carried over and we have extant pictures of most of the leaders of society of that time. Richard Read was the first portrait painter of any merit in Australia. In 1814 he opened a drawing school at 31 Pitt Street and was commissioned to paint the portraits of Governor Macquarie, Sir Richard Bourke, Dr. Bland and the wife of the Mayor of Sydney. Similarly another portrait painter Augustus Earle found his talent in demand by people such as Mrs. Blaxland, Mrs Dunlop, Rev. Robert Townson, Paymaster Coulson and John Mackaness the Sheriff and other people of note.

Rigid as may have been the social distinctions for the community as a whole the artists and writers of this period were drawn from all classes of the community. Lyceott to whom we owe "Views in Australia" was a convict who was transported for forgery. John Eyre also was a convict and is remembered for
his panoramic paintings of Sydney. On the other hand, among the officers of the various regiments were to be found capable artists such as Captain James Wallis who came out with the 46th Regiment and made sketches of Sydney; another was Major James Taylor. In addition there had been two governors - King and Hunter - who could draw; there was also a bishop, scientists, explorers and surveyors. While it is interesting to note that of our first two poets - one was a convict and the other the Chief Justice of the Colony.
EXPANSION 1821-1851.

During Macquarie's term of office an event had taken place which was to have a profound influence in changing the nature of the colony. This was the crossing of the Blue Mountains and the consequent discovery of the fertile western plains. From then on it became impossible to consider the colony only in terms of a convict settlement, for not only were the results of this discovery geographically significant, but its consequences produced a fundamental change in the social structure of the young colony.

Thus when Brisbane assumed the governorship of New South Wales in 1821 he found a different community from the one Macquarie had faced in 1809. The prison bars had been forced apart and the great period of expansions and land settlement had begun. Try as Governors Brisbane and Darling might to maintain the rigid autocracy of the early years it was impossible to direct the lives of the emerging and ever-increasing class of free settlers. Theoretically the Governor still remained the despotic ruler of a group of penal settlements but the officials still tried to preserve their exclusiveness against all other classes, wherever possible. The consequence of Macquarie's policy of encouraging the emancipists had been the growth of a strong group in the community who maintained their independence from the exclusionists as the official class was called. The emancipists indeed in spite of the exclusionists began to assume a position of wealth and influence in the community which
gave them the status of economic superiority so that by the end of Macquarie's term the exclusionists were on the defensive. At the same time, however, that growing section of the population the free settlers which was assuming a position of importance from which it would be expected the demand for political independence would come, did nothing to change the political status quo. While the emancipists had been protected by Macquarie at the expense of the rest of the community and did not want to interfere with such a situation by imposing limitations on the governor's power. These groups were more interested in their own economic position and preoccupied with such questions as free trade and the right to acquire property (1) and have access to the courts than with political progress.

The first significant political advance was made at the beginning of this period when in 1823 New South Wales received her first constitution which provided for a council of not more than seven appointed by the King to advise the Governor although it was clear that the Governor remained supreme. It is noteworthy that this Act was based on Bigge's reports - which had been drawn up by a Commission of Enquiry into the administration of New South Wales, appointed by the British Government - and not because of any local agitation. Although Petitions in 1819 and 1821 had been presented their content was directed primarily at judicial anomalies and not aimed at gaining a representative Legislature. It was not until 1824 when Wentworth returned to the Colony having republished his book written in 1819 advocating

an elected Legislative Assembly for New South Wales that any move towards political agitation was made. "Up to this time the emancipists had been content to bask in the sunshine of the Governor's favour...... But Wentworth conceived the idea of moulding them into a political force which might be used to destroy the exclusive faction. The first step he took was to set up his own newspaper, "The Australian", characteristically without asking permission. Up till this time the only other news organ the "Sydney Gazette" had been under the strict censorship of the Governor, now its freedom was declared and there were two uncensored newspapers in circulation.

Thus began the struggle for self-government which this period was to witness culminating in the Act of 1850. This span of thirty years is an important one, full of events which are formative in deciding the shape of the colony's future. During this period we witness the growth of political consciousness, the cessation of transportation, the establishment of other colonies, the discoveries of the explorers, the turbulent land settlement with its struggles between the Government and the squatters.

The whole emphasis of the time was on expansion. The sickly infant had grown into a vigorous child which was rapidly outgrowing its political and geographical garments. Its physical growth far exceeded its intellectual one; this was no time to waste in cultural pursuits when perhaps there was a fortune to be made. Hence during this time there was no cultural

manifestations of events, as events themselves absorbed the complete attention of the colonists. Society was changing - life was no longer restricted to Sydney and its environs. Before, the military and officials had formed a leisure class easily distinguishable from the rest of the community - they had been the leaders of society and it was they and their families and their houses, whom the early artists had been commissioned to paint. It was amongst them only that any artistic life there was could survive. The earliest music there was had been supplied by the military bands - or else was heard in the drawing rooms of the exclusionists. For a time they provided the only audience for the arts because they alone had the time and leisure. They did not have to face the struggle for survival - they had economic security and little to do as their routine occupied but a small portion of their day. But after Macquarie's day, conditions changed, society was no longer confined to the penal settlement and the coastal strip with its focal point at Sydney. Now a strong individualistic rural population was developing. During the early twenties free immigration began which grew into a steady stream. These emigrants came with the purpose of taking up land in the colonies and it was they who gradually assumed the lead as the landed gentry - the squatters. An impetus was given to emigration by the Home Authorities whom says Roberts, strove to create and uphold an opulent Gentry, on the grounds that this would both develop the interior of New South Wales and relieve poverty in England. Equal opportunities were afforded to all and in 1825

(1 see Australian Land Settlement, p.34.)
Lord Bathurst then, Colonial Secretary, lifted the ban on unauthorised settlers and ordered that "such persons should receive a grant, in the same proportion and under the same conditions with respect to Capital, as persons who had previously obtained my sanction". In England in the early twenties, interest among would-be emigrants was also stimulated by other factors — among these being Wentworth's Book, Bigge's Report, the discovery of grazing land beyond the mountains and comparisons with American conditions.

During the earliest stages of the colony's development the divisions of society had been clearly defined. The class situation in the penal settlement was a resolved one because of the adjusted accommodation attitudes of its members. Its gaolers, the officers, formed unquestioningly the upper and leisured stratum. Leisured because the basis of society was slavery, the drudgery being performed by the convict class. But with the changing economy, the great land grab of the thirties and forties by the free squatters and the subsequent establishment of Australia as one of the world's leading producers of wool the nature of colonial society also altered. The grounds of discrimination changed — from now the personal force of the individual counted for more in the scheme of life. A premium was placed on exploit and the accumulation of property. The transition was taking place during this period from the restricted and regulated life of a penal society to the laissez-faire capitalist pattern.

This stage of our development is perhaps analogous to
Neblen's theory that the emergence of a leisure class is preceded by a predatory phase. The opportunity and the incentive to emulation increased at this time greatly in scope and urgency. Activity more and more assumed the character of exploit. This is apparent in the method whereby the acquisition of land by our future aristocracy was accomplished. In face of the restrictive and short-sighted government regulations, which limited land settlement to the "Nineteen Counties", the settlers became predatory free booters in defiance of the Crown. Neblen contends that at this stage, aggression becomes the accredited form of action, and booty serves as prima facie evidence of successful aggression. As accepted at this cultural stage, the accredited, worthy form of self assertion is contest; and useful articles or services obtained by seizure or compulsion, serve as conventional evidence of successful contest. Thus just as at a similar stage on the evolutionary scale where esteem and eminence is acquired by successful aggression with one's rivals and enemies, so in the rise of our squattocracy the basis of the individual squatters esteem and indeed survival depended, as Professor Roberts says, "largely on his power of fighting his neighbours in the guerilla warfare which occurred whenever any new country was occupied. A situation which has been graphically described in the novel "The Landtakers" by Brian Penton. The squatting life was a rough one, each man securing as much land as he could by force or by "a gentleman's agreement with his neighbours", then erecting a home of sods and pales with a crude

(1) see "History of the Leisure Class" Introduction.
bark roof, with perhaps an even rougher cut-house for his shepherds. His land and his sheep were the outward evidences of his successful contest, first with the government and then with his neighbours.

In considering the function of the arts in society at this stage of development, it is not surprising to find that this era placed little value on artistic achievement and that it was barren in the production of literature and art. The literary material of this time was of a poor quality and as (1) H.M. Green has commented its interest is almost purely historical. It is not only that the writers possessed little literary skill, but Australia was to them just a place of temporary residence. Although Morris Miller has been able to find twelve novelists and thirty-six poets writing in Australia between 1821 and 1851, of these there are only two or three who are worthy of the name. Among the novelists Henry (author of "Quintus Servinton" and Charles Rowecroft author of "Tales of the Colonies" are the only writers whose work possesses any merit at all. But in their novels as in the rest of the literary products of the time all the weaknesses engendered by the "colonial complex" are evident. Rowecroft was obviously writing for an English audience and his object seems to be to describe the life of an emigrant settler in Australia. His "Tales" are full of the exiles comparisons of the new country with his home land. And the comparison is always a belittling one to the new country. According to one of his characters, Crab; "everything is wrong on this side of the globe; nature must have first tried her hand at creation in Van (1) "Outline of Australian Literature" p.22.
Dieman's land and found that she was making mistakes so she went right over to the other side and mended matters. Again we find the antipathy to the unfamiliarity of the natural characteristics of the country itself - "the trees, instead of shedding their leaves in winter, they shed their bark; and there it hangs in rags and tatters till it drops off.... And the grass isn't green, like honest wholesome grass at home, but brown, and as coarse as mere-grass in a swamp. If you want to make the grass green in Van Dieman's Land you must set fire to a patch...... There's not a natural flower in the country; nor a root, nor a plant; nor a fruit fit for a man's eating.... Here everything is contrary; you never know which is north or south, and its winter in June and Summer in January."

To this period also belong Wentworth's ode "Australasia" and Charles Tompson's "Wild Notes from the Lyre of a Native Minstrel", the only noteworthy verse to be found. The former has been called the first Australian poem because it is directly about Australia and because it has a strongly patriotic character. But it, like "Wild Notes", suffers from artistic imitativeness and the overbearing influence of the English literary convention. Both are written in the formal manner of the time, full of classical allusions and imagery.

These poems and novels had little or no relation to the times, they were not written for Australian audiences nor did they have any relation to the urgent events of the day. Indirectly, however, they do reflect quite strongly, with the exception of Wentworth's "Australasia", the self-consciousness
of the colonial and his hostility to the landscape.

In addition to this stiff and cultivated literature of these exiled Englishmen there is evidence of a popular literature. Much of it was written as 'pipes' or broadsheets which were scattered by unknown hands in the streets of Sydney. It was popular in content in that it was a literature of protest and criticism as well as in its somewhat traditional literary forms. Best known were the verses of Frank the Poet, who avenged his wrongs and those of many of his fellow convicts in ballads. In "The Convict's Tour to Hell" we have the best example of his work: -

"Come all you prisoners of New South Wales
Who frequent watch houses and gaols,
A story unto you I'll tell,
About a convict's tour to hell.
This Hero's valour had been tried
Upon the Highway before he died.
At length he fell to death a prey
Which proved to him a happy day.

Journeys downward till he meets Charon who asks him: -

"Stranger art thou Friend or Foe?
Thy business too pray let me know.
Kind Sir! I come from Sydney gaol
My name I mean not to conceal
And since you do desire to know it
On Earth I was called "Frank the Poet".

At which Charon offers to him free as he would not charge a Poet. Having crossed the Etyx he encounters first of all Pius VII. Then he meets Satan who is surprised to see him for he says he hates the poor and only the Wealthy and the Grand are admitted to this kingdom. However, Frank is in no hurry and asks -

"Have you one here, called Capt. Murray?
Yes, Murray's here! Within this place -

* Governor of Carter's Barracks
Perhaps you'd like to see his face?
May God forbid that I should view him,
Aboard the Phoenix Hulk I knew him.
But who is that in yonder blaze
On Fire and Brimstone seems to gaze?
He? Capt. Logan of Moreton Bay;
And William - Killed the other day
He was overseer at Grose's Farm
And did you convicts no little harm!
Cook who discovered New South Wales
And he who first invented gaols.
Are together tied to a fiery stake
That stands in yonder burning lake!"

He meets further notables of the Colony -

"The Poet turned to go away
But Lucifer begged he'd stay
Frank the Poet! Stay! Don't go Man
Till you see your old friend Dr. Bowman.
See how he trembles writhe and gnashes
He gave you many a hundred lashes!

Just as he spoke a coach and four
Drove up in post haste to the door,
And about six feet of Mortal Sin
Without leave or license tumbled in,
At it's arrival, three cheers were given,
That reached at least, the highest heaven,
And - all the Inhabitants of Hell
With one accord, Rang the Great Bell
That never was known to sound or ring
Since Judas sold our Heavenly King.
Never before was such rejoicing.
Dancing, Singing, Joy and Mirth
In Heaven above, or on the Earth.

Straightway to Lucifer Frank went,
To learn what these rejoicings meant?
'Of Sense', cried Satan, 'I'm deprived,
Since Governor Darling has arrived
Fire and Brimstone I've ordained him,
has already chained him'.

Frank then journeys on till he arrived at Heaven - where
although in convict costume drest he was there a welcome guest.

Although this type of literature was perhaps the only
one which had any relation to society and which reached the
people. It was, one may hazard, an influence in stimulating
the anti-transportation agitation.

However, this did not mean that the colonists were inarticulate, for between 1821 and 1851 there were established many and varied newspapers - fifty two altogether - which became the mouthpiece of the various groups and individual. And it is to this source one must go to find a true reflection of the times.

In art we find a similar situation prevailing as in literature. There are few artists and the type of picture painted reveals the romanticism of eighteenth century Europe - they followed an imported rather than a local formula. In 1835 Conrad Martins arrived in Sydney "and became the greatest artist of the colonial period". In his work is epitomised the essence of colonialism which P.R. Stephenson writing in 1935 has aptly summed up when he asserted:

"It may fairly be said that he never saw Australia except through a European's eyes. His landscape drawings are astonishingly 'European'.... Conrad Martins' colour is murky, his trees droop and spread like English trees; he painted our paddocks as if they were meadows; over his eyes there must have been a European film...."

His letters and his life history indicate the lack of appreciation for art in the colony at that time. He found the greatest difficulty in earning a living and at certain times suffered the privations of poverty.


(2) "Cultural Foundations of Australia" p.75-6.
Although Martins could arouse little interest in art in Sydney, artistic development was taking place in Tasmania during the forties, through the influence of the artist Skinner Prout. After spending a couple of years, painting views of Sydney, Prout went to Tasmania and there he exerted a tremendous influence on Hobart society. Everyone took to sketching and paintings; it became a vogue in the polite urban society of Hobart. Prout aroused interest by holding an exhibition - the first in Australia - in 1843. His example was followed by another artist Robin Vaughan Hood who erected his own gallery in Hobart and held a second exhibition in 1846. His influence spread to Launceston and there in 1848 the Launceston Mechanics Institute proudly displayed its first art exhibition. The reason for the interest stimulated by these shows was no doubt to be found in the fact that they provided a diversion in the dull and arduous routine of the life of the day. This is borne out in an article in the "Hobart Town Spectator" which remarked that these art displays "made the solitary places glad, shedding rays of light and sunshine over the dull realities and gloom of our existence".

Inspired by Hood and Prout a Sketch Club was formed in Hobart and in 1848 Prout commented optimistically on the increase of interest in an article for the "Art Union of London" which said - "One proof of the diffusion of taste may be found in the improved quality and quantity of drawing materials now in demand. I know of orders being sent to a London firm amounting to £200 for the year"......" a feeling for art is rapidly increasing".
It is not surprising that this 'feeling' and interest was more or less limited to Tasmania at this time, as here the opening of the inland of New South Wales had not affected social conditions. Society was still at the earlier stage with its clear-cut class divisions and restricted horizons.

Towards the end of the half-century, however, there are signs that Sydney society was becoming aware of the lack of artistic activities in their community, so in 1847 a Society for the Promotion of Fine Arts in Australia was formed and the first Exhibition in Sydney was held in the same year. It is a significant contrast that whereas the pictures exhibited at Hobart's first art show included a number by the local aspiring artists, in Sydney the catalogue of the first art display reveals that the pictures were almost entirely by such established European artists as - Nerone, Kneller, Poussin, Gainsborough, Murillo, Raphael, Rembrandt and Nelasquez - but by the two or three wealthy select patrons in Sydney. This lack of local talent is another indication that the people of the mainland were less concerned with the arts and more concerned with the practical considerations of everyday life. In Sydney art failed to draw the attention of the majority of the people. The following dispirited comment of Martins indicates the cultural level of the community. In a letter to his sister he wrote: "I am much disheartened about painting, there is no sale for anything in that way. Small drawings and lithographs and teaching have been of late the only way of raising a little cash".

(1) Quoted Wm. Moore op. cit. p.25
The rural population were too engrossed in their fight to maintain their position and wrest a living from the land. Writing in his memoirs James Nesbet, an early squatter, relates the following typical incident:

"The Aramac Station was a fine property belonging to Travers and managed by Forsyth, a big genial Scotchman full of 'go' and fun.... He told me one day about some family heirlooms which had fallen to his share and been sent out from Scotland by the old solicitor (or 'writer' as there styled) of his people. Included amongst them were some portraits in oils on very large canvases! What on earth a manager on a new outback station was to do with such gear even the ready-witted Forsyth was at a loss to imagine. The only thing he could think of was that being short of roofing for his humpy they might be useful in wet weather!...."

(1) Despite Wentworth's declarations that the colony had advanced beyond its infancy when people had neither leisure nor inclination to attend to anything but the immediate wants and necessities of the day, and that laborious occupation no longer formed the principal ingredient in the concerns of the people, an examination of the cultural life of the time refutes his optimistic claims as has been shown. There was little literature worthy of the name.

Music and drama played a small part and for the most it was purely from an entertainment aspect that it was valued.

(1) See Ms. Nisbet Papers, "Pioneering Days in Q'land". p.158
Indeed the history of the theatre in Australia indicates that entertainment rather than art was the objective of its commercial promoters. The establishment of a repertory movement during the 1920's was the first attempt to introduce plays of artistic merit to Australian audiences.

It was not until the gold rushes that the theatre was firmly established in Australia, before then theatrical advancement had been slow. There had been several theatrical projects before 1851; the first attempt had been as early as 1789 when a group of convicts staged a play in honour of the King's birthday. This had been followed by the erection of the first Sydney theatre in 1796. But it was closed by order of the Governor in 1798 and the building pulled down, because much theiving had resulted to procure the means of admission which could be paid in money, flour, meat or spirits. There was another attempt to build a theatre in 1800, but this had only a brief existence and for thirty years the colony was dependent for its theatrical amusement on amateur performances. In 1832 Barnet Levey arrived in Sydney - the father of the Australian theatre as he has often been called - and under his sponsorship the first regular playhouse was set up, the Theatre Royal. The career of the Royal lasted for only five years when it was forced to close in the unequal competition with the Victoria Theatre. Within another few years, however, Sydney was supporting two theatres and by 1851 there were at least three theatres in Sydney.

Progress had been made in the other colonies too.
Melbourne and Adelaide during the forties saw the establishment of their first theatres. While Hobart as early as 1834 had its own playhouse "The Theatre" which first started in a large room over a hotel, it later occupied a proper theatre and its promoter, a woman was courageous enough to import from London an operatic company to perform grand opera. This project proved so popular that it ran steadily for four years — remarkable record indeed. However, such was not the case in the other colonies. The quality of the performances were not of a particularly high standard. As Brewer remarked that there was "the usual round of tragedy, three act drama, burlesque and farce offered to the public..." Shakespearian seasons were attempted occasionally but one gathers they were not very successful on the whole.

The story of Australian music reveals that music of any standard was confined to a small upper circle in Sydney until after 1850. In the early days musical performances were of the most primitive kind excepting those given by the regimental bands. Our first teachers and performers were originally attached to the military bands and many of them left the service to establish themselves as the musical pioneers of the colony. As in the other arts the development of music depended upon patronage. One of the most important influences on music during this period was Governor Bourke's daughter (Mrs. Deas Thompson).

(1) See N.S.W. Commission - World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. Article "Music and Drama in Australia" by Brewer.

(2) See "Mummer's Memoirs" Vol. 16, p. 58
Through her interest and patronage she encouraged musicians and
gave music teachers a status in the community by inviting them
to Government House. During the thirties through her interest
and the arrival of the overseas composer Vincent Wallace, the
first classical concerts were given. A further impetus was made
through the arrival of Isaac Nathan in 1841 - and to him has
been attached the name of the 'father of music' in Australia.
He was to remain twenty three years in Sydney exercising and
stimulating influence on music, initiating various societies and
introducing oratorio at a sacred concert in St. Mary's Cathedral.

In summing up this period we find that there was little
cultural life, the emphasis was on materialism. The literature
consisted on the one hand of the unsympathetic and self-conscious
efforts of condescending Englishmen, and on the other of the
seditious but vigorous pipes of convicts. There was only one
painter worthy of the name and he barely managed to live. The
appreciation of art was limited to a handful of wealthy
individuals in Sydney who had brought collections of pictures
with them from England. Music was limited to the drawing rooms
of the elite and the theatre provided for the most part but crude
entertainment. It is true that an attempt had been made to form
a subscription library in 1826 by a group of gentlemen but its
upper class exclusiveness was assured as members were admitted
only after a ballot had been taken.

The Sydney Mechanics Institute had also been
established during this period, but the character of these early
institutes were of a practical and utilitarian nature, aimed to
train skilled labour by organising classes and lectures on technical subjects. It was later that they assumed their cultural and literary purpose.

Thus from the point of view of our cultural development this period contributed little, the reason for this being that this was a time of growth when the physical aspects of the colony's progress absorbed all the attention and energies of the settlers.
G O L D.

The year 1851 was a turning point in the history of our economic and political development. The squatting period was at an end. No longer were the squatters fighting for recognition from the Government. They were now privileged occupiers whose cause was rather against the popular party than with it. Until the late forties both squatters and emancipists had been united in their demand for self-government. Wentworth as the champion of self-government had commanded support from both sections. By 1850, however, it had become apparent that Wentworth's interpretation of self-government meant government by an aristocracy of squatters and not by the representatives of the people. Thus Wentworth and the squatters formed a party which was aligned against the people. In 1848 in an attempt to secure cheap labor squatters made a bid to revive transportation. But a strong opposition - led by the popular leaders Parkes, Cowper and Lowe - from the working men of Sydney and Melbourne who feared that convict labor would force down wages was effective in causing the Legislative Council and the British Government to give way to public opinion. Finally the gold discoveries decided the issue as it was obviously absurd to give (1) criminals a free passage to the goldfields. Politically this agitation was significant in the victorious struggle of the working men against privilege. In it can be seen the incipient strength of the Labor movement which was beginning to show itself at the time, and the discovery of gold meant merely that an

(1) Wood, Ibid. p.146
impetus was given to democratic movement that was already in existence.

The Act of 1850 gave the colonies local self-government, the details of the new constitutions being left in the hands of the colonists to decide for themselves. It seemed that the rule of the squatters was likely to become permanent in the development of the new constitutions. But the discovery of gold in 1851 changed this. With the influx of many vigorous and independent individuals in the gold rushes it became clear that this new and individualistic population would not be content to live under the political domination of the squatters. Many of the gold diggers were men who had fought for liberty in England, France and Germany. There were Chartists from England, Irishmen who had witnessed the famine of 1846 and persecution in the defeat of 1848, Germans, Austrians and Frenchmen who had participated in the European revolts of 1848. It was this leavening of radicals who assisted in precipitating democratic agitation. An agitation which, inflamed by the grievances of the gold diggers, such as the unjust license fees, culminated in the armed uprising of Eureka Stockade at Ballarat in 1854. A significant incident in the struggle for democratic government.

The political effects of the gold rushes were such that while it cannot be claimed that gold brought responsible government to Australia, it did influence the country in the direction of democracy, and hasten the introduction of responsible government. In New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania in 1855 and South Australia in 1858 and in Queensland in 1859, new

(1) Cambridge History, op. cit. p258.
constitutions with a democratic basis were introduced. By the end of the decade manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, and triennial parliaments had been incorporated in the various constitutions.

Economically the discovery of gold is even more important. Until 1851 Australian economy had been wholly based on the wool industry. "Wool was king". A leader from the Sydney Morning Herald published on New Year's Day, 1850 reviews the condition of the colony and indicates the economic emphasis of the time. This article also gives an illuminating picture of conditions as they existed before the discovery of gold.

"The past year was not characterised by any very remarkable events in our local history. It was one of those quiet years which glide down the chronological stream without agitation and without noise. It was a year of quiet industry, blessed with favorable seasons, and crowned with an abundant harvest. Its latter months were gladdened by good news from the British wool market, announcing a moderate rise in the price of our great staple. Of this intelligence the colonists are experiencing the beneficial effects. The clips of the season will probably exceed in bulk and value that of any previous season.

"The price of wool is our commercial thermometer. As it rises and falls, so does the general condition of the country, and so do the spirits of the people. The thermometer has risen, not to blood heat, but to the temperate degree. Our
trade and our spirits have experienced a corresponding advance. We are neither fired by the artificial prosperity of 1840, nor chilled by the real adversity of 1843. As a community we are at that equable temperature which the wise man, who prayed that he might have neither poverty nor riches, regarded as the happy medium where peace and contentment find their surest abode.

And what does the vista of 1850 present. The aspect of affairs in Europe, especially that of the British wool market encourages the hope that our commercial affairs will be somewhat buoyant...."

Our political prospects are not unfavourable. There is little or no room to doubt that the important measure which is to give greater scope and elasticity to our constitution will this year pass into law.

If the colonists be true to themselves, and do not permit differences of opinion on matters of detail to serve as so many apples of discord, this year will hold a distinguished place in our annals as the era of Colonial Railways".

The cautious optimism of the Sydney Morning Herald of 1850 changed to gloom with the discovery of gold in 1851. Thus runs the leader of May 19, 1851 - "Let us cling to the hope that the treasure does not exist in large quantities. Should our gold prove to be abundant in quantity, rich in quality, and easy of access, let the inhabitants of New South Wales and the neighbouring colonies stand prepared for calamities far more (1) terrible than earthquakes or pestilence".

With the squatters the Herald envisaged the economic consequences of gold in relation to the wool industry and feared that their labor supply would cease. They believed that gold spelled disaster for wool. In fact, the first impact of the gold rushes realised their fears, however this stage soon passed. The industry adjusted itself to the new conditions. Squatters now fenced their runs and dispensed forever with shepherds - one boundary rider doing the work of a number of men. Also with the great demand for meat which arose at this time the squatters began to think of sheep in terms of meat rather than wool. Thus another pastoral industry was established. Indirectly gold produced results advantageous to the wool industry, one of these being the greatly improved transport facilities and another was the stimulus to the shipping industry which meant that the squatter could now send to England as much wool as he wanted to, whereas before he had been limited by the space allowed him on the smaller and less frequent ships.

Gold, however, had little effect on the urban industries. Until 1850 New South Wales was the only colony which had developed any manufacturing industries, but despite the enormous demand for commodities of all sorts which the gold rushes stimulated, Australia did not set about supplying that demand herself. There were two reasons for this. The most important one was that with so much gold at her disposal she could import all that was required. Secondly the cost of labor was so high that local manufacture was not profitable.

Socially and culturally the impact of the gold
discoveries was extremely important. During the decade 1851-61 the population of Australia almost trebled itself, as the following figures indicate:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>N.S.W.</th>
<th>Victoria</th>
<th>Australia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>187,243</td>
<td>77,345</td>
<td>437,665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>251,315</td>
<td>236,798</td>
<td>694,917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>305,487</td>
<td>410,766</td>
<td>970,287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>350,860</td>
<td>540,322</td>
<td>1,168,149</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(N.S.W. Statistical Register, 1861. Archer, "Progress of Victoria, Commonwealth Year Book, No.1, 1901-7).

The effect of this influx in population meant that temporarily the whole structure of society was upset. After the first announcement of gold in New South Wales there was a general exodus from the towns to the gold fields. Sydney seemed a deserted town with its closed shops and empty desks. Conditions similar to those in Sydney prevailed in Melbourne after the discovery of gold at Ballarat. One contemporary observer described the situation —

"In three weeks after the opening of Ballarat, the towns of Melbourne and Geelong, and their large suburbs, seemed emptied of their male inhabitants. Idlers, day labourers, shopmen, artisans, mechanics, domestic servants first; tradesmen, farmers and clerks next; the higher classes at last, because, as employers, they had no alternative but to follow where labour was to be found. It realised the fairy tale of that enchanted bird which dragged after it the peasant, the smith, the clerk, the parson, and squire, as each of them tried to stop the rest."
Cottages were deserted, business at a standstill, schools closed; the ships in the harbour were abandoned, and even masters of vessels were compelled to join with the men, whom it was impossible to retain on board. Provisions were with difficulty obtainable at exorbitant prices. All building and contract work stopped: no contract could be enforced under such circumstances". 

This initial upheaval soon adjusted itself - for many who believed that gold was to be found just for the looking, returned unable to endure the hardship and arduous labor of gold digging. Temporarily class barriers were forgotten in the common quest. Immigrants who came from all walks of life, squatters, merchants, laborers, ex-convicts rubbed shoulders on the gold fields. Here again the emphasis was on free enterprise. The type of immigrant varied from aristocrats who had never performed manual labor in their lives to cut-throat adventurers. The mining communities which suddenly grew overnight presented a colourful, but transient phase in our development, for as quickly as they sprang up, just as quickly did they disappear. Rolf Boldrewood who was for many years Gold Commissioner has given us a typical picture of the gold diggings in his description of the Turon fields: -

"Starlight was asked by the two swells to join them. .... Starlight used to drawl just like the other two, and asked questions about the colony; and walk about with them on Sundays and holidays in fashionable cut clothes. Every one turned out for an hour or two at night, and then was the time to see the Turon in its glory. Big, sunburnt, their waists with a sheath-knife and revolvers mostly stuck in them, and broad leaved

(1) "The Emigrant in Australia" by J.S. Prout, 1853.
felt hats on. There were Californians, then foreigners of all sorts - Frenchmen, Italians, Germans, Spaniards, Greeks, Negroes, Indians, Chinamen. They were a droll, strange, fierce-looking crowd. There weren't many women at first, but they came pretty thick after a bit. A couple of theatres were opened, a circus, hotels with lots of plate glass windows and splendid bars, all lighted up, and the front of them, anyhow, as handsome at first sight as Sydney or Melbourne. Drapers and grocers, ironmongers, general stores, butchers and bakers, all kept open until midnight, and every place was lighted up as clear as day. It was like a fairy-story place, Jim said.... Nobody was poor, everybody was well dressed, and had money to spend, from the children upwards. Liquor seemed running from morning to night, as if there were creeks of it; all the same, there was very little drunkenness and quarrelling. The Police kept good order, and the miners were their own Police mostly, and didn't seem to want keeping right. We always expected the miners to be a disorderly rough set of people - it was quite the other way".

Transient as this phase was it nevertheless had its effect, for although these picturesque communities disappeared, the people who formed them were for the most part absorbed into the normal routine of Australian society. Many of those who remained exerted considerable influence on our cultural life. During the time of the big gold rushes of the fifties there was little creative development, as might be expected. The literature of that decade is insignificant and although there were gold field artists, with the exception of one or two such as artist S.T. Gill, the painting of that time has little but historical interest. On the other hand to music and drama the gold discoveries gave a tremendous impetus.

Theatres were built and theatrical activity extended everywhere. From reading the contemporary newspapers of the day it can be gathered that many of the theatres were not of a wholly desirable nature.
For instance, the Argus complains of unruly audiences and in August, 1852, it is asserted that theatres were becoming "the resort of bad characters".

The number of theatres increased rapidly during the early years of the decade - we read in the Argus of proposals to build an Opera House and a New Amphitheatre in Spring Street costing £40,000 and in December, 1854 the Theatre Royal was opened with a flourish. At this time too the theatres were providing morning matinees and Sunday performances to supply the public's demands. This activity was not confined only to the capital cities, for at Ballarat, Bendigo, Geelong, Maryborough and Portland theatres were opened there soon after digging was begun. In Ballarat alone there were in 1854 at least four theatres; in Bendigo there were the Princess, the Royal and the Victoria; and in Geelong there were two or three theatres. However, all this activity which was indicative of the times and but part of the economic impetus which the discovery of gold gave to all aspects of life, had a lasting effect on drama and music in Australia. For the history of Australian drama can be said to begin from this time. The fifties brought the leading overseas actors and musicians here and from then on Australia was included in the itinerary of most of the best English and European artists. Many who have come here have exerted considerable influence, not only by example but often by their participation in our cultural life.

Until the discovery of gold progress in the theatre had been slow, but with the influx of immigrants the theatrical
and musical professions advanced rapidly. Soon American and European artists became aware of the rich field to be exploited in Australia. The successes of the actors James Stark and his wife during their brief visit in 1853 which netted them some £25,000, and of Catherine Hayes, the singer who during her tour made £30,000, spread overseas and from then on artists of quality began to pay professional visits to Australia.

But it is apparent that the motive behind the theatrical expansion was to provide amusement and entertainment for the diggers rather than the furthering of any cultural ideas. For example George Loppin, theatrical promoter and actor relates how his attempt to provide Grand Opera resulted in a loss to him. His memoirs tell not only the effect of the gold discoveries on his career, but indicate the effect of gold on the theatre generally. About 1850 he built a theatre at Port Adelaide. He writes:

"I made a large fortune which I lost in copper mining by the gold discovery in Victoria. Next I went through the Insolvent Court; returned to Melbourne; walked to the diggings without a sixpence in my pocket; walked back again within a fortnight with blistered hands, a backache and no gold; then played a short star engagement, and commenced management in Geelong in 1852; and made another fortune, Monday night's receipts frequently paying the weekly expenses. Retiring from the management I visited Adelaide, invited my creditors to dinner, paid them twenty shillings in the pound and sailed for England in 1854".
There he tells how he engaged artists and had built an iron theatre in Manchester for erection in Melbourne and returned to inaugurate the first grand opera season in Melbourne in 1856; which resulted in a loss of some £3,000.

The progress in music kept pace with the drama. A start had been made earlier by a few individuals such as Isaac Nathan who had had inaugurated oratorio, and the Wallaces with their presentation of extracts from opera. A contribution to our musical development was made during the fifties by the number of people who came here in whom an appreciation of music was already implanted. Societies were formed, for instance, in 1854 the Sydney Philharmonic Society; the first Musical Festival was held in Sydney with the opening of the Great Hall at the University in 1859; in 1853 St Mary's Choral Society was formed, Promenade Concerts of classical music were organised. In 1854 Miska Hauser the great Hungarian violinist came and played to crowded audiences; in the same year Mr. and Mrs. Herman noted violinist and pianist of the day introduced chamber music with success. In 1856 Sydney's Prince of Wales Theatre was taken over, renamed "The English Opera House" and operatic performances became the accepted thing. In 1857 another society of singers came into existence The Sydney Choral Society and yet another in 1858 Sydney Vocal Harmonic Society whose object was to train choral singers as well as to give musical performances.

Similar development was taking place in the other capitals, in 1853 Melbourne formed its Philharmonic Society. In Adelaide choral performances were given regularly and in 1859 a Handel Festival was successfully held.
In literature there were no reflections of this disturbed and romantic era - the few poets of the day, Harpur, Henry Parkes and Fidelia Hill were not concerned with expressing contemporary events. Harpur who had published his first work in 1846, has often been called the first true Australian poet, but although he writes about the Australian landscape this description could have been written, as H.M. Green says, by an Englishman and a city man. The titles of his poems indicate the nature of their content - "Creek of the Four Graves", "To An Echo on the Banks of the Hunter", "A Midsummer Moon in the Australian Forest". It is not to be wondered perhaps that Harpur became preoccupied with nature, living the rather isolated life of a schoolteacher in the Hawkesbury district. But Parkes who was a man of affairs at the hub of things and who was at the time, wrote his verse, a popular democrat, failed to even imply the significance of the times in which he was living. He too produced a quantity of pallid nature poetry and an occasional poem deploiring the poor conditions of the working man, but it was the conditions of the working man in England he deplored, e.g. in his "Prayer of the Multitude" in his concluding stanzas he asks the Almighty when he will alleviate the position of the English weaver and also implores -

"O God and theirs! bend down thine ear
To England's toil worn men - "

The novelist of the period was Henry Kingsley, but he like the poets gives no indication of the turbulent times. He was brought here by the gold rushes and during his sojourn of some
years produced a novel "Geoffrey Hamlyn" which is still regarded by some as Australia's greatest novel. This novel, however, belongs to the earlier period of colonial inferiority, for Kingsley always remained English and the feeling of his writing is essentially that of the onlooking Englishman. "Geoffrey Hamlyn" is a sentimentalised view of the squattocracy with the typical Australian introduced as a crude character. Although this book was published in 1859 it belongs in spirit, not to the disordered fifties, but to the preceding era.

The only other significant novelist of the time, though less well known, was Catherine Spence who published her first novel "Clara Morrison" in 1854. This work is unique for it is the only important piece of writing to reflect the effect of the gold rushes on the lives of those people who did not go to the diggings. Thus we are given a view of the period from the domestic angle and as such it is an important social novel. Catherine Spence is better known as a worker for social and political reform rather than a novelist. But she is possibly our first writer to fuse social consciousness with creative ability.

More indicative of the times, than the work of any individual writer was the development in journalism that took place during the fifties. Newspapers were started - one for each year of the decade - amongst them were serious attempts to start literary journals. The most important of these was "The Australasian", founded in 1854, which soon became the leading literary journal in Australia. Not long after, "The Month" a
little paper of a critical and literary nature, was founded which printed some censorious articles on the small support given to the arts by Australians. Apart from these particular papers devoted entirely to literature most of the newspapers of the day had literary sections or Poet's Corners which provided an outlet for aspiring writers.

The gold rushes are significant in our literary tradition, not because they brought competent writers here, for with the exception of Henry Kingsley, they did not, but because they attracted personalities such as James Lionel Michael and R.H. Horne who later became centres of literary circles and discussions and exerted an important influence on our cultural development. Michael in Sydney and Horne in Melbourne. Michael's group had a brief, if stimulating existence for with the exception of Kendall, its members were more interested in politics than literature. Horne, however, reigned for nearly twenty years in Melbourne and to him gravitated those writers who have come to be known throughout the world as representatively Australian. Among them were Marcus Clarke, Adam Lindsay Gordon, George Gordon McCrae, and later after Michael's departure from Sydney, Henry Kendall. These were the important writers of the sixties and seventies.

The Sixties and Seventies.

With the close of the fifties the days of the individually worked gold fields were over and gold mining had passed to the organised industrial stage. The diggers began to
leave the gold fields to seek work in the towns. Thus an 
impetus was given to urbanisation. The cities of Melbourne and 
Sydney soon began to dominate the rest of Australia. But owing 
to the fact that there were few industries in existence capable 
of absorbing the increasing numbers of unemployed, many of 
them turned to the country seeking land for agriculture. But 
they found that the only accessible land was already occupied 
by the squatters; gradually the agitation grew for the 
unleasing of the pastoral land for agriculture. In New South 
Wales John Robertson came forward as the champion of the 
landseeker and in 1861 he forced his Act for the alienation of 
Crown Lands through both Houses as the charter of free selection 
before survey. This Act opened up public land for all who 
wished to take it. Then began the bitter contest between the 
pastoralists and free selectors which ended in an economic 
(1) victory for the squatters. In Victoria after an equally bitter 
struggle "agriculture and wool growing partitioned the narrow 
area of Victoria on lines which, if by no means ideal, admitted 
(2) sooner a diversity of primary industries." In Queensland 
the inland was opened up to the great pastoralists and this 
period saw the growth of the sugar industry on the north coast 
with its controversial use of coloured labour.

The depression of the sixties due partly to the 
severe drought conditions which drove the selectors off their 


(2) Ibid P.300
land to the cities to seek work was answered in Victoria by Syme's policy of protection. He believed that the solution to the crisis was the encouragement of local manufacture and the restriction of imports. New South Wales, on the other hand under the leadership of Parkes adhered to a policy of free trade. Intercolonial tariff barriers were set up and out of the development of a narrow provincial patriotism arose the fierce internal quarrels between Victoria and New South Wales which some observers feared might lead to civil war.

Against this background of political and economic strife, socialist thought was beginning to infiltrate and have its effect in the formation of the early trade unions. The gold rushes had brought many Chartists and political agitators to Australia who led the struggle for better working conditions beginning with the stonemasons victory for an eight hour day in Sydney in 1855, followed by the building trades who established an eight hour day for their trade in Melbourne in 1856, in Queensland in 1858 and in South Australia in 1873. The struggle for better conditions through unionism had begun.

The philosophy of socialism, however, had penetrated beyond the utilitarianism of the first trade unions, to the intellectual coteries which were to be found in Melbourne and Sydney at this time. Among the people who gathered together at Michael's literary dinners in Sydney were political thinkers and social reformers. At the beginning of the sixties, Sydney was described as the Athens of the Australian Colonies for there were assembled the most brilliant men of the day, such as -

Daniel Henry Deniehy, political activist and brilliant man of letters, William Foster, parliamentarian and poet, William Bede Dalley, Rowe, writer of first-class magazine articles under the pseudonym of "Peter Possum" and translator of the German poets, Frank Fowler, successful lecturer and journalist, a political thinker who stood a defeat as a Parliamentary candidate for Sydney and initiator and editor of our first journal devoted entirely to Cultural questions, "The Month". Another who joined the discussions of this group from time to time was the distinguished classical scholar from Sydney University, Dr. Woolley.

Michael's circle, however, was but a short-lived stimulus to Sydney's literary development, for with the exception of one or two its members were more interested in politics and in attempting a practical application of their ideals. It is apparent too that in this brilliant but small circle existed the sum total of Sydney's cultured elite. Deniehy himself described the situation in words quoted by G.B. Barton in his "Literature in New South Wales" - "In Sydney, the oldest of the Australian cities, and with those refinements and home feelings to which letters and art must always look for real recognition, purely literary pursuits are at a discount. The leading daily journal occasionally inserts a short article on subjects lying somewhat in the neighbourhood of aesthetics; but this is rather a matter of taste and liberality on the part of the proprietors than are of recognised demand on the part of readers. The graces and subtleties of literary art, except among a class of lettered elite, too small to be taken practically into calculation, are little
cared for. The journalists likely to succeed in the particular work required are men of tolerably long residence in the country, practically acquainted with local characters and local things, and with pens, in some instances perhaps of rough, but in all of ready writers. Of these we have "quite as many as are likely to be needed for a long time". As Barton summed it up there was no literature maintaining a recognised position. The number who professed it were small. There was no literary society although attempts had been to form "Associations" but they had never lasted.

The field of New South Wales intellectual energies during the sixties was surveyed extensively by Barton and some very interesting data collected in the course of his study. Up to that time nothing of a similar nature had been attempted. Commenting on the colony's achievements in literature he says that in more than one instance there is evidence of undoubted genius to be found, but that it was natural that our energies should have sought a field rather in newspapers and other publications of the kind, than in more permanent forms. Thus the list of newspapers up to that time was a very lengthy one; scarcely a year had passed without some new competitors entering the field. The situation in 1866 he summed up as follows: - "The present state of periodical literature, it must be confessed does not adequately represent the great advance made by this Colony in wealth and refinement. We have two daily papers, but their attention is necessarily devoted more to matters of business than anything else; nor is either distinguished by the

splendour of the editorial intellect. We have several weekly papers but they address themselves to particular sections, and none of them can be read for anything beyond the intelligence it supplies. We have no magazine; the last died eight years ago, and there is little probability of another. We have one comic periodical, and that is the only publication that attempts to exist as a purely literary production". Barton deduces from the failure of what he calls "the cleverest and most promising publications" that either there was not sufficient talent to render them worth supporting, or that there was no public demand to support them. Their failure he attributes rather to the former than the latter cause. For, as he points out the importation of first class English periodicals was extensive and the demand very great. For instance, for the "Cornhill" alone there were several hundred subscribers; for the "Edinburgh Review" 40; the Quarterly 46; for Macmillan 688; Chambers Journal 303. While for the miscellaneous or more popular type of periodicals there were thousands of subscribers. The total number of imported publications which were circulated monthly he lists as 12,739 at the total cost of £10,600.15.0.

Similarly in regard to books - whereas the average value of books imported annually was not less than £50,000 which represented approximately 100,000 volumes, there was no corresponding demand for local productions. To quote, "There is no instance, known to the writer, of any work published in Sydney having met with a large sale, or even a tolerably large sale. The probability is that every case of publication, not by
means of subscription has involved a loss".

A parallel situation prevailed in the Southern capital — what cultural activity there was, was confined to a restricted elite. Leadership of which group was assumed by R.H. Horne who through his persuasive personality drew together such people as Adam Lindsay Gordon, Marcus Clarke and other notable literary people of the day. Most of these journalists and litterateurs gravitated to the Yorick Club founded by Marcus Clark and John Shillinglaw. This Club was to become Melbourne's first bohemia. Prior to this there had been gatherings of writers at Nissen's Cafe in Bourke Street, but as Hugh McCrae writing in his "My Father and My Father's Friends" put it — "Clarke and Shillinglaw wanted a place to themselves where they could cavort in freedom. To share a public drinking room with lime and cement merchants, trademark attorneys, estate agents, crumpet-and-doughnut manufacturers, distressed their ardour and imagination. Accordingly they leased an apartment next door to the Argus office, at a pound a week; and, hanging the rent receipt round the neck of a brandy bottle, instituted a genuine club. They took unto themselves saddle-back chairs (made up of bundles of newspapers), and drank beer out of pint-pots; but, lest they should forget their mortality, Shillinglaw installed upon the hat rack a skull with a pipe between its teeth".

Another club was formed, but of a more sober character calling itself the "Eclectics Association", "for the discussion (1) Op. cit. P.9-10

(2) Op. cit. P.34
of any subject relating to social problems". Its purposes were
ersious and its members no doubt frowned on the pranks of the
Yoricks.

Thus Melbourne in the seventies seemed a city of urban
cultivation - with its University, its public library to which in
1853 Parliament had voted £13,000 and which by 1860 was sending
books to the country through the circulating boxes, a system
which has endured to the present day.

But in reality, and as in Sydney, culture was
restricted to a small group and did not reach the majority of the
people. The literary products of these writers, although their
work came to be accepted as typically Australian throughout the
rest of the world, was not genuinely Australian in feeling.
Marcus Clarke's pictures of the convict horrors were based in
history and did not describe the Australia he knew. On many
occasions Clarke voiced his hatred of the bush reacting against
its melancholy and its strangeness. While Adam Lindsay G ordon's
best verse had nothing to do with Australia - the nostalgia of
the exile reveal themselves as the under-current of his work.
And it has been asserted that the tragedy that drove him to
suicide was the melancholy of his exile and the fact that he
could not become a Scottish landowner. The only writer of this
period who was fundamentally sympathetic to his environment
was Kendall who in his poems of the bush reveals a perfect
harmony with nature.

But all the signs of the grafting on of the culture of
the northern hemisphere were still apparent - the best creative
writers were not basically in harmony with the society in which they found themselves. Significant is the fact that the only artist of note, painting at this time was a Swiss, Louis Buvelot who never learned to speak English and whose work stemmed directly from his European background.

The reason for this lay partly in the fact that society was still in the difficult process of growing and partly in the fact that education was still to be established as the right of every child. In 1866 out of 150,845 children in N.S.W. under 14 years of age 97,393 were receiving no education at all. And it is arguable as to just how far the instruction received in those schools already established beyond learning the fundamentals of reading and writing was of value to the pupils. Although the Universities of Melbourne and Sydney had been founded they had as yet little impact on the society as an educational force. A University education was only for the cream of the upper stratum - thus in the first twenty four years of Sydney University's existence, 200 students had graduated. Thus between 1856 and 1875 students graduated at an average of 10 a year. In 1876 there were just over 60 students altogether attending classes at the University, approximately 1 in every 10,000 of the population. Sir Hercules Robinson in a speech deplored this

(1) See Smith & Spauld "History of Education in N.S.W."
(2) Pam "Culture & Education" Speech delivered by Sir Hercules Robinson at Sydney University, 1876.

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\text{Massachusetts} & " & 1 \text{ in every 1,000} \\
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situation and gave as the reason for it that the advantages of a "literary culture" as he called it were insufficiently appreciated and understood in Australia by those who could afford it.

One interesting development emerged at this time, which was the only sign that people were aware of the lack of educational and cultural facilities. This was the School of Arts or Mechanics' Institute movement. As has been mentioned before the first Institute had been established in Sydney in 1833; its object being to establish classes for tradesmen through organising special technical lectures. It was, in fact, an attempt to fill in the gap in vocational education which existed at that time.

The name "School of Arts" was no doubt applied in the first instance to those institutions bearing that name in the mother country. In 1821 a School of Arts was established in Edinburgh "for the better education of mechanics in such branches of physical science as were of practical application in their several trades", such as the character of the institution to which the name was originally applied, and there can be little doubt that it was with a similar purpose in view that the name was first applied to these institutions in this country.

(1) According to the report of a special committee set up in 1912 to investigate the granting of subsidies to these institutions, the first Schools of Arts then were distinctly educational in purpose and the education they offered was technical in character.

(1) Typescript "Report of Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Granting of Subsidies", 1912, Department of Education.
This is borne out in one instance by the fact that the Sydney Technical College originally was founded and housed in conjunction with the Sydney School of Arts. They were in their origin, schools in which the mechanic arts formed the subjects of instruction. Towards the latter half of the nineteenth century, however, these Institutes developed on a broader basis with a more genuinely cultural aim - establishing libraries and providing opportunities for literary discussions. In Victoria, the Victorian Artisans Schools of Arts and Design were associated intimately with the first fluorescence of Australian painting.

The Sydney Institute was the first one to be founded in New South Wales and it was thirty years before the next School of Arts was established, in the early sixties. It was not until then, that the movement really began which was to spread rapidly throughout the State. During the decade of 1860-70 there were six School of Arts established, by 1870 there were seventeen, by 1880 thirty six, by 1890 seventy-seven and by 1897 one hundred and fifty six.

(1) It seems that in Victoria the movement was developing in the late fifties. See "The Intellectual Opportunities of the Working Class in Victoria" Illustrated Journal of Australasia, Vol 2. 1857.

(2) See Library Assoc. of Australia Transactions 1898. Mitchell (020.G L)
Very often the initial success of these institutions was the result of the enterprise of certain educated and public spirited persons but when the individuals withdraw their support the spirit and organisation behind the Schools disappeared with them.

Thus during this period we have witnessed a definite advance in our intellectual life, restricted though that may have been; the time was not yet ripe for the development of a national literature and art.

Transition 1880-1890.

This decade is a significant one in that it provided the link between the colonial period and the great era of our national development. It was the sowing time for the seeds which were to bear fruit in the next twenty years. The first two years ushered in two important and influential events; 1880 saw the enactment of Parkes Public Instruction Act; 1881 saw the establishment of "The Bulletin". Although this period produced no great names in literature, art or music, intellectual combined with political activity was widespread. More and more people were writing and coming together in societies to discuss the new ideas of Huxley, Darwin and Henry George, that were infiltrating from overseas. In N.S.W. this decade witnessed the establishment of Halls of Science in Newcastle and Sydney, of the Freethought Societies, of the Rationalist and the Republican groups, The Orange Men and various literary circles, such as the Brisbane Literary Circle founded in 1888, suburban
groups such as the Leichhardt Mutual Improvement Association whose aims were "to promote the moral and intellectual improvement of its members by means of lectures, essays, debates, readings, journalistic publications etc., and by other means which may from time to time be suggested and approved of".

Melbourne had its groups too, 1884 saw the foundation of the Melbourne Shakespeare Society with a membership of some two hundred. In Hobart a year later was founded the Chalmers Literary Association which aimed, through the publication of its own magazine "Quiz", 'to encourage young men, and young women also, in writing essays and verses in which they were at liberty to express freely their ideas and views, and in cultivating any literary aptitude they might possess'.

Most of these groups had some regular publication through which they could voice their ideas and opinions. Through these journals the diversity of the ideas of the time is reflected. Thus the Rationalists published their journal "Liberator" edited by their leader the Wesbyan preacher Joseph Symes; the single taxers, followers of Henry George, issued the "Enterprise" from Lithgow; Winspear, leader of a radical political group in Newcastle edited "The Radical". Other papers, their titles indicating the nature of their platform, were "Anarchy", "Honesty", "Justice", "Freedom", "The Liberal".

The discussion in the columns of these papers and the activity associated with them was politically significant, for much of it

(1) See Leichhardt Mutual Improvement Assoc. Constitution, 1886, Mitchell Library.

(2) See "Quiz" 1887, Editorial.
contributed to develop opinion which was an important factor in the formation of the Labor Party.

In line with this, was the fact that most of the literary figures of the time were more significant as political activists than as writers. The important writers of the time were John Farrell, Dowell O'Reilly, and Sydney Jephcott, but for the most part their names have survived not on account of any literary masterpieces they might have produced, but rather as influential personalities. For instance, John Farrell author of numerous poems, many of them first published in "The Bulletin" was far more effectual as an editor of a political journal, than as a poet. He was for some years editor and founder of the Lithgow Enterprise through whose columns he preached the land policy of Henry George. Later he was appointed editor of the Sydney Telegraph. Conscious as he was of the social problems of his time, with one or two exceptions his poems bear no evidence of his social awareness.

Dowell O'Reilly - school-teacher, politician, poet and short story writer - although of a "genuinely poetic" temperament as Morris Miller claims, was also a political progressive. He was elected to Parliament in 1894 and although his political career as a member was not distinguished on the whole, he was responsible for moving the first resolution in New South Wales Parliament in favour of Women's Suffrage.

The least politically minded was Sydney Jephcott whose work was entirely concerned with nature and the abstract subjects.
There were other literary personalities of the time whose work is scarcely remembered and, apart from these three poets mentioned, the eighties were barren in literary achievements. The people who occupied the intellectual stage were the political agitators and theoreticians who offered a solution to social problems. In the nineties through "The Bulletin" the poets were the spokesmen of social reform. In this decade, however, "The Bulletin" was read not for its Red Page, but for its views on the Sudanese question, on the annexation of New Guinea. Anti-Imperialism was the popular cry and "The Bulletin" led the way - reflecting and guiding a considerable section of public opinion.
NATIONAL AWAKENING 1890-1914.

With the advent of the eighteen-nineties there developed for the first time a spirit of national consciousness, not only politically but more significantly in the cultural expression of the time. It was this spirit which abolished the colonial complex, undermined the inferiority attitudes and laid the foundation for a true Australian culture. This period witnessed the rise of the first school of Australian writers and artists. In harmony with their environment and in step with the social and political changes, they expressed the mood of their generation. As Vance Palmer wrote: "there was a quickening in the Australian air, a feeling that life on this "last Sea-thing dredged by Sailor-Time from Space" was taking on meaning and purpose.... a generation was springing up that had the impulse to look at the Australian world around it through its own eyes, and formulate its values in terms of its own experience..... (1) Australia... was beginning to develop a mind and soul of her own."

This was the period of the great flowering of Australian culture which has never been equalled before or since. The significant fact about this time is that it is impossible to segregate the different aspects of the developments which took place, for each is so interwoven with the other. The artistic and literary achievements reflected and at the same time influenced the society of the day. This was a time of general articulateness independence and energy. The writers were the spokesmen of the people themselves - they were no litterateurs who shut themselves

(1) A.G. Stephens "His Life and Work", Foreword, I.1-2
in an ivory tower and wrote with a personal motive only. Through the medium of "The Bulletin", which was at this time aggressively anti-English and pro-Australian, and the most widely read paper in the colony, the ballads of Henry Lawson, "Banjo" Paterson, Will Ogilvie, the philosophy of Tom Collins (to mention just a few of the writers) reached thousands of people. "The Bulletin" itself is symbolical of the fusion of social and political ideas with vigorous literary expression. Here was a paper radical politically, the champion of social and economic reforms and at the same time the channel for the great literature of the period.

These years, the most formative and influential in our history, witnessed the significant political events such as the formation of the Labor Party and the struggle and final victory for Federation. The early nineties experienced one of the worst economic depressions in our history - the economic challenge, however, stimulated a response in the form of an enlivened social awareness. Thus the literature of the time assumed a social purpose in its content.

The economic background at the beginning of this cultural renaissance was a chaotic one and resulted in a decline in living conditions. The prosperity of the eighties had ended in a slump. Wool and meat prices were low. The pastoralists were hard hit and many had to sell out their runs, those who remained attempted to meet their obligations by overstocking and thus bringing bigger clips to market. But more important, they sought to meet the crisis by lowering wages. This precipitated the
conflict between capital and labor which resulted in the great strikes of 1891. During the eighties advances in the organisation of trade unions had been made by the Queensland organisers and leaders W.G. Spence and William Lane. In 1886 Spence had formed the Shearers' Union as a protest against the low wage rates for shearing at the poor working conditions. The seeds of agitation which were to come to fruition in the conflagration of 1891 were being scattered in the eighties. The tension in the relations between employers and workers was heightened by a series of incidents. The first being the example of the successful London dock labourers strike in August 1889 - towards which the Australian unions contributed some £30,000. Then in 1889-90 Henry George visited Australia preaching his doctrine of drastic action against land monopolists - he "helped to set the scene and the hour for an upheaval". And finally the economic depression which the year 1890 admitted - with its falling wool markets, the banks calling up advances and the labour market gorged with men discharged from works of construction. The storm was precipitated from an unexpected quarter - by the maritime unions and the shearers were called out in sympathy. The struggle lasted for two months and ended in the disastrous defeat of the unionists. Union funds had been exhausted and many of the strikers prosecuted. Rapidly the men returned to work on the employer's terms and the development of unionism was retarded for a decade. The significant outcome of the strikes, however, was the emergence of political labour, it was realised that unionism

itself could not suffice in the struggle against capitalism; political action must be tried. Thus in 1891 the Labor Party was formed and in the same year Labor candidates won thirty-seven seats in the State Parliament.

