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Arthur Wilberforce Jose (1863-1934): An Anglo-Australian.

A Study of his Contribution to Australian Literary Culture

from the 1890s to the 1930s

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of English
University of Sydney,
March 1990

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to many people who have assisted me in the course of writing this thesis. First of all, I must thank Mr Dennis Douglas who suggested Jose as someone worthy of study; secondly, Mr Jose, who was always helpful in providing details about his father's life, and in allowing me ready access to the papers which form a large part of the primary material for this work. I am grateful to my supervisor, Dr Vivian Smith; to Professor Brian Fletcher who read through Appendix I and made helpful suggestions; to my brother, A.D. Pagliaro, who has spent much time in discussing ideas and offering criticisms of the draft. In addition he kindly provided translations of the Greek passages in Appendix II. Professors Geoffrey Blainey and C.M.H. Clark, Mr Axel Clark and Mr Bruce Knox offered useful indications.

I wish to thank those who have answered queries and granted permission to use material: Mrs E.C. Bean, Mrs Geoffrey Harley, Mrs April Hersey and the Rev. Fr. F. Mecham.

The staffs of the Mitchell, Dixson, La Trobe, Fryer, National and Baillieu Libraries were always helpful. In particular I am grateful to Andrew Griffin of the Australian Archives (Melbourne), Paul Brunton, John Murphy, Suzanne Saunders, Helen Yoxall, Margaret O'Hagan and Ann Glover; Mr Kenneth Smith of the University of Sydney Archives, the staff of the Rare Books Division in the Fisher Library, Ms Virginia Murray of John Murray's London, the Society of Merchant Venturers, Bristol, and the Librarian of Balliol College, Oxford.

I am grateful to Mr A.V. Pagliaro for conversations and the loan of books, and to those who have assisted in the proof-reading, the compilation of the bibliography and lay-out of graphics: Ms Maria Pagliaro, Ms Rosemary Downey and Miss Elizabeth Rennick.

Finally, I wish to express my warm gratitude to Mrs Doreen Dougherty for her care and patience with the typing.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

Prefatory Note

Part I: 1863-1903

Introduction 1

Chapter 1: The Literary Background 7

Chapter 2: From Bristol to Bathurst 30

Chapter 3: The 1890s 45

Chapter 4: The *Australian Magazine* 69

Chapter 5: The Australasian Literary Agency 97

Chapter 6: *Two Awheel and Some Others Afoot in Australia* 121

Chapter 7: India 136

Chapter 8: The Imperial Tariff League 145

Part II: Jose as Editor

Chapter 9: Jose, Robertson and Australian Writers 156

Chapter 10: Edward Dyson
(Rhymes from the Mines and Other Lines) 181

Chapter 11: Henry Lawson (*While the Billy Boils*) 204

Chapter 12: Zora Cross (*The Lilt of Life*)
(*Elegy on An Australian Schoolboy*) 232

Chapter 13: "John O'Brien" (*Around the Boree Log*) 258

Chapter 14: *Poetical Works of Henry Lawson* (1925) 279

Part III: The Post-War Period

Chapter 15: The 1920s 305

Chapter 16: Celebrated Convicts 320

Chapter 17: *The Romantic Nineties* and The Legend 333

Conclusion

Appendices

Appendix I: A.W. Jose: Australian Correspondent for *The Times*

(a) Introduction: Jose, *The Times* and Deakin 354

(b) The Pacific Region 375

(c) Naval Defence 393

(d) Military Defence 411

(e) Land Settlement and Immigration 427

Appendix II: Christopher Brennan's Letters to Jose 439

Bibliography I: Select Bibliography of Jose collections and Jose Manuscripts 447

Bibliography II. 451

Illustrations

Pencil sketch of Jose by George Lambert (1903) 49

Cover of the July Issue of the *Australian Magazine* (1899): "Circular Quay" by Lambert 73

Examples of Border Decorations by D.H. Souter in the *Australian Magazine* 74

D.H. Souter's employment of the art-nouveau style and themes as seen in the *Australian Magazine* 78

Sid Long's Illustration to Brennan's "Birds" 82

D.H. Souter's Illustration to Brereton's "Vigil" 84

Lambert's Illustration to Lawson's "Past Carin'" 88

"Andy Page's Rival" - Title sketch by Lambert 89

"Love and the LL.D" by Lambert 89

"The Tryst" by Lambert 91

Extract from Jose's Letter (1882) describing the voyage to Australia 122

Jose, sketched by Lambert, during the period he was illustrating *Two Awheel* 122

Illustration from *Two Awheel* 122

Illustrations by D.H. Souter from Brereton's *Landlopers* 124-6

PREFATORY NOTE

In this thesis I have examined Jose's contribution, as a man of letters, to Australian culture from the 1890s to the 1930s with special reference to his work in the fields of literature and political journalism. Because so little was known of Jose, and because of the various ramifications of his literary work, it was necessary to make a broadly-based study of his life in order to better appreciate his aims as writer, editor and journalist. I have also paid particular attention to his role as reviser and publisher's reader at Angus & Robertson's, his emerging vision of Australia, and the influences which shaped it.

INTRODUCTION

A.W. Jose was a leading figure in literary and political circles from the 1890s until the 1920s. He is now all but forgotten. The purpose of this thesis is to describe some of the many different areas of his influence and his contribution to Australian culture. This has involved, in particular, a study of his role as publisher's reader and reviser for Angus & Robertson, and his association with George Robertson.

Jose wrote poetry, music, songs, history, political journalism, a travel book, lectured on diverse fields in the humanities, was active in several political organisations both in England and Australia. He found employment in various spheres and seized any opportunity to extend his influence. He taught at secondary schools and at the University of Sydney, worked for Angus & Robertson, was Australian Correspondent for *The Times* (1904-1915) and corresponded with Alfred Deakin. He was employed by the English publishing firm, John Murray, to gather information *in situ* on the British education system in India. He was involved with the British Tariff Reform League, was Chief Naval Censor during the First World War, worked for Australian Intelligence, co-edited the *Australian Encyclopaedia* (1925-6) and finally worked as a freelance journalist. His major historical works include the *History of Australasia* and the naval volume of the *Official War History* (1928). But his varied production also includes *The Growth of the Empire* (1897), *Australia, Human and Economic* (1932), *Builders and Pioneers* (1928), *The Romantic Nineties* (1933) and the co-authored *New South Wales, Historical, Physiographical and Economic* (1911).

Jose, an Anglo-Australian, was as involved in the affairs of British imperialism as he was in those of Australia. His era was marked by a revived imperialist mood which saw the expansion of the Empire, and victory over the Boers after a protracted period of tension. The prominence of Joseph Chamberlain as Colonial Secretary, and the publication of Seeley's *The Growth of British Policy* (1895) were signs of the spirit of imperialism. Chamberlain's vision was of a more centralised Empire. But the period was also

characterised by the growth of 'colonial nationalism' described by Deryck Schreuder as follows:

> 'colonial nationalism', as understood by the authors of this book, has been taken to refer not only to the assertiveness of local autonomy and interest, the sense of cultural identity and of environment, but also to the desire for self-rule and self-respect within a changing set of connections to the empire.

As Schreuder indicates "colonial nationalism" cut across British imperialism from the centre to produce an era of lively empire politics with the metropolitan and colonial societies interacting vigorously to produce their own versions of "imperialism".[1]

Chamberlain's imperialism was to find expression in such policies as his Imperial Preference or Tariff Reform, a scheme of economic unity which aimed ultimately at drawing the Empire closer together by granting trade preferences to countries within the Empire and levying tariffs on foreign goods. It was to be the basis of Imperial federation. Jose was involved with Chamberlain, who in 1903 resigned to campaign for Tariff Reform. Jose's active politicking for the Tariff Reform League led directly to his appointment as *The Times* correspondent.

Jose and Deakin shared an enthusiasm for the concept of colonial nationalism as it was enunciated by Richard Jebb in his *Studies in Colonial Nationalism* (1905). This was the basis of their thinking about Australian-Imperial relations. They were as zealously Australian as they were imperialistic. The two were in constant contact with each other during the period of Deakin's prime ministership and the Liberal-Labor alliance. Jose was an ardent supporter of the Labor party, believing that Labor was more likely to carry the legislation which would advance Australia's defence policies than the conservative parties. To Jose, the development and defence of Australia were twin policies. Jose often wrote feverishly to Deakin about military and naval defence, trying to sway him to his - and Labor's - way of thinking, advocating a local rather than a London viewpoint. Jose, like Kipling, thought the core of the Empire unsound. Deakin was less extreme: for example, in contrast to Deakin, Jose thought the Admiralty was not to be trusted. However, Deakin did agree that

the Colonial Office was obstructionist. The "recentralisation" of power was one of their joint aims.

In England, by 1907, a group of editors and journalists of leading newspapers - *The Times*, the *Morning Post* and the journal *National Review* - had grouped together to influence the course of British politics. Jose and Deakin, as journalists with these papers, were actively involved with the imperial-minded propaganda group in London, in which Jebb was prominent, the Compatriots. Deakin, in his capacity as Prime Minister, was trying to implement their principal policy of tariff reform in his New Protection legislation.[2] Amery approached Jose to form an Australian branch of the Compatriots.

This thesis has aimed to present a picture of Jose as a "colonial nationalist" and as one who appreciated the national or the "Australian", in an imperial context. This is the perspective in which his writings and activities need to be seen. All his books and articles present the Australian viewpoint; the literature he championed was characterised in his definition, by an "Australian" spirit. His writing bears the mark of Kipling's influence. The colonial nationalist spirit was not restricted to politics. From the late 1880s it had been given an impetus at a popular level in the literary field with the publication of the works of Rudyard Kipling. *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1888) and the two *Jungle Books* (1894; 1895) brought India to life with an imaginative richness. As we will see, Kipling affected the development of a wide phenomenon, Empire literature.

Jose was active in the literary world in his role as confidant, adviser, publisher's reader and reviser for George Robertson. Angus & Robertson acted as the premier publishers of Australian literature at the time, taking risks in the 1890s to promote local writers. Robertson had many editors and readers, but relied continuously on Jose, and for the longest period - from the 1890s until 1925. Prior to 1925, Jose and Robertson had always enjoyed a close friendship, attested to by their correspondence.[3] Jose's wide learning and literary sophistication impressed and appealed to Robertson.

There are two principal influences Jose had on Robertson. The first was in his role as reviser for Angus & Robertson. I have studied Jose's editing of a selection of writers. In editing manuscripts, in the 1890s as a rule, Jose was non-interventionist rarely imposing his revisions on authors without their permission. In the 1890s Jose's ultimate aim in revising was to Anglicize the style of Australian writers. The writers looked forward to seeing their work published in Great Britain, as did Jose himself. The writers expressed the desire that Jose polish up their English. He worked with restraint but recognised that the English would regard solecisms with disdain. The whole process is important for several reasons; most of all, the "Englishing" is indicative of Jose's desire to represent Australia to the British, in the same way that Kipling had done with India.

Equally important in the 1890s was the idea that Australian writers would present Australia to the local audience with a local perspective. Jose, as nationalistic as many others, hoped local content would awaken in Australians a patriotism and a desire to see federation accomplished.

The second area in which we might consider Jose's influence on George Robertson and his publishing is more general; it is in the realm of the ideological. But it is difficult to assess his influence. For it is impossible to say where the effects of the spirit of the age fade, where the impact of one man begins to bear its mark. Jose's role always was to keep the lamp of imperialistic and nationalistic fervour burning. In this regard it is no surprise to find that, like many men of his era, he was profoundly influenced by Kipling.

Jose had clear ideas about the way he would have liked Australian literature to develop, and the image of Australia he would like presented. As we will see, his ideas so impressed Robertson that even when Jose's ideas became modified in the Twenties, the publisher's still remained in their Nineties' cast. The principal idea dominating Robertson's imagination, and his hopes for the character of Australian literature was that it should present a buoyant picture of Australian life. It would seem that this was inherited in large part from Jose. Jose's vision of Australia in the Nineties and the Federation period was of a country possessing a dynamic future. Jose disliked the Realist negative representations

of the Australian bush because they represented a vision and character antithetical to his own views. It is difficult to know whether there was a secondary reason for his reaction against realism: it is possible, for example, he may have thought that gloomy pictures of the Australian bush, were not only caricatures, but would discourage intending immigrants from Britain. Land settlement and immigration were topics he was to write frequently about for *The Times*. It is as well to remember, however, that Jose's taste in literature was broader and more subtle than such an interpretation could imply; that he corresponded with Christopher Brennan on such diverse literary matters as Classical Greek drama and the French Symbolists.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. John Eddy and Deryck Schreuder (eds.), *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism*, Allen & Unwin, North Sydney, 1988, pp. 7, 20.

2. J.A. La Nauze, *Alfred Deakin A Biography*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1979, Chapter 22, *passim*.

3. Vol. 314/41, Jose file.

CHAPTER 1: The Literary Background

In order to understand Jose's vision of Australia and gain a clearer idea of his hopes for Australian literature in the 1890s, it is necessary to examine the relationship between imperialism and nationalism; the question of the influence of Kipling, as perceived by literary critics in the Nineties and more recently; the influence of Kipling as is manifested in the phenomenon of Empire literature, and on Australian literature; and finally Kipling's influence on Jose.

Clearly, if the closing decade of the nineteenth century is seen only as one of strident republicanism, Jose would appear quaintly irrelevant, and on the periphery of literary developments. Yet, if the complexity of sentiment in the decade is admitted, if it is seen that there was a certain amount of British and imperial loyalty - it was a time when even Lawson called England "home" - if it can be seen that the values which Jose espoused were consonant with those of many prominent Australian writers in the Nineties, his role as general factotum at Angus & Robertson's takes on a greater significance. It is fair to see Jose as being part of a web of relationships of writers and artists filled with a nationalistic and imperialistic fervour, as well as a mutually contagious enthusiasm.

Historians have anticipated literary historians in their recognition of colonial nationalism, and that nationalism and imperialism are not mutually exclusive, and in observing that nationalism could be seen not only as part of imperialism but as a necessary precondition for it. Hancock in his chapter, "Independent Australian Britons", and Clark, in the fifth volume of *A History of Australia*, have expressed the theme of dual allegiances to Australia and Britain in different ways. Gavin Souter in his Foreword to *Lion and Kangaroo* wrote:

> Loyalty to things British and loyalty to things Australian have a long history of contention and co-existence. Many Australians still harbour both sentiments in varying proportions . . . My loyalty gauge has been known to register 30: 70 in English cathedrals and Scottish glens, but it dropped to about 1: 99 when Sir Robert

> Menzies was installed as Lord Warden and Admiral of the Cinque Ports. The same kind of duality existed early this century, but how different were the British and Australian proportions then![1]

Robert Lacour-Gayet writing specifically of the Nineties observed:

> This nationalistic spirit was, however, still quite compatible with a lasting attachment to England. As one orator put it: 'Our love of England is still almost as strong as it was when Batman first stepped ashore at Hobson's Bay.'[2]

As a prelude to an explanation of Deakin's attitude to Empire, La Nauze observed:

> Historians have placed him among the most ardent exponents of distinctively Australian nationalism; yet the theme of 'imperial unity' recurs constantly in his speeches and letters. Clearly, some distinctions are needed.[3]

Recently literary historians have come to recognise something of an overlap in imperialistic and nationalistic feelings. As the *Oxford Companion to Australian Literature* put it:

> nationalism itself was an amalgam of allegiances to an emerging Australia, an individual colony like NSW, and even Britain itself . . .[4]

Imperialism in the Australian imagination can be seen as an extension of the dual sentiments of patriotism to both Britain and Australia.

Such a duality explains the otherwise strange phenomenon of enthusiasm for the Boer War and World War I. It explains the pro-British patriotism found in poets considered to be nationalistic and radical. Lawson's "England Yet" (1917) and John Farrell's poem written for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubliee, "Ave Imperatrix" (retitled at Jose's suggestion as "Australia to England") are examples. Such dual sentiments explain the substantial body of public poetry with imperialistic overtones: George Essex Evans' "Ode for Commonwealth Day", J.B. Stephens' "Australian Anthem" might be considered as epitomising such work.

At the outset it was stated that nationalism was seen as a precondition for imperialism. La Nauze, in writing of Deakin's membership of the Imperial Federation League in Melbourne in the late 1880s, pointed out that Deakin thought of Imperial federation as

premature, "the immediate task was to realise and assert Australia's own national identity" (p. 476).

It was Rudyard Kipling who indicated the importance of local feeling to Jose when the latter complained to him that attempts at federation in Australia in the early 1890s were being thwarted by parochialism:

> But I am more than glad to hear that you on your side of the world are laying down lines [pipes?] in the proper direction. But the mere little delay in Federation doesn't seem to me very vital. Australia is very safe - almost too safe in fact - and in her security it is only natural that she should talk very much and give full consideration to all local feelings. After all unless & until one mightily loves and realizes ones own province, one cannot realise fully and sympathetically the Empire. . .
> (n.d. early 1890s)[5]

Furthermore it was Kipling who wrote to Jose of the link between a "national" literature (local writers using local material) and nationhood:

> I am rejoiced to hear what you tell me about the young men beginning to look around them for their material. That is the only way that a nation begins to realise that it has a national life of its own. Canada has started singing on her own account with a whole nest of young singers who believe in their country, and you will see in a little time that your people will follow suit. And when those songs are made - naturally & spontaneously as they must be - Australia will be Australia. It's a big chance and I very much envy the man who first finds that he can help on the work.
> (29 October 1896)[6]

Thus the links are made between national literature and nationalism, and between nationalism and imperialism. While in his articles on Australian literature Jose concentrates on the former, the latter link was taken for granted: Australian literature in stimulating local patriotism could stimulate imperial feeling.

But imperialism in literature was not just a question of sentiment or nostalgic feeling for Britain. There is the question to consider of literary influences from Britain. Once the legend of the Nineties had it that "Australian writers and artists looked inwards and found an authentic destiny distinct from the cultural models of Great Britain".[7] But as was recently pointed out in the *Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, the Nineties have been re-evaluated. Outside literary influences are now seen as playing a part in the development of Australian literature at this stage. In the *Oxford History of Australian*

Literature, Vivian Smith noted that Australian poets owed much to the English poets of the Nineties and their cultivation of the ballad tradition and also to the European Symbolists; in particular, Kipling's work had an impact which was felt as much in Australia as in England.[8] Empire literature also might be seen as influential.

Kipling and literary critics

Kipling, or rather his extensive legacy is a topic which has not been greatly discussed. Undoubtedly, this is partly because critics find his politics unpalatable, but partly too because readers find him puzzling. As one critic put it, there are mental gaps in his work. George Sampson in the *Concise Cambridge History of English Literature* noted:

> When dealing with adults rather than with children, animals or machines, Kipling's understanding is limited. If he saw much, he divined little.[9]

It is perhaps this, which, for a post-Jamesian world, is the stumbling block to understanding how he ever could have had such a widespread influence. However, many critics have stated that they consider his popularity did extend beyond prevailing political fashions. The Indian writer, Nirad C. Chaudhuri, thought Kipling presented "not only *British* India but also *timeless* India." Sampson noted:

> These early books achieved immediate popularity in India and became almost as quickly known in Britain and America. The acrid stories of married flirtations among the "Sahibs" and the humorous stories of broad adventures among the "Tommies" proved equally popular, and the style, which combined vividness of descriptive journalism with terseness of cynical epigram, caught the fancy of the public.[10]

Peter Quennell wrote:

> Kipling remains, nevertheless, at least on his own somewhat restricted level, one of our greatest English story-tellers - a master of language who used the words he loved . . . to fix an extraordinarily vivid impression of any scene he well remembered, with an economy, a precision and acute dramatic sense that immediately summons it up before the reader's eye . . .[11]

T.S. Eliot considered that apart from Kipling's extraordinary gifts as a craftsman, he also had an uncanny second sight; it imparted an eeriness to his work; it enabled him to make

the past present. Sampson considered that his achievement was in making India interesting and alive to a public who would never otherwise have thought of the sub-continent. Sir Herbert Warren considered Kipling was the foremost poet of South Africa and considered too that he had influenced "most of the poets of that region".[12] As will become apparent in the course of this chapter, Kipling's influence on Australian literature, particularly on the balladists was considerable: the vigorous style, the spirited life, the epigrammatic manner, colloquial linguistic experiments, the terse realism (Kipling's reading of Zola in the original before it was available in translation was not without effect on his work) are some of the features detectable in Lawson, Paterson, and Dyson. While some of these writers, and Jose too, were to a greater or lesser extent conscious of the influence of Kipling, they were unconscious of the fact that their work was really part of a wider phenomenon not only in India and South Africa but also England, of what we might call Empire literature.

Sampson acknowledged that English writers of the Nineties, Edwardian and Georgian periods were indebted to Kipling, citing Masefield's *Salt Water Ballads* (1902) and Newbolt's *Songs of the Sea* (1904) as well as the verse of the South African, Edgar Wallace. Quennell, in describing early twentieth-century verse, wrote:

> the tone of English poetry was still conservative and unadventurous. The most popular poets were Alfred Noyes, Wiliam Watson, Henry Newbolt, Alfred Austin (the Poet Laureate) and their mentor, Rudyard Kipling. They were public, rhetorical writers, fond of celebrating the glories of Empire, patriotism, masculine heroism and the public-school spirit.

He thought Masefield's early books "owed much to the heady influence of Rudyard Kipling."[13]

Kipling's impact on Australian literature was considerably greater than has been allowed. This will become apparent if we consider the multiplicity of comments and references to him made in the 1890s and if we examine the relationship of Australian literature to Empire literature.

Australian literary historians and critics in the 1960s made an occasional reference to Kipling or noted in passing the resemblance of a writer to him. While Clement Semmler

wrote at greater length a comparative study of Kipling and Paterson, in general, comments have been made with the sense of the similarity being perhaps incidental. But a closer consideration of Kipling's verse and prose, and of Empire literature will give a sense of the breadth and far-reaching effects of his vision of the Empire and it will enable us to recognise an overall pattern of its influence on Australian literature. The references to Kipling at the turn of the century can then be seen in a new context. It is worthwhile looking at some of these.

Kipling's great popularity in the 1890s and afterwards led to frequent references to him in reviews in England and inevitable echoes in Australia. Critics in awarding accolades, often used Kipling as the sole point of reference. Edward Dyson, writing to Robertson, observed:

> Le Gallienne has a complimentary and valuable notice of Lawson's verse in "The Idler", but I suppose you have seen it. The assertion that "The World Was Wide" consoles one for the delay of Kipling's sea ballads, coming from such a source, should help Lawson's boom very materially. I think his prose work will find much favour in England. A keen taste for virile stories of that kind has manifested itself in the success of Kipling, Morrison, Gilbert Parker, and a few others, and Lawson has a unique flavour. (16 September [?1896])[14]

A reviewer of *While the Billy Boils* in the *Spectator*, after observing that Kipling and Lawson both began their literary careers writing for papers, went on to note:

> At any rate, both men have somehow gained that power of concentration which by a few strong strokes can set place and people before you with amazing force. Mr Lawson is a less experienced writer than Mr Kipling, and more unequal, but there are two or three sketches in this volume which for vigour and truth can hold their own with even so great a rival.[15]

Jose, reviewing the same book in the *Bulletin*, wrote that the Lawsonian characters' "mateship" reminded him of Kipling's typical Tommy "Gawd send us a trusty chum".[16] A. Conan Doyle, in writing to congratulate Farrell on his Jubliee poem to Queen Victoria, observed, 'With the exception of Kipling's "Recessional" it is quite the most worthy thing which has been written upon the subject. It is fine to hear "deep answering deep" in this way all through the Anglo-Celtic world'.[17] Later still, references and comparisons were being made. Chisholm, in his notes for an Introduction to an anthology of George Essex

Evans' verse in 1928, wrote ". . . at the opening of the present century the stirring power of the patriotic songs of Evans was exceeded only by those of Rudyard Kipling".[18]

In the 1960s, Edgar Waters, in discussing Paterson's *The Man from Snowy River*, wrote:

> . . . an English reviewer claimed that Paterson had a bigger audience than any living poet in the language except Kipling (whose own verse was already strongly influencing Paterson).[19]

What is more significant is that in Australia, and furthermore in the *Bulletin*, Kipling was seen as a best seller. Edgar Waters also quoted the Red Page's review of Robert Service's *Songs of a Cheechako*:

> Service resembles 'Banjo' Paterson, and both are of the tribe of Kipling. These three are the best-sellers amongst living rhymsters; so that there need be no misapprehension as to the kind of verse the public likes.[20]

Clement Semmler in "Kipling and A.B. Paterson: Men of Empire and Action", sketched the outlines of Kipling's and Paterson's friendship from its beginnings in South Africa during the Boer War, where Paterson was correspondent for the *Sydney Morning Herald.* Semmler relates that "when it same to Kipling's India he knew about it almost off by heart from *Barrack Room Ballads* to *Kim*".[21] Semmler gives details of Paterson's visit to England, his stay with Kipling and their discussions of writing and literature, horses and the Empire.

Kipling occupied a central place in the minds of publishers as well as reviewers. Angus & Robertson used him as a yardstick for the presentation and publication of Australian writers. They compared the amount of work to be included and the format with Methuen's - a fact which Kipling himself observed. They also used Macmillan's quantity of Kipling as a guideline to the number of Lawson's short stories they should publish. Jose noted that the "well-advertised, easily-handled, attractive volumes" of the Nineties' writers were modelled on the Macmillan editions of Kipling.[22]

But most significant of all, the firm - possibly at Jose's instigation - sent copies of the work of leading Australian writers to Kipling. Kipling's reply, acknowledging receipt of Paterson's *The Man from Snow River*, is extant. From his comments it would seem his opinion was sought. His precise directions for the way in which he would like to see Paterson's work develop are most interesting:

> I have just received today the copy of Mr Paterson's verses which you so kindly forwarded to me. I see that you have followed Messrs. Methuen's get-up very closely, and it is a very handsomely turned-out book - barring the solid-faced double-underlined advt slip between the cover board and the first page. I prefer open type for that sort of thing and a slip-advt never looks neat, do you think?
>
> Some of Mr Paterson's verses I read (and enjoyed) in last year's Christmas *Bulletin* - "The Amateur Rider", "The Two Devines" and, best of all to my thinking, "Saltbush Bill". "The Travelling Post Office" is new and catching to me, and I like it; and so do I like all the descriptions of droving and shearing and tramping. I confess I am not so fond of broken-down gentlemen (who generally deserve all they get) or miraculous horses and men who can't be pitched off under any circumstances.
>
> I want Mr Paterson to write more about the man who is born and bred in the land, to say what he does and what he thinks of things and how he manages his affairs; all without any moral reflections run in. People will always do their own reflecting if you put a straight tale before them. "A Bushman's Song", to take an instance, makes one think five times as much as "A Voice from Town". "Till I drink artesian water from a thousand feet below" is good and real, and that is the kind of thing most folks want to know more about.
>
> I hope you will not be offended with this and will give my best salutations to Mr Paterson and tell him to do it again. There can't be too many men in this world singing about what they know and love and want other people to know and love. There may be, as you hint, a little Kipling in some of the lines, but, for that matter, we all steal from each other (it's part of our business), and he'll find his own stride quite soon enough. Wishing him good luck and you good sales,
>
> Believe me,
> Very Sincerely Yours,
> Rudyard Kipling
>
> (10 December 1895)[23]

If we now look at Empire literature and Australian literature we can see how Kipling influenced the development of the former as well as various Australian writers.

Kipling, Empire Literature and Australian Literature

Peter Quennell noted there was much patriotic verse at the turn of the century. Sometimes there are other features in Empire literature, apart from patriotism and rhetoric, features which, for example, led Chaudhuri to call Kipling's India "timeless"; features which account in part for the popularity of Empire literature and which gave it a verve and brio. There is an emphasis on setting; a preoccupation with evoking local atmosphere. We

frequently find that the world of Empire literature is harsh or exotic. Secondly, there is the celebration of traditions and qualities thought of as preeminently British. This is starkly revealed in *A Chequered Career; or, fifteen years' experiences in Australia and New Zealand*, an anonymous account of life by an author who worked on a sheep station, went on the stage, took a billet as a warden in a lunatic asylum, then turned to being a groom and coachman, before undertaking various bush jobs, droving etc. Dwelling on his life, the author muses:

> I am quite confirmed in my belief that some men are born Bohemians, and that a restless spirit within them completely unfits them for any methodical line of life.
>
> It is to the roving disposition of Englishmen that we are in reality indebted for our colonies. No nation in the world is so thoroughly inoculated with gipsy blood as the English. Love of discovery and adventure is born in them. But some possess an over-share of what is in moderation an excellent quality, and the consequence is that they never settle down to anything.[24]

The lives of courageous men, adventurers, wanderers and sea-farers are commonly found in Empire literature. While these preoccupations are frequently to be seen in other world literature, for example, in the epics of Classical Greek literature, they appear in a minor way from the 1890s to the Georgian period. Before continuing we might note that Kipling's precise observation and evocative description of setting, his passion for the life of adventure can be seen as impressing Jose and Robertson. These were qualities which they in turn sought in Australian literature in the Nineties. We should also observe that Empire literature is not a discrete body of writing but is rather amorphous, ranging over many forms and sub-genres, absorbing the influences of literary movements as different as the French decadent writers and realism, drawing from the times and adapting to them.

As already mentioned, Kipling first popularised the idea of the colonies in literature. This was achieved by descriptions of specific colonial locations, notably by *Kim*, but also by his verse. "A Song of the English", (1893) for example, is composed of sub-sections and one of them, "The Song of the Cities", contains verses each of which personifies a major colonial city from around the Empire, from India, Malaya, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Sydney proclaims:

Greeting! My birth-stain have I turned to good;
Forcing strong wills perverse to steadfastness:
The first flush of the tropics in my blood,
And at my feet Success![25]

But the imperial theme is rarely presented in such a straightforward manner as this. Instead our awareness of the vastness of the Empire is awakened by a sprinkling of references through Kipling's poems to characteristic landmarks - "the hush of the Mahim woods" ("Gipsy Trail"), the Southern Cross ("The Long Trail"), "a Large and sunlit land" and the "ungrazed upland" of South Africa. There are many verses like the concluding one from "The Settler" which describe a landscape unknown to most of his readers:

Here, in the waves and the troughs of the plains,
Where the healing stillness lies,
And the vast, benignant sky restrains
And the long days make wise -
Bless to our use the rain and the sun
And the blind seed in its bed,
That we may repair the wrong that was done
To the living and the dead![26]

It is possible that Kipling's representation of particular colonial settings had the effect of prompting the local writers to greater efforts, to discover and depict the landscape of their country as it was. His work may have provided the final impetus for Australian writers to see the bush with Australian rather than English eyes. But we should note that the preoccupation with the local had its unfortunate side too. Many writers stopped short of attempting to discover the universal beyond the particular. Thus "Australian literature" came to be thought of as such by some, only if it contained local content.

The setting of Empire literature is often beyond the fringe of civilisation, where man is thrown on his own resources, where moral and physical courage are demanded and all is strange: India, the thinly inhabited Pacific, and later the searing, mysterious world of Lawrence of Arabia. Often the harshness of the world is the key-note. In Kipling's "The Song of the English" there is a section, Song of the Dead, which isolates the extremes of the Empire:

Hear now the Song of the Dead - in the North by the torn
berg-edges -
They that look still to the Pole, asleep by their hide-stripped
sledges.

Song of the Dead in the South - in the sun by their skeleton horses,
Where the warrigal whimpers and bays through the dust of the sere river-courses . . .

But in almost biblical overtones, in the next section of the poem, Kipling indicates that the deaths and sacrifices, as an atonement, have duly yielded the fruit of civilisation:

On the sand-drift - on the veldt-side - in the fern-scrub we lay,
That our sons might follow after by the bones on the way.
Follow after - follow after! We have watered the root,
And the bud has come to blossom that ripens for fruit! . . .
Follow after - follow after - for the harvest is sown:
By the bones about the wayside ye shall come to your own![27]

One can see how the rugged world of the Australian outback as depicted by Lawson, Paterson and Dyson may have been seen as written in the shadow of Kipling. Australian literature was perceived by some as Empire literature, *par excellence*. The magazine, *Boys of our Empire*, in compiling an anthology of verse, wished to include Paterson and Lawson along with Kipling, Newbolt, A. Conan Doyle and Swinburne.[28]

The outposts were depicted as formidable in Newbolt's "He Fell among Thieves". The setting might be described as beautiful but it is cold and daunting in contrast to the warm, comforting features of English civilisation which the protagonist through the night remembers as he awaits his dawn execution:

He did not hear the monotonous roar that fills
The ravine where the Yassin river sullenly flows;
He did not see the starlight on the Laspur hills,
Or the far Afghan snows.

He saw the April noon on his books aglow,
The wistaria trailing in at the window wide . . .

He saw the gray little church across the park,
The mounds that hid the loved and honoured dead;
The Norman arch, the chancel softly dark,
The brasses black and red.

The obvious conclusion the poet draws is that life in such places demands the sort of courage with which the victim meets his end, with the apostrophe:

"O glorious Life, Who dwellest in earth and sun,
I have lived, I praise and adore Thee."
A sword swept.
Over the pass the voices one by one
Faded, and the hill slept. [29]

But, for Kipling, life in the Empire is epitomised by the setting of *Kim*. Philip Mason in *Kipling: The Glass, The Shadow and The Fire* summarised the background of *Kim*:

> There is tolerance for all and an enormous zest for the life of the road, for the life of this 'great and beautiful land'. Kim, waking at the first halt on the Grand Trunk Road, saw 'life as he would have it - bustling and shouting, the buckling of belts and beating of bullocks, and creaking of wheels, lighting of fires and cooking of food, and new sights at every turn of the approving eye.' It is a rich frieze of varied and happy life, moving continually, strong in scent and sound and colour.[30]

This is the aspect of Kipling's vision which captivated the imaginations of Jose, Paterson and Dyson. This best represents Kipling's Nineties' mood, a mood found to permeate the life of the horsemen in Paterson, the rollicking beat of Dyson's *Rhymes from the Mines*, the pace of his short stories. Jose hoped there would be a greater quantity of Australian literature written in this mould. He seems to have impressed upon Robertson the need to search for such descriptions of Australian life. Robertson became preoccupied with finding a novel on these buoyant lines. He requested Lawson, Paterson, Dyson and George Essex Evans for such a work.

Various qualities were needed to establish or colonise the Empire. Under the influence of Darwin, it was thought that the British possessed these to a degree above other nations: adventurousness, pluck and daring; loyalty and independence of spirit. The refrain of Newbolt's "Vitae Lampada", "Play up, play up and play the game" epitomises that quintessential Imperial ambition which was to provide the Empire through British public schools with generations of men to administer it.

The treatment of these qualities is as varied as the world literature of the time. Kipling's characteristic manner of portraying the courageous is to understate it or imply its existence in the telling of the tale. This is seen, for example, in "The Ballad of the 'Bolivar'." In an attempt to heighten the realism, Kipling presents an account of the dramatic action - a storm at sea - in the first person. The narrator is contemptuous of his predicament and almost nonchalant in his reaction to the storm. At the same time, it is understood that the survivor-raconteur is fortunate to be able to relate the chilling event:

Aching for an hour's sleep, dozing off between:
'Heard the rotten rivets draw when she took it green;
'Watched the compass chase its tail like a cat at play -
That was on the *Bolivar*, south across the Bay! . . .

Just a pack o' rotten plates puttied up with tar,
In we came, an' time enough, 'cross Bilbao Bar.
Overloaded, undermanned, meant to founder, we
Euchred God Almighty's storm, bluffed the Eternal sea![31]

For Newbolt, the patriotic deeds which established the Empire through the centuries were principally acts of courage:

Such as were those, dogs of an elder day,
Who sacked the golden ports,
And those later who dared grapple their prey
Beneath the harbour forts:

Some with flag at the fore, sweeping the world
To find an equal fight,
And some who joined war to their trade, and hurled
Ships of the line in flight.[32]
("Minora Sidera")

Alfred Noyes' "The Moon is Up" contrasts the spirited life of adventure at sea with the convention-bound life on land:

The moon is up: the stars are bright:
The wind is fresh and free!
We're out to seek for gold to-night
Across the silver sea! . . .

We're sick of all the cringing knees,
The courtly smiles and lies!
God, let Thy singing Channel breeze
Lighten our hearts and eyes! . . .

Beyond the light of far Cathay,
Beyond all mortal dreams,
Beyond the reach of night and day
Our El Dorado gleams . . . [33]

We might remember here how prominent the tales of daring are in Australian ballads. While undoubtedly the cross-currents of influence from American frontier literature have also effected their prominence in Australia, Kipling's influence, particularly on those writers mentioned above, should be taken into account.

The celebration of courageous exploits and the tales of adventure often take on exotic colouring when they appear in the guise of the vagabond cult. They would appear to derive partly from Rimbaud and Verlaine. With the romanticisation of the wanderer, the gipsy life frequently becomes a subject for poetry. As Jose saw it, the gipsy-vagabond-roamer was particularly suited to life in the variable conditions of the Empire's colonies.

In Kipling's "Sestina of the Tramp-Royal" (1896), the protagonist tells the story of his existence as a wanderer, of the impulsive man who prefers never to be tied down:

> Therefore, from job to job I've moved along.
> Pay couldn't 'old me when my time was done,
> For something in my 'ead upset it all,
> Till I 'ad dropped whatever 'twas for good,
> An', out at sea, be'eld the dock-lights die,
> An' met my mate - the wind that tramps the world![34]

In Kipling's "The Gipsy Trail" the gipsy, with no home, is thereby equally at home in all parts of the world. The "world", naturally, is represented by the far-flung parts of the Empire - Australia, Hong Kong, India. There are many other ballads where the wanderer, while not central, is nonetheless important. The opening verse of "The Dedication from 'Barrack-Room Ballads'" (1892) sets the tone of the book:

> Beyond the path of the utmost sun through utter
> darkness hurled -
> Farther than ever comet flared or vagrant star-dust
> swirled -
> Live such as fought and sailed and ruled and loved and
> made our world.[35]

There are references, for example, to "gentleman-adventurers" ("The Last Chantey" 1892). In "The Song of the Banjo" (1894), the musical instrument becomes a personification of the adventurer-wanderer. The poem is an account of the banjo's travels which is, in effect, a survey of the Empire and the Empire's itinerant workers.

R.L. Stevenson's "The Vagabond" is a softer rendering of the same theme in the romantic tradition. The poet depicts the life of the wanderer as one of abandonment to fate; this is emphasised by the repetition of the lines:

> Wealth I seek not, hope nor love,
> Nor a friend to know me;
> All I seek, the heaven above
> And the road below me.[36]

It may have been Kipling's extensive use of the theme and his approving comment in the letter to Angus & Robertson's, "I like all the descriptions of droving and shearing and tramping", which encouraged Paterson and Lawson to further exploit such possibilities in their accounts of the lives of drovers, sundowners and swagmen. These, in turn, influenced other Australian writers. Lawson, in a letter to Robertson, at one point observed:

> . . . By the way, I'm at work on a story - an autobiography, really - of selection diggings and vagabond life.
> (9 September 1896)[37]

It is in Paterson's "The Old Australian Ways" that we can observe how his version of the vagabond theme is different from Kipling's - or rather how Paterson perceives the Australians to be different from the British. Paterson thinks that for Kipling, the wanderer was an outsider, marginal to British society. But in "The Old Australian Ways", Paterson claims wandering is a generalised inclination in Australia. Travelling down the English coast on the homeward voyage to Australia, Paterson anticipates the pleasure of the life of the Australian bush, which he sees as contrasting with the English "staid conservancy":

> But all our roads are new and strange,
> And through our blood there runs
> The vagabonding love of change
> That drove us westward of the range
> And westward of the suns.
>
> Our fathers came of roving stock
> That could not fixed abide:
> And we have followed field and flock
> Since e'er we learnt to ride . . .
>
> So throw the weary pen aside
> And let the papers rest,
> For we must saddle up and ride
> Towards the blue hill's breast
> And we must travel far and fast . . .
> And call back from the buried past
> The old Australian ways. . .

The pleasure in roaming, as seen in Paterson's depiction of Clancy's travels, is partly in the landscape, partly in the freedom of such a life. In "The Travelling Post Office" we are told, "He's shearing here and fencing there, a kind of waif and stray . . ." This is further emphasised in the conclusion of "The Old Australian Ways":

When Clancy took the drover's track
In years of long ago,
He drifted to the outer back
Beyond the Overflow;
By rolling plain and rocky shelf,
With stockwhip in his hand,
He reached at last, oh lucky elf,
The Town of Come-and-help-yourself
In Rough-and-ready Land.

The attraction of the land beyond the Overflow is further described:

Beyond the reach of rule or law,
To ride the long day through,
In Nature's homestead - filled with awe:
You then might see what Clancy saw
And know what Clancy knew [38]

Such is life in the colonial outposts as perceived by the writers of Empire literature.

Another feature of Empire literature is the celebration of the British as great seafarers. In "The Non-combatant" Newbolt describes what he saw as the British inheritance:

Among a race high-handed, strong of heart,
Sea-rovers, conquerers, builders in the waste,
He had his birth;[39]

Thus we find the cult of the adventurer-wanderer and the tradition of the sea merged into the one notion of the "sea-rover". The English love of the sea and England's role as Ruler of the Waves leads the Empire-writers to the conclusion that the oceans are as much a part of the Empire as the colonies themselves. There are many poems written during this period which commemorate specific people associated with the British Navy or naval victories: Newbolt's "Drake's Drum", for example. In his "Minora Sidera" there is his reference to the lesser figures in the Navy who: 'cared greatly to serve God and the king, / And keep the Nelson touch'.[40] Sea battles are remembered in John Davidson's "A Cinque Port". Once more the greatest impact came from Kipling whose ballads again and again detailed the everyday life of sailors and merchant-marines. His "Ballad of the 'Bolivar'" (1890), "The Last Chantey" (1892) and "The Long Trail" (1892) are but a few of his many sea ballads which are likely to have affected Noyes, Newbolt and Masefield. The common belief was that the average Englishman had the sea in his blood. Jose feared at the time

of the foundation of the Australian Navy that Australians, without the sea-faring tradition, could hardly make satisfactory seamen. The archetypal expression of the belief of the Englishman as an old salt is found in a poem like Masefield's "Sea Fever":

> I must go down to the seas again, to the lonely sea and the sky,
> And all I ask is a tall ship and a star to steer her by;

The call of the sea is described as an undeniable instinct:

> I must go down to the seas again, to the vagrant gypsy life,
> To the gull's way and the whale's way where the wind's
> like a whetted knife;
> And all I ask is a merry yarn from a laughing fellow-rover . . . [41]

Noyes' "The Moon Is Up", already quoted above (p. 19) perhaps best expresses the adventurer's life at sea. The references there to "far Cathay" and "an Age of Gold beyond the Spanish Main" suggest new worlds to be opened up. In this they recall Kipling who so admired Rhodes:

> [Rhodes] who had gathered thousands of men to build railways and bridges, who had led them to build cities in the wilderness - all this was to Kipling high romance and excitement. He was thrilled by the opening up of the West in the United States and Canada, by the spread of white occupation in Australia . . . [42]

Once more interconnections with Australian literature are interesting. Of Brady's volume of sea ballads, *The Ways of Many Waters* (1899), Cecil Hadgraft observed:

> In his facility, his dexterity in the use of technical terms, and his feeling that the sea is a British inheritance, Brady resembles Kipling . . .[43]

Furthermore, we might note that Brady's verse was praised by Masefield as "the best yet written about the merchant sailor and the man of war's man" (*Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, p. 732). Apart from Brady, the theme does not occur often in Australian literature though Lawson's "The Vagabond" might be seen as an example. Inseparable from the sea-theme is that body of work set in the South Seas and the Pacific of which the writings of Robert Louis Stevenson and Louis Becke provide examples. As we will see, Pacific Island life was a theme with which Jose was to become preoccupied.