The effect of the strikes economically was to aggravate the situation and to delay the possibility of financial recovery. A prolonged drought from 1894 to 1899 reduced the sheep flocks and wool continued at low prices. Cautious British investors began to withdraw their capital.

Against this background of economic distress and agitation it is therefore not surprising to find that the writers of the day were aroused to express their dissatisfaction with the condition of society. The contemporary poets and novelists were all writers of protest; Henry Lawson the most popular of them all, became the spokesman for common man and because he wrote in the popular language of the day and because he adopted popular ballad form with its strong and easily memorised rhythms, his poems were read by thousands and passed on by word of mouth. Here was no abstruseness, no destractions - his meaning was clear to all, this reflection as is illustrated in the following stanzas from "Faces in the Street" - a reflection of the depressed conditions of the unemployment of the time -

"They lie, the men who tell us, for reasons of their own,
That want is here a stranger, and that misery's unknown;
For where the nearest suburb and the city proper meet
My window'sill is level with the faces in the street -
Drifting past, drifting past,
To the beat of weary feet -
While I sorrow for the owners of these faces
in the street.
And cause I have to sorrow, in a land, so young and fair,
To see upon those faces stamped the marks of Want and Care;
I look in vain for traces of the fresh and fair and sweet
In sallow, sunken faces that are drifting through the street—
Drifting on, drifting on,
To the scrape of restless feet;
I can sorrow for the owners of the faces in the street".

Henry Lawson perhaps typifies the spirit of the times.
He voiced the disappointment and the sufferings of the period.
He was not content to be merely a poet, like the other writers
of the day he was actively engaged in trying to bring about the
reform he preached and the democracy he hoped for. As Lloyd Ross
has pointed out, he was a member of the Australian Socialists
League, was a friend of officials of the Shearers' Union; wrote
political verses in the Bourke "Western Herald"; he based his
poem "The God-Forgotten Election" on his experiences when
supporting a "Labor-Protectionist" candidate; plastered the walls
of Sydney by night with the slogan "Vote for West"; was a close
friend of some who were to sail on a communistic venture to
Paraguay; and occupied for a time the editorial chair of "The
Australian Worker".

It is significant that Lawson was not alone as a
political activist, philosopher and poet. If we examine the
writings and the lives of the other poets and prose writers of
(1) "William Lane & The Australian Labor Movement", Lloyd Ross.
the day it is apparent that most of them were concerned with
the state of society and the means of reform. Many of the great
names of this period are associated with some form of reformist
activity. For instance, Victor Daley, although today best known
for his lyrical verse, contributed quantities of political and
social poetry to the newspapers. One of the papers to which he
contributed was the Melbourne "Tocsin" a socialist paper in which
appeared his famous poem "My Name is Labor, But they Call me
Christ". George Essex Evans published his poetry in the
"Boomerang" a Queensland labor paper edited by William Lane.
E.J. Brady writer of sea-stories and a friend of Lawsons,
earned his living as a labor journalist editing a paper called
"The Workman". Tom Collins, the greatest of them all, has been
described as the profoundist literary philosopher of the common
man Australia has ever produced. A socialist, though a vague one,
he preached his own doctrine of equalitarian Australianism plus
the ideal mateship and fellowship which characterised the
nineties. Though his message was a universal one, it did not
reach an audience as wide as Lawson's.

It is interesting at this stage to compare the
Australian literary renaissance of the nineties with the parallel
period in America when the first flowering of an indigenous
American literature took place. There, as here, it was events
themselves which moulded and influenced the creative artists. The
ideas and spirit of the great Fronteir monument stimulated
literary development which found its highest expression in the
writing of Wall Whitman, Emerson and Thoreau. The nineteenth
century ushered in in America the great movement towards the West and the unlocking of the fertile inland regions and with it entered the individualism which was to form the predominant characteristic of American society. This democratic individualism which was born of the frontier became the essence of the work of the great triad of American letters - Whitman, Emerson and Thoreau. Sympathetic as they were to the common man, for Whitman believed that it was the humble people who represented the "life-blood of Democracy", they never urged the people to combine in an effort to gain a better way of life. They did not contribute a practical philosophy of action as their Australian counterparts did. The contrast offers itself in the two key words "individualism" preached by Whitman and "mateship" idealised by Lawson and Collins. It is true that economic individualism was as rampant in Australia as in America, but in Australia the working class movement gathered a strength and unity early in our political development which was never achieved in the same way even later in America. This was no doubt partly due to the influence of the ideals of writers such as Lawson who through the medium of "The Bulletin" and of labor union organisers such as W.G. Spence, and William Lane who carried his message of mateship and strength through unity around the countryside. Although the strikers of the nineties were for immediate purposes a failure they did illustrate the spirit of co-operation and fellowship which existed among the workers of the time.

Reflecting the social conditions as the writers of this period did they were also expressing indirectly their
consciousness of nationhood. This was one of those rare periods when the writer found the right relationship to his audience; he was understanding and understood. The contrast between the literature of this time which expressed Australia for Australians and the literature of preceding decades with its self-conscious colonialism, illustrates the significance of the change which took place at this time in the character of Australia's cultural life. Thus the writers of the colonial period as Nettie Palmer has pointed out "Instead of investing his subjects with atmosphere, something the writer has absorbed and has power to give out naturally, they were inclined to daub their pictures with "local colour" to please eyes likely to be attracted by an unfamiliar surface.

In the nineties this kind of writing was suddenly superseded by the short story of the intimate and natural type, written as though for people who knew their own country. In these stories the writer never apologised, never explained, never stepped outside the picture......" The tradition of this kind was established by writers such as Henry Lawson, Tom Collins, Price Warung, through the medium of "The Bulletin", first under the guidance of J. T. Archibald and later A.G. Stephens. It was these two men who became the pilots of Australian literature, they were "intent on cleansing the smear of colonialism from the country's face", thus they encouraged such writers as Lawson, Collins and the rest and contributed tremendously towards establishing a native literature. They were direct in the doctrine they preached and

in the type of writing they demanded for "The Bulletin". They set the course which the first Australian writers were to take as the following passage by A.G. Stephens indicates:

"It is the duty and should be the pride of every father and mother and teacher of Australian children to intensify the natural love of Australia and to point out in how many ways Australia is eminently worthy to be loved.... We are gradually learning that there are no more beautiful trees in the world than Australian gum trees.... We have learnt to laugh at the ridiculous and reiterated fiction that our flowers have no scent and our birds no song. Why the whole bush is scented; in no land is there a greater wealth of aromatic perfume from tree and shrub and flower, making the daisied meadows of England, as honest Henry Kingsley owns, tame and suburban by comparison... What would they not give in England for ten acres of wattle blossom on Wimbledon common? And how many nightingales would they exchange for a flight of crimson lories at sunrise - a shower of flaming rubies?"

This period is apt to be remembered primarily as the great era of Australian literature. But Australian art with its first school of Australian landscape painters was born at this time too. In art as in literature the Australian scene was interpreted for the sake of its own particular qualities of beauty. No longer did the artist attempt to invest the gum tree with a thick foliage of English trees and the atmosphere with the mistiness of English landscape. A tradition was born

(1) Dragnet: by A.G. Stephens, see Vance Palmer's "A.G. Stephens, History, Life and Work".
under the leadership of Tom Roberts and Arthur Streeton which recognised the native beauty of the gum tree and which more importantly developed a technique for interpreting the light and colour of the Australian atmosphere. Thus Streeton observed "Nature's scheme of colour in Australia is gold and blue". The difficulties of transferring this colour and light to canvas were recognised and mastered with the success which only his paintings themselves can describe. The enthusiasm of the writer was equalled by that of the artist - thus Lambert wrote on his return from London, "The beauty of the Australian bush is staggering.... What has impressed me very much is that the colour values are so subtle, the difference between foreground and middle distance being quite slight compared with what you find in an English landscape. Wherever you look, there are romantic landscapes like tapestries, and (1) human inventions cannot improve their design".

This harmony with the environment which these artists felt has been expressed by Streeton in a letter to his friend Tom Roberts - harmony is perhaps too mild a word to describe this sentiment, for joyousness is the keynote of this passage. He writes to Roberts - Bulldog as he calls him: -

"I sit on our hill of gold, on the north side; the wind seems sunburnt and fiery as it runs through my beard. Yes rather, see, look here: north-east the very long divide is beautiful, warm blue, far, far away, all dreaming and remote. Now to the east a little. a great, round cloud of smoke rises slowly up over the dreamy horizon into the soft,

(1) See Wm. Moore, Op. Cit. p.86
sweet, eastern sky, then reaching the wind, floats gently south like a stream of Turkey lollie or spiders' threads, making dim and large the long, majestic Dandenong Ranges. Yes, I sit here in the upper circle surrounded by copper and gold, and smile joy under my fly net as all the light, glory and quivering brightness passes slowly and freely before my eyes. Nothing happier than this. I shout and laugh at my immense wealth, all free and without responsibility. Who could steal this from me? No one. Oh, that I could roll some up - as a present. Oh, I'll try. The receiver has a good soul and healthy thought. Yes, come and share my riches, they are daily instalments from heaven".

This school of artists was born at the end of the eighteen-eighties when Tom Roberts started an artists' camp near Box Hill, this was the first of the camps which sprang up round Melbourne - at Heidelberg, Mintone, Chartersville and Warrandyte. These artists abandoned their studios and the indoor aestheticism of the previous period and sought their subject at first hand. In 1889 was held the first exhibition of purely Australian pictures. Being technically "impressionistic" it was ill received by the critics, nevertheless all the pictures on display were sold.

In 1891 Tom Roberts came to Sydney and established a camp at Sirius Cove, Mosmans Bay. This soon became the rendezvous of artists, writers and musicians. It was the influence of Streeton and Roberts who vitalised art in Sydney at this time, teaching the painters here as Lister Lister
declared that the Australian landscape was an affair of clear atmosphere and bright colours, not of the low tones and cloudy skies that they had conventionally inherited from England. These camps, however, did not become artists colonies where the accepted standards of society were eschewed. They were rather experimental workshops where serious artists gathered to try out their theories and new techniques. Concerned as they were with their art, these camps were not closed groups, on the contrary, they became centres to which intellectuals emigrated to exchange ideas and discuss the events of the day. Shirlow has given us his impression which indicates the character of one of these camps: "The studio overlooked miles of country; and it used to be one of the joys of our existence to sit on the steps after the evening meal and the lamp was lighted, we gathered round and discussed Whistler, Norman Lindsay, theosophy socialism and so on. Then to bed...."

Soon, however, the economic depression began to have its affect on the art world. The market for the work of Australian artists which had begun to develop in Melbourne at the end of the eighties contracted and not even Streeton could sell his pictures. Sydney at this time had very few art patrons and indeed very few art lovers at all - Streeton's letters to Roberts give adequate testimony of this. As the depression deepened many of the artists left for England and the Continent. This, however, was only a temporary lull in the artistic activity

(1) see A.W. Jose: "The Romantic Nineties", p.22
(2) see Wm. Moore: op cit. p.80.
of the time - for this Golden Age, which the present writer
believes extends beyond the eighteen-nineties to the early
nineteen hundreds, was to witness the historic exhibitions of
the works of these great Australian artists. Streeton returned
from abroad in 1906 penniless. Encouraged by friends he held an
exhibition of his work in Melbourne, the result of which was
that all his pictures were sold for the total amount of £2,000.
This success started a boom in Melbourne for Australian paintings.
From now on Australian pictures were fashionable - a series of
successful exhibitions were held which meant that for some
artists they were now able to give up teaching on the proceeds
of their sales and devote all their time to painting. Hans
Heysen being one of the most notable examples.

Parallel with this development in art interest during
the pre-war period was the continued activity in the literary
and political spheres. Certain writers on Australia's cultural
history have asserted that with the turn of the century there
was a drying up of creative activity, that the spirit of
the nineties subsided into disillusionment and the emasculated
aestheticism which was a legacy of the English Yellow Book circles.
In fact, however the influence of the English Decadents did not
make its impact on Australian writers and artists until the early
nineteen-twenties. A considerable amount of evidence can be
summoned to substantiate this view. Firstly the idealism of the
nineties which bred Lawson and Streeton was carried over into the
first decade of the twentieth century, both in the artistic and
political spheres. In the strikes which although ended in defeat
(1) see "Place, Taste and Tradition".
In the political sphere although the strikes of the nineties had ended in the defeat of the workers and precipitated the Utopian experiment of William Lane, which had ended in disaster at the end of the century, there was no loss of idealism.

The failure of Lane's experiment, as Lloyd Ross has argued, had very little influence at the time. Lane's opponents who argued that the only way reform could be accomplished was the hard way and not through escapism, had put forward their contention prior to his departure for Paraguay and although critics have asserted that Lane's influence developed an "invidious Utopianism" politically, in fact this was not so. Lane's influence was a salutary one. It proved the contention that reform would have to develop the hard way, through the slow and unspectacular method of organisation and preaching.

In the literary sphere the creative impulse did not subside at the term of the century, nor did those writers whom we associate with the early 1900's such as O'Dowd, Roderick Quinn, Louis Essen etc., retreat from society into barren aestheticism. Sufficient refutation of the view that there was a drying up of creative expression and lack of social awareness is to be found if we examine the character and activities of the Victorian Socialist Party to which group were drawn the most significant proportion of the intellectuals, writers and social reformers of this time. In 1903 the Victorian Socialist Party was
for the workers precipitated political labor and in the Utopian experiments of William Lane did not end in defeatism.

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formed and with its organ the "Tocsin" was perhaps the most vital cultural influence of the early twentieth century. To this group—which constituted a movement rather than a narrow political party—were drawn the intellectual and creative writers of this period. Thus the great names of Bernard O'Dowd, Victor Daley, Roderic Quinn, Edward Dyson, even the young Norman Lindsay contributed illustrations at this time, all wrote for the "Tocsin" and were actively engaged in spreading their ideals. This paper, like "The Worker" the significant Labor journal of the nineties, was organising in character and at the same time it provided an outlet for poets and artists.

Concurrent with these publications and still the most far-reaching literary influence was the "Bulletin" to which these writers also contributed. For instance there O'Dowd published his first important poem "Downward" which begins—

"That reddish veil which o'er the face
Of night hag East is drawn......
Flames new disaster for the race?
Or can it be the Dawn?"

..............

"Our motley masses struggle slow
'Mid wilderness, through sands;
Our flags with fetish watchwords glow
Above the gloomy bands".

..............

"Three watch words! Will they glorify
Or weave us fates more stark?"
Lead dawnward from this lowering sky
Or downward to the dark?"

The three watchwords are Freedom, Equality and Fraternity. The revolutionary nature of O'Dowd's verse is symbolical of the type of literature of this time. O'Dowd is a poet and the social reformer. "He is an insistent questioner" — and revolutionary. He believed —

"That man is God, however low —
Is man, however high".

He also had faith in Australia as a nation as his masterpiece "The Bush" indicates —

"Homers are waiting in the gum trees now,
A wind has spirited from ageing France
To our fresh hills the carpet of Romance".

To the North he feels no inferiority, but rather Australia is the inheritor of northern civilisation and yet has her own particular contribution to make —

"What'er was your's is ours in equal measure
The Temple was not built for you alone,
Altho' 'tis ours to grace the common treasure
With of our own!"

He sees the evil aspects of city life and the disastrous results of the economic system but at the same time has faith in Australia as a nation and an optimism for her future —

"Where is Australia, singer do you know?
These sordid farms and joyless factories,
Mephitic mines and lanes of pallid woe?"
Those ugly towns and cities such as these
With incense sick to all unworthy power
And all old sin in full malignant flower?
No! to her bourn her children still are faring:
She is a Temple that we are to build:
For her the ages have been long preparing:
She is a prophecy to be fulfilled!

She is the Eldorado of old dreamers,
The Sleeping Beauty of the world's desire.

She is the scroll on which we are to write
Mythologies our own and epics new:"

............... It has been asserted by leftist critic Bernard Smith that O'Dowd was not concerned with reality and that this poem indicates his revulsion to the sordid and objectionable from which he escapes into a "primitivist" position. Such an interpretation is a purely subjective one. Philosophical and even metaphysical O'Dowd can be in his poetry, yet escapism is one criticism which cannot be levelled at him. O'Dowd protested at the evils of an old world that were being repeated in a young country. He is part of the national movement which rose in the nineties to throw off inferiority attitudes which their colonial origin had engendered. O'Dowd as a poet did not have the influence nor the popularity which Lawson had; his verse was too abstract, too full of classical allusions to be easily understood and acceptable to many people. But there can be no

(1) See Bernard Smith, op. cit. P.163-4
doubt as to the influence he had as a man and a theorist in the political circles in which he moved in Melbourne before the 1914 war.

To assert that there was a cessation in literary and cultural activity at the turn of the century is to ignore such important writers, who produced most of their best work at this time, as O'Dowd, Marie Pitt, Louis Esson, Mary Fullerton, Mary Gilmore, Shaw Neilson, Le Gay Brereton, Christopher Brennan and Hugh McCrae. Perhaps of all these only the latter two were poets without a social purpose.

This literary and artistic renaissance which began in 1890 and continued till 1914 was not confined merely to the creative arts of literature and painting. The people themselves showed signs of a widespread interest in cultural activities. The School of Arts movement reached its climax in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century. Thus during the years 1890 to 1898 there were at least 77 Schools of Arts established in New South Wales making a total of 155 altogether in that state. While in the next twelve years it is recorded that in the year 1914 there were over 450 Schools of Arts in New South Wales.

This indicates moreover that the movement was not purely an urban one - but had filtered throughout Australia to the smallest country towns.

Footnote: The impetus of the increase can be seen in the following figures: 1833 there was 1 1870 there were 17
1850 " " 1 1880 " " 36
1860 " were 6 1890 " " 77
1898 " " 155

(See Library Association of Aust. Transactions 1898).
On the other hand the developments in music and drama were not rapid or spectacular as far as the development of Australian intreptative talent was concerned. However, the number of distinguished overseas artists, both actors and musicians who visited Australia at this time indicates that there was an audience here ready to appreciate theatrical and musical genius. Apart from individual artists such as Sarah Bernhardt, Oscar Ashe, H.B. Irving, Nat Goodwin, Paderewski, Mark Hambourg, Sir Charles Halle, Mischa Elman to mention only some. Whole opera companies were also visiting Australia regularly during this time. The Australian Encyclopedia lists the following companies: - In 1892 an Italian Opera Company toured Australia successfully; in 1900-01 a complete Wagnerian entourage toured the various capital cities holding in Sydney alone, where the population at that time was less than half-a-million 169 performances in ten months. This Company brought with it a full orchestra of 40 players - a fact which marked the new musical era. In 1907 a complete German Opera Company under the direction of Musgrove; in 1908 a National Opera Company was formed in Sydney to sing opera in English; 1910 saw Madame Butterfly performed in Melbourne and Sydney nightly for six weeks at a time; 1912

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Footnote: (Con't from P.(95)) * In a typed Report "Public Library Systems in Australia by John Metcalfe - Dec.1935, it is asserted that the Sydney Mechanics School of Arts had a subsidy of about £1,000 a year; metropolitan suburban institutions in N.S.W. averaged about £50 a year, and 450 country institutions about £20 a year. It can be gathered from this statement the approximate number of Institutes in existence at that time in New South Wales alone.
the Quinlan Opera Company brought to Australia. "The flower of English opera singers" - so large was this Company that their fares alone cost £16,000 - critics described their seasons as ones of "sustained triumph". 1913 Quinlan again visited Australia performing for the first time in Australia the Wagnerian trilogy of "The Ring of the Niebulung" - this in the words of a contemporary "aroused rapturous admiration".

It was the beginning of this century that saw the first appearances of the great Australian singer Nellie Melba and of the composer Percy Grainger. During the nineties the first symphony orchestra had been formed by the Amateur Orchestral Society in Sydney under the leadership of Signor Hazon. Not until the early twentieth century, was the first serious attempt made to present chamber music at regular intervals, when Cyril Monk formed his Austral String Quartet in 1909.

Thus in summing up this period there is evidence to show that the nineties witnessed a great cultural advance and further that this creative activity and national awareness did not cease with the advent of the twentieth century but continued to flourish for at least another decade. World War I had been preceded by the weakening of the Labor Movement which had been split on the issue of Conscription with a subsequent decline in its cultural and political influence. The impact of this war was not to produce any cultural upsurge, for the drain on manpower and resources was so great and the Australian losses so shattering. It is true that with the economic boom that
followed the war the sale of Australian pictures increased and the theatre flourished during 1914 and 1918, as it always does in times of crisis... But for the most part the effect of this war was a negative one not only on our creative artists who failed to produce any memorable work at this time, but also on the people themselves who were so absorbed in the struggle that their attention was directed to this end alone. This situation provides an interest contrast to World War II, the latter part of which witnessed a great upsurge of interest in the arts, as will be indicated later. This undoubtedly lay in the different character of the two wars. The 1914-18 war meant the exodus of the major proportion of the adult male population from Australia, whereas in the second world war although divisions were sent overseas the numbers and losses were in comparison, much smaller. Further the influx of troops from other countries such as the American Army during the recent war contributed to the stimulation of our cultural activities. For instance, the Americans established their Information Libraries in the capital cities; they sent out notable Americans in the cultural sphere (such as Professor Canby) to lecture to Australians, and their Office of War Information with its highly trained officers participated in various adult education activities throughout Australia. These activities which were not confined only to the American services but catered for the Australian civilian population and did much to stimulate cultural activity. It will be shown later how the interest of the American troops in Australian literature
and Australian booksellers and publishers so that indirectly it precipitated the establishment of a substantial publishing industry.

Another factor which contributed to the appreciation of cultural matters during the recent war was the establishment of the Army Education Service through its discussion groups, libraries, performances of classical music. It is not implied that World War I failed to produce any idealism. It did, as the high motives which initiated the League of Nations indicates. The people, however, pinned their faith on political ideals which when they were disregarded and the League discredited and World War II ensued, it was realised that social evils could not be eradicated by the remote suggestions and decrees of an international body of politicians. It was felt that the mistakes that had followed 1918 must be avoided, hence the establishment of the Ministries of Post-War Reconstruction - first in England and then in Australia in the middle of the war. Here the policy of the post-war planning authority was directed not only towards economic recovery but emphasised the significance of the cultural factor in assisting rehabilitation.

The emphasis of organizations such as the Australian Ministry of Post-War Reconstruction the numerous voluntary community centre movements with cultural motives which grew up during this war, the British semi-governmental Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, documents such as the Atlantic Charter, etc., some to symbolise the greater value placed on ideals of a cultural origin.
Still another factor which emphasises the contrast between the two wars is to be found in the changes which had taken place in society between 1914 and 1939. With the developments that had taken place during the interwar period with the growth of science and the resultant new social techniques. A condition existed in 1939 where it was possible to mobilise, when the occasion arose, all aspects of our cultural life. The recent war penetrated the life of every individual for the techniques of social organisation were now developed to such an extent that it was possible to control the activities of all social groups on a scale unprecedented in any previous war; hence people were manpowered or conscripted into whichever occupation authority directed. So that if authority realised the value of the arts in time of crisis - as they did in England and to a lesser extent here - it was possible to disseminate their policy rapidly and widely through the use of the techniques such as the film, radio, swift transport, organised recitals, educational programmes etc., which were now available.
INTER-WAR PERIOD 1918-1939.

After World War I the character of Australian society and of Australian culture changed. The transition which had been taking place since the industrial revolution throughout the western world to modern mass society was completed and Australia lagging behind the older established societies of the northern hemisphere did not reflect the change until after 1918. The urbanisation and predominance over the rest of Australia of the two great centres of Melbourne and Sydney was accomplished and the drift of the rural population to the cities begun. A factor which contributed to the changes in our cultural and social life at this period was the development of new social techniques - such as the radio, the automobile, the cinema, industrial mass production, air travel etc. The result of these developments particularly through improved communication was to break down our isolation from the rest of the world and to a certain extent our extreme cultural nationalism. Australia was now part of the international sphere, sharing in the world-wide political, economic and cultural events. She could no longer escape the impact of world movements and developments overseas as is demonstrated in the local repercussions to the economic world depression of the late twenties and early thirties, to the Russian Revolution and to the international tensions of the thirties, which all had their effect on the various aspects of our cultural and social life.

The reaction after 1918 was one of disillusionment and cynicism; a reaction which was typified by T.S. Eliot's
"The Wastelands" and Aldous Huxley's "Arctic Hay". Australia did not escape the prevailing mood of the period, characterised by jaded nerves, physical tiredness and complex superficiality of the modernists. But here, our writers did not seek to express their disappointment in the contemptuous fashion of the contemporary literary circles in England, rather they sought to escape by turning their backs on the realistic issues of the day. They retreated into a realm of fantasy of nymphs and satyrs. Thus the most significant writers of the early 'twenties gravitated to the "Visionist" group - publishing their work in a quarterly entitled "Vision". This circle was led by Kenneth Slessor, Jack Lindsay, Norman Lindsay and Hugh McCrae. This group as a group was an ephemeral one for most of its members have continued to write contributing individually to the main body of Australian literature. The platform of the Visionists was a reaction against the devitalisation bred of the war years.

But this reaction did not arise out of a positive social purpose or as an attempt to overcome the devitalisation which showed itself in the intellectual as well as the social spheres; rather it was a reaction of escape from society and its responsibilities through sensualism, individualism and fantasy. They asserted in the words of the Foreword of the first issue of "Vision", May 1923 that they would vindicate the youthfulness of Australia, not by being "modern", but by being alive. "Unless gaiety and fantasy are added to realism, the pestilence of Zola or the locomotor ataxia of Flambert must finally attack the mind.... We prefer to find youth by
responding to the image of beauty, to vitality of emotion". In the same issue the Visionists fulminated against the Nationalism which had characterised Australian culture. "This century" - wrote Jack Lindsay, "and the closing of the last have seen almost everywhere the rise of Nationalism in all expressions, chiefly owing to the enormous influx of the people into Art. The peasant arose as an overwhelming factor in expression..... Australia is particularly liable to the onslaughts of those who would uphold the national basis in expression, for besides this general tendency, since it is a young country, it has had to get through the usual preliminaries to any culture such as balladry and folk stories which give the people some root in the soil. Consequently the dogmas of the national nature of poetry and art has passed here almost unquestioned...." He continues, pointing out that all true poets are of one stock, for instance, wherever Greek poetry is living then the Greek people are living also, but he asks - How is the Greek to come alive in Australia, how are we to break down our nationalistic barriers. As a "Visionist" Lindsay believed that this may be done "by a profound response to life, by the expression of lyric gaiety, by a passionate sensuality, by the endless search for the image of beauty, the immortal body of desire that is Aphrodite. Thus we may found a genuine Australian literature. It is a short-sighted Nationalism that can be proud only of verse about shearers and horses, and measures the reality of a work by its local references. If we wish to express an Australian spirit let us make that spirit
worth expressing by adding to it all the stimulus of sensuous and lyric imagery we can, by creating beauty so that the general consciousness may be further vitalised...... We would bring back the Goddess to Poetry, Music and Art. Here is the eternal search of spiritual youth, and if we can sing a few songs fragrant with this desire we shall have proved our youth and freedom as no chants about bullocks and droughts can prove it".

It would be an inaccurate generalisation to assume that all the writers of this period adhered to the romantic aestheticism of the Vissionists. A realistic note had been struck by Katherine Susannah Prichard in her novel "Working Bullocks" (1926). It was during this time too that Henry Handel Richardson was working on her great trilogy, "The Fortunes of Richard Mahoney", but this was not published in entirety until 1930 and does not, therefore, belong to the immediate post-war literature. For the most part, however, the predominant literary philosophy of the time was epitomised in the escapism of Slessor, McCrae and the Lindsays.

In art the immediate post-war period was characterised by the existence side by side of two artistic trends. On the one hand there was the romanticism of Norman Lindsay and on the other the pursuance of Australian national tradition of the Streeton era, by artists such as Hans Heysen. The impact of the modernist schools, the Cubists, Surrealists and all the rest was not felt here until the late thirties.

In the other cultural spheres of the drama and music this period was not marked by many significant developments.
It is true that Sydney, now possessed a Conservatorium of Music from the foundation of which in 1915 it is possible to date the establishment of standards in the musical world. During the brief period from 1917-1922 when Verbrugghen was the director of the Conservatorium, Sydney experienced a musical renaissance. For the first time regular public chamber music and orchestral concerts were held under his leadership. It may be said that he did more than any other individual to stimulate an interest in and a taste for good music in Sydney. With his departure the orchestral and chamber music ensembles which had come together through his enthusiasm were broken up and because the State Government could not be persuaded to assume the financial responsibility for a permanent paid orchestra, the musical life of Sydney was undistinguished and slow to develop. Not until the foundation of the Australian Broadcasting Commission was there any significant advance in our musical life.

On the other hand in the theatre world the war produced a boom. The commercial theatre flourished so that by 1927 Sydney alone possessed nine theatres. The explanation for this may be found in the fact that while people could afford it, they sought escape in entertainments; the theatre providing one of the most obvious means of outlet. It is noteworthy, however, from the point of view of our cultural development, that as a reaction against the cheap fare offered by the commercial theatres a repertory movement developed in Sydney during the twenties. This was like a breath of fresh air in the world of the theatre at the time and the first Repertory Society initiated by Gregan McMahon set in motion a Little Theatre
movement which has continued to the present day and but for which the drama as an art would not be known or recognised in Sydney today.

By 1928 the effects of the world depression were beginning to be felt in Australia and the thirties were ushered in in gloom and discontent. The commercial world was the first to suffer and, therefore, the commercial theatre. One by one the theatres closed down. It was at this time too that the moving picture industry developed contributing to the decay of the flesh and blood theatre. The thirties saw the consistent encroachment of the cinema on the theatre world and until the eventual eclipse of the latter. This was partly due to economic circumstances but partly also to the lack of idealism and the predomination of purely commercial motives on the part of Sydney's theatrical promoters.

But what were the literary and the artistic influences of the thirties? What were the cultural developments of that significant decade which was introduced by the deepest depression the world had known, which saw the rise of the Fascist powers, the spread of Communist doctrines, witnessed a war of ideologies in Spain and which closed with the outbreak of a second disastrous World War? Before analysing the creative products of this period it is necessary to examine the political background of the time in order to understand certain cultural trends which appeared then.

In 1921 the Labor Party had adopted the socialisation of Industry objective. By 1930 there were Labor Governments in the Federal Parliament (Scullin), Victoria (Hogan) South
Australia (Hill) and New South Wales (Lang). But dissension in the ranks of the Labor Party brought about a split in the Party which led to the overthrow of the Scullin Government and weakened Labor for a decade. More important perhaps than the political to and fro of Labor and Conservative Governments, was the rise of another political element, the Australian Communist Party, which after 1935 entered the Australian cultural sphere.

The Australian Communist Party was formed in Sydney in October 1920. The decision to form a Communist Party was made at a Conference of left-wing and socialist groups called together by the Australian Socialist Party. Delegates were sent to the Third World Congress of the Communist International which met in Moscow in 1921 and affiliation was established. During the first fifteen years the Party activities were confined to sectarian political issues, to consolidation and to winning support among trade unionists. In the early thirties, however, the possibilities of using the stage as a propaganda medium was realised. With the establishment of its Workers Art Theatres the first attempt was made by the Party to enter the cultural field. These Theatres of Clubs, as they were called, were established in Melbourne and in Sydney by groups of Party intellectuals who had been first influenced by European revolutionaries, such as the playwright Ernest Toller. But as the developments took place in Russia the influence came more directly from Russia. As a result in 1934 the Melbourne Workers Art Theatre changed its name to F.O.S.U. (Friends of the Soviet Union) and limited their productions to the somewhat crude
"Agitprop" sketches which were straight out propaganda for presentation in workshops and factories. In Sydney although the name of the Workers' Art Club was retained for a time, members confined their activities to "Agitprop" sketches following the example of their Melbourne counterpart. These Clubs failed in their cultural objective because of the narrowness and limited nature of the material produced. They also failed as far as the Party was concerned because of the "decadent" character of the members who through lax and undisciplined behaviour discredited the Party. As the Party developed they were not favourably regarded.

After 1935, however, a change took place in the nature of the Australian Communist Party which was to have repercussions in our cultural life. This was the result of the seventh World Congress of the Communist International when Dimitrov in his lecture to the Comintern rebuked the Communist Parties outside Russia for "self-satisfied sectarianism" and "doctrinaire narrowness" on the question of nationality and national culture. He condemned the Communist parties for neglecting national sentiments. He said that the Communists had left it to the Fascist parties to encourage national pride, and that in this respect the Communist parties had been grievously out of touch with the masses. He asserted that in Soviet Russia, the revolution had not only "averted the destruction of culture, but had raised culture to the highest stage of florescence as a truly national culture - national in form and socialist in content under Stalin's leadership".
From hence, therefore, the narrow programmes pursued by such closed groups as the Workers' Art Clubs were not to be recommended. The Communist Party was no longer to condemn national cultural characteristics and attempt to plant European culture on Australian soil. The consequence of this broader and more democratic policy can be traced in the various cultural developments which took place in Sydney at the latter end of the thirties and more obviously during the early forties after Russia had entered the war.

The first sign of the new policy was apparent in the Workers' Art Club which in 1935 changed its name to the less class conscious title of New Theatre League. With the change of name there was also a change in the character of the work done in the Theatre. Although overseas plays with some social significance were produced - particularly those from America, which at that time was experiencing a period rich in literary expression, a definite attempt was made to encourage local left-wing playwrights. The first Australian play to be specially written for the New Theatre on a local working class theme was "Thirteen Dead" which had as its subject the Wonthaggi Mine disaster. This stimulated other playwrights and in this left theatre group developed such able dramatists as Catherine Duncan. From now on not only was the type of play produced more catholic in approach but the membership was opened to any one who desired to belong no matter what their political viewpoint. As a result the New Theatre has gradually increased in strength and numbers, but for one brief setback at the beginning of the war, while today it has a membership of several hundred and
considerable prestige among Sydney's Little Theatres.

The 1935 Congress also had its repercussions in the literary field, for 1937 saw the amalgamation of the two main literary organisations in Sydney - the Writers Association, up to that date limited to extreme leftists, and the Fellowship of Australian Writers ostensibly conservative. It should be mentioned here that in 1935 a local incident occurred which had divided the ranks of the Fellowship which from its inception in 1923 had been a predominantly conservative cultural body. The incident centred round the refusal of the Australian Federal Government to admit the European left-wing writer Egon Kisch. This fascist action of the Government roused most of Australia's progressives to protest. Within the ranks of the Fellowship, however, there was a division splitting into two camps those for Kisch and those against. This state of affairs persisted for two or three years until amalgamation with the Writers Association when the left-wing elements swamped the conservatives. The Writers' Association and its offshoot the School of Modern Writers had been formed in 1934 after its founder, Katherine Susannah Prichard returned from a World Conference of left-wing writers which was held in Paris that year. This organisation was sectarian and openly radical until it was realised that by joining forces with the more liberal Fellowship, it could contribute more to the left-wing cause and also fall into line with Dimitrov's demands.

Another significant move in the cultural sphere at this time, which also indicates the way in which the local Communist group responded to the policy laid down at the 1935
World Congress, was the effort made to co-ordinate all cultural bodies in Sydney through a central organisation. In 1937 a Conference was convened, prompted by the Writers' Association of several cultural bodies in the State. The outcome of this Conference was the establishment of the Central Cultural Council. For the first few years of its existence this organisation did little apart from taking up such questions as censorship when the occasion arose. In 1943, the name was changed to the People's Council for Culture, and by joining forces with current cultural movements which developed during the war years, such as the National Theatre Movement, and by organising a number of highly successful cultural conferences, it gained the support of a variety of cultural groups. Its non-political, non-sectarian nature being emphasised by the fact that it won some of Sydney's distinguished intellectuals with a known conservative background.

The activities of the Communist Party was not confined only to the literary and dramatic spheres for with the formation of the Contemporary Art Societies in Melbourne and Sydney and later with the establishment of Sydney's School of Realist Art, we have evidence of the expanding cultural policy in the art world.

It was not until 1943 that when its Arts and Science Committee was set up the A.C.P. really embarked on an intense cultural campaign. Until that time the cultural participation had been almost entirely due to a few far-seeing intellectuals - such as Katherine Susannah Prichard. From this time an attempt was made to provide a lead and guidance for Party writers and artists; this attempt was made apparent in an official
publication of "Art, Science and Communism" by L. Harry Gould, the Secretary of the Arts and Science Committee.

So far, however, this discussion has been concerned with relating the organisational trends of the time, it may be asked how far were social developments effecting the creative output. Did the Communist ideologies which attracted so many Australian writers, artists and intellectuals in the thirties, appear in their work. For instance, did the Spanish War which drew the sympathies and influenced the writings of the great leftist English and American literary figures such as Spender and Auden, Hemingway and Dos Passos, produce a similar response among Australian writers? From a survey of the literature of this time we find no evidence of the impact of contemporary developments in Australian creative writing. Neither the depression, the Spanish War nor the growing influence of Communist ideology can be traced in the literature published during this period.

Reviewing the work of major novelists such as Barnard Eldershaw, Vance Palmer, Frank Dalley Davison, Katherine Susannah Pricbard, Kylie Tennant, Brian Penton and Miles Franklin, Eleanor Dark, the obvious conclusion is that with one exception, these writers either deliberately turned their back on the significant happenings of the time, or were unable to interpret what they saw.

Thus in 1929 during the depths of the depression appeared Barnard Eldershaw's "Historical novel A House is Built" - a skilful period-piece; by far the most important
contribution to creative fiction. As Hartley Grattan commented to them "life was a tea-table business". In 1930 Vance Palmer's most significant novel was published, "The Passage" - a story of the lives and emotions of a family in a remote fishing community of North Queensland. In the thirties a succession of novels by Eleanor Dark, a Communist sympathiser, almost all of which were concerned with the problems of individual psychology. 1931 saw the publication of Frank Dalley Davison's "Mausky" a remarkable story of cattle in Queensland. In 1929 "Coonardo" a study of the Aboriginal problem in the Northern Territory by Katherine Prichard won the Prior Prize for the year's best novel. The years 1934 and 1936 saw the appearance of Brian Penton's brilliant historical novels "Landtakers" and "Inheritors". About this time Miles Franklin returned to the Australian literary scene with her prize-winning historical saga of pioneering on the Murrumbidgee "All That Swagger". The only novelist of this group who attempted to come to terms with the social impasse of the time and to interpret the society in which she lived was Kylie Tennant. Her "Tilveron" (1935) grew immediately out of the conditions of life in Australia during the depression. Undoubtedly she was trying to face up to the issues, but it is questionable how far she has succeeded as a novelist - her writing bears the stamp of social reportage rather than creative literature.

Why was it that these writers failed to make a social contribution, to interpret what they experienced? It was not because they were unaware of things and that they lacked social
insight, on the contrary, all those novelists mentioned, with perhaps one exception, were thoroughly alive to the significance of their era and the looming disaster. Most of them were active in political organisations, for instance, Vance Palmer associated himself with the Movement for World Peace which arose as a leftist anti-fascist organisation at the time of the Spanish War; Katherine Prichard was to the forefront as a Communist intellectual and revolutionary. Frank Davison though as a creative writer wrote of romance of cattle in the outback, yet in 1938 he came forth with his views on the world situation in a trenchant pamphlet entitled "While Freedom Lives".

An interesting contrast is provided with the literary trends which were taking place in America during the same period. In Australia it has been found that the preponderance of writers were leftists either party members or fellow travellers and yet their writing was socially unconscious. In America in one respect a similar situation was to be found, the majority of the best novelists and poets were left-wingers but they succeeded where the Australian writer failed - in reconciling their social and creative insight in their writing. This was undoubtedly influenced by the policy laid down by the left-wing intellectual leaders. A policy which was summarised by Jake Freeman in his introduction to the American Anthology of Proletarian Literature which was published in 1935. Here he asserted that the problem which the intellectual had to face was the relation between art and society, art and science, art and action. Art, he said, has its own special function which is distinct from action, from science and from party programmes; its objective is the
grasp and transmission of experience, but the poet should deal with living people and not with abstractions. Like the writer has achieved in Russia where he has managed to convey the tremendous experience of the individual. The artist should not repeat party theses but he should communicate that experience out of which the theses arose". In this Anthology we are given an example of the way in which the writer has adopted such a theory and applied it to his art. In Australia there were no intellectual leaders of the calibre of Freeman and no directions to indicate the path which the left writer should take. It would be impossible to compile an Anthology of Australian proletarian literature during the inter-war period similar to Freeman's. Reviewing the literature of this whole period it would be almost impossible to judge to which era it belonged.

It is interesting to note that recently an attempt has been made to establish a Party line in regard to literature and art through a discussion of the theoretical relations of Marxism to art and science. His policy has been published in the pamphlet already mentioned by Harry Gould. It is unlikely, however, that the immaturities offered in this publication, as compared with the deep and penetrating analysis of Freeman some 10 years earlier, could ever provide an inspiration for Australian writers and artists.

The end of the thirties and early forties saw the rise of a modernist trend in Australian painting and the infusion of a new and vigorous element. This development was, however, almost entirely confined to Sydney, where a re-vitalised policy in the Art School of the Sydney Technical College contributed to
this artistic renaissance. It was at this time that the Contemporary Art Societies were formed to which gravitated the younger modernist artists. Although many of these Contemporary Society members were technically crude and undeveloped, the rise of this group signified a healthy and democratic activity. A large proportion of the membership was politically conscious and this group attempted to gain control of the official positions. They were defeated and as a result withdrew from the Contemporary to form their own group where they could develop their particular art style called social-realism. Hence the establishment of the Studio of Realist Art in 1944.

It is interesting to note here another example of the time lag in the transmission of cultural ideas from overseas. For instance, in issues of "International Literature" which was a monthly periodical issued from Moscow and to which artists, writers and thinkers from all over the world contributed, in the 1935 we find discussions taking place of a nature of basic problem of art which the Marxian artist had to face and the development of the social-realist approach. It was not until 1945 that the first attempt was made to interpret the development of Australian art in its social perspective by a left art critic.

With the advent of the World War II the cultural life of Sydney intensified. After a brief period of depression when the Japanese menaced Northern Australia, the range and extent of all aspects of cultural activity developed to proportions

Footnote: See Bernard Smith: "Place, Taste and Tradition".
unknown before. This was apparent in the increase of interest in art, literature, music and drama. Thus the number of art societies increased and their membership grew, people bought more pictures, and more people wanted to learn to paint. In the musical sphere the interest was unprecedented in orchestral music so that the Australian Broadcasting Commission had to double, then treble its symphony concerts; local music clubs membership swelled. In drama both the commercial and Little Theatres flourished. And in the field of literary development the war made possible the establishment of a substantial publishing industry in Australia.

These are just a few instances of the trends which directly or indirectly arose of the war situation and which will be described in detail in the following section.
PART II

A Survey of Contemporary Cultural Activity in Sydney.

With details of organisations and agencies at work in the spheres of: -

a. Music
b. Drama
c. Art
d. Literature
e. Adult Education - Libraries.

..................................
A. MUSICAL ACTIVITY IN SYDNEY.
Music in Sydney.

In a discussion of the development of Sydney's musical life one fact emerges in interesting contrast to the situation prevailing in the other spheres of our cultural life. That is the assistance and initiative of the State in helping to build up a vigorous and sustained interest in music. This interest began thirty years ago when the N.S.W. State Government established the Conservatorium of Music as part of the Department of Education. While the interest of the Federal Government dates from the foundation of the Australian Broadcasting Commission in 1932, the development of these two authorities has been complementary; the function of one being to train musicians and of the other to provide an opportunity for those musicians to perform.

Apart from these two important agencies for the dissemination of music there are in Sydney and throughout the State numerous amateur groups and societies whose members have voluntarily come together through a common interest in music either to form choirs, quartets or music clubs. During the war although the members of these groups did not substantially increase, due to the fact that so many instrumentalists were absorbed by Army Education, yet the audiences attending musical performances increased considerably. This can be substantiated by taking a sample of membership and attendances from a cross-section of these various groups.

The Australian musical tradition has been built up by
carrying over the European tradition in music like the rest of our culture. Although several notable Australian composers have been produced whose work has had a particularly Australian character, for the most part Australian composers are indistinguishable from any other contemporary forms based in that tradition. The story of Australian music began the day the first men settled in Australia and expressed themselves in song. And instrumental music from the day Surgeon Dorgan brought his piano ashore from the Sibiris in 1788. The first official interest began with the public performances by the regimental bands. The development of music until this century in New South Wales, vigorous as it was with the numerous societies and the highly successful visits of world famous artists, was dependent entirely on voluntary interest and the initiative of certain individuals. Similarly instruction in music could only be obtained from private teachers. New South Wales lagged behind the colonies of South Australia and Victoria in the establishment of officially sponsored conservatoria, for in the capitals of these two States chairs of music were established at the Universities in 1883 and 1898 respectively. (The former absorbing the staff of the Adelaide College of Music which had flourished since 1883). It was not until 1916 that a Conservatorium was established in Sydney. From this date the State Government began to evince an interest in this aspect of our cultural life and Federal Government sixteen years later followed with the establishment of the Australian Broadcasting Commission. Since then the trend has been for the State to take
over the organisation of the most important musical events in Australia from the instruction of students to the presentation of concerts.

Governmental Agencies relating to Music:
New South Wales State Conservatorium.

HISTORY:
This situation was formed in 1916 as a result of the recommendations of a Committee convened in 1912 by the Department of Education consisting of representatives of prominent musical societies and the leading professional musicians of the day. It might be noted that there had been a precursor of the Conservatorium in the privately-owned "College of Music" which had been run by some teachers of music in Sydney under the leadership of Hector McLean. The terms of reference of this Committee were "to prepare a scheme for the establishment and maintenance of an Academy of Fine arts to embrace music, painting and sculpture". This committee summed up the situation in Sydney's musical world at the time in these words, "The art community of this country has reached a stage of development which assures to any properly established Conservatorium an immense influence for good. The musical community of the State may fairly be described as one in which, while the raw material of art instinct and ability is abundantly available there is a lack of standards and an absence of authoritative influences towards them.... Into the confusion of defective standards and the bewilderment of an art community striving enough, but also hopelessly enough, to discern what is best, such an institution
would come with all the force of authority.... It would dissipate
the wrong ideas of musical art which fill this country, and in
their place would set up the right ideas".

This report was adopted by the Government and the
Conservatorium established, the stables of Government House
being converted to house it. A Belgian musician and conductor
Henri Verbruggen was engaged to become the first director; the
inaugural concert being held in 1915. The Conservatorium was
set up as a branch of the Department of Education and financed
by an annual parliamentary appropriation with its revenue from
fees credited against such grant.

The Conservatorium opened with a staff of thirty and
about 250 students. As the Advisory Committee had prophesied
this institution became the guiding and progressive influence
in Sydney's musical world. Until that date the only orchestral
music heard in Sydney was at occasional performances of the
Sydney Symphony Orchestra which although it consisted of
professional players was a voluntary organisation. There had
been an orchestra in Sydney since 1892 when Hazon formed the
Amateur Orchestral Society which remained in existence until
1907, when he departed for Milan. With the establishment of
the Conservatorium with its Governmental backing it meant that
regular all the year round orchestral performances were
ensured.

Similarly in regard to Chamber Music, until the
Conservatorium began to give regular Chamber Music concerts every
week as it did during Verbruggen's term of office, Sydney had
been dependent on the performances of two private quartets, Cyril Monk's Austral Quartet and the Carter Quartet, both of which as Dr. Orchard says "had been doing highly commendable work for some years", but these gave public performances only at irregular intervals.

FUNCTIONS:

Thus the establishment of the Conservatorium meant that not only was there for the first time an authority providing regular public orchestral and chamber music concerts of a high quality, but also that there was a teaching establishment setting the standard in instruction and demanding a high degree of proficiency and knowledge before granting diplomas and degrees.

(a) Teaching: To be asked to join the staff of the Conservatorium is considered an honour and the invitation is only extended to those musicians or teachers with a recognised ability and status. The arrangement is that the staff is not paid a salary by the State, but they have their own pupils, whether they are attending the full course at the Conservatorium or not. Each teacher charges whatever fee he or she demands within certain limits imposed by the Director of the Conservatorium, but they have a certain percentage of their income from fees deducted by the Conservatorium for the use of rooms, pianos, etc.

Every student attending the full course at the Conservatorium receives instruction in various subjects such as theory, harmony, musical history and chamber music, for which they pay the nominal fee of 10/- a term in first year, (and a

(1) See A. Orchard: "The Distant View" p.62
slightly higher sum in later years), for each subject they are taking. Above this, if they are receiving instruction in a particular instrument or in voice training, they pay their teacher fees according to the amount he or she asks - for instance among the first teachers this may rate as high as one guinea a lesson or 9 guineas a term.

The highest award is the Conservatorium Diploma, which may be obtained after passing an examination admitting into the diploma class. At the end of two years in this class the candidate for the Diploma must undergo an examination in four sections. The first is a written examination, and relates to the general knowledge of music. The second consists of a public recital, and the third of a public appearance with orchestral accompaniment. Eventually at the final tests the candidate must play in a chamber music ensemble, or sing in an operatic scene, if he is a singer. The rigidity of the test eliminates all possibility of superficial musical knowledge.

Students of the Conservatorium are given frequent opportunities of appearing before the public at the free students' concerts, or when concert parties are sent into the country districts.

Some fine teachers on the higher teaching level have remained outside the Conservatorium, but for the most part the best musicians and talent in the community have been absorbed into the Conservatorium.

(b) Conduct of Public Examination: One of its more important functions has been to conduct the public examinations on behalf
of the Australian Music Examinations Board and by means of these examinations the teaching staff of the Conservatorium comes into direct contact with music teachers throughout the whole State.

An indication of the growth of interest in music in recent years is provided by the following figures of the entries for the Australian Music Examinations Board:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1925</th>
<th>1939</th>
<th>1927</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1928</th>
<th>1942</th>
<th>1929</th>
<th>1943</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1944</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1945</th>
<th>1932</th>
<th>1946</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6,535</td>
<td>12,015</td>
<td>7,163</td>
<td>12,260</td>
<td>7,800</td>
<td>11,836</td>
<td>8,438</td>
<td>15,165</td>
<td>8,116</td>
<td>17,060</td>
<td>6,909</td>
<td>18,050</td>
<td>8,650</td>
<td>18,560</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(\(\phi\) Figures for years 1931-39 unavailable).

(c) Enrolments: Since its inception the number of students attending the Conservatorium has gradually and steadily increased as the following figures indicate - with the exception of a certain decline during the depression years:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1942</th>
<th>1932</th>
<th>1943</th>
<th>1933</th>
<th>1944</th>
<th>1934</th>
<th>1945</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,116</td>
<td>1,320</td>
<td>1,281</td>
<td>1,350</td>
<td>1,237</td>
<td>1,826</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>1,300</td>
<td>2,349</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Footnote #: In 1887 the University of Adelaide inaugurated under the direction of its then professor Joshua Ives, the first public examinations in music held in Australia. These were followed in 1902 by the University of Melbourne which instituted similar tests conducted by a board under its authority. In 1906 the Universities of Melbourne and Adelaide entered into an agreement for the joint conduct of a common scheme, and in this the Universities of Tasmania and Queensland became partners in 1911, and the University of W.A. in 1915. In 1917 Verbruggen was so impressed with the results of the partnership that he obtained the consent of the Education Department to make the Conservatorium also a sharer in the scheme which thus became pan-Australian. A central board, known as the Australian Music Examination Board was then established and in 1918 held its first meeting in Sydney. (See Australian Encyclopaedia Vol.II. p.167).
(d) **Performance of Concerts, etc:** One of the most significant functions of the Conservatorium, until recent years was the regular presentations of an annual series of eight orchestral and six chamber music concerts. Until recently the Conservatorium orchestra was the only permanent orchestral body in the State giving regular performances. There has, however, been during the last ten years a decline in the number of concerts given under the auspices of the Conservatorium, the reason for this being in the transfer of emphasis on the presentation of music from the Conservatorium to the Australian Broadcasting Commission. The development of Orchestras under the auspices of the Commission and particularly the inauguration in 1946 of the Sydney Symphony Orchestra has reduced the need for public orchestral performances through the agency of the Conservatorium of Music. To some extent also the absorption of professional musicians into the Sydney Symphony Orchestras, has created an obstacle to the continuation of the Conservatorium Orchestra, many of the members of which have become members of the Sydney Symphony Orchestra.

Although there has been a decline in the number of performances given by the Conservatorium, the sharp increase in the number of musical performances given by other organisations and individuals is indicative of the increased interest in music during the war years. Figures of the annual number of concerts given in the Conservatorium Hall are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Concerts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The drop in 1942 was due to the grave war situation with its imposed blackout).
The Registrar states that the demand for the use of the Conservatorium Hall is such that many applications are unable to be accommodated.

Another aspect of the Conservatorium's activities has been the annual production of opera. This is presented by the students and staff of the Conservatorium, usually co-opting outside professional singers to take the leading roles.
The Australian Broadcasting Commission:

The contribution of radio to our cultural life has undoubtedly been greatest in the sphere of music. Of recent years the work of the Australian Broadcasting Commission has been highly significant in providing opportunity for hearing good music. But not only has it given Australians the chance to hear classical music through its recorded sessions, it has also taken an active part in stimulating musical interest and local talent through bringing leading international musical celebrities here and by the sponsorship of public orchestral concerts.

HISTORY:

The history of the Commission starts in 1929 when the Commonwealth Government through the Postmaster General's Department purchased the "A" Class Stations in all States - a step which led easily to the introduction of what is known as the "National Network" system of relaying programme-items of more than ordinary interest from one "A" Class Station to all, or any of the others. For three years the programmes were provided under contract by the Australian Broadcasting Company Limited and then, at the beginning of the year 1933 the control of the programmes was vested in a public body - the Australian Broadcasting Commission (by virtue of the Australian Broadcasting Commission Act of 1932). Thus after 10 years of the existence of wireless broadcasting from 1923-33 it had passed from the stage of the early amateur experimenters to that stage when private companies were granted "A" and "B" class licences and when those citizens owning sets paid fees for the privilege of listening to the programmes provided and then to the sponsorship

* See First Annual Report Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1933.
of "A" class stations by the Commonwealth Government.

FUNCTIONS:

The activities of the Commission in relation to music have been highly significant in the development of musical appreciation in Sydney. During the first year of its establishment it formed permanent musical combinations in the capital cities of Melbourne and Sydney. In Sydney it set up the following ensembles in 1933:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Australian Broadcasting Commission (Sydney) Symphony Orchestra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Band</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>String Quartet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wireless Chorus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio Choir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Vocal Quartet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ORCHESTRAL:

In regard to the establishment of a symphony orchestra in Sydney in the early days of its existence the Commission did not attempt to compete with the established orchestral organisations already in existence. Thus although the Australian Broadcasting Commission employed a permanent nucleus of orchestral players for public performances it joined forces with the existing orchestras in each of the various states - for instance, in New South Wales with the only regular orchestra which was sponsored by the State Conservatorium under the direction of Dr. Edgar , then Director of the Conservatorium.

However, by 1935 the Commission had completed its plan of establishing permanent concert orchestras in each capital city. This meant that the Australian Broadcasting Commission accepted the financial responsibility of public symphony concerts, while still co-operating with local bodies
in the matter of engagement of extra players and organisation of subscribers. To assist this project the Sydney Citizen's Orchestral Committee was formed for the purpose of enlisting subscribers for, and otherwise assisting the Commission's season of orchestral concerts. As a result of these efforts over 1,000 subscribers were enrolled within a few weeks for the 1936 season. With the establishment of a permanent orchestra the Commission now embarked on a policy of bringing distinguished overseas conductors to Australia; among them have been such famous names as Sir Thomas Beecham, George Szell, Schneevoight, Eugene Ormandy, Goossens and others.

The place of the Australian Broadcasting Commission's orchestral concerts has, year by year, assumed a more significant role in Australia's musical life. Not only has the orchestra itself increased in size and quality, but the audiences have also increased, particularly during the war years when the annual programme had to be duplicated and then triplicated to satisfy the demand. The following figures of the total number of subscribers to the A.B.C. Concert series through the Commonwealth for the nine years 1937 to 1946 indicates this development of interest:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Subscribers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>3,620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>3,193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>5,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>6,171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>5,673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>8,397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>6,493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>10,941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>12,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>16,044</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to sponsoring these orchestral concerts, part of the Commission's policy has been to engage world famous artists - singers, pianists, violinists, cellists and string
quartets. Many of whom have given concerts in conjunction with the orchestra.

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of the Commission's work in the encouragement of music has been the Children's Orchestral Concerts. These were instituted in 1933, by Professor Bernard Heinze. These concerts were aimed to increase the boys' and girls' understanding and appreciation of the more serious forms of music by performances interspersed with explanations and demonstrations of the various instruments which comprise the orchestra. The audiences are drawn from Public and Private, Primary and Secondary School children; average attendance being 2,500 and the number of concerts in each Capital varies from seven to fourteen a year. For example, it was estimated in the year 1935 that 42,000 boys and girls attended the concerts during the year. Whereas in 1945 it was estimated that 110,000 children attended.