Another influence in Kipling's work was realism. This is seen in his presentation of the lot of the common man: the soldier, the sailor, the merchant seaman, the engineer and the settler. An essential part of his attempt to bring their lives before the public eye, was linguistic innovation. Kipling wished to phonetically reproduce his protagonists' speech. While other nineteenth-century writers, notably the Americans, had also experimented in this area, with Kipling, it was the combination of phonetic language with other realist techniques which made his work more influential. His innovations had a strong impact in Australia. The precedent he established gave authors an acceptable way to experiment, if not to represent, the Australian vernacular. Authors began employing the same method of representing "dialect" and colloquial idiom. C.J. Dennis described his early works as "Australianized Kipling". The development is of particular importance in this thesis. Colloquial speech was one of the features of Lawson's and Dyson's work to which Jose was particularly sensitive in his revisions.

Realism is also seen in Kipling in the value he places on precise observation. It is seen in the elaborate mechanical details of "McAndrew's Hymn": the ship is seen as McAndrew would see it. In addition to this, Kipling has an innate confidence in what he sees as the wonders of the industrial revolution; we sense this in the enthusiastic eulogy of the international cable system in the section, "Deep-sea Cables" (in "A Song of the English") or in the elaborate details of "Bell Buoy". Underlying the confidence is an almost unshakeable materialism.

Kipling and Jose

As early as 1893, Jose's admiration of Kipling was well-known. *Hermes*, the University of Sydney students' paper, reported the occasion of his lecture, "The Outlook of Literature". The reporter observed the approach of 'a tall loosely-made man in grey clothes and a straw hat who was carrying two string bags and a mighty pyramid of books . . . After dropping

his luggage on the counter, Mr Jose familiarly patted his favourite author, looked around the room with a smile and said in a loud tone:- "Kipling"!'.[44]

The impact of Kipling and the features of Empire literature can be seen throughout Jose's books and articles. His vision of Australia derives its vitality - directly or indirectly - from the same sources: the decadent writers of the Nineties and Realism. The similar combination of ideas that we find in Kipling, we find in Jose's writing; it is not only in the broad lines but in the details that we can see the resemblance.

Kipling's popularisation of the colonies, his depiction of each place teeming with life in its own idiosyncratic way - this is basic to Jose's outlook. His two histories, *The Growth of the Empire* (1897) and *A Short History of Australasia* (1899), taken together can be seen to constitute an understanding of Australia not only as part of the Empire, but as a nation emerging in its own right - the histories can be seen as tracing the path to the concept of colonial nationalism. This is the cornerstone of Jose's views. Australia is the outpost of hidden riches, a country whose potential has barely been dreamt of; after federation, and with the new period of material prosperity, Australia is seen as the "Empire's Eastern base". Such beliefs are the driving force behind Jose's *Times* articles and his conviction of the importance of immigration and land settlement.

As W.K. Hancock observed, the exploration of Australia was accompanied by swings of optimism and pessimism about the potential of the Australian bush, as its mysteries were gradually unravelled and as scientific advances would seemingly solve some of the problems the outback posed.[45] Some damned the Australian bush, generalising its variations under a universal symbol, that of Hell. Others expressed absurdly optimistic views. Some - Jose amongst them - watched with quiet confidence Farrer's wheat experiments, dry cultivation methods, irrigation works and artesian bores. Jose's interest in these mirrors Kipling's attraction to the world of cables and engines.

One of the dominating aspects of Kipling's work is his militaristic outlook; it is underpinned by his literary representation of the soldier and the cult of the sea. In Jose, the same outlook became a predominant characteristic and was typified by his membership

of the National Defence League. The establishment of a citizen army and the Australian Navy loom large in his *Times* articles.

It is in his modern travel book, *Two Awheel and Some Others Afoot in Australia* (1903), that Jose's view of the rural backblocks as a queer but vibrant world emerges. For Jose, the bush is a quieter place than Kim's Grand Trunk Road, but its general character, as he sees it, is the same. In his later works of the 1920s, *Builders and Pioneers* (1928) and the unpublished *Celebrated Convicts*, we find those British colonising types we considered above - the adventurer, the wanderer, the outsider. According to Jose, these are the characters and this is the setting, fundamental to Australia's development.

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CHAPTER 2: Bristol to Bathurst

Arthur Wilberforce Jose, the first child of William Wilberforce Jose and Sarah was born in 1863 at 5 Gloucester Row, Bristol.[1] The ideals and aspirations of the Victorian generation found expression in the family legend that the Joses came from Spain to Cornwall in the twelfth century: enterprise and adventure were intertwined with the suggestion of long-standing loyalty to Britain.

From the early eighteenth century, the different lines of his father's family were engaged in mercantile pursuits. William's father, Thomas Porter Jose (1805-1875), had founded a tobacco-broking firm in which his children eventually became partners. His reformist zeal and admiration of William Wilberforce were such that on the death of the abolitionist, he called his new-born son after him. William Wilberforce Jose, a staunch churchman, evangelical in his views, in turn passed on what he considered to be the honour of the reformer's name to his son Arthur Wilberforce, and with that nineteenth-century British love of lineage and family honour, thus enshrined the Victorian philanthropic spirit. Arthur Jose, however, had no particular enthusiasm for the convention or for Wilberforce. His middle name and even the initial is dropped from the title page of some of his books; "it is not a family name but a fancy of my father's" he told Angus & Robertson, asking them to omit it.[2] Indeed, Jose saw William Wilberforce as well-meaning but possessing an incomplete understanding of colonial conditions and that, in abolishing the slave trade, "the British Government made its favourite mistake - it had done the right thing in the most wrong-headed way possible".[3] While Jose shared a desire for reform with his forbears, his attitude to William Wilberforce was emblematic of changing attitudes to the Empire and the colonies in the 1890s.

Arthur Jose was educated at Clifton College. Amongst his fellow pupils were the future poets, Henry Newbolt and Frederick Boas, the diplomat, Spencer Nash, and Arthur Quiller-

Couch. All of them, imbued with the patriotism of their era, were to contribute in different ways to the consolidation of the Empire.

His father's life as a tobacco merchant entailed frequent and prolonged journeys from home, examining tobacco plantations in the United States and dealing with brokers. In 1878, William W. Jose was visiting Australia and described Melbourne:

> Menzies Hotel
> 10.15 p.m. I have just come back from a moonlight stroll, having remained in until past nine. I have enjoyed seeing the people do their Sat' night's marketing at the spacious market at the top of Elizabeth Street. Everything in Melbourne is spacious. The streets are from 80-100 feet wide; the parks & gardens numerous & *spacious*; the public buildings, such as the Post Office, Town Hall, Exchange, Banks & Insurance offices are magnificent & *spacious*. It is a fine sight to look down this Bourke Street at night. Menzies Hotel stands on the highest ridge Westward, & from here the street descends in a straight line 100 feet wide down to the Post Office & from thence up again to the Houses of Parliament - a mile in all, & what with the street lamps, the brilliantly lighted shops & the [?cabs] buggies & hansomes all with two lamps each flitting about, & the illumination is unique & striking. All the streets are straight, those running East & West, of which the best are Bourke St, Collins St, & Flinders St, having the benefit of the curve down & up which shows them off to great advantage, while those, equally wide, straight, & long, that run North & South, slope by a gentle ascent all the way from the river at the South to the Parks & open Country at the North. Of course there is great inequality & mixture in the architecture - fine lofty & richly carved buildings standing shoulder to shoulder with plain low houses & even shanties of an earlier colonial day.[4]
> (29 November 1878)

In successive letters in January and February, William W. Jose described the town of Bathurst and the school of Edwin Bean, an old Cliftonian:

> I have walked round the town: it is a very primitive place, something after the style of [?Owensboro], Kentucky: but very wide straight roads are laid out - they call them streets, but as the houses are mostly only on one side with gaps & intervals, they hardly come up to our idea of streets. Stone is scarce, so all the buildings, churches & all, are of brick, with freestone facings, and look well for a change, being very clean and new . . .
>
> Mr Bean tries to introduce Clifton ways as much as possible. He has had studies built for the boarders: before, they [were] all herded together into a common room.[5]
> (31 January 1879)

The school in Bathurst of which he was headmaster was All Saints' College. Six years later, Arthur Jose became a teacher there. His father wrote to him:

Union Club
Sydney

> . . . I spent last Saturday & Sunday at Bathurst, with Mr Bean, the Head Master of All Saints' College there. He was the first Guthrie Scholar at Clifton College, & you will doubtless see his name on the Board, in Big School. His College is a new one, but he has already 70 & odd boys, 32 boarders and the rest day boys. The latter mostly come to school on horseback, as their homes are at upcountry "stations" round about. They take off the saddles & bridles & turn the horses loose into the field which does duty as a close: & in the evening they have the fun of catching them before they ride home . . . The zig-zag railway in the Blue Mountains is a wonderful engineering work, & takes one through some very find scenery. You go backwards & forwards up the side of a gorge, with grand limestone cliffs on the opposite side; and as there is no room to make a curve, the engine alternately pulls & pushes the train: then we run for many miles in the midst of the range . . . I caught a fine-winged grass-hopper for you. I hope to bring enough specimens of different things home, to have some to spare for the College Museum . . .
> (6 February 1879)[6]

Toward the end of the following year (1880), Jose began studying in earnest. It was his final year at school, and he won a Balliol Scholarship which he took up on 14 October 1881. Boas and Nash also went to Balliol; and Jose met Leonard Huxley there.[7] Jose spent only a year in Oxford. Little is known of his activities. A fleeting moment comes to life in a letter sent to him many years later by Quiller-Couch, "I have often thought of you, and the kindness you showed me when I turned up at Oxford for a Trinity Scholarship: and have often wanted to get a friendly hail to your ear".[8] At the end of the academic year, he left. The reasons for his departure from Oxford and England and his arrival in Australia are unknown. It has been said that his health broke down: this may well be true but it should be remembered that throughout the nineteenth century, ill-health became something of a convention used to explain away the misdemeanours of the young, or financial embarrassments of elders. For the idea of living in Australia was rarely thought desirable. Literature as late as the mid-twentieth century provides an example. In Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited* (1945), Ryder's father, warning Charles of the consequences of unbridled extravagance reminds him:

> Your cousin Melchior was imprudent with his investments and got into a very queer street. *He* went to Australia.[9]

Jose had left England in August 1882 celebrating his nineteenth birthday on board. A month after the ship had sailed Jose completed the first of three poems he wrote on the journey. "Moonlight in the Tropics" recreates the deadliness of the languid nightly heat in the Tropics, probably the Red Sea:

> Dark clouds that blacken all the skies,
> Dark sea that sleeps beneath the cloud,
> Thick darkness over all that lies,
> A funeral shroud;
>
> No light of stars, no wished-for breeze,
> Only the damp heat's stifling pall,
> While from the gloom long swelling seas
> Now rise, now fall:
>
> And then, a slowly brightening track
> Shines out in splendour on the waves,
> And lightens all the cloudy wrack,
> And all the west with radiance paves,
> And lifts the pall, and turns our gaze
> Still aching with the glare of noon
> Up to a sheen of softer rays,
> A low, bright moon.[10]

The style of the poem is accomplished, and its polish reveals Jose's familiarity with poetic technique. "Sunset at Sea" can be seen as a companion-piece to "Moonlight in the Tropics". It too is written in the manner of the late nineteenth century. Its subject, the transience of the world as manifested in nature's changing moods, is here seen in the changing light of the sunset. The third poem, the least successful of the three, ("From the Ocean") was published in the *Australasian* a year later.[11]

The ship arrived in Melbourne in November. Here he visited family friends, the McCraes and Cookes. Shortly after, he boarded a steamer, his ultimate destination being Hobart.

Jose seems to have spent his first four or five months in Tasmania, living with friends of his parents, the Masons near Glenora (north-west of New Norfolk). The property, "Coombe", held mainly sheep. Here, Jose carried out various odd jobs:

> Did you ever see a picture of Mr Gladstone in an old wideawake hat, a very old suit, and generally disreputable attire, promenading with an axe? Substitute a boating cap for the wideawake, and you may picture me in much the same attire and attitude leaving the house at ten o'clock every morning to make havoc among the gum trees, wattles, and honeysuckles (which are a kind of fir tree and nothing like English ones). This is my work at present, to clear two acres of bush and get them ready for burning and ploughing - my pastime is to go out with a gun and make spasmodic efforts to kill cockatoos, parrots, parrakeets, minas, rosellas, black magpies, crows, snakes, rabbits, corellas, kangaroos, go-hanners, and wallabies. All these animals can be found about the run and most of them about the garden on a fine day . . . The house stands on a flat piece of land with bush all round it. There is a bit cleared to the edge of the slope in front so that we see far across the valley: then on the left there is the garden, then a cropped field, and then the ram paddock which is bush: a large field at the back where the horses are loose is topped up the slope by bush: and on the right beyond the orchard there is a steep slope of bush right down to the Dry Creek so called because it was never known to be waterless: up the Tier which is a long high range of bush beyond the creek there is an enclosure of six acres, four of which are planted with beans and the other two I am clearing: but all the rest is wildness personified. Several miles away and about two thousand feet up there is a great green "bottom" where grow some splendid treeferns, so big that we couldn't have put them in our old drawing room for fear of bursting through the ceiling, and some great big gum trees. Mr Mason and I went up there to measure one it was twenty-six feet through. The bush was too thick to get at its height. However this is a country of big things. . .[12]

Jose returned to the Masons for holidays, whenever he could, from this time until the 1890s.

By May 1883, he had found employment as a teacher in Melbourne at Hawthorn Grammar School, and company with the Greenes and Stawells. A mixture of reading, studying, writing and odd jobs in the open air filled in his empty hours:

> I lunched with the Greens . . . We have lately been circulating among ourselves - i.e. the Greens, Stawells and me - a book called "Ragnarök" which tries to make out that the earth was struck by a comet, and the Book of Job is an account of it. As the others were very curious about it, I spent two hours in the Public Library collecting information about comets, and finally wrote a kind of paper on it which ought to squash the book flat. This sounds audacious, but isn't: for the man who wrote it knows nothing at all about astronomy, and moreover contradicts himself freely. I mention it to show you that my time isn't all taken up with work & play. Of course all the mornings go to work for Greats. I am now deep in a history of the Civil War in America, written by Jefferson Davis himself, which I compare with articles that

> appeared during the war in the Saturday Review. It is as stiff reading as Thucydides, but interesting at that.
>
> I have again taken up the idea of writing for the papers, and introduced myself to the "Australasian" with the enclosed po'm. I also enclose the editor's letter. Hopeful, I think. Also I have written a translation of "Wenn die Schwalben heimwärts zieh'n" for the use of the Melbourne Liedertafel, who sang a most vile one . . .[13]
>
> (n.d. approximately May/June - 1883)

In many of the letters of this period, it is the landscape, the animals and birds of which he writes, as if to establish his bearings in exotic or strange surroundings.

It was towards the end of 1883 that Jose would seem to have received the news that he could not return to Oxford. His depression at the prospect of his life in Australia should not be underestimated. While recently it has been said that Australian cities during this period were thriving cultural centres the contrast they presented to those accustomed to the literary and intellectual worlds of London and Oxford, was a stark one:

> If you could only know what Oxford was to me, you would know also what a terrible punishment is this absolute separation from it. . . . Every book I wished for was at hand: music, poetry, art, all helped to make my rooms a retreat such as I had never enjoyed before . . . And what wonder if now, in this Godforsaken country, deprived of every luxury, thrown completely on myself, friendless, except for the few English hearts that, as I believe, did care somewhat for me, loveless, were it not for my hope and my belief, I should look back on the short year of Oxford life even as Satan might, in his less rebellious moments, have looked back on the life in heaven. It was not so many days ago since I would have killed myself if I could have known that the life after death was not worse than this terrible weariness that comes of intellectual and spiritual isolation. It could not be much worse. I would give my righthand to have but one hour of talk with the circle round Carter's fire.[14]

Even allowing for the self-dramatisation there is no doubt that the impression Australia made on him was bleak. In the 1930s, he referred to the 1880s as the long dull years.[15]

It has been said that instead of returning to Oxford Jose was offered the possibility of taking a clerical position in his uncle's shipping firm in Bristol but preferred to remain in Australia earning his living as best he could.[16] But it is a phase of his life over which later writers have set a romantic glaze, perhaps in accordance with the surge of nationalism in the Thirties. The romanticisation is seen in the depiction by others of his life as that of the Australian itinerant worker - this may derive from Jose's identification of his lot with

that of the common man. Extant letters show that he spent 1884 wandering around Tasmania, never quite sure where the future would find him or what he would be doing: hop-picking, working on properties, doing accounts; but in the obituaries of Jose, writers have added to these activities wood-chopping, "breaking stones on the road" and acting as a fencing contractor. D.H. Souter, in *Country Life*, wrote of Jose's reaction:

> Refusing help from relatives, he realised on his spare baggage, packed the balance into a swag and set a course for the west. He turned his hands to anything and calloused them considerably.

C.E.W. Bean commented of that period of Jose's life:

> It was to be expected that when a young man of genius, within two years of winning a scholarship at Balliol, chose - in preference to sitting on an office stool - to make his way through the Australian back-blocks chopping wood and digging gold with a penknife, the new life would make a deep impression on him. Actually, it was a life that Jose loved; and, although throughout his career many of his acquaintances mistook his marked cock-sureness of manner for a sign of mental arrogance, it is noteworthy that this brilliant young Oxford man early conceived an intense admiration for the fibre and, in certain ways, for the mentality of the comparatively uneducated men and women with whom he rubbed shoulders, an admiration that laid the foundations of the loyalty to Australia which marked the remainder of his life. How many cocksure young Englishmen are ready, almost at first sight, to throw in their lot with Australians, our scenery, our manners and our outlook? It was all the more surprising in Jose, inasmuch as he usually appeared far too dogmatic to be a good "mixer".[17]

It was either toward the end of 1884, when Jose was employed as a tutor by the Page family at Sayes Court, Bagdad, north-east of New Norfolk, or a little later, at the Butlers at nearby Brighton, that Edwin Bean (an in-law of the Butlers) offered him a teaching post at All Saints' College, Bathurst. Jose was appointed third master at the school, which had barely been founded ten years. It was situated high up on the ridge which runs along one side of the town of Bathurst. The Bathurst Plains extend to the north-west, and to the east, the Macquarie and O'Connell Plains. Bean hoped to instil in the pupils a love of the ideals which he himself cherished, patriotism and a sense of public duty. It was said that Jose was an able teacher and that "in all his classes, students made great strides".[18] After his first year there, Bean wrote to him:

> I am very pleased with the character of your teaching, and can see that it is having a perceptible effect on the general work of the place: and am glad to see that you seem more and more to take an interest in the boys out of school as well as in it.[19]

Another of Jose's interests revealed in these early years was debating—he established a club at the school which was most active. He organised not only the students' debates but a parallel weekly meeting for the masters at the school. The topics, most likely selected by Jose, were the following: "That the British Navy is more serviceable to its country than the army", "That press representatives should not accompany an army in time of war", "Walking is better in all respects than riding", "Man is happier in a savage than in a civilised state".[20] Jose was regarded as a most valuable acquisition for the literary and dramatic circle at that time enjoying its heyday. He adapted or re-wrote Pushkin's *Revisor* (*The Government Inspector*). It was performed at the end of 1886. The following year he wrote a farce, the Christmas play, *Bushranger*.[21] It was in the organisation of activities such as these, that his "cocksure manner" receded. Charles Bean saw something of this:

> . . . he usually appeared far too dogmatic to be a good "mixer".
> He had, however, social qualities that helped. He was intensely musical - could sit down to the piano and play any song tune that he had heard; or if he did not know a tune could compose one on the spur of the moment, and wrote the song for it too if that was required. The liveliest school song in Australian literature -
> "'Twas very long ago, as you all must know,
> That Captain Cook came by -"
> was written by him for All Saints' College . . .[22]

Yet it would seem he did not feel altogether suited to school-teaching. An air of insouciance is detectable in the written comment to his sister, "But now again school must begin, and the hammering of square nails into round holes several sizes too small."[23] He found that riding and exploring in the refreshingly novel landscape was stimulating. Bathhampton, Rock Forest, Bald Hills, Sunny Corner, Mt Pleasant, Cangoura, and Sofala were all areas he visited. As we see from his diary extracts, in his holidays he went further afield. The countryside became the inspiration for his poetry, most of which he wrote between 1886 and 1888.

At the end of 1887, after three years at All Saints' Jose decided to leave. A year later, the Bean family returned to England. Amongst other things, Jose decided to resume studying and he prepared his poems for publication as a book.

Sun and Cloud on River and Sea

Sun and Cloud on River and Sea (1888), was one of Angus & Robertson's first ventures in publishing.[24] It is a slight volume and one sees in it the distinguishing characteristics of English Victorian verse. It is typical also of much nineteenth-century verse in Australia in that it is the dilettante verse of the Victorian man of letters. Jose was a prose writer, an essayist, a political journalist - his poetry was incidental to these.

In publishing the book, Jose used the pen-name, "Ishmael Dare". Abbreviated as it sometimes was to "I. Dare", the pseudonym was a pun on "Jose" (cf. the French, j'ose). Jose used the pen-name for many years. It is worthwhile considering the significance of Jose's choice of the name "Ishmael" - that Biblical desert figure - and its range of connotations for it does in fact convey his changing attitudes to his situation and Australia in the 1880s. By "Ishmael" we understand, first of all, a social outcast. In the early 1880s, Jose saw himself in this light. The word also has a secondary application: it is used in reference to a vagabond, that recurring figure of Empire literature. Unsettled as Jose was, he cast himself in the romantic role of the wanderer. His break with All Saints' College is likely to have been associated with his restlessness. But there is a third and more crucial interpretation to consider. In a broader context, an Ishmaelite is often referred to as one who felt pride in his own achievements and in the race he gathered round him in the desert. Here we might see a shift in what was to be Jose's attitude from the early 1880s to his situation in the late 1880s; and it heralded the change of the 1890s. By his public use of the name, Ishmael, and by the pun "I Dare", we see Jose's adoption of a different persona, we see him accepting his place in what he once regarded as a "Godforsaken country". Whereas his early years were marked by isolation and a desire to return to

England, he now writes of the "dear land of our adoption". Now in the first glimmerings of a Utopian vision, he saw possibilities of a better world.