It can very fairly be assumed that these concerts have contributed to the increase of adult interest in orchestral music during the last ten years. It would be interesting to make a survey of the percentage of the present subscribers to orchestral concerts who attended the Children's Concerts when they were at school.

The Commission has followed a similar plan for building up choral groups as it did in forming its orchestras, employing a permanent nucleus of voices which is augmented by other organisations for major performances.

As part of its policy of encouraging artistic talent
latent in Australia the Commission has held regularly a
competition each year for creative musical work. The
Australian Broadcasting Commission also invites composters to
submit manuscripts of new works at any time. These are carefully
considered by its musical staff and those suitable are given a
place in broadcast programmes.

In addition to Composers' Competitions the Australian
Broadcasting Commission has conducted Performers' Competitions
since 1944. The finalists reaching the required standard appear
at a public orchestral concert in their own State. The best of
these young artists are then considered for possible engagements
as soloists for the following year's Orchestral Concert Season.
Commencing in 1946, this competition is now combined with
examinations for overseas scholarships in Britain and the U.S.A.
which have been offered to Australian music students by
arrangement with the Australian Broadcasting Commission.

Although this form of music has a more limited audience
than, for instance, orchestral music, yet the Commission has made
it part of its regular programmes. Its first step was to
establish the Australian Broadcasting Commission String Quartet
which gave regular performances until 1942 (although the
personnel of the ensemble has changed). The Commission has been
responsible in this regard for bringing to Australia world-
famous combinations such as the Budapest String Quartet. In
addition through engaging local combinations for broadcast
performances it has done much to keep alive the public interest
and to encourage the formation of chamber music groups.
Although it has been the Commission's policy to encourage good music, an investigation of the percentage of radio hours allotted to the presentation of classical music indicates that of the total programme time devoted to music a considerably longer period is given over to the presentation of "popular" and jazz music than to classical music. Nevertheless, as the following figures indicate the proportion of time allotted to serious music has increased during recent years:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage Total Program Time</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage Total Program Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Classical</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Popular</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modern Dance</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>5.68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>52.76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Classical</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>16.51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Popular</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>19.87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modern Dance</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>9.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>53.36%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Information summarised from Programme Analysis - see Annual Reports for those years.
Voluntary Musical Associations:

There are in Sydney numerous groups of people who assemble regularly for the purpose of hearing and making good music. Such groups if we were to take into account every parish choir in the State would amount to several hundred. No attempt has been made here to collect such data. The groups to be discussed here are more important societies which have had some continuity of existence over a period of years and which have contributed through their presentation of the best in music to the development of our cultural life.

These associations can be divided into two categories. Firstly, there are those music clubs which consist of people interested in music and who meet at intervals to hear performances by members or by artists engaged to play. Some of these societies have been formed by people wishing to further one particular aspect of the art such as "The Singers of Australia" or the "Musica Viva". Most of these groups are organised on a general pattern - members joining at a certain rate of subscription which entitles them to attend so many performances each year, but for the most part members are non-participants. Secondly, there is the type of association formed by people who desire to perform and participate in the making of good music; such are the various choral societies which exist in numbers throughout the State. In addition to singing associations there are also voluntary groups of instrumentalists; many of these are composed of professional musicians who have formed chamber music ensembles on their own initiative and who
give occasional public performances.

Music Clubs.

There are at present in the State of New South Wales approximately 32 music clubs or societies - the majority of which are concentrated in the city and suburbs of Sydney itself. These are the Associated Music Clubs of Australia, of which there are 22 in New South Wales - the Musica Viva Society, Singers of Australia, Collegium Musicum, Music Lovers Club, Kretschman Club, Trinity College Club, Recorded Music Society, Gilbert and Sullivan Society, Mosman Musical Society, Sydney Musical Society and the Musical Association of New South Wales. Of these, twelve societies have been formed during the war years.

The Associated Music Clubs of Australia. 

HISTORY: This organisation was founded in 1927 arising out of a small local music club which had been founded by a group of music lovers in Rose Bay. The founders of this club foresaw the possibilities of such a group as the forerunner of a movement to establish music clubs in every suburb and thus decentralise music. They found that the advantages of forming local clubs were twofold: firstly, from the point of view of those people who appreciated good music and would be assured through their local club of hearing regular recitals by proficient musicians; and secondly, from the professional musicians point of view who were given opportunities to perform. This was a particularly important aspect of the Music Clubs function in the days before the Australian Broadcasting Commission became very active in the field of music.
In 1928 a public meeting was called by musicians and music lovers to set up an organisation whose objectives would be to sponsor the formation of local music clubs wherever there was a nucleus of interested people. Out of this meeting was formed the Associated Music Clubs of Australia - whose aims briefly were:

To decentralise music through establishing local clubs;
to arrange musicales in pleasant surroundings;
to encourage young and talented artists;
to engage front rank artists to play to such small groups;
to establish a scholarship fund;
and wherever possible to do everything in their power to foster a love of good music.

The motto of the Associated Clubs was to be -

"Make and meet your friends at the Music Club".

This movement which began so auspiciously in 1927/1928 has a continuous and increasingly vigorous development. Thus at the present day the New South Wales Council can count 35 affiliations, although at present only 22 of these clubs are really functioning. These are in order of foundation:

The Rose Bay Club (The 'Mother' Club) 1927. Mosman 1929.

The present average membership of these clubs varies
from 150 to 300. The effect of the war on membership was
generally to increase the number of members. A cross section
of five of these music clubs indicates this increase in
membership:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Club</th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1943</th>
<th>1945</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Killara Music Club</td>
<td>220(130)</td>
<td>220(175)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wahroonga</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose Bay</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunters Hill</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manly</td>
<td>(began 1943)</td>
<td>335</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Collegium Musicum.**

This group has a rather unique character
departing somewhat from the usual type of music club. It was
founded in 1937 by Carl Gotsch, one of Sydney's leading cellists
with the object of providing fortnightly recitals of seldom
heard chamber music works. These recitals presented by members
of the Collegium chamber music combination, have been held
consistently every fortnight during the lunch hour since that
date. At these recitals which cater for city workers, a light
luncheon is served to members so that the most is made of the
limited time. In addition to the lunch hour performances monthly
Sunday night recitals are also given. Performances are held
in the spacious studio of Carl Gotsch which consists of one
large room situated in a central position in the city.

The membership has increased to such an extent that
subscription lists had to be closed. At present the membership
is 150 which has steadily grown since the small beginnings of
some fifty interested people. The membership fee is 10/- per
annum.
The Collegium once departed from its usual programme of presenting small chamber music recitals to the presentation of opera on a small scale. Its first venture in this field was in 1937 when Hindsmith's "Little Tuttifant" was performed with considerable success. From time to time the Collegium has engaged the Conservatorium Hall for presentation of public performances.

Music Lovers Club.

- **ORIGIN:**
  This Club was founded in 1932 as a direct outcome of Music Week by a group of Sydney music teachers.

- **OBJECTS:**
  The objective of this group was to form a club which would provide a common meeting ground for music teachers and professional musicians where they could assemble regularly to discuss music and listen to lectures and musical recitals. Soon laymen were admitted and the numbers of the club increased considerably. This group of music lovers have met weekly for the past fourteen years to hear recitals by either their own members or by Sydney's front rank artists, who give their services free. This Club unlike the other groups does not pay its performers. At these recitals which are advertised in the press, members of the public are admitted for a silver coin and during the war years their audiences were invariably packed. Performances are given in a small room which accommodates only 100 people. The Club does not have its own premises, but rents a room for its meetings.

Kretschman Club.

- **ORIGIN:**
  To honour the memory of a notable music teacher in
Sydney, Herr Kretschman, a group of his former pupils came together in 1918 and founded a club which they named after him.

**OBJECTS:**

The activities of this club are confined to regular monthly musicales, usually presented by the members themselves, and to entertaining distinguished overseas artists. Prior to the war membership averaged 150 people, but during 1941-43 numbers dwindled to such an extent that the Club decided to go into recess. In 1945 it resumed its activities and the pre-war membership was restored.

**ORIGIN:**

Musica Viva Society.

The story of the formation of the society is rather different from that of the other musical societies in Sydney. The initiator of this project was a European refugee, Richard Golâner, who believed that there were sufficient Europeans in Sydney to support a permanent ensemble of high-class professional musicians. It should be noted that during the war there were no public chamber music recitals being given in Sydney at all. With the advent of the war most of the regular ensembles (such as the Conservatorium String Quartet and the Australian Broadcasting Commission Sydney String Quartet) had been broken up, and the emphasis in music had shifted to orchestral performances to the exclusion of chamber music altogether. An exception were the recitals of the Collegium Musicum which managed to present ensemble performances throughout the war; but they catered only for a limited number - those who were members of the Collegium.

During the war years a group of musicians some
European, some Australian had been meeting regularly in the home of the various members of Sydney's European community to perform chamber music works. Richard Goldner, the leader of this group desirous of putting it on a permanent basis convened a public meeting, the result of which was the formation of the Sydney Musica Viva Society to which various titled and public persons lent their patronage.

**OBJECTS:** The aims of the Society are primarily to raise the standard of, and opportunity for the performance of chamber music. It is part of the Society's policy to pay their artists well with first class fees for first class players and to pay their performers for rehearsals. All the profits from the Society's activities are used only to further the Society's objects and not for individual gain.

As part of their policy to stimulate interest in music meetings of the Society are held at which members are able to meet musicians and distinguished guests so that ideas on music can be exchanged, problems discussed and lectures given. A monthly Leaflet is issued to members - dealing with current Society news in addition to matters of general musical interest.

**MEMBERSHIP:** The membership fee ranges from £4.5.0 to £1.15.0 which entitles members to attend ten concerts a year. There are a total of 650 members. (Of this figure 250 members are Europeans).

**Singers of Australia.**

**ORIGIN:** This organisation is very recent in origin, but despite its youth and the fact that it embraces only one aspect of music, singing, it is an extremely vigorous society. This
Association was inaugurated at a meeting held in the Sydney Town Hall in March 1946. The response of the musical public to attend this meeting was remarkable to the promoters of the Movement. A crowded Town Hall enthusiastically endorsed the formation of the Association and about 800 applications for membership were received that evening. A subscription list was presented to the meeting which showed that over £1,200 had been subscribed by a number of companies, firms, singing teachers, singers and others. This amount has since been augmented to £2,000 as a result of this meeting. The Executive has planned a comprehensive policy to advance the art of singing. The Foreword to the programme of the Society's First Grand Concert states that "The Society is aiming at the Foundation Fund of is £10,000. With this sum it/estimated that the art of singing in Australia, can be elevated to a plane where the public response will be such as to encourage the many possessors of glorious Australian voices to take up singing as a career. It is hoped that, as a result, there will be in the near future, no necessity to look for imported artists to fill the places of principals and chorus in our various musical presentations.

OBJECTS:

The objects of the Society are stated as follows:

1. PUBLIC PERFORMANCES OF VOCAL MUSIC. To widen and develop public interest in vocal music, Solo and Choral.

2. TO DISCOVER AND DEVELOP TALENTED SINGERS.

3. TO ENCOURAGE THE PERFORMANCE OF AUSTRALIAN COMPOSITIONS.

4. TO CREATE AND ASSIST IN THE FORMATION OF CHOIRS, including MADRIGAL and ENSEMBLE groups, a BACH CHORAL SOCIETY, and to assist students in preparation for GRAND OPERA. City, Suburbs and Country working in conjunction, so as to be ready for collaboration when required.
5. VOCAL MUSIC - A MORE PROMINENT PLACE IN PUBLIC and RADIO PROGRAMMES.

6. THE ART OF SPEECH will receive attention.

Already the Society has given several successful performances - filling the Sydney Town Hall and Conservatorium Hall each time. Perhaps one of the most important aspects of the Society's work is the policy to pay choristers. Their argument being that if instrumentalists are paid, why should not choristers be paid too.

The membership now stands at 960 and it is hoped to increase this number to 2,000. Subscribers consist not only of singers but anyone interested in that particular branch of music. 

Musical Association of New South Wales.

OBJECTS:

This Association is not just a channel for the dissemination of music, but an organised body of musicians of a protective character, aimed to guard the status and common interests of the musical profession in New South Wales.

The Association was formed in 1912 with the following objectives:

(a) To advance the interests of music and the musical profession in N.S.W.
(b) To represent generally the views and interests of the profession.
(c) To increase opportunities for personal and friendly intercourse between members.
(d) To grant financial assistance to worthy objects.
(e) To do all such things as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of the above objects.

The Council has given much time and thought to the various problems of its large family of musicians, and, as the authoritative body of representative musicians of New South Wales, has been able to speak on their behalf to the many public bodies,
education and otherwise, who have sought its opinion on matters directly or indirectly affecting the musical profession. The Association was incorporated as a company in 1936.

**FUNCTIONS:** One of the most important of the Association's activities has been its insistence on the registration of music teachers. As yet there is no legislation providing for the Registration of Music teachers and for some time deputations have waited on the Minister for Education pending the time when a Bill for Registration should have the approval of the Government - the Musical Association compiled and printed a register of qualified teachers of music in New South Wales. Only those teachers who were able to satisfy the Council of the Association of their capability to teach the particular subject for which they were registered are admitted to this register. At the end of 1945 the Council framed a Bill for Registration which it presented to the Director of Education.

Other aspects of our musical life in which the Association has interested itself have been the furtherance of such moves as the establishment of a Chair of Music at Sydney University, a National Theatre for Australia - to further the latter the Association convened a special meeting in 1944 of those people interested in Music, Drama and Ballet, a plan was drawn up and presented to the Ministry of Post-War Reconstruction. Before the war and before the Australian Broadcasting Commission provided so many opportunities to hear good music, the Association used to organise annual festivals of music and the kindred arts - and at Easter Conferences were held regularly to
discuss musical affairs in the State.

Competitions have been arranged to encourage Australian composers - the winning entries being published by the Association. As part of the policy to stimulate Australian composers musicale devoted entirely to the works of Australian composers have been arranged in co-operation with the Guild of Australian Composers.

Further activities have been the awarding of two exhibitions annually to students of members; to contribute regularly to the Lady Gowrie Scholarship Fund; to advise as to suitable teachers in the country and suburbs; to arrange Young People's Orchestral Concerts with the Australian Broadcasting Commission on Saturday morning for the students of members; to hold regular discussions and lectures, musicale and social evenings.

One of its major functions has been to assist and advise, and if possible, help to overcome difficulties or injustices in the teaching profession. The Association has taken up the cudgels for teachers when salary deductions have been mooted.

One of the features of the original Constitution of the Association was the formation of a Benevolent Fund, the object of which was to be a source of assistance to any musician in need through illness or other cause. In 1936 the Musical Association Benevolent Fund was registered under the Charitable Collections Act and since that time the splendid sum of £1,261 has been raised by the members of the Association and the Ladies Committee.
Grants of £677 have been made in that time to musicians (irrespective of whether they were members of the Association or not) who were in need of financial assistance.

During the war the Association assisted actively to the war effort, not only by raising funds for patriotic organisations, but also by assisting morale through the presentation of concerts in the various camps in New South Wales - working with the Army Education Service. Through Army Education over 300 concerts were given by members of the Association to members of the Forces. These programmes were almost invariably splendidly received.

During the grave period of the war when blackout was enforced and many evening concerts cancelled, the Association stepped in to provide civilians in Sydney with regular Sunday Afternoon Concerts of the first rate performers. These Concerts were held in the National Art Gallery and continued for 3 years, the attendance being invariably high. It was a matter of regret that these concerts had to be discontinued owing to lack of accommodation at the Gallery.

Sydney Recorded Music Society.

This society exists mainly for the benefit of connoisseurs of music. Founded in 1937 by a group of young people who were themselves the possessors of extensive record libraries, it was their objective to attempt to make up for the dearth at this time in Sydney's musical life. Although the Australian Broadcasting Commission was sponsoring occasional orchestral concerts and the Conservatorium held a regular series of Orchestral concerts a year there were, apart from these very few
public performances of serious music. Possibly there were fewer than 12 orchestral concerts a year altogether in Sydney at this time and perhaps six chamber music recitals a year. Hence this society was established partly as a result of the lack of opportunities in Sydney to hear good music, and partly as a result of the interest of a few people in the recorded medium itself.

**OBJECTS:**

The objects of the Society were firstly "to provide programmes of good recorded music"; "to promote and encourage the study of music generally and in particular to give hearing to contemporary composers"; and "to encourage the attainment of a faithful reproduction of recordings."

Since 1937 recitals have been held fortnightly at some central place in the city which have been open to the public for a small admission fee. Annual subscription of members is one guinea.

**MEMBERSHIP:**

The membership began with approximately 160 members, but during recent years when the number of performances of a high quality have increased so considerably membership of the Recorded Music Society has declined to about 90 members.

**Mosman Musical Society.**

This society was established in 1903, beginning as a small counterpart of the Sydney Royal Philharmonic and giving regular performances of oratorio and choral work such as the Messiah. Within a year after its inception it was agreed to attempt a light opera production. This proved so successful that it was determined to make such production a regular feature
of the Society's activities. Gradually extensive stage properties were acquired and a professional producer was engaged on a substantial salary, a ballet mistress and musical director of a definite standing in the musical world.

The membership consisted of some 400 members who paid one guinea a year to belong which entitled them to attend so many performances.

The society continued without interruption to present these excellent light opera productions two or three times a year in the Mosman Town Hall, each show running for a week. Although the performances were always given to crowded houses, the Society had great difficulty in making them pay. The reason for this was that the Town Hall could not accommodate enough people for the box office takings to balance the initial outlay which often ran into several hundred pounds. To defray expenses the Society organised art unions for a time.

The Society, however, did not retain a permanent orchestra, but when the time for public performances came then the professional musicians would be engaged to form an accompanying orchestra.

Until 1940 the Society continued to give performances, but then owing to the war which meant many of the best male singers were called up, presentation of elaborate performances became extremely difficult and it was decided to suspend the Society's activities. This was agreed and until 1946 when the first post-war performance was given, the Mosman Musical Society was in recess.
Gilbert and Sullivan Societies.

There are in Sydney three different organisations which are concerned only with the study and performance of the works of Gilbert and Sullivan. The most important of these is the Gilbert and Sullivan Society itself. This has been in existence since 1925 and before the war had a membership of over 200.

The next largest group interested in this particular field is the Sydney Musical Society. Of more recent origin than the first - only commemorating its tenth year in 1945 - it has given two and sometimes three public performances a year of Gilbert and Sullivan, usually at the Conservatorium. This group has been particularly vital and energetic, managing to sustain its activities all through the war years, although for a period of 12 months in 1942-43 it did not present its public performances. Unlike the Gilbert and Sullivan Society, most of its 60 members are participating members. A mother aspect of the Society's activities is the monthly publication which, although at present is just in roneo form, has hopes of developing into a substantial printed journal.

A small but enterprising group of Gilbert and Sullivan enthusiasts are the "Savoyeurs". This society which was formed in 1944 is interested only in the presentation of Gilbert and Sullivan.

Related to these societies, but broader in scope are a number of Societies, situated in the suburbs of Sydney, which are interested in the performance of Light Opera of all types. There
are seven altogether - they are the Langley Operatic and Musical Comedy Society, Metropolitan Musical Comedy Company, Rowe Street Musicals, Eastern Suburbs Music and Dramatic Society, Rockdale Society, Empire Musical Society and "The Regals".

(b) Performing Musical Societies - Choral and Instrumental Groups.

**Choral Societies:**
Possibly of all amateur musical societies none are so numerous as choral groups. The reason for this is because singing is the most natural form of musical expression and also whereas an instrumental group requires considerable technical skill to attain a sufficient standard of performances a choir can reach comparatively high standard with far less training and practice. Hence in almost every community are to be found groups of people who come together to express themselves in song - whether sponsored by a church, a school or a group of interested amateurs. No doubt such groups are to be found in every township and hamlet of Australia, but in this resume of choral societies in Sydney, only the more important ones have been discussed with a membership of from 40 to 200 singers.

In Sydney there are two major choral societies which have been established for many years and sustained a consistent membership. The reason for their pre-eminence has been because they have presented their performances to the accompaniment of an orchestra. This has meant that their repertoire has been much more varied and that they have been
able to undertake works which the smaller groups have been unable to attempt accompanied by an organ or piano. These two groups are the Sydney Royal Philharmonic Society and the Hurlstone Park Choral Society.

(1) The Royal Philharmonic Society pursued an uninterrupted career since 1885, giving two or three public performances annually in the Sydney Town Hall of such works as the Elijah, Messiah and concert versions of opera. During the depression years membership declined considerably, but the society was given a new lease of life when Amalgamated Wireless of Australia gave the Society a subsidy of £200 a year and a contract to perform regularly over radio 2CH. The membership has remained fairly stable even during the war years – the number of singers is approximately 80 with an orchestra of 20 players.

(2) The history of the Hurlstone Choral Society is a much more recent one than that of the Philharmonic being founded in 1925 as a small local group in the district of Hurlstone. After 1932 this choir gradually increased from a small group of about fifty singers to 200 which is as it stands today. But parallel with its development in size has also been a steady development in the quality of its work so that today it has reached a standard of excellence which has placed it first amongst choral groups in Australia. Although most of its career has been as a purely voluntary and amateur society – during the last six years it has been under contract to the Australian Broadcasting Commission with an agreement to give so many performances a year with the
Australian Broadcasting Commission Orchestra. The demands on the Society by the Australian Broadcasting Commission have increased latterly to such an extent that the Society is occupied almost entirely preparing for work for the Commission, so that today it is virtually an Australian Broadcasting Commission choir retaining its individual identity only through its name.

(3) Running a close second to the Hurlstone Choral Society in the quality of its performances is the St. George Choral Society. This Society was founded in 1925 by a group of singers living in the St. George District. During the depression years this group declined so much in membership that it was virtually abandoned, but it was re-unified in 1938 as a result of the Sesqui Centenary Celebrations when the St. George district was represented by 450 voices in the Four Thousand Voice Choir organised as part of the celebrations. Since that date it has followed a vigorous course and during 1946 since the formation of the Rockdale Municipal Orchestra, it has been able to increase its repertoire quite extensively. In addition to its major choir of a 100 voices, it has small glee clubs throughout the district. It gives three big annual performances usually in the Rockdale Town Hall.

Among voluntary and amateur choral groups are several fine male voice choirs. Firstly there is the (4) Sydney Male Voice Choir established in 1920, with a current membership of 80 men; then there is the (5) Masonic Male Choir of 120 members all of whom are Masons. One of the most interesting male choirs in New South Wales is the (6) Coalfields Choral Society which has
its centre in Coomack. This choir was formed in 1929 achieving a sufficiently high standard to have won first place in the City of Sydney Eisteddford on several occasions. Before the war the membership of this choir numbered 100 - but during the last six years membership has dwindled to about half that number.

(7) The New South Wales Police Choir, another male choir, consists of approximately 50 male voices. This choir has been able to achieve a high standard of performance because the Police Department employs a full time conductor on a high salary rate to tutor the choir and all members are given time off to rehearse. A fifth male voice choir in Sydney is the

(6) Associated Glassworkers Male Choir. It was formed in 1838 and rapidly achieved a high standard under their able conductor, but like most male choirs it was adversely affected during the war and is only now recovering its membership.

For many years there was a sixth male choir in Sydney doing good work (9) The Metropolitan Orphans with a pre-war membership of 50. This group, however, did not survive the war and although suggestions have been made to revive it, so far this has not been done.

A significant contribution to Sydney's choral work is being made in various institutions, such as the University, Conservatorium and in the Teachers Colleges. The weakness of these groups as performing bodies is that their membership is never constant, for members rarely remain more than the few years of their training career, thus it is impossible to keep the standard at a consistent level. Nevertheless, such groups as the
(10) Sydney University Choral Society, the Teachers College and (11) Balmain Teachers College Choirs, and the (13) Conservatorium Choir serve an important and useful purpose as a training ground. Also in this category is the (14) Teachers Federation Choir which has, from time to time, reached a high standard and then declined because its members have been moved away from Sydney.

Some important choral work is often performed by Sydney's suburban societies. The best of these groups are centred at (15) North Sydney, (16) Cronulla, (17) Lindfield, (18) Wollatangcraft and (19) Lane Cove. The average membership of these societies is between 30-40. The most vigorous of these groups is the North Sydney or North Shore Choral Society - which has a bigger membership than the rest consisting of 68 people. Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of this groups' activities is the fact that they have interested the North Sydney Municipal Council in their work to the extent of receiving small financial assistance. Plans are also afoot to form a North Shore Orchestra in conjunction with the Choir, which project has also won the approval of the Council.

A discussion of choral work in Sydney without reference to the work of the various churches would be far from complete. The most important by far of the ecclesiastical choral organisations is the (20) Choir of the Church of England Cathedral of St. Andrew's, Sydney. This is undoubtedly the most excellent of all the choirs existing in New South Wales, but because it is limited in its work to Church services it is less well known than the other choirs which perform publicly.
The St. Andrew's Choir is unique in that it has what is considered the 'perfect blend' - boys' and men's voices. Another group within the Church of England is the (21) Broughton Choir which was established by the School of English Church Music to give demonstrations to church choirs. Its impact, however, has been very limited for it has not developed into the organisation it was intended. The only other religious choir to be mentioned here is that of (22) St. Patrick's, the Catholic Training College at Manly. This choir during the last seven years has done some fine work, but like other church choirs its performances are not for the general public.

To complete this resume of the choral work in Sydney, mention should be made of four more choirs which although their work is not up to the standard of most of the groups already discussed they have fairly large membership and indicate further interest in music in Sydney. These are (23) The Sydney Folksong Choir, (24) the People's Choir (of 30 members, founded in 1944), (25) the Postal Institute Choir and (26) the Railway Institute Choir (40 members).

Instrumental Groups.

(a) Orchestral: The Sydney Symphony Orchestra and the Conservatorium orchestras which are combinations on a permanent basis in Sydney. It was not until 1946 that the Sydney Symphony Orchestra was established on a regular and permanent basis through the financial co-operation of the State Government, the Sydney City Council and the Australian Broadcasting Commission. The Conservatorium orchestra, as has
been noted, has been in existence ever since the foundation of the Conservatorium and like the Sydney Symphony Orchestra consists of professional musicians.

During the war years there have been two attempts to form amateur orchestras. One developed from a nucleus of musicians who used to assemble in a private home at Lane Cove to perform together. Today this group has grown into a small orchestra of 20 players which was called the Lane Cove Orchestra. The other amateur orchestra is the Rockdale Orchestra - this consists mainly of non-professional musicians and is assisted by the St. George Council.

(b) Chamber Music: In regard to chamber music ensembles Sydney has seen the rise and demise of a considerable number of such amateur groups. Until the thirties there were very few chamber music groups of first rank quality - with the exception of the Verbruggen Quartet which gave splendid weekly performances for the six years duration of Verbruggen's residence in Sydney. Prior to that there had been two groups in Sydney, the Cyril Monck's Austral String Quartet and Bryce Carter Quartet which performed occasionally in Sydney. But towards the end of the thirties there was a number of combinations forming so that by 1939 there were approximately eleven chamber music groups in Sydney. The members of most of these were professional musicians who formed combinations to gain experience in chamber music work. Some performed regularly in public, whereas others would give programmes over the radio and occasionally in public. The war, however, had an adverse effect on such groups and many of them ceased their
activities altogether; the reason being that perhaps one or two members would be called up. Unlike other forms of musical combination chamber music, playing requires constant rehearsal by a constant group of instrumentalists and to change the personnel of even one member is very often disastrous. Hence during the war many of these groups were unable to continue — although many have remained in suspension with the idea of reviving their combination. These eleven ensembles were as follows:

The Sydney Instrumental Trio. was formed in 1935 and gave its last performance in 1944, but it intends to continue in the future.

The Sydney Ladies String Quartet. This was also initiated in 1935 and gave its last performance in 1942 and hopes to perform in public again in the future.

The Conservatorium Ensemble. Played for three or four years 1939–1943 regularly at the Chamber Music Subscription Concerts of the Conservatorium.

The Conservatorium String Quartet began playing in 1928 and performed regularly in 1939.

The Monomeeth String Quartet – This group was formed in 1941 by a nucleus of alien musicians who performed regularly in private homes. Between 1941 and 1943 it gave approximately ten public performances. The Monomeeth players experienced great difficulty in arranging public performances because of discrimination against aliens. For example they were engaged to play over the Australian Broadcasting Commission, but owing to wartime regulations their engagements were cancelled. It is
unlikely that this String Quartet will come together again as most of these players have been absorbed into the Sydney Musica Viva Society.

Dorian Trio. Established in 1938 and unlike most other groups it has carried on throughout the war playing both light as well as serious music for the Australian Broadcasting Commission.

Cecilian Trio. Established in 1939 and after a few public appearances disbanded.

Erard Trio. Formed in 1944 and continues at irregular intervals to give recitals over the Australian Broadcasting Commission.

Alfred Hill String Quartet — This quartet was one of many which have been formed under Alfred Hill's leadership. Its last appearance was in 1941 and it is unlikely that it will ever come together again.

Collegium Musicum Ensemble — Formed in 1938 it has continued throughout the war to give fortnightly recitals at Collegium lunch hour concerts.

Australian Broadcasting Commission, Sydney String Quartet — Was established in 1932, but since 1942 has been defunct — the Commission since then has relied on outside ensembles to provide their chamber music programmes.

(c) Other Voluntary Associations relating to music.

Guild of Australian Composers — New South Wales Branch

This Guild was formed in 1943 with the objective of furthering the interests of Australian composers. Its President is Alfred Hill and Secretary Frank Hutchens. To be admitted to membership —
which now stands at 32—at least two original compositions must be submitted and approved. Apart from the holding of monthly musicales where original compositions by members are played the Guild is not very active.

**C.E.M.A. and Music.** Although the Council for the Encouragement of Music and Art does not form its own groups of musicians it does contribute to New South Wales musical life, by arranging concerts and sending groups of artists into the country and suburbs when requested. Some excellent performances have been given by Sydney's leading instrumentalists and singers organised by C.E.M.A. It is worthy of note that it is C.E.M.A's policy to pay musicians for all performances given under its auspices.

**Competitions.**

Competitions in music have been held for many years throughout all the States and in various localities—sometimes sponsored by a municipal council as were the "South Street Ballarat Competition" sometimes by a voluntary organisation such as the Australian Natives Association in Victoria, and as has been the case in one instance in New South Wales by a Government Department.

In Sydney during the thirties there were two major annual competitions for amateur musicians, the City of Sydney Eisteddford and the New South Wales Railways Institute Eisteddford. The latter was founded in 1924 for juveniles and was open to all comers under 21. It continued to hold its competitions every year until 1942 when it had to suspend its
activities for four years. The former was founded in 1933 and for seven years continued to attract thousands of entrants in all branches of music, but like the Railways Institute it was forced to suspend its activities for the war years. In 1946 its first post-war Eisteddford was held and attracted a record number of entrants.

The City of Sydney Eisteddford is organised by the Citizens of Sydney Organising Committee (Inc) which since its inauguration in 1931 before the opening of the Sydney Harbor Bridge, has, in association with the State Government, carried out every important celebration in Sydney - its permanent activities being of a State-wide range and value. The conduct of what was before the war an annual Eisteddford was just one of its numerous activities. The subscriptions for entry to the Eisteddford contribute largely to defray the costs entailed, but assistance from private firms and individuals has always granted in the forms of prize donations. Thus since 1933 Sydney "Sun" has sponsored the Operatic Aria Contest giving £360 of prize money. The "Daily Telegraph" similarly has provided scholarships of Piano Contests up to £200.

In 1946 entries were on a record scale. The average of previous years was 10,000; in 1946 there was a total number of entries exceeding 15,550.

Of recent years the Australian Broadcasting Commission has sponsored various musical competitions which have already been described.
Summary.

From the material presented above it can be asserted that there was a considerable increase of interest in music during the war years – with the exception of one period between 1941 and 1943, when there was a serious threat of invasion. Figures to substantiate this contention may be summarised as follows:

1. Increase in number of subscribers to the Australian Broadcasting Commission's Orchestral Concerts.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1942</th>
<th>1945</th>
<th>1946</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3,193</td>
<td>8,397</td>
<td>12,640</td>
<td>16,044</td>
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2. Increase in number of students attending the Conservatorium.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1942</th>
<th>1945</th>
<th>1946</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,281</td>
<td>1,320</td>
<td>2,349</td>
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3. Increase in number of entrants for examinations conducted by the Australian Music Examination Board.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>1939</th>
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<td></td>
<td>12,013</td>
<td>11,836</td>
<td>18,030</td>
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4. Increase in number of Musical Societies (not including Choral Societies).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Assoc. Music Clubs</th>
<th>1942</th>
<th>1945</th>
<th>1946</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>34</td>
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Other "more important" societies in Sydney.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1942</th>
<th>1945</th>
<th>1946</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total - 1938 there were 32 and in 1946 - 47

Footnote: On the other hand it may be argued that these figures indicate only one aspect of the effect of the war years on musical activity and the decline, for instance, in the number of choral societies and chamber music ensembles has been ignored. It is true that many choral societies ceased their activities during the war, but at the same time a large number of choirs were formed in the Services. Similarly while chamber music concerts virtually ceased for a while in Sydney, groups were constantly giving recital under the auspices of the Sydney Society of Arts.
(5) Increase in the membership of a cross section of certain societies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Society</th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1942</th>
<th>1945</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rose Bay Music Club</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Killara</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>220 (with a waiting list of 220)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wahroonga</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>175 (approx. 100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunters Hill</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B. DRAMATIC AND THEATRICAL ACTIVITY
    IN SYDNEY.
The Theatre in Sydney.

After even a brief review of the drama in Sydney it becomes apparent that there is a distinct dichotomy existing between the commercial or professional theatres and the amateur or repertory theatre movement. It is frequently asserted that the drama in Australia is in a state of decay, and if we apply any standards of quality to the material produced by the commercial theatres in Sydney, such a statement cannot be denied. On the other hand Sydney's Little Theatres or amateur groups are in a flourishing and vigorous state of growth.

(1) The Commercial Theatre.

The commercial theatres in Sydney which regularly produce flesh and blood shows consist of three large theatres - The Royal, the Minerva and the Tivoli. Of these three only the Minerva Theatre can be considered at all from the point of view of the serious stage. The commercial theatre in Sydney is controlled, as it is throughout the rest of Australia by two theatrical combines, J.C. Williamson's Ltd., and the Tivoli Circuit. Between them these companies control the biggest and most important theatres in the Commonwealth and New Zealand. The policy of these organisations is to provide light entertainment such as musical comedy or vaudeville type of productions and from a cultural point of view their influence is a negative one; although on three occasions J.C. Williamson's have brought to Australia leading overseas ballet companies which gave Australians in 1937 the first opportunity to see the Russian Ballet. This venture was one of the Company's
biggest in the last twenty years and proved so successful that other companies were brought here in subsequent years with equal success. Apart from this venture, however, the regular type of productions presented by "The Firm", as J.C. Williamson's frequently called, consists mainly of an endless repetition of musicals long since out-moded.

The history of J.C. Williamson's is for the most part the history of the commercial theatre in Australia for the last seventy years. In 1874 J.C. Williamson first visited Australia in a production which he and his wife, also a capable and popular actress, featured. The title of the play was prophetically "Struck Oil" - this proved such a financial success that it established Williamson who after a season of five months netted £6,000 clear profit. When he left Australia after fifteen months sojourn his profits amounted to some £15,000. In 1879 he returned to Australia to remain. At this time there were two other theatrical companies in Australia - those of Garner and Musgrove. By 1883 the competition proved too keen and these three companies decided to amalgamate and for nine years the triumvirate ruled the Australian theatrical world. During this time the Company had acquired the leading theatres in Melbourne and Sydney. The story of Williamson's is one of the constant absorption of other competitive companies and the gradual building up of the monopoly which it is today. In 1906 Tallis and Ramaciotti joined the Firm, then Sir Rupert Clarke and Clyde Meynell, and in 1916, J. and N. Tait, concert managers, became part of the company and today are the dominant
partners. The reason for Williamson's monopoly of the commercial theatre is that they managed to acquire the most important theatres in the capital cities in the early years of their enterprise. Other companies have attempted to compete from time to time and built their own theatres – for example, in 1926 Fuller's built an elaborate theatre in Sydney, St. James, with the aim of presenting legitimate drama. This firm, however, failed to weather the depression years and were forced to sell out to Metro Goldwyn Mayer.

The effect of the depression on the commercial theatre was as disastrous in Sydney as it was elsewhere. Thus whereas in 1927 Sydney was supporting nine legitimate theatres, by 1937 with the exception of two, The Royal and the Tivoli, all of these had sold out either to the motion picture industry which during this time acquired the stranglehold it now possesses on the theatres of Sydney, or else to business firms who required city property. Even J.C. Williamson's who owned up to this time two leading theatres, The Royal and Her Majesty's, were glad to sell the latter to Woolworths to tide them over a difficult financial period. Since 1935 then, the firm has owned only one theatre in Sydney, "The Royal". The site of this theatre is one of the oldest theatrical sites in Australia. The Royal was originally known as the Prince of Wales Theatre and was built in 1855. This theatre was burnt down in 1872 and re-erected on the same site as the Royal, burnt down again in 1892. It was re-built and in 1921 this building was remodelled to accommodate 1,308 people which is as it stands today. This theatre is, in

Footnote #: These were: The Royal (J.C.W.), St. James (Fullers), National (Fullers), Her Majesty's (J.C.W.), Criterion (J.C.W.),
fact, the only professional theatre in Sydney; the Minerva is ten minutes from the city and the Tivoli is not frequented by people seeking entertainment on a higher level than diversions by tumblers, magicians and leg shows.

The Tivoli Theatre is by far the largest in Sydney accommodating approximately 2,000 people. Built originally as a Grand Opera House it was such in name rather than nature, for only one season of opera was ever held there. During the depression its ownership changed hands and its name changed to the Tivoli Theatre (the other Tivoli Theatre being sold by J.C. Williamson’s to the film industry). The only other theatre large enough to accommodate Grand Opera was Her Majesty’s and for the one and only Grand Opera season held in Sydney within the last twenty years in 1933, this theatre was used.

Towards the end of the thirties another theatrical promoter entered the field, David Martin, realising the scope for another theatre in Sydney he decided to embark on a rather different project from the type of entertainment provided by the other theatres in Sydney. Thus the Minerva Theatre was built as part of a larger building project at King’s Cross which incorporated a night club, shopping centre and flats. This theatre which opened at the end of 1938 was specially designed to present straight plays to a maximum audience of 1,008.

Footnote continued from previous page - Tivoli (J.C.W.), Grand Opera House (Marlow), Palace (J.C.W.), and Empire (Joe Gardiner).
The productions presented here have followed the smart sophisticated pattern of London and American successes. After two years Martin leased the Minerva to Whitehall Productions Pty. for 6 years under whose management it has since remained. The war which brought boom conditions to all commercial theatres stimulated attendances at the Minerva too. As a part of the activities of Whitehall Productions an Academy of dramatic art was established where pupils are given a two year course. This project which was originally established with the object of finding talent for Minerva productions became so crowded with young people wanting to study dramatic art that it was decided to start a school, and rooms were acquired for the purpose in the city. The course at the Whitehall Academy is a two years one and the cost of instruction is seven guineas a term. At present the numbers of students attending is 193 of whom 30 are trainees under the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme.

It is interesting to note that in recent years, due to criss-crossing and swapping of share holdings between the Tivoli Circuit and David Martin Pty. that Martin now possesses the controlling shares in the Tivoli.

If in reviewing the commercial theatre in Sydney we were to pass judgment on our dramatic standards here, one would come to the conclusion that drama was at a low ebb indeed. In the first place that a city over a million people should possess only three theatres which together accommodate approximately just 4,000 people is a sufficient indication. Although the contemporar

scene presents this drab picture the history of the Australian theatre shows that this state of affairs has by no means always been the case. Indeed the story of the theatre is remarkable for its success and vigour; some of the profits of visiting artists and companies indicates this. The fact that twenty years ago Sydney was supporting nine theatres reveals that this decline has set in during the last two decades. This decay was precipitated by three factors, first the economic depression which hit the entertainment industries first and perhaps hardest; secondly the rise and development of the motion picture industry; and thirdly the growth of a monopoly which has been sufficiently powerful to prevent any competitors entering the field.

Another aspect of the general apathy prevailing towards the theatre in Sydney is the absence of an interested press. Although the press may claim to guide public opinion it does to a certain extent reflect social conditions; this principle applied to this context indicates the general lack of interest in good theatre in Sydney today. In most important cities of the world the leading newspapers invariably devote a regular space to the discussion of trends in the theatre throughout the world. Here, the Australian press is not interested beyond a desultory critique of current shows.

In contrast to this aspect of the drama in Sydney, the amateur theatre is a living and expanding thing - making a genuine contribution to Australia's cultural life. Apart from giving those people a chance to see performances of fine plays, the little theatres are providing opportunities for the local
playwrights and actors. They have become the training grounds and the only ones in Sydney for professional actors and actresses.

(b) The Repertory Theatre Movement.

The Little Theatre or Repertory movement in Sydney is fairly recent in origin, developing as it did during the inter-war period. Like other aspects of our culture it took precedent from a movement which had originated in England - although with the usual time lag of some twenty years.

The Repertory movement first originated in England in 1891 when J.T. Grein, author and critic, founded "The Independent Theatre". From his experiment the famous productions of Barker and Vedrenne at the "Court Theatre". During the early years of this century - when Shaw, Galsworthy and Barrie were performed and the modern drama was pioneered. The other significant event at this time was the establishment of the Manchester Repertory Theatre in 1907 under the direction of Miss Horniman which "in that city became the hub of the Repertory universe, and its reputation for efficiency and artistic excellence spread round the world".

The ideals and aims of a Repertory Theatre, is to present regularly plays written by the best authors of all ages and especially the plays of contemporary authors who have so little opportunity for a hearing. In Repertory "the play is the thing" and it aims the opposite of commercial theatres who rely upon spectacle, decor and the "star". The producers of repertory believe that the whole to be more important than any one part, and they are averse to allowing one member of the cast
to dominate the play. Part of the creed was the belief that the stage hands, electricians, scenic artists and so on were important contributing factors to the success of a performance and had, therefore, to be treated with respect. In line with this idea was the attempt to dispel the autocracy of the actor manager by permitting any member of the cast to offer opinions. It can be asserted undoubtedly that it was this democratic spirit of Repertory which revived the English drama.

There is a certain confusion existing in the minds of the public which often prejudices many against patronising the Little Theatres - this is the opinion that "They are only amateurs". A term which is only applicable in that its players are not paid. Among the well-established Repertory theatres in Sydney the best professional actors give their services gratis because in these Little Theatres they are given their only opportunity to do some real acting; and frequently the amateurs who perform as the rest of the cast are able and intelligent actors who, as it happens, are not engaged in earning their living through their dramatic talent.

(1) HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT IN SYDNEY.

In Sydney the ideals of the English Repertory Theatre were first carried out in the establishment Gregan MacMahon's Sydney Repertory Theatre Society which he established here in 1920. It should be noted, however, that other attempts had been made earlier but they were short lived. The first of these were the productions of the Brough and Boucicault Company who came to Australia at the end of the last century and remained
here for many years presenting highly artistic performances. The other attempt was made by Mr. Hugh Buckler who for one year 1913-1914 produced high standard performances at the Little Theatre in Castlereagh Street. The First World War interrupted these efforts and during the war years there was a dead period in repertory dramatic activities with the exception of certain spasmodic productions by the Sydney University Dramatic Society.

It was not, however, until 1920 that the first real Repertory Society was formed. It should be mentioned here that although this is a survey of the contemporary theatre in Sydney, and although this particular Society has long since ceased to function, an account of Gregan MacMahon's project is necessary at this juncture because it was the progenitor and inspiration of the existing repertory in Sydney today; the originators of most of the repertory groups were almost all associated with the Sydney Repertory Society and under Gregan MacMahon's direction gained their dramatic knowledge and experience and are now carrying on the torch lit by him.

Sydney Repertory Theatre Society. In 1918 J. & N. Tait, who at this date had entered the field of theatrical production decided to inaugurate in Sydney a series of weekly matinee repertory performances with a good professional cast. Under the direction of Gregan McMahon they were artistic successes, but not financial ones. In 1920 the latter believing that an audience existed in Sydney for good plays approach the Tait brothers with a scheme for the organisation of a permanent Repertory Theatre in Sydney and ultimately a project was launched
which developed into the Sydney Repertory Theatre Society.

The terms of agreement between Messrs. Tait and the Trustees of the Society were that the former guarantee to provide a Theatre together with scenery, props, etc.; to lend Mr. McMahon's services as producer and director and to pay all expenses, while the Trustees agreed in return to find yearly a minimum of 700 subscribers at three guineas or £1.11.6 per head per annum. If the season resulted in a profit, the Messrs. Tait received that profit; if it resulted in a loss then they paid the loss.

The aims of the Sydney Repertory Theatre were to promote good dramatic entertainment coupled with capable and artistic production. Its members were neither expected to act, nor invited to unless they showed unquestionable talent in that line. The policy of the director was to produce no play that could not be correctly cast with the material at his disposal. For seven years under the able direction of its gifted producer-actor Gregan McMahon, these aims were realised. A suitable theatre for the production of the Society's plays was as it is now, a constant problem. For a time the cramped premises of the little play house was used, later the Conservatorium and occasionally use was made of the smallest of the regular theatres in Sydney, at the time, the Palace. Among the repertoire of the Society were plays by Shaw, Ibsen, Galsworthy, Molinar, G.K. Chesterton, Barrie and other playwrights of note including plays by Australian authors.

This Society in addition to producing these first

(1) see "Sydney Repertory Theatre Society - its history", etc. by Elliott Naper, p. 8.
This Society in addition to producing these first rate plays combined other activities - thus regular play readings were held in the Society's rooms, a considerable dramatic library was at the disposal of members, in addition there was a music circle, lectures and various social activities.

Unfortunately, however, owing to financial difficulties and general lack of support the Sydney Repertory Theatre broke up and Gregan MacMahon transferred again to Melbourne - where prior to his coming to Sydney he carried on successful repertory productions.

Unwilling to see the abandonment of all that MacMahon had worked for in Sydney a group of some past members of the Repertory Society decided to set up a permanent Little Theatre where continuous week night performances should be given. Under the leadership of Don Finley the North Sydney Council was approached and they were given an old turreted building in that suburb. After alterations had been made and the premises equipped with a fine little stage The Turret Theatre was opened in 1929 with the performance of a short opera by Alfred Hill "Teora". This was the first of a series of excellent productions at the Turret according to press notices. But after a year this little theatre was forced to close; the audience capacity was too small to pay overhead expenses unless a full house was secured every night and secondly, Sydney people were not used to going to the suburbs for their entertainment.

Another short lived venture at this time in the MacMahon tradition was The Community Playhouse, under the
direction of Carria Tennant which was housed in a church crypt at Darlinghurst. The aims of this group as stated in the journal of the Community Magazine, was maintained primarily for the use of Australian authors. A notice in the first issue stated that:

"Here is a theatre in which the Australian Playwright may experiment and try out his work with whatever cast he requires, together with settings and effects. Thus the writer is helped to see his work produced under actual stage conditions. The Community Playhouse members are pledged to foster a National Australian Drama to the encouragement of local writers".

Following this policy, plays by Leslie Laylen, Louis Esson, Katherine Susannah Prichard, Ruth Bedford and other Australian playwrights were produced. Through the channel of the Community Magazine, Australian verse and general material on cultural life in Sydney at the time was ventilated.

The years from 1929 and during the early thirties saw an intensification of repertory groups in Sydney as the following account indicates. The explanation for this was primarily based in the economic situations. These years witnessed the depression which strangled commercial entertainment and which resulted in the majority of people having to cut down on expenditure on entertainment. This meant that people were driven to invent their own diversions and thus we find that there was a considerable growth of amateur dramatic groups and local music societies. It is beyond the scope of this survey to trace the actual number of such yet it is possible to substantiate this

This publication lasted less than a year and had a circulation of 500 copies.
conclusion from the names of the number of groups producing plays from the notices in the contemporary "Sydney Morning Herald".

Among the more interesting groups which attempted to produce good plays frequently and regularly in the City at this time was the Playbox Theatre. Although as it adopted the name of theatre - this was hardly truthfully applicable, for as Miss Tildesby has described it this group led a "somewhat precarious existence among the attics and the basements of the city". Its founder and producer was Duncan McDougall, who possessed extraordinary imagination and ability who gained a reputation amongst the more conservative playgoers as producers of a somewhat freakish character and his choice of plays was described as bizarre. His following, due to accommodation difficulties and also due to the rather unusual productions, was small. The theatre survived for only a few years.

Contemporaneous were the Sydney Players Club, and "The Theatre of Youth". The Players Club was one of the most significant groups in Sydney Repertory history. Established in 1923 it has continued an uninterrupted career to the present day. The Club's first appearance in a public performance was at the St. James Hall in 1924. Its membership has varied down the years and with the decline in members during recent years there has been a general decline in the vigour and prestige of the Club. Nevertheless, the fact that it has survived for twenty-five years is a tribute to the organisation. It is worth noting that like most societies it attempted to produce its own publication for a time during 1935. This publication titled
"The Play" was, however, not comparable in quality, size or vitality as, for instance, Carrier Tennant's "Community Magazine" but it, as is the way of good and bad Australian cultural periodicals, survived but a short time.

The Theatre of Youth - This was a venture initiated by two sisters Joan and Betty Rayner who set up a minute theatre in Rowe Street where they presented their particular and highly individualistic productions specialising in the presentation of mimes and ballads. Dependent as this Theatre was on its founders it broke up and left no group to carry on their work when they departed from Sydney.

The most significant Repertory Theatre of the thirties whose vitality has been sustained and whose activities are still expanding so that at the present day it occupies the premier position among Little Theatres, is the Independent Theatre. Details of this Group will be added below.

Of a more ephemeral nature, however, were the projects such as the Pickwick Theatre Group, the Sydney Repertory Theatre of the 1930's, the Four Arts Club and The Impressionist Theatre. The first of these for one year 1932 to 1933 devoted its energies to producing rather 'smart comedies' at the Savoy, but was unable to sustain its efforts. The Sydney Repertory Theatre which assumed the vacant title of Grogan MacMahon's earlier efforts was guided by one of Sydney's leading figures in repertory at that time, Scott Alexander. This group, The Kursaal Theatre, as they called themselves was housed in an old unused church in Kent Street using the Darlinghurst crypt for
dramatic performances. It fell by the way mainly because it 0'erleaped itself; over ambitious in setting out to produce a fresh play every week, the result was that the quality of plays and the presentation declined. The Four Arts Club similarly had a brief but enterprising existence producing good work under most difficult conditions in "box-like rooms down an alley off George Street". The Impressionist Theatre differed slightly from the other groups of the time; its policy being to produce Continental plays. The prime mover in this group was Dr. Cardamatis.

Contempt oraneous with these groups were Bryant's Playhouse and the Workers Art Club, which were founded at this time, but which have had a more stable existence pursuing an uninterrupted career to the present day.

This summary so far of the Little Theatre movement has been concerned with only the leading groups of the thirties, who regularly produced plays for public consumption, it is sufficient to say that there were numerous amateur groups and societies producing their own plays in the suburbs, notice of which rarely appeared in the press or knowledge of which was limited to their own locality, and whose standard of work was insufficient for them to attain notoriety. Thus the now faded threads of their existence can be gathered from varied sources, for example, in 1935 we can glean information of groups such as the Australian Theatre Society, the Cameo Theatre Groups, Chelsea Theatre Group, the Dajonian Repertory Society, the A.M.P. Society Musical and Dramatic Club, Junior Theatre League,
the Morell Players, New South Wales Postal Institute Dramatic Society, P.J. Players, Studio Theatre Club, Sydney Theatre Guild, Workers' Educational Association's Drama Club and others. Occasionally one of these groups would produce a play which was sufficiently worthwhile as to merit the attention of the press, but for the most part it seems they performed the function of a social activity, drawing people in a common interest and providing a necessary diversion in the darkness of the depression years, rather than contributing to the cultural tradition of the drama in Sydney. One or two of these groups have survived to the present, such as the W.E.A. drama group - to assume a very minor role in Sydney's cultural life.

This survey, however, is not primarily concerned with the past but rather with the contemporary scene - although it is considered necessary to describe the foundations of the existing conditions. It seems that towards the end of the thirties there was a decline in amateur dramatics. It is impossible to obtain statistically accurate material to substantiate this assertion, nevertheless indications from sources such as newspaper files and from various trends of articles written on this subject at the time give some indication. Although the number of productions and societies decreased for the first time there seems to have been an increase of interest in the field of dramatic literature. A stimulus to the written drama was provided in 1938 by the literary competition conducted by the Australian 150th Anniversary Celebrations Council, there being over 150 entries submitted. During the early part of the war years there was a
sudden decline in drama publications, thus in 1939 there were none, in 1940 four, in 1941 five, 1942 five, 1943 four, but in 1944 there were eleven. Despite publishing difficulties there was a demand for any Australian literature and in view of publishing difficulties and of previous records eleven books of Australian plays was a large number.

The effect of the war on the repertory movement generally in Sydney was to exert a stimulus particularly, however, on the little theatre audiences. The activity was rather different from the activity of the depression years; then there was a large number of groups functioning, but most flourished but a short time, unable to gain financial support from attendances. People were unable to afford entertainment. The number of groups is indicative of the initiative of more enterprising people who sought escape through participation in some sort of cultural or social organisation. In contrast to this impetus during the war years came from the other direction. For the most part people were too busy in war jobs to devote much time to actual dramatic activity themselves, but in their leisure hours they sought escape, the theatre offering one of the most obvious opportunities, so that just as the commercial theatres experienced a boom so did the little theatres. Thus during these years they managed to consolidate their position - which so many of the projects during the depression were unable to do.

(11) CONTEMPORARY LITTLE THEATRES IN SYDNEY.

At present Sydney has six Little Theatres, all of
which have their own premises where they produce plays regularly. In addition to these 'theatres' there are numerous voluntary dramatic groups which do not possess their own rooms for public performances - these will be discussed later.

(1) The Independent Theatre.

This theatre was born in 1930 under the leadership of one of G. MacMahon's actresses Doris Fitton, who had also incidentally gained experience in production at the Turret Theatre. Although the title theatre was not added until 1939, Doris Fitton's players at first consisted only of a group of interested participants and onlookers which put on plays regularly on Sunday evenings at the Savoy Theatre (then a legitimate theatre), and afterwards when The Savoy became a picture house, at the Conservatorium. This group had clubrooms in the city where small classes in dramatic art were held and whence emanated many interesting productions of considerable merit. This group steadily gained in members and followers, until it assumed the first place among repertory societies. In 1939 a big step was taken by its founder, Doris Fitton, when she decided to lease a large theatre in one of Sydney's inner suburbs at North Sydney. This theatre was inauspiciously opened on the day war was declared in September 1938, but contrary to expectations, apart from a brief period when the Japanese menaced our shores, the war gave a fillip to the existence of the Independent Theatre. Despite the difficulties which the war situation created, such as shortages of theatrical equipment and sometimes of male actors, the quality of the plays presented was
sustained and the audiences which before the war had to be built up now regularly filled the theatre. The capacity of the theatre being approximately four hundred and fifty. Although the war meant that audiences increased no conclusions can be drawn about the effect of war on the actual membership of the Independent society, for since the group has had its own theatre there has not been the necessity of increasing membership support and revenue being derived from the attendances. Thus, whereas the peak membership was six hundred in 1935, at present the number of members who subscribe to the Independent Theatre is now only three hundred and fifty. Membership entitles one to attend all performances without extra charge.

(ii) The New Theatre:

This began in Sydney in 1932 as The Workers' Art Club. This group as its name indicates was a left wing organisation whose motives were political as well as cultural. In the early days of its formation it was limited in character, its activities being restricted to members of a professed political outlook. Its productions were also of a limited kind, being primarily spectacles than of a dramatically artistic nature. Its productions such as the "Agitprop" were taken into factories and workshops and presented at workshop meetings,

Footnote x: It is interesting to note that towards the end of the war the number of people who became interested in acting, apparently increased. For instance, Doris Petton's school which numbered less than a dozen in 1938 steadily expanded during the war until in 1945 the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme has recognised it as a training school for trainees who desire to take a course in dramatic art under the Scheme. The number of students now attending is 90 and the staff has been increased to four teachers.
their objective being politics rather than art. The membership of the Workers' Art Club numbered between fifty and sixty people. In 1935 it was decided to change the name to the New Theatre; with the change of name there was also a change of policy and a new spirit infused into the Theatre. From now on its exclusive political character eschewed and anyone, no matter what their political views were admitted as members. The membership accordingly rose - reaching one hundred by 1938.

**OBJECTS:**

The New Theatre in Australia is but part of a world-wide movement sponsored by the left-wing groups in different countries. The first New Theatre was established in America during the early thirties. There it became an organising centre aiming to establish other theatres and fortify local groups with visiting actors and producers. The New Theatre's counterpart in England is the Unity Theatre, London, which was established in 1936. Although there is no direct affiliation between these groups they all have a common bond in that their objectives are the same. These objectives as laid down in the Constitution of Sydney's New Theatre are: -

1. To express through drama, based on the Australian tradition of freedom and democracy, the progressive aspirations of the Australian people.

2. To cultivate a theatre free from commercialism, capable of developing a native drama, and of educating all sections of the people to appreciate a high standard of contemporary and classical drama.

3. To secure the widest possible co-operation with all
associations aiming at social justice”.

**ACTIVITIES:** The Sydney New Theatre presents regular productions three times a week, and like most repertory theatres it offers scope for members to participate whether it be through acting, script and play writing, stage management, designing sets and costumes or social activities. A "Workshop" is run in conjunction with the Theatre which is the experimental training ground for would-be actors, playwrights and set designers.

During the war - in 1943 - the Theatre moved into larger premises. Until that date they had occupied rooms which accommodated an audience of 200; with the expanding activities and increased audiences during the war it was decided to seek a more spacious accommodation. This was formed at 167 Castlereagh Street, where in addition to club rooms and offices, there is a room large enough to seat 330 people which is used for performances. Because of the lack of precautionary facilities against fire which is enforced on licensed premises by regulations, the New Theatre has been unable to obtain a license with the result that admission cannot be charged. This is partly overcome by members of the audience being asked to "contribute a silver coin”.

The Sydney New Theatre has no publication, but it contributes regularly and quite extensively to the Melbourne New Theatre Review - the substantial monthly publication of Melbourne's leftiest Little Theatre.

The character of the New Theatre Group is distinctive from that of the other repertory groups. Its aim is to draw in the members of the lower income group, whereas the other
groups rely on that upper cultured group who through education have developed an appreciation of good theatre. New Theatre, however, has the definite policy of stimulating an interest among the workers. The type of bodies affiliated indicates this; the following list of some of the organisations associated reveals the bias of members, e.g. Australian Railways Union, British Drama League, Australian Textile Workers Union, Federated Clerks Union, Federated Ironworkers Union, Hotel, Club, Restaurant and Caterers Employees Union, Miners' Federation, Sheet Metal and Tinsmiths Union, People's Council for Culture, School of Modern Writers.

Another characteristic which distinguishes New Theatre from the rest of repertory in Sydney is the type of plays presented. These are always plays of social significance, or political purpose, e.g. during the year 1945 here are some of the plays presented - "Lawson", a dramatisation of some of Henry Lawson's short stories by an Australian playwright; "To-morrow the World" a play about the problem of children instilled with the evil Nazi doctrine; "Decision" which exposed the anti-democratic, ostensibly patriotic activities of American newspapers and industries during the war.

**EFFECT OF THE WAR:**

The effect of the war on the New Theatre was to exert a stimulus both on activities, on the number of members and on the size of audiences. Membership rose from one hundred in 1938, to two hundred in 1943, to four hundred in 1945, whereas the 1946 figure has shown a considerable decline from the previous year's peak, numbering approximately two hundred and
eighty members. Another indication of the public's increased interest during these years was the increase in the number of performances, thus whereas before the war there had been Sunday night shows only, these were extended to Saturday and Sunday, then to Friday, Saturday and Sunday nights and finally, during 1945 to four nights a week.

(iii) Bryant's Playhouse,

Bryant's Playhouse was established in 1932, its forerunner being Carrie Tennant's "Community Playhouse". Like so many of Sydney's little theatres the initiative in starting this venture was taken by a woman, Beryl Bryant. At this time Miss Bryant was one of Sydney's leading teachers of dramatic art and seeking somewhere for her pupils to perform she took over the crypt of St. Peters, Darlinghurst, where the Community Playhouse had functioned. The standard of production by Beryl Bryant's group was a very high one and soon she had won a reputation which gained her a considerable following. The crypt which only seated seventy people soon became far too cramped, and it was decided to take over rooms in the city near Circular Quay which accommodated an audience of 140 people. The Playhouse has remained in these premises until the present day.

(iv) The Metropolitan Theatre, and Theatre Guilds.

This is, perhaps, one of the most interesting developments in repertory arising out of the war conditions. Again its inspiration was a woman, May Hollinworth, for many years the notable producer of the Sydney University Dramatic Society's productions.
At the beginning of the war she decided to help actively in taking good plays into the camps. With her small company of trained players she joined Army Amenities and gave three shows a week at various naval, military and airforce establishments around Sydney. It might be added that apart from transport which was provided by the Army, this was a purely voluntary and unremunerated service. The objective of the Metropolitan players was to put on only the best plays; this policy was rewarded - as May Hollinworth said "These plays were highly successful and were greeted everywhere with success and an enthusiastic response from their camp audiences".

This was only one aspect of Miss Hollinworth’s activities. For many years it had been her idea to encourage the development of Theatre Guilds in the suburbs of Sydney. As a result of her campaign which she initiated to awaken local interest, Theatre Guilds have been established at Kurringai, Mosman, Petersham, Burwood and Ashfield, also Parramatta. The most successful of these has been the Kurringai Theatre Guild which has a membership of 700 - possesses its own club rooms where play readings, dramatic classes and general activities connected with the Guild are held. It also presents regular productions of a high quality open to the members and general public - presented by visiting groups such as the Metropolitan Players, Bryants or the Independent. The aim being to keep productions at the highest possible standard and not use local talent until it has attained the required standard.

At the beginning of 1946 the Metropolitan Players
became the Metropolitan Theatre. May Hollinworth was lucky enough to secure a small hall at Reiby Place, just off Circular Quay, for her theatre. It speaks much for her producer-talent that she succeeded in making this tiny hall - with sitting accommodation for 70 people - into an artistic and comfortable theatre.

The Metropolitan is a co-operative theatre in the fullest sense of the word. All members are responsible for the entire work of the production and this policy has been an unqualified success. Not only the acting, but all the many intricate activities connected with running a theatre, like the building of sets, the making of costumes, the designing of scenes, lighting, arrangements of music, publicity, etc., have been carried out by members. Many members of the Metropolitan Theatre are professionals, but for their theatre they play and work on a purely amateur basis, with the long range policy of eventually making it into a wholly professional theatre. At the beginning of this year the Metropolitan Theatre published its programme for the whole year and invited patrons to subscribe for the whole season. This proved such a financial success that the committee has been forced to close the subscription lists until larger premises can be found. Membership numbers 500. One hundred and fifty had to be refused membership.

The subscribers get their money's worth. The first performance of the new theatre was Shakespeare's "Othello", and with this performance May Hollinworth reached another peak in her career as a producer. So great was the success of this
Othello that the tiny theatre at Reiby Place was too small to hold the audiences, and they had to shift the play to St. Peter's Hall, Darlinghurst, and later on to the hall of the Kuringai Theatre Guild at Killara. It has now become a regular part of the Metropolitan theatres programme to present the current one show one night a week at St. Peter's Crypt. This gives people who are not members an opportunity to see the play.

(v) Sydney Theatre for Children.

This is another exceedingly interesting experiment which began its career in 1937 under the guidance of Miss Rosmarie Benjamin. Rosemarie Menjamin primarily an educationist, had studied the Children's Theatre in London and Moscow before she came to Australia to pioneer the field here. The aims behind the Theatre for Children is not to encourage children themselves to act. The typical "child actor" is not encouraged, only a child who is natural, unselfconscious and enjoys acting is permitted to perform and then only in roles where it would be unsuitable for an adult to play the role. The objectives of the Theatre to quote Miss Menjamin herself is to "help the children to solve some of their own daily problems at home and at school. The child projects some of his own phantasies on the actors on the stage and it is a help to him to know that others act as he sometimes feels: it is the shared experience that can be of value to him".

The Theatre for Children began in a very small way with the establishment of a children's club at Redfern - Here regular
performances were given to crowded audiences and the children themselves were encouraged to present ideas of their own and as a sideline, they would write and carry out a whole production themselves.

Later Miss Benjamin acquired a room in the city which she set up as a little theatre and club rooms for children. Here in a room accommodating only fifty children she has carried on her work, believing that if we are to develop a love of good theatre the place to start is by educating a taste for it among the children. An essential feature of the Theatre is to keep the project on a small scale; in this way the children become intimate with the players and are able to participate in the play itself. For this reason Miss Benjamin has encouraged the development of similar projects throughout the suburbs and country towns and with the aid of the local Parents' and Citizens' Association several successful projects have been established.

A valuable service offered by the Sydney Theatre for Children is the regular publication of a list of plays recommended and adopted for children with particulars as to where the various rights and scripts can be obtained.

Since its inception the Department of Education has been interested in the work of the Children's Theatre and have incorporated many of Miss Benjamin's ideas in the teaching of drama in their junior schools.

(vi) Sydney University Dramatic Society.

This has been included here amongst this survey of repertory theatres because it performs the service of presenting
regularly productions of merit and also because it has the advantage, which so many other societies have not, of possessing its own little theatre - minute as it may be. This Society has a history nearly as old as the University itself - it has had numerous births, deaths, and re-births. In 1914, however, it was firmly established and has pursued a creditable and uninterrupted career since then. During this period it was under the direction of May Hollinworth it was presenting plays which ranked among the best repertory productions in Sydney.

(c) Dramatic Clubs and other Organisations at Work in the Field of Drama.

In addition to Sydney's six Little Theatres which have been described - theatre in many cases being a rather pretentious term for some of the premises which use the title - there are numerous groups and societies interested and active in the field of drama. These groups number well over fifty (See Appendix B) and are in many cases making a significant contribution to development of drama in Sydney. They, as a rule have their own club rooms or often these groups have arisen out of some other organisation, such as a social club or church group and use the premises of the society from which they have sprung.

The more important of such groups are the Genesian Players, whose members number some seventy people drawn from Catholic organisations, the Sydney Repertory Society, the
Sydney Players' Club and the Theatre Arts Club.

The Sydney Repertory Society was established during the war through the interest of an individual who wanted to help young people not in the forces fill in their leisure hours. This group proved highly successful and presented many good productions at the St. James Hall, one of the few suitable substitutes for a little theatre in Sydney; another aspect of their activities was to visit various military establishments and present plays to the troops.

The Sydney Players' Club although in existence since 1923 (as has already been described earlier) and from time to time this society still produces material of a high quality, for the most part its prestige and its work has steadily declined during latter years.

Theatre Arts Club. Of all these societies perhaps the most interesting experimentally is the Theatre Arts - This consists of a group of six people thoroughly conversant with the theatres and its techniques. The aim of this group is and theatre administration to develop a team of producers/modelled on the New York Theatre Guild, and to present plays of a high standard. To this end they have employed the best actors available and using Bryant's playhouse and other premises available, they have presented a season of their experimental productions including plays by Earoyan, Ibsen and Strindberg.

Mercury Club. Perhaps one of the most interesting groups that has developed recently is the Mercury Theatre group. This group was formed in 1946 by five enthusiastic individuals
who wished to raise the level of theatre in Sydney. The first objective of this group was to build a theatre and towards this end they decided to form a proprietary company. The initial contribution towards raising capital was a gift of £10,000, and the idea being that as people joined the Mercury Club on paying their subscription they automatically became shareholders in "Mercury Theatres Pty. Ltd". The immediate policy was to form a group of competent artists and to produce a number of shows of a high standard - the long-range policy being the objective of building a permanent theatre. The Mercury Club was formed to provide a link between the actors and the audience and so far, apart from one short season of a week, the Club activities have formed the sole extent of Mercury Theatre activities. This Club has a membership of two hundred and in time, hopes to own its own club rooms where members will not only be able to get "Workshop" experience of acting, but where members may meet actors and other members for a social exchange of ideas.

Towards the end of the 'thirties there were two significant developments in the field of Australian drama. The first was the formation of the Playwrights Advisory Board and the second the establishment of the British Drama League, both in Sydney. Both of these organisations are considered significant because they are the first attempts at co-ordination, the one in the sphere of the literature of drama and the other amongst amateur dramatic groups.

The Playwrights Advisory Board. This was set up in 1938, unfortunately, however it had no official backing
for it works in an absolutely honorary capacity. It consists of thirteen men and women, well-known as producers, actors, dramatic authors and/or critics, who believe that the Australian playwright needs a practical agency to help him market his works throughout Australia.

The objects of the Board are to assist Australian playwrights. It invites playwrights to submit their best stage plays (not radio plays or film scenarios) for reading. Those plays which are considered worthy of production, or further production in other centres, are distributed among suitable producing groups in the various States. When such groups produce any plays often the Board acts as agent in the arrangement and collection of a royalty on behalf of the author.

Since its formation in 1938, the Board has placed plays in nearly every Australian city and in some towns. Each time royalties have been obtained for the author. Over 150 plays have been read. For such service, the Playwrights Advisory Board asks no recompense except the preliminary reading fee of 2/6d... this sum to cover postage and administrative expenses. Wherever possible constructive criticism is given.

The British Drama League. This again is a voluntary organisation, founded in 1937 by one of Sydney’s active repertory supporters, Miss Tildesley. It sprang under her from its English parent -

The general aim of the British Drama League is to assist the development of the art of the theatre, and to promote a right relationship between drama and the life of the community.
Since its foundation in 1919 the League has succeeded in affiliating over 3,000 independent societies in Great Britain, many of them in villages or industrial districts, others attached to educational bodies, schools and universities. Its register in London includes, besides the amateur bodies indicated, such professional organisations as the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, the Society of West End Managers, the Touring Managers’ Association, etc.

Assistance to affiliated bodies, and likewise to individual members, is afforded in various ways, e.g. -

(a) by postal answer to any query on any subject connected with drama.
(b) by assisting in the formation of local acting societies.
(c) by putting groups into touch with producers, where available.
(d) by arranging lectures, conferences and exhibitions.
(e) by organising festivals and competitions.
(f) by procuring for playwrights expert criticism of their plays.

The League itself does not engage in the production of plays. But nothing else in the whole range of theatrical interest lies outside its scope, and it therefore possesses unique competence

(1) to deal in a disinterested manner with all problems of the theatre.
(2) to provide machinery whereby acting groups, while preserving their separate identity, can co-operate for common ends.
(3) to afford an open platform for the discussion of difficulties.
(4) to bring isolated experimenters into touch with one another.
(5) to give to pioneer work the encouragement of criticism and recognition.

Some years ago the League extended its operation to Canada and New Zealand, and in June 1937, it established itself
at Australian headquarters in Sydney. By June 1939, its membership roll totalled 245, made up of 77 societies and 168 individuals. All States of the Commonwealth are represented among its members, which include professional as well as amateur actors, producers and playwrights, and those whose main object in joining is to further the general aim of the League.

The annual subscription to the League in Australia is 10/6, whether for individuals or affiliated societies. The latter are required to nominate a representative, who can exercise the rights and privileges of membership. These include—a vote at general meetings; use of the Library; the receipt of monthly Bulletins and of free copies of Drama, the magazine issued by the League in London; advice and assistance on any problems connected with the selection and production of plays, stage equipment, payment of royalties, etc., whether by correspondence or interview.

The effect of the war on the League's activities was similar to its effect in other cultural groups. Membership declined so sharply during the Japanese menace — from 251 in December, 1939 to little more than 100 in December 1942, that it was contemplated closing down. At this depressed stage Army Education became interested in the League's work and invited the League to assist them in producing plays for the troops and in stimulating the interest of the men in forming their own groups and participating in dramatic productions themselves. Most successful were the efforts in the New Guinea area, where members of both the League and the Army Education
Branch were there to guide the groups. For instance, regular productions were held in the Ramir Valley and the Solomon Islands. Not all, however, were as successful as these groups. The interest of Army Education naturally gave an impetus to League membership for many interested members of the forces joined. By the end of 1944 there were 40 groups and individual members from the services and by 1945 over one hundred. It has been found that many of these men and women now demobbed have retained membership. Thus, whereas total membership of the League in 1938 was 200, in June 1946 it had reached 366 members.

It is estimated by the League that there are approximately 5 to 6,000 dramatic societies functioning at present throughout the Commonwealth; compared with their pre-war estimates this figure would be almost double that of 1938. The majority of such groups, however, are ephemeral in character having a brief existence. The main reason for this being that they invariably depend on the initiative of one individual who through personal interest build up a group in their own suburb or country town and very often through lack of knowledge or experienced guidance, the interest fails to be sustained. One of the objectives of the League is to see established a system of regional itinerant advisers who could visit the various groups giving advice in the technicalities of production. Until this is possible it seems that the present pattern of brief life and lingering death in the amateur dramatic societies will continue.

The League has been of considerable significance in the
dramatic life of Sydney providing as it does the only comprehensive lending library of the drama. This library is one of its most valuable assets being valued in terms of money at over £1,500. This is a constant pool on which the various repertory groups in Sydney can draw.

(d) Summary.

In summarising the material presented here in relation to the theatre in Sydney, the conclusion can be drawn that in view of the apathy and low ideals of the commercial theatre, the hope of developing drama and good theatre in Sydney rests at the moment in the hands of the amateur groups. From the point of view of drama it is these repertory groups who are making an important contribution to Sydney's cultural life. The greatest weakness of this situation is that much of the splendid work being done by these groups is often dissipated through lack of organisation and accommodation. Through a combination of effort there is a possibility that a really strong and substantial repertory theatre might be developed here, as it has in Adelaide, for instance, where the membership of the Repertory Society numbers 4,000 and one of the largest theatres, the Tivoli, in that city is used for its productions.

At the same time a case can be made out for the diversity within the little theatre movement in Sydney. First of all, in that a number of small vigorous groups prevents centralisation, and also that a diversity of opinions and ideas can flourish under such conditions, whereas they might tend to be subordinated in a large organisation.
It is apparent that the amateur theatre here is the forcing house and only training ground for the professional theatre and radio. Many of the most competent professionals have gained their first opportunity to act in the amateur theatre.

It is believed by many people that the answer to the problems of the repertory movement lies in the establishment of a national theatre. The urgent need of suitable premises is perhaps the most pressing problem of the little theatres and the provision of small theatres in the various capitals under a National Theatre Scheme would relieve their greatest difficulty. In relation to accommodation most of the groups in Sydney are hard pressed. With the exception of the Independent Theatre - which is outside the city - the premises of the five significant little theatres are quite inadequate; usually small and unsuitable rooms have been converted into uncomfortable makeshifts.

But if these efforts had not been made the repertory movement would not have survived. With the exception of two church halls, the crypt of St. Peter’s, Darlinghurst and St. James Hall, Phillip Street, there are no suitable premises in the city for the production of plays - and even these two are by no means ideal. Hence behind the agitation for a National Theatre there has been a very practical motive. The history of the National Movement is a fairly recent one; during the war there were various conferences convened by interested societies and individuals to discuss the matter to suggest proposals to the Government. One of the first of these was that convened
by the Musical Association early in 1944 as a result of which representations were made to the Ministry of Post-War Reconstruction. Later the People's Council for Culture sponsored a weekend conference to discuss the matter - addresses being given by notable figures in Sydney's cultural life to crowded sessions. A national theatre has been an objective of this organisation as early as 1937 when as the Central Cultural Council it convened a meeting of the various organisations interested in the establishment of a state subsidised theatre. During the war years, however, there was a stimulus to this movement and several conferences were held, one in 1940 again by the Central Cultural Council at the Conservatorium and another in 1945 by the New Theatre League. These conferences have had the support of such groups as C.E.M.A. British Drama League, all the Little Theatres, Fellowship of Australian Writers, the Department of Education has shown its interest and various other bodies.

There have been various ideas propounded as to what form a National Theatre should take. To some it means a building situated in Canberra - this idea has won little support. To others the phrase means not a building but highly skilled professional company of players travelling throughout Australia presenting the world's best in the various Capitals and large country towns. In Sydney such a proposal would not be suitable as there is no theatre available in which such a company could play. The third conception - and undoubtedly the most comprehensive one, is the idea of a National Theatre Council or
Board empowered to erect in each of the Capital cities a well designed and well equipped National Theatre incorporating a large auditorium suitable for grand opera and a small theatre for the performance of plays. Each of these theatres in the various states should have its permanent company interchangeable at reasonable intervals with those from other states. It has been suggested that the National Theatre Council should consist of persons appointed from authoritative bodies connected with Drama, Music and Education. Representations have been made to the Federal Government on these lines, but they have not indicated the possibility of assistance forthcoming. On the other hand the State Government has indicated its interest in building a subsidised theatre for Sydney - although such a project could not be called a national one.

Statistical Summary:

It can be estimated from the membership figures of the various little theatres in Sydney that the regular devotees of the drama number approximately 3,150 people. This is calculated from the following figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Membership</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent membership</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bryant's</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Theatre</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.U.D.S.</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuringai Theatre Guild membership</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mosan Theatre Guild membership</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Theatre Guild membership</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 3,150
In addition to these regular subscribers there are
at least another 1,000 perhaps even 2,000 individuals in
Sydney who do not belong to any theatre society, but who visit a
little theatre occasionally to see a performance which may
interest them particularly.

A rough calculation of the number of little theatre
audiences who attend weekly indicates of the 3,150 approximately
two-thirds of this number attend.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Capacity of Theatre</th>
<th>Number Performances Weekly</th>
<th>Average Weekly Attendances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Theatre</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan and</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Peter's Crypt</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bryants</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.U.D.S.</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,170</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures are conservative estimates and do not take into account the possibility of a 'hit show' which may fill a theatre for weeks on end. Also these figures do not take into account the Theatre Guild performances which are monthly or fortnightly and which at Kuringai alone must draw in two nights at least 1,000 people.

It is impossible to give actual figures to indicate the effect of the war on the theatre in Sydney. From general observation, however, theatre whether commercial or amateur experienced boom conditions - hence the statement by the manager
of the Theatre Royal that throughout the war the productions at that theatre played to crowded houses.

Here are a few isolated instances pointing to the increase of interest in the theatre which developed during the war years:

In 1938 there were 3 little theatres in Sydney

In 1945 " " 5 " " " (including the Children's Theatre there were 6).

In 1938 membership of British Drama League - 200

In 1945 " " " " " - 366

In 1938 the New Theatre occupied small premises which accommodated slightly less than 200 and were giving only one performance weekly; in 1945 they had moved to premises which accommodated 330 and were performing 4 nights a week.
APPENDIX TO SECTION (B)

List of Dramatic Societies in

New South Wales.

Sydney:

Academy of Dramatic Art - Miss Stafford, 24 Palings.


Bank of N.S.W. Entertainments Society - Miss Cunliffe Jones - 341 George Street.

Bethlehem College - Miss Haughey, 24 Crieff Street, Ashbury.

Burwood Congregational Youth Fellowship - Dr. R. Sharpe, 14 Martin Place.

Concord Debating Society.

Corovians - Mrs. F. Paton, 46 Birriga Road, Bellevue Hill.

Country Women's Association of New South Wales - Miss Price.

Country Women's Association Younger Set, Eastern Suburbs.

Dominion Players - R. Jarrett, 521 Unwin's Bridge, Tempe.

Federation Players - Miss R. Collins, 6 Fortview Street, Greenwich.

Fellowship of Australian Writers, Dramatic Group, Sydney.

Genesian Players - Miss Martin, Victa, Bunnerong Road, Maroubra.

Hunters Hill Playreading Club - Mrs. Pender, 4 Veret Street, Hunters Hill.

Kooroora Club - Mrs. Wood c/- Dawson, Waldron, Edwards, etc. 44 Martin Place.

Independent Theatre - Doris Fitton, North Sydney.

Maccabi Players - de Mesquita, 8 Beachview, 103 Ramsgate Avenue, Bondi.

Methodist Young People's Dept.

Modern Theatre Players - Miss Spilsbury, Room 52, Floor 4, Palings.

St. John's Girl's Guild - Wahroonga.

St. John's Players - Summer Hill.

Shakespeare Society of N.S.W. - Miss Gourlay, 34 Barton Avenue, Haberfield.

Sydney Drama Society - Miss M. Jonson, 9 Hamilton Street, Sydney.

Sydney Players Club - Secretary, 2 Bond Street, Sydney.

Sydney Repertory Theatre Society - Mrs. G. Johnston, 7 Vivian Street, Bellevue Hill.

Sydney University Dramatic Society - 700 George Street, Sydney.

2GB Radio Players.

Viennese Theatre Club - Alf Baring, 9 Wylde Street, Potts Point.

Waverly Methodist Youth Community Centre - Rev. Allan Walker.

Women's Club Dramatic Circle.

Strolling Players.


University Settlement - Warden, 19 Edward Street, Chippendale.

Clarendon Players - Miss R. Richardson, Mt. Kuringai, via Hornsby.

Marrickville Girls Club, Mrs. Hendy - 42 Canonbury Cove, Dulwich Hill.

Theatre Arts Club - Adrian Borzell - Bryants Playhouse.

Henry Lawson Labor College - Arnold Riches, Flat 1, Roslyn Street, Elizabeth Bay.


Eastern Suburbs Musical and Dramatic Society - Miss Hamilton, Mitchell Street, Bondi.

Workers Educational Association Dramatic Society.
Country and Other States:


Binnaway Country Women's Association Younger Set.

Blue Mountains C.E.M.A. Drama Group - Miss Kent-Hughes, 16 Allawah Flats, Katoomba.

Bundanoon Players - Mrs. Catts, Spring Hill.

Bingara C.E.M.A - Miss Campbell.

Canberra Repertory Society - G. Rattigan, 25 Euree Street, Reid.

Canowindra Country Women's Association Younger Set.

Forbes Modern Drama Group - Clement Street, Forbes.

Glen Innes, C.E.M.A.

Griffith, C.E.M.A. - Miss Blumer Box 479AA, P.O.

Inverell Repertory Theatre Society.

Kiama Country Women's Association Younger Set.

Milton Amateur Dramatic & Literary Society - Central School, N.S.W.

Moree Country Women's Association Younger Set - Miss Winter, Inglewood Forest.

Morpeth Benek Drama Group - Miss Connelly.

Mullumbimby Brunswick Group.

Newcastle Meytah Circle - Miss Yates, 515 Hunter St.

Newcastle Workers Educational Association.

Old Bonalbo Country Women's Association Younger Set.

Scone Olympians - 61 Park Street.

Tahmoor Music & Drama Club - York Street.

Temora Music & Drama Club - Box 129.


Wagga Wagga School of Arts - Box 173, P.O.

Coffs Harbor, C.E.M.A. - Secretary, Forestry Office.
Kempsey Repertory Society - Miss Cowley, High School.

Young Country Women's Association Younger Set.

Wellington Amateur Dramatic Society, 7 Clive Street.

Camden Country Women's Association Younger Set - Miss Cork, Central School, Camden.

Bundan Church of England Youth Club.

Cessnock C.E.M.A - Mrs. Barry, 31 Vincent Street.
C. AGENCIES RELATING TO ART IN SYDNEY.
A. Societies: There are in Sydney twelve art societies and groups, four of which have been formed since 1939. They are:

- Royal Art Society
- Society of Artists
- Australian Watercolours Institute
- Australian Art Society
- Contemporary Group
- The Painter-Etchers and Graphic Art Society of Australia
- The Industrial Art Society (formerly Women Painters)
- The Contemporary Art Society
- School of Realist Art
- Sydney Group
- Sydney Art Group
- Group XV

Of these there are, however, only 3 groups who play a significant part in Sydney's art world. They are the Royal Art Society, Society of Artists, The Contemporary Art Society. The cleavage between the various groups however is quite distinct, for each one stands definitely by its own platform and beliefs. Some of these groups are perhaps more restricted in influence due to the fact that their membership is limited to practicing artists as, for instance, the Society of Artists and Contemporary Group, whereas those societies such as the Royal Art Society and Contemporary Art Society have memberships which run into hundreds because laymen are admitted. The politics of art are in
Sydney quite complex and very often arouse intensity of feeling among the artists and their associates. Of latter years the entrance of left-wing elements into the art world has stimulated considerable controversy. Now radicalism often signifies the political belief of the artist rather than his revolutionary technique with which the word was usually associated. To a leftist the Society of Artists signifies conservatism, which attitude is not entirely justifiable. The Society of Artists has assumed the lead as the most respected Society and it is the goal of most artists to be admitted. An artist has to be invited to join this group and that only happens when the committee of the Society considers the artists work of such a standard as to be worthy of admission. Indeed it might be said the Society of Artists is Sydney's Royal Academy. This Society is not narrow in its selection of membership, for although the majority of artists belong to the older group some represent the traditional Australian school, now rather looked askance at by the younger 'advanced' artists, it also has on its lists representatives of the modernists, one whose paintings won the annual competition for the best portraits which caused such a stir that it resulted in a unprecedented court case. Although the Society of Artists is considered as rather aristocratically exclusive by some, yet even the most antipathetic recognise that most of its members rank technically among Australia's best artists.

The Royal Art Society is the oldest art group in Sydney and is the only society in Australia with a royal charter, but such an attribute is little esteemed in this country and has
in no way affected advantageously the status of this group. There is a certain amount of rivalry between these two senior societies. The Society of Artists feels a superiority in relation to the other groups, and founded mainly on the low standard which many of the works of the Royal Art members exhibit. The fact too, that the latter has a Ladies Committee which organises social activities in conjunction with the Society and helps to publicise members work, does not add to its prestige in the eyes of other groups. Nevertheless, the sales of pictures at the annual exhibitions of both Societies is almost equal, despite the fact that rarely do the press view the work of the Royal Art Society favorably.

When the Contemporary Art Society was formed in Sydney in 1940, it assumed a position very much to the left, both technically and politically, of these other older societies. Its parent was the Melbourne Contemporary Art Society which had been founded in 1938 as the result of a bitter controversy which raged there over the suggestion to set up an Australian Academy on the English model. It was believed by many artists that such a move meant an encroachment on their freedom. The proposal had been made by the conservative Federal politician Mr. Menzies, who believed that such an Academy should be established at Canberra, one of its functions being to lay down certain standards. The protagonists of the idea ranged themselves into two camps - those in favour, those against, styled by one side reactionary and progressive. The main art body of Melbourne the Victorian Artists Society was divided on the issue. The outcome of which was that a group of members
led by George Bell broke away and formed their own organisation, calling themselves the Contemporary Art Society. The issue had assumed a wider implication than merely that of favoring or not an Academy; it became modern art versus academic art; the left versus the right; freedom of expression versus dictation. Active in this controversy were many extreme leftists and soon the moderate elements in the breakaway were superseded in the official positions by the extremists representatives.

It was as an offshoot of this society then, that the Sydney branch was founded. In aims and policy it followed that of its Melbourne counterpart, adopting the same constitution and platform. It assumed a position in Sydney at first similar to the one it had taken up in Melbourne and was regarded as radical in relation to the other societies. Its development here, however, followed a course contrary to that of its parent, for within a few years of its foundation a division on a political basis took place. Its founders, extreme leftists who had held the executive positions, were voted out of office by the moderates who then gained the official positions and today still hold them. The result of this was that the left-wing members withdrew from the Society to found their own organisation under the name of the Studio of Realist Art, which in a year had developed a school of painters calling themselves social-realists.

The other societies in Sydney are much smaller in membership than these major societies and their influence because they consist only of practicing painters. They are

(1) For account of controversy see "Arquebus": Adrian Lawlor.
restricted and exclusive groups consisting of combinations of artists who have a common bond on a technical or aesthetic basis such as the Painter--Etchers or the Sydney Group.

**Society of Artists.** Founded 1895.

This group was formed in Sydney when certain artists broke away from the Art Society at the end of the last century. The grounds of difference were based mainly on rivalry between the amateurs and professionals. When these members decided to leave the Art Society it was with the object of forming a Society consisting of practising artists. Hence the name Society of Artists was chosen signifying opposition to a group which had virtually come under the control of laymen who had been admitted to membership with the same voting power as professional artists. The first Council of the new Society of Artists consisted of the fathers of Australian painting: Tom Roberts, Arthur Streeton, Henry Fullwood, Sydney Long and others. Soon this group had attracted the most competent artists of the day such as Lambert, Phillips, Fox, Julian Ashton, Walter Withers, John Longstaff, McCubbin. This group began holding their own exhibitions immediately. The first of which was opened by Sir Henry Parkes at that time Premier of New South Wales.

The aim of this group was first of all to "raise standards and "to bring about more cohesion between those who hold to new points of view". Its first constructive proposal was a project to send an exhibition of Australian paintings to London. The suggestion

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(1) See Society of Artists Book 1942 p.19
(2) Ibid.
was made to the Government. After one of Sydney's wealthy art patrons of the day, Miss Eadith Walker, contributed £750 to the scheme, the Government decided to finance the remaining expenditure involved. The exhibition opened in London in 1898 and attracted considerable notice.

Soon the Society found itself in financial difficulties, but the Government was induced to alleviate the position by giving the Society a subsidy of £400 per annum. With this help the Society of Artists Travelling Scholarship was founded to the value of £150 per year for three years.

In 1902 due to the intervention of the Minister for Education (Mr. John Perry) the Art Society and Society of Artists again amalgamated. The reason being that the Government which was paying a subsidy of £400 to each society objected to this double expenditure. The Minister called a meeting of representatives of the new groups and told them that while he did not object to paying £800 a year to one Society with the object of advancing the interests of art in the State, the Government would not continue to subsidise equally two societies which because of their differences dissipated this money in their own interests rather than spending it in the common cause of art. It was, therefore, decided that the two groups should reunite. This uneasy union lasted from 1899 to 1907 when the Society of Artists again assumed its independence.

In 1911 the Society of Artists opened a small art shop, the first in Sydney, called "The Fine Arts" in Bligh Street. This sold the work of members and had as its object the encouragement and publicising of Australian art. It soon
to close.

This project and the influence of certain individuals, such as George Lambert gave a stimulus to the Society and helped to establish it as the leading art group in the State and indeed Australia.

For some time after 1907 the Society was without a subsidy. The Government was again approached and a subsidy of £250 was allotted. This sum was devoted entirely to re-establishment of the Travelling Art Scholarship. And until 1934, when the Government withdraw subsidies from both Societies to provide two Government scholarships, the Society of Artists made its choice each year of a young and promising artist to send abroad.

Another function of the Society of Artists is the awarding of medal to those individuals who have assisted the development of Australian art. More important, however, is the holding of an annual exhibition which attracts considerable attention and at which the opportunity is given to display to possible buyers the work of members. The work of other artists who may not belong to the Society which the Committee considers of a sufficiently high standard is also hung at the Society's Annual show.

The Society has an annual publication called "The Society of Artists Book". It should be mentioned here that the Society has the advantage of possessing as its Secretary and most active member, Sydney Ure Smith, Sydney's only art publisher. For many years he has been a member and official of the Society and he has edited and published the annual of this
group. He also, as editor of Art in Australia - the leading and only journal in this country, devoted entirely to art and which went out of existence during the war - allotted considerable space to the work of members of his Society. This has been an important factor in establishing the Society of Artists as the premier art group in Australia.

The Effect of the War:

Because the membership is restricted by the fact that artists have to be invited to join, there was no apparent change in membership during these years apart from the natural increase which would have normally taken place. Thus during the period of the six war years there was an increase of seven members which brought the membership to 45, but this cannot be connected with abnormal situation of that period.

The stimulus to this Society's activities during the war is most apparent in the financial result of its annual exhibitions. The sales of pictures and the financial takings at the annual exhibition rose considerably after 1942 as the following figures indicate:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sales (£)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>£1,326.12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>£590.2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>£1,557.3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>£2,299.9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>£2,059.1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly, the profit to the Society from its exhibitions show a similar rise. In 1937 a loss of £2,19.11 is recorded as compared with £193,10.6 profit in 1944 and £260. 3. 7 profit in 1945.

The record of admissions indicate from the number of catalogues sold that more people visited the annual art
exhibition during the war years than before 1939. In 1938 approximately 1,652 people visited the Society's show, whereas in 1944 2,083 people visited and in 1945 2,360 attended it.

In relation to this society alone then, it can be concluded that the war period definitely stimulated its activities.

**Royal Art Society.**

In July 1880 a small group of artists headed by Arthur and George Collingridge, established the Art Society of New South Wales. Prior to that the only recognised Art Society for the exhibition and sale of pictures in Sydney was the New South Wales Academy of Arts. The Art Society soon superseded the older group.

The first exhibition of work was held in the Garden Palace in 1880 when 220 oil and watercolor paintings and drawings were hung. Among the exhibitors were Pigmat, Collingridge and others. There were 51 artists who exhibited and the most highly priced picture was £75.

The Society started off with 88 practising artists, plus 50 honorary and subscribing members. But “disaster overtook the young Society early in its career”. All the pictures sent in for the exhibition to be held in 1882 were destroyed in the fire which gutted the Garden Palace in that year. Insurance, however, reimbursed the artists.

Shortly after this the Society held a black and white exhibition in the Town Hall. A total of 2,921 persons attended the show and takings were £146.1.6. The Society started art
classes in 1889 and more important from the standpoint of the advancement of art was the establishment of its life classes.

In the year 1903 the Art Society was honoured by having the title "Royal" conferred on it by Edward VII.

The objects of the Society were drawn up in a formal constitution published in 1904 and today the Society is still carrying on its work to "encourage and promote the cultivation of the Fine Arts in the State of New South Wales; to provide means for the study by the members of the Fine Arts in all parts of the world; to institute and maintain exhibitions and Galleries of Painting; sculpture, ceramics and objects of art; to form and maintain classes for the benefit and instruction of the members of the Society; to acquire, form and maintain an Art Library and Reading Room; and to acquire any rights or privileges which the Society may regard necessary or convenient for the purposes thereof or for promoting the interests of Art, etc".

One of the most important functions of the Royal Art Society since its inception has been the establishment of its school which for many years rivalled the Sydney Art School for first place in the instruction of art in Sydney. This school was until 1938 subsidised by the State to the amount of £250 per annum and the earlier years of this century to the amount of £500. The subsidy, however, was withdrawn to form the New South Wales Travelling Scholarship and because of this, plus the fact that because the Society was unable to compete with the low fees at the Sydney Technical College the Royal Art Society School was

(1) For history see "Fifty Years of Aust. Art" 1879-1929, published by Royal Art Society.
forced to close down. The average number of students who attended this school in 1938 was approximately 200.

**Effect of the War.**

The membership, however, has been sustained at a higher level than that of the Society of Artists, the reason for this being that lay members are admitted. Since the war, membership has increased considerably — notably in the proportion of lay members. The following figures indicate the fluctuation in membership over the last fourteen years:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
1932 & 135 & \text{members} \\
1936 & 113 & \\
1937 & 120 & \\
1938 & 130 & \\
1939 & 130 & \\
1940 & 115 & \\
1942 & 117 & \text{members} \\
1943 & 152 & \\
1944 & 250 & \\
1945 & 298 & \\
1946 & 358 & \\
\end{array}
\]

During 1942, '43 membership slumped considerably, but that is merely a reflection of the general slackening of activity in the cultural world when the threat of Japanese invasion was imminent and people were nearly all engaged in some form of war work.

**Some of the Pictures.**

Just as membership reflects the decline and increase of interest in art during the war years so the takings at their annual exhibition. Thus returns from the Sales at the Annual Exhibition for the last ten years are as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
1936 & \£2,500 \\
1937 & \£3,150 \\
1938 & \£2,740 \\
1939 & \£2,900 \\
1940 & \£2,604 \\
1942 & \£3,840 \\
1943 & \£1,259 \\
1944 & \£2,075 \\
1945 & \£1,892 \\
1946 & \£1,250 \\
\end{array}
\]
The Contemporary Art Society.

This Society was founded in 1940 as a branch of the Melbourne Contemporary Art Society which was formed as a result of a political controversy in the older Victorian Artists Society - as has already been described. The Sydney branch was established under the guidance of one man, a former member of the Melbourne Society. He managed to enlist the support of half a dozen Sydney artists in forming a Contemporary Art Society in this capital and for the first two years they remained a very small group - this period incidentally coincided with the worst years of the Pacific war. By 1944 membership had grown to approximately 100 and by 1945 to 200, which is the Society's membership today. Membership includes both laymen and practising artists; but at least 75% of the total members are artists. This group attracted all the younger radical artists - for at least 95% of its members belong to the under 35 age group. During its first years it seems to have been a loose and haphazard organisation, not even possessing a constitution. The youth and radicalism of the Society is evident in the number of controversies which have split the members from time to time. By early 1945 members were clearly aligned on the left and right. The former were outvoted in an attempt to gain the official positions and as a consequence they left the Society to form their own group though some of them have remained members of both organisations. As a result of events in 1945 at meetings it was decided that a Constitution should be drawn up. This has been done and new formal rules of procedure govern meetings and the activities generally.
The definition of Contemporary Art according to this Constitution means and includes "Painting, Sculpture, Drawing and any other form of usual art which is original and creative". It is believed that the last two words "original" and "creative" are the special attributes of the work of Society's members.

The main objects of the Society are set out in the Constitution as follows:

(1) To encourage and foster the development appreciation and recognition of Contemporary Art and Thought.

(2) To promote and foster the interests of persons engaged in the study, production, publication and appreciation of Contemporary Art and Thought.

(3) To promote and to foster throughout the Community in general as well as in all Government, Municipal and Official quarters an appreciation and recognition of:

a. The role of the Artist in Society.
b. The necessity of maintaining and establishing democratic procedure in all Government Municipal and other Official bodies concerning Art and Artists.
c. The necessity of creative freedom to the individual artist as a condition to the cultural growth of the Community in general.
d. The necessity to artists for freedom from Government Municipal or Other Official Censorship Coercion, Control and Direction.
e. The necessity to artists and to the cultural development of the Community for the purchase and exhibition of examples collection and types of Contemporary Art for and in public and private galleries.
f. The necessity to artists and the Community in general for abolition and/or reduction of import or other duty and for the abolition of censorship on Contemporary Art, Publications and works of art in general.
g. The importance of Art in education and the necessity for a full and comprehensive Art education in all schools and places of instruction.

(4) To further the objects hereinbefore enumerated by means of lectures, the publication and circulation of books, newspapers pamphlets and periodicals by press propaganda and by such other means as may from time to time appear necessary or advisable.
(5) For the furtherance of the objects hereinbefore enumerated to purchase, borrow or otherwise acquire and display for public exhibition Contemporary Art of every description and other works of Art of interest to members of the Society or others.

(6) To hold in each year in the Capital cities where State Units exist at least one exhibition of works of members of the Society. To ensure that this Exhibition shall give concrete expression to the ideals of the Society and shall conform to its liberal aims one work at least from each member submitting work shall be exhibited unless in the opinion of the Hanging Committee it has no other aim than imitation.

**FUNCTIONS:**

An important part of the Contemporary Art Society's activities is the holding of regular lectures. These lectures are open to the general public as well as to members. These lectures have since their inception created a considerable amount of interest particularly among interested laymen and they have almost without exception attracted large audiences, the average attendance being between 80 and 90 people.

Similarly the two annual exhibitions have since their inception drawn large attendances. The reason for this lies partly in the fact that people are attracted out of curiosity for many of the exhibits are extremely modern in form and content. The Catalogue of the State Exhibition of 1946 claims that from twenty to thirty thousand people have attended each Annual Exhibition in Sydney alone. The Society claims that through its policy of hanging at least one picture of all artists submitting their work, they avoid any possibility of dictating to members what the Society considers good or bad. Also this same policy means that many young artists are given an opportunity to exhibit their work opening the "gateway to the careers of many".

Sales of pictures at the annual Sydney Exhibition have
averaged between £400 and £500. Although this amount appears small beside the figures for the Society of Artists or the Royal Art Society, the price of each individual picture averages much less than the other Societies' work. The reason for this is that many of the Contemporary exhibitions are new names in the art, often exhibiting for the first time, and as such they cannot claim the high prices that the older and established artists do.

The impact of the war on this group cannot be assessed as it was only established in Sydney in 1940; but it can be assumed that the success of their exhibitions has been partly due to the general increase of interest in the arts apparent in recent years.

The Contemporary Group.

This Group was founded twenty one years ago by George Lambert and Thea Proctor. Together with three others they formed a society which was then considered modern. They believed that the best work was not being exhibited at that time by the other art groups, so they decided to form their own society and hold an annual exhibition of members work. This group has been limited to practising artists and from it has gradually increased to twenty-five; one of the aims of the Society has been to keep the group small.

Its activities are limited to one show a year. They have only one meeting a year and no publications.

The Australian Water-Colour Institute.

This society was founded in 1924 by a group of leading water colour artists including B.E. Minns, John Eldershaw, Sydney Long, Harold Herbert, Blamire Young and John Moore.
Their objective was to form a society of artists who used water colour as their medium of expression and to hold an annual exhibition. The initial membership was about twelve which has altered very little to the present day when it now stands at fifteen members. The reason that membership of this group has not increased because of a general decline of interest in water colour and parallel development of oil painting.

The impact of the war on this group, however, has been quite a considerable one. Although the membership shows no evidence of increase, which is to be expected, the increase in attendances at the annual exhibition and in the sales of pictures by members is very marked. This society shared in the general energizing of these years as the following figures indicate:

Sales of pictures in 1937 - £127
1938 - £100
1939 - £96
1940 - £115
1941 - £130
1942 - £185
1943 - £253
1944 - £342
1945 - £475
1946 - £375

While attendances at the Institutes annual display averaged in pre-war years from 200 to 240 people during pre-war years, during the latter years of the war they rose to:

595 in 1943,
1,030 in 1945
1,000 in 1946

Minor Art Groups.

There are several small groups which have very limited membership - some of these are of an ephemeral nature such as Group XV, the Sydney Group, and the Sydney Art Society.
which are not true societies in that they possess no constitution or theoretical objectives other than holding an annual exhibition. All of these groups have been formed since 1940 and have all exhibited irregularly. Another group which can be classed among these minor societies, although it has a much longer history is the Painter-Etchers' Society. Its story begins in 1923 during the art boom after the 1914-18 war, and at its first exhibition over £2,600 worth of pictures were sold. The first members included the Lindsays, Sydney Ure Smith, Squire Morgan and others, all of whom were talented etchers. Since then, however, the interest in etching has died as one artist put it "it became too popular and too easily obtainable" hence its value as an object of art declined. So that today those who practise this form of expression do so only for their own pleasure and interest.

The Australian Art Society is another minor group which should be listed here. It was founded in 1927 and has continued to hold annual exhibitions of the works of its twenty members.

In a rather different category from the other societies was the Industrial Art Society which during the war was forced to go into recess, but it is planned to revive it as soon as suitable accommodation for clubrooms can be found. The emphasis of this group was on social rather than artistic activities. The story of this group goes back as far as 1912 when a group of women artists deciding that they were not receiving fair recognition in the predominantly male art societies of the time formed their own group which they called the Society of Women Painters. The social status of members of this group was high
being patronised by vice-regal circles. At first although its members aimed purely at an artistic objective, namely to organise women artists into a group which would hold its own art exhibitions, it gradually began to take on social character. The proportion of serious artists dwindled to such an extent that it was decided that in order to preserve the serious objectives of the society the non-practising artists should be expelled. This division took place and under the leadership of Mrs. Florence Taylor the lay members left to form their own society later known as the Arts Club. Not long after this, the Women Painters changed their name to the Industrial Arts Society and broadened their scope to include craft work in addition to painting and they proceeded to hold two annual exhibitions – one of painting and one of crafts. Soon, however, the terms of reference of the Society were further broadened to admit followers and practitioners of the other arts such as ballet dancers, actors, writers and even journalists. Once again the rooms of the Society began to become a social club, although of a rather different type from its earlier phase with a membership of 200. When the war came it was found that many of its members were foreigners and the society was split on the issue of nationality. Many resigned and the large club rooms were abandoned for smaller ones. Finally the blackout which was stringently enforced in 1942 meant that many of their evening lectures and entertainments were impossible and it was decided to suspend the society's activities.

At present the Society is ready to reorganise itself and but for the difficulty in finding accommodation this would
have been done some time ago.

B. Art Galleries: Sydney is adequately supplied in the number of art galleries she possesses. There are approximately galleries fifteen of these seven have been founded since 1939. The special function of these galleries is the holding of regular displays of original paintings. In addition to these galleries there are in Sydney rooms which in some cases belong to individual artists who call them studio galleries or salons, or which in other cases belong to commercial fine art dealers who occasionally hold displays of pictures but whose regular business is purely commercial value. As such these pseudo-galleries have, therefore, not been discussed here.

In order of importance Sydney's art galleries are: the National Art Gallery, the Education Department Galleries, Anthony Morderns Fine Art Gallery, Macquarie Galleries, David Jones Gallery, Grosvenor Gallery, Blaxland (Farmers), Royal Art Society's Gallery (Palinga), Rubery Bennet's Fine Art Gallery, Morley and Torda's, Margaret Jaye's, Hotel Australia Art Salon, Murdoch's and the Notanda. The last has been included because although it is primarily a shop for the sale of art books and pictures, it does occasionally hold one-man shows. Also its function as being the first real art shop-gallery to introduce impressionist and modern prints, has been a significant one in recent years in familiarising Sydney's interested public in the modernist schools.

PUBLIC
GALLERIES:

The National Art Gallery of New South Wales & Education Department's Galleries are the only two public institutions of this nature. The latter is a gallery in the sense that the
Department of Education since 1926 has set aside a spacious section of its building solely for the purpose of an art gallery. It is here that the major art groups such as the Society of Artists, Royal Art Society, Contemporary Art Society, hold their annual exhibitions free of charge.

The National Gallery on the other hand has since 1875 been the public trustee of a collection of pictures purchased by the State for the benefit of the people. Although the State Government had subsidized a 'Gallery of Art' since 1875 it was not until 1780 that a building was specially set aside for the purpose. From 1879 to 1893 the government voted £5,000 annually for the purchase of pictures. Soon a building, designed for an art gallery was erected on the site it occupies to the present day. In 1885 the value of the collection was about £14,000; in 1926 it was estimated at £176,000.

Unlike the Melbourne Gallery, Sydney's is entirely dependent on the support of the State Government. Melbourne, on the other hand, since 1904 has been supported by the Felton Bequest. For in that year Alfred Felton died leaving half of his residuary estate, amounting to £190,000 for the purchase of works of art for the Victorian Art Gallery. Sydney, however, does possess two bequests which enables the Gallery to award two prizes annually; the Wynne prize for the best painting of Australian landscape or the best piece of figure sculpture; and the Archibald prize for the best portrait.

The commercial galleries are private institutions holding regular displays of pictures which they sell for the individual artists for a certain commission on each sale.
The largest private galleries are those of the big stores which have for many years featured galleries as part of their general service to the public. The first store in Sydney to establish this precedent was Anthony Herdems, which in 1912 opened their Fine Art Gallery. For fifteen years this was the only private gallery where individual artists could hold their own exhibitions, until Farmers in 1925, a rival store, opened their Blaxland Galleries. In the same year an artist and a bookbinder opened a small room in the lower end of George Street which they called the Grevenor Galleries and where they proceeded to hold regular displays of original paintings. In the same year another small private gallery was opened in Bligh Street by a Sydney connoisseur and collector John Young, which he called the Macquarie Galleries. All these galleries have continued till the present day to hold regular exhibitions.

During this period the other major store in Sydney, David Jones, entered the field of art by intermittently holding art shows - no doubt partly to keep pace with rival firms and partly through the personal interest of the founder and managing director of the firm who has been for many years one of the city's leading art patrons. David Jones' Art Gallery proper, however, was not established until the beginning of 1944 when a large room in their main store was set aside for the purpose.

The boom in art which the middle twenties witnessed and which the opening of these galleries is an indication, subsided with the advent of the depression. Thus during the late twenties and early thirties there were no new ventures in
establishing private galleries - as in every other sphere artistic activity was retarded. From 1925, therefore, until the war years there was only two genuine attempts to establish art galleries. One of these was the project of a woman art patron, who opened a small room in Rowe Street which she called the LodeStar Gallery. It met with little success and was forced to close through lack of support in 1937 two years after its foundation. The second venture was the Rubery Bennett Fine Art Gallery which was opened in 1933 and has survived till the present day, although its reputation has deteriorated considerably amongst artists and collectors. The reason for this is that a cheap trinket shop has been opened in conjunction with the gallery and although possibly remunerative to its owners it has detracted considerably from the status of the gallery.

The recovery in the cultural sphere did not take place till the early forties during the war years, although the economic recovery was apparent by 1936. One indication of the increased activity in the art world during the war is apparent in the establishment of numerous private art galleries. The first of these to open was the Notanda Galleries, which although primarily an art shop for the sale of prints has since 1940 supplied an extensive and increasing demand for modern works. The next commercial venture was David Jones Art Gallery. Realising the wide demand for interest in works of art this firm decided to establish a gallery of its own in 1944. In the following year another large city store, Murdochs, aware of the commercial possibilities in such a venture opened a gallery.
This, however, has not assumed a position among the first class private galleries.

Among the wartime art galleries are the Royal Art Society's Gallery which was opened in the Society's rooms for the purpose of exhibiting members pictures; the Hotel Australia Art Salon which was run for two or three years by a European but which never gained status among the reputable members of the art world. It was regarded as a purely commercial affair where considerable sums of money were collected by selling fifth rate paintings in the last few months it has closed down.

During 1945 two Europeans opened an art Gallery under their own names Morley and Torda. This gallery-shop combined, although it has the disadvantages of being situated on the seventh floor of a city building, has been possibly the most successful of the recently established galleries. The reason for this being no doubt that they have shown and sold only the best works available. Also it has been planned as a long-range project, on an educational basis. They are interested in explaining the significance of art trends and forms to the patrons of their gallery and in creating art circles in Sydney. As part of this policy they, therefore, offer the service - which no other gallery in Sydney does - of sending out several pictures to the homes of their potential purchaser and a member of the firm even goes with the pictures to advise how they should be hung and if the particular picture selected suits the general atmosphere of the house. They believe, too, that the
demand for pictures from a purely decorative point of view must increase in Australia in the coming years if the large building programme is fulfilled. Another aspect of their plans is to send country exhibitions away to various rural centres, so that, unlike the country art exhibitions administered by the National Gallery, the people will be able to purchase the pictures as they see them and want them.

There are other art galleries in New South Wales apart from those listed in Sydney, most of which are administered by local councils. For instance, Broken Hill possesses its own gallery which is directed by the Council through an Advisory Committee of representative citizens. The Gallery was founded by Dr. James Booth in 1906. It depends for financial support on a grant of £25 per annum from the Broken Hill City Council and on private gifts which the Company or such bodies as the Mining Managers' Association make from time to time.

Other towns which possess worthwhile public art collections are Tamworth, Armidale and Newcastle. The latter was established as recently as a year ago (March 1945) when Dr. Pope presented his collection of books and pictures valued at £10,000 to the City of Newcastle on the condition that the city Council give full effect to the Library Act. At present the School of Arts is housing the collection. This collection is recognised as the most important reference library and art gallery outside Sydney - including many valuable original manuscripts, paintings and early Australiana.

Another important gallery closer to Sydney, is the
Manly Art Gallery and Historical Collection. This is the property of the Manly Municipal Council and is controlled by twelve men appointed by the Council each year. It was founded in 1824 though the gallery itself was not built until 1930. The value of the collection is estimated at £4,000. The Gallery receives an annual subsidy from the Manly Council. Admission is free and the attendances are remarkable varying from 35,000 to 39,000 annually.

The Armidale collection of nearly 800 pictures was presented to the Teachers College by one of the most important private art connoisseurs and collectors in Sydney, Howard Hinton. This gift which was made several years ago has been added to by Mr. Hinton since then and to a smaller degree, by other interested art lovers who have from time to time presented works of art to this collection.

Another interesting, although by no means as extensive as either the Henton or Pope collections, is the bequest of books and paintings made to the Tamworth Municipal Council by John Salvana.

C. Art Schools:

Art Department of the Sydney Technical College.

HISTORY: Of the seven art schools in Sydney the oldest is the State Art School incorporated with the Sydney Technical College. The genesis of the Art Department was in 1877 when the Sydney School of Arts Committee erected buildings in Pitt Street for a Working Men's College. This paved the way for the development of a system of instruction which was placed under the control of a
Board of Technical Education in 1883. The lease of the School of Arts buildings expired in 1899, and the Department of Public Instruction, which by this time had assumed control of technical education in New South Wales, purchased the site of Ultimo House, Harris Street and the Central Technical College was erected. There the art classes were held for more than twenty years. In 1921 the old Darlinghurst Gaol was converted into a Technical College and the Art Department was transferred to there.

As an art school the Technical College languished during the first twenty years of this century, the lead being taken by the Julian Ashton School. The reason for this lay partly in the fact that the State institution lacked teachers of any real ability. A change, however, took place in 1923 when Rayner Hoff, winner of the 'Prix de Rome', the blue ribbon of sculptors, was appointed Director of the Art School and from that time the standard of work produced improved considerably. Although Hoff died in 1933 the precedent set by his directorship has been followed in the maintenance of high standards. At present, the College employs distinguished local artists as instructors with the result that it has assumed the premier position among art schools in Sydney. The Art Department of the Sydney Technical College was first established with the aim of bringing art to the working man. Hence the fees charged were merely nominal, with the result that, after the reorganisation of the school in the middle twenties, that the State Art School attracted more students than the private schools. A deputation composed of private teachers in (1) See Historical Sketch "Exhibition of Art" 1926 Mitchell,
Sydney protesting against the low fees attended the Minister of Education in 1934 requesting that the Technical College fees be raised. This deputation was an unsuccessful attempt. It might be described as the last gesture of a declining group — for soon the State was to assume the leadership in the teaching of art which relegated private institutions to second place.

**ENROLMENTS:**

At present there are 2,037 full time students attending art classes at the College — altogether including students who attend part-time courses there are 7,803. Although these large figures may be accounted for by the accumulation of students during the war years and by the influence of the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme, the gradual increase in enrolments has been a constant one since 1930 (apart from the decline during the worst period of the Pacific war).

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enrolments in Art at the Sydney Technical College</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>845</td>
<td>-1,024</td>
<td>-1,091</td>
<td>-1,158</td>
<td>1,215</td>
<td>1,382</td>
<td>1,339</td>
<td>-1,345</td>
<td>-1,444</td>
<td>1,503</td>
<td>1,297</td>
<td>712</td>
<td>761</td>
<td>1,174</td>
<td>1,652</td>
<td>2,037</td>
</tr>
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(These figures were supplied by the Director of Art Department at the Technical College).