The poetry was written from 1877 to 1888, a period of cataclysmic changes in Jose's life: his "exile" from Oxford, alterations in his father's circumstances and the monotony of life in Bathurst. While we know from prose sources how Jose responded to these changes, there is little indication of them in his verse. One reason for this is that the poetry is characteristic of much late nineteenth-century verse in its emphasis on form and technique: the verse becomes almost a virtuoso performance at the expense of the emotion. The emotion seems divorced from the mannered artifice, the polish and the technical perfection. An additional explanation for the division between Jose's experience and his poetry is remarked on by Vivian Smith in relation to much Australian poetry of the period - the language is inappropriate to the poet's experience.[25] Thus, in Jose's verse, language, emotion and imagery instead of being fused tend rather to be discrete and separate.

As we have suggested, part of the problem was to discover a new language. One of the reviewers of Jose's book commented of young Australian poets:

> . . . the new and strange sights and experiences stimulate vigorous thought. At the same time the peculiar vocabulary which they are compelled to use in describing the beasts and flowers of the new world gives to some of their lines an uncouth appearance, which forbids them from becoming very popular at home. The following lines are pretty . . .
>
> > Ours is the leaping waterfall,
> > The crimson on the parrot's wing,
> > Five-blossomed waratahs, and all
> > The glory of a southern spring."
>
> But "waratahs" gives us a shock which goes far to spoil the impression; and yet in a few generations the word "waratah" will be as musical to the Australian ear as "daisy" is to ours . . .[26]

Vivian Smith commented:

> In colonial poetry in general the language still does not reveal the object, or does not quite focus on it. The writers interpret Australian reality through the English, American and European authors of their time whom they attempt to acclimatise to Australian conditions.[27]

Thus it is not that Jose failed to observe the differences between the English and Australian landscapes - in one letter he even went to the trouble of sketching a diagram to illustrate the differences in rock formations affecting the difference between the Australian creek and the English stream—he is writing of it in English terms. But even in a single letter he will refer to the one thing as either a stream or creek. In his poems, it can become a "streamlet", an ostensibly more "poetical" term.[28] He could not translate the new experience into a new language, a new form. Typical instances of "mistranslation" can be found in "Night on the Plains":

> And every laughing streamlet ran
> Through darkling avenues of fern (p. 8)

or in "A Bush Ride" he refers to "woods" and a "hare" (p. 20).

Similarly there is an imposition also, of inherited or traditional forms, to give shape to his experience. This is seen in the employment of Classical models in the late Victorian style in such poems as "On the River", "Her Answer" and "Shooting Stars" where the rustic settings of Melbourne and Hobart are used to full bucolic effect. "On the River", which details the picturesque rural setting of the Derwent River, consists of an exchange of songs and conversation between two lovers: as they ring the changes in their verses, we recognise the form of the Theocritean contest. "Shooting Stars" and "Her Answer" are strongly reminiscent of the Virgilian Eclogue. "Shooting Stars", divided into two parts, unfolds the unspoken thoughts of the two lovers as they watch the night sky. "Her Answer" is a two-verse poem which recounts the story of the poet's lover's response to his pleas. The first verse is set on the bank of the Thames where the poet is rejected; the second is on the bank of the Yarra where the lover acquiesces.

Jose has recourse to the English idyll to convey his impression of the bush. The pastoral setting provides a pleasant escape from the monotony of everyday existence. His bush descriptions have a daydream quality about them. "A Climb at Daydawn" (1886), "By the Creekside" (1886), "A Bush Ride - Evening" (1886), "Sunrise in the Bush" (1887), "Night on the Plains" (1888) and "In the Ranges" (1888) convey the same harmonious picture of a mellow, softened landscape. This is where the poet sees beauty. His verse

exemplifies a mid-stage or another step in that process towards which Australian poets gradually came to both understand the landscape and evolve a language for it. It was a process which culminated twenty years later in the poetry of Dorothea Mackellar, who wrote of the beauty of ruggedness and desert.[29]

In the later poems the idyll is no longer a mere convention. In "Mount Tomah" (October 1888), one of the last poems written for the volume, one observes a crucial development in Jose's thought - the landscape is no longer celebrated for its own sake; the English daydream-idyll yields to a different sort of dream - the Utopian vision. Tennysonian influences had been evident in his earlier poetry in a general way, in borrowed phrases or familiar cadences—Jose's "Break, break glad day" cannot but recall Tennyson's "Break, Break, Break". In "Mount Tomah" it is Tennyson's lofty idealism which is evident in the commonly shared Victorian doctrine of "progressive amelioration". Such confidence and optimism underlies the promise Jose sees for Australia. In the poem, Jose borrows from Tennyson the figure of St Simeon Stylites, though giving him a new role. In Tennyson, he is the ascetic; in Jose, the eremitic visionary. Jose uses St Simeon to reject the idea that those who look for sustenance in the landscape are escapists. The landscape has the power to fire the imagination of the visionary and inspire him. Just like the seer on top of his pillar, the poet, after his climb to the mountain top, with heightened vision sees the world more vividly: the leaves become "a more transparent green" and the flowers "a lovelier crimson".

Jose casts himself as the climber-visionary. The poem is autobiographical and it becomes apparent that the climb is allegorical. Jose's appreciation of the luxuriance of Mt Tomah comes to represent his vision of Australia generally. Jose laments the Australians' inability to see their haven for what it is:

> Fools! fools and blind, whose languid fancy craves
> For costlier beauties hid beyond the waves,
> Who spurn their own land, Io-like, and roam,
> Stung by the gad-fly fashion, far from home,
> Crowd old-world cities, catch the old-world sneer,
> And think they know all Europe in a year! . . .
>
> Scorn no more, ye blind,

> The loveliness our southern climes have nursed;
> Know Europe too, but know your own land first. . . .
> Go - voyage round the world - search east or west -
> Cull from each land its loveliest and its best -
> Chase still your fancied pleasures year by year;
> We seek but Eden, and we find it here. (p. 17)

The final line was an expression of his conviction of the potential Australia held. The Australian mountain-top represented or symbolised the contrast to England. It "cleared the keen brain of every marshland fog" (p. 15). The fog, representing old-world conventions, becomes a recurring motif in Jose's work. As late as 1928, in his biographical sketch of Lachlan Macquarie Jose wrote of Bathurst:

> Bathurst was in all respects but one the wisest adviser and the soundest supporter Macquarie ever had. He failed in vision; he could not share the dreams in which Macquarie . . . foresaw a greater Australia. How could he? he was busied with the fate of Europe . . . he was shut in with the fogs, physical and intellectual, of a North Atlantic climate and of European diplomacy, and got no breath of the clear Pacific winds, no glow from the brilliant skies, that warmed Macquarie . . .[30]

He saw Australia as a place where men could experiment with ideas, and not merely theorise. Foremost amongst these was the democratic ideal. The embryonic vision expressed in this poem can be seen as heralding that intense activity in the literary, educative and political spheres which characterised his life, but particularly, the 1890s and the year of the closing decade.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2: Bristol to Bathurst

1. Information concerning AWJ and his family has been given by his son, Mr A. Jose.

2. AWJ - A & R, 14 July 1933, in 314/41.

3. AWJ, *The Growth of the Empire*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1900, pp. 310-11.

4. W.W. Jose to his family, 7 December 1878 in JP. For a typical example of one of W.W. Jose's American letters, see that of 8 May 1872 to his family.

5. W.W. Jose - Sarah Jose; for AWJ's response to his father's visit to Australia, see his letter of 19 December 1878 in JP.

6. W.W. Jose - AWJ, 6 February 1879, JP.

7. See the Oxford University Calender, 1882, pp. 170-3. See also, Henry Newbolt, *My World as in My Time, Memoirs of Sir Henry Newbolt*, Faber & Faber, London, 1932, p. 80.

8. Quiller-Couch - AWJ, 11 April 1931 in JP.

9. Evelyn Waugh, *Brideshead Revisited*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1978, p. 77. It has been suggested that not long after his arrival in Australia, Jose learnt of the collapse of his father's finances. William W. Jose had invested in land around the Portishead Docks area of Bristol. When it was decided to develop not the Portishead Docks but those instead at Avonmouth, he lost a considerable amount of money. Whatever the reasons, the younger Jose's return to Oxford was out of the question. Jose's early letters from Australia indicate that in fact he did anticipate returning to England and also Oxford. He refers to studying for Greats and, nearly a year after his arrival, he wrote of the Melbourne family, the Greenes, "They . . . sail for India on the 8th Nov. and Mr Greene and Roy will join them after the Matriculation exams are over, so I shall be in England nearly as soon as they" (21 October 1883 - JP.)

10. Information about the circumstances surrounding the composition and dates of the poems is to be found in Jose's own edition of *Sun and Cloud on River and Sea* in JP. For those written on board ship, see pp. 41-3.

11. The *Australasian*, 1 September 1883.

12. AWJ - his sister, May Jose, 18 December 1882 in JP.

13. Information in this paragraph before the quotation has been deduced from his letters to his family. The letter quoted is AWJ to his mother; it is an undated, two-page letter. From the content it would appear to have been written in early June or late May 1883.

14. Single sheet of incomplete letter, n.d. in JP.

15. Information from a conversation with Mr A. Jose.

16. Obituary for AWJ in *SMH*, 23 January 1934, p.10. See too that of C.E.W. Bean *SMH*, 8 February 1934.

17. Bean, ibid.; D.H. Souter, *Country Life*, 26 January 1934, p. 15.

18. Information from the *Bathurstian* in the All Saints' College Archives quoted in a letter to the candidate from the All Saints' College Librarian in 1978, Mr John Mazur.

19. Edwin Bean - AWJ, n.d. in JP.

20. Details of the debates are from the *Bathurstian* (see above n.18).

21. ibid.

22. Bean obituary, see above, n.16. For the various songs composed by Jose for the school, see A. Watson Steel & James M. Antill in collaboration with Charles W. Sloman & Albert A.W. Emms, *The History of All Saints' College, Bathurst, 1873-1963,* Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1964, p. 36.

23. AWJ - May Jose, 20 October 1885 in JP.

24. Barker, pp. 3-4.

25. Vivian Smith, p. 297.

26. Unidentified review in Newscutting book in JP.

27. Smith, p. 297.

28. In a letter to his family (16 November 1885), the Winburndale Creek is referred to as both a "stream" and a "creek". For the contrasting diagrams of creeks and streams see AWJ - May Jose, 20 October 1885 in JP: "As usual the creek ran right below the highest line of the hills: you very rarely see a creek in the middle between two ranges, and not often a river. The section is nearly always not

29. In the 1920s Mackellar's poetry was to be regularly published in the *Forum*, a journal with which Jose was closely associated. See below Chapter 15.

30. AWJ, *Builders and Pioneers of Australia*, J.M. Dent & Sons, London, 1928, p. 20.

CHAPTER 3: The 1890s

Jose's collection of reminiscences, *The Romantic Nineties* (1933) has been described as one of those works which "fostered the legend of the Nineties".[1] Jose himself anticipated the view that he was idealising the past, and discussed the matter:

> Sometimes one pauses to wonder, "Were the Romantic Nineties really romantic?" There is no doubt about the answer. They were, not merely to us looking back on them, but to us living in them (*RN*, p. 27).

His real answer to the assertion is to be found in the Preface (p.v.) where he emphasises the subjectivity of his account, indicating that the book is one of reminiscences, not history. In this chapter we will consider why the Nineties seemed romantic to Jose. At the origin of the notion there was on the one hand his view of his own role during that decade, of his personal circumstances and the variety of projects on which he was engaged. On the other hand his enthusiasm is also connected with an emerging idealistic vision of Australia as a land of the future, where the strength of the Empire lay, and of the outback "rural" type. The "rural type" or "bushman" is of particular importance as a basic element in the Australian Legend as elaborated by later writers such as Vance Palmer in *The Legend of the Nineties* and, as Roe has suggested, in the work of later historians such as R.M. Crawford and Russel Ward. As Michael Roe put it in his discussion of the Australian Legend:

> I would suggest that [the Legend] was created by Romantics and Nationalists . . . These Romantics and Nationalists were men of letters - the writers of the *fin-de-siècle* cultural upsurge . . .
>
> My argument is that these writers felt, with varying degree of deliberation, the need to create an Australian type. They put him in a rural setting.[2]

Jose was inclined to idealise this type in the Nineties, and furthered this process in the 1930s, when he saw the rural figure as someone of the past.

In his activities in the Nineties, which will be the subject of this and subsequent chapters, he saw himself as a literary pioneer, an emissary of Empire. It has been said that the imagination of the last generation of the Victorian era was on fire with the idea of the Empire:

> It became their faith, that it was the role of the British Empire to lead the world in the arts of civilisation, to bring light to the dark places, to teach the true political method, to nourish and to protect the liberal tradition. It was to act as trustee for the weak, and bring arrogance low. It was to represent in itself the highest aims of human society. It was to command, and deserve, a status and prestige shared by no other. It was to captivate the imagination and hold fast the allegiance of the million by the propagation of peculiar myths - one among which was the figure of Queen Victoria herself, who became depersonalised, as an idea: the idea of the Great White Queen. While encouraging and making profit from the spirit of adventure, it was nevertheless to promote the interests of peace and commerce. While it was to gain its greatest trophies in war, it was to find its main task in serving the ends of justice, law and order. It was an idea that moved, an idea that expanded, an idea that had to continue to move and to expand in order to retain its vitality and its virtue.[3]

These describe well the aims of Jose's life through its varied course: "To bring light to the dark places" and to impart an awareness of the British Empire to those in its furthest corner and those isolated in the bush.

His activities during the Nineties included his work with the University Extension Movement, his two histories, *The Growth of the Empire* (1897) and *A Short History of Australasia* (1899) and his work as publisher's reader and editor at Angus & Robertson. He had a number of other interests in which he immersed himself: the Free Traders Association (he addressed meetings during election periods); his studies - he enrolled in the Law Faculty at the University of Sydney and was admitted to the Bar in 1893; his involvement with the *Australian Magazine*, which is the subject of the next chapter, and various educational commitments.[4]

The personal circumstances of his life during the decade undoubtedly contributed to his image of it as special. It was not until the 1890s that he was to find stimulation and a cultural milieu in Australia comparable to that which he had experienced in England.[5] In Jose's need for an immediate circle of acquaintances to share ideas, we can see a desire too for a wider and richer cultural world in Australia. In the increased literary activity he saw the beginnings and promise of such a world. He saw the birth of what he identified as Australian literature:

> Here we were experiencing rather a naissance than a renaissance . . . Assuredly the songs of young Australia were not always tuneful, and her art was anything but languorous and dreamful . . . Every one sang. Everything Australian was worth writing about, in verse, if possible. (*RN*, p. 28)

The intense literary activity was not merely an Australian phenomenon. Hobsbawm observed that during the 1880s and 1890s "artistic creation itself flourished remarkably, and over a wider area of western civilisation than ever before".[6]

It would seem to have been in the early 1890s that Jose met the economist, teacher and writer, R.F. Irvine (1861-1941), the scholar and poet, Christopher Brennan (1870-1932), the artists, George Lambert (1873-1930) and D.H. Souter and a number of literary men. All were later associated with the *Australian Magazine* as was John le Gay Brereton. Jose met some of these at the University and others through George Robertson.

Irvine had come to N.S.W. from New Zealand in 1891 and became Headmaster at Moore College Grammar School in 1892-3; in 1894 he held the same position at Springwood College in the Blue Mountains. Jose had earlier purchased a house at Blackheath; he wrote to his sister of the walks he and Irvine took along the mountain ranges.[7] They had a similar range of interests and political beliefs. Once Jose wrote:

> Remember, too, that I've lived for years by myself & had all my own things to myself: I had no close chum here but Irvine, & what I shared with him were ideas rather than personal confidences. (n.d. [1904])[8]

Irvine, like Jose, was involved in the University Extension Movement and was to teach at the University where he became the first Professor of Economics.[9] Jose was on the Executive Committee of the Economics Association. The two were associated in the production of *Brooks's Australian Christmas Annual*, and Irvine ventured into the editing of the *New Australian School Series* readers.

It is likely that Jose met Brennan in the late 1880s. Brennan had started at the University in 1888, Jose in 1889. Jose's breadth of learning in the humanities, particularly in classical and modern languages is likely to have made him responsive to Brennan's scholarly genius.[10] It seems Jose became acquainted with some of the artists when he was

writing an article on the Jenolan Caves for Cassell's *Picturesque Atlas* (1888). D.H. Souter, who did illustrating work for Angus & Robertson's wrote:

> I met Arthur Jose early in the 'nineties. He already was a "good Australian" of ten years' experience. Tall and assertive. An amusing blend of English pomposity and back-block independence. We, who were the salt of the earth in those days, took him to our hearts at once.[11]

Jose describes the Sydney Bohemia of that time as a "series of cliques" each gathering around a different figure: the "Boy Authors" around Lambert; Brereton and others around Lawson, the Dawn and Dusk Club, at this stage around Daley. Lambert shared a studio at one time with Will Beattie, and at another, with Sid Long. Lambert, Jose knew particularly well. Later they became brothers-in-law (Lambert married Amy Absell, and Jose, her sister, Evelyn.)

Lambert had arrived in Sydney in 1887. After a stint in the bush on his great-uncle's property, he moved back to Sydney in 1889 where he started attending night classes at Julian Ashton's art School. In 1895 he began contributing to the *Bulletin* and illustrating for Angus & Robertson.[12] Lambert built something of a legend around his personality. Anecdotes illustrating his theatricality are legion. Leon Gellert described him as a "poseur to his fingertips". Rose Lindsay commented objectively "I was never at ease in his company. I doubt if any woman was". His flamboyance prompted Mrs Arthur Adams to remark "When you went out with him you felt you were with a brass band".[13]

One of Lambert's earlier portraits, if not the earliest, is of Jose, and dates from 1895. But it is a later full-length pencil sketch possibly done in London (1903), and "Past Carin'" (see below, p.88) which exhibit that draughtsmanship for which he was renowned. As one writer has put it:

> He could evoke the texture of flesh, suggest the rustle of silk, catch a characteristic stance or the animation of a personality - and he did all these things with great style and ease.[14]

But it is perhaps James Gleeson's review of an exhibition of fifty-two Lambert drawings which also best describes the above-mentioned sketches:

> They are beautiful drawings. Everything about them is easy and urbane. His line is never caught off balance . . .

> He draws with a style superbly suited to the elegance and optimism of the Edwardian era.
>
> His drawings cut a dash. They are debonair and charming, full of compliments and graceful innuendos; and where it is fashionable to be langorous (sic), there his lines fail and faint like a Bernhardt in the last act of Camille.[15]

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It was said of him:

> Jose had many friends who were attracted by his vigour, his outspokenness in expressing the clear-cut views he held on a multitude of subjects, and his strong sense of fairness.[16]

All the writers and artists mentioned, with the exception of Brennan, reveal nationalist sentiment in varying degrees, contributing to the cultivation of the Australian Legend as can be seen in some of their more lasting works of this period. The bush became both setting and symbol at the heart of their vision.

As Martin Terry noted of Lambert, his experiences in the bush "gave him an enduring love of horses and rural themes".[17] As we will see in the next chapter, his sketches in the *Australian Magazine* expressed a vision of the bush, always nationalistic, sometimes idyllic and sometimes heroic. "Across the Blacksoil Plains", the work by which it has been said he is most remembered, is of this period.

The new depiction of the Australian landscape by the Impressionists struck a responsive chord in Irvine. Their appreciation in particular of its heat and "haggardness" - features not normally found appealing - marked a fresh approach. Roe, in his study of Irvine in *Nine Australian Progressives*, drew attention to Irvine's commentary, "Impressionism in Art" in the *Australian Magazine*:

> . . . Australia can only be represented by Impressionists and Impressionists who have poetic insight and a native attraction for sunlight and heat, for intense colour, for simple composition. Such are Streeton and Sid Long; each absolutely original and yet born to the manner and moods of the "haggard continent".[18]

The Impressionists profoundly influenced Jose's outlook as is seen in his editing, and, more particularly, in *Two Awheel*, which was written in the 1890s.

Brereton's *Landlopers* (described by Heseltine as "the most important piece of creative prose that Brereton ever wrote") is essentially a Romantic tale inspired by the writer's closeness to nature. "Nature" is the Bush. As Heseltine went on to indicate, in its details

we can observe Brereton's exaltation of the virtues of the bush worker, and thus the writer's contribution to the Australian Legend:

> This is a typical selection, a little farm wrested from the bush by intelligence and muscle. Its proprietor is one of those men who stand unobserved, and sustain our destiny upon their shoulders. They are the foundation-stones of a great nation. (p. 99)[19]

The last sentence anticipates Federation and is expressive of the nationalists' attitude toward Federation which most of these writers and artists shared. Roe noted that a comment in an editorial of the *Australian Magazine* could have been written equally by Jose and Irvine.[20] The writer looked forward to Federation which would give unity and strength to the nation.

D.H. Souter's art-nouveau illustrations to Irvine's *Bubbles, His Book* and Brereton's *Landlopers* reveal his attempt to re-create typical features of the Australian bush in the French style.

As we noted in an earlier chapter, there were other aspects to the Nineties than the Nationalistic. Brennan, studying in Europe from 1892 to 1894, had become interested in the new developments in poetry in France. Axel Clark noted that such was his fascination with Mallarmé, he gave up his studies and concentrated on poetry. Brennan sent Jose a Parisian edition of Mallarmé, *Album de Vers et de Prose.* It was inscribed, "To the Australian Brunetière, what is *not* altogether tinkling *'cymbal'*, from le jeune homme d'après-demain." Berlin, October 10th, 1893. 'juvat novos accedere fontis' ('It is delightful to come to new springs') . At this time Jose was Acting Professor of Modern Literature at the University. Amongst the various annotations on the text Brennan sent him, he wrote:

> "Old boy, we are metaphysicians; we have settled the hash of Ae - - a - schylus; we have cooked the goose of George Meredith; but the sonnets of M. Mallarmé! - let us be not overweening or we shall meet our Waterloo, and that at the hands of a Frenchman of the décadence![21]

For Jose, it was Brennan's personal qualities as well as his "scholarly virtues" which made him the centre of intellectual inspiration. On a personal level Brennan was close enough

to Jose and his wife to confide in them his matrimonial problems. In an undated letter he writes:

> Tell Mrs Jose I shall never forget & never be sufficiently grateful for all kindnesses. It is a testimony that I have ceased to *live* in that Mosman house.[22]

Jose had thought Brennan's marriage an unsuitable one.