**PRIVATE ART SCHOOLS:**

The other art schools in Sydney are very small in comparison with the State art school. For the most part they are under the auspices of an individual artist of perhaps a society. There are numerous artists in Sydney who teach, but in this survey, a school has been defined as a teaching establishment where regular classes of at least ten pupils are held. Sydney can claim seven private schools — namely the
Sydney Art School (or Julian Ashton School), Adelaide Perry School of Drawing and Painting, Dattilo Rubbo (or Frances Ellis) Art School, Orban's and the Studio of Realist Art. Until 1942 there was another flourishing school, the Meldrum School of Painting which through the war was forced to close temporarily.

Sydney Art School: The story of the Sydney art school begins in 1896 some time after Julian Ashton arrived in Sydney. This school from its foundation until the rise of the Art School of Sydney Technical College, paralleled with the decline through age of Julian Ashton himself, was the most potent influence in art training in Sydney. From it graduated most of Sydney's successful and able artists such as George Lambert, A.R.A., Eliott Gruner, J.J. Hilder, Sydney Long, Sydney Ure Smith, B.E. Minns, Thea Proctor, Daphne Mayo, Douglas Dundas, William Dobell and others. This school, depended for its success mainly on the personality and ability of Julian Ashton himself, who was undoubtedly a gifted teacher.

It has still maintained a considerable following under the guidance of a former student and has at present one hundred students attending classes. This figure could have been trebled if the school had had the capacity to absorb the number of applicants who have applied for enrolment during the last two years. Like most of the other art schools in Sydney the entry of Japan affected its activities adversely for both teachers and students were called up and it carried on under great difficulties. This situation was only temporary and by 1944 the
number of students had increased and by 1945 there were as many students attending as could be accommodated.

Adelaide Perry School.

For nearly twenty years Adelaide Perry has been teaching at selected groups of students, many of whom have become distinguished in the art world. She has never had more than twenty students at a time and since the war which necessitated moving from her studio to smaller and less suitable premises the number of students had decreased considerably.

Dattilo Rubbo School.

The story of the Dattilo Rubbo School of Painting and Drawing goes back to the year 1898, when a young Italian artist having been in Australia just a year decided to start an art school. He soon drew a large number of students and although this school did not achieve the status of the Julian Ashton School, it has continued up to the present day to instruct numerous students in the basic principles of painting.

Orban's School.

The more recently established art schools are the Studio of Realist Art and Orban's. The latter was established in 1941 by an Austrian artist with only six or seven students, by 1944, however, this number had increased to thirty at which figure it has remained although during 1945 and 1946 this number could have been doubled if the school had been willing to accommodate more students.

The Studio of Realist Art. This school started in 1944 under the guidance of three Sydney artists and has today
some 55 students. In addition to holding art classes this school has attempted by developing various associated activities to build up an art centre.

Every Sunday evening lectures on various aspects of art are held - attendance at which averages between 50 and 60 people. Here is also a library of prints which members may borrow on a lending library basis. Regularly various exhibitions are held there - one of the most recent being a display of paintings by Aboriginal artists. From time to time social functions are held and sometimes notable overseas personalities are entertained. The total membership of this group is approximately three hundred. Recently the practising artists who call themselves the Studio of Realist Art Group held their first public exhibition at David Jones' Art Gallery. Twenty-eight artists exhibited some sixty-one pictures between them; but of these only fourteen were sold.

Meldrum Art School.

The Sydney branch of this school has been in recess since 1943 owing to the fact that its director had to do war work and had no one to carry on. Since his discharge he has been teaching a small number of pupils, but owing to difficulties in finding accommodation he has not been able to reopen the school. This school was established in Sydney in 1938 by a disciple of the Melbourne artist, Max Meldrum, who during the early decades of this century propounded an art theory which he stated in a treatise "The Invariable Truths of Depictive Art". In this Meldrum decried the need for line or
drawing and asserted that tone was the significant factor in painting. This view aroused considerable controversy, eschewing as it did the fundamental principles of painting, but nevertheless it has gained a considerable following in Melbourne.

In Sydney, however, this theory has won little support and this was confined to some 30 members of the Meldrum Art School. There has been no developments here as in Melbourne, where a group of Meldrum's most extreme followers have formed an artists' colony in an outer semi-rural suburb. This group is a self-supporting community which does not associate with other inhabitants of the area; nor do its members accept the conventions and of the rest of society, but live according to their own standards of behaviour.

D. Art Movements Arising From the War Country Art Exhibitions:

Country Art Exhibitions.

A particular innovation which developed indirectly out of the war conditions was the inauguration of travelling art exhibitions. Urged by the Encouragement of Art Movement and the War Art Council, in the early part of 1944 discussions took place between the Trustees of the National Art Gallery and representatives of the New South Wales Education Department. From these discussions a plan took shape which was designed to send art exhibitions on a series of travelling circuits throughout New South Wales country districts. The Government provided money for seven art exhibitions to be assembled and to be shown in forty country towns during the financial year, 1944-45. These
exhibitions were to consist of original paintings and good reproductions, and were to be shown in a centrally-situated hall or room in each of the towns included in the scheme.

The National Art Gallery has been sending collections of paintings on extended loan to public institutions in country centres for many years. Complete exhibitions, circulating for short periods, however, were an innovation in this country. And like most innovations it brought with it a crop of difficulties. When the plan was finalised and organisation began it was found that the Gallery could not supply all of the three hundred and fifty pictures required to bring the scheme into existence. One hundred paintings were carefully selected from the National Art Gallery collection. Some valuable early Australian paintings were lent by the Public Library of New South Wales from the splendid collection presented to that library by Sir William Dixson. The Committee of the National Library, Canberra, was gracious enough to lend a collection of copies of Old Masters, painted by the South Australian, Mortimer Menpes. Several collectors who were enthusiastic about the new scheme lent paintings from their private collections, notably Mr. Norman Schureck and Professor E.G. Waterhouse. In addition an appeal was made to many practising artists. They were asked to lend some of their own paintings for a period of seven months. With the paintings that were lent it was possible to assemble three entire exhibitions. Country people who have enjoyed the art exhibitions owe a debt of gratitude to all who contributed paintings to the scheme, particularly to those
artists who gave so many of their paintings on extended loan to help it into existence. It is not too much to say that the scheme may never have come into existence but for their timely support.

From the beginning it was considered desirable to send an artist or lecturer to give talks on the paintings included in each exhibition. It was not possible in every case to provide this service during the early stages of the scheme. In the last three months of the first year, however, lecturers were being sent to all centres that desired the services of one. It was found that the lectures were a most important feature of the work. Indeed, the success of the exhibitions depended greatly upon the ability of the lecturer to present the exhibition to both the adult members of the community and to the school children of the district.

The lecturer visited the centre in most cases for a period of three days, usually at the beginning of the exhibition. He assisted with the supervision of the hanging of the pictures, labor for this purpose being provided voluntarily by members of the local art committee, or by arrangement with the local council. The first talk on the exhibition was given by the lecturer, immediately after the official opening of the exhibition. In most cases a second talk was given on the following evening. Apart from these adult talks, sessions were arranged during the mornings to enable school children to attend the exhibition. During the first three mornings of the exhibition the guide lecturer was available to give lectures and talks to
the special class groups visiting the exhibition.

In a large number of the centres special provision was made for local artists, art teachers, or interested and informed laymen to continue the lectures after the representatives of the National Art Gallery had left the district. This was the case at Newcastle, Temora, Tamworth, Armidale, Inverell, Katoomba, Gosford, and West Wyalong. In this way lectures and informal talks were provided throughout the whole course of the exhibition's display in the centres concerned.

The response to these exhibitions surprised even the sponsors. The figures from the First Annual Report 1944-45 indicate the success of these exhibitions. For instance:

Total attendance for 38 centres -- 55,358.

The figures indicate that:

For towns of less than 5,000 inhabitants 1 in every 3 people attended;

For towns of 10,000 - 5,000 inhabitants, 1 in every 4 people attended;

For towns of 15,000 - 10,000 inhabitants, 1 in every 5 people attended.

The total expenditure involved for the first year amounted to £736.15. 7 of which amount £538.14.7 was borne by the National Art Gallery parliamentary appropriation, and £148. 1. 0 was paid from the Carnegie Grant in lecture fees.

While the Department of Education lent an officer of their Department, Mr. Bernard Smith to organise the project.

Encouragement of Art Movement.

This movement was another wartime development which
arose out of particular circumstances created by the war.

Its story begins in 1943 when a young Sydney artist was manpowered into the munitions factory of National Motor Springs. There he encouraged his fellows to start painting and offered to help them in imparting the fundamentals of painting. Very soon there were at least 20 men and women interested and eager to paint. The management co-operated in this development and suggested that a small exhibition be held of employees work. It was found that by creating interests such as these, absenteeism was reduced. This exhibition proved successful not only internally, but it set an example which other factories hearing about it desired to emulate. For shortly after the display at National Motor Springs, the art committee there, received letters from neighbouring factories seeking advice as to how they could set about establishing a similar project among their own employees. As a result of these inquiries it was decided that there should be some general organisation to deal with these requests and to help form art groups in other munitions factories. Thus a public meeting was convened in Sydney and there the Encouragement of Art Movement was founded.

The aims of this organisation were to assist in the formation of factory art committees, to give advice on how to hold exhibitions. It also hoped to stimulate an interest in related activities such as craft work. Primarily it wanted to encourage people to participate in creative work and in this it was a unique development. It was in contrast to the developments in Great Britain where it was hoped to assist morale
and interest the workers in art by bringing exhibitions of paintings of distinguished and established artists to the factories. Here an attempt was made to encourage people to express themselves creatively - no matter how crudely.

By June 1944, due to the energy of the Encouragement of Art Movement organisers, art committees had been formed in the following places: Postmaster General's Department, Australian Optical Products, National Motor Springs, Alexandria, Chullora Dept., Aircraft Production Workshop, Standard Telephones and Cables, Howie Moffit's, two at St. Mary's Munitions Factory, Randwick Tram Depot, Enfield Railway Workshop, International Seamen's Club, Coote and Jurguisen's, Richmond Aerodrome, Associated News - Sun, and in Army Education Units such as Ramu Valley.

In the first six months the records of the organisation state that 144 art exhibitions had been held under its auspices throughout Australia.

It continued for approximately twelve months as the Encouragement of Art Movement until the Council for the Encouragement of Music and Art was formed when it became incorporated in this body - whose activities are described elsewhere.

War Art Council.

This organisation arose out of a movement in Melbourne which in 1941 formed itself into the Artists' Advisory Panel. Soon after the Melbourne body had been formed, a number of Sydney artists commended the activities of the Advisory Panel
decided to affiliate with the Melbourne group from this emerged the War Art Council. This Council soon won the support of all the leading art groups in Sydney and Melbourne and eventually throughout the other States of the Commonwealth.

The function of this Council was mainly a co-ordinating one bringing all the artists and art groups of Australia together for the purpose of promoting a more effective use of artists of all kinds in the war effort. Towards this end a memorandum was drawn up and submitted to the Prime Minister. This memorandum pointed out that in spite of the serious need for more artists and more kinds of artists working at the various fronts for all kinds of propaganda purposes, only those appointed by the Australian War Memorial were allowed facilities of movement or given official recognition, and that the work done by official war artists was unavailable for general use. It was urged that following the policy which had worked so admirably in England, there should be established in addition a system of non-official war artists, licensed for given periods by the Department of Information, given passes by the War Ministry, free to work where they pleased or possibly under direct commission to produce work of a required kind. By these means it was hoped that a constant flow of authentic work would pour into the hands of those responsible for propaganda, useful for press, posters, exhibitions or for arranged publication in this country's and the world's press.

It was proposed that the cost of putting these artists
to work be borne by the Government who would thereby become owners of the work they do.

It was also suggested that an official register be compiled of all Australian artists of all kinds from cartographers and machine draftsmen to illustrators and portrait painters to be used as a reliable source of supply by all war departments in need of trained personnel; and further that a compact Creative Group should be set up to work in close contact with the register for the useful direction of non-official war artists and the creation of needed art material for the uses of all Government Departments.

The sponsors of this Council deplored the mismanagement which resulted in a state of affairs where trained men - map makers, machine draftsmen, camouflage artists, propaganda illustrators and many others - were needed and could not be found, while expert letterers, illustrators, commercial artists, experienced camouflageurs were doing manual labour in army camps. The War Art Council believed that its plan wherein it should act as a liaison - with its comprehensive register of all types of artists - between the various Government Departments and the artists themselves.

By 1942 this scheme had been carefully worked out and a start made on the register and the idea was submitted in a memorandum to the Prime Minister who after careful consideration rejected it. As a result this project could not be fulfilled and the Council lapsed by 1943.
E. Statistical Summary of the Effect of the War on Art in Sydney.

**Number of Societies:**

In 1938 there were 8 art societies in Sydney.

In 1945 there were 12 art societies in Sydney.

**Membership of the More Important Societies:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Society</th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1945</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Society of Artists</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Art Society</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>298</td>
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<tr>
<td>Water Color Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contemporary Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contemporary Art Society</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
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<td>S.O.R.A.</td>
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<td>300</td>
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<td>Australian Art Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sydney Group</td>
<td>-</td>
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**Exhibitions:**

Return from Sales of Pictures annual exhibitions of these Societies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Society</th>
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<th>1945</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Society of Artists</td>
<td>£1,326.12.0</td>
<td>£2,059.1.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Royal Art Society</td>
<td>£274</td>
<td>£1,892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water Color Institute</td>
<td>£100</td>
<td>£475</td>
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**Number of People who attended these Exhibitions.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Society</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Society of Artists</td>
<td>1,652</td>
<td>2,360</td>
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<tr>
<td>Royal Art Society</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1,939</td>
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<tr>
<td>Water Color Institute</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Footnote 1: Average membership for the years 1936-1940 - 121.6
Footnote 2: It should be noted that the large membership figures for these societies can be accounted for by the fact that lay members are admitted. In the Contemporary Art Society and Royal Art Society, however, at least 2/3rds of the members are practising artists.
### Galleries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<td>1938</td>
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<tr>
<td>1945</td>
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### Schools.

<table>
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<td>1938</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1945</td>
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#### Number of Students enrolled at -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1945</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sydney Technical College</td>
<td>1,345</td>
<td>1,652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney Art School</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dattilo Rubbo's</td>
<td>70-80</td>
<td>40-50</td>
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</table>

#### Number Candidates enrolled for Leaving Certificate Examination

<table>
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<th>Year</th>
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<th>1945</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>274</td>
<td>585</td>
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</table>

(Total number candidates for these years -

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**Footnote**

* Circumstances have influenced the decline in these figures - such as (a) Forced removal to smaller studio.
  (b) Retirement of Dattilo Rubbo himself and his place taken by a less notable woman artist.
  (c) If accommodation permitted - this school could have had twice the number of pupils at the present time.
D. LITERARY ORGANISATIONS AND AGENCIES IN SYDNEY.

1. Publishing
2. Literary Societies
3. Literary Periodicals
4. Commonwealth Literary Fund
As the sub-title indicates, it is not proposed to discuss here, the qualitative aspects of Australian literature nor the effect of the war on the subjective content of creative writing; rather an attempt will be made to assess the interest in literature and to indicate the extent of this interest in Sydney, with particular reference to the impact of the war on this aspect of our cultural life. The evidences of this interest have been sought in such external indices as the publishing industry, literary societies and organisations and literary periodicals.

(a) Publishing.

A discussion of the publishing industry has been included in this survey of our cultural life because it is believed that a country's publishing industry is fair indication of its mental and national development; also Australian literary activity viewed through this medium suggests the extent and type of creative writing in Australia. From an analysis of publishing in recent years some interesting facts can be deduced relating to book production; how paradoxically out of the war years with all the difficulties such as manpower and paper shortages a virile publishing industry has emerged; and how war conditions stimulated the production of books not only of an ephemeral, escapist type, but also books of a lasting cultural value.

To gain a relative picture of the present state of the publishing industry here and to assess the extent of the changes
brought about by the war, it is necessary to have some basis of comparison, hence a brief survey of the condition of the industry prior to 1939 will be made.

In the past the Australian publishing industry was a very minor and unimportant one in our economy. It contributed little to sustain the supply of books and book sellers were almost entirely dependent on imports. The stage of development of Australian publishing prior to the war has been compared to the state of English publishing at the end of the eighteenth century before the growth of the great specialised publishing firms, when booksellers and printers were much more closely associated with the production of books than they are today. Thus of the half dozen Australian publishers who were regularly producing ten or more new titles a year, they were all, with the exception of the Melbourne University Press, also large retail book sellers. The only publishers who were able to survive were those who had profitable book selling businesses which were able to carry their unremunerative publishing activities. One exception to this general rule was the firm of Angus and Robertson's, Australia's foremost publisher. Angus and Robertson's publishing establishment has for the last twenty years been a self-supporting, but this present condition has indirectly only been made possible through their book shop which for the first thirty years supported the publishing branch of the business.

Apart from this firm the contribution of the Australian publisher to the supply of books in Australia has been relatively small - including almost exclusively books which have a domestic
<table>
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<tr>
<th>STATES</th>
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<th>1939</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1942</th>
<th>1943</th>
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<td>7. Imaginative Literature</td>
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<td>10. Art and Amusement</td>
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<tr>
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interest, such as text books for schools mainly on the primary level, a few imaginative works with an Australian background and other books dealing with Australian life and development. Educational publishing has, however, been by far the most important part of their output. Only Angus and Robertson's have published a variety of books on a scale comparable to the big overseas houses. Their output before the war averaged approximately 50 new titles per annum, in addition to reprints of older titles — making up more than 25% of the total Australian output — and considerably more if pamphlets were excluded.

The constant characteristic of the smaller firms was their instability — publishing usually being just a sideline to some other activity. The Annual Catalogue prepared by the National Librarian usually listed 50 firms as publishing 2 or more books each year, and in pre-war years about half of these would be new names or names which had dropped out for a period and returned.

(1)

As the National Librarian himself summed up the situation, referring to this instability, that this did not mean that the firms themselves were unstable, but rather that publishing was only a sporadic interest with many of them. These firms who may only by liberal definition be called publishers, were responsible for 60% of the total output. The remaining 40%, largely pamphlets, was produced in about equal proportions by authors and printers producing only one work, and, as a rule, marketing it either privately or through one or more of the big wholesalers — and by Societies to which publishing was subsidiary.

(1) See evidence by National Librarian — before Tariff Inquiry,
to their main purpose. Thus it may be said that while there was a considerable aggregate production of books in Australia before 1939 — between 400 and 500 new titles per annum — there was, with the exception of a few firms, nothing that could be called a publishing industry as this is understood in other countries.

At this juncture it might be asked how this situation affected the production of Australian literature. Did this mean that Australian authors were unable to get their books published here and had to seek publication overseas?

It is true that there was a time when British publishers commanded the whole of the Australian book market and Australian writers of the nineteenth century wrote with an eye to overseas readers. As Frank Davison has pointed out, "they wooed them by making the leading characters of their novels English or Scotch — superior persons lording it over mere 'colonials' in a queer topsy-turvy land where flowers were scentless and birds songless, to accord with the overseas illusion of the time."...... This phase began to wane with the rise of a truly indigenous school of writers — Lawson, Paterson, Tom Collins, etc. — in round terms The Bulletin school of the 1890's. These, though producing real literature in place of the earlier , were almost without interest for United

(1) See article "The Argus Weekend Magazine" March 9, 1946.

Footnote — This figure includes pamphlets. It is taken from the Annual Catalogue compiled by the National Librarian whose definition of a book includes any publication of more than four pages.
Kingdom readers. The homely cross-chat of a race of wool and wheat producers was, if not in doubtful taste, at least incomprehensible and unworthy of remark. But this school of writers demonstrated to a highly grateful generation of Australians that their country was fair in its own right. Their work also, and this is very important to us at this juncture, provided material for the rise of Australian publishing. A third wave of Australian writers - Vance Palmer, Katherine Prichard, Barnard Eldershaw and others - produced work that retained the integrity of the second batch.

While United Kingdom publishers as a whole still retained a large measure of monopoly in the Australian book market, very few, individually, had adequate distributing facilities here. They would bring out an edition of 2,000 copies of an Australian book on the principle that the home market would absorb, say, one half, while the rest could be sawn off, a few hundred here and there throughout the very far-flung Empire.

The result was that those writers tended - at least until recent years - to have, in Australia reputation without readers, for the simple reason that while their works were more than favourably reviewed here, the books themselves in the main arrived in only meagre numbers. Their publishers were not

Footnote 2 It might be added that this school of writers coincided with the development of Australia's first large scale publishing firm - each making the other's work possible. Thus during 1896-1910 the names of Lawson, Peterson, Daley, Kendall, and others appeared on the title pages of Angus and Robertson's books.
particularly interested in pushing their interests among hundreds of others claiming their attention. Their books were lost in the welter.

But things were moving. These writers, in the face of adversity, demonstrated that there was a quickening interest here in a wider range of Australian writing than previously. New writers - Miles Franklin, Brian Penton, Xavier Herbert, and others - took heart and sought publication in Australia itself.

Australian publishers became increasingly aware of developmental possibilities. (So did booksellers, but not always willingly, because local progress was a troublesome complication in established trade practices.) Writers who had already published abroad began to look toward publishing locally. The imprint of an overseas house still carried weight with some colonially minded readers (and still does!) but the feeling was dwindling.

Thus today although there are some authors who seek publication abroad, a creative writer whose work is of a sufficiently high standard can almost invariably find a publisher in Australia. Although the war years created such a demand for books of all kinds that there was a greater demand for works by Australian authors than supply could meet, yet prior to 1939 a work of merit would almost always be able to find a publisher. This was mainly due to the policy of Australia's biggest publishing house, Angus & Robertson's whose policy it has been since its foundation to encourage Australian literature; to this end, therefore, for the pre-war decade an
average of 78.4% of the new books published by them were of (1)
Australian origin. This percentage rose to 86.2% in 1944.
These figures do not include any books produced for the
Government, all of which were compiled by Australian writers.
A statement made by this firm before the Tariff Board
Commission of Inquiry in 1945 indicates that for the five years
immediately prior to the war over half (55%) of new Australian
books published by this publishing house did not sell through
the first edition without being drastically reduced in price
sold at a loss. Many others just paid their way. On the other
hand, during the same period approximately two thirds of overseas
books republished by them were successful. To quote their
representative Mr. Cousens: "This largely made it possible for
us to take risks with Australian books which we would otherwise
have had no alternative but to decline to publish".

Although some people have contended (notably the
Fellowship of Australian Writers) that the practice of
reprinting overseas material has been detrimental to the
interests of Australian authors, this argument does not appear
to be wholly justified. The following comment of the National
Librarian seems to be a balanced summing up of the situation –

"In moderation the practice of reprinting assists the
publishing industry by helping to keep book printers and
binderies occupied, and by providing that margin of profit
which allows a publisher to carry books of merit. In excess
it probably operates against the local author, though the

(1) Evidence before Tariff Board, Mr. Cousens.
optimum point would be difficult to determine».

It might also be relevant to mention here an example of what can happen to a publishing enterprise attempting to exist solely on Australian books, that of the Endeavour Press. This venture promoted by "The Bulletin" newspaper failed financially despite the fact that its management had every facility for getting good manuscripts and did in fact publish quite a number of worthwhile Australian books.

The Effect of the War on Publishing.

The general effect of the war was to increase the demand for books and the three leading booksellers in Sydney indicated that sales of books went up more than 50% than before the war; one claimed that during the time of the American influx sales increased 100%. At the same time, however, the supply of books was very much reduced. The effect of the general scarcity of books began to be felt seriously in Australia in 1941 and reached a critical stage in 1942.

The output in Great Britain which had been the chief source of supply shrank from an average of 16,220 titles annually during the years 1934-1939 to 11,053 in 1940, 7,581 (2) in 1941 and 7,241 in 1942. Due to paper and manpower shortages the size of editions had to be drastically reduced, in addition a great proportion of the book publishers stocks were destroyed in the 'blitz' of December, 1940 and those books that were shipped away very often did not reach their destination through enemy action.

(1) Evidence before the Tariff Inquiry.
(2) Evidence by National Librarian before Tariff Inquiry.
Output in the United States of America, the chief source of supply of our technical books was less drastically reduced, for example, 9,525 titles for 1942 comparing favourably with the total of 10,640 for 1939.

However, a crisis in the dollar exchange in 1940 resulted in a restriction on the flow of books from America.

The shortage of books and the strain on Australian publishers and paper supply, became so acute that the Commonwealth Government decided to set up a Book Sponsorship Committee - the function of this Committee was to control paper for essential books. To the end of June 1945, 245 Australian and 40 overseas books were sponsored. The difficulties facing Australian publishers in book production were immense, despite this, the number of books produced during the war years increased enormously. Figures quoted from the statistical analysis made each year of the number and type of books produced here indicate this increase. They also indicate a sharp rise in the number of books of a purely cultural nature such as poetry and plays (See Table).

A further indication of the stimulus given to publishing during the war years is given in the following statement by Mr. Cousens of Angus & Robertson's concerning the wartime activity of Australia's leading publishing firm -

"From 1941 onwards, our publishing activity ran into serious production difficulty. This was brought about by - (a) the abnormal demand for books and (b) the shortage of manpower. We also felt obliged to accept the duty of
producing certain books for the Commonwealth Government. In spite of these difficulties we published a yearly average of 15% more new books during the 5 war years 1940/44 than during the 5 years immediately preceding the war.

"In addition, our total production of books (including reprints and new books) rose steadily from 1938 to 1945. During this period our yearly average production of Australian books to total books was 73% (excluding all Government books). As far as reprints are concerned, the highest percentage of the total reprints has always been represented by works of Australian authors. From 1938 to 1945, 70% of all reprints done by us (i.e. impressions other than the first impressions) were of Australian books. During the years 1942/45 the percentage of Australian reprints rose to 83%. These figures dispose of the inaccurate statements sometimes made, firstly that we produce more overseas books than Australian books, and secondly that Australian authors cannot get reprints of their books because of the printing of overseas books.

"These increases were brought about by better organisation, extra effort on the part of the manpower still available, and the fact that certain machines arrived from overseas during the months immediately prior to the outbreak of war".

Footnote 2 - It might be noted that whereas the number of titles produced yearly by Angus & Robertson's has not increased very extensively on pre-war years, the size of their editions has been considerably increased. Whereas before 1940 they would print 2,000 copies it is now their policy to print 4,000 - 5000 editions. (This data provided by Mr. Ferguson, a Director of Angus & Robertson's).
Not only did the output of each firm increase on their pre-war production, but also the number of publishers themselves. Thus in 1937 there were 43 publishers in Australia.

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<th>Year</th>
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<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td>1942</td>
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<td>1943</td>
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<td>1944</td>
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It might be noted that four British publishing houses have opened branches in Sydney with the intention of actually producing books in Australia. Many firms before the war had distributing agencies, but none produced books. Those who have ventured into book production here are Collins, MacMillan, Oxford University Press and Harrap's.

In summarising the effect of the war on the publishing industry, it can be said that to a limited degree the development of publishing during the war years was a precipitated development of a movement already in progress before the war towards national maturity. And to this extent many aspects of this sudden growth will survive. On the other hand there was much that was artificial produced by the abnormal conditions which will not survive. For instance, during these years a period of isolation was experienced which eliminated overseas competition and gave the Australian author and publisher an unprecedented opportunity. In addition the internal economy which meant that there was more money circulating under conditions of full employment and the fact that numerous goods were rationed played a considerable part in creating the demand
for books. Again there was undoubtedly a revival of national consciousness which was reflected in local publishing as in other aspects of our cultural life.

**Tariff Board Inquiry.**

One outcome of this situation which is worth comment was the development of an attitude among some Australian writers that the protection they enjoyed during this time should continue. Thus it was proposed to accomplish through the imposition of a tariff on overseas books and periodicals. The Government was prevailed upon to set up a Commission of Inquiry due to pressure by the Fellowship of Australian Writers and the Australian Journalists Association. The terms of reference of this Commission were as follows:

"That publishers and distributors of books and magazines of Australian origin experience difficulties and disabilities which impede the progressive development of the publishing industry in Australia.

"That the foregoing situation tends to close the avenues for the development of Australian talent in writing and art work.

"That the Government should cause a careful investigation to be made with a view to determining how best the development of the Australian publishing industry can be assisted".

The recommendations as to how this situation could be brought about suggested by the Fellowship of Australian Writers
were as follows: –

(1) A protective tariff on imaginative literature.
(2) A system of bounties to assist publishers not established
   to meet the full force of competition.
(3) A quota to ensure that a certain minimum amount of
   Australian work is published, say 25% of the total
   volume of the trade.
(4) An extension of the sponsoring activities of the
   Commonwealth Literary Fund.

The reply of a large bookseller and publisher to the
suggestion of a tariff was this: “It was suggested that a duty
on imported books might help Australian book publishers. This is
emphatically not so. It would react immediately on the bookseller
in the shape of increased prices and lessened sales. It
already costs 45% to land British books in Australia, and 65%
(1)
to land American books...”

Further opposition to a tariff was expressed by other,
perhaps more disinterested people giving evidence including the
National Librarian and the Vice Chancellor of the Melbourne
University.

(b) Literary Societies.

There are approximately 14 societies in Sydney, all of
which have been formed on the basis of an interest in literature.
Some have been formed to further the study of literature in
general; some to encourage the study of a particular aspect of
literature. An example of the former is the English Association
(1) Evidence by Mr. Cousens of Angus & Robertson's.
and an example of the latter is the Shakespeare Society. Since the early days of the settlement of Australia various literary groups have been formed from time to time by Englishmen wishing to perpetuate a link with their homeland through the English language. Some of these early library circles were undoubtedly provided common ground for the upper classes to parade their gentility. Thus was the South Australian Literary Association formed in London in 1834 by a "few gentlemen intending to emigrate who had as their aims the cultivation and diffusion of useful knowledge throughout the Colony". Many of these groups had as their ideal of raising the moral as well as the literary standards of their members - such was the Redfern Literary Association founded in 1858 which aimed "to promote the moral and intellectual improvement of the members".

The Swan River Mechanics' Institute established in 1851 and later became the Perth Literary Institute which stated that "the chief object of this Institute is to benefit the Mechanics and young men of the colony by affording them an unobjectionable mode of recreation and improvement". Many of the early literary circles were formed in conjunction with the Mechanics Institutes.

Other groups had obvious social objectives - thus the North Adelaide Young Men's Society founded in 1870 asserted that its purpose was to benefit its members "mentally and socially, by means of Essays, Discussions, Lectures and Elocutionary Practice".

Numerous societies, such as these were formed in the
course of our development, most of them enduring a brief existence, perhaps publishing a small journal. The faint threads of their existence appear from time to time in old newspapers, pamphlets and magazines and then are lost again. Only one or two groups formed in the last century have had a continuous life to the present day. But always and even in the contemporary cultural scene these literary circles have been very restricted and had very little impact on our cultural life. It might be pointed out that at present the Sydney Fellowship of Australian Writers, with its large membership and its vociferousness on many matters affecting cultural affairs, exerts a considerable influence. This influence, however, has since 1937 been directed more towards practical matters affecting writers rather than towards the development of a strictly cultural literary standard. Generally speaking it may be said that Sydney's literary societies are restricted to select groups of individuals who are interested in certain aspects of literature and which from an average taken of the membership of Sydney's societies cater for a small group of little more than 1,000 individuals. Nevertheless, these societies do serve the important function of providing those people interested in one or other aspect of literature to exchange ideas and equally important they have the valuable social function of all voluntary groups whether interested in music, art or international affairs of bringing people together and providing an outlet for their interests and aspirations.

Sydney's literary societies can be divided into 2 categories - those whose objectives are of a general literary nature and those which meet to discuss some particular aspect
of literature.

Into the first category fall the following - the Fellowship of Australian Writers, the English Association, Women Writers of New South Wales, P.E.N. Club, and the Australian Book Society. The more specialised groups are the Shakespeare Society, John O’London’s Literary Circle, Dicken’s Fellowship, Book Collectors Society of Australia, Short Story Writer Club, School of Modern Writers, and the Propeller League of Writers.

**Fellowship of Australian Writers.**

_Founded 1928._ Until 1937 this was a small group of round about 150 members. In that year the Fellowship amalgamated with the Writers’ Association. This union resulted in an increase in membership, in addition to swelling the numbers of the Fellowship, it also brought in the society a new and energetic group of left wing writers and journalists. This amalgamation also meant that the Fellowship became active and interested in the political-cultural field and in pursuing a policy resembling a trade union more than a purely cultural organisation.

**OBJECTS:**

The aims of the society as they stand in the revived constitution of 1938 are as follows: -

1. To encourage the study and practice of literature in Australia.

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**Footnote:** It might be noted that there are a number of groups in Sydney which meet to study the literature of other countries such as the Alliance Francaise and the Pushkin Circle - the work of these bodies is of a specialised type and interest is confined to their own selected membership. These have not been included in this survey.
2. To improve conditions for Australian writers and artists in every way possible.

3. To render assistance to Australian writers and artists in such manner as may be deemed desirable.

4. To defend culture in Australia against censorship and all other attempts to restrict that traditional free speech and free interchange of ideas which have hitherto characterised our Australian democracy.

**Methods for achieving objects.**

1. Arranging of lectures and discussions upon all matters of importance or interest to writers.

2. Arranging competitions to foster the development of literature in Australia.

3. Arranging for criticism of manuscripts and works of art.

4. Promoting social contact among writers, artists, and kindred workers.

5. Passing resolutions, organising deputations and petitions, and adopting any such other methods as may seem necessary to secure amendment or abolition of such laws as hamper or restrict culture in Australia.

6. Enlisting support and co-operation of writers, artists, leaders of thought and cultured people generally in Australia.

7. Associating with other bodies having in whole or in part objectives similar to those here enumerated.

8. Maintaining friendly relations with literary and kindred bodies in other countries for purpose of safeguarding social contact and cultural freedom.

9. Encouraging formation of and friendly contact with kindred bodies throughout Australia.

10. Arranging publication of journals, pamphlets, and books.

11. Adopting any other practical methods appropriate to the occasion for furtherance of the objects of the Fellowship.

**Membership:**

Full membership is open to writers who have published one or more volumes. Associate membership is open to artists,
journalists, radio writers and all others interested in the objects of the Fellowship. The present membership is 400.

**PUBLICATIONS:**

A quarterly news sheet "Fellowship" is distributed to members, which contains articles and news on literary matters, notice of competitions and book reviews etc.

**The Sydney Branch of the English Association.**

The Association was founded in 1923 in Sydney as a branch of the English Association.

**Its Objects:**

(a) To promote the due recognition of English as an essential element in the national education and to help in maintaining the purity of the language through correctness in both its spoken and its written use.

(b) To discuss methods of teaching English, and the correlation of School and University work.

(c) To encourage and facilitate advanced study in English literature and language.

(d) To unite all those occupied with English studies or interested in the Arts; to bring teachers into contact with one another and with writers and readers who do not teach; to induce those who are not themselves engaged in teaching to use their influence in the promotion of knowledge of English and of its literature as a means of intellectual progress.

**Advantages of Membership:**

1. Every member of the Association is a member of the English Association, London, and receives direct from England the Annual Report.

2. Members may attend the meetings held in Sydney each month, at these meetings addresses are given; poems, dramas and other literary works are read, and opportunities are given for discussion and social intercourse.

3. Selected papers are printed and distributed to members in booklet form. Southerly is issued four times a year.

4. An Annual Dinner is held usually in the University Union Refectory.
5. The Executive Committee is prepared to help in the formation and main tenance of branch associations in suburbs and country districts.

6. Advice and help will be given as far as possible in reading and teaching English literature, and in literary work generally.

The membership of the Society, as the objects would indicate, is a select and small one. The emphasis on the educational and academic aspects of the English literature is no doubt the reason for this. Since its foundation the membership has not fluctuated very much, as the following figures indicate:

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<td>1935</td>
<td>113</td>
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<td>1939</td>
<td>131</td>
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<td>1943</td>
<td>125</td>
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<td>1945</td>
<td>137</td>
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Publication:

Since 1939 the Association has published a quarterly journal "Southerly" devoted entirely to literature. During 1946 "Southerly" continuance has been assured by the gesture of the firm of Angus & Robertson's in guaranteeing to sponsor and publish the magazine at their expense. Since this arrangement, the and general appearance of the English Association's journal has improved considerably. The number in an edition of Southerly is something over 1,000 copies.

P.E.N. Club.

ORIGIN: The Sydney P.E.N. Club formed in 1931 is a branch of an international organisation which originated in London in 1921.
Since then it has established branches all over the world - there being approximately 50 centres in different countries.

OBJECTS: The objectives of this society are to promote freedom of speech, freedom of thought and to encourage friendly relations between nations through an international body of writers.

MEMBERSHIP: Membership is confined to practicing writers, as the initials indicate to poets, editors and novelists who have published two books. No associate members are admitted. In Sydney the present membership is approximately 45-50. This is a decline of pre-war membership which averaged 80-100.

It is apparent that the Sydney P.E.N. Club lacks the status and influence of the parent group, which occupies a leading role in London's literary circles and has a membership of several hundred. In Sydney, however, it is one of the lesser groups, a great number of its members are those more conservative writers who would not belong to the Fellowship of Australian Writers.

ACTIVITIES: The main scope of its activities are of a social nature, for example, entertaining visiting writers. It does not hold regular lectures and discussions as, for instance, the English Association does.

The Australian Book Society.

OBJECTS: This Society was formed in 1945 with object, as its first publication stated, of doing a definite job. "This job is to help to create an informed body of opinion on Australian writing, to make books by Australian writers and works on
Australia better known and more accessible. Principal means to
this end has been through the Society's proposed choice of an
Australian Book of the Month. In this choice it has the
assistance of well-known Australian writers acting in an advisory
capacity. These include the Patroness of the Society, Dame Mary
Gilmore, Miles Franklin, Marjorie Barnard and Eleanor Dark. A
book nominated by the Society as its Book of the Month is
available to members at the current market rates and purchase
through the Society entitles buyers to the Society's Book
Dividend.

ACTIVITIES: These include a monthly literary luncheon at
which addresses by distinguished writers are given. The Society
has also set up a research bureau to answer inquiries about
Australian literature and authors.

PUBLICATION: When the Society was first formed it brought out a
printed journal "Book News" - which was a precis of reviews and
information concerning Australian literature. This did not
gain circulation and publication ceased. (Incidentally since
then F.H. Johnston Publishing Company has brought out a monthly
publication "Book News" - which however is not related to the
Australian Book Society in any way). Unable to sustain a printed
journal the Society carried on with a roneod News Sheet.

During the latter part of 1946 Angus & Robertson's agreed to carry
the cost of the publication of a printed journal, the first issue
of which appeared in December 1946 under the title "Australian
Books".

MEMBERSHIP: The membership of the Society has steadily grown
since 1945 until today it is approaching 400. Some of this number are members who live in other states. As yet, however, the Society has no interstate branches.

**Shakespeare Society.**

**OBJECTS:** This Society was formed in 1900 with the aim - "to honour Shakespeare and to promote the study of his works of Elizabethan literature by such means as the Council may, from time to time, deem advisable".

**ACTIVITIES:** These mainly consist in 9 annual meetings which take the form of a discussion or lecture. Although sometimes musical and dramatic presentations of the Elizabethan period are produced at these meetings.

An extensive collection of books of the Elizabethan era is in the possession of the Society and is available to members.

Prizes are awarded annually for the best answers to Shakespearian questions of the Leaving and Intermediate Certificate Examinations.

**MEMBERSHIP:** This present membership stands at approximately 150 which is a considerable increase on its pre-war membership.

**John O’London’s Literary Circle.**

**ORIGIN:** In London early in 1919 a weekly journal appeared under the title John O’London’s Weekly. The title was taken from a monkish scribe of some fame, John O’London, who lived in the 13th Century. The nature of the journal was of a distinctly literary character. Soon after the first publication literary circles were formed in many of the big cities of England and the
Empire, taking the title "John O'London's Literary Circle".

OBJECTS: The Sydney Branch was formed in 1919 with the same objectives as its English counterparts, viz: -

"to encourage the reading of good literature and the study of cultural subjects generally; to provide a common meeting ground for those of similar tastes, and to promote helpful social intercourse".

Sydney Circle meets fortnightly to listen to lectures by authoritative speakers and for discussion.

MEMBERSHIP: has been almost doubled since its foundation, which today stands at 48 paying members.

The Dicken's Fellowship.

Founded 1913.

AIMS: "The chief object of the Fellowship is to knit together in a common bond of friendship lovers of Dickens - and to take such measures as may be expedient to remedy or ameliorate those existing social evils which would have appealed so strongly to the heart of Charles Dickens, and to help in every possible direction the cause of the poor and oppressed".

Similar to other societies already discussed the Dicken's Fellowship is a branch of a parent society in England. Not only do the members meet regularly to study the writings of Charles Dickens, but they combine practical philanthropy with an academic interest. For example, each Christmas the Fellowship distributes some hundred parcels to friendless patients in hospital.

MEMBERSHIP: Has increased considerably during the war years,
although looking a long way into its history the membership has declined since the early days of the Society's existence, as the following figures indicate:

1914 - 330 members
1915 - 400 "
1938 - 100 "
1943 - 53 "
1945-6 - 130 "

Book Collector's Society of Australia.

Founded March, 1944.

OBJECTS:

a. To promote the study and collection and preservation of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, prints and bookplates, and all things relating to the art and craft of the book, and to help members and others in this pursuit.

b. To prepare and to help the preparation of bibliographies of such authors and such subjects which may be deemed of interest and importance.

c. To acquire and to conduct a reference library containing books, papers, magazines, manuscripts, letters, catalogues, pamphlets and prints, which the Society considers would be of interest or use to members and relevant to its objects.

d. To publish a bulletin as a record of the activities of the Society, and where finances and ordinary circumstances permit to publish a journal, or bibliographies, for the use and information and instruction of members and others interested in the objects of the Society.

e. Where finances and circumstances permit to republish such rare and out of print books and pamphlets in limited editions and otherwise as may be of interest and importance to members.

f. To establish a publications fund, to which contributions of a purely voluntary nature from members and others may be made and to aid which exhibitions may be held, and such other lawful means adopted as the Society may from time to time determine.
g. To work in conjunction with other bodies with similar objects in other parts of the world in acquiring information about books and prints etc. and in the exchange of such information, and to co-operate with the libraries in any manner which may further the objects of this Society.

h. To hold regular meetings of members at which lectures or addresses may be given, papers read, exhibitions and demonstrations given, and discussions take place in connection with all aspects of the above clause "A".

Although this Society is a young one and because of its very nature it would attract only a limited membership its members have increased considerably thus -

1944 - 19 members
1945 - 33 "
1946 - 46 "

Its lectures which are held monthly in the Public Library have had an average attendance of 40.

PUBLICATIONS: As yet the Society has issued no regular journal, but it has brought out one publication: "The Care of Books... Cause and Prevention of Mildew on Paper" by Dr. B.D. Wyke and S. Larnach.

School of Modern Writers.

This literary group differs from those already described in that it has a practical and utilitarian policy of helping young and aspiring writers in the practise of the technique of writing. As its name suggests the activities of the Society is to organise members on the basis of a school where regular lectures and courses of instruction can be taken. In addition the School of Modern Writers have formed poetry and play writing groups and in the future it is hoped to develop a
course of instruction in typing and shorthand.

The history of the Society begins in 1937 when this group broke off from the Writers' Association (which later amalgamated with the Fellowship of Australian Writers). This School of Modern Writers declares itself as a supporter of the Labor Movement and many of its members have published work in left wing as well as other types of journals.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES: "The School shall be conducted on non-sectarian and non-party lines to encourage and develop by collective effort a forceful literature of the people;

to oppose existing and potential anti-cultural tendencies;

to foster fraternal relations with all democratic bodies in accord with the principles of the School;

to promote peaceful, friendly and cultural relations with the peoples of all lands".

MEMBERSHIP: Originating with a membership of 50-60, the war years affected the number of subscribers considerably. Most of the members being young people drawn from offices and factories who attended the School in the evenings, were either called-up or engaged on shift work, so that membership declined to 25. Since then, however, the number of members has increased until today the School now possesses some 60 members.

The Women Writers of New South Wales.

Founded 1924.

AIM: To encourage Australian literature; to further the interests of women writers and in particular, to assist young women journalists; to assist financially those writers who are unable to support themselves through the establishment of a "friendly
ACTIVITIES: Monthly luncheons of members are held regularly to which speakers on various subjects are invited.

The Propellor League of Writers.

Although this group is only a very small suburban one it is included here because it seems to be typical and significant of those numerous small circles, usually inspired by one idealistic and eager person, which are to be found quite by chance in various townships and suburbs.

This Society was formed through the initiative of a school teacher who urged the editor of a suburban paper, the Hurstville "Propellor", to allot a column of his paper to literary contributions. This teacher gathered around him at first a group of younger people, about 15 altogether, and held meetings regularly to discuss literature. Part of his policy was to encourage creative expression on the part of the members of his circle and then arrange for the publication of their efforts in the "Propellor" - gradually the membership swelled so that by 1938 there were 30 members. This group aroused the interest of one of our leading women writers Miles Franklin, who used to attend the meetings regularly. The war had an adverse affect on the League's activities - for owing to paper shortage the column in the "Propellor" for literary items had to be cut out. Nevertheless, the Society has continued and performs a valuable function in channelising the cultural interests of a group of young people.
(c) **Literary Periodicals and Recurrent Publications.**

Throughout the history of our literary development in Australia there have been numberless little magazines and journals which have appeared for a short time, perhaps for one or two issues and then they have died untimely after a brief existence. In an historical bibliography of periodicals gathered together in the Mitchell Library there are at least 135 journals of a literary and cultural nature (this figure does not include periodicals of a political or topical content of which there are several hundred) which have found their way into the Mitchell records and which had but a brief existence. No doubt there are many others not included in this list. The reasons for this are to be found in several factors. Firstly, any periodical devoted entirely to literary and cultural subjects has not had an audience sufficiently large to support it and as these journals have almost invariably relied on sales, finance has been a fundamental cause for their decline. The reason why "The Bulletin", whose Red Page has asserted the most important literary influence in our history has survived is because it included political and current topics which gained the paper a circulation wide enough to support it financially. Also because many of these cultural journals have depended on the initiative and inspiration of one man and when he has died, or been unable to continue, there has been no one to preserve a continuity in publication which is invaluable in building up circulation. As far back as 1866 G.B. Barton commented wisely on this method of production, which prevailed in his day, when he wrote in his
"Literature of New South Wales" - "that to give sufficient attractiveness to publications basing their claims to support on their literary character, a large staff of competent writers is indispensable. One or two clever writers alone will not do. Amateur writers will not do. There must be a reliable 'staff', as it is termed. This situation has not altered considerably since then in relation to the limited field of Australian publications of a purely cultural type.

At present we can claim nine journals devoted entirely to literary topics all of which incidentally, have come into existence since 1939. These are "Meanjin Papers", "Southerly", "Angry Penguins", "A Comment", "Poetry", "Australian New Writing", "Barjai", "The Australian Book News" and "Australian Books".

All of these, with one exception "Book News", bear the stamp of one or two individuals; they are the children of the one or two clever writers of Barton's description. Doubtless if these individuals were to remove their interest these journals would be added to that long historical list (already mentioned). It is indicative that some of these listed above are in the decline already, for issues of "Angry Penguins" and "Australian New Writing" have not appeared for some time.

Although the war years produced difficulties for the publication of any type of journals or books, these little magazines sprang up in an unprecedented quantity and have put a forward/remarkably vigorous growth. They are an interesting commentary on the war-time developments in literature and the growth of interest in Australian writing at that time. But more
than that these minor journals are a valuable source of reference for the student of Australian literature indicating as they do a definite stage in the progress of our national culture.

Meanjin Papers: Eight of these nine journals listed are the products of some particular school of literary thought and their separate platforms differ widely. Thus 'Meanjin Papers' which originated in Brisbane in December, 1940 through the initiative of C.B. Christesen, although devoted to "the development of a strong and virile Australian literature" was opposed to extreme nationalism of Jindyworobak school or the extreme modernism of the "Angry Penguins" or the Communism of "Australian New Writing", and has aimed to steer a middle course. Its policy in the words of the editor is to seek "new creative work, whether experimental or not; pastiche in any form is not wanted. It is suggested that contributors accept the challenge of the Australian environment and endeavour to interpret today's imagination and thought in prose and verse. The journal is particularly anxious to develop a core of sound literary and art criticism. Satire, and work revealing an alive social-consciousness are encouraged. The criterion guiding the acceptance of manuscripts is literary excellence, and that alone. Meanjin wishes to learn much of the modern mind - but even more so of the continuing mind. Many of its writers are in revolt against much of what passes for Australian culture, but it is a revolt which aims at revival. In certain respects only may Meanjin be called traditional. We believe the true creative artist accepts tradition, and enriches it".
From a small bi-monthly volume of less than twenty pages, Meanjin has grown into a substantial journal of 268 pages. The possibility of its enduring a long life is not unreasonable to hope, for since 1945 the Melbourne University Press has accepted part of the financial responsibility entailed in publication. The circulation has steadily risen from a few hundred to over 3,000. Price:

**Angry Penguins:** In a different stream of ideas from Meanjin are the two modernist-surrealist productions of "Angry Penguins" and "A Comment". The former was established in 1943 and with the financial backing of one of its co-editors has grown considerably in size if not in reputation. Very much influenced by certain advanced American productions such as "Circle" it adopted an extravagant format and an extravagant turn of phrase in much of its writing. It aroused public interest in 1944 when a literary hoax was played upon the editors which gained considerable press publicity and finally led to a court case. Very much influenced by contemporary experimentalism and a late interest in psycho-analysis, it is not surprising that it has not found a public. Especially allied with the more practical fact that each issue has cost five shillings to buy.

**A Comment:** This quarterly has since 1940 provided a channel for the publication of work by younger writers. In its early issues its contents displayed the influence of surrealistic philosophy. This narrower trend has, however, lately been replaced by more catholic and socially conscious material, although
its format still displays its modernistic character. Price: one shilling and sixpence.

Australian New Writing: In 1944 there appeared for the first time a small publication for the price of one shilling containing creditable short stories, articles and verse by competent Australian writers, entitled "Australian New Writing". Under the editorship of some of our leading left wing writers it has been issued at irregular intervals at that date.

Southerly: Perhaps the most moderate, at any rate, of a more academic nature is "Southerly", the journal of the Sydney branch of the English Association. Established in 1939 its future seems more certain than some of those journals already described, for in 1946 Angus and Robertson's has assumed financial responsibility for its publication. The editor of this journal is a lecturer in English at the Sydney University and hence the tone and standard is of an academic nature.

Poetry and Barjai: Two small publications which appeared during the war years, but which of a certain interest because of the particular nature of content are "Poetry" and "Barjai". "Poetry" is a small quarterly journal devoted entirely to verse. "Barjai" is unique in that it is a journal organised, edited and written by young people all under twenty-one.

Book News: During 1946 two similar productions have been introduced which are a departure from the straight literary journal for they are designed to further the interests, not only of Australian writers, but also publishers, booksellers,
and libraries. "Australian Book News" first issue under the auspices of the F.H. Johnston Publishing Company appeared in July, 1946 with the following objective as stated in an editorial:

"Since the war began more work has been published than at any time in our history. Important work, comprising history, travel, social sciences, politics, poetry, imaginative literature, biography, educational and scientific research.

Yet insufficient public attention has been called to many of these books. Many appear in small editions, and go rapidly out of print, often before large sections are aware of their existence.

From all sides are heard complaints that no adequate survey is made of what is being written and published, and that problems of literary creation, reviewing, marketing and publishing are being passed over without comment.

There has been a need for some kind of forum to discuss these problems, to gauge and inform popular opinion and to examine Australian writing and publishing not in the light of some poor relation to the big fellow overseas, but as a living identity with rights, responsibilities, failings and achievements of its own.

We bring "Book News" before the public in the hope that it may be able to contribute to the development of a vigorous and influential literature".

Price: one shilling.
"Australian Books" which is on very similar lines to that of "Book News" also has as its aim the encouragement of Australian literature through publicising books by Australian writers. It is the journal of the Australian Book Society.

Recurrent Publications.

There are certain recurrent publications designed to promote Australian literature which it is felt should be mentioned here, they are: "Australian Poetry", "Coast to Coast" and the "Jindyworobak Anthologies". The first two are published by Angus & Robertson's, the one having as its objective the annual publication of an anthology of best Australian verse, the other the yearly anthology of the best Australian Short Stories.

The Jindyworobak anthology which has been published yearly since 1938 in Adelaide. This is the product also of a particular literary school which has stimulated considerable controversy in literary circles. The annual anthology is the regular publication of the Jindyworobak Club - which was founded in Adelaide in 1938 by Rex Ingamells, with the aim of directing the attention of Australian writers to the distinctive features of their own country, instead of seeking their material beyond Australia. In Ingamells own words: -

"Jindyworobak is an aboriginal word meaning "to annex, to join"... and the Jindyworobaks are those individuals who are endeavouring to free Australian art from whatever alien influences trammel it, that is,
to bring it into proper contact with its material. An essential part of its environment - its material - is the tradition of the land. This naturally involves an appreciation of aboriginal tribal history and culture, not for its own isolated sake but for its direct bearing upon our own culture, or bearing it should have.......

Hence its annual anthology consists of contributions from those poets who are sympathetic to this point of view. The majority of Jindyworobaks are to be found in Adelaide - the group claiming in 1940 that it possessed 150 members - but it has pockets of followers in the other States.

(d) State Assistance to Literature. (1)

Commonwealth Literary Fund.

The Fund is administered by a Committee consisting of the Prime Minister, Leaders of the Opposition (Mr. R.G. Menzies) and the Rt. Hon. J.H. Scullin, assisted by an Advisory Board.

The members of the Board are: Professor W.A. Osborne (Chairman), Dr. G. Mackaness, Miss F.S. Eldershaw, Mr. Vance Palmer, Mr. T. Inglis Moore, Mr. L. Haylen, M.H.R.

The annual grant of the Fund is approximately £6,000 allocated as under:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literary Pensions</th>
<th>£3,000</th>
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<tr>
<td>Publications: to render possible publication of manuscripts and the reprinting of standard works now out of print.</td>
<td>£1,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literary Fellowships</td>
<td>£750</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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(1) Details available in Mitchell Library; See typed sheet

(1) Details available in Mitchell Library; See typed sheet
Encouragement of Australian Literature in the Universities £700
Administration £250

Pensions.

Since 1908 the Commonwealth Government has provided a small sum annually from which pensions are granted, to persons coming within the following categories:

(a) Authors who by reason of their age or infirmity are unable to support themselves;
(b) Families of literary men who have died poor; and
(c) Literary men doing good work, but unable on account of poverty to persist in that work.

The maximum pension payable was £1 per week and in the case of outstanding men of letters £2 per week. These amounts have recently been increased to £2 and £3 respectively.

An applicant must have produced at least one work of literary merit, a copy of such work to be submitted with the application. A series of articles by a writer appearing in a journal, newspaper, etc., will, if of sufficiently high standard, be regarded as a work qualifying for assistance from the Fund.

Scope of Fund.

In 1938 the Government extended the scope of the Fund for the purpose of:

(a) Educating the public to a full appreciation of Australian literature.
(b) Affording a limited number of our writers sufficient leisure to enable them to devote their whole time and talents to the production of specified works, and

(c) Providing financial assistance towards the cost of publishing manuscripts and reprinting of approved works.

Particulars of the additional assistance granted by the Fund are as under:

Grants to Universities.

The Committee has entered into an agreement with the Universities for the inclusion of lectures in Australian literature as an integral part of English in a degree course. A grant of £100 per annum to each University for this purpose.

Fellowships.

On the recommendation of the Advisory Board, the Committee may grant Fellowships to writers of merit desirous of devoting their whole time to the production of a specified work, on the following conditions:

(1) The maximum amount to be granted shall be £250 per year.

(2) The awards to be for one year. In exceptional cases, however, the awards may be extended.

(3) Each applicant should indicate the subject upon which he proposes to write and the nature of the work already carried out by him in that particular study.
(4) A successful applicant must be prepared to devote the whole or a substantial part of his time to the production of the work for which the Fellowship is granted.

Reprinting of approved Works.

On the recommendation of the Advisory Board, the Committee may approve of financial assistance being granted towards the cost of reprinting standard works.

It is the aim of the Fund to keep any worthy Australian book alive and in circulation and the Advisory Board is ready to consider suggestions for books that should be written or compiled. It may also commission competent writers to carry out such plans.

Publication of Manuscripts.

The Fund may also grant financial assistance towards the cost of publishing manuscripts of outstanding literary merit, which otherwise would probably remain unprinted.
E. CULTURAL AGENCIES OF A GENERAL NATURE.

2. People's Council for Culture.
3. Library organisation.
4. Adult Education Activities.
Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts.

ORIGIN

This organisation arose directly out of war conditions, the Australian body being modelled on its English counterpart. The English C.E.M.A. was founded in 1940 with the aid of a donation of £25,000 from the "Pilgrim Trust" a foundation for the development of cultural life in England. The immediate response to this project which took plays, orchestral concerts, art exhibitions and so on to the small provincial towns, to the war factories, to underground shelters was so striking from the point of view of sustaining the people's morale that in 1941 the British Government subsidised the project to the extent of £50,000 and has since then trebled its financial assistance. This organisation which contributed so much in wartime has continued to receive Government support as an essential part of post-war reconstruction under the new name of the Arts Council.

In Australia in 1944, largely due to the initiative of one of Sydney's leading women in the musical world, a similar voluntary organisation was set up. Although patterned on the British C.E.M.A. the Australian body had no official connection with this organisation. Soon branches were established in all States.