Jose's work with *The Times* and the Department of Defence led him away from the centre of the Sydney literary scene and close contact with Brennan. In the post-War period, however, he seems to have attended the Casuals again.

Brennan is likely to have been an important source of influence in the transmission of French literary developments to be found in the endeavours of many writers associated with him in the Nineties. The image of the Wanderer borrowed from French Vagabond literature which Brennan explored on a metaphysical level is likely to have stimulated both Brereton and Jose, who placed the figure in an Australian bush setting. Brereton's *Landlopers* was something of a counterpart to Jose's *Two Awheel*, as we will see below.

After leaving All Saints', Jose had moved temporarily to a house in Bathurst in 1888, "Lamorna". Sometime afterwards he bought the house at Blackheath which, when he was not letting it, served as a resting-point between Sydney and the various country towns he visited as University Extension lecturer, for the greater part of the 1890s. In his work with the University Extension Movement, Jose hoped to achieve three things: to teach those unable to attend the university - principally those isolated in the country and the working classes; to improve the general standard of education and to foster an appreciation of the Empire and Australia's part in it. In "University Extension - and Contraction" he portrays himself as cultural "explorer":

> We were to some extent explorers, we country lecturers. We found audiences in a town where the lonely clergyman eked out his bare existence by snaring wallabies and drying the skins on the pewbacks; in another where the local School of Arts was really a billiard-saloon with reading-room attached, and lecturers spoke from the baulk-end of the billiard table; in another where the School of Arts committee was only just saved from trading almost

> priceless books on old armour for ten pounds' worth of second-hand novels (they sold them in the end for more than £100). (*RN*, p. 67)

However, it is important to note that, at the same time, he sets the stage in such a way as to play down the image of himself as "enlightener". Instead we become aware of his desire to represent the outback as a place of intellectual vigorousness:

> It is many years now since Archibald Forbes toured Australia, with the intention of enlightening the darkness of its primitive troglodytes. Forbes, however, not only knew, but owned up, when he was wrong; and one of his most characteristic utterances was the admission that Australians, even in those days, were much more interested and better informed about world affairs than most Europeans. (*RN*, p. 59)

Jose wrote that the University authorities having observed the intellectual curiosity amongst those unable to attend regular lectures held during the day while they were at work, decided to establish the University Extension Scheme in 1886. While the courses were for everyone it was the working class who Jose hoped to attract, as becomes evident in a letter to his sister, written shortly after he started lecturing in Bathurst in 1888. Their education was central to his dream of Australia as Utopia:

> My first lecture was a great success - not such a crowd of people there, of course, but those who were very attentive and interested. They said I spoke clearly and slowly and with self-possession, but I felt horribly nervous myself. All sorts were there -Catholic priests, Baptist, Wesleyan, Presbyterian, Congregational, Anglican clergymen, two doctors, plenty of ladies, Mr Bean, several old A.S.C. boys, *and* (most important for the success of the lectures) a plumber, a working bricklayer, and other artisans and tradesmen.[23]

In his account in *The Romantic Nineties* he translates the hope into reality:

> Miners at Hillgrove, drovers at Bourke, sheepmen at Forbes (where we discussed the lectures hotly in bar-parlours till midnight), railwaymen at Junee Junction, demanded and attended and debated the courses. (*RN*, p. 33)

It is of importance to note here that these are the archetypal characters found in the ballads of the Nineties - one thinks of Dyson's *Rhymes from the Mines*, of Lawson's and Paterson's sheepmen and drovers.

It is as if Jose, looking back, was trying to create an aspect to the myth not evident in literature - the bushman's uncultivated but quick intelligence. Indeed, perhaps Jose was

trying to establish this image in contrast to Lawson's "Middleton's Rouseabout" who 'hasn't any opinions/ hasn't any "idears"'. Thus Jose endorsed a friend's claim:

> Australians probably know less to start with than men of the same class in England; but they're infinitely more eager for knowledge and more capable of absorbing it. (*RN*, p. 60)

Or again, he quoted Forbes and concurred with his opinion that the rural population possessed a "mental vitality" and "vigorousness, alertness, force, versatility, and a capacity for harbouring big ideas which blossom into practical results". (*RN*, p. 60)

In *The Romantic Nineties*, Jose adds to the Australians' physical superiority, further attributes - intellectual ones. Other writers, C.E.W. Bean, for example, emphasised the moral ones of loyalty, valour, steadfastness, which were proved in action during the First World War. K.S. Inglis in "The Anzac Tradition" and Geoffrey Serle in "The Digger Tradition and Australian Nationalism" referred to Bean's legend of the "bushman" and its connection with that of the Anzac. As Pascoe more recently put it, "the character traits which made the Australian soldier so invincible (his easy-going bravery, his inventive self-reliance, his indomitable pluck in the face of heavy odds, and so on) could be traced back to his bush origins".[24] In J.H.M. Abbott's *Tommy Cornstalk* (1902) the Australian soldier-hero of the outback stands poised at a critical point in his development. By his name he reminds us of his ancestry; as Boer-War soldier he is, as Robin Gerster put it, a precursor of the Anzac.[25]

However, as proof of Jose's idealising tendencies in the Thirties it is critical here to quote one of Jose's letters of the Nineties because in it he presents an image of the outback man which runs counter to that presented in *The Romantic Nineties*: in the former he is lacking in intellectual curiosity, in the latter he is "eager for information". But it is of equal importance to note in the letter Jose's idealism which shows itself in his belief in the potential of the movement to transform the bush people. Thus he writes with indignation of the University authorities who would no longer support the Movement:

> Then I went off to lunch with Scott & Wood. Somehow, I feel *exalté* after a time with those men. They live away up there influencing the few people who choose to come to them: they know little and care little about most of the extra-University world:

> they're extraneous people, mildly interested in the philosophy of life as they dream it is. I'm *in* the world: I'm in the movement: I go and get at people and make some of them listen: I get precious little money for it, but I do something, and make grown up people do something they mightn't have done otherwise. That's being alive! (n.d. [1898])[26]

In referring to the composition of his audience, Jose also refers to school teachers, their pupils, bank managers and editors of the country newspapers. For such a mixed audience he learned to develop a style which Edwin Bean described as "popular and . . . refined":

> Mr Jose not only displayed wide reading and a thorough grasp of his subjects, but so illustrated his thoughts as to bring them home to his audience with clearness and vividness. His lectures on English Literature in particular were rich in suggestion, and calculated to stimulate students to read for themselves. Altogether, it would be hard to find a lecturer with a style at once so popular, accurate, and refined, as that of Mr Jose.[27]

Jose was motivated by a desire to educate the audience of the new Australian literature. He hoped that the expansion and improvement of the existing education system might develop a middle range of readers. He was aware of the polarisation in the Australian readership - a small overly-esoteric group at one extreme and, at the other, one whose tastes were restricted to the popular. A similar polarisation existed amongst writers, a fact which Vivian Smith observed in relation to Australian poetry. In his work, both as a school-teacher, and reading manuscripts at Angus & Robertson, Jose formed the opinion that there was a low standard of education, the result of teaching methods, student-teacher education and textbooks. Jose and Professor Scott were involved in devising a new scheme of inspection and examination of student teachers. Jose also felt that pupils should be at school a year longer before attending university.[28] He aired his ideas on the teaching of music in the following letter:

> The Friday night's amusement was of a less exciting kind, consisting of various pieces, part songs, solos &c by different girls at the school. Three things I noticed particularly; 1. almost absolute mechanical accuracy 2. utter want of expressive playing or singing 3. in the part songs, great preponderance of the lower parts, amounting sometimes almost to extinction of the soprano.

> But none of the girls seemed to have the slightest idea of meaning anything that they played - I should say, because they were set to play pieces which they didn't understand. I have no high opinion of the average colonial girl's intellect, though her gamey and sporting proclivities are admirable.[29]

Jose was determined that one of the standard English grammar books, Conway's *English Grammar, Composition and Précis Writing* be thoroughly revised in line with authoritative texts. The author, following what had become Education Department practice, wished to retain incorrect grammatical rules.[30] Jose had seen the legacy of the department's policy in authors' manuscripts submitted to Angus & Robertson's. He wrote to his sister of a text, with a complaint he frequently made:

> The other I had a good deal more to do with in the way of polishing the English & making it concise & readable. When submitted to me it was distinctly worth working up, as the ideas of the stories are good. But it was longer winded, & very rambling, & the English was all over the shop - so to speak. I think it's readable now. Try it and tell me. Readable or not, it's clever.[31]

Jose wanted to give rural Australians an appreciation of their British heritage. This is seen in the subjects on which he chose to lecture. His initial series were English literature and British History. A course which he frequently gave was "The Growth of the British Empire in the Eighteenth Century". There were other series on Shakespeare, Darwin, Carlyle and his Disciples, the Elizabethan Age, Modern Poet-Philosophers (Tennyson, Browning, Wordsworth, Clough and Matthew Arnold). Irvine also gave a series on Tennyson and another on the French Revolution. Professor Anderson held a series, "Introduction to the Study of Logic"; Scott lectured on Greek Politics; MacCallum on "Some Subjects of English Literature" and Wood on the Puritan Revolution.[32]

In 1893 Jose was appointed Organising Secretary of the Extension Scheme, in 1894 and 1895 the numbers of people enrolling in the lectures peaked at 934 and 727. The position involved, amongst other things, deciding where, in the rural areas, it might be feasible to establish centres.[33] From this period we discover his extensive travels through the state: to the north he visited Newcastle, Maitland, Singleton, Muswellbrook, Scone and Tamworth. To the west and south, Mudgee, Bathurst, Goulburn and a host of smaller towns. The

number of country centres offering lectures multiplied until 1898. Even then he continued his efforts. He wrote to his sister of an English friend, newly arrived in Australia:

> I was a good deal amused at his ideas of a 'long' railway journey. He thought it an undertaking to train the 14 miles to Parramatta: and as for the 3 hours' climb to Blackheath, (73 miles) which one does casually on Friday evenings for 6/1 return, it was altogether beyond his ideas . . . But when half the year I'm taking 14 hour - 280 miles' journeys, 73 looks & feels nothing: & there are plenty of men who will during the summer months sleep every night between 48 & 66 miles away from their day's work in Sydney.[34]

While making allowances for the flattery of farewell eulogies we might nonetheless note that it was said of Jose's efforts:

> Jose is a man of considerable energy, and he has done much untrumpeted work for the University. As Secretary of the Extension Board he has cycled and trained about the colony, and - I am told - has kept his temper even when confronted by the most pig-headed Committees of fumbling Schools of Arts. He made himself at home wherever he went; in dairying districts he was as ready to talk about the technicalities of butter-making as about the Romantic Revival in Poetry; in wool-growing places he showed a knowledge, not only of The British Empire, but also of the soft, short, unlustrous Merino, and the hard, long, shiny Lincoln; in agricultural country he discussed, with equal ease and lightness, the Lucerne Crop and the Missing Link. An omnivorous reader, a quick observer, a cheerful and adaptable gentleman - this is what the organising secretary of an Extension Board should be. And Jose is the man.[35]

As the decade drew to a close, Jose found he could not establish any more centres and the numbers enrolling dropped. At this stage he entertained the idea that the more substantial country centres might offer the first year of university courses to intending students. While the University of Queensland did grow out of one such centre, the proposal was not realised. The University Extension Scheme as Jose knew it died.[36]

Jose's idealism emerges in his attitude to the demise of the scheme. For he focuses not on such factors as declining interest and falling student numbers, nor on the fact that the scheme's original purpose was not being fulfilled, and that the lectures often were being attended by school students. Later we see instead an indulgent re-creation of the camaraderie of the people in the bush and what seems to be an exaggeration of its success and of the degree to which people were interested in the scheme.

But while there was an idealistic side to Jose's personality there is also a way in which he can be seen as practical and dynamic. His writing of the two histories, *The Growth of the Empire* (1897) and *A Short History of Australasia* (1899) can be seen as his response and solution to some of those problems already mentioned in connection with his University Extension work, his belief in the inadequacy of education, the lack of suitable text books, and the belief that the public were insufficiently informed about Australian history and British history from an Australian perspective.

The standard of history teaching was a matter about which Professor Wood was preoccupied. It would be relevant here to quote R.M. Crawford:

> One task to which he gave much time was the reform of the teaching of History in the schools. His work as examiner of the 'Junior' and 'Senior' public examinations soon oppressed him with the evidence of bad teaching - the deadness, the 'exhibitions of the brute power of memory', the lack of ideas, the absence of any understanding why history should be taught at all . . . He tried to shake [the teachers] out of a dull routine by talking to them, and by putting into his reports on the examinations . . . the principles and method which he believed would turn the dullest of subjects into the most interesting and valuable of all - 'not a burden on the memory, but an illumination of the soul'.[37]

Wood and Jose were both struck by the deadness with which the subject was taught. In reading the latter's text books one sees a vitality which must have given an immediacy to the subject-matter. One also observes that *The Growth of the Empire*, like his University Extension lectures, was pitched to more than one level. There was sufficient detail to stimulate the teacher and a broad outline to make the history readily comprehensible to students.

We should also observe the difference between the two men as teachers. Wood's desire to "illuminate the souls" of his students stands in contrast to the ideological preoccupation which was the lodestar of so many of Jose's endeavours. In the Preface to his history Jose expressed his hope:

> For my own work I make bold to hope this fate at least - that it may interest the busy man, stimulate the indifferent man, and whet the appetite of the student . . .

But as is quite clear in the Preface, Jose cherished two other aims. The first was to arouse imperial feeling in Australians in order that they might appreciate the splendour of the Empire and - by that very fact - maintain it. Jose hoped that:

> everyone who reads it, be he young or old, may feel himself a product and a part of what he reads about, - in whose life the fact of the Empire's existence, and the methods of its growth, have been and are an important and a determining influence. We are of the race and nation of the Empire-builders, and it is our business to understand their building in order rightly to maintain it.[38]

Jose's second aim was that his work, his "outline sketch" as he called it, would prompt a better man to write a great and definitive Imperial history:

> . . . we still lack the Imperial historian, the man who shall do for Seeley what the Herschels did for Newton. We lack him, but we need him; and it may be that the very imperfections of a mere outline sketch, such as this is, will rouse the right man to do the work that is waiting for him.[39]

The book was completed on Empire Day; it bore the appropriate Virgilian epigraph, "*Tantae molis erat Romanum condere gentem*".

Yet it is of greater importance to note that in furthering imperial sentiment Jose saw that it was essential that the history of the empire be taught with emphasis on the colonies. In 1895, as he prepared his series, "The Growth of the Empire", he wrote to his sister:

> Also will you let me know from what books people teach the 'History of the British Empire & Constitution'? I can't get any out here that deal with things in that way - it's all British and no Empire in our textbooks.
> (24 February 1895)[40]

Thus Jose settled on the format of the textbook. Before examining each of Britain's colonies in detail, he considered a definition of the British Empire; he distinguished ancient empires from modern ones and modern ones from the British. He wrote of the various factors which brought the British Empire into being: above all it was the British character which not only brought the Empire into being but which sustained it. As we saw in a previous chapter (pp. 18ff.) he saw various qualities as essentially British and these he called "colonising qualities". He enumerated them as follows:

(i) physical strength
(ii) adventurousness

(iii) trading spirit
(iv) settling spirit
(v) fighting spirit
(vi) adaptability to the native element
(vii) dominance[41]

These were the distinguishing traits of many of the characters of Empire literature. The qualities were central to the Empire's every age - the Elizabethan, the Eighteenth Century and the Victorian. And in clarifying his ideas about British Empire History, Jose was coming to an understanding of Australian History. Increasingly he was to see the British traits as playing a part not only in British History but also in Australian History. They underlie his understanding of an Australian national character, Australian society and the nation's literature. We find the depiction of some of these qualities, in a seminal way in *A Short History of Australasia*; they are a pronounced feature of his much later works, *Builders and Pioneers* (1928) and *Celebrated Convicts*.

But it was Jose's attitude to Empire which attracted the attention of the reviewers in the *Spectator*, *Literature* and the *Saturday Review*. The *Spectator* reviewer, for example, emphasised that Jose queried whether in fact the very term, "Empire", was appropriate for the colonial empire.[42] Similarly, the reviewer for *Literature* praised Jose for recognizing the complexity of relationships within the Empire:

> On the one hand, India is not a colony at all, nor are such places as Malta and Wei-hai-wei colonies; on the other hand, while we assert Imperial rights over these possessions, we should hardly try to coerce such real colonies as Canada and Australia. Mr Jose is an Imperialist who recognises the true nature of the ties that hold together so many distant States under so many different conditions. His views are practical enough, and he indulges in no grandiose theories, but finally sums up the situation as follows:-"Stripped of all vaingloriousness and bragging, the Empire means just this, that we are a stage beyond the rest of the world in national evolution. The 'pack' first, then the 'tribe' - so science to-day maps out the organization of early societies. So, among the crowd of nations that hunt each for itself, and are a pack only on occasion . . . the British Empire stands alone, a tribe of States, whose nearest congener is the great State-clan of North America that shares our language and most of our ideals." . . . The history of so peculiar an Empire, to which no other, either ancient or modern, bears much resemblance, can only be written on a large scale. We do not know that it has been better summarized than by Mr Jose, who sees things, at any rate when they are distant enough, in their true perspective. He has an eye, too, for the picturesque, and writes

> attractively of the early traders and mariners to whom we owe the first beginnings of our colonies.[43]

Jose's attitudes to the Empire then, seems almost equivocal. He was sentimental neither about its foundation nor its maintenance. The writer in *Saturday Review* wondered whether Jose was being cynical:

> A ready-made Empire is a glorious thing, and one which may well cause the citizen's heart to swell with pride. But the history of its making puts an altogether different complexion on the matter; therefore, people who are at all squeamish, or troubled acutely with what is called a conscience, will be well advised not to inquire too closely into the origin and growth of the imperial power, but to content themselves with admiring its existing glories. Should, however, curiosity or a questioning mind lead them to investigate the foundation and development of our great Empire, they cannot do better than study Mr Jose's little work, from which the major portion of those details that might shock or grieve their susceptibilities has been delicately eliminated. To do the author justice, however, let us hasten to observe that, if he writes imperially, he also often writes sympathetically. There are matters which specially rouse his indignation, such as our treatment of the Boers before the battle of Majuba Hill taught the British in South Africa the wholesome lesson that weaker nations cannot always be bullied with impunity; and he has even gone so far as to condemn our shameful treatment of the Maoris, when greedy English Colonists were grabbing in all directions the land to which the right of the New Zealand tribes had been officially acknowledged. But Mr Jose knows his business, and, we may add, his public, too well to be perpetually reminding his readers of the iniquities of empire-building. He leaves—possibly with cynical humour—the long record of unjustifiable bloodshed, of impudent theft and of unquenchable rapacity to speak for itself; taking care, at the same time, that the context shall amply demonstrate that the struggle amongst Western nations to secure fresh markets for their commerce, and new outlets for their surplus populations, has rendered such deeds of violence mere acts of self-preservation.

The reviewer later noted:

> But without desiring to undo the British Empire, or to detract from its greatness, one cannot help wishing sometimes that it rested upon more creditable foundations than thieving and murder. The history of every Crown colony, of each territorial acquisition, tells the same story.

After referring to Jose's account of affairs in South Africa, the writer concluded:

> Yet we cannot close Mr Jose's creditable account of our misdoings without a glow of national pride. Such is, after all, the weakness of human nature.[44]

Jose, presumably referring to the above review, and aware of the advantages of appearing to possess an ambivalent attitude to the Empire, observed to a friend in a confiding and ironic manner, "I've a reputation for cynicism which I cannot afford to lose".[45] He was speaking of a patriotic article he had written, of which he now saw the need to remain anonymous. On the book's publication letters of congratulation came from Edward E. Morris, Edwin Bean and Professor W. Scott. The latter wrote:

> I have been reading your book, with much interest. It seems to me that it will 'supply a want', and ought to be much in demand. It has the merit - a rare one in a text-book on so small a scale, and so closely compressed, - of avoiding dullness . . .

Jose wrote to his mother of the difficulties that attended its publication and then added:

> Still to the inexperienced eye it doesn't look a bad book. I have had many compliments on it - the most valuable from our History Professor, Wood, who ended a long letter by saying 'It is a first rate bit of work, and, for my own part, I would give a great deal to have done it.'[46]

The reviews of *The Growth of the Empire* had not all been published when Jose embarked on *A Short History of Australasia* (1899). It is difficult now to appreciate the originality and foresight Jose showed in writing it. It was the first school textbook of Australian history, and was unrivalled until Ernest Scott's *A Short History of Australia* (1916) was published. Jose's *History*, patriotic as it was, fostered among school children an appreciation of Australia's past. It is likely that it was fundamental in fostering the new growth of interest in Australian history which developed towards the beginning of World War I. Among those he influenced in the rising generation was Charles Bean. His biographer, Dudley McCarthy in *From Gallipoli to the Somme: The Story of C.E.W. Bean*, wrote:

> Charles Bean was fortunate in his teachers. Edwin Bean himself was a remarkable scholar and teacher; he had the ability to recognize and attract people of similar talents. One of those during the Bathurst days was A.W. Jose, himself a product of Clifton College and Oxford . . . he was a tutor in Hobart when Edwin Bean met him and attracted him to the staff of All Saints' . . . He was a teacher of note. He has been described as "one of the Best Australians ever born and educated in England". His fervent Australianism fed that of the younger man (Charles Bean)

> from the days when they were master and pupil to those when they worked together to write the history of Australians in the War.[47]

In England, the history was brought out in the Temple Primer series. It was described by a reviewer in *Literature* as 'a very bright and intelligent - and may we add timely - sketch of Australasian history . . . this little book is admirably suited for the Imperialist "in the street".[48] Both the *Book Lover* and the *Victorian Education Gazette* observed that Jose's history filled a breach:

> The ignorance of the average Australian youth about the brief history of his native land is often deplorable . . . A Short History of Australia . . . just provides the thing wanted.[49]

Like *The Growth of the Empire*, its most obvious success - in Australia at least - was as a textbook. By 1927 it had run to thirteen editions and 71,000 copies had been sold. In 1930 it was translated into French by Georges Roth and published by Payot. Geoffrey Blainey has observed that it was probably used more in New South Wales than in Victoria where Ernest Scott's history came to be preferred.[50] Such state preferences may have reflected the old Melbourne-Sydney rivalries of Education Department officials; if so, Jose would have been amused. For just as one of the author's hopes for *The Growth of the Empire* was that it would give Australians a sense of their place in the world and in history, to widen their insular mentality, so too his *History of Australasia* was intended in part, to diminish what he saw as the dominating parochial notions of State boundaries. He wanted to foster a national spirit.

The main aim of the book was to show Australians the magnitude of their achievement in settling the country - the hardships and vicissitudes they had overcome, the obstacles and difficulties of exploration, and equally, the riches such labour had yielded. By implication it was Jose's "British type", his settling and trading spirit, which had won and conquered the land. It was a land rich not only in the minerals it yielded and the sheep it pastured but in its potential for agricultural development. This last was a theme which Jose returned to again and again. It was a cornerstone of the plan, in which it was envisaged, that

British emigrants would be closely settled on Australian soil. Land reform which saw Australia divided into smaller farms, was part of Jose's concept of Australia as Eden.

In considering Jose's *History of Australasia*, Manning Clark wrote:

> Jose's history did not have the influence it probably deserved. The schools preferred to use Mr Ernest Scott. Jose belonged to that group of intellectuals who saw Australian history as a branch of British history overseas. He did not move with or belong to the Australia that was coming to be. Jose had quite an influence on the Deakinite liberals. . . . Deakin, like Bob Menzies, was an Australian-Briton. So was Jose. History is passing them by.[51]

There is irony here - for Jose's history, as Pascoe pointed out, found purpose in the notion of progress, and we might add, survival.[52] His *History of Australasia*, once popular, is now obsolete.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3: The 1890s

1. Wilde, p. 521.

2. Michael Roe and Russel Ward, "The Australian Legend", An Exchange, *Meanjin*, 21, No. 3, 1962, pp. 363-8.

3. A.P. Thornton, *The Imperial Idea and Its Enemies*, Macmillan & Co., London, 1963, pp. ix-x.

4. References to the Free Traders Association are to be found in a letter to his sister, 24 February 1889. He was admitted to the Bar, 28 August 1891 (Barristers' Rolls, Ledger No. 7, Sydney Supreme Court).

5. Ann-Mari Jordens in 'Fred J. Broomfield, "Research Assistant *Extraordinaire*"', *Australian Literary Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 4, October 1980, pp. 460-75 noted that Fred Broomfield criticised *The Romantic Nineties* writing that although Jose claimed to have personal knowledge of the literary figures of the era he really wrote only from hearsay. As we know from their correspondence and joint projects, Jose in fact knew well some of the writers and artists of whom he wrote. Broomfield's claim should be seen rather as a measure of Jose's distance from the Dawn and Dusk Club centred around Daley and Broomfield.

6. E.J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875-1914*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1987, p. 223.

7. AWJ - his sister, May, 2pp letter, 19 August [1895-9]: "I couldn't run my work without my bicycle & St Wenn's. About a week ago I was up there from Friday to Monday with a very good fellow, Irvine of Faulconbridge, who runs a school in Sir Henry Parkes' old house: and the walks along the ridges in 3500 ft. air did us both a lot of good."

8. AWJ - his sister, (JP).

9. See R.F. Irvine entry, *ADB*, Vol. 9, 1891-1939, pp. 438-9 and Michael Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives*, UQP, St Lucia, 1984, pp. 244-79.

10. Jose was proficient in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French and German. See his school report in JP, 3 August 1879.

11. Obituary of AWJ by D.H. Souter, *Country Life*.

12. *ADB*, Vol. 9, 1891-1939, pp. 649-50.

13. See the Lambert Newspaper Cuttings in JP. For Mrs Arthur Adams' comment, *SMH*, 22 September 1965.

14. *Australian Financial Review*, 18 October 1973, "Lambert on Show".

15. Untitled and undated newspaper cutting in JP, "World of Art" by James Gleeson.

16. *The Times* obituary of AWJ, 23 January 1934, p. 14.

17. *ADB*, Vol. 9, 1891-1939, p. 649.

18. Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives*, pp. 245-6; *Australian Magazine*, August, p. 346.

19. H.P. Heseltine, *John le Gay Brereton*, OUP, Melbourne, 1965, pp. 20-1.

20. Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives*, p. 245.

21. The volume is in the JP, the comment on p. 4. See too, Axel Clark's entry in *ADB*, Vol. 7, 1891-1939, pp. 397-9.

22. JP.

23. AWJ - May Jose, 21 March 1888, (JP)

24. Rob Pascoe, *The Manufacture of Australian History*, OUP, Melbourne, 1979, p. 14; K.S. Inglis, "The Anzac Tradition", *Meanjin Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1965, pp. 25-44; Geoffrey Serle, "The Digger Tradition and Australian Nationalism", *Meanjin Quarterly*, 1965, pp. 149-58.

25. Robin Gerster, "War Literature 1890-1980", in Laurie Hergenhan (ed.), *The Penguin New Literary History of Australia*, Ringwood, 1988, p. 340.

26. Incomplete letter of 8pp; n.d. but from internal evidence, mid 1898. The quotation is from the seventh page. (JP).

27. The quotation is from a reference Bean gave to Jose for a position as Evening Lecturer in English Literature at the University of Sydney. AWJ's transcription of these references is to be found in a letter to his sister, 24 February 1889 in JP.

28. Smith, p. 272. See incomplete letters, n.d., [1893], [1898] in JP; AWJ - May Jose, 20 January 1894. In the second of these, in giving guidelines to an examiner, he wrote:

> The difference between a B & a C isn't very great, but it's a step towards cutting out the dull schoolboy element which at present makes our first year lectures a mere duplicate of fifth form school work. What's the use of paying Butler £900 a year to teach the same elementary Latin prose & translation that the schools teach. We really want our boys a year longer at school and a year later at the Univ.

29. AWJ - W.W. Jose, 21 April 1885 (JP).

30. Incomplete letter, n.d. [?1899], (JP).

31. It is possible that the book referred to is either Louise Mack's *Girls Together* (1898) or alternatively Jessie Owen Whitfeld's *The Spirit of the Bushfire*. In subsequent letters Jose mentions the latter, asking his sister to try and find an English publisher for it. AWJ - May Jose, n.d. [1898], (JP).

32. For details of the titles of Jose's lectures, 1888-1899, see the Minutes of the Senate and those of the University Extension Board and the Report of the Board in the University of Sydney Archives. See too, *RN*, p. 67.

33. H.E. Barff, *A Short Historical Account of the University of Sydney*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1902, p. 111.

34. AWJ - May Jose, n.d. [1898-9], (JP).

35. "So Long, Jose", *Hermes*, 21 October 1899, p. 14.

36. University Extension Board Minutes, 29 September 1898, p. 54.

37. R.M. Crawford, *'A Bit of a Rebel', The Life and Work of George Arnold Wood*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1975, p. 118.

38. AWJ, *GE*, Preface, pp. vii-viii.

39. ibid., p. vii.

40. JP.

41. AWJ, *GE*, pp. 11-15.

42. *Spectator* Supplement, 3 November 1900, p. 605. This was a review of the first English edition published by John Murray in 1900.

43. *Literature*, 12 October 1901, pp. 340-341.

44. *Saturday Review*, 3 September 1898, p. 317, "The Cost of Empire".

45. Incomplete letter, first extant page of two pages, n.d. [1898] (JP).

46. Edward E. Morris, 9 January 1898; Edwin Bean, 7 January 1898; W. Scott, 28 January 1898; AWJ - Mrs W.W. Jose, 17 December 1897, (JP).

47. Dudley McCarthy, *From Gallipoli to the Somme: The Story of C.E.W. Bean*, John Ferguson, Sydney, 1983, p. 25.

48. *Literature*, 16 March 1901, p. 203.

49. Reviews quoted in Angus & Robertson advertisements in AWJ, *GE*, A & R., Sydney, 1900.

50. Letter to the present writer, 21 October 1986.

51. Letter to the present writer, 14 December 1986.

52. Pascoe, p. 12.

CHAPTER 4: The *Australian Magazine*

Jose saw the *Australian Magazine* (1899) as a venture which typified the literary activity of the 1890s. The magazine captured his imagination and even thirty-four years later he began his reminiscences with an account of the enterprise as if it had just occurred. R.F. Irvine was Editor, Jose was Associate-Editor, and George Lambert, D.H. Souter and Sid Long, Art Editors. Axel Clark described Brennan as also associated with those who planned the magazine.[1]

The *Australian Magazine* is important as a literary event for its manifestation of writers' and artists' dissatisfaction with the *Bulletin*. The writers associated closely with the magazine saw the *Bulletin* as being constricting in its editorial policy. The Magazine would provide a market for that literature which was not widely popular and which editors and publishers alike, were not prepared to risk. As Jose put it:

> Towards the end of 1898 a motley collection of artists and authors - Lambert, Souter, Sid Long, Fred Leist, and Thea Proctor the most prominent artists, Chris Brennan and Arthur Adams, Ambrose Pratt and Willie Beattie, and (I think) Roderic Quinn the chief writers - conspired to become their own publishers. In those days the *Bulletin* was the only vehicle for their wares, and it did not welcome what they believed to be the best of their stuff.
> (*RN*, p. 4)

Irvine described the aims of the *Australian Magazine* in a letter to A.G. Stephens.

> Thanks for packet of poems which I have handed over to Jose & shall read as soon as he returns them. I presume you send them in your capacity of literary agent & not as the "Chucker out" for the Bulletin. I'd like to meet you soon if possible first for the sake of knowing the "Red Page" man & second to explain that the new magazine is not going to run in *opposition* to the Bulletin. The "Koradgi", if [three undecipherable words], ought to give wider scope for art & literature than the Bulletin can possibly give - being what it is - & I believe the Bulletin writers themselves will welcome it heartily . . .
>
> Yours faithfully
> R.F. Irvine.[2]

Andrew Motion saw the magazine projected as a rival to the *Bulletin*.[3] We might note in passing that it was not only the *Bulletin*'s editorial policy but Stephens' editorship of the Red Page which created dissatisfaction. Lambert wrote to Breaker Morant:

> Went to town on Saturday & saw Jesus Stephens who was somewhat on his Literary pedestal - during our conversation in eulogy of your "jingling" powers I mentioned your "Beelzebub" & he asked to see it, damn his eyes, & then condemned it - said it wasn't up to usual.
>
> Result - I was frightened to show it Archibald because Stephens was "buzzing" round. I will however squeeze it into Archie's office on Wednesday.
>
> Showed Archie the two other verses & they're alright.[4]

In addition to Lambert's comments there was Daley's caricature, "Narcissus and some Tadpoles" which was printed in the *Bookfellow*.[5]

Dissatisfaction with the *Bulletin's* editorial policy (whether implemented by Archibald or Stephens) was not restricted to authors. Reviewers were also critical. The following observation occurred in a review of Dorrington's *Castro's Last Sacrament and other Stories*:

> But, as with the others who have to fit themselves to Mr Archibald's Procrustean bed, his tales run too much to blood and thunder, to gloom and horror . . . the aim of these young men seems to be to outdo each other in the depiction of the grim and the terrible (*Book Lover*, January 1901, p. 1)

Jose was searching for a fresh, original and inspiring picture of Australia. George Robertson became influenced by the same passion. From his correspondence we see that his life became a quest for *the* Australian novel. In the letter below we see George Essex Evans attempting to convince Robertson of the value of a friend's work solely on the grounds of its non-gloominess:

> He is the man who will give us the real west - not the spurious west of the deadbeats, derelicts, murderers, and adulterers & generally hopeless people - but the west of men & women fighting a splendid battle - a cheery-hearted, grim-humored folk - the leaven that will make Australia . . . I advised him to make everything Australian & only write only from firsthand . . .
> Brown has almost enough short stories for another book . . . He is collecting photos and matter . . . entitled "The Real West" or "The Romance of the West" (26 January 1906)[6]

It is particularly interesting that in the proposed titles (see last sentence above) that the terms, "real" and "romance" have become interchangeable.

It was one of Robertson's greatest disappointments that such a novel was never found. His tiredness with Australian literature, after devoting his life to its promotion, is sensed in his letter to Louis Esson concerning the publication of Prichard's *Coonardoo*:

> The story is a powerful one and a sale of 10,000 copies doubtless awaits it; but A&R have done more than their share of presenting to the world pictures of the hardships and "sordidity" of Australian life, and another publisher must father it.[7]
> (3 September 1928)

The aim of the *Australian Magazine* then, was to provide an alternative interpretation of the Australian outback to that of realism. To be more precise, it was not so much realism nor its technique, but the gloominess so often a part of it, which was seen as stale.

The pervasiveness of the realist view of the bush was exemplified by the "*Bulletin* Debate". The subjective responses to the bush of Paterson and Lawson were enshrined in their exchange in verse in the *Bulletin* where Lawson's black vision and Paterson's rosier pictures were represented. What was more interesting was the manner in which "the debate" was received. The two views were seen as mutually exclusive, each demanded to be seen as the "true" one. So one interpretation had it that Paterson was idealising and Lawson drew the real thing - "I'm biased; I've been there". The other side would claim Paterson saw the real bush and that Lawson had only spent a short time there.

Of course there are other ways to regard the two opposing views of the bush. They can be seen as depicting different sides of bush life. But more than this, each can be seen as representing not only an historical reality but a fictional reality. In their subjectivity, they depict, as much as anything, a state of mind: each is the externalisation of an internal private world.

But literary criticism at the time, and since, sharpened the false antithesis along the lines of a Patersonian romanticism and a Lawsonian realism. Contemporary criticism seemed unable to transcend the limits of the "*Bulletin* Debate". Christopher Brennan's review in the March issue of the *Australian Magazine* of W.E. Henley's poetry reveals that Brennan was an exception. He observed of Henley, "He had found the world a brave one, and the heart of man still braver." Perhaps reflecting on the contrast with Australian authors, he continued, "Heroic acceptance, no facile optimism or yet more facile pessimism, is his mood." (p. 63).

The *Australian Magazine* presented a wide range of views as a counterweight to realism. There were Lambert's bush heroics, Sid Long's Pastorales, a Hardyesque romance, and the Kiplingesque-realist archetype - the Australian "survivor". In addition to these one can observe Jose's essentially colonial-nationalist vision influencing the choice of material.

Presented alongside this blend of views is that of the Symbolists, Brennan and Brereton. Like most Symbolists, they were disdainful of realism which was antithetical to their view: reality for them was to be discovered in the essence of things, shrouded in mystery. For the realists it was to be seen in fidelity to external detail.

Initially at least, writers and artists were united by a shared dislike of realism.

Before examining these, it is worthwhile considering the sort of impression the magazine made. Its presentation as seen in the quality of paper, typeface and lay-out, and in particular, its illustrations were outstanding for its time. With a large number of sensational short stories and serials included to give the magazine a popular appeal, it is surprising the magazine did not last longer than six months.

In the Nineties it was strikingly modern in appearance - its clean-cut line, its spacious lay-out give it a fresh appearance. The occasional border decorations punctuate it in a relaxed style. The covers of the last numbers are eye-catching, particularly that of the July issue with its blue imprint on cream paper. It carries a Lambert wood-cut, a Sydney view ("Circular Quay, 1899") which conveys well the spirit of the whole enterprise. It is an urban scene with a faintly rustic air - there are buildings, the Post Office tower and clock, a clump of hillside trees, terraces and a foreground of calm sea with boats plying to and fro. The industrial presence, represented by cargo ships, wharves and smoke, is benign. The busy atmosphere, in an unobtrusive way, suggests a thriving commercial centre of the Empire.

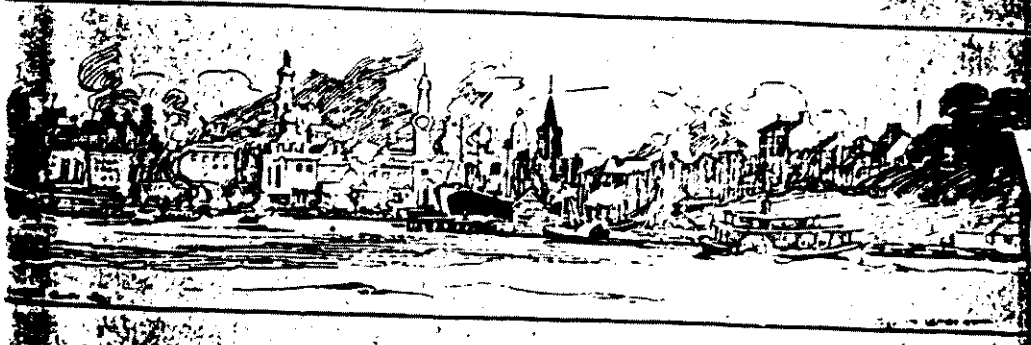
The editorial policy seems broad. The editors and leading contributors shared a fundamental desire to see Australian writing promoted. Beyond this in their choice of material and in their own work one can discern that nationalist and imperialist spirit so

Vol. I. No. 4

PRICE 6d
MONTHLY

JULY 6th, 1899

THE AUSTRALIAN MAGAZINE



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The Australian Magazine Publishing Company Limited

...General Post Office, Sydney, for transmission by Post as a Newspaper

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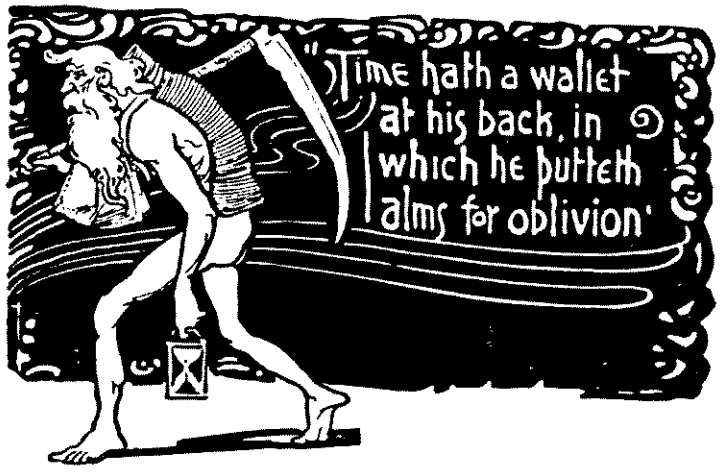


QUATORZAIN.

IN sensuous heart-throbs subtle lingering,
where swift-inverted chalices lie still,
ebon with dusk of swoon-stirr'd winds asting,
a myriad snowflakes spatulate the hill,

the ghost of flame in doubt-enfolded shell,
that gems a pale field of inconstant spring
to way-worn watchers, seem'd immutable
soul-breaking idiom of insensate will.

the staring world stands rigid—let it stand—
what matter if the slow soul's hate find hell
wild in the whirlwind of a frozen strand,
so that unconquerably en-architraved

a thousand lines like these be writ offhand,
& all the wear of capitals be saved

beautifully-furnished *atelier* was simply an apartment hired for the occasion, and that, as an absolute matter of fact, the three famous writers lived in attics, with a soap-box for a journalistic throne, and a deal chair for the accommodation of a chance caller. Ichabod !