AIMS:

The aims of the organisation are to quote a statement by its President, Sir Robert Garran -
"To bring art, in all its forms, to the people; to encourage them not only to cultivate an appreciation of all that is beautiful in music, painting, sculpture, drama, ballet, and so forth, but also to express themselves in one or other of the arts or crafts."

To this end branches were formed throughout the various country towns, it was felt that it was important to develop branches in rural areas where the people have so few opportunities to hear music of quality or see plays and art exhibitions. These country branches once established have to work according to the Constitution of the central body. And the strict rule by which they must abide is that they must engage artists through the executive of the parent body. This is a precaution taken to ensure that standards are maintained.

**EXTENT OF ACTIVITIES:**

Within the two years of its existence twenty two branches have been formed in New South Wales, 16 of which are in the country alone at – Newcastle, Maitland, Cessnock, Tamworth, Armidale, Inverell, Bengara, Glen Innes, Tenterfield, Coffs Harbour, Katoomba, Bathurst, Cowra, Goulburn, Griffith, Albury. These branches are all self-initiated and have developed from the interest of the citizens themselves. No attempt is made by the Central Council to form branches when there is no interest shown by the people.

The function of these branches is to arrange musical concerts, dramatic performances and art exhibitions. They are responsible for arranging the year's programme which is usually submitted to the central council for help in engaging artists.
The council itself will arrange the programmes if requested by the branch and do all organising for a small fee. It is C.E.M.A.'s policy to pay all artists engaged and each branch is responsible for the fees and expenses; usually they manage to draw level, covering expenses. Profits are not sought.

So far reports indicate that the country performances have met with great success. But considerable difficulty is experienced by the organising committees - first of all in obtaining suitable premises for the presentation of concerts, plays and art exhibitions. Secondly, that most artists are either too busy and cannot spare the time to travel into the country for just one performance as it often happens that their other engagements necessitate they should be in Sydney. Another aspect which cannot be over looked is that first rate pianists are engaged and when they arrive it is found that the piano provided is quite inadequate. It has been found, however, that when the best exponents of the various arts do visit country towns they invariably stimulate an interest in music and drama. As it is each branch has its own dramatic group and some have their own musical societies. The objective of C.E.M.A. is not to compete with existing cultural organisations but to work with them and through them; for example it often happens that a local music club or play reading circle may take the initiative in forming a C.E.M.A. branch and so increase and extend their own activities. The following samples selected at random from a of branch activities best indicates the nature and character of local C.E.M.A. -
ALBURY. Before C.E.M.A. formed a branch here, a person with the community's cultural interest at heart used to arrange concerts with the assistance of competent local talent. Since the formation of the Branch a few such concerts have been arranged - the programme of one being Piano and Violin Sonatas, groups of Lieder and a piano recital of Choplin. Here, Arts, Music and Drama sub Groups have been formed, the Music Group meeting fortnightly for recorded music and the Drama Group once a month for play reading.

The Australian Broadcasting Commission's Melbourne Symphony Orchestra's visit to this centre was most successful, evoking enthusiastic local response. People coming from as far as Wagga and Corowa to the concert. "Advantage was taken of the visit to give a School Matinee, as well and Joseph Post, the conductor held the interest of 800 children in his Walk through the Orchestra and to the end of the concert".

BATHURST. Branch formed September, 1944, and grew out of the Bathurst Encouragement of Art Movement. In 1945 an Autumn Festival was held which comprised a Concert by the City of Bathurst Orchestra; Recital by Dorothy Helmarich; New Theatre League actors in "To-morrow the World"; Lecture on drama by Frank Clewlow; Ballet Recital by Ipen and Vernon. A recital of vocalist, pianist and violinist given later was also highly successful.

In Art an exhibition of the work of Olive Young, Hal Missingham and Douglas Barry was held; National Gallery's Travelling Art Exhibition with lectures; an exhibition of work by local artists and an exhibition of
of Children’s Art. As a result the Branch guaranteed the Technical College enough pupils to form an Art Class. Club rooms were opened in June 1945 by the Mayor. Here meetings have been held for members fortnightly at which there have been recitals of recorded music and debates.

Factory Concerts were also given at the Small Arms Factory.

In Bathurst the Municipal Council has supported the idea and formed the Municipal Cultural Committee on which is represented the Country Women’s Association, City Orchestra, Bathurst Band, National Fitness, School of Arts, and C.E.M.A.

Not all the C.E.M.A. branches have flourished so vigorously, but the above are two examples of how the idea can work out successfully.

Another facet of C.E.M.A.'s activities is the encouragement of festivals of the various arts. So far two urban festivals have been held in the cities of Melbourne and Sydney. These presented a fortnight of concentrated activity in the performance of music and drama and in the presentation of the art exhibition. The Sydney Festival held in July 1946 arranged in co-operation with the Australian Broadcasting Commission, an orchestral concert and various programmes of chamber music and choral works. In drama two of Sydney's Little Theatres presented plays with considerable success. And in the field of Ballet expressive and classical performances were given. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this festival were the results produced by the C.E.M.A. Art
Exhibition which attracted 500 people to its opening and approximately 2,000 people in the fortnight it was on display. In conjunction with this show lunch hour lectures on art were organised which drew an average of 200-250 people to each lecture. This gained wide publicity in the press and as a result numerous requests have been received from the country requesting art exhibitions.

**PUBLICATION.** Every quarter C.E.M.A. produces the "C.E.M.A. Review" which is subtitled the official organ of the New South Wales Division. At present it is very modest in appearance having not yet attained to print. Its chief function is to keep members informed of the latest developments in the organisation. It resembles a regular report rather than a journal.

**FINANCES.** As yet C.E.M.A. still receives no financial support from the State, although requests have been made to both Federal and State Houses for support. It did, however, receive a small initial grant from the Advisory Committee on Adult Education for its Sydney Festival. But on the whole it does depend for financial support on subscriptions which amount to 2/6d and on small private donations.

**PEOPLE'S COUNCIL FOR CULTURE.**

The People's Council for Culture a delegate body arose from an organisation formed in 1937 which was called the Central Cultural Council. In 1944, however, the latter was renamed and reconstituted following the "people's Conference on

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**Footnote:** It should be added that since writing an announcement in the "Sydney Morning Herald", 20th February, 1947 has been made to the effect that C.E.M.A. has been granted a subsidy of £600 by the State Government.
Culture in the War and in the Peace (Education, Arts and Science) which was between representatives from educational and cultural bodies in the State. The Conference lasted for three days, and during the different sessions discussions were held on the development of the following fields of activity: music, drama, dancing, radio and cinema, education, science and society, architecture, youth and culture, art, literature, and the press.

The Council for Culture was set up as a result of this Conference, and a programme of future activities drawn up based on its decisions. In accordance with this programme a conference has recently been held to further the establishment of a National Theatre. In addition, action has been taken for the further development of Community Centre projects; evidence has been prepared to be placed before the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Broadcasting; representations have been made to the University for the establishment of Chairs of Australian Literature, of Drama in Australia, and of Australian Art.

OBJECTIVES. The aim of the People's Council for Culture is "to make culture the possession of the people" and its immediate objects "to work for the realisation of the decisions of the People's Conference for Culture in the War and in the Peace, and to co-ordinate the cultural activities of all component bodies".

MEMBERSHIP. By the middle of 1945 there were 43 bodies in
Australia affiliated with the People's Council for Culture, representing an aggregate membership of 50,000. Subscription for organisations:

Membership under 1,000, 10/6 per year, with one delegate to the Council.

Membership over 1,000, £2.2.0 per year, with three delegates to the Council.

Individuals may become associate members, who may speak at meetings but have no vote. Subscription, 5/- per year.

PUBLICATIONS. A regular monthly newsletter is sent out to notify affiliated bodies of the meeting place and to keep organisations in touch with the P.C.C. developments.

LIBRARIES.

Because it is believed that a nation's cultural life is dependent on a sound library system, a survey of library development in Australia has been included in this examination of our cultural life.

Library expansion during the last ten years in New South Wales has shown a remarkable growth and is another indication of the ascending scale of interest in culture which has developed in recent years. Thus whereas in 1935 Pitt and Munn in their Report on Libraries in Australia could write: -

"In the widespread establishment of free public libraries as an essential part of the nation's educational plan, Australia ranks below most of the other English speaking countries. The great domed reading room in Melbourne and the treasures of the Mitchell Library in Sydney, serve to emphasize the scarcity and poverty of public libraries outside a few favoured centres.... Governmental provision of free public libraries - is
limited almost entirely to a reference library in each state capital, the establishment of all other public library service has quite generally been left to groups of volunteers... As a whole Australia was better provided with local libraries in 1880 than it is today. Almost every city and large town now contains a decadent institute and school of arts, many of which give evidence of having had a former period of real usefulness.

"The strength of the state governments perhaps accounts for the almost complete absence of municipal libraries. Concentration of all responsibility for education in the state governments has made local authorities unwilling to enter the library field".

Today in New South Wales the library scene has undergone a transformation, which was undoubtedly set in motion by the trenchant criticism of Pitt and Munn. This report marks an important stage not only in the narrower field of library development but also in our cultural life generally - the one being so closely interwoven with the other. For as a result of this Report, which was incidentally carried out under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, a group of public spirited citizens called a public meeting in the Sydney suburb of Chatswood. The object of this meeting was to celebrate the centenary of Andrew Carnegie's birth by forming an organisation to advocate the establishment of free public libraries in New South Wales.

This came to be known as the Free Library Movement and was soon given a grant from the Carnegie Corporation to carry on its work. This grant enabled them to form branches in the various suburbs of Sydney and country districts such as Casino, Willoughby, North Sydney, Lane Cove, Muswellbrook, Newcastle, Cessnock, Bathurst, Lismore, Orange,
Wagga, West Maitland, Grafton, Gunnedah, Tamworth, Mosman and others. Inspired by the work in this State similar movements were formed in Victoria, Queensland and Tasmania.

Through the pressure of this group the Minister for Education was prevailed upon to appoint the Libraries Advisory Committee in 1939 whose terms of reference were:

"To inquire into the adequacy of library provision already made in New South Wales by the Public Library of New South Wales, the Sydney Municipal Library, Schools of Arts, Mechanics Institutes and any other agencies, and the means for extending and completing such provision, regard being had to the relation of library provision to the general system of education and the provision of scientific technical and sociological information and to drafting any necessary legislation."

The outcome of this work of this Committee was the Library Act of 1939 - one of the most significant milestones in our cultural history. The provision of the Act may be summarised as follows:

The Act provides for the development of library services in New South Wales by:

1. amending the Local Government Act and the Sydney Corporation Act to give municipal and shire councils wider and better defined powers to conduct libraries than they have at present;

2. by re-introducing the principal of subsidy formerly paid to Schools of Arts as a subsidy to councils prepared to establish libraries;

3. by providing machinery whereby councils can co-operate in order to improve library services over adjacent areas.

4. by providing a Board to advise on the allocation of the subsidy and to assist councils in schemes of co-operation so that the library resources of the State, including those of the Public Library of New South Wales can be used for the common benefit.

So far as local government areas are concerned, the Act is permissive and not compulsory. Councils may adopt the Act by
resolution on their own initiative, or following a poll of electors.

Conditions of the subsidy provide: -

(a) That with the subsidy not less than two shillings a head for every person in its area be spent by the Council on library services during the year for which the subsidy is paid;

(b) That the library be free to all residents and ratepayers of the Council's area so far as books of literary, informative and educational value are concerned;

(c) That the Board is satisfied that the service given by the library is efficient and educational;

(d) That the amount subsidised is from rates, either from the product of the Council's general rate or from a special rate which the Act empowers councils to levy for library purposes.

Existing libraries such as the subscription libraries of schools of arts and similar institutions are not affected by the Act except in so far as they may be handed over to councils for conversion into free libraries.

The Sydney Municipal Library will be affected as fellows: After a date to be proclaimed the service given by that library wholly at the expense of the City of Sydney to all residents of the State may be restricted to residents and ratepayers of the City of Sydney, thus throwing on other councils the responsibility of providing library services now given to their residents and ratepayers by the City of Sydney.

Although the Act was passed in 1939 the Library Board recommended to administer it was not established until 1944. The Chief Librarian of the New South Wales Public Library commented in a newspaper article (1) that The Library Board of New South Wales did more in one year to spread the

(1) "Sydney Morning Herald", June 7th, 1945.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACT ADOPTED</th>
<th>LIBRARY OPEN AND SUBSIDY PAID OR RECOMMENDED</th>
<th>ACT ADOPTED POPULATION</th>
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<th>TOTAL POPULATION</th>
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<tr>
<td>CITY OF SYDNEY</td>
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**METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITIES**

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<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Burwood (at Gorden)</td>
<td>35,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mosman</td>
<td>26,030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bankstown</td>
<td>31,820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>69,020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lane Cove</td>
<td>18,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manly</td>
<td>30,870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newtown</td>
<td>25,780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marrickville</td>
<td>6,780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ryde</td>
<td>32,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strathfield</td>
<td>14,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willoughby</td>
<td>58,620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(at Chatswood)</td>
<td>399,730</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NEWCASTLE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greater Newcastle</td>
<td>127,660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newcastle</td>
<td>127,660</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COUNTRY MUNICIPALITIES** *(Some in conjunction with nearby SHIRES)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Albury</td>
<td>13,080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bega</td>
<td>2,340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broken Hill</td>
<td>26,470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casino</td>
<td>5,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grafton</td>
<td>10,540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inverell</td>
<td>6,110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kempsey</td>
<td>5,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithgow</td>
<td>13,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrabri (with 5,060)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uralla Shire</td>
<td>4,090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagga Wagga</td>
<td>14,160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wollongong</td>
<td>18,670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young (with 4,280)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burrangong (sh.)</td>
<td>5,630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berrara</td>
<td>3,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabramatta</td>
<td>8,570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooma (with 2,030)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menzies Shire</td>
<td>2,490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coonamble</td>
<td>5,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deniliquen</td>
<td>3,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(with Balranald Shire &amp; 1,200)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffs Harbour Shire &amp; 1,200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooma Shire</td>
<td>760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakool</td>
<td>3,890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waragboola</td>
<td>3,880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windigurra</td>
<td>740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubbo</td>
<td>9,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forbes (with 5,430)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jemalong Shire</td>
<td>4,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goulburn</td>
<td>15,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunnedah (with 2,370)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weddin Shire</td>
<td>3,630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holroyd</td>
<td>9,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maitland</td>
<td>12,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parkes</td>
<td>6,320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penrith</td>
<td>4,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goulburn</td>
<td>4,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Marys</td>
<td>5,620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamworth</td>
<td>11,670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>4,280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>3,460</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COUNTRY SHIREs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Port Stephens</td>
<td>5,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wade</td>
<td>11,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wingecarribee</td>
<td>7,630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cobbera</td>
<td>4,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tambarumba</td>
<td>3,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wingello</td>
<td>9,150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Row</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Nil</th>
<th>Nil</th>
<th>39</th>
<th>617,220</th>
<th>915,900</th>
<th>59</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>298,680</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Library Board of N.S.W. Sydney.
20th August, 1946.
services of books than was done in a century before its advent. In two years 59 shires and municipalities had adopted the Act servicing a total population of 915,900 (see Table). A significant feature of these municipal libraries is the special provision made for children.

Libraries Prior to 1939.

Until the adoption of the Act library services of any value were concentrated entirely in Sydney, where the Public Library of New South Wales and the Sydney Municipal Library were situated. There were numerous small fiction Schools of Arts libraries throughout the various country and suburban areas "cemeteries of old and forgotten books" was the apt description given them by Sydney's Chief Librarian.

In addition there had begun in the early twenties a significant voluntary movement in the Children's Library Movement whose activities have not been confined to the city of Sydney. The activities of these three agencies have expanded considerably since 1939 - as the following summary of their function and scope will indicate.

Public Library of New South Wales.

HISTORY.

Libraries began in New South Wales, and in Australia, in 1821. They began with a union list of books in the possession of some of the gentlemen of Sydney, and in 1826 some of the same gentlemen and others formed the Australian Subscription Library, a lending and reference library to which members were admitted by ballot, a device which, as things
were in Sydney in those days, could only have been intended to ensure exclusiveness. The Library had high ideals; it only stopped to fiction after a time, and then only to what was approved by the quarterly reviews. And perhaps because of its ideals it was in difficulties as early as 1830. Aid was sought from the Governor, Ralph Darling, and it was suggested that the Museum, another institution then lately come to birth, should combine with the library and share with it a town allotment. The suggestion was not carried out, and Library, Museum and Art Gallery have always remained separate in New South Wales, whereas in three of the other States they have been put under one board of trustees, possibly not with the best results.

Negotiations continued between the Government, conscious of its obligations to the public, and the Subscription Library, which claimed to have "... laid the foundations of a Public Library", but remained reluctant to let the public in.

Difficulties increased, the Committee of the Library was turned into a proprietary corporation, the Library itself was leased to its Librarian, but it could not be carried on. The Government, elected and responsible since 1852, had £25,000 voted for a Free Public Library in 1862, and in 1869 it bought out the Subscription Library for £5,100.

Towards its action in 1869 the Government was partly moved by the need for a home for a collection of Australiana, which Mr. Justice Wise had left in trust for a public library when one should be established. This was a motive for State action in New South Wales which was to recur. The Free Public Library was opened in 1869 as a reference library with 20,000
volumes, including the Wise collection of 6,000.

In 1895 the Free Public Library, Sydney, became the Public Library of New South Wales, and in 1899 it was incorporated under a statute which gave it an annual endowment for the general purposes of a library.

In 1899 Mr. David Scott Mitchell, who had made a collection of Australiana, including manuscripts and pictures, offered it as a legacy to the State on condition that the Government proceeded with the provision of a new and much needed library building in which it could be housed as a separate collection, but alongside the general reference library. After some delay the Government began to build and Mr. Mitchell bequeathed his collection together with an endowment of £70,000 to maintain it. Some twenty years later the building had not got beyond the Mitchell wing, the reference library remaining in its old quarters; then a new section was added, mainly to house a valuable collection of pictures of historical interest donated by Mr. William Dixson, and the reference library found some much needed stack accommodation.

In 1942 the building, to house the Public Library including the general reference section, administrative offices, the country circulation department and the Mitchell Library and galleries of Australiana under the one roof, was completed.

**FUNCTIONS.**

General reference: the reference room of the Public Library is designed to accommodate 500 readers. This room itself holds over 50,000 volumes, while the bookstacks
accommodate approximately 226,000 volumes. In addition, the Library files 1890 journals and magazines.

The Mitchell Library provides for students of Australian history and this collection which is regarded as one of the great historical and national ones of the world, includes over 127,605 books, 11,528 volumes of manuscripts, 17,528 maps and an important collection of pictures.

The Country Circulation Department: a significant part of the Public Library's activities is its section which caters for country readers. It is divided into two sections, one consisting of travelling libraries (boxes) sent to literary institutes, organisations, country schools and individuals; the other of reference books sent directly to country students. The following figures indicate the extent of this section's activities:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of books Circulated</th>
<th>No. of Schools of Arts Borrowing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>35,308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>44,239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>48,014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>50,193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>50,846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>54,620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>56,644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>60,135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>61,619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>59,720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>58,604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>58,697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>53,625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>55,702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>50,621</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reason for the decrease was given in the Annual Report of 1940 and 41 as follows:

"For the first time for 13 years there has been
a decrease in the Country Reader's circulation. This
was due to the effect of the war on country readers...
May and June, which are usually very bright months were
badly affected by the critical position of affairs abroad
as is shown by the number of letters received in June
this year, viz. 1449 as against 2086 last June.

1941 - reasons for decline:-

a. Critical news - Greece, etc.
b. Enlistment
c. Delayed returns.
d. Decrease in amount of reading.
e. Temporary borrowers

Though there is a decrease in the circulation of books, there
is no decrease in the number of active enrolled borrowers.
It is rather that each borrower reads less...."

While in 1943 the Librarian's report says:-

"There is a decrease on last year's figures by
72 books and this is the lowest annual circulation
since 1935. The lowest 12 months since 1935, however,
were those following Japan's entry into the war, i.e.
January - December, 1942....

There are two reasons for the upward trend since March

(1) New members, constant influx from members of the
forces... Noticeable increase in the number of new
members from the civilian residents in New South
Wales. It is difficult to account for this, except
by a growing book consciousness on the part of the
public generally.
(2) The War Years. Just as the bad news of the earlier war years took the heart out of people's reading, so the turn of the tide has stirred them to constructive thinking and so brought them back to books.

**Sydney Municipal Library.**

The largest municipal library in Australia is that in Sydney and came into existence when the City Council took over the leading branch of the State Library in 1903. It is maintained by Council of the City of Sydney and defined as "free reading and lending library". Although it is at present housed in shabby and inadequate premises the City Council has acquired land for the purpose of erecting a large and modern building to house the valuable collection which belongs to the Municipal Library.

The following figures, taken from the City Librarian's annual reports indicate the extent of the City Library's activities over a period of years -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Vols. Issued</th>
<th>Total No. of Borrowers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>456,483</td>
<td>29,346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>550,654</td>
<td>20,707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>550,422</td>
<td>25,159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>619,486</td>
<td>60,995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>652,562</td>
<td>36,326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>559,019</td>
<td>35,015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>515,112</td>
<td>23,757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>484,394</td>
<td>25,732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td></td>
<td>33,739</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The sudden sharp drop in the figures for 1936 and 1937 is explained by the Librarian in his Annual Report for 1937. He says -

"The decrease comes largely from the output of fiction, which shows a drop of 36,266 compared with the previous year, and in the Juvenile Section which is 18,859 below the 1936 figures. The amount of money available for new books does not permit of the stock of new fiction being kept up to an attractive level.

"The declension in the output of libraries is a world-wide phenomenon. In the last annual report of the Pratt Institute Free Library of Brooklyn, N.Y. commenting on the decrease in their circulation, the head of the department writes: -

'From the beginning of this librarianship 27 years ago we had complacently taken it for granted that circulation though a very variable quantity had a fixed range for us, with ebb and flow between approaches to 20,000 and 245,000 at either extreme. We were prepared for a total below the minimum, as shown this year, though we had been aware of a constant falling behind, month by month, for the first time in our day we have receded below the low-tide mark.

'This diminishing is the common experience of libraries everywhere, and there has been much discussion as to cause and effect, in which terms 'prosperity', 'depression', 'recovery', enter speculatively. There is no
question that the sophistication of much of current popular writing, causes libraries to refrain from seeking popularity by countenancing it, makes a difference, but this report might venture a theory of its own – that the phenomenal outbreak of eye-arresting and mentality-arresting periodicals now flooding the country – plays havoc with the type of reading which free libraries exist to encourage, promote and perpetuate'.

"In our case we have found that the tide of output is affected most by economic factors. During the height of the recent depression we attained an output of over 90,000 volumes annually, but as prosperity returned the total has dropped, with the exception of the year 1936, when a slight increase was registered. The consoling aspect is that the output is still much higher than it was in pre-depression days and that the decrease is largely due to the drop in the output of fiction".

While the drop in the number of books borrowed (note the number of borrowers increased) is accounted for by the City Librarian –

"Of this decrease, approximately 25,000 can be attributed to the fact that the Library called in all books at the beginning of the year and closed its doors to the public for the purpose of taking stock. Unfortunately, this in the otherwise continuous service given by the Library cannot be avoided under present housing conditions."
"A careful examination of the monthly returns of books issued during the two comparable biennial periods of 1942-43 and 1944-45 shows that from January to December to May there was an almost exact correspondence in the variation of issues. However, from June on, the figures for 1945 dropped considerably as compared with those for 1943.

"It is obvious that the falling off in book issues from June to December, 1945 is correlated with the successive announcements of the end of the war in Europe and Japan. Readers were thrown out of their stride by these world shattering events as they were in June, 1941 when a sharp decline in borrowing followed the fall of France. The reading public is a most sensitive organism and its response to outside events is mirrored exactly in the borrowing figures of its public libraries".

Children's Library Movement.

This Movement was founded in 1924 when Mrs. Matheson returning from England where she had visited the Summerstown Children's Library situated in a slum area of London, decided to start a similar centre in a slum area in Sydney. Gaining the support of certain wealthy people enough money was subscribed to purchase premises in Surry Hills.

This was the first Children's Library which aimed to attract children to the centre by developing craft work and activities in conjunction with reading. Development after this was very slow and the advent of the depression increased
the difficulties. Despite the success of the Surry Hills centre not enough money could be found to establish other centres. However, in 1934 a noted American Librarian visited Australia and was very vocal on the subject of developing children's libraries. The press became interested and there was a stir of interest, which resulted in the registration of the movement and a Board of Trustees being appointed.

The next two years saw the foundation of two more centres at Erskineville and Phillip Park, Woolloomooloo. The latter was founded through the generosity of the City Council which made available what used to be the city potting sheds for the municipal gardens. This was a particularly pleasant site surrounded by trees and lawns. The Phillip Park centre opened an Open Air Theatre and the children flocked from the neighbouring areas to join. Incidentally in 1938 the Child Welfare Department stated that there was a marked decline in juvenile delinquency in the areas where these libraries were established.

During the war there was a tremendous fillip given to the movement and between 1941 - 1946 there were 16 new centres opened. These situated at Chatswood, Beecroft, Springwood, Katoomba, Gordon, Hornsby, Cobar, Artaeum, Ashfield, Balgowlah, Mittagong, Hurstville, Woodford, Pennant Hills, Clovelly, and St. Mary's. It is estimated that there are 11,000 children who belong to all centres.
Adult Education.

A survey of Sydney's cultural life would be incomplete without reference to the contribution being made by various adult education agencies. However, it is not proposed to make a list and describe these agencies here, for a comprehensive survey of the adult education field has been recently undertaken by the Director of Adult Education (1) in New South Wales. Also many of the organisations interested in this field are not strictly of a cultural nature; for example A Directory of Adult Education prepared by the Tutorial Department of the University of Sydney (published November 1945) lists, under this heading such bodies as the Recreation and Leadership Movement, Eureka Youth League, Toa H., Y.M.C.A., Women's League of Health and many others while it is recognised that these organisations have a valuable educational and social function, it is felt that a line can be drawn between these groups of a practical and utilitarian nature with an educational aspect to their activities and those groups of a purely cultural type, serving an apparently non-utilitarian, artistic end.

Nevertheless, it is proposed to present here a summary of the work of the major organisations active in this field because firstly it believed that these agencies are making an important contribution to our general cultural

(1) This survey was sponsored by the Commonwealth and took a year to complete 1944-1945. The report has not yet been printed but a typescript copy has been used as a basis for the material presented here.
life, and secondly because it is of interest to note the part played by the State in sponsoring adult education, and thirdly because it is believed that some interesting deductions for the purposes of the analysis in hand will be possible from the presentation of this material.

The adult education bodies in New South Wales fall into two categories - official and voluntary. The most important of these, in the first instance, are the Tutorial Department of the University of Sydney and possibly the Australian Broadcasting Commission, and of the second category the Workers' Educational Association.

A. Official Bodies.

1. Sydney University Department of Tutorial Classes.

This is the most important "providing agency" for adult education in New South Wales. Established in 194, it has just completed 30 years' work. In 1943 it conducted 47 tutorial classes (with an enrolment of 1,714 students) and 84 discussion groups (with an enrolment of 907 students). Towards the end of the year a scheme was launched for discussion groups among N.E.S. wardens. Over 200 groups were enrolled, and the 1944 figures will therefore show a very rapid expansion in this field of work.

Discussion Groups are a comparatively recent development - dating from 1938. Designed originally for country districts where it was impossible to establish tutorial classes,

(1) The material presented in sections A. and B. has been taken almost wholly from (a) Directory of Adult Education in N.S.W. and (b) Adult Education in N.S.W. A Survey by Dr. W.G.K. Duncan. In certain instances, however, figures have been brought up to date, e.g. Listening Groups.
they are now well established in both the Newcastle and Sydney areas, and will probably increase rapidly in the future.

Tutorial Classes, on the other hand, seem to have reached the limits of their development, and even to have lost ground. Throughout the 1920's, for example, there were never less than 55 tutorial classes, whereas in 1943 there were only 47. There is, however, a simple explanation for this - namely, lack of money. The Department has had to work within a fixed annual grant - and this grant, in 1943 was almost identical with what it was in 1923. Year by year the Department has had to refuse applications for tutorial classes, once its rigid quota was filled. Now that provision has been made by the State Government, through a special grant, for "the expansion of adult education", the number of tutorial classes conducted each year is likely to expand considerably.

Officers of the Tutorial Department, however, do not believe that "extra money for tutorial classes" is anything like a solution for the problems they are up against. In a memorandum prepared early in 1943, finance was only the first of a long list of weaknesses cited, as follows:

(a) the inadequate amount and fixed nature of the annual financial appropriation;

(b) the lack of full-time tutors; the fact that tutors received no training in adult education methods; and the fact that almost all tutors were academic in type;

(c) the lack of equipment, such as books and materials (maps, graphs, film strips, gramophone records, etc.) and accommodation;

(d) the fact that no research work was being done in the field of adult education; that tutors were not being kept informed of developments overseas; that materials were not being prepared to meet the special
needs of adult students; that no surveys were being made of local conditions or of the needs of special groups;

(e) the lack of effective contact with country districts, and the "remoteness" of University classes, even in the city.

(f) the restricted nature of the work being done. There was an excessive fear of the vocational, the recreational and the elementary aspects of adult needs. There were no classes fostering handicrafts, few in the arts, and practically none in the physical and biological sciences.

(g) the lack of an adequate organisation to focus the demand for adult education, to co-ordinate its supply, and to give it a "home", or an institutional background.

To remedy these weaknesses the memorandum suggested:

(a) the establishment of a Department of Adult Education within the University, to concern itself with the training of tutors, the preparation of materials and research work;

(b) the development of a new teaching service, not controlled by the University, to engage in non-academic types of work on an enormously enlarged scale; and

(c) the creation of a new organisational framework, to give adult education contacts and roots in the life of the people; to give it a "home" and a self-respect it now lacks; to build up a rounded programme of work in place of the present collection of bits and pieces; and to be ready for rapid expansion after the war, through Community Centres, Residential Colleges, the taking-over of Army Education Service material and personnel, and the possible assistance, in the process, of Commonwealth grants-in-aid.

2. Sydney University Extension Board.

The work of the Extension Board shows signs of recovering from the dislocation caused by the war. Lectures given under its auspices in country towns fell from 67 in the year 1938-9 to 25 in the year 1941-2, but recovered to 45 in 1942-3. Likewise lectures given at the University fell from 89 in 1939-40 to a low point of 18 in 1941-2, but recovered to 42 in 1942-3. Language classes have grown
steadily during recent years, the number of meetings in 1942-3 totalling 693 (or nearly 84% of the year's total of 828 lectures).

The main aims of the Extension Board, as expressed by its Chairman, are "to disseminate and to supplement University instruction", for example by opening communications between Departments in the University, by conducting specialised short courses, refresher courses, courses on subjects outside the University curriculum, and by bringing about a closer understanding between the University and schools. On this showing it has a useful, though minor, part to play in the field of adult education.

3. **Australian Broadcasting Commission's Adult Education Activities.**

In June 1939 the Commission appointed an Organiser of Listening Groups. From 1939 to the end of 1942 (i.e. during a period of growing dislocation occasioned by the war) the number of groups functioning averaged only about 60. During 1943, however, the number increased rapidly to 360, in August 1944 it reached 500, between March and November 1945 there were 524 groups enrolled and from November to July 1946 there was a total of 788 groups - taking enrolments for each series. It is difficult to estimate accurately the number of people taking part in the Listening Group organisation. Although space is provided on the Australian Broadcasting Commission enrolment cards for showing the number of people in the group, many group leaders do not state their membership. However, from a survey made recently of the groups whose
membership is known, it appears that the average membership is 9 or 10. Taking the average membership as such it can be seen from these figures therefore that during 1946 there were between seven and eight thousand regular listeners; approximately half of them carrying on from one series to the next, and half not having been on the records previously.

While the distribution of groups as between the States was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1945-46</th>
<th>1946-47</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>N.S.W.</strong></td>
<td>205</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>South Australia</strong></td>
<td>76</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Victoria</strong></td>
<td>73</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Queensland</strong></td>
<td>44</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tasmania</strong></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>West Australia</strong></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Service Areas</strong></td>
<td>59</td>
<td>9 (other areas)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to arranging and broadcasting special talks and discussions for these groups, the Commission supplies them with:

(a) a booklet containing advice on how to run a group;

(b) a booklet containing an outline of the series of talks, together with a list of questions for discussion, and of books for further reading;

(c) typescript copies of the scripts of the talks and discussions;

(d) typescript copies of background material.

The Australian Broadcasting Commission finds it difficult to maintain this service, and the Federal Talks Director has said that he would welcome the assistance of some
adult educational body, such as a University, in:

(a) giving advice and help in regard to choice of subjects and speakers;

(b) providing background material which will help the groups in their studies and assist their discussions;

(c) training leaders of listening groups in the technique of discussion and in the practice of group leadership.

If education is interpreted at all liberally, then a considerable portion of the programme on National stations is educational in content. This is especially true in the realm of musical and dramatic productions. But even if we confine our attention to Talks, there are many series which can be called educational, in addition to those designed for listening groups. To quote the Talks Director:

"It is difficult to draw a clear line between the majority of talks which are to some extent educational and the minority which are merely entertaining. Talks are, for the most part, of three main types; there are those which are concerned with ideas and which are designed to provoke thought and discussion; then there are those which give information; and thirdly, those which are designed merely as entertainment. Defining as educational both those talks which are concerned with ideas and most (though not all) of those which are factual and impart information, at least two-thirds of the talks broadcast on the national stations are educational. The total number of talks broadcast during the twelve months July 1942–June 1943 was over 8,000, so that there were at least 6,000 talks, mostly of fourteen minutes' duration, which were educational."
"The subjects covered by these talks were, in the main, as follows:

(a) commentaries and background talks on the news;
(b) talks in the field of public health;
(c) talks directing attention to various aspects of social reconstruction (in addition to listening-group talks on this subject);
(d) talks on the arts and the sciences;
(e) re-broadcasts of overseas recordings — such as "Invitation to Learning" and "The University of the Air";
(f) talks for special audiences (e.g. talks for women in the Women's Sessions, talks on religious questions and talks to farmers in the Countryman's Session).

B. Voluntary Organisations.


The Workers' Educational Association was founded in Sydney in 1913, on the model of the English Association founded in 1903. It is a voluntary body comprising 30 affiliated organisations and at present an individual membership of 2,622 united to promote adult education on a non-partisan and non-sectarian basis. It is financed by affiliation fees from organisations, donations and subscriptions paid by individual members and supporters, by class fees paid by students, and by grants from the New South Wales Government.

The W.E.A. states its objectives as follows:

"The W.E.A. stands for an educated democracy. Its
objective is to promote studies designed to increase our understanding of what democracy implies, and our ability to contribute to, and participate in, a democratic way of life.

"The W.E.A. is specially concerned with workers' education, which it defines as education based on a desire for social transformation. Its primary interest is the promotion of adult education, but it also seeks in every way possible to arouse fuller interest in, and support for, an enlightened educational policy for the whole community."

"The division of function between the W.E.A. and the Tutorial Class Department is, in the main, that of a propaganda and organising body, and a providing body. The W.E.A. seeks to stimulate the demand for tutorial classes and discussion groups, and to organise this demand for tutorial classes and discussion groups, and to organise this demand into suitable groups. The Tutorial Class Department is responsible for supplying the teaching service."

The W.E.A. not only organises tutorial classes and discussion groups (which are then 'serviced' by the University) but conducts classes of its own, organises public lectures, arranges conferences and week-end schools at its own holiday home at Newport, sponsors students club (such as Film Groups, Naturalists Clubs) and societies, and conducts an excellent library.

As Dr. Duncan has pointed out in his report its weaknesses are:

(a) its size. The total number of full members of the Association in 1945 was 540. This is largely a question of
finance. Relief from the "fixed annual grant" referred to above, in the form of "expansion grants" from the Government, should enable the Association greatly to increase its membership in the near future.

(b) Its failure, despite repeated efforts, to arouse the Labour Movement to its educational needs, or to convince the trade unions that education is part of their job.

It is on this part of the field of adult education that the W.E.A. could, with advantage, concentrate in the future.

(c) Its lack of contact, through branches, with local communities.

The effect of the war on W.E.A. activities was to act as a stimulus to membership. Thus:

In 1930 there were 1,878 students

" 1938 "  " 2,100 " and 114 discussion groups.

" 1941 "  " 1,811 "  " 720 "

" 1945 "  " 2,622 "  " 2,167 "

(Discussion groups were not introduced until 1938)

Relation to Other States.

The W.E.A. is established in the other States of Australia with the exception of West Australia. Each State Association is independent, but there is a Federal Council which meets usually every other year and maintains contact by correspondence.
The nearest approach to a developed adult education service that Australia has ever experienced was during the war years when the Army Education Service was established. Dr. Duncan has pointed out in his Report that for the first time in the history of Australia an organisation had been built up which really brought adult education to the public. It did this by deliberately diversifying its work to reach people on different levels of educational development; by recruiting full-time personnel and making provision for their training in the methods of adult education; by providing adequate equipment in the form of books, films, gramophone records, printed publications etc; and by providing special centres as Education Centres.

In attempting to estimate the cost of an extensive civilian adult education service on a scale comparable with the Army Education Service, Dr. Duncan reveals that £200,000 a year was spent on adult education within the three services. Working on this amount as a basis he calculates that—the total number of people within the services was approximately less than one-fifth of the adult population of Australia (about 4½ millions in 1943). Thus the cost of providing an adult education service for the whole of Australia at standards comparable with the service within the armed forces, would be five times £200,000, or £2½ million.

New South Wales has nearly two-fifths of the total population of Australia. The cost for such a service to the New South Wales population would, therefore, be two-fifths of
2½ million, that is, 21 million.

On this matter of costs an interesting comparison is made in this Report of the state expenditure on Juvenile and Adult Education in New South Wales as follows:

**TABLE I: Expenditure on Juvenile Education in N.S.W. 1943-44.**

1. Department of Education:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branch</th>
<th>£</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head Office</td>
<td>264,327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical Branch</td>
<td>42,665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Education</td>
<td>3,868,669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary &quot;</td>
<td>1,054,346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical &quot;</td>
<td>507,395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(excluding Technological Museum)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training of Teachers</td>
<td>119,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Fitness Council</td>
<td>22,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Welfare - Head Office</td>
<td>124,503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Institutions</td>
<td>115,280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservatorium of Music</td>
<td>11,275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6,129,610</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Statutory Grant to Sydney University:

(£100,000 less £6,500 allotted to Tutorial Class Dept. & Extension Board)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grant</th>
<th>£</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>93,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Department Labour, Industry and Social Services: Youth Welfare & Vocational Guidance -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>£</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day Nurseries &amp; Kindergarten Milk Supply</td>
<td>13,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Department of Agriculture:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>College</th>
<th>£</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hawkesbury Agricultural College</td>
<td>35,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>£66,274,275</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE II: Expenditure on Adult Education in N.S.W. in 1943-44.**

1. Department of Education:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Museum</th>
<th>£</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australian Museum</td>
<td>17,377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technological Museum</td>
<td>2,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Art Gallery</td>
<td>6,452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Library</td>
<td>35,509</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linnean Society</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Aust. Historical Soc.</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Society</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographical Society</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zoological Society</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE II: (Con'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Workers' Educational Assoc.</td>
<td>770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expansion of Adult Education</td>
<td>3,765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentary Films Committee</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travelling Art Scholarship</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>66,383</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Sydney University:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extension Board</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dept. of Tutorial Classes</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>6,500</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Department of Agriculture:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Extension</td>
<td>30,153</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Department of Health:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health Propaganda</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>2105,036</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
AN ANALYSIS.

(1) Of the relationship of Culture to Society;

(ii) Of the Role of the Intelligentsia;

with particular reference to Sydney.
Analysis of the Relationship between "Culture" and Society.

Part I.

Having surveyed in broad outline the history of Australia's cultural development and in detail the nature and extent of the contemporary cultural scene it now remains to seek out the sociological laws and general trends which have shaped the course of our social and cultural life. The problem having been stated, the questions arise as to the meaning and function of art in our society. It may be asked to what extent are the social and cultural elements inter-dependent; is our culture something which has its roots deep in Australian society or is it something which exists independently and apart from the main current of the life of the majority of people? What meaning do these artistic manifestations hold for the individual? Is there any relation between the health of a society and the state of its cultural life? Is art the property of all groups in society or is it in the hands of select elites? If the latter is the case who constitutes our intelligentsia or cultural elite - and from which social strata are its members drawn?

In attempting to supply the answers to the questions raised, this analysis has been divided into two sections. The first part dealing with the general aspects of the problem - the meaning of culture, its relation to society moving from the wider theoretical implications to the particular and local characteristics of the problem. In the second part
it is proposed to discuss the role of the intelligentsia, its constitution and class origins in Sydney.

Discussing the theoretical relation of art to society (1) the social philosophers Emile Durkheim has pointed out that culture is something which is not basically necessary to a society. A society can function without art, because art is a luxury and an acquirement which it is a luxury and an acquirement which it is perhaps lovely to possess, but which is not an essential or constraining force in society. The dicotomy that exists between culture and society/which Durkheim refers does not imply that art has no relation and no function in society. He merely stated this fact as a scientific analyst of society, recording this is the course of the factual findings of his studies of the nature and constitution of society. The function of culture is an important one making a vital contribution towards social integration.

It is now proposed to show how art can contribute towards social solidarity. Firstly one of the most important functions of art is revealed in its survival value. It has (2) been well established by anthropologists that continuity with the past is the basis of hope for the future is a major principle of social integration. The individual finds an explanation for existence and a reassurance for the future in the traditions and institution which have been handed down to him through history. As a factor in forging the links with

(1) See "Division of Labour".
(2) See "Society, the Individual and Change": A.P. Elkin, P.65.
history and reinforcing tradition, art has an important part to fulfill. The way in which the mythology and art of primitive peoples serves as a bridge between the present and the great heroes and ancestors of the past is a case in point. Historically speaking it is often impossible to distinguish a society except by its art and the more a civilisation is subjected to the test of time, the more it is reduced to its works of art. For the rest rots away. All that remains of pre-historic man is his art; the Hellenic and Christian civilisations began with the epic poems of Homer and the Bible; the only evidence extant of the great Minoean culture is to be found in its pottery and mural paintings.

But art does more than carry on society's heritage, it has a significant psychological role to play in the social sphere, as an outlet and medium for the expression of the individuals' non-material desires. Similar to the function of religion it is the function of the intellectual and aesthetic faculties to sublimate these psychic energies which society, in the daily struggle for existence does not fully exhaust. The different methods of cultural sublimation are determined by various circumstances - one being in our society, the use of leisure time. An illustration may serve to clarify this aspect of the function of art. May it not be asked - would not entertainment suffice to absorb these psychic energies? In seeking the distinction between the function of art and entertainment, the role of the former emerges more clearly. Entertainment primarily is something which distracts the individual from the routine of daily life. It makes him for a
while forget the cares and worries of existence. It interrupts his conscious thoughts and rests his nerves and mind. (1) Art, on the other hand, as Herbert Read says though it may divert us from the normal routine of our existence, causes us in some way or another to become conscious of that existence. For art is the expression of our deepest instincts and emotions; it is a serious activity whose end is not so much to divert as to vitalize.

But art has a further contribution to make towards social solidarity which lies in the nature of art itself. Art is primarily a channel of communication through which the writer, painter and musician may express his individual emotions, beliefs and personal vision. But it is more than an outlet for an artist himself, it acts as an intermediary between the individual consciousness and the collective consciousness of society. The great artist may not only be speaking to his neighbours he may also be speaking for his neighbours and for the whole society, as for example, Shakespeare did.

Finally, it is perhaps in that quality of art which escapes precise definition where its most important social contribution is to be found. Art or culture makes an aesthetic addition to living; it is its function, as it is religion's, to add something extra to life which makes existence more than the pursuit of material ends. As Herbert Read expresses it "life without art would be a graceless, brutish existence", or as Henry James sums up: "It is art that makes life, makes interest, makes importance, for our consideration and application of these.

(1) Politics of the Unpolitical.
things, and I knew of no substitute whatever for the force and beauty of its process". (Letters II. p.508).

A chronological survey of Australia's cultural development reveals how social and material forces have influenced the nature of Australian culture. This survey has indicated that although a society may exist without culture, culture on the other hand cannot exist apart from society, expressing and synthesising as it does the moral, philosophic, economic, geographic, political and religious elements which contribute to the totality of a society. For instance, it has been demonstrated how the geographical factor influenced the character of Australian culture. In the early days of the settlement the colonists attempted to overcome the isolation in which they found themselves by carrying over to a new country the cultural tradition of England. As the physical connection with the mother country was so remote the distance was psychologically diminished through the cultural ties which drew the exiles closer to their home land. In the course of time when generations grew up to whom England was merely a name, this geographical isolation bred of itself an extreme nationalism, which was manifest in the literature of the nineties and which was also apparent in the rise of the Labor Party. During this century, however, the speeding up of communications through the radio and air travel has gradually broken down the isolationist and nationalistic trends which were developing in our political and cultural life. Thus we have witnessed since 1918 the impact, although with a considerable time lag, of international
cultural and political developments in the sphere of Australian culture and politics. For example, in the former sphere we have seen the influence of the modernist French schools of painting amongst such groups as the Contemporary Art Society, and during the thirties the growth of an awareness of the looming world crisis amongst left-wing cultural elites. In the political sphere World War II has stimulated the development of internationalism which has been reflected in the stand adopted by Australia's Foreign Minister at the Peace Conferences. Undoubtedly, cultural nationalism has persisted in such extremist groups as the Australia First Movement and the Jindyworobaks and, to a lesser degree, in the field of painting among certain members of the Sydney's Royal Art Society.

It is not proposed to retrace here the ground already covered in the historical section of this survey where the social factors at work in the development of our culture have been discussed. This analysis is concerned with finding the forces which underlie the contemporary cultural scene and in particular the reasons for the upsurge of interest in the arts during war which this Survey has indicated.

Reviewing the evidence which has been presented relating to cultural life in Sydney, it can be concluded that there is a considerable amount of cultural activity as the number of voluntary and State agencies at work in this field indicates, but at the same time it is obvious that we have failed to develop a culturally conscious people or to build
up an aesthetically appreciative public. The reason for this, it is believed, lies in the failure to plan and to synthesise the various aspects of our cultural and social life. During this century it is true, the state has gradually been assuming responsibility for our cultural life. For instance, through such agencies as the State Conservatorium of Music, the establishment of the Australian Broadcasting Commission, its Adult Education Department, Art Galleries, an indication of the extent of State subsidies to various cultural organisations can be gained from the Table on Page ( ).

Until this time cultural activities had depended solely on assistance from private individuals. This trend, however, has not signified the development of a governmental policy in relation to culture, but rather it is just one sign of the transition which modern society has been passing through in recent decades – the transition from what Mannheim calls the laissez-faire system of liberal mass society towards the planned society.

But the assumption by the State of certain responsibilities in the cultural sphere has not had the salutary effects which might have been expected. This is because the old laissez-faire and the new principle of regulation have been allowed to exist side by side without control. The one has reacted against the other and dissipated the desired effects of government assistance. The interest of the state has been on the level of intervention, rather than planning – the assistance given to cultural activities has not
been part of a comprehensive long-range plan, but merely
desultory attempts to meet immediate needs. Numerous instances
can be found of the way in which lack of integration has
minimised State attempts to assist our cultural growth. For
example, the State of New South Wales some years ago set up an
Adult Education Board and has latterly increased expenditure
in that field and yet it has made no attempt to develop an
appreciation of those values which an adult education programme
is designed to foster, at the normal level of primary and
secondary education. Similar lack of foresight has been
displayed by the Commonwealth Government which has more recently
entered the cultural field—through its establishment of such
agencies as the Commonwealth Literary Fund, the Commonwealth
Office of Education, the National Films Board, the National
University of Canberra etc. Although the Federal Government
has set up a Literary Fund with the object of assisting
Australian literature, yet that Government at the same time
does nothing to regulate the inflow of cheap overseas
syndicated material which floods the Australian pamphlet and
book market. A National Films Board is established to promote
the distribution of good films— in addition to making
Australian films— and yet little or no control is exercised
over the type of film which is allowed to enter the country.
Parallel with this type of situation is the mooted introduction
of the 40-hour week while no provision is made to ensure the
fruitful use of the extra leisure hours deriving from such
legislation.

A further illustration of the way in which the
positive attempts to build up our culture are counteracted by elements working in the opposite direction, is the influence of what may be termed counter-cultural activities. It has already been pointed out that a distinction exists between art and entertainment and it is not implied that popular forms of diversion, such as jazz music, films, popular radio programmes are undesirable. On the contrary, the function of entertainment is a very significant psychological one as a means of distracting us from the routine of everyday life. It is only when entertainment sinks to such a low level that it becomes, not only anti-cultural, but also anti-social that a dangerous situation develops. For instance, in many films, comic strips and radio serials the true facts of contemporary reality are hidden; virtue is discarded and vice rewarded. No attempt, however, is made to regulate such material which is so extensive and accessible. An example of the futility of state intervention in an endeavour to raise cultural standards in one particular sphere is the situation prevailing in broadcasting. A situation brought about by lack of comprehensive planning. Here is an instance of a government agency whose attempts to build up artistic forms of diversion are constantly counteracted by private interests. To what extent commercial radio stations and "popular" programmes command the interest of the majority of people is revealed in the following figures obtained from the Anderson Analysis of Radio. This organisation makes a regular survey of the comparative popularity of certain types of
programmes, for example, how many people listen to radio shows such as the Cashmere Bouquet Show which consists of swing music, wise cracks compared with the number of people who listen to more educational and cultural programmes which are to be heard at the same time on the National Stations. Here are some comparisons of the size of the audiences which listen in to different types of programmes - these programmes being all broadcast at the same time on different stations:

1. Approximately 17 times as many people listened to "Leave Pass" as listened to a symphony concert on 2BL.

2. Approximately 12 times as many people listened to the Cashmere Bouquet Show as to the Nation's Forum of the Air.

3. Approximately 17 times as many people listened to the Masquarie Theatre as listened to Neville Cardus on Sunday night.

4. Approximately 20 times as many listened to Racing Services as to Music Lovers Hour.

Another phenomena which has emerged from the material presented in this survey has been the general increase of interest in cultural activities during the war years. It has been found that more people attended symphony concerts, more people attended art exhibitions and bought original paintings, more books were bought and so on during the war years than ever before. Thus an analysis of culture in wartime has presented a paradoxical situation. On the one hand, there was
destruction and death; on the other progress and an intensification of creative effort. On the one hand there was disintegration and on the other integration. An abandonment of individual morality and yet a heightening of social awareness and national consciousness. We witnessed society in a process of change, people reaching out for new orders, yet striving to preserve the past and maintain the continuity of their cultural tradition. An example of the situation was apparent in the fact that during the war there was a great demand for the English classics — booksellers, for instance, could not supply the requests for the works of Anthony Trollope. His determination to preserve our cultural heritage was typified in the following public utterance made in the course of a conference convened to discuss culture in wartime, that "there was never a time when it was so necessary to defend the right of the citizen to have access to the whole cultural heritage of the past..... in coming forward in defence of increased cultural activity in time of war, we are not radicals opposing government, but conservatives seeking to protect humanity's heritage". (1)

In seeking the reasons for this awakening of interest in the arts, several explanations present themselves. Firstly there are the practical and material considerations. One of the most influential of these was the isolation in which Australia found herself, during the war years. For a period the Australian author, artist and musician received a sort of protection from overseas competition. Cut off from the normal

(1) Speech by Frank Dalby Davison in report of proceedings of "Culture in Wartime Conference", 1945.
sources of book supplies and the cessation of visits from overseas musicians we experienced an interval of cultural isolation which had a salutary influence on certain aspects of cultural life. For example, when Hitler made his deliberate attack on the heart of British culture through the almost wholesale destruction of England's great publishing houses, the source of Australian book supplies was destroyed and for a time there was a cessation of book exports. What small supplies were able to be sent to us from other overseas sources were often lost through enemy action. The result of this was that to fill in the breach we set about building up our own publishing industry.

Another important material factor contributing to the increased cultural activity was the economic one. During the war we experienced the conditions of full employment. Everyone had a job and many were receiving wages above their usual income. Thus it was possible for those people who wished to buy books, attend symphony concerts and buy pictures or send their children to the Conservatorium, to do so.

A further aspect of the economic situation which cannot be ignored was the influence of rationing. This was quite an important factor in the increased sales of books and pictures. Several booksellers in Sydney voiced the opinion, based on their experience, that the sales of books increased when rationing was introduced; because people were unable to

(1) Note: It is interesting to note the number of people who volunteered the information on the questionnaires distributed in the course of this survey, that the economic factor played a most important part in determining the extent of their cultural activities.
spend their surplus money on other goods they bought books. On the other hand a rather different situation prevailed in relation to the sales of pictures. Many people bought works of art during the war who were not the regular art collectors. Large sums of money were paid for pictures by people who considered such purchases as a sound investment.

In addition to these economic considerations there are the social factors which must be taken into account in relation to this analysis of culture in wartime. In times of crisis such as we have just experienced the structure of society itself is upset. Society consists of the combination and interaction of various groups; every individual being a member of a number of different groups based on age, sex, locality, kinship, religion or politics, etc. In wartime the individual is jolted out of his customary group life and comes into contact with members of other groups and classes whom normally he would never encounter. Not only did this situation arise in the services, but also in civilian life with the conscription of individuals into factories. A graphic example of how this can affect our cultural life can be seen in the case of the Sydney artist (see Encouragement of Art Movement Section Page ( ) ) who was manpowered into a munitions factory and there stimulated an interest in art among his fellow workers which developed into an Australia-wide cultural movement. Thus in time of war the opportunities for contacts and the interchange of ideas within a community are increased, for the barriers which act against social intercourse
are weakened and in some cases broken down, with a salutary cultural result.

During a crisis certain unifying bonds of society are strengthened. It has been pointed out that a function of art in society is to preserve that link with the continuity of tradition. In war time when this continuity is threatened, the significance of our cultural heritage becomes clearer and in an attempt to preserve that tradition people turn to culture with a heightened consciousness of its significance. This importance of this function of culture was recognised by the British Government when in 1940 it set aside large sums of money for the purpose of encouraging and fostering the arts. In the first year it decided to spend £25,000 in conjunction with the Pilgrim Trust by setting up the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts; by 1944 the Council's annual Exchequer Grant was £175,000.

The vital role which culture could play in a crisis in strengthening the bonds of society was also realised in Australia towards the end of the war, by the late war-time Prime Minister who supported the project for the establishment of a Commonwealth Cultural Council. If he had lived it is undoubted that we should have seen the establishment of such a body.

Finally, there are the intangible or psychological factors which cause people to seek in art a reassurance at a time when the basis of society itself is threatened. Very often this seeking for reassurance is expressed in an
upsurge of religious feeling. Previous wars have been characterised by an intensification of belief in the powers of the deity to succour people in the crisis. The recent war, however, did not witness similar expressions of faith on the scale that some historical crises have provoked. Yet it produced a wave of interest in cultural activities — which in England was more far-reaching than in Australia. The reason for this emphasis on culture and the realisation of the significance of the arts is due partly to the fact that for many people religion no longer exercised the function and the power that it once had. This is undoubtedly the result of the general decline of religion which has been concomitant with the development of modern mass society with its new social techniques and scientific advances.

Undoubtedly, too, art has the value of an escape which in wartime becomes more necessary than in times of peace. But it seems that in times of crisis, which by no means coincide with periods of greatness, unsuspected forced awaken in individuals which helps them to overcome the crisis by the creation of new values or the recreation of old ones.
Analysis - Part II.

A study of our cultural life would be incomplete without some investigation of the life of those who create culture - the intelligentsia. Thus it is proposed to devote this section to an analysis of the role of the intelligentsia and their position within our society.

Mannheim has pointed out that there are in modern liberal society various types of elites such as the political, the organizing, the intellectual, the artistic, the moral and religious. The function of the political and organizing groups is to integrate a great number of individual wills, whereas the function of the intellectual, aesthetic and moral-religious elites is a sublimating one. A society which uses up all its energies in organisation leaves little opportunity for introversion, contemplation, and reflection (e.g. United States). A society which does not allow a sublimating group to develop, can neither direct its culture nor further its creative powers. Only where, on the one hand, the average person has enough leisure to sublimate his surplus energies and where, on the other hand, there is a dominant cultural group, do there arise mutually adapted classes which create and assimilate culture.

"In a mass-democracy, cultural sublimation, as for example, in art and in fashion can take place only if small groups of connoisseurs, who create and mould taste, already exist, and slowly diffuse the content and the technique of sublimation over the rest of society. In all the spheres of

cultural life, the function of such elites is to express cultural psychological forces in a primary form and to guide collective extraversion and introversion; they are responsible for cultural initiative and tradition. If these small groups are destroyed or thwarted in their selection, the social conditions for the emergence and persistence of culture (1) disappear.