On the continent of Europe prevails a theatrical system that might be copied with advantage by Australia, especially in the height of the summer season. This is the triple bill. In most foreign countries the public can select their piece, and pay to see it played, without having to sit out a whole evening in a stifling atmosphere. The first piece begins at eight o'clock, and ends at nine, and a stall seat can be obtained to see it for about eighteen-pence (or its equivalent in the coin of the country). At a quarter-past nine the curtain rises on the second piece. At a quarter-past ten the third piece is played. The busy man or woman can measure out their entertainment according to length of leisure, or means, or capacity for endurance. This would be an admirable innovation in this climate, where a night at a theatre in the torrid summer time is enough to tax the physical powers of even the strongest.

characteristic of the turn of the century. One of Jose's aims was to awaken in the audience an awareness of the far-flung parts of the continents. A letter from the writer, Von Kotze to Jose indicates that the latter was canvassing material describing the remote corners of Australia:

> Keelbottom
> Via Townsville
>
> As regards your complaint about the D.T. and morgue character of Australian literature, I fully coincide with your remarks. But then look at the sort of short story a paper like the "Bulletin" fosters! And the bush, the real dusty article, turns fiction a dull brown colour and chokes imagination in dreary and vulgar verbosity. In fact, the bush is a very commonplace creation that lives on a reputation (God know how acquired) of hidden beauty and pale delicately-tinted romance, while in reality it is a coarse, flaring desert with a very dirty tin shanty in the middle of it, and a very drunken and disreputable old man sleeping without a hat on the front verandah. Heaven knows where the halo of poetry or fresh humour comes in; but the unfortunate Australian writer is forced to distill sparkling wine out of awfully dry materials wherefore he borrows his colours off the pallet of Death, Despair, Drink and other not very cheerful companions.
>
> If you like, however, I'll submit to you some stuff of the more cheerful order, yet bushy withal. . . .[8]
> (14 September 1899)

Jose wanted to see a varied picture of life in Australia: urban and town life, life in the bush. But by the bush he did not simply mean the backblocks of New South Wales - he thought too of Queensland, Western Australia. Australasia included not only New Zealand but the Pacific Islands. It was a vast, southern confederation within the Empire: he wanted it brought to life in fiction. But since the works of fiction representing these parts were not forthcoming, various non-fictional articles were used instead. Florence Blair contributed "The Unpacific Islands" (July, pp. 226-32) describing the life and attitudes of Samoan natives. Tom Mills' "Maori Art" (August, pp. 309-317) was a descriptive account of the Maori carvings on war weapons and domestic dwellings. Harry Stockdale's "Skull Drinking Cups" (September 434-9) reviewed native customs in W. Africa, Fiji, South Sea Islands and Australia. His article seemed an attempt to put Australia on the map in the anthropological world. There was one short story of the North, C. Ross Johnson's "Mother O'Pearl", a sketch of the life of pearl-fishermen. This panoramic view of the more exotic

side of Australasian life springs from Jose's desire to duplicate Kipling's successful portrayal of India. The fascination with the exotic in both Jose and Kipling can be seen as an inheritance from the Pre-Raphaelites. Thus the various strands of the 1890s writing became interwoven. The editorial board's desire to promote an awareness of Australia as part of the Empire, and their fostering of Imperial feeling is seen in various places. There is a short piece on "The New Governor", illustrated by Lambert (May, p. 201). Empire literature is found in an overt form in the stories about newly-arrived English emigrants in Australia with implicit comments about the characteristics necessary to "settle down". Some of the fiction deals incidentally or directly with the theme of Australia as the land of opportunity. "Miss Maffeette" and "The Crowded Hour" are stories of English women adjusting to life in Australia. In the former the two protagonists, who had known one another in England, meet by chance in Melbourne. Miss Maffeette, the new working-class woman of Australia, is bursting with life. She is the heroine of the story. Happy and bustling she has adjusted to her life in the new world because of her capacity to work hard; her erstwhile mistress, now penniless and ill at ease, stands by useless and effete. Fortunately, Miss Maffeette, though not well off, has a heart of gold, and takes in her old employer. As in Jose's "Discharged Cured" the pointed moral of the story is that he who can work will prosper.[9]

Another aspect of Australian life central to the nationalist dream was the freedom which the new world offered from old world constraints and prejudices. This freedom became the subject of one of Jose's poems, "Freedom the Goddess". The goddess, the personification of freedom, takes Australia as her "land and dwelling place" before other countries. Australians will be "freer than the free". The poem is set during the time of the birth of the first colony (1788). The sacrifices of the convicts have won them and their country, liberty, so that Freedom proclaims:

> "Mine is this continent,
> Wherethrough my sons shall go.
> Your world, by factions rent,
> Shall watch this new world grow
> From palms to southern snow,
> From east to western sea,

One nation - mine for me!"[10]

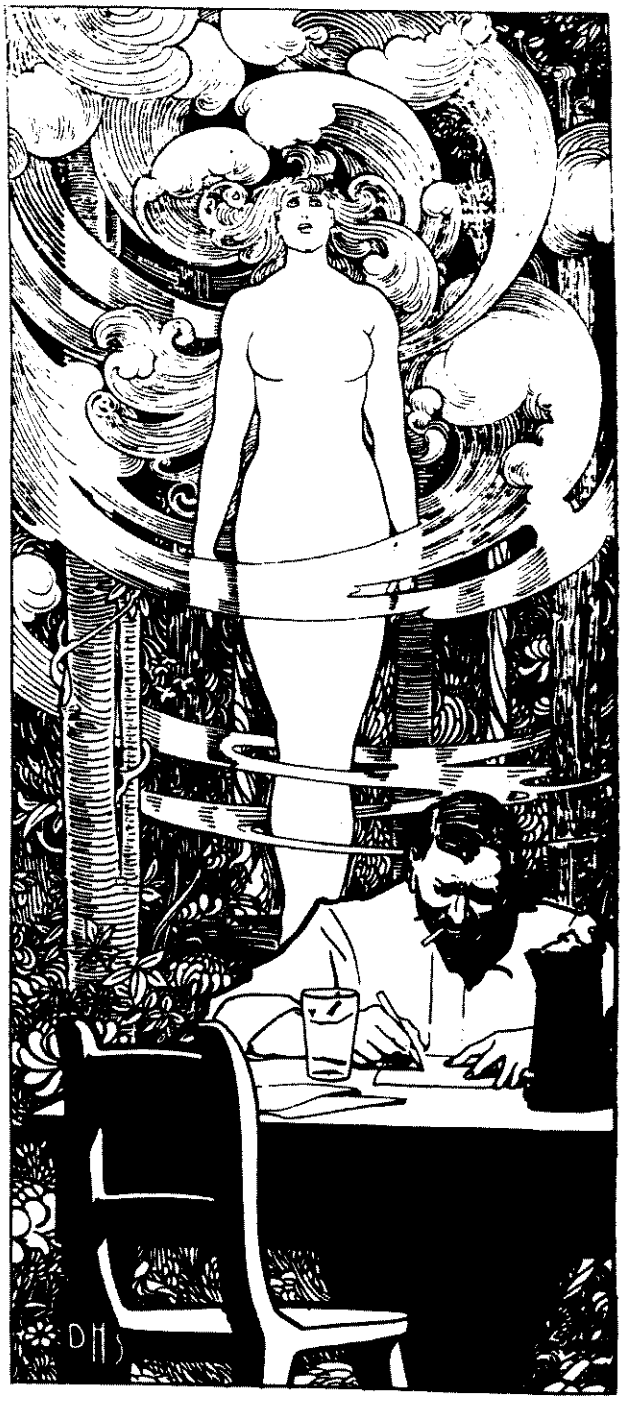
The poem is in the mould of much of the federation-period public verse which celebrates the inauguration of the Commonwealth. It is the poetry of statement rather than evocation and tends to carry a moralising strain. Its strict rhyme scheme rather than underpinning it and giving it form and weight seems forced and artificial and this in turn heightens its pomposity. The magazine was characterised by the contemporary art nouveau style which can be seen in D.H. Souter's emblems and illustrations. It can be seen in the elongated and swirling lines and the figures of women (see p. 78). The preoccupation with death and the transience of the world, which is manifested in Souter's frequent use of skeletons and skulls, links the style with the Pre-Raphaelites. Much of the magazine's poetry is in this vein. Love and death are the intertwining themes of many of the novelettish stories.

While now a superficial similarity of literary and artistic taste between the contributors to the magazine is evident and would seem at first glance to indicate something of a common bond between them, at the time, divisions and rivalries were uppermost. Lambert was overbearing; Brennan privately expressed his contempt for most of the contributions:

> To return to the Mag. the poetry ain't much: Lawson's piece I don't care for, Jose's - I don't know whether to laugh or what. (By the way, some demon made me write & pass again themselves instead of themselves again). And the stories I haven't read - except Beattie's which touches transcendental depths of idiotic supersensuous-sensuous goodness. And the trail of the unmitigated bounder Lambert is the only respite we get from the vulgarity of the incomparable D.H. S[outer]. Are there any brains anywhere near Brook's? And next month we're to have polo & football & the literary contributions'll be Souter's & the illustrations'll be photographs, Souter, photos, Lambert & there's your Australian Magazine![11]

Sid Long, for his part, was bemused by Brennan's poetry. Jose recounts that when Long was asked what his illustration to Brennan's "Secreta Silvarum" meant, he admitted that he did not know, but added, "it means the same as Chris's verses do".[12]

The poetry of Brennan and Brereton, in particular, can be seen as manifesting the influence of the Symbolists. The quasi-religious aura so characteristic of Brennan and Brereton's work is one of the hallmarks of Symbolism. It is seen in the treatment of the



From a drawing by D. H. Souter.

role of the poet as sacred. As one critic, writing of Baudelaire, put it, the poet is like a seer unravelling the mysteries of the universe. It was Rimbaud who saw Baudelaire thus, "first seer, king of poets, a true God!"[13] For Mallarmé too, poetry was a sacred mystery and he made it more mysterious by his deliberate obscurity. In this in particular, one can see his impact on Brennan.

Brennan's "Birds" and "Secreta Silvarum" as published in the *Australian Magazine* were obscure. Their obscurity derives also from Brennan's verbosity and from the thematic incompleteness of the poems. However, when they are both seen as part of *Poems* (1913), they are more comprehensible. As Chisholm put it, in writing about *Poems* (1913), "each piece has, of course, its individual value and yet cannot be interpreted save in relation to the whole."[14] Thus, the two pieces in the *Australian Magazine* are more accessible when seen in relation to the book's theme of man's search for Eden (a theme which Clark identified as being biographically based).

Both poems are from the second section of *Poems* (1913), which was to be called "The Forest of Night" where Brennan's incipient dissatisfaction with what Chisholm called "the marriage-Eden state" begins to emerge. The poems were to be in the second and third cycles, "The Twilight of Disquietude" and "The Quest of Silence". In "The Twilight of Disquietude" Brennan voices his disillusionment; the whole is expressive of a cosmic loneliness. "Birds" (poem 44) further evokes this mood. The poet's *angst* is suggested by the birds' homelessness, their "desolate quest" and restlessness:

> The birds that fly out of the west . . .
> the birds that find no welcoming nest . . .
> the birds that speed on desolate quest . . .
> the birds that return not, lost wings of unrest,
> have carried my heart into the night.

As Chisholm noted, in "The Quest for Silence" Brennan turns inwards and to the world of myths in his search for Eden. And "the quest for silence" was outlined in the sequence of six poems, "Secreta Silvarum". The first and fifth poems of the series, poems 49 and 53 respectively, originally appeared as a single two-stanza poem under that title in the *Australian Magazine*. Chisholm saw the quietude of the wood as being central, indeed, a

"personage" in poem 49, but observed that by poem 52 the atmosphere altered so that the stillness and quiet were apparent rather than real. Chisholm felt that by Poem 53 the innocence and quiet which characterised poem 49 were gone, being replaced by a sense of foreboding.[15]

"Secreta Silvarum" (1899) as it appeared in the *Australian Magazine*, has a slightly different impact. Here, that cultivated obscurity which characterised the work of Baudelaire and Mallarmé, is more noticeable. It was once said that Baudelaire used obscurity to heighten the sense of mystery and as a defence against vulgarity - one can see Brennan wrote in a similar manner. (It is perhaps significant here to remember that Brennan criticised the work of Souter on the grounds that it was coarse.) With the two verses of the poem telescoped together, the emphasis is on sensation and impression. The poem seems to be a swirl of images, an attempt to conjure up the mysterious atmosphere of the forest. That innocence which Chisholm found central in the 1913 version of the poem is clouded over. The poet's reassurance seems rather to be a warning:

> Nor start, if satyr-shapes across the
> path
> tumble, it is but children;

The very mention of the satyrs and centaur carries a note of foreboding which is amplified in the following verse. Brennan here describes the forest as preternatural; it is removed from the cycles of the moon, the seasons of the year; it is a dark and colourless place. He dispels the association of the forest with medieval romance:

> the knights are
> dead.
> The Lady of the Forest was a tale:
> of the white unicorns that round her
> sleep
> gamboll'd, no turf retains the print . . .

The chivalry and innocence have been replaced by the "servile leer of Pan".

The forest, with its "witch-blasted branches" is part of the literary tradition of the world of 'faery', which was undergoing a revival at the turn of the century. It is not difficult to discern the influence here of Yeats and perhaps, Housman. Daley, Quinn and Brereton also employed motifs and features of this tradition. Its recurrence is found through the

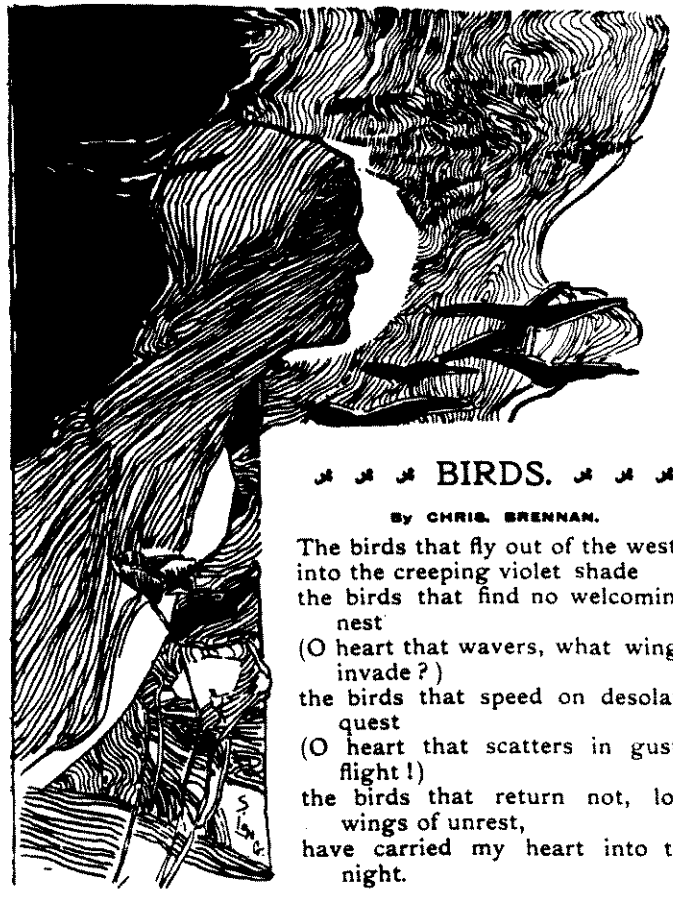
twentieth century in such diverse writers as Kipling (*Puck of Pook's Hill*) and Tolkien, C.S. Lewis and the Inklings. In the September number of the *Australian Magazine* S.C. Hatley Boyd made an impressioned plea in an article, "Elfland", advocating more Australian fairy stories (referring in passing to R.F. Irvine's recently published, *Bubbles, His Book*). In Australia, one of the greatest devotees of such literature was to be Zora Cross.

The influence of Brennan on Brereton is evident in a poem of the latter's, "Vigil", in his use of language; it is noticeable in the presence of slightly archaic words and phrases (befits, hests, what time) and the use of compound adjectives (keen-glittering; copper-coloured). But above all in theme "Vigil" resembles the introductory poem of Brennan's "Forest of Night", "Liminary", which was aptly described by Chisholm as an epithalamion.[16] Brereton's poem is a celebration of the anticipated consummation of his love. In the Symbolist manner, he speaks of his love in a quasi-religious way, referring to its rites and mysteries. The poet is the priest of Love; the metaphor is extended further as he writes of the sacred wine, the altar and the inmost shrine. As in Brennan's "Liminary" and "Secreta Silvarum", the poet has taken great care in establishing the mood and atmosphere of the poem. In both cases the mysterious aura is established partly by the sort of imagery employed. The effects of light are exploited as successfully as in impressionist paintings. In Brennan's wood there was "no glint of morn or sullen vanquish'd day". In Brereton's "Vigil", the particular light at moonrise is described:

> What time the moon pervades
> the smoky air
> With vaporous copper-coloured
> murky glare

The overall feeling and tone of the poem remind us of those parts of *Poems* (1913) which date from the 1890s. There is a solemnity and sense that the poet entertains a reverential attitude towards his subject matter.

There are also many poems scattered through the magazine which could be described as Pre-Raphaelite in style: the frequency with which sea imagery is employed, and the

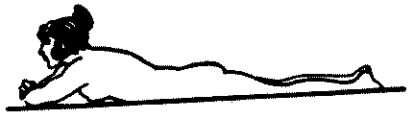


BIRDS.

By CHRIS. BRENNAN.

The birds that fly out of the west
into the creeping violet shade
the birds that find no welcoming
nest
(O heart that wavers, what wings
invade ?)
the birds that speed on desolate
quest
(O heart that scatters in gusty
flight !)
the birds that return not, lost
wings of unrest,
have carried my heart into the
night.

The natives tore a great hole through the *toi toi* walls, and Jack beat them back with a club. He calculated to give Pierre ten minutes' start ; then they could come, for the Frenchman would be racing through the rapids with a mile start. A young native sprang at the opening, and Jack brought the club down. He dropped like a log, but over his body an old man sprang, and drove a spear through the *vagabonde's* body. Jack fell over on the dead native, and there was a sudden silence among the angry natives. In the silence the river began to sing again to the dying man, "*Mon âme au ciel, mon cœur à Toi!*" and softly and sadly the melody died away, taking with it the brave soul of poor *vagabonde* Jack Jones.



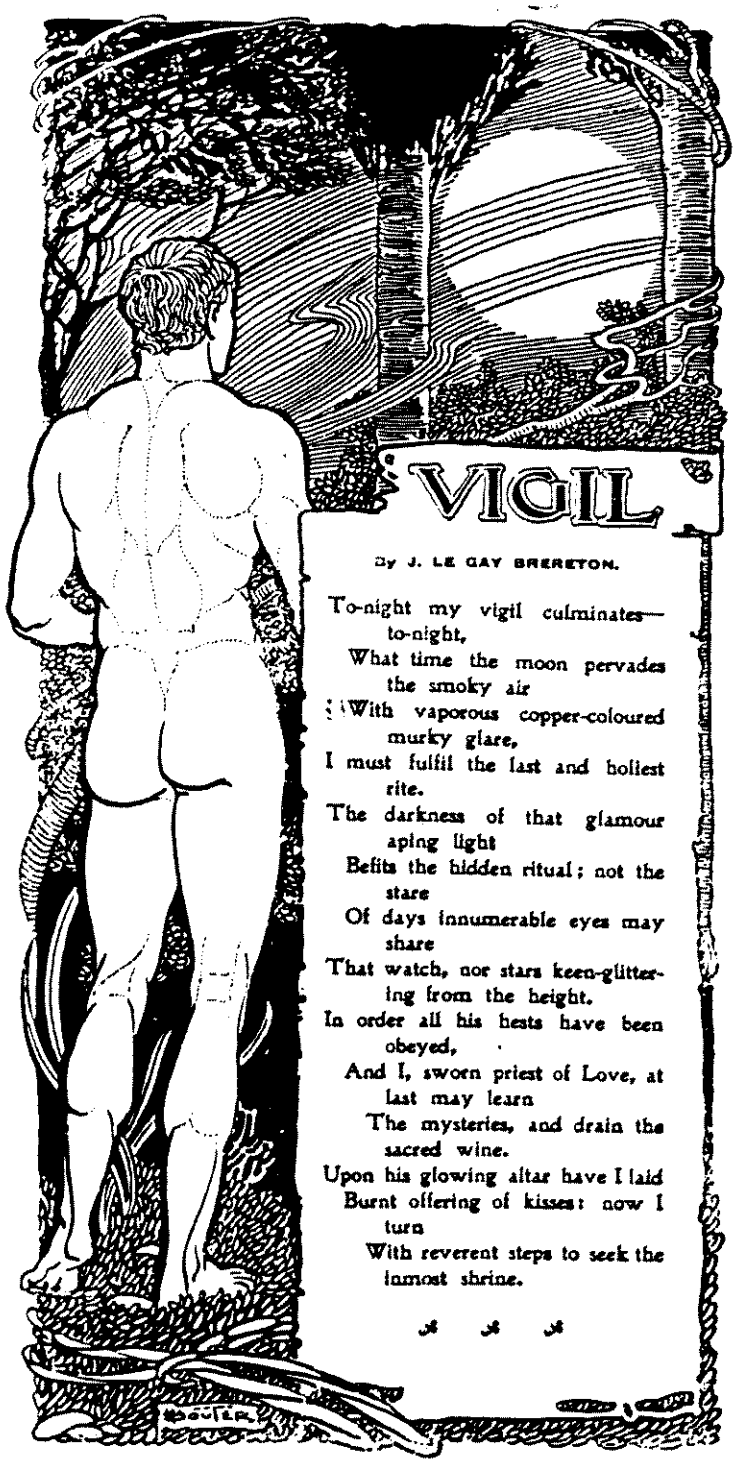
pervasive tone of wistfulness recall Swinburne. Arthur Adams' "The Garden of the Sea" and Roderic Quinn's "No Rest for Love" could be seen as examples. It is the heaviness of the emotional state of mind, the torpor which overhangs everything which is so characteristic of the Pre-Raphaelites.

In the magazine's illustrations, as in its literature, one can see the overseas influences. As we saw earlier, in D.H. Souter's work, we can discern that of art nouveau. Even though Brennan spoke contemptuously of Souter's sketches one can argue that they heighten the wan atmosphere evoked by the poetry of Brereton and Brennan. This is exemplified by his illustration for Brereton's "Vigil".(see over, p. 84) He intensifies the overall effect of the poem by his use of swirling diagonal lines to represent the mist rising across the moon.

Furthermore, it is clear that Irvine wanted Australian art to be seen in an international context. In his article "Impressionism in Australian Art" (August, pp. 34-7), he discusses the Impressionist movement in Europe, and then argues that the style was peculiarly suited to the Australian landscape:

> Impressionism has exercised a marked influence on local art. From what source this influence came it would be hard to say. No doubt much is due to the teaching of such men as Mr Julian Ashton . . . Much more, I think, is due to the peculiar character of the Australian landscape. He was a libeller who called this the "haggard continent;" but, in a sense, he was near a great truth. For of Australia, as of the home of Velasquez, it may be said "that no trivialities encumber the large structural features of the country." It is haggard in the sense of being "unembarrassed with detail" . . . It is a land of wide spaces and delicate aerial effects, which refuse to be treated by the artist who niggles and passes from object to object without any feeling for the beauty of the whole. No, Australia can only be represented by Impressionists and Impressionists who have poetic insight and a native attraction for sunlight and heat, for intense colour, for simple composition.[17]

As mentioned above (p. 50), Irvine saw the Impressionists as providing a new vision of the Australian landscape: a positive representation of its "haggard" quality and the heat. It is important to observe the role of the artists in the magazine. They are not restricted merely to illustrating the fiction. There are articles and reviews of Australian art. But most importantly as we saw at the outset their work seems an attempt to present a vision of



VIGIL

By J. LE GAY BRERETON.

To-night my vigil culminates—to-night,
What time the moon pervades the smoky air
With vaporous copper-coloured murky glare,
I must fulfil the last and holiest rite.
The darkness of that glamour aping light
Befits the hidden ritual; not the stare
Of days innumerable eyes may share
That watch, nor stars keen-glittering from the height.
In order all his hests have been obeyed,
And I, sworn priest of Love, at last may learn
The mysteries, and drain the sacred wine.
Upon his glowing altar have I laid
Burnt offering of kisses: now I turn
With reverent steps to seek the inmost shrine.