In investigating the development of the intelligentsia that in Australian society it is apparent/in the nature of our historical background is to be found the reason for the retarded growth of our intelligentsia. For the first hundred years the entire energy of society was directed towards the means of subsistence. During the penal settlement period it was the military elite which dominated and repressed all other groups. However, with the attainment of self-government, the cessation of transportation and then the healthy influx of immigrants at the time of the gold rushes new elites emerged of a political and bourgeois type whose energies were directed towards political and economic ends. Such groups were predominant and left little scope for the emergence of an intellectual elite. However, with the growing urbanisation towards the end of the last century small groups began to congregate in the cities of Melbourne and Sydney united by common intellectual interests. These were our first classless cultural elites. (Up till that time what intellectual activities there was had been dependent on the interest of individuals). These intellectual groups of the seventies and eighties which have already been described in the

(1) Ibid P.85.
historical survey were composed of men drawn from all walks of life. They presented the characteristics of what Mannheim describes as an "unanchored relatively classless stratum - a socially unattached intelligentsia". These groups, however, had little impact on the rest of society because although they were creative elites their development was not concomitant with the rise of mutually adapted classes able to assimilate culture. But during the nineties and the first decade of this century there developed a creative elite of writers and painters which for a period exerted an influence on society which has not been paralleled since. The reason for this may have been partly that the creative writers of the time aligned themselves with the progressive contemporary political developments. Also, and more importantly, it is undoubted that at this time there emerged an audience which was ready to assimilate what the creative elite had to say. The writers were saying what the mass of the people wanted to hear. In fact this was a period of mutual adaptation between the creative elite and the assimilative public. Evidence of this is to be found in the impact which Henry Lawson's verse and that of other "Bulletin" writers made on society. From Tom Collins which tells of how the drovers' camp fires along the Riverina in the outback were the centres of intellectual discussions - from Shakespeare, Dante, Tennyson, Henry Lawson to Darwin and Henry George - we can also gain an idea of the nature of this audience. Further examples could be found of groups of intellectuals among the incipient

(1) See "Such is Life" and "Rigby's Romance".
Labor Party - in the circles which produced "The Worker" and "The Tocsin".

With the transition during this century from the simple regional type of society to modern 'mass society' with its urbanisation, the development of the films, radio, press, and automobile etc., the influence of our creative elites has diminished. The reason for this is that the new impulses and creative approaches to life are not given time to mature in small groups before they are disseminated. As a result of this the influence of creative culture is lost in the many passing sensations which abound in the life of a modern metropolis. Instead of creative ability and achievement we find constantly increasing hunger after ever-new sensations. Hence we find less and less appreciativeness amongst our cultural public of the original creative impulse and more and more a tendency to accept culture secondhand, through the radio, films, press, magazines, digests. Modern society has seen the development of 'potted' culture, through its 'brains trusts'; 'digests', 'quiz sessions', which acts as a medium between the creative elites and the public, thus interrupting the direct impact of the one on the other.

Sydney's cultural life and the character of her cultural elites provides an example of the general nature, functions, and class origins of the intellectual elites of a modern city. One universal characteristic of modern life as Mannheim has pointed out is that in it, unlike preceding cultures, intellectual activity is not carried on by a socially

(1) See Mannheim, P.87 (2) Ideology & Utopia, p.139
rigidly defined class, such as a priesthood, but rather by a
social stratum which is to a large degree unattached to any
social class and which is recruited from an increasingly
inclusive area of social life. Further, an examination of these
groups which compose Sydney’s intelligentsia reveals extreme
social mobility of cultural elites.

In Sydney we can distinguish four definite aesthetic
elites. First there is the upper elite whose leaders are drawn
from wealthy, professional business groups. These are Sydney’s
patrons of art and perform a useful economic function in
encouraging and assisting financially creative artists. Secondly,
there is the creative elite whose members are writers, artists,
musicians whose class origins are of a most varied nature.
Thirdly we have the University elite which is less socially
mobile - its members for the most part being drawn fairly
constantly from the middle professional classes. The function
of this group is an interpretative one - mediating between the
creative elite and the rest of society. Finally, there is our
elite audience - the assimilators of culture - whose members
are drawn from an increasingly wider class basis, but mainly
from the middle and professional groups. It should be noted
that these groups are not mutually exclusive - for there is
constant intercourse between the members of these various elites.
Thus, creative artists move in the circles of our upper elites
and so on; the common bond between these groups being
education and aesthetic sensibility.

Let us examine more closely the nature and constitution
of these various intellectual groups.
Upper Cultural Elite.

The pre-requisite for admission to this group is wealth. This is an essential characteristic enabling its members to carry out their function as patrons of the arts. For the most part from external appearances the way of life of this group is indistinguishable from that of the rest of our upper economic stratum - thus they live in Sydney's better suburbs in large houses, drive expensive cars, feature in the social columns of the press, take periodic world tours and ostensibly abide by the conventions and morality demanded by society - in fact they display all the insignia of their class.

There are, however, certain features which distinguish them from the rest of their class, namely education, aesthetic sensibility and sometimes birth. A case in point of one of Sydney's art patrons who possesses all these attributes, birth, education and wealth is Mrs. X. Mrs. X. is the daughter of a doctor who in his day was Sydney's leading surgeon and whose father before him had been in the medical profession. A premium was placed on cultural values by her father and accordingly she was sent to Sydney University to do an Arts course. Twice married - the first time to a doctor who was killed some time after their marriage, and the second time to one of Australia's pioneer aviators, today Mrs. X. lives in a spacious and 'artistic' house at Palm Beach on an income derived from various country properties acquired by her forbears in the course of their careers. She has a flat in the city which she visits regularly, thus keeping in touch with the activities of Sydney's
cultural life—for she attends symphony concerts and art exhibitions regularly. At her Palm Beach home which is characterised by original paintings on the walls, fine china and a large collection of books, she entertains Sydney's cultural elite. At her house one may meet, from time to time, Sydney's younger modernist artists of whose work she is a constant purchaser; overseas celebrity musicians, visiting Russian ballet dancers—in fact most of Sydney's notable creative elite.

In passing it might be noted that many of the people, particularly the artists, received by Mrs. X. are members of Sydney's bohemia, and who live irregular, and according to the rest of society, 'immoral' lives. But because Mrs. X. recognises the particular and important contribution this creative group makes to society, she is willing to overlook their deviation from accepted social codes and makes concessions on this account. This is an attitude generally characteristic of this upper cultural elite.

For some members of our upper elite, a display of interest in the arts, whether by collecting pictures, d'arts, attending orchestral concerts and so on, is a means of gaining added social prestige. For others, however, their patronage of literature, art, and music is evidence of a genuine personal understanding and interest. An example of this type of individual is Mr. T.M. Kelly, one of Sydney's patrons of music, who himself is an able violinist, leading his own string quartet.
The life history of Sydney's leading art patron, Charles Lloyd Jones, shows how the adoption of the role of patron was prompted through personal proclivity and knowledge of painting. In his case, however, this role was assumed as a compensation for an unfulfilled wish to follow an artistic career. From the following summary of his life story the particular characteristics of this type of art patron emerge, and, in addition it is believed the general typical features relating to the class origins and economic status of our upper cultured elite in Sydney are to be found. This summarised life story was published recently by a daily newspaper on the occasion of Charles Lloyd Jones' 68th birthday:

"Next Tuesday, Charles Lloyd Jones, chairman of directors of David Jones, Ltd., Sydney, will be 68 years old. He will probably spend the day, as usual, in his office or strolling about the store that has borne his family name for 109 years and now ranks in size among the first half-dozen department stores of the British Empire. You may see him, a medium-sized, clean-shaven man with thinning silver hair, shrewd, humorous blue eyes, and a general air of self-effacement. Throughout the store he is known as C.J., and everyone in it, from the newest messenger boy to the general manager, finds him easily approachable, a ready listener to personal problems and business worries. He seldom forgets to send flowers at the right time, never forgets a good turn.

Quietly dressed, wearing a blue spotted tie, he likes to wander from department to department, seeing how things are going along, stopping now and then for a word with an old crony, passing by so unostentatiously that there is never any need for an employee to feel embarrassed or flustered. His biggest foible is a certain impatience at delay. He doesn't like to be kept waiting. In committee he's impatient at stalling tactics or needless wordiness, is sometimes inclined to ride roughshod over what he considers pettifogging opposition. This mild acerbity, however, is his only concession to the popular picture of a big shot business tycoon.

"Usually, he smokes a calm, reflective pipe, never appears to be in a hurry, detests the atmosphere of ringing telephones and flying secretaries, and can always take time off to talk about his favorite hobby, landscape painting. For a man as wealthy and powerful as Charles Lloyd Jones, his lack of dogmatism is remarkable. He is not even normally self-assertive in his point of view, looks up at you with his quiet blue eyes to see how you are taking what he has to say, ends most of his observations with a question mark in the form of a tiny grunt. His easy tolerance and social amiability make him well liked wherever he goes.

Most of the people who say harsh things about C.J. haven't met him. Overseas he's a good ambassador because he lacks the self-assertion some people have learned to associate with Australians. At the same time, he is 100 per cent. Australian in outlook and enthusiasms. Only strollers and time-wasters arouse the Big Bad Business Man in him. In England he's regarded as that unusual phenomenon, an Australian-born Welshman who succeeds in being most of the things some Englishmen regard as peculiar to an English gentleman. In the U.S. they sum it up by saying: "C.J's. a good guy!".

He looks back a little wistfully to his student days in England, when he bought a brown-sailed fishing trawler for £300 and spent long, dreamy days sailing around the coast of England painting land and seascapes, planning a career in art. He is still slightly conscious about being in "trade" when at heart he is an artist, a practitioner as well as a patron of the arts. In artistic circles, which he frequents overseas as well as in Australia, he refers repeatedly to himself as "the linen draper", signs letters to his friends with the nom-de-plume "The Honest Draper".

Charles Lloyd Jones, fourth in succession to the family business which became a public company in 1906, was born in an old-fashioned colonial style house named Cicada, at what is now Croydon. His father was Edward Lloyd Jones, fourth son of the original David Jones, and his mother a colonial-born girl from West Maitland, Helen Ann Jones, daughter of Richard Jones, founder of the West Maitland Mercury, a friend of W.C. Wentworth and a director of the Commercial Bank of Sydney. The two families were not related.

He went to the Homebush Grammar School under the mastership of Richard Sly. Young Jones, a slight, dreamy lad fond of play, was no scholar. Perhaps his long absences abroad with his parents accounted for this. The Grammar School master told his parents that Charles Lloyd
had no chance of passing the Junior Certificate Examination, stepping stone to higher education. Charles Lloyd's ambition was non-academic and non-commercial. He said he wanted to be an artist.

His parents insisted that he should reapply himself to a serious pursuit of the Junior Certificate, but when Richard Sly again shook his head doubtfully they gave in, and Charles Lloyd Jones was enrolled among the pupils of Julian Rossi Ashton, at the Sydney Art School. The Sydney Art School in 1895 was just beginning its career as the fountain and inspiration of the native tradition in Australian art. Among his fellow students at the Ashton Studio were Elioth Gruner, a shy, sensitive lad who was never quite sure of himself, George Lambert a slim, tall, fair young man who worked in an office, Thea P rootor, who joined the school at 14 and was a general favorite, and Howard Ashton, who was almost equally interested in music and literature.

"In this company I soon found how much I had to learn," C.J. told me. "I studied poetry and history and the arts. It was a task I imposed upon myself to overcome my ignorance. 'I realised it was necessary to educate myself if I wanted to understand art, and to take my place in the cultured world'.

Charles Lloyd was about 17 when he began to study art seriously. In all, he spent four or five years at it, finishing in London, where he hoped to get a picture hung at the Academy, be elected an R.A, and follow a professional career as an artist. That ambition was not realised. Disappointed, he returned to Australia and, at 24, joined David Jones and Company on the ground floor as a cutter in the clothing factory.

"Life, like art, is endeavour, eh?" he says, looking up at you. "A place like David Jones doesn't happen, eh? It has to be created, like a work of art". He still paints when he gets an opportunity, and his painting is something more than the work of a tired businessman with a novel form of relaxation. He paints like he does everything else, with the maximum of energy and enthusiasm, mostly at Summerlees, his farming property at Sutton Forest, near Moss Vale. C.J. gives his paintings to his friends or keeps them for his own enjoyment. Two hang in the Sydney Art Gallery and one in the Melbourne Gallery.

"Afternoon Light" a restful Sutton Forest landscape with a couple of floating white clouds in a soft blue sky, was bought by the Sydney Gallery in 1941. "Auckland Blue", a fine study of blue water against a dun landscape, was presented to the Sydney Gallery at the request of the Trustees in 1937.
The pictures are far more than the playful daubings of an enthusiastic amateur, but no critic has yet said that he made a mistake in abandoning art for business. Daryl Lindsay probably got nearest the mark when he bought "The Canberra Mail" for the Melbourne Gallery. He commented:

"Charles Lloyd Jones is a damn sight better painter than he thinks he is".

In his tastes, C.J. is progressive, with a firm cultural base. He thinks Velasquez and Rembrandt are the greatest of the Old Masters, classes Streeton as the greatest Australian, despite the modern tendency to describe him as merely representational.

C.J. has an open mind about contemporary work and shows none of the emotional combative ness common to art coteries. He brought the first Utrillo to Australia and retains a lively interest in the most extraordinary manifestations of the modern spirit. He remains, however, an exhibitor with the Society of Artists, midway between the slightly academic outlook of the Royal Art Society and the ultra-modernism of the Contemporary Art Society. His art patronage has always been lively, as a buyer of contemporary Australian work, an organiser of exhibitions and a promoter and editor with Sydney Ure Smith and others of "Art in Australia" and similar publications, including a portfolio of Streeton's work.

He was a keen tennis player, but yachting has always been his main sporting interest. He still takes a regular summer morning swim in the harbor.

C.J. married Hannah Beynon Jones on July 25, 1929, at Chicago, U.S.A. They have two sons, David, 15, and Charles, 13.

Charles Lloyd is the first of the Jones to take art seriously, although his grandfather, a peppery, Welsh Congregationalist, read the serious quarterly reviews, took an intelligent interest in affairs, and died in 1873 with a Sydney Morning Herald epitaph such as every businessman in Queen Victoria's reign would wish to have had.

It said: "..... the long career of Mr. Jones..... has been distinguished for benevolence and upright ness. As the head of a numerous family and large establishment he exercised a valuable influence always on the side of religion, order, and progress....."
Creative Elite.

This group consists of writers, artists, and musicians who are recruited from all strata of society. This elite as a whole is not identifiable with any particular class. It corresponds as a group to Mannheim's unattached intelligentsia.

The criterion of admission into this group is on the evidence of artistic and creative ability. It should be noted that social mobility is a pronounced characteristic of this group, for having identified himself with this elite, the artist gains admission to the circles to which he may not socially belong. It is possible for the artist to move out of the class in which he was born and attach himself to a higher social stratum, not through usual channels of economic achievement, but on the basis of artistic achievement - and sometimes merely on the evidence of his alliance with the artistic elite. This class mobility is not always necessarily an upward movement, for instance, those intellectuals who associate themselves with a proletarian ideology may eschew the associations with their own class for those in a lower social stratum.

From observation of the life of Sydney's creative elite certain group characteristics are to be found which distinguish its members from the rest of society. Amongst some artists these are to be found in external appearances - in dress, dwellings or sexual aberration - as in the case of our bohemian artists; amongst others they are to be found in more subtle manifestations appearing only on close examination.

In an attempt to analyse the relation of the artist to society, the case study method has been adopted (see Appendix)
The aim of the case studies has been to assess to what extent the pursuit of an artistic occupation causes the members of that group to differ from other social groups, how far do our artists, writers and musicians form an out-group in our society, how membership of this group has been a factor affecting their social and class status and to seek out what common characteristics, are shared by the members of our creative elite.

From the case histories and general observation of Sydney's creative elite distinct artistic groups appear within the elite. The most conspicuous one, and the one which in the eyes of the rest of society constitute the only artistic type, is the bohemian groups whose members live according to their own standards and intellectual rationalizations - represented in the case study of L. There are, on the other hand, our conservative artists, such as H, who led the life of the stable professional class adhering rigidly to sanctions and conventions of society. There is also the artist who conforms to the sexual code and normal way of life of the upper middle stratum such as D, but who is not thoroughly adjusted to the outlook and behaviour patterns of her class. Thus they eschew many of the social values demanded by their own class and replace them by artistic ones.

If we examine more closely the group life of our bohemian circle, certain features are to be found which mark this section as distinct from the rest of our creative elite and as an out-group in relation to the rest of society. Its members are not psychologcially adjusted to the social milieu
into which they were born and they are unable, or make no attempt to compromise with the demands of society. No psychological explanations for this deviant bohemian mentality is offered here, but it is suggested that a further study along these lines might be attempted elsewhere.

This refusal to conform to the accepted patterns is most noticeable in the appearance of the members of this group. The style of dress affected is typified in corduroy coats, cravats, sandals accompanied by long hair and sometimes beards. This attire which would not be out of place in certain environments is worn on all occasions - no concessions are made for occasions when this style of dress is not acceptable.

For example, members of this group are often conspicuous at symphony concerts by their mode of dress. This undoubtedly serves to emphasise their separateness from the rest of society.

Undoubtedly this deviant behaviour arouses interest and curiosity and the public expects the artist to exhibit the marks of his occupation. Certain artists are aware of this and often capitalise on the fact. An instance of how the bohemian figure arouses peoples interest is given in following incident relating to the French artist Matisse.

The following incident was related in the "Sydney Morning Herald" January 1st, 1947:

"An invitation to meet the great French modernist painter, Henri Matisse, at work on the bank of the Seine, was something which the Australian artist Norman Lloyd, R.O.I., eagerly accepted on a recent visit to Paris.

He had pulled up with the art critic of one of the leading Parisian papers.
"I know Matisse well", the critic had said. "He is working on the river now, and will, I am sure, be glad to meet you".

So down to the river they went, and soon they saw a small crowd surrounding a man standing before an easel. On the back of the easel in large red letters was Matisse's well-known signature.

The man standing before the easel presented an extraordinary appearance. Flew over his artist's pale blue smock was a huge red beard. Surmounting an abundant head of hair was a small black beret.

In a basket on the ground beside him was a small monkey, which every now and then he stooped to stroke.

On the canvas were several brilliant red strokes, in the typical Matisse manner. Just that and nothing more. After a quick glance at this Bohemian figure, the art critic led Lloyd into a safe some distance from the river.

Presently they were followed by him of the flowing beard and beret and monkey. He took up his position at a table some distance away. Within a few minutes there entered a slight figure with the clothes and diffident manner of a clerk who should not have been seen in a safe during working hours. A slight smile crossed his face when he saw the art critic.

"Monsieur Matisse - Monsieur Lloyd", said the critic, making a formal introduction.

The clerk - Matisse himself - was about to sit down when he noticed the bearded one. Calling him over, he handed him a hundred franc note. The note was taken with a slight word of thanks, and was promptly spent on a drink, which was sipped at the far table.

"I do not understand", said the bewildered Lloyd. "That man in the beret - he is not Matisse?"

“Oh, but no", replied the critic. "He works at the menagerie. This is his day off. Matisse, he just pays him to attract the people so that they do not distract the real Matisse at his work".

Not only does the individualistic appearance of the bohemian serve to set him apart from the rest of society, but his dwelling place is usually characterised by some unusual features. Sydney possesses as most cities do, her artists'
colonies where groups of this creative elite congregate to form their own communities with their own mores and standards. A brief description of one of these 'colonies' will suffice to illustrate the way in which 'normal' standards and conventions have been substituted by those of their own - particularly in relation to sexual behaviour.

One of the most colorful of Sydney's artistic communities is to be found living in an old derelict mansion in one of its upper suburbs. The most noticeable inhabitants of this old house are two young men both artists of considerable ability and recognised homo-sexuals; a Czechoslovakian sculptor and his mistress, a Russian ballet dancer; and talented young woman artist. Although the outside of this house presents a state of disrepair, inside the rooms of these artists are furnished in decorative and highly individualistic manner. Not only do the externals indicate the deviation of this group from the average, but also the way of life here illustrates how the general standards and conventions of society have been replaced by mores of their own; a case in point is that of the young woman artist. She is the daughter of a wealthy upper middle class family, but has eschewed the luxury and standards of her own social background to live the irregular and sexually free life of "Merioela". The way in which the conventions of her own class have been replaced by those of the artistic group which she has joined is exemplified in the following incident. Shortly after she went to live at "Merioela" she announced to her companions that she had "lost her virginity", which fact was a matter for pride
and was regarded as the "natural" thing by her artist friends. Whereas, undoubtedly this would have been a matter for shame amongst the members of the upper-middle class in which she was born. It should be noted that she is still accepted by the members of her own class who are aware of her irregular life, but because she is an artist, and a very talented one, she is regarded as "different", "artistic", and "interesting" - and her name still features, like those of the homosexual young men of "Mericola", in the social columns of the press.

Society does not ostracise this group for its deviation from the normal. This may be explained in the fact that they are "different and interesting" - testimony of this type of attitude is apparent in the fact that recently there appeared a page of a daily paper devoted entirely to a description of the "interesting", "artistic", atmosphere of "Mericola". Another explanation may be in that society tolerates this non-conformity because it is recognised these "eccentricities" have an important contribution to make culturally to society.

"Mericola" however, is not the only artists' colony in Sydney, there is another bohemian community which should be mentioned in passing situated in the rather different atmosphere of one of Sydney's waterfront slum areas. Historically known as "The Rocks" and once the haunt of sailors and convicts this area is today one of the most thickly populated parts of Sydney. Here one of Sydney's oldest and most picturesque buildings, once called, "The Mermaid
Tavern" is to be found and in this tumble-down structure lives a group of artists, musicians, and students. Here again the external appearance presents a slum, but inside is redeemed by the ingenuity and artistic appreciation of its inhabitants. The interior, is characterised by original paintings on the walls, collections of books of a wide variety and occasionally a gramaphone with a collection of classical records.

Undoubtedly this manner of living is but a further expression of this group's deviation from the accepted social mores. Possibly the additional factor of economics enters to explain this particular aspect of the bohemian life. Lack of money often forces the artist to live as cheaply as possible. But although he is obliged to find lodging in areas where rent and the general cost of living is low, the fact that he selects a derelict mansion or ruined inn is evidence that he still maintains his individuality.

A discussion of Sydney's creative elite would be incomplete without reference to another facet of the bohemian groups; that is the potential artist who belongs to the younger intelligentsia. For the most part they belong to the under thirty age group and have not yet attained the status of the older artists although many of them possess creative ability. Some have been forced by parents or circumstances into occupations out of sympathy with inclinations and they seek relief and an outlet for their artistic leanings in the company of artists, writers etc. Many of these are University
or art students who wish to identify themselves with the creative elite to which they aspire to belong. Socially they are drawn from all strata in society. Many of them will, as they grow older become absorbed in the economic struggle of earning a living and will drop out of this bohemian circle, while others will remain to take their place among the members of our creative elite. Members of this group move around together and are to be encountered in coffee shops and cheaper restaurants of the city. They are sufficiently conspicuous to have attracted the notice of a serious journalist, who has given an admirable description of these young people (1) in the following article:

"The man and the woman from the North Shore Line had come into town to see "Gone with the Wind".

"Let's have some supper", said the man afterwards. So they went into a coffee shop, coughing a little as they met the stale, smoky air.

The woman loosened her fox fur collar and glanced around. "My dear", she said presently, leaning forward across the little glass-topped table, "what an extraordinary collection of people there are here!"

After six years of a reality that even the most determined escapist could scarcely avoid, six years of regimentation and "Don't you know there's a war on?" irrepresible individuality is beginning to revive.

What is a little disturbing is the way in which it is manifesting itself.

As usual, the first signs are coming from the intellectuals and semi-intellectuals, the students, musicians, painters and all the hangers-on of the arts.

It was these, or some of them, with their untidy clothes and hair, pipes, beards, books and self-consciously uncouth mannerisms, who made the woman from the North Shore line stare.
A tour of the cafes and coffee shops in the blocks around Martin-Place any night of the week will reveal how some of Sydney's young intelligentsia are celebrating the freedom of our uneasy peace.

Dusk is their hour. Then they gather in the Italian restaurant. Minestrone, spaghetti, an entree, bread and butter and the first cup of coffee. All for 2/- and it doesn't matter if they've eaten the same meal the night before and the night before that.

The food goes quickly. So does the wine, if anyone has been rich enough to bring along a bottle. Glasses are shared around the table.

This is the first meeting place. More and more people come in and join the overcrowded tables.

The talk is pretty noisy here, to compete with the clash of dishes. Books, film, music and philosophy are discussed and scandal exchanged. Everyone is anxious to be witty at least once. It doesn't matter if they've heard the same conversation the night before and the night before that.

At 7 or 7.30 pm comes the time for the coffee shop crawl. A few people drop out but it is fairly certain that they will turn up later. In knots of two and three they invade the nearest coffee shop, overflowing into seats and huddling together, cramped. They bring a strangely raffish air to the poky quarters where, at lunch-time, polite typists or neatly-dressed women shoppers eat their toasted sandwiches and ice-cream with caramel sauce.

The young men wear bright shirts and ties or suits with their coat collars turned up. Some of them are old hands at cafe society. They did the round before the war. Quite a number are gratefully allowing it to soften the hard shell they acquired in the Services.

Others are babies, first-year university students and the like, goggling at life and hanging on the arguments and witticisms of the older ones. Few are over thirty. That seems to be the age limit in the cafe world.

Many of the girls look as if they have thrown on the first clothes that came to hand, although some have a certain carefully careless elegance.

On the whole, the women do not talk as much as the men. They seem to be floating accessories, going out at night with whoever turns up first. Two or three cups of coffee (au lait) are drunk here and the conversation, same brand as
before, goes on for a couple of hours.

Finally, there's something suggestive about the way the waitress says, "Are you having anything else?" There is a little discussion about who shall pay and sixpences are carefully piled up on the ticket. It's time to move on. Home? Never! Off to someone's room or studio, for music and more talk.

Or, if the first coffee shop session started late, on to another bout with the caffeine. Usually it is a dim King's Cross joint, where five or six steaming cups of thin black mud can be gratefully absorbed before midnight. One thin, white-faced, little man boasts of a record of 20 cups at one sitting.

Midnight. Disgusting, boring, separating hour, when the last coffee shop is shut and there's nowhere left to sit. So the groups break up, the comfort of the herd is lost. Is it possible that one has to stop talking for a moment and be left alone with one's own thoughts.

Fortunately there is always tomorrow... and tomorrow and tomorrow. The curious thing about this cafe society is that it is not entirely composed of arty-crafties and would-be "bohemians" - if one can use that curiously dated term.

Most of these young men and girls have more brains than the average, a few have real talent.

Yet, every night, they drift and drift, talking in circles, dreading the moment when they have to leave one another's company. Nothing constructive comes out of these interminable meetings. There is no link with the gay cafe society of Paris, where real ideas are the currency of conversation and occasionally a work of art is born.

There is not even the stimulus of political discussion, for politics, like so many other things, have become too shabby and smeared with disappointment. One does not sneer at these people, though, or even pity them for the futility of the lives they are living.

One only wonders what is wrong with the environment that produces them."

However, as has been pointed out this deviant group does not represent all Sydney's creative elite. From the case studies this fact has been clearly established. Here we have
artists such as Carl, D. and N. who are each highly original personalities and who have not swerved from the devotion to their particular part, but who have, on the whole, compromised with the demands of their art and those of society. They have maintained a balance between artistic and social values. In many cases it is this type of artist, who remains part of his society, whose work has more lasting social significance than the work of those artists who burn their backs on society. It is often from these social out-groups that a "decadent" art may arise.

This compromise with society may only be apparent in the more obvious social demands, such as living in a normal type of dwelling, keeping regular hours and adhering to the established sexual code. Very often the adjustment is made with considerable sacrifice or a conflict is set up in the artist between the loyalty to his art and what is expected by society. An illustration of this is the case of D who although she has wanted children has avoided having them because they might interfere with the pursuit of her own and her husband's artistic career. Similarly although she and her husband are a pleasant and socially acceptable couple yet they have deliberately cut themselves off from most social contacts because they believe that they cannot spare the time from their art in social activities. Here is an instance of how artistic achievement has been a substitute goal for customary compensation of family life and social position.

In the case of N we have an example of an artist who
has achieved what society may regard as the perfect compromise, living the thoroughly orthodox middle class family life. His life as an artist sharing equal place with his role as a father. Incidentally, just how far the quality of his work has been affected by this extremely stabilised conservative existence is a question which might be raised. Because it is apparent that the technical ability which N possesses is not equalled by the important artistic or aesthetic insight - how far this is related to his way of life is a question of speculation.

While in the case of Carl, the compromise with society has only been made in those spheres which are to more conspicuous ones. If we examine Carl's life more closely - as the case study has attempted to do - we find that in the pursuit of this art he has deviated considerably from certain behaviour patterns, particularly from the competitive pattern. Carl's indifference to economic values - his improvidence and confidence in something always 'turning up' is a characteristic which was found in the other case studies. For example, D, who could have married for economic security, a recurring motive for marriage in our society, but preferred to postpone marriage until she found someone in harmony with her artistic ideas and aspirations, even though it might have meant future impecuniosity. Even N burdened with numerous dependents has never allowed his periodic lack of money to worry him. These instances illustrate how certain social values on which society places a high premium such as the economic ones, may be a matter for indifference to some artists whose values are artistic ones.
In seeking the reasons for the separation and deviation of the artist from the rest of society some possible explanations present themselves. A minor material factor which contributes to set the artist apart from society lies in the nature of the artistic occupation itself. The pursuit of art is a never-ending one thus one does not "retire from art" for "art is long and life is short". The artist works regardless of time, he is not disciplined by an eight-hour day or a forty-hour week. But the fundamental reason which distinguishes artists as a group from the rest of society, lies in the inherent originality of the artistic personality. It is obvious that the artist does not present a unique psychological type - the whole gamut of psychic traits, from the introvert and extravert artists to the schizophrenic and depressive type of artists, is to be found in this group as in other sections of society. It cannot be denied, however, that the artist possesses some quality which distinguishes him from the average individual - whether this can be defined as highly developed perception, sensitivity, intuition or referred to merely as the "creative gift". This individuality may manifest itself externally in dress, conversation, type of dwelling, aloofness or in aberration from established social codes. The explanation of this inherent characteristic is rooted in the nature of the creative gift itself whose special contribution to civilisation is to bring an added insight through an original personal mind, to bear on the experiences and situations of everyday life.
University Elite

Membership of this section of the intelligentsia is limited to university lecturers and professors who have followed a career within the precincts of a University. The average University graduate who becomes absorbed into the various professional occupations is not considered a member of this particular elite because invariably the competitive struggle in the professional world is so keen that his energies and intellectual ability is absorbed in an economic end. As far as his cultural life is concerned he takes his place among the cultured public – among those who attend concerts and art exhibitions in their leisure time.

The function of the University elite is a significant one in our cultural life, acting as an interpretative medium between our creative artists and our cultural audience. It is here that the work of the creative elite is weighed and assessed. The Universities produce our critics and serve the important function of a guiding influence.

The class origins of this group for the most part are those of upper middle professional classes. The survival of the time when the University elite class was recruited predominantly from the aristocracy and the property owning class so that wealth was the pre-requisite of education and the intelligentsia took its place in high society, is still apparent. An incident indicating that this attitude is still alive occurred recently at a certain University. It was decided to give it to a young man with outstanding intellectual
ability, but an objection was raised to this appointment by one of the older professors who claimed that he did not speak with the required refinement of accent - the insignia of upper class stratus.

However, with free education and by the means of government scholarships the University has latterly been opened to all social classes and our University elite has consequently been recruited on an increasingly broader basis.

Like our creative elite members of this group may rise in the social scale by means of their particular knowledge and intellectual ability. Instead of birth or property providing the basis for acquiring social position knowledge has been the agency for raising their class status.

The Cultured Public:

The function of this group as has been pointed out is to assimilate culture. They are the consumers of the products of our creative elites. This group is distinguishable from the other elites because its cultural interests are leisure time ones. The members of this group do not follow any particular art as a profession, but seek an outlet for their artistic sympathy by participating in their spare time in the activities of literary or dramatic societies by attending orchestral concerts and art exhibitions or joining their local choral society, by reading books and literary journals, attending W.E.A. and Extension Board lectures or joining discussion groups.

The impression gained from general observation of the type of people who patronise the arts is that these people who
attend symphony concerts, also attend art exhibitions, little theatres, the ballet, etc. And that Sydney possesses a nucleus of people who form a cultured elite. It was also observed that the members of this elite were drawn from the professional and middle class groups. In an attempt to investigate the nature and class origins of Sydney's cultured public a survey was made by means of the questionnaire method to substantiate these observations.

The questions asked sought to find out the following type of facts: —

(a) what is the occupational status of Sydney's cultured elite;
(b) to what predominant age-group do its members belong.
(c) the proportion of males to females.
(d) the proportion of individuals who attend regularly, occasionally or never - orchestral concerts, art exhibitions, little theatres and the ballet.
(e) what proportion of people who belong to one cultural society also belong to other artistic groups.
(f) In what country or countries did these people spend the first 20 years of their life. (From this question may be deduced to what extent the influx of aliens has stimulated our cultural life).
(g) what type of periodical do these people read regularly.
(h) to what extent the interest in the arts has increased if at all, since 1939.

It was decided to send questionnaires to four hundred recipients selected from the mailing lists of a cross
section of different cultural organisations such as the Society of Artists, Royal Art Society, the New Theatre League, the Metropolitan Theatre, the Fellowship of Australian Writers, the English Association, Sydney Musica Viva Conservatorium.

From the fact that these names were to be found on the lists of a society relating to either music, drama, art of literature, it was presumed that the individual was interested in at least one of the arts; it being the aim of the questionnaire to find out if there is a nucleus of cultured people who patronise more than one aspect of our cultural life.

Out of 400 forms mailed only 61% were returned and what conclusions may be drawn from 244 members of Sydney's cultured public are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>No. of People</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Professional</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>19 1/2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artist, Musician</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 1/2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Duties</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>18 1/2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradesman</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writer, Journalist</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(11) If woman - Occupation of Husband.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>No. of People</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 1/2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artist Musician</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradesman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writer Journalist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(b) Sex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>No. of People</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Age Group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>No. of People</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 30</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-45</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 45</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Spent First 20 Years in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>No. of People</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominions</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China, Japan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Members of:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Society</th>
<th>No. of People</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Art Society</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music &quot;</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dramatic &quot;</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literary &quot;</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of this number:

- 52 people are members of 2 societies
- 12 " " " " " " 3 " " "
- 5 " " " " " " 4 " "

Type of Periodicals Read Regularly:

(a) Australian:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periodical</th>
<th>No. of People</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aus. Quarterly</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meanjin Papers</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southerly</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book News</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian Journal</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulletin</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.B.C. Weekly</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art Periodicals</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music &quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Footnote: * Some people spent first twenty years in more than one country.
(b) British:

- London Observer: 11
- Listener: 15
- New Statesman & Nation: 15
- International Affairs: 8
- Ill. London News: 10
- John O'London's: 22
- Spectator: 4
- Time and Tide: 2
- Times Literary Supplement: 20
- Fortnightly: 1
- Economist: 4
- Punch: 17
- Nature: 4

Percentage: 42%

(c) American:

- Christian Science Monitor: 5
- New Yorker: 12
- Esquire: 4
- Atlantic Monthly: 7
- Time: 18
- Life: 25
- Saturday Evening Post: 26
- National Geographic: 21
- Theatre & Arts Digest: 4

Percentage: 22%

(d) European:

- 10

Percentage: 4%

(e) Technical:

- 38

Percentage: 15%

(f) Miscellaneous:

- 65

Percentage: 27%

Number of People who attend:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regularly</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Occasionally</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Before the War:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reg. Concerts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>34 1/2</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasionally</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>13 1/2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6 1/2</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before the War:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regularly</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Occasionally</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>35 1/2</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasionally</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of those who attend the various arts it was found that approximately 22\% attend consistently all orchestral concerts, art exhibitions, little theatres and ballet.

65\% attend frequently most of these cultural presentations - perhaps regularly orchestral concerts and occasionally art exhibitions and little theatres and vice versa.

12\% (i.e. 11\%\%) attend irregularly some of the arts and perhaps others not at all.

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**Footnote:** These percentages were arrived at by awarding respectively 3, 2, and 1 points to those who attend regularly, occasionally and never, orchestral concerts, art exhibitions etc. Tabulating these results it was found that out of 244 people:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Points</th>
<th>People</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was estimated therefore that those who gained over 18 points attended consistently. Those who gained between 13 to 18 points attended frequently most of the arts and those less than 13 irregularly.
It may, therefore, be concluded that Sydney possesses a cultured elite which is drawn from the middle class occupational group — as the fact alone that approximately 55% of the male recipients of the questionnaire belonged to the professional and business classes indicates. In this group the proportion of females to males is slightly higher implying that more women than men attend the various cultural activities. Further the preponderance of people over 45 years indicates that this group is composed of middle-aged rather than younger individuals. Although only 15% of this cultured group were born in Europe as compared with 79½% who were born in Australia — this is a considerable proportion when one considers that there are in Sydney a total of Europeans.

The data relating to the intensity of activity now and before the war indicates only a slight increase on the whole, but it is believed that had these questions been asked in 1945 instead of 1946 a much sharper increase in the numbers attending the various cultural activities then and before the war would have been found.

But the most important conclusion to be drawn from this questionnaire is the fact that it has substantiated the impression that there is a nucleus of people who patronise regularly or frequently more than one branch of the arts and that it is this nucleus who read the more serious type of periodical such as those listed above,
CONCLUSION.
Reviewing the evidence presented in the course of this study it may be said that there is a considerable amount of cultural activity in Sydney, if one considers the number of organisations at work in the various cultural fields. To the superficial observer perhaps Sydney does appear to be lacking in an appreciation of aesthetic values. Indeed it was the chance remark of a visitor to the effect that Australians had no understanding of culture and made no provisions for the few who might want to hear good music, and see good theatre and so on, which prompted this investigation. It is believe, however, that the data collected in the course of this survey of the various cultural organisations in Sydney refutes this observation. It is apparent that the amount of cultural activity has increased during the last ten years. Before 1939 it is undoubtedly a fact that there were fewer orchestral concerts, fewer opportunities for young musicians, fewer art exhibitions and fewer little theatres. As one interviewer remarked that ten years ago there was hardly any cultural life in Sydney whereas now, one could spend one's whole time attending concerts, art exhibitions and little theatres. It is true that during the depression years there arose numerous voluntary groups - particularly dramatic groups - which attempted to present repertory theatre in Sydney; but these were ephemeral efforts, lasting for perhaps a year or two and then dying out. Today, however, there are more cultural groups in Sydney than there has ever been before -
a situation which was undoubtedly precipitated by the
abnormal conditions of the war years.

A characteristic of these organisations is a general
lack of co-ordination and lack of facilities which tend to
detract from the effectiveness of their efforts. The majority
of groups whether they are choral societies, drama clubs or
literary circles carry on their activities under difficult
circumstances; thus Sydney's little theatres with the
exception of the Independent Theatre which is situated in a
suburb produce their performances in the cramped and
inadequate rooms in derelict buildings. Similarly the music
societies and theatre guilds in the suburbs have to depend
on uninviting church halls which are very often only made
available through particular courtesy. In the city there are
only two halls available for musical performances, the Town
Hall and the Conservatorium, neither of which are suitable
for the presentation of chamber music concerts. These are
only practical considerations but they are an important factor
in determining the success or failure of the work many
organisations, particularly those active in the spheres of
music and drama. The obstacle of adequate accommodation has
for many groups proved insuperable and been the cause of their
demise.

Although the evidence has shown that Sydney has
well developed agencies at work in the various cultural fields,
yet observation indicates that the consumption of culture is
limited to a restricted elite. The majority of people are not
interested in artistic activities, but prefer to find their outlet and diversion on the race course or the cinema rather than art exhibitions or symphony concerts or by learning to paint or play an instrument. The reason for this is to be sought in the nature of modern society itself - in the break up of community life. Due to technological progress the spiritual relations between people have been impoverished. Thus no longer is music and drama provided by local talent, but by the radio or the film. Due to the automobile, as the Lynds have pointed out in their study of American life, community activities whether for pleasure, religion or to secure to culture have declined because in leisure hours a large number of the community's population is somewhere else. Thus culture, in line with the other social trends, has become more and more centralised and consequently more remote from people. Today if one wishes to hear good music, see original paintings or a dramatic production it is necessary to travel to the city - no longer do people make an effort to satisfy their cultural needs in their own community. Hence it is only the few who are particularly interested who make the effort to travel to the city to attend cultural performances. It is not asserted that local talent is a substitute for the first rate talent which one is able to hear or see by visiting the city, but it is believed that through decentralisation, by bringing the best to the local community that a stimulus and lead would be given to cultural activity. During the war years we witnessed a trend in this direction, through the development of such organisations
as the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, the Country Art Exhibitions, the growth of Associated Music Clubs and the appearance of the suburban Theatre Guilds. This was paralleled by the Community Centre movement which manifested itself spontaneously throughout Australia.

It is felt that the social function of culture which is to contribute to social solidarity can only be properly fulfilled if there is a realisation of its significance and an understanding of its value by the majority, and not merely by an educated elite; and only when there is more of the participant's and less of the spectator's interest in cultural activities. This healthy relationship cannot be established under the present conditions of modern society; the physical structure of society with its atomistic city life does not permit it and further the educational system in response to the competitive economic pattern emphasises technical specialisation equipping the individual with the means to gain economic security rather than with an appreciation of any cultural and social values. Not until there is a vigorous community life and an awareness of communal and non-material values, can culture perform a vital role contributing to the cohesion of the group and satisfaction of the individual's psychic needs. This it is believed, will not be accomplished until there is comprehensive and synthetic planning, in the sense which Mannheim understands, accompanied by, or rather beginning, with complete and penetrating educational reform.
APPENDIX

Consisting of four case histories: -

1. A Woman Writer

2. A Woman Artist

3. A Musician

4. A Male Artist
CASE STUDY L - A WOMAN WRITER

L was known to me for about 18 months before I approached her for this purpose. Our acquaintance had been by no means intimate although we were on friendly terms. I had visited her at her flat with other people and I had been to parties where she had been present. We had a mutual friend and it was through him that I was introduced to her. My first knowledge of L as a writer came not through reading her work but through hearing her address a leading literary society's annual dinner several years ago. She had been invited as one of Sydney's young and coming writers to propose the toast of Australian literature, which she did with considerable poise and assurance.

I considered for some time whether it was justifiable selecting L as a case-study as I had already a preconceived opinion of her and as such a certain bias. On the other hand the advantage of having been in contact with her without her being in any way influenced by my presence would I thought be a valuable check on her actions and behaviour when she was conscious of my observation. Finally the time factor and her willingness to co-operate made me decide to select her for a case study.

It should be noted that L was a creative writer and possessed the gift of expressing herself with fluency and imagination - she was also naturally given to extravagant
phraseology. This was a factor which constantly had to be borne in mind throughout the study and involved checking the data indirectly wherever possible.

In appearance L is exceptionally tall with heavy limbs tinted blond hair and a naturally brown skin. A type which is attractive to many people. She takes a certain pride in her unusual physique which could aptly be described as Amazonian. This is illustrated in an incident which she related without any diffidence - once when she was seeking a job her future employer told her that he liked big girls and particularly big girls like her. This pride, which is to be distinguished from ordinary vanity, is linked with her confident knowledge of her sexual attractiveness. Her clothes indicate the effectiveness rather quality has been the objective. The impression is gained of general untidiness and freedom which is characterised in her comment that one of the things she liked so much about Australia when she first came here was that women could go bareheaded, bare legged and ungloved without causing comment as it would have done in England. She dislikes intensely the English convention in dress.

L lives in a flat in one of Sydney's thickly populated inner flat-suburbs, where a great many of Sydney's artists, actors, journalists and 'bohemians' live. Her flat into which she moved a few years ago shortly after she married her first husband is part of an old colonial mansion which has been converted into several flats. The building itself is a very
fine example of our early architecture - spacious, dignified and in a perfect state of preservation. Her flat consists of one enormous room with a small kitchen and shower room off it. This room is very pleasing in its proportions with its high ceiling, its large windows, its fireplace and the general impression of breadth and airiness. The other flats in the building are similarly designed. The occupants are for the most part journalists, artists and others who are likely to be appreciative of the unique atmosphere of their surroundings. L's room is furnished with an emphasis on modern art - bare floors, low furniture, numerous books and most noticeably on the walls, a collection of paintings by Sydney's younger and artistically radical artists. Dominating these pictures is a large Indian mural, which portrays a Dionysian native dance; this was pointed out to me by L as possessing particular value in her eyes as it was given to her by one of her friends who told her that she was the only person he knew who could live with a "thing like that". This environment is an important part of her life providing as it does an effective background for the role of the unconventional colorful bohemian which L successfully plays. Its importance is illustrated in her remark that the idea of having to leave this room could mean an indefinite postponement of the fulfillment of her ambition to travel, which she believes is necessary for her career.

L's story begins in England where she was born and
where she spent the first ten years of her life. Her mother and father were very happily married. Her mother's origins L is particularly proud of for her mother's grandfather was a nobleman given his title by the Prince Consort. This ancestor's romantic career was described at length and with considerable detail in the first interview. Thus, it was felt, the keynote was struck. Her great grandfather was described as "wild, extravagant, generous bohemian"; who fought in the Greek War of Independence and was the friend of such distinguished people as Sassoon's grandfather. He was "eccentric and brilliant", at one moment the wealthy owner of newspapers and the next penniless journalist endeavouring to earn some money by his pen. His literary abilities were confined to newspaper in articles and poetry - this L spoke of as evidence of a literary streak in the family which she has inherited. Her grandfather was an equally picturesque character who spent one period of his life as political adviser to the rajah of Bengal. These were her maternal grand parents. On the other hand she knows nothing of her father's origins except that he was English. This may have been a conscious ignorance in that the research worker constantly felt that L tended to give the most colorful and romantic turn to the narrative of her origins and early life.

The relationship between her parents was perfectly harmonious. Her father's occupation was a marine salvage contractor - himself a deep-sea diver he spent most of his life travelling around the world for firms such as Lloyd's
the scenes of various wrecks. Thus the presence of her father as head of the family was only intermittent, as the nature of his work meant that he was always coming or going. A factor which did not lend stability to family life. An indication that her father's origins were of a lower status than her mother's was given in the situation that arose when her father asked for her mother's hand and was refused. A period of seven years elapsed before her mother was prepared to defy her parents and marry the man of her choice. L's mother was brought up in the restricted atmosphere of a typical Victorian background. The effect of this was not to produce a repressed dependent woman but rather the reverse. Thus she managed to look after three children unaided without it worrying her unduly. L described her as "really quite gay" and as the sort of person who has always been the life of the party even to the present day. Apparently she soon threw off the constraints which her early upbringing must have engendered soon after her marriage, for L cannot recall her mother being inhibited about discussing such subjects as sex or alcohol. This is evident in L's comment that her mother is always very popular at her parties because of her fund of dubious stories.

From L's earliest recollections she can remember the freedom in relation to sex which existed in the household. As children they would often walk into a room and find their parents embracing each other passionately. This is borne out in the fact that L's mother told her when she was still fairly young the circumstances in which L was conceived. How because of the rather romantic situation they called L the 'lovechild'.
L had an admiration for her father whom she described as "a very honest man - easily taken down in business, but held in high esteem by all who worked with him and knew him". He possessed more than the average amount of courage as is evident in the dangerous jobs he frequently undertook in the course of his normal work and also in the perilous functions he performed during the 1914 war; the latter involving sabotage of enemy ships. The nature of his work had detrimental effects on his health so that he died in his prime - soon after he had settled his family in Australia. L spoke of her father with considerable affection. In her relations with her mother on the other hand, although she pays lip service to the prescribed attitude towards her surviving parent in actual contact she tends to regard her mother's presence with certain tolerant indulgence. At the same time the relations between them are of an easy character - there being no restraint in conservation which is often apparent between two different generations. L's mother never interferes with her life and is content to live her own separate existence in a flat not very far from L's. She has never been regarded as a restraining or disciplining influence by her family; L recalled with amusement her mother's attempts at disciplining herself and her sisters when they were children.

L's childhood was spent in England. Her earliest personal recollections concern her violent temper tantrums in which she used to indulge quite frequently. These became so
acute and frequent that her mother took her to a doctor who prescribed some tablets which had little effect. These outbursts were not confined to L's early years but continued until she was adult and which she has only conquered of recent years. The last outburst was two or three years ago when in a moment of uncontrol she flung something at her boss (a newspaper editor) and as a result was forced to leave her job. An event in her early childhood which L connects with her first violent tantrum was an incident which occurred during her mother's confinement at the birth of L's youngest sister. At this time L was left in the charge of servants who went out for a day leaving L tied up in a room by herself; the result being that she screamed uncontrollably with fear and rage until she was quite exhausted. This experience left an indelible impression on her.

L was sent to school when she was six, but she had been there only a few weeks when she developed diphtheria so badly that she was kept back from school for a whole year. This was just the first of a series of illnesses which meant that most of her childhood was spent at home. To allay the boredom of this isolation L turned to reading. She read avidly whatever books she could find in the house. Most of the books she found belonged to her elder sister who was four years older than L. Thus at the age of ten she was reading all sorts of literature - her sister also was a fast and avid reader. L recalls one of the first novels she read at this time was a Warwick Deeping novel which centred round the problem of illegitimacy. At this stage however L had no curiosity about sex - although from
adolescence on it was to occupy an important place in her life. About this time L made her first attempts at writing poetry. Her mother was delighted and thought it heralded genius. L recollects this early effort with considerable amusement. Already at this time her elder sister was regarding herself as a playwright - having written several childish plays which she used to produce with the assistance of her younger sisters and brother.

When L was eleven her family left England for Jamaica. She recalls the period in England as calm and uneventful. Economically they were well off, there was never affluence but always sufficiency. Her family spent three years in Jamaica which proved to be three very happy years for L. There the white community had developed a very stringent class system where one group of people did not mix with the others - this group consisted of the upper class British officials who visited Government House and who looked down on those whites who did not mix in official circles, they also tended to despise the numerous American tourists who formed a constant but mobile part of the community. At the bottom of the social structure was the coloured population. L's family belonged to the upper white stratum which had entree to Government House.

The time L spent there left a vivid impression on her memory. The color and beauty of the country itself attracted her with, as she described it, "its mountain peaks, and hidden springs and magnificent skies intensely blue in the daytime and velvety black with a darkness that rubs up against one". Thus when she arrived in Australia the country seemed almost entirely
lacking in colour and the skies washed-out. While L was in Jamaica she attended a school which was run by a group of Cambridge graduates on what may be described as advanced educational lines. There the pupils could select the subjects they were most interested in and were given considerable freedom in what they did. Important from L's point of view was the excellent library system which the school offered. L believes that she learnt more at this school than she did at any other school. It was there that she developed a taste for English literature.

Her father's next assignment was in Australia which was the reason that the family came here. When they arrived here they moved into a house at Bondi and the children (the girls) were sent to one of the large Girls' High Schools in Sydney where L stayed until she passed the Leaving Certificate winning an exhibition to the University. At this stage her father died and she felt a certain obligation to assist her mother, so L decided that she would surrender her exhibition and find a job, which provided an opportunity for her to fulfill her ambition to go into journalism.

L's reaction to Australia at first was one of dislike, she resented the Australian attitude to foreigners (during her time in the West Indies she had developed a curious accent, which stamped her and her sisters as strangers). She resented the way they were called 'Pommies', to this day she still feels very strongly about the insularity of
Australians which tends to despise all newcomers dubbing them with a derogatory label, "either they are dirty dagoes, damn Yanks, pommies or so and so refugees". I found this attitude very distressing at first and said that it made her feel that she wanted to stay a foreigner. This feeling has persisted although now she is perfectly adjusted to the country, but she still thinks of herself as English.

After she left school she drifted from one job to another, trying her hardest to get a position on one of the daily newspapers. To this end she used to haunt the offices of certain journalists with whom she was acquainted. These men did not resent her persistence but tended to regard her as an "amusing youngster". No doubt her assurance, her ready wit and attractive appearance won them. Soon however they were taking her for drinks with them after. Her partiality for liquor, which now might be described as a necessity to her, was developed at an early age; her father had taught her to appreciate alcohol at the age of twelve for he believed that his daughter should be able to "hold her liquor like a man".

At this stage she was attending a business college and before she had completed her course she became very ill with Vincents Aengina. To recuperate she went to Melbourne where she stayed with some friends. While there she had her first opportunity to do newspaper work; I stayed on this weekly for six months writing a gossip column; this involved interviewing all sorts of people and provided an opportunity to gain experience
She returned to Sydney and was still unable to find journalistic work other than starting as a cadet and reporting social functions which she was determined not to do; so she took a job as secretary to one of Sydney's leading repertory theatres. She tired of this after several months and found another position in a large firm which syndicates overseas comic strips and pictorial matter. She soon had responsible work organising pictorial material on Australia for overseas papers. From here she went to a woman's weekly paper as the editor's secretary, at the same time establishing herself as a free-lance writer; from there she went to a daily paper where at last she was given responsible writing to do. At this juncture however she became extremely ill and was forced to give up her work for several months. The breakdown in her health, apart from antrum trouble which has been a chronic state ever since L can remember, was partly induced by the irregularity of her life. When she recovered she did not return to the same job but found another position on a country paper for a few months and then dissatisfied with this went to a weekly magazine where she has remained ever since.

In her career L has been particularly successful and has now reached a high grading as a journalist - for a woman. The fact that she has now reached almost the limit beyond which a woman very rarely goes in her profession is bitterly resented by L. This belief in women's ability and the injustice dealt out to them in the business world is a matter on which she feels very strongly and deeply. Much of her creative writing has this motive threaded through it. This belief has been reinforced by
her wide reading of anthropological books. She is convinced that the pattern of behaviour expected of women in our society is contrary to their natural desires. She does not believe that there is any such thing as a mother instinct and has a horror of ever having a child. This faith in the equality of women is a dominating influence in her life and no doubt has been a contributing factor in the formation of her political views which veer to the extreme left. Although she is not at present an active member of a political party there was a time when she actively engaged in political organisation. This was during the Spanish War when many of the writers joined the Internationale either in body or spirit; and incidentally it was at this time L wrote some of her best poetry. She feels that socialism offers better opportunities for women as the Russian precedent has illustrated. The present position of woman in western society which demands dutifulness, domesticity, is an intolerable situation to her. As a character in one of her plays has bitterly expressed it, "daughters for duty and sons to find glory." These views are not simply theoretical ideas which she produces for conservational effect, but which she adheres to in her everyday life; thus she has refused to be economically dependent on any man and although she has been married twice she has still maintained her independence by working. It should be added here that L enjoys her work and the contact with people which it constantly involves. She dislikes housework heartily which her husband, in harmony with her ideas, shares. At the same time however she likes cooking but is part of her interest in food of
which she has a connoisseur's appreciation and on which she spends considerable time and money. She admitted that it very often costs her husband and herself five pounds a week for lunches alone - this included the wine which accompanies almost every meal.

L has no doubts or conflicts as to her feelings in regard to bearing children. She is honest in admitting quite frankly to anyone that children would interfere with her life. She asserts that it is her dearest ambition to leave behind her one piece of writing that will live and anything which might be an obstacle to this, such as having children, she avoids.

L's first marriage was a brief but happy arrangement, cut short by the war in which her husband met his death as a fighter pilot. She believes that this could have been an almost perfect union if it had lasted as she and her husband were ideally suited. He was a journalist too and enjoyed living the same irregular and unconventional life as L. Although protests her love for her first husband she admits that while he was away at the war she had sexual relations with other men, this did not mean that she had fallen out of love with her husband, but was merely part of her genuine belief that sex is a physical necessity and the enforced abstinence which continence would have imposed was intolerable to her. Sex is a very important part of L's life although not disproportionately so. It is a subject about which she can talk with ease and at length. Her interest in sex began while she was still at school when she began to read all the books she could find relating to the subject - from
medical books to Aldous Huxley. At quite an early age her mother had told her the facts of conception and childbirth; but she did not develop any particular curiosity until the age of sixteen or seventeen. Soon after she left school she began reading Freud. "I came to the conclusion that if I didn't do something about it I would develop a neurosis. I soon had an opportunity with a man much older than myself, but I didn't really like it very much". This affair was the first of several before she married. She believes in marriage because it settles the sex issue, it means that sex "is laid on" and so one can devote more time to other "more interesting things". L claims that she is not highly sexed, but that she genuinely likes men better than women, she likes their proximity at the same time she knows that she arouses sex in men, which often creates "awkward situations". She says that she becomes interested in men for the sake of finding out their reactions. This pleasure she derives from observing the behaviour of the men whom she consciously attracts springs not from a sense of vanity but rather from a fulfillment of a desire for power which exerts an unconscious influence on her actions. This desire to subordinate her lovers is a means of gaining recognition. The usual devices of gaining status through the practise of socially commendable pursuits are not those of the particular circle in which L moves. Among this group consisting of artists, journalists etc., the generally accepted virtues are eschewed and replaced by those of their own. Thus in relation to her younger sisters life, this comment of L's is typical, "I don't believe in marriage, she dislikes the
legal formalities it involves, at present the man she is living with (an artist) is trying to persuade her to marry him. Although she has not been married she has had a full sex life. She is a normal girl." L regards it as abnormal for any woman married or unmarried to live a sexless life. Similarly she considers that monogamy is an impossible form of marriage. S he has married because she believes that it is simpler to conform ostensibly. It doesn't pay to flout convention entirely and as she put it "it disposes of one's followers". Thus although she is constantly attracting men to satisfy her sense of power and her desire for recognition, she does not always want them physically and marriage is a useful shield.

Her second husband to whom she has been married for approximately six months is by no means her intellectual counterpart and she excuses him by the fact that he has been in a prison camp for the greater part of the last few years. He is employed in a business firm which is quite a remunerative position. Although she is loyal to him it is obvious that he is not ideally suited to her as her first husband apparently was. It is also obvious that he is jealous of her in relation to other men. He dislikes going away as his work frequently demands and as L said, "he is afraid of me having dates with my fancy boy friends".

**ANALYSIS for purposes of this study.**

Reviewing L's life the most obvious characteristic it presents is irregularity. Her defiant life as an adult was no doubt influenced by her early environment which differed from
those of most people; first in the fact that it was a mobile one, secondly in that she spent a considerable of her childhood cut off from the usual activities of children of her age owing to ill-health, and also because of a certain instability of her family life which depended, owing to the frequent absence of her father, on her mother for discipline and guidance who was not of an essentially disciplined or stable character herself. Thus the deviant life that she leads as part of an artistic and bohemian group has not been assumed recently, but has its roots in her early background.

L belongs to that artistic group which has eschewed the standards and norms of behaviour usually demanded by society and replaced them by a code of its own. Hence the socially aberrant sexual life which L leads is considered normal and uninhibited by the circle in which she moves. It might be noted that L is not highly-sexed - a fact she admitted - which indicates that her promiscuity is not rooted in impulse. The motive underlying her relationships with the opposite sex, for whom she is undoubtedly attractive, is not related to a physical need but rather lies in her desire to enhance her self esteem. Through sex she is able to exercise power over others and assume a dominant position which is denied her in other spheres of life. Undoubtedly this desire for power and to subjugate others is a compensatory mechanism - the basis of which it has not been the purpose of this study to discover. This same personality trait is linked with other behaviour pattern she manifests. A n instance of her urge to be predominant is to be found in the
fact that it is not unusual for L to provide the chief source of entertainment or amusement at a party by performing an erotic-primitive dance for the assembled company. Another instance of the compensatory mechanism at work is L's frequent witty and malicious comments on other people—particularly relating to those women who might menace her position in the sphere of creative and journalistic writing.

The development of L's social position provides an interesting example of the social mobility of the artistic group to which she belongs. Born of middle to lower middle class parents—despite the fact that L's description of her mother's origins indicated aristocratic forbears, it is apparent that her mother must have thrown off at an early age the conventions and behaviour pattern of her upper class origins. Today L's mother exhibits little trace of the usual characteristics associated with that class—her ability to "drink with the boys" and "tell a low joke with the next one" bears the stamp of the lower middle class stratum. It should be taken into account too that in the description of her ancestors L was given an opportunity to exercise her imagination and also to gain reflected esteem through possessing distinguished and romantic forbears, realising that it was impossible for the research worker to substantiate this material. L's father of whose origins she knew nothing was obviously not of a high social status, as his occupation of a deep sea diver indicates. L, however through her ability and attachment to the classless intelligentsia has moved upward in social scale. Thus she is admitted on the basis of her
intellectual and "artistic" qualities to the circles of our cultured elite; for instance L has mentioned her friendship and association with Lady B - one of Sydney's upper stratum. That L has social ambitions and the desire to gain status is apparent in various instances; for example, she excused the fact that she attended a State school in Australia on the grounds that her mother being a stranger to the country could not find any private schools. Another instance of the same nature was that she evinced an unwillingness to discuss her brother and when asked where he lived was vague and uncommunicative. It being found out indirectly that her brother lives in one of Sydney's lower standard areas and spent part of his time as a street photographer. L had described his occupation as that of a radio script writer. It is not untrue that he does write on a free-lance basis, but L preferred not to associate her brother with the low status occupation of a street photographer.

L, however, has not used the customary mechanisms for advancing socially through the accumulation and display of money. Although she has at times earned a considerable amount as a journalist she has been improvident where money is concerned spending what she and her husband earn on "enjoying life" - hence the extravagance in relation to food from which she derives considerable pleasure. Rather has she capitalised on her associations with this "interesting" and "different" group which society does not on the whole condemn because of its aberration from regular standards but because of the ability which its members possess and because of their very deviation are assigned a particular status in the community.
But the most important influence in L's life is the pursuit of her art, for which she does not spare herself, often working all through the night, sometimes the only time she has, to do her creative writing. Her missionary attitude towards her writing has meant that ordinary and "normal" objectives of the average woman, such as having children, have been replaced by an artistic objective.
CASE STUDY D -- A WOMAN ARTIST.

D was selected as representing a woman artist with an established reputation in her own field. She was not known to the research worker before contact was made with her for the purposes of this study, although her work which appears regularly in the annual exhibition of the leading art society and often in various art publications, was quite familiar to me. The first contact was made by letter which evoked a co-operative and friendly response. From then it was arranged that I should visit her regularly in her house, which proved the basis of an amiable and reciprocal relationship.

D is a woman of thirty six years, slim and elegant in appearance, usually well dressed and with a charming but restrained manner. At first meeting she would at once be labelled as the typical and socially acceptable upper class lady. Although completely adjusted to her life and thoroughly happy in her domestic affairs, she betrays a certain nervousness in her speech which indicates that she is not entirely sure of herself in her relations with other people. Her husband is some twelve years older than she is. In appearance he is the obvious artist with a greying beard and is usually clad in the rather careless loose tie and corduroy coat affected by many artists. Of a stocky build and an extremely quiet manner he is the adored husband of D who as an artist himself respects and understands her absorption in her work.

D and her husband live in one of the more thickly populated, better class suburbs of Sydney. Although there are
still many mansions extant inhabited by their wealthy owners there are numerous slum pockets, and flats have now begun to dominate the area. D and her husband live in part of an old two storey house which has been converted into two flats, but more fortunate than most flat dwellers, the main rooms of the ground floor which they occupy open on to a pleasant patch of lawn surrounded by tall shady trees. D's flat is tastefully furnished with antique cedar furniture, which she proudly declares they have picked up in the various country areas they have visited on their painting excursions for 'a song'; adding that they would not be able to afford to pay the prices asked by dealers. A characteristic note is struck in the collection of English china which decorate D's rooms. Although the impression is one of refinement the main room has a workmanlike atmosphere with easels and unfinished canvases, for owing to the limited space, studio and drawing room are combined.

D is the daughter of an English Unitarian clergyman who during his life gained considerable repute as an exponent of theological doctrine and as a brilliant classical scholar. From him she has inherited her quick mind and high intelligence which is undoubtedly above the average. Her father for whom D had great respect had a distinguished academic career graduating first as a Bachelor of Arts from Oxford and later as a Master from Cambridge. For a short time he edited a newspaper but after writing a work on philosophy and religion which won him distinction among theologians, he decided to enter the church. Apart from his own intellectual convictions his early upbringing
had encouraged the development of religious feeling - D's paternal grandparents being stern Calvinists.

D's mother on the other hand had very little education; like most women of her generation her education did not progress beyond needlework, painting, music and perhaps a little French. Her mother came of moderately wealthy parents; her father was a business man who made considerable money out of the manufacture of brushware. Thus D's mother was brought up in ease and comfort, but at the same time there was no luxury or self indulgence, so that when she married a man whose way of life consisted of "plain living and high thinking" and whose subsistence was/meagre clergyman's stipend she was prepared to make the best of things without complaint. D's parents were harmoniously matched but as she says: -

"in an entirely different way from the way in which my husband and I get on. The balance between mother and father was uneven; father was intellectually so much ahead of mother. Mother knew her place was in the home, as her Victorian upbringing had taught her, and never questioned the word of her husband. At the table father encouraged discussion amongst us children and often he would invite his friends to a meal and then the conversation would be on a high level; mother's role at the table, however, was to preside over the tea-pot, correct our manners and generally to ignore the conversation. Father was the dominating personality in our household and everything pivoted around him. Such a thing as father washing up, or cleaning his own shoes was never dreamt of or contemplated, and even now I find that it took a long time to get used to the idea of my husband washing up as he often insists on doing. The idea that domestic jobs are the woman's responsibility was ingrained in me even though I now see how unfair this can be in certain cases".

Thus although D's parents were little more to each other than domestic companions, they were perfectly adjusted to the situation their attitudes being thoroughly accommodated to each other. With the result there was no friction in the
household and the atmosphere maintaining a consistent calm. A background which no doubt helped to produce the balance which is characteristic of D's ideas and actions. It is also responsible for the premium placed by her on harmonious domestic relationships - she considers quarrelling and squabbling abhorrent and she and her husband will do anything rather than have a quarrel. It might be remarked here that the keynote of the following narrative of D's life is a sense of proportion and balance. The ability to reason logically, which she partly inherited and partly learnt from her father, she applies to most of the actions in her everyday life and is not something kept apart for intellectual argument.

D related the narrative of her life in the following words:

"I was born in England in North Lancashire in 1910 and for the first ten years of my life I had a happy but indulged childhood. Father being a minister of the Unitarian Church we never had much money so that as children we were not spoiled by an excess of worldly goods. At seven I became very ill with severe asthma and bronchitis which meant that I did not go to school. I was a delicate child and the doctor fearing for my life told my parents that if I were to survive I should have to leave England for a milder climate. On my account then it was decided that we should leave England for New Zealand. Father had arranged that he should take a church there before we set out. I was sent to a private school in Auckland and although I had had hardly been to school before, I found that I could take my
place in class with the other children of my age. The reason for this was that during my time away from organised school I had the benefit of my father's fine library and of his instruction; this was a magnificent opportunity for me because I loved reading and for those three or four years I was ill, I read enormously. From school I won an art scholarship to the Auckland Art School; it was taken as a matter of course by my family that I was to become an artist - ever since I was seven years old I had painted. Although my mother had never had the opportunity to learn painting seriously she had secretly nurtured a desire to become an artist and I can see now that she wanted to have her own wish fulfilled in me. I have only realised this during the last several years. Mother encouraged me, but I never needed it for my heart was set on painting almost as far back as I can remember.

I thoroughly enjoyed my time at the Art school, I had lots of friends, but I soon began to feel that it was too small and that they had nothing more to teach me - the atmosphere became stifling. Father too had begun to miss the intellectual companionship he had enjoyed, for there was scarcely anyone in New Zealand who could converse with him on his own level. At this stage he was offered a job in Sydney as Minister of the Sydney Unitarian Church and he decided to accept the position. When we came to Sydney we stayed for a short time in a house at Croydon, and then moved to a large flat in Elizabeth Bay. At this time art was an obsession with me and I thought of little else. My first year in Sydney was an acutely miserable one. I had been warned in New Zealand not to attend the Sydney
Technical College, but I found that the methods of other private schools did not attract me at all; I thought that if the products of their school was called painting, then I didn't want to have anything to do with them. This depressed me considerably for it was my one ambition and thought to develop artistically, I thought that the only thing to do was to get to England as quickly as possible. In the meantime I decided to attend classes at the Tech, because that was the only place where one had the opportunity to draw from the model. I had for a while abandoned painting and spent a lot of time writing poetry which the "Sydney Morning Herald" used to publish. When I got to the Tech, I found to my surprise keen students and ideal working conditions. New teachers had been appointed and there had been a reorganisation of the art school.

Shortly after I came to Sydney I became engaged to a young man whose mother was a close friend of my family, I was completely unawakened at this time and was taken by surprise when he proposed to me. I was so unsure of my feelings that I asked him to wait a year and then ask me again. He used to escort me to Tech. in the evenings, but he turned out to be frantically jealous and suspicious of everyone I spoke to. He was Irish and this behaviour was characteristic of his family which used to indulge in the most frightful brawls. Something I simply could not endure, but worst of all was his jealousy not merely of the people I talked to but even towards my art. This was the first thing in my life at this time which I refused to sacrifice for him; so after a year or so I decided quite
ruthlessly to sever our relationship.

I spent three years at the Tech, and there gained an excellent foundation in draughtsmanship, which gave me necessary background to pass the Royal Academy entrance examinations later when I went to England. At this time I was having work accepted by the leading art society in Sydney for exhibition and was even selling a few pictures at these exhibitions. Then, just as it is today, it was recognised that an artist must go abroad if he is to develop his talents fully. So by the time I was twenty-four I realised that I could learn nothing more in Australia. Although we didn't have much money my family thought that I should go; the owner of the Blue Funnel Shipping Line was an old friend of ours and as soon as he knew that I wanted to go to England he offered to give me my passage there and back. So I set out alone and with very little money. I had numerous relations in England, but none in London, so I found a cheap room near the Royal Academy where I lived for the time I was in England, visiting the country during vacation. To my surprise I found that I had to sit for an entrance exam before I would be admitted to the Royal Academy, which demanded a high standard, especially from women, from its students. This exam I managed to pass - the work and training in draughtsmanship I had received at Sydney standing me in good stead. These years in London were valuable to me for I was determined to learn as much as was humanly possible. I went there to work and never swerved from my purpose. When I wasn't attending art classes I used to go to sketch clubs and with a group of other students hired a
model which we would work from at night. Like most students I lived very cheaply, we all knew where to find cheap meals and my only diversions were to be found in the art galleries and concerts - both of which could be visited free in London. I deliberately turned my back on the student life which surrounded me with its round of wild parties and bohemianism. I felt that there were people who were in love with the life rather than their work. I had plenty of friends and numerous invitations and if I went out it was because I was dragged there. I suppose I got rather solitary, but I felt that I was far too busy to indulge in social activities, my work was the most important thing and every spare minute I had I used to spend in the galleries. On rare occasions I was taken by some wealthy friends of my parents to some of the expensive West End places of entertainment, but this did not happen often. This time in London was one of the most important periods in my life. For years after I came back here I was living this time over again in my imagination. This absorption in whatever I happen to be doing used to worry my father sometimes; it was quite easy for me to immerse myself so completely that I could be unaware of anything else. Perhaps father thought that this was a form of indiscipline and perhaps a little lacking in a sense of proportion.

When I returned from England I shared a studio with another artist with whom I had been friendly before I went away. She and I concentrated on fabric designs and for the first time I was earning a considerable amount of money. We were forced to lead a very irregular life, very often working all night to finish
an order which we would be given twenty four hours to complete. I hated this work because it interfered with my really creative painting, but I had to earn some money. After a year or two I gave this up and started to teach at two secondary girls' schools; this allowed me time for my own work. I was later offered a job as lecturer at the Sydney Technical College and have remained there ever since.

During these years I had numerous men friends and even offers of marriage, but I knew that if I married it would mean the end of my career as an artist. I had seen so many of my friends who had considerable artistic promise marry and become absorbed in domestic affairs so that they forgot all about their art. The question of sex did not worry me very much, and unconsciously I adhered to the ideals of chastity which my upbringing had taught me. It never worried me if my friends did not adhere to these standards, nor was I censorious of those people who did not conform.

Six years ago I married my husband, apart from the fact that I was in love with him I knew that as an artist himself he understood my attitude to my work and was as eager as I was that I should continue my career as an artist. The last six years have undoubtedly been the happiest of my life. The relationship between myself and my husband is an almost perfect one.

D's husband is an Australian whose people have been on the land here for generations. His mother came of a family of thirteen children, she too was born and bred on the land. There
was nothing in his background inducive to an artistic career; until he was twenty he worked on his father's farm although it was work incompatible with his temperament - his heart being set on an artistic career. His father strongly opposed his son's interest in art, but his mother sympathised. Thus when made the decision to come to Sydney to study it required considerable determination to face paternal opposition, which was intensified by the fact that C was the only son. This decision, however, was not made lightly by C, for his affection for his parents was very real and he knew that it would mean that his father would have no one to help him as he grew older. As D said, "I think that he often feels guilty about his father; the thought is there that his father might have lived longer and been happier if he had stayed".

When C came to Sydney he took a job first in a furniture shop and then as a window dresser, working at an art school at night. After three years his artistic promise was fulfilled and his hard work rewarded, for at the age of twenty-three he won the New South Wales travelling Art scholarship. On this he went abroad to study in Paris, Italy and England. While in England he married an Australian girl. Eventually he returned to Australia where he held a one man show which was highly successful and which meant that his reputation as a first rate artist was now firmly established. He was then offered a position as chief instructor in painting at the Sydney Technical College which position he has occupied ever since. He is single-minded about his art making all sorts of sacrifices on that
account; in D's words "he works terrifically hard, teaching both night and day as he does and then determined to get his own work done he will be up as soon as it is light in the morning to paint and works solidly every week-end. Even our holidays are working excursions for then we go into the country looking for suitable landscapes to paint".

C had one child, a boy, by his first wife. But this marriage ended in tragedy, his wife after several years of what was at first thought strange and inconsistent behaviour being certified as insane and placed in an asylum. After living with C for several years she decided to leave him and eventually decided to divorce him. Thus when D became intimately acquainted with C the divorce proceedings had commenced and as soon as the decree was granted they were married. C's son, now a lad of fifteen is having for the first time, family life; the relationship between him and D is a happy and harmonious one. D and C have no children by design; they do not believe that they would have been able to live the sort of life they wanted to if they had had children. D believes that it is a fallacy that children make a marriage happier unless the man and woman are not really attached to each other. Then she considers that they are a very important factor in strengthening the union. But when two people are so thoroughly adjusted as they are, then she feels that a child could interfere with that relationship. She has seen so many marriages where the woman in her role of mother has failed completely as a wife. She has heard women worrying lest their first child should become jealous of the second one, but never pausing to think that the their husband
might be jealous too.

For the first five years of her marriage D gave little thought to the idea of having a child, both she and her husband have been mutually in agreement. But she says that latterly she has begun to want a child, this urge, which she says is almost physical, becomes intense at times. Apart from the fact that she likes children she believes that for a woman to fulfil herself she must have a child. Her attitude in her own words is this: "I know that I am not getting any younger, I'm nearly thirty seven now and I can't afford to leave it much longer. I mentioned it to my husband once and he became so depressed and upset that it was too painful to pursue the subject, for I can't bear to make him unhappy. So I just don't bother to discuss it. I console myself with the prospect of going abroad very soon, which is absolutely essential for our work, and a child would make that an impossibility. I know that part of his attitude on this subject is conditioned by his love of peace and partly that he fears a rival. I am afraid that lately he is becoming too secure. His job is too secure; and I know that it just doesn't do for an artist to become too comfortable. We have discussed the idea of getting our own house for we do love our things and our bit of garden. Although I should appreciate a real home and a nice garden, I am afraid that it might get a hold of us which I feel is very bad. I have seen so many of our artist friends retreat to their places out of town - and in seeking peace they have cut themselves off from the main current of ideas and have, as a result, failed to develop artistically. C would love to find a little place somewhere
off the beaten track and just work uninterruptedly, but I know that ultimately this would be very bad for his work. Sometimes I feel that the eleven years difference in our ages is quite a gap to bridge and C's desire to lead a more settled existence is probably natural in a man nearing fifty. In our personal relationship this gulf in our age doesn't matter at all but in relation to outside things it often means that we differ considerably in our judgements. For instance, in discussing the younger harum-scarum artists I find myself often in sympathy with them when my husband is critical and I think intolerant of their work. But then as an artist he is very interested in the techniques and methods and dislikes the way many of the younger artists ignore the basic necessities of their craft".

D's attitude to many things is strongly influenced by her early background although sometimes in a negative way which has meant that she has reacted against many of the beliefs she was taught as a child. This is particularly the case in relation to religion. The influence of D's father was a very important one. He was a man of a strong personality whom his children held in awe and respect - as D said, "somehow one could feel father's presence, as children when we would come home from school we always knew before we rang the door-bell whether father was at home". "We were always on the qui vive when he was around and there was a sense of relief when we were away from him. I am supposed to resemble him temperamentally, but we used to differ very considerably, particularly when it came to discussing religion. Father used to tell me that I lacked the highest of
all emotions, namely religion. I know that I tried very hard to see things his way but it always seemed to me that religion was something that clouded issues. I never found a satisfactory explanation to things through referring to religion; I could never believe that the grandeur and impressiveness of nature had anything to do with God. It always seemed like special pleading the way God was dragged in to explain all sorts of situations. Many religious beliefs are pleasant enough, but I have never been able to persuade myself about the things I would like to believe. For instance I think that it would be very nice to go on living in another world, but I cannot see any reason why we should. Hence I have no belief in a hereafter. I am sure these attitudes of mine must have hurt him, but like him - except that he stopped at a certain point - I sought the reasons for things and there just didn't seem to be adequate reasons for most religious beliefs. Sometimes I was painfully logical as a child. I thought that religion did not do justice to the fundamentally interesting nature of things. I think that father was frightened that I might turn Catholic which would have been the last straw to him, for he thought that Catholicism was the denial of all logic. My argument with him (we used to discuss our differences quite openly, in fact, father encouraged us to do so) was that if one was to accept religion one had to do so on faith and on faith alone, for this reason Catholicism seemed a much more satisfactory religion. It seemed to me that his point of view was only half logical - he applied his logic up to the point where he wanted to. Generally speaking though I suppose that religion is a good thing for some people who seek explanations of
things and cannot think things out for themselves. It also provides an emotional outlet for those who need one. But I do think that it is offensive when people give God as their reason for doing things when they haven't the courage to do things on their own initiative, such as certain extremists do. I am sure that the emotionalism of certain religious sects is caused by the lack of satisfaction with their own lives so they constantly look forward to the next. I suppose to describe me from a religious point of view it would be quite accurate to say that I was a thorough Pagan.

D's intellectual approach to matters is also apparent in her attitude to political questions. She described herself as not very 'enlightened' or very interested in politics, but it's obvious that she has not neglected to think about these matters. Thus she says:

"I was born a conservative, but during the war I voted Labor for the first time, because I was disgusted with the Right and also because I had a tremendous admiration for the then leader of the Labor Party. I know that now I shall never vote Liberal again, partly because they have so little to offer and partly because I feel that Labor is now the balancing factor in our political scene. I remember when I was in England how furious I used to become at the appalling working conditions there. When we first came to Australia we used to complain at the independence of the working classes here, but when I returned to England I began to see the importance of Trade Unions. I have a vivid recollection of a deputation of Welsh miners who had come
to London to protest for work and being ridden down by mounted police. That was something I shall never forget".

ANALYSIS for the purposes of this Study.

D is an artist and this has been a factor which has influenced the course of her life. Born with a natural gift and a high intelligence her ambition to develop her talent has dominated most of her voluntary actions. Her childhood was an abnormal one through ill-health. She developed an attitude that she was not akin to her average playmates. Thus she says that although she had many friends as a child she never felt that she was one of them, "I always had a feeling that I was a long way away from the other children I knew; they just seemed rather engaging creatures who lived in a different world from mine". Her particular gifts and delicate constitution meant that she did not follow the usual school career of most children. She therefore developed an independence and detachment from other people. Thus she went to England alone and in pursuance of her ambition deliberately separated herself from other people who might come between her and the fulfillment of that ambition. Returning to Australia, an attractive young woman with numerous offers of marriage which would have meant security and ease, she retained her independence until she found a mate whom she knew would permit her to continue her career.

The strong influence of her father in her childhood was counteracted by her own strength of personality and ability to think independently. At the same time it was due to her father
who encouraged discussion among his children that she developed her alert mind and ability to express her ideas with clarity. This has undoubtedly contributed to her success as a teacher and lecturer on art.

Belonging to an artistic group as D does it is apparent that membership of this group has exerted a considerable influence on her personality and way of life. Born in an upper class background she has retained to a certain extent the marks of this conditioning. For example, in her speech, dress, domestic accoutrements and etiquette, all the sings of her gentle upbringing are evident. From the upper stratum of the wider social sphere she has moved over to the parallel stratum within her occupational group. Thus she belongs to the art society to which not only some of Sydney's leading artists belong, but which has the highest social status. Her friends outside the "artistic" circle are drawn for the most part from the wealthy "cultured" upper group. No doubt too her early environment plus her sensitive imagination is a factor which has influenced the type of subjects she selects to paint which are mainly elegant flower arrangements and still lifes or romantic figure paintings.

On the other hand, the influence of the artistic circle to which she undoubtedly belongs is also quite apparent and the norms of this group have replaced many of those of the wider social sphere. A characteristic which D has in common with the other artists is that their art is the first thing in their life and almost everything else is subsidiary. There is the constant striving to produce a great work. This ideal is behind most
sincere artists and with this goes the constant and arduous work to achieve technical proficiency. D has for the greater part of her life devoted herself to the attainment of this ideal; hence her attitude to marriage, her decision to postpone having children and the certain self-imposed austerity of her life - both she and her husband an attractive and popular couple have more or less cut themselves off from many indulgences such as listening to music, going to parties to which they have numerous invitations.

Another instance of the way in which the norms of the artistic group have been substituted for those adhered to by the rest of society is apparent in D's comment that it would be bad for her husband to become "secure and comfortable". Security and ease would be detrimental to his art. This is a characteristic of the artist in general who, if he is a sincere artist, undoubtedly places his artistic objectives before his economic ones.
CASE STUDY G - A MUSICIAN.

G was chosen for the purposes of this study to represent the older generation of musicians with an established reputation in Sydney's musical world. Apart from having heard G perform on numerous occasions at concerts I knew nothing about his background, except that he had earned a reputation for approachability and for his kind heart. The first approach was made by calling on him at his studio in the city; his reaction to my request was surprise that anyone should have thought him 'interesting' enough to want to make a study of him. However he evinced a willingness to co-operate and from that day I called on him regularly at his studio for three or four months. After a time he seemed to welcome these interviews as an escape from pressing duties; this desire to postpone the ordinary, everyday tasks I found to be characteristic. For the most part the interviews were conducted in his studio, Carl being quite willing to sit and talk fluently and unreservedly about himself for as long as I would care to listen. Sometimes when I visited him there would be other people there either rehearsing with him or just dropping in 'to see Carl'. Then I would have the opportunity to observe him in his relations with others.

In appearance Carl is short in stature, but compactly built. He could be described as the typical artist, which in current thought envisages someone with long hair and unconventional dress for Carl conforms to both these
characteristics. In manner he is slightly hesitant, which at first meeting is apt to be misinterpreted as aloofness or disinterest, perhaps a better word to describe it is vagueness. A word which characterises his life and relationships with other people generally.

Carl was born in 1890 of a German father and a New Zealand mother both of whom had migrated to Australia before they married. His father was a hardware merchant and ironmonger in Germany, but he was not a business man by nature, his parents left him a little money when they died. Due to his mismanagement he lost it all and came out to Australia. Landing in Melbourne he drifted round taking odd jobs and even gold prospecting. He came to Sydney in the eighties and earned a little money giving music lessons - mostly on the zither. Here he mixed with the German community which at this time numbered over three thousand. An indication of his status is given in Carl's description of the German community in those days - "There were three German clubs. then to which nearly every German belonged; there was the big 'German Club, as it was called which catered for the wealthy people of the smart set. Then there was the Concordia' whose members were the middle class Germans most of them being small traders such as butchers or bakers. And there was the Red Club to which belonged the radicals and socialists. My father although he would have liked to belong to the German Club could not afford to and so he became a member of the Concordia. He was not a club man by nature and never entered into the activities of the Concordia with his whole heart and soul."
To supplement his meagre income from teaching music, Carl's father went into the wine selling business. He married a girl of Scottish descent who had come to Sydney with her two sisters to find employment; leaving their parents behind in New Zealand. Carl's maternal grandfather was a Scotch shipbuilder who had emigrated with his wife and family from Glasgow to Dunedin. Carl related that his grandmother was of high birth, being connected with one of the early governors of New South Wales. Both Carl's maternal grandparents were extremely religious, the spiritual side of life was constantly emphasised; Carl described them as "devout Presbyterians". The result of so much religion and church going had a negative effect on Carl's mother who became a sceptic. In Carl's words, "the religious life at home was too much for her; the constant praying and three visits to church on Sundays overwhelmed her. But she was a good woman and highly moral - all the women of her family were". Carl's father was a Lutheran and respected religion although he did not conform to the practical manifestations of religion with its insistence on the practise of certain forms. It was always he, however, who saw that his children were given religious instruction and that they attended Sunday school. This feeling for religion was in keeping with his rather emotional and sentimental nature. Carl's father was a conservative and supporter of the Royalists as Carl put it "he always read the Sydney Morning Herald". He hated radicals and socialists and yet he had something of the rebel in him and the love of freedom. He was an ardent admirer of Bismarck and yet
there was a time when he wanted to assassinate him". He followed the economic and political situation very closely, but never became a member of any political organisation.

When Carl's parents married they were extremely poor; for his mother contributed little financial assistance to the union. She and her two sisters had come to Sydney to find jobs - her eldest sister took in sewing and eventually marrying a carpenter. His mother's other sister was more successful marrying a wealthy owner of sawmills on the South Coast. She rose in the social scale as her sister declined; the children of one becoming distinguished professional men whereas the son and daughter of the other became employed in lower status occupations such as a foreman in a steel works and an assistant in a beauty parlour. Carl's mother's brother also came to Sydney where he established himself as a staircase builder which business his son carries on to the present day.

Carl was born in 1890 the first of two children, his only sister being born eighteen months later. At an early age Carl and his sister displayed a definite talent for music of all kinds. At the age of five they used to be singled out to sing songs to entertain the class at the small public school they attended at William Street. This talent they undoubtedly inherited from their father who was intensely musical who although not a very talented performer was quite a genius at arranging music. All his musical knowledge had been self acquired for although he could arrange the most difficult music for any type of instrument he had never been taught or
received any instruction in the technicalities of such work. Carl's father used to derive much pleasure from conducting the Sydney Liedertafel - a German music society which flourished here for many years. Carl's sister was as gifted as her brother and at the age of seven could play any tune on the piano from ear. Carl's father wishing to encourage his son gave him a cello when he was eleven; Carl was immediately attracted to the instrument and played on it without having any lessons. He was sent to learn from an old German cellist then teaching in Sydney and after a few months of instruction was placed in a string quartette. This ensemble was composed of foreigners. In a little while Carl had made his first public appearance at an assembly of the German community. The opportunities for hearing good music were very limited at this time and whatever music there was had to be made by the people themselves.

Until 1904 Carl's family were very poor indeed; they lived in a tiny house in the heart of the city over the premises of his father's wine selling business. Carl used the phrase "poverty-stricken" to describe their condition at this time. In the year 1904, however a streak of luck befell the family which changed their fortunes - Carl's father won a half-share in the first prize of Tattersall's Sweep. It was decided that with the money they should return to Germany to visit Carl's father's people. For five years they remained there and Carl was put to study under a famous cellist at Dessau. He was very happy in Germany the family were regarded as foreigners and as such rather looked up to, as foreigners used to be in Germany.
Carl's father took with him two shipments of Australian wine, hoping to make it a business venture, but like most business projects he embarked on, it failed. Carl's sister was sent to a private school where she specialised in singing. Carl's parents returned to Australia after a few years leaving their children behind to finish their training. Carl remembers this time as the most important in his life when for the first time he had the opportunity to hear an abundance of music. Although he had been put to study with one of the best teachers he says of himself, "I was a lazy pupil, I never exercised by brain - harmony and theory seemed too much of an effort and anyhow I was much more interested in making music. After I had been learning a few months I was placed in a chamber music group where I gained experience which left a lasting impression on me. In a year I was playing with the local municipal orchestra and was soon leading cellist. I was impatient to see the rest of Germany so I travelled round the country earning money by playing whenever the opportunity offered, even playing with cafe orchestras when hard put. I suppose I was made a fuss of in Germany and I had many friends and sought adventure avidly. We had many drinking bouts, and although I never enjoyed drinking heavily, it all seemed life to me. At the age of eighteen I fell in love with an opera singer who had a part in an opera company for whom I played in the orchestra. This affair never progressed beyond the stage of a distant adoration. At this time (and I don't suppose I ever have) I had no thought for the future. I had no concern for worldly affairs so that when I returned
to Australia two years after my parents and my father asked me what I was going to do, I told him that I had no aims or ambitions. He made it clear to me that I would have to earn my living. I accepted this as a matter of course and so joined the J.C. Williamson Light Opera Company as a cellist in the orchestra. This orchestra at the time was under the conductorship of a very fine and notable musician, a man who indirectly exerted quite an important influence on my life."

Shortly after Carl joined the Light Opera Company they were sent to New Zealand. There he made his first contact with the Roman Catholic Church. The conductor of the orchestra was an ardent Catholic and when visiting the various towns in New Zealand would offer to bring members of his orchestra to the local Catholic church to play the mass on Sundays. Although Carl was strongly anti-Catholic at this time, an attitude carried over from his parents who were always avowed Protestants and scornful of Catholicism, he was deeply impressed by the manifestations of devotion which he witnessed on these visits to the mass. Carl was now a young man of twenty and had discarded all religious beliefs; as a child however he had been "deeply religious" as he described it - "I was very conscious of the religious element in nearly everything I did as a child and absorbed religious instruction at Sunday School and Church which we attended regularly with great seriousness. As I grew older and heard my mother throwing off at Biblical stories her scepticism eventually began to have its effect on me and by the age of sixteen I was treating religion as lightly as she did".
Carl's association with this conductor for whom he had a high regard both as a musician and a man did much towards developing a broader and more tolerant attitude to Catholicism; Carl and this man used to have long discussions together not however on religion but on literature. Through him Carl met a Catholic Priest in New Zealand who to Carl's surprise was a highly educated and tolerant individual which left a considerable impression on him.

When the company returned from New Zealand they landed in Melbourne where they were to spend some time. It was here that Carl had his first serious passion. He tells this story which indicates the rather romantic and impressionable young man that he must have been at this time: "The day I arrived in Melbourne I went to my lodging house, I was conducted to my room by a handsome girl. I was so taken with her that I fell in love with her at first sight and at first meeting I imprinted a kiss on her lips. I felt this was the boldest thing I had ever done, but I had just been reading Heine and I felt that that was the sort of thing he would have done. From that day I became her lover. This girl became the most important thing in my life, I was both happy and unhappy with her. She was a girl with a strong personality and she lorded it over me, because I was weaker than she. We used to fight like cat and dog and yet we loved passionately. She was a Catholic and used to go to mass regularly; sometimes I would accompany her. I used to deride her religion, but she never tried to justify or defend her belief. This tempestuous affair lasted several months while the Opera
Company stayed in Melbourne. I had no thought of marriage at this time; I was still seeking experience and had abandoned myself to this passion without any thought for the future. I soon found, however, that she was serious and thought that we should marry. At this stage the Company returned to Sydney—we corresponded for a while but eventually letters became fewer and ceased altogether.

When Carl returned to Sydney he was offered the position of cellist in the leading string quartette which was a high honour for the young musician. From this time for a period of several years he gained a reputation as Sydney's first exponent of the cello. This period Carl looks back on as the happiest one of his life. He says, "it was a happy-go-lucky existence. I lived from day to day just making enough money to keep myself, as I have always done. Money has never worried me unduly; occasionally I would become depressed about it, but somehow I have always fallen on my feet. The most important thing to me was to be surrounded by congenial company. At this time I had many friends who were all musicians or people with artistic leanings. We used to have many discussions about music and literature. I only practised when I had to—for solos; the idea of building up a reputation or looking to the future never occurred to me. This time was undoubtedly the most significant and formative one in resolving my attitude to life. I was reading widely (even when I should have been practising) hoping to find a solution to the intellectual conflicts which beset me. It was at this time that I met Christopher Brennan.
I used to meet him regularly as we moved in the same circles and listened eagerly to him expound the virtues of Catholicism. Without scarcely being conscious of it, my mind was turning towards the Catholic philosophy for help. For a number of years I was conducting an orchestra at a convent and there I met a priest to whom I used to discuss my problems - we became good friends, but he did not attempt to convert me, but I know that he must have subtly influenced my decision to embrace the Catholic faith which I did later, quite of my accord with no preliminary preparation, instruction or persuasion. I came to the conclusion Catholicism must offer some solution to living. Another factor which influenced my decision was that I was contemplating marriage believing that marriage was man's natural state, and I thought that even if the Catholic faith did not give me the spiritual consolation I sought it would save my children from the doubts and conflicts I had experienced through parental indifference. This I am happy to say has been the case as all my children have become devout Catholics.

At 28 Carl married a New Zealand girl who was a distant relative on his mother's side. She had little money, her mother having come to Sydney to earn a living. This she had done by running tea-rooms and small commercial libraries in the city in order to support her family of ten. When Carl asked for her daughter's hand in marriage she opposed the match because she did not consider that Carl would be a good provider. As Carl himself commented, "she was right". Carl knew his wife for only a few months before he married her and apparently did not look
for any particular characteristics which would provide the suitable companion for him as well as a good housekeeper. She was not a Catholic when they married, but it was agreed that their children should be brought up in the faith. However after twelve years of marriage she decided to embrace the Catholic Church of her own accord, although Carl says that she has never accepted the faith as completely as he did. Their married life has been happy enough, but by no means ideal. Carl speaks of his wife with definite reservations while acknowledging her assistance to him in proving such a practical and ingenious housekeeper, he feels that she does not really understand his attitude to his music and his religion, which are the two most important things in his life. She is a strong personality with more thought for the needs of this world rather than the next and does little to hide her disapproval of her husband's preoccupation with the unworldly. It is apparent that Carl's family life has never been the first thing or consideration in his life; indicative of this was the fact that in the course of his life's narrative he did not speak once voluntarily of his family, and spoke of his wife and children only in response to direct questioning.

Shortly after his marriage he and his bride left Australia for Java. Carl says that he was disillusioned with music in Sydney at that time so that when he was offered a position to play in an orchestra in Java with a free passage to the country, he accepted gladly. Incidentally this was just at the end of the 1914-1918 war when feelings against Germans had
run high in Australia as in other parts of the British Empire. Although Carl was sympathetic to the British cause he suffered considerably on account of his name and his German ancestors; on several occasions he had been prevented from playing in public and experienced certain unhappy incidents on account of his name.

When Carl arrived in Java he suffered a great disillusionment, for he found that he had been attracted there under false pretences for the orchestra that he was to play in was a dance orchestra of a club in a small inland town. After a week of deep depression he called on one of the leading citizens of the town to whom he had letters of introduction. This man was a highly cultured and music loving Dutchman. He and his family exerted a strong influence on Carl and through them the Club orchestra was dismissed and a new one found to take its place with Carl as conductor, and in a short time with the assistance of a talented violinist the orchestra became famous throughout the country. Carl and his family were to remain here for eleven years and encouraged by the leading Dutchman, X, of the town who established himself as Carl's patron, Carl began to practise harder than he had ever done before and participated in many chamber music recitals in X's home which was a centre of connoisseurs and intellectuals. Carl says, "X became my great friend and adviser; he was a vital influence in my life. Whenever I had any problems I always went straight to him. I learnt a great deal from him about living".
Economically he was well off in Java and that was primarily what kept him there although he enjoyed the easy and colourful life. In addition to conducting the Club orchestra, giving public performances he was appointed to the official position of conductor of the Sultan's orchestra. Eventually the depression of the early thirties hit Java and Carl's income dropped considerably, so he decided to return to Australia. He spent all his savings on fares so that when they arrived in Sydney the family was penniless. One of his Javanese friends came to his help and sent him money until he got on his feet.

Back in Sydney, Carl set about fulfilling the dreams he had been dreaming in Java for a long time - that he should introduce new music to Australia. So he commenced to organise concerts of modern and pre-classic music, which he had been studying for many years with his friends in Java. He had difficulty in interesting players to co-operate with him. His first performances were not received very well. He saw his next chance, however, in radio and gave a series of broadcasts on this subject; from these he gained considerable publicity. This contributed to re-establish his name in Sydney's musical world. He was offered professional engagements but refused to accept them, although they meant security, because he believed he had a mission to fulfill even though it might cost him dear. Eventually he rented a cheap but spacious studio in the city (having settled his wife and three daughters in a small cottage at Balmoral, one of Sydney's pleasant waterside suburbs). With the assistance of two other musicians he organised a society which met in his studio regularly.
to hear performances of music seldom heard. This society has been a great success, far more people wanting to join than can be accommodated. Carl has supplemented his income since his return from Java by playing in the Sydney Symphony Orchestra broadcasting and teaching.

During recent years another important influence has entered his life in the form of a Catholic priest. This man was a noted Spanish composer who came to Australia to raise the standard of church music. He became interested in Carl after hearing some of his broadcasts he joined his society. He proved a great stimulus and encouragement to Carl who speaks of him with respect almost verging on awe.

Politically Carl is rather negative in his approach; he says that he has never felt very intensely about anything political. Although for a long time he was interested in the Russian experiment and watched developments there keenly. He recalls the excitement he felt over the Russian Revolution because he felt that something great for the benefit of mankind had taken place. Since then, however, he steadily lost faith in Russia and the 1935 trials finally ended his hope that a solution to the world's ills were to be found there. He describes himself as a conservative at heart, for he prefers to see things remain as they are.

Carl's family is now grown up and his two eldest daughters are married, both to Catholics. One of his children has married a fervent Catholic and Carl speaks of this union with pride, for under the influence of her husband this daughter
has improved in every way and above all has developed into a devout religious person herself. This was the only time he spoke of his children with any particular pride or intensity. For he says that having seen his children develop in their faith as they have, he now feels that his desire to do the right thing by his children has been fulfilled and that he took the right course when he decided to embrace Catholicism.

ANALYSIS.

Although it would be inaccurate to say that Carl's personality was revolutionised by artistic occupation, there is evidence to show that the flexible type of existence he was able to lead as a musician considerably influenced his behaviour and his way of life.

Carl's life has not been a normal one, due mainly to his artistic career. Born of parents of different nationalities, his father a keen musician from whom he undoubtedly inherited his talent, eager to see his son distinguish himself as a musician emphasised the boy's musical education at the expense of his more general instruction. Carl's career was determined at an early age and there was never any suggestion that he should become anything else but a musician. Talented as he clearly was, he did not pursue his art as a means to an end. Music was something which he loved, and never an economic device; hence he developed a strong dislike for virtuosity for its own sake which so many musicians evinced. As he said there were far too many musicians "doing everything but making music". This fact plus
Carl's certain indolence and inability to fit into the competitive pattern which society had set meant that he never attained the rank and distinction as a musician which it is possible to assume that he could have. On the other hand, it is possible to argue that Carl was not capable of reaching the front rank of his profession and his attitude to virtuosity was merely a rationalisation. This, however, does not seem a likely explanation when it is recalled that Carl was from his earliest years a lazy pupil and lacking in ambition. At present Carl's distinction in Sydney's musical world is as an exponent of seldom heard works and not as front rank cellist - a course which he has deliberately chosen.

Carl's class background was a middle to lower middle class one, but through his music he rose to a higher social stratum. For instance, he moved in the highest circles in Java. Today, the circles in which he moves are those of the select music lovers who belong to his society, many of whom are the cultured wealthy upper stratum.

In examining the narrative of Carl's life it is apparent that human relationships have not dominated his story. His domestic life has definitely held second place. The only time he became enthusiastic over his children was when he spoke of them in relation to the intensity of their faith; his wife has been his practical help-mate but not his soul-mate. Individuals have undoubtedly exerted an important influence on his life, but these relationships have not been on an equal and reciprocal level, for instance, his friendships with ξ (in Java), M., the leader of the string quartette with whom he played in his
early years in Sydney, the conductor of Williamson's orchestra and the Spanish priest have distinctly been on two levels. These people who have helped Carl have been regarded as superior beings whom Carl speaks of with great respect and admiration, but not as one friend of another. This reliance on individuals is consistent with his inability to face up to the problems and economic struggles of life and is no doubt a carry-over from his childhood when he was dependent on his father whose personality was undoubtedly a strong and dominating one which exerted a lasting influence on his son. This tendency of Carl to sit back and let life take hold of him rather than adopting a positive attitude towards his career is characterised in a small incident that occurred more than once in the course of interviewing, when Carl would remark that he had arranged to be at a certain place or had promised his wife to visit such and such a person at the time of the interview, but that he could not be bothered and would postpone these duties to some other more remote time.

An explanation for many of Carl's attitudes, to his music, to his religion and to those important individuals who have had such a considerable influence on him, may be sought in the strong emotionalism which colours his approach to many things. Thus the keynote of his attitude to music is summed up in his own words; when he said, "I love music for its own sake - it can move me to tears more easily than any other experience". Similarly his attitude to his family and particularly his children is based on emotion rather than on the deeper love of human relationships. Thus he speaks of the time when they were children with more feeling than of them as adults - he said
"I derived more pleasure from my children when they were young. I used to love fondling them; indeed I always have gained much enjoyment from contact through caresses". This remark indicated a certain sensualism which does certainly exist in his personality, but it has been canalised through his music and his religion. Carl's religion which occupies so much of his thoughts and from which he derives so much satisfaction is primarily based in emotionalism. The story of his conversion bears this out. He described it thus: "My approach to Catholicism has been an intuitive one like my approach to music. I was seeking for something before I was converted, but I did not have the capacity to reason things out as more educated people could". It is apparent from this that Carl's decision was not guided by an intellectual resolution but by an emotional need.

In conclusion then it may be asked how far has the fact that Carl's occupation as an artist, influenced his personality and his way of life. It is apparent that Carl has not adopted the regular pattern of behaviour of the lower middle class into which he was born. The fact that he became a musician meant that his occupation was a mobile one to which attached a freedom not enjoyed by many other occupational groups. As he grew older he sought his friends among the intellectual and artistic groups and through these associations gained a status which was much higher in the social scale than his parents and relatives. A predominant trait in Carl's personality is his highly developed sensibility which no doubt has been fostered by the exercise of an art which constantly calls forth the exercise of the aesthetic faculty. Again his indifference to
money is undoubtedly a characteristic of the artistic group
to which Carl belongs where the standard of values is based
"the more permanent" values of art - and where prestige is not
gained by the display of wealth, but according to the artistic
and aesthetic contribution of each individual.
CASE STUDY N -- AN ARTIST.

N is now an old man of 73 and represents a generation of artists which is passing in Australia. The progress of N's life has been concomitant with the rise and progress of the Australian school of painting itself. He was selected as the proto-type of the conservative artist with an established position in the art world and who has won a high reputation in his own particular style of painting. Before approaching N for the purposes of this study he was known only to the research worker as an artist of some note.

The method of study consisted in regular interviews in N's city studio over a long period and occasional visits to his home.

In appearance N is indistinguishable from any other elderly professional gentleman. He is a little man with a bald head notable for his kindly expression rather than for any handsomeness of feature. He is always neatly and conventionally dressed in sober suit with a waistcoat and stiff collar. His manner is quiet, courtly, even diffident. His appearance is characteristic of N's life which is sober, moderate and retiring. These traits are clearly reflected in his art which is conservative and proficient, but lacking in brilliance and originality. N is apparently aware of his limitations as an artist, he says that he has been called a "successful artist" but knows he has never been a great success; and although he has been close to it he has never really been in the forefront of his profession. His successes have always been small ones
his work has many admirers but no one ever becomes "wildly enthusiastic" about it - as he aptly puts it, people hand him out marguerites, but rarely bouquets.

In keeping with N's appearance and manner is his home life. He lives in one of Sydney's pleasant suburbs where every house has its own garden and where there is a uniformly high standard of dwelling. N's house is the ordinary suburban bungalow but it has the advantage of possessing a pleasant garden which slopes away to a gully of fine gum-trees; a feature which N points out with justifiable pride. Inside his house is homely and unpretentious and apart from some excellent Dutch prints and an original pencil sketch, the living room shows no signs of differing from that to be found in thousands of Australian homes. Here, N lives a happy family life with his wife and two unmarried daughters; his eldest daughter and two sons have been married for some years. Every morning N travels into the city to his studio in the routine of so many other breadwinners.

N's wife, whom he describes as the "finest woman in the world" is the dutiful and efficient housewife and devoted mother and grandmother. She has had little education like most women of her generation. Her parents were humble people who derived their income from selling pianos. Although there was always sufficient in the household, there was no surplus money to spend on educating their daughter in the finer accomplishments of the day. Thus she is not interested in art and knows little about it. The only comment she was heard to voice on art was
in relation to certain exhibitions of contemporary painting which she had visited with her husband - these paintings she considered ugly and as something should could not "understand". Her conversation invariably turns on domestic matters or on the doings of her grandchildren (of whom at my first visit photographs were produced with modest pride).

N comes from a long line of artists of English stock. N's great-grandfather was a professional designer of fabrics in one of England's big textile factories. This occupation proved insufficiently remunerative to support his large family of twelve children so he decided to try his fortune in the colonies. He migrated to Australia - settling in a gold mining town in Victoria in 1858. Unable to earn a living by his artistic talent here, he turned to the land and in a small way through growing fruit and vegetables he managed to support his family. The eldest child of this family was N's father who at an early age had to assist his parents in bringing up the younger children. At ten he left school to help his family through a difficult time by earning some money doing odd jobs. He did all sorts of things - running messages, serving in a greengrocer's shop, selling cartloads of water for the municipal council. Despite this abbreviated education N's father developed into a man with a talent for fine writings, a love of books and a sympathetic appreciation of art. At the age of twenty-three he married a school teacher who lived in the same town.

Although N's mother was born in Australia, she, like
her husband, was the child of emigrants from the mother country. Her mother coming from the North of Ireland and her father from Scotland. Her mother was left a widow when her children were still young and turning her education to good account she opened a small school and when her daughter was of an age she helped her mother by teaching.

Soon after N's parents married they left the country and went to Melbourne where M's father went into a clothing business. He stayed in this business for a short time until he went into the grain trade as a merchant — remaining in that occupation until the end of his days. The result of this union was eight children of whom N was the second of six boys. His father had his ups and downs in business, but during N's childhood he was well enough off to send his son to the Melbourne Church of England Grammar School. But N was not interested in school, from his earliest years he wanted to draw and make things, and school seemed an obstacle to these inclinations. He left school at fourteen and was apprenticed to the stained glass window trade. This apprenticeship lasted four years and because of the severe economic depression of the time he gave up this work to enter his father's business to help by doing clerical work although his aptitudes did not lie in this direction at all. Eventually his father opened a branch in Sydney and N came to this city with the purpose of working in his father's grain business, but soon he found he could not endure the routine of an office any longer and so he left to earn his living doing odd jobs, but with the thought of art always at the back of his mind.
While he had been in Melbourne he had attended evening classes in painting at the Melbourne Art Gallery. N said, "drawing was always in my mind - from my earliest years, it runs through my life like a golden thread". Unable to settle to any regular work his father offered to give him a pound a week so that he could devote his whole attention to studying art - for by this time it was apparent that he was undoubtedly gifted and had been advised to study art seriously. Delighted at his father's gesture he returned to Melbourne where for five years he had a meagre but happy existence living in his studio, working earnestly at his art and "having a good time". He took lessons from Phillips Fox the great teacher of the time, who himself had had his first lessons from N's grandfather. In the habit of the day he used to go into the country where he would occasionally visit some of the artists camps which were to be found round Melbourne at this time, but rather he preferred to work alone living at a farmhouse for a few shillings a week and where unhampered by people he could walk across the Heidelberg hills attempting to master the technique the required to translate the Australian atmosphere into paint. A preoccupation of many artists at that time.

This happy life was brought to an end by his father's serious illness which incapacitated him until his death several years later. As the eldest son of the family had died some years before the responsibility fell on N to provide for his family. N, commenting on this period of his life, "I would have gone on indefinitely drifting round as I had, avoiding ties and responsibilities, but for my father's illness I should never
have attempted to find a job. I might say that we were a devoted family and our parents were greatly loved and respected by us all. I was at this stage twenty-five years of age, but I was not equipped for any special job and no one wanted to employ a half-baked youth as I was. I decided that I should try to make some money from my painting. This wasn't easy either, I was given odd pieces of work such as designing, but these were not very remunerative. My younger brother had started on a career as a musician and we took a room in the city where we lived a frugal existence, contributing what we could to the family. In a year or two there were only four children at home, as one brother had a secure job in a bank, another had entered the Church, and two had taken up music as careers. Thus things became easier as we all began to earn. My attempts to establish myself in the art world met with little success; it was a sickening battle, I was desperately hard up. Then five years after I came to Sydney I had my first break. I painted a portrait of my brother who was by this time making a name for himself as a cellist, he more or less kept me while I did it. When it was completed I exhibited it and this proved to be the breaking of the drought, for from then on my luck changed. It received complimentary notices in the press and as it happened at this time there was no established portrait painter of note in Sydney and so people began to approach me with commissions for portraits. Shortly after this I became engaged, I had met my wife who was a distant relative of my father's some years before, but now I seemed in a position where it seemed that I would be able to support a wife. We were engaged for two and a half years
before we married; during this time my wife was in Queensland living with her parents and we only saw each other on rare occasions. I worked furiously and luck was on my side for I received a commission to paint the Lord Mayor’s portrait and then the Premier’s, and so I was for a time earning what seemed a large amount of money. For a while I began to teach, but I gave it up because I knew that teaching was dangerous for an artist who wanted to establish himself, for it meant that one had to devote so much time to one’s students that there was never enough time to practise one’s own craft. I was determined to earn my living by my brush and I pushed hard to get work. Apart from portraits I found work as an illustrator for one of the weekly newspapers and so by hard work and constant application I gradually built up a reputation.

Although I still did not have much money to spare I decided to get married and for the first year my wife and I lived in one room in the city which we curtained off to make two. A year after we were married our first child arrived and we moved to a small cottage in a harbourside suburb where we remained until our fifth child was born. Although I was now established as Sydney’s leading portrait painter we were always hard-up, for until both my parents died I contributed a considerable amount to their support. Despite the fact that I had resolved not to teach, I was offered a lectureship at the Sydney Technical College and one at the Sydney University in the Department of Architecture. I accepted both these positions for I now had a wife, five children and ailing parents to support and needed all
the money I could possibly earn. N remained in these positions until he reached the retiring age some years ago.

Economically N has never been well off, but although he had so many dependents, money has never really worried him. His values have not been directed to material ends. Undoubtedly he has experienced poverty and he and his family have not known where the next meal was coming from, but like Carl something has always "turned up". N tells the story of the time when things were so bad that he had borrowed money to the amount of four hundred pounds to keep his family in food and clothes. It was at this stage that he was offered the position as lecturer at the Sydney Technical College. It speaks for the integrity of his character that at this depressed time when he had gone through an overdraft of one hundred pounds and with no security the bank offered to guarantee him another hundred pounds. Although he has been established for many years as a leading portrait painter and can demand high fees he says that he has never been able to make anything over and above the amount necessary to keep his family.

One of the most important influences in N's life has been religion. N is a member of the Catholic Apostolic Church and the obligations of his belief absorb a considerable part of his life and his thought. His faith he inherited from his parents who in their turn inherited it from their parents. The nucleus of N's belief is a firm belief in the doctrine of Christianity and that the good life is the life according to the precepts of Christ. His religion is a practical one which demands that the visible practise of the teachings of
the Church. N has never had any doubts about the existence of a God or in the correctness of the dogma of his Church. No doubt his strict adherence to the teachings of his faith has been responsible for the life he has led and may account for the fact that he has never associated with artists nor participated in their bohemian life. As he himself says he has never mixed with artists nor brought them home; he has deliberately kept aloof from them and the irregularities of the usual life led by artists. Religion has undoubtedly been a significant factor in the development of his personality.

He considers that he is a "normal" individual; his criteria of normality being those of his Christian upbringing. His life has been lived according to this convention and his family also brought to adhere to tradition to which he himself pays respect. Hence he deplores the abnormalities "which are so prevalent among artists, his comment on certain artistic abnormalities in Sydney was that 'they are not quite human'". The keynote of N's life has been moderation and conformity. That he has lived moderately is apparent in every aspect of his life and his work. Thus his house is the small and ordinary one of people of moderate means; his art is most aptly described as moderate in quality; there is no doubt that N regards moderation as one of the highest virtues and is a word which enters frequently into his conversation. It is apparent that he does not regard himself as a typical artist whom he regards on the whole as the rest of society does, as unconventional and irregular individuals. Indeed he is almost proud of the fact that he has led a life aloof from them. An attitude which is
related to his religious beliefs.

Politically N is, as might be expected, strongly conservative. A radical government and the possibility of revolution are anathema to him. This would signify the rule of the majority which to N spells disaster. For he does not believe that everyone should have a vote because the mass of the people are not sufficiently intelligent to be given the responsibility of deciding who should rule. In keeping with such an attitude is his faith in the aristocracy - "country can exist in a healthy state without the aristocracy". A statement which seems to sum up his political outlook. But in this sphere as in others N's approach is that of the moderate - indeed almost the reactionary. The maintenance of the status quo is all that N desires.

ANALYSIS for Purposes of this Study.

Viewing N's story and his way of life we can find nothing which indicates that he is a deviant social type. N is an artist but his occupation has not meant that he has been absorbed by an occupational group which has caused him to eschew the conventions laid down by society. N's case history may be an exceptional one for an artist and is certainly in contrast to those of the other case histories in this study. There are, however, certain characteristics to be found in this study which indicate that N does share certain attitudes in common with the other case histories.

First, coming from a family with an artistic background and born in circumstances not inducive to the
the development of his artistic talents, he managed through determination and singleness of purpose to establish himself D and as a painter. Like/ her husband, he has made numerous sacrifices and in his youth eschewed the security he might have won through teaching, in order to develop a talent. Sacrifice and austerity in the cause of his art have distinguished his life from the usual life of his class.

N's only ambitions have been artistic ones. He has not courted fame or social position, thus as he says although he has many friends and notable acquaintances whom he has got to know through painting their portraits, he very rarely invites people to his house, because he has not sufficient money to entertain in the way many of the people he knows would expect. And further has little time to spend away from his studio. Thus like, Carl, D and L, his chief preoccupation is his art.

Linked with this has been his attitude towards money. He has been in debt on numerous occasions and had extraordinarily heavy responsibilities for one individual, yet this aspect has never worried him unduly, as long as he has had sufficient to keep his numerous dependents he has been satisfied. Money does not hold for him the secondary attractions as it does for most individuals offering opportunities for competitive display. His values have been shaped by his art and his religion, thus his attention is focused on the less ephemeral aspects of living.
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