❧ ❧ ❧

Australia which was an alternative to realism which they found stifling. The artists, inspired by impressionism, provided that positive picture of the Australian bush which Jose felt was lacking. This is seen in their paintings reproduced in the September number of the magazine, which had been exhibited as "Paintings of the Year" at the Society of Artists. Many of them are essentially pastorals, scenes of bucolic felicity, others are heroic representations of pioneer life. Amongst them is Lambert's "Across the Black-Soil Plains".

We should observe the similarity between Jose's and Lambert's attitudes towards the Australian bush. Jose's desire that Australians should take up the challenge which the bush presented is seen in his "Pioneers":

There is no word of thanks to hear,
No word of praise to gain,
But we, that must, in sun and dust,
Tramp on across the plain:
We know not how the orders come,
Who bids the bugle blow -
But we, that may, track out the way
Our comrades soon shall go . . .

Where age-long in the dank ravine
A swamp-fed forest grew,
'Tis we that hack the jungle back
To let the sunlight through:
Across the desert no man dared,
Up cliffs where none might win,
By down and dale we blaze the trail,
The highway for our kin.

The noonday or the nightfall knows
The flickering of our fires,
The flung-down pack, the strecht repose,
The talk of dreamt desires.
We camp, and go, and care no jot
How soon, how far we roam -
But each camp-fire has marked a spot
That men shall call their home . . .

By beaten roads the mainguard goes
With banner and with band;
Yet we, that dare, find everywhere
New work that fits our hand;
We know not how the orders come -
But hark! the bugles blow:
Across the plain day breaks again;
Pick up the packs, and go![16]

It is likely that Jose, with his rousing attitude to the bush, influenced Lambert, although it might simply be that their natures had a certain affinity. Andrew Motion in his study of George Lambert wrote that 'He relished the fact that his father was a "pioneer" (and saw himself as similarly intrepid).'[19] It was this shared, dare-devil attitude which enabled Jose and Lambert to regard the outback as a paradise where others thought of it as depressing. It is evident in Lambert's art. It is evident in all Jose writes. More significantly, it is evident in Jose's interpretation of Lambert's account of his early years in Australia. Andrew Motion observed:

> Arthur Jose, who was later to become his brother-in-law, described George's trip to Eurobla as a journey to a primitive but unspoilt paradise. The sheep station itself was a rough and ready affair - a low straggling house built of wood and corrugated iron, with a jumble of outbuildings and shearing sheds behind, and a tatty garden dotted with eucalyptus trees. Beyond the confines of the house, thick clusters of trees broke the view over flat, baking scrub.

But it is important to compare Jose's account with Lambert's own account:

> The central division in those days was a deal more picturesque though a deal more uncomfortable than today. The ring-barking had only just started . . . We drove out with the evening of a very hot semi-stricken day through bush that was much the same as when it was first seen by white men. A catalogue of all that then sunk into my mind would be wearisome but it interests me to wonder if the hold it still has upon me is somewhat uncanny or is share[d] by others who have had like experience.

Motion continues:

> George's precise memories of that day included 'dogfights in which semi-sober bushmen wagered heavily' and 'a black tracker [who] was put up to ride bareback a bad tempered blood mare for fifty pounds'. The bush may have seemed like a paradise, but is was a violent paradise.[20]

Such was Jose's Eden. The bush called for the exercise of physical and moral bravery and daring, qualities so admired in his age. The bush held an additional attraction for Jose in its association with the itinerant life. "Across the Black-Soil Plains" can be seen as a celebration of life on the land and all its represented. It has been described as "a tribute to the Australian pioneering spirit."[21] A team of horses transports the wool, symbol of hard-earned wealth and Australia's natural bounty. The horses' energy and action, and even the title of the painting act together to reinforce the impression of a fertile, productive

land. While it is realistic in conception - that is, in the idea of depicting everyday life - it is romantic in style. In a half heroic, half flamboyant gesture the artist has silhouetted the horses and drays against the sky. Lambert was to describe it as an "immature effort".[22]

Lambert's illustration of Lawson's "Past Carin'" has been carefully placed opposite the opening page of the story (May, pp. 156-7). The effect of the illustration is to make Lawson's work less violent, less gaunt than in the original Angus & Robertson text. The simple sketch is in pencil with little beyond the bare minimum of shading; this, and Lambert's use of space create a stark effect; he has used nearly the entire length of the page and his subject occupies the central third. The spare style suggests the austerity of the woman's life. She is grim with a determined expression, a firm-set mouth and jaw, and arms folded. In all, she is the redoubtable Australian female, the battler in full kitchen dress. Her staring face represents grim victory; she is the archetypal survivor. It is hard to imagine an illustration which could have more effectively represented Lambert's notion of bush stoicism and resilience without seeming to be at variance with Lawson (see p.88).

An attempt to present an optimistic picture of outback life is also evident in the publication of "Andy Page's Rival" for it is one of Lawson's more comic short stories of love and courtship told with laconic humour and so falls in with Jose's guidelines for material that was "not too morbid". Furthermore, one suspects that the editors wished to lighten further or neutralise the sad overtones of the Lawson story by coupling it with the Lambert sketch, "Shearers' Sunday". While the sketch probably was not intended as an illustration, it has that effect by its juxtaposition. It is inappropriately placed opposite the opening page of the story and is a scene more suited to a Paterson poem: four shearers are riding, their horses flying over a four-rail fence which has been adapted as a hurdle. Zest and outdoor enjoyment are the keynotes of the work. It is at odds with Lawson's introspective cast of mind.

Finally, in considering Lambert's sketches, we need to examine a minor illustration to "Andy Page's Rival", that of the title page (April, p. 75). While "Shearers' Sunday" seems less than suitable the title sketch seems to reveal the beginnings of Lambert's sketch to

GEO. W. LAMBERT.

LOVE AND THE LL.D.

From a drawing by G. W. Lambert.

"The front tyre of your bike wants inflating," he said.

epitomise Lawson's battling bush woman. It seems the antecedent of his sketch, "Past Carin'". The sketch for the title shows Andy and Lizzie sitting on opposite ends of a log with a gulf between them, yet in both their expressions is something of resignation or bush stoicism. It may have been Lawson's description of Mrs Porter and Lizzie which sowed the idea for the later "Past Carin'" sketch:

> Lizzie told a lady friend of mine, years afterwards, how Andy popped the question; told it in her quiet way - you know Lizzie's quiet way (something of the old, privileged house-cat about her); never a sign in expression or tone to show whether she herself saw or appreciated the humour of anything she was telling, no matter how comical it might be. She had witnessed two tragedies, and had found a dead man in the bush, and related the incidents as though they were common-place. (April, p. 76)

In stark contrast is Lambert's "The Tryst" (see p. 91). It is an overtly sentimental and romantic drawing. A woman looks up at a bushman on his horse; the dreadnought qualities of the artist's other female subjects are absent (see "Love and the LL.D", p. 89). The couple are half-silhouetted so that her profile has the clearly defined outline of a cameo, which Lambert has softened by the blur of her hair. The couple stand in the shadow of an overhanging tree. The suggestion of a picket fence links them to an old bush shack which seems to hint at the future. The picture may be intended as an alternative version of "The Drover's Wife" - her lot as Lambert represents it here will be difficult but not unmanageable. The austere life is rendered in Arcadian terms.

A more extreme example of sentimentality is found in the illustration to "The Love of Tamar Neill", a serial written in the tradition of the tear-jerker which elicited the following comment from Brennan, "[it] touches transcendental depths of idiotic super sensuous-sensuous goodness".[23] The story is set on a dairy farm and the two principal characters and lovers attend the cows. Lambert's illustration for the third episode of the story is a modified version of the first. At this stage of the story, Tamar and Chelub, in an Australian version of rural Hardyesque festivities, quietly take refuge in the bush. There seems to be a proposal afoot, but in an operatic moment, Tamar is grazed by a rabbiter's stray bullet. This is the melodramatic scene Lambert chose to illustrate. The characters are fixed in the histrionic poses of the mid-nineteenth century stage. Lambert's

THE TRYST.

From a drawing by G. W. Lambert.

draughtsmanship is less than successful. Both Chelub and Tamar seem stilted; Lambert, it would seem, intended to convey a mixture of bewilderment and thwarted happiness on the latter's face.

There are other ways in which the Australian bush is presented as Arcadia. Souter wrote a short article, "From a Painter's Point of View" where the more habitable and prolific side of the country was emphasised (March, pp. 37-9). He described the Hawkesbury valley in Autumn:

> The stable doors gape widely, for the horses are at work afield. A magpie whistles mischievously from the fence, and fowls squat in the shade of an idle dray. There is a corn-husking in the open barns, where merry women and children strip the lemon-tinted husks from the yellow cobs. At their feet they lie in broad harmonies of brown and yellow, with notes of pale green, intensified by contrast, peeping here and there among the shells. A brood of sleek black piglings nose about for dead ears, and to the merry babble of the huskers supply an accompaniment of rich basses, varied by piping trebles. There are stretches of glad green earth, where one may bask in the sunshine; or, lying lazily in the shade of orange trees, watch the wine-green shadows that the willows throw on the placid river.
>
> *"Seasons of mists and mellow fruitfulness".*
>
> Con Winter takes us to view his pumpkin patch, where a million melons raise their round bellies to the ripening sun. The foreground is green and amber, with a fringe of funereal ti-trees in the middle distance. (p. 38)

Similarly, Harry Garlick's sketches emphasise the fruitfulness and tranquillity of a pastoral world. "Ploughing the Hill" (April, opp. p. 82), a pen and water sketch, is a scene of agrarian harmony. A horse and farmer contentedly traverse the hill. The simple execution of the painting - the softened geometric divisions of the space - make it as easy to understand as the plain, unadorned life which the farmer represents. Garlick's "An Austral Even Song" is in the same tradition of pastoral scenes (July, p. 218). The horses forgather at dusk. One or two nose toward the Australian equivalent of a manger. The rest of the mob shelter the two human figures. Contentment pervades the evening.

These then are the various trends in Australian literature and art and the images of Australian life which one group of writers and artists thought were not being given sufficient attention.

The sixth number of the magazine, the September issue, was the last. Jose wrote, "It died . . . amid the hilarious laughter of its parents".[24] Brennan's feelings were rather more mixed. At one stage he wrote, "As for the Mismanaged Magazine the only thing for which I should be sorry would be its disappearance" at another, "And if this wretched Maga. disappears, then let Australian literature go hang: I'll write, as before, for my own pleasure. We're in sorry plight, but no more here than we would be elsewhere".[25] In *The Romantic Nineties* Jose saw the failure of the magazine largely in financial terms: he wrote or the lack of advertisers, their unpreparedness to undertake the risk after the collapse of earlier magazines; and Jose refers with irony to the fact that contributors expected to be paid. According to Brennan, the downfall of the magazine was attributable to other or additional causes. He wrote to Brereton that Irvine had told him that William Brooks, the original publishers of the magazine, had "wanted the Magazine to die, either temporarily that they may capture it for their base purposes, or absolutely. Souter of course the agent".[26] Whether or not Irvine and Brennan were correct in their surmise is not known. Brooks had refused to continue publishing the magazine; Jose noted in *The Romantic Nineties* that the refusal was made on the grounds that one of the stories had contained swear words ("damned" and "blanky"), and "frequent profanity"; this fuelled Irvine's and Brennan's suspicions.[27] Unfortunately little is known about Brooks' role in the publishing world at the time.

One certain cause of the magazine's failure was the small number of subscriptions and the limited audience for little magazines in Australia. This has been seen to cause the demise of many such publications. In addition to this, one can look at the editorial policy - Morris Miller and Greenop thought that failure was often placed on the public and that editors had overlooked the importance of "reader interest", fulfilling instead a long-held canon of wanting "to do the reader good". One can see something of this presumption in

the attitude of the editors of the *Australian Magazine*. Finally as Brennan put it, there was a need for a "Rhadamanthean editor" - personal interest too often meant that the editors accepted inferior material for publication.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4: *The Australian Magazine*

1. Axel Clark, *Christopher Brennan. A Critical Biography*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 1980, p. 145.

2. R.F. Irvine - A.G. Stephens, 6 August 1898, 2/1321 in the Hayes Collection of the Fryer Library, University of Queensland.

3. Andrew Motion, *The Lamberts, George, Constant and Kit*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1986, p. 28

4. A1 76 Lambert Correspondence, Hol. letter to H.H. Morant, 1897.

5. See below, p. 163.

6. 314/29, George Essex Evans file.

7. 314/29, Louis Esson file.

8. Von Kotze - AWJ in JP.

9. J.M. Whitfeld, "Miss Maffeette", May, July, pp. 162, 245; A. Conor O'Brien, "The Crowded Hour", p. 293; "I Dare", "Discharged Cured", pp. 177-81.

10. *AM*, March, p. 36.

11. Brennan-Brereton, [?June] 1899, Brereton Papers.

12. AWJ, *RN*, p. 6.

13. Martin Seymour-Smith, *Guide to Modern World Literature*, Volume 2, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1975, pp. 42-5.

14. A.R. Chisholm quoted in G.A. Wilkes (Introduction) to *C.J. Brennan, Poems, 1913*, Sydney University Press, Adelaide, 1972, p. 5.

15. A.R. Chisholm, *A Study of Christopher Brennan's The Forest of Night*, Melbourne University Press, Kingsgrove, 1970, pp. 62ff; in particular, pp. 62, 65, 68 and 69.

16. Chisholm, p. 54.

17. August, p. 346.

18. W. Murdoch (ed.), *A Book of Australasian Verse*, H. Milford, OUP, Melbourne, 1945, pp. 144-6.

19. Motion, p. 13.

20. ibid., pp. 17-18.

21. Wilde, p. 397.

22. AWJ, *RN*, p. 8.

23. Brennan - Brereton, [?June] 1899, Brereton Papers.

24. AWJ, *RN*, p. 5.

25. Brennan-Brereton, two letters [both October?] 1899, Brereton papers.

26. ibid.

27. A handwritten extract from a report for the Directors of the Magazine is to be found in JP. It reads:

> In reference to the tone of the contents the old question of clean literature crops up & I must again urge the necessity of dealing once & for all with the subject. While no objection can be taken to the majority of the stories etc. there are two which while perhaps the cleverest in the [?book] mar the whole production by their - shall we say - truth to nature. I refer to "Mother O' Pearl" & "Mimi" & the free & frequent profanity that occurs in their recital. The subject of "M O' P" is not in my opinion suited to a magazine of the class I think likely to be established here.
>
> In this I may be wrong - but it is right that I should give you my opinion.
>
> I regret to bring this subject up again as it is one of extremely difficult settlement but one on which I know Mr Wm. Brooks would entirely agree with me.
>
> I have no desire to hamper the Editors in their work or to seek to mould the magazine to what I think it should be so I would suggest in the interests of the company that an arrangement be made that would relieve me of the managing directorship & Wm. Brooks of the printing of the Magazine.

It is not known who the Managing Director was; nor is the date of the Report given but it must have been sometime around July; it was then that Brooks stopped printing the Magazine. William Brooks' name no longer appears in the list of Directors after the March issue.

CHAPTER 5: The Australasian Literary Agency

Towards the end of 1899, after the failure of the *Australian Magazine*, Jose sailed for England. The possibility of journalistic work which the Boer War provided, seems to have acted as an additional enticement.[1] Once in England in February 1900, two of the enterprises to be taken in hand were the Empire Publishing Company and the Australasian Literary Agency. The former was an idea of Irvine's, the latter, it would seem of A.G. Stephens. In advertisements and on the Agency's letterhead, Stephens is described as the Agency's Sydney representative, Jose as his London counterpart. While America is mentioned in the Agency's advertisements, the establishment of a branch there would seem to have been conditional upon the Agency's success in England. Jose recalled of the Agency:

> A.G. Stephens suggested it to me when I was leaving for England in 1899, just as the lamented *Australian Magazine* reached its final number; he was to collect and select material in Australia (which in practice meant that he sent along matter which, for various reasons, was not suitable for the *Bulletin*) and I was to do the usual Agency work in London, forwarding to editors or publishers such of the matter as I might think suited to their tastes or programmes.
> (*RN*, p. 70).

In this chapter we will examine the factors which led up to the two schemes, the history of the Agency and the reasons why it failed. In subsequent chapters we will see that Australian writers dreamt of acclaim in the far-off literary capital: this was a factor affecting their style and Jose's revisions of their work. The authors' aspirations gave Stephens the idea of establishing the Australasian Literary Agency.

The international ferment in literature and journalism may have suggested the potential for an agency. Lawson thought the heightened activity in London offered promise. The ferment in Australian literature is revealed by the large number of Australian writers whose work was published between 1895 and 1900. Among these can be numbered Lawson, Paterson, Dyson, Brennan, Brereton, Daley, Adams, Brady, Quinn, Ogilvie, Dorrington, Baynton, J.B. Stephens and A.H. Davis. Undoubtedly some writers measured their

possibilities of success or publication in England against their Australian experience and felt that publication in England would be only marginally more difficult. It was thought that there was a measured enthusiasm for Australian writing in the 1890s. After the turn of the century this was seen as part of the rise of the new imperialism, which created a temporary interest in colonial matters.[2] Lawson expressed a generally-held belief when he wrote, "There is quite a boom on in England. Wouldn't be surprised to get £100 for short story before the year is out."[3] It was not only those works with "local colour" which were expected to interest publishers. Precisely because some writers' work was not "Australian" it was therefore deemed to be "English" and therefore appealing to English readers. Daley's letter to Robertson quoted below (p. 172) provided us with an example of this way of thinking:

> . . . If you have any practical connection with the London publishing trade you will find that, so far as my volume is concerned, you can sell more in England than could be sold here - for the simple reason that most of my verse is not distinctively Australian at all. . . .[4]

A.G. Stephens' "Notes for Jose" reveal this same sort of reasoning: he sees writers like Hebblethwaite, Badham and Brennan in this way (see below pp. 99, 110). Furthermore, publishers seem to have judged that such authors would not find a ready audience in Australia and, by and large, they were not willing to risk losses. This led Stephens to the belief, not that the writers' work might have been in some way wanting, but rather, that there was a need to expand the market or extend the audience for such literature. He was confident that Britain's larger literary audience would provide outlets for a wider variety of literature than Australia could offer.

In 1899 a further impetus for the establishment of the Agency came from those writers and artists dissatisfied with the mould into which they felt their work was being forced, and which had led some of them to found and patronise the *Australian Magazine* which had folded. The same scorn which Daley expressed (p. 172), was found in a letter from the artist and illustrator, Edmund Fischer to A.G. Stephens:

> . . . Thanks very much for [?Quinn's] booklet. His verse is more than poetical - it is interesting, and most refreshingly un-

> Australian. Lord! how I (and a few more people that I know) do hate "Australian" verse such as Dyson writes & Bedford manufactures. You asked me did I get Ogilvie's book. No, I didn't.
> (6 April 1899)[5]

We should note in passing that in 1899, Fischer was regularly illustrating the cover of Stephens' *Bookfellow*. Jose described them as "always a delight". (*RN*, p. 10) Stephens sent some of Fischer's drawings to London but Jose was unsuccessful in his bid to place them with both *Sphere* and *Spear*.[6] Sid Long, awaiting news of Jose's efforts, replied to Stephens:

> Jose's news about the state of things in London is not very cheering, & I suppose we will have to postpone sending a collection there, if he's correctly gauged the Art market . . .
> (n.d.)[7]

As we said, Jose and Stephens planned to place with publishers those writers considered not popular in style and content. Thus Stephens wrote of Roderick Quinn:

> . . . Has some unprinted tales which may suit romantic English magazine. Will probably issue two more booklets like "Hidden Tide" & collect in a volume. Fresh verse & prose weekly - promising.

He said of Brennan:

> . . . knows more about the work of modern French poets than anybody else out of France. Good critical writer, but rather heavy. Book: "XXI Poems" - unsaleable. His "Bulletin" essays on Newer French Poetry may make a book; am encouraging him to that end. His style would suit English monthlies; he can do first-rate articles on any French & many English & German subjects - Mallarmé & Nietzche his hobbies. Nothing in poems for sale; but an occasional one might suit a mystic monthly . . .[8]

Stephens gave to Jose several stories by Miss E.A. Badham: A Dweller with Mesech, A Cure of Souls, A Landed Proprietor, Mrs Chichester's Little Indiscretion, Mrs Chichester's Journey to Omega. Of these Stephens observed:

> Style: Fair. Clear; slightly humorous.
> Matter: Fair. Combines Australian with C. of E. religious interest; some feminine observation & character touching. Placid; but good for "Sunday at Home" readers and the pious family essaying fiction.
> Class: As literature, tolerable. For sale: fair. Unpublished stories should readily sell to religious magazine; and the whole book should find a publisher . . .[9]

Finally, we might consider the factor of logistics which was seen by Jose and Stephens as one of the foremost reasons for establishing the Agency, as is evident in its advertisement:

> Attention is called to the establishment of a LITERARY AGENCY in SYDNEY and LONDON for the especial service of Australian writers. The market in Australasia for most classes of literary matter is extremely limited. The market beyond Australasia is very difficult of access; while the long delays in transmission, the obstacles in the way of "placing" MSS., and the practical impossibility of coming to an understanding with a publisher twelve thousand miles away, and of effectively superintending his operations, have made most attempts to sell Australasian work in England and America a mere waste of time and money. It will be the object of the Agency, with a thorough knowledge of Australasian conditions, to open up in England and America a market for the sale of work which, under existing conditions, can never see light. The business will be conducted on the usual lines; that is to say, the Agency's remuneration will take the shape of a moderate fee and a commission on writers' profits earned by its means. The Agency also undertakes to advise generally regarding MSS., and to revise them for publication if the author so desires.[10]

The difficulties of liaising with British publishers, particularly when there were matters of copyright to be sorted out, were amply illustrated in Lawson's negotiations. The editors of *Blackwood's Magazine*, *Chambers' Journal* and Northern Newspaper Syndicate wrote to Lawson expressing an interest in *While the Billy Boils* in mid-1897. In addition to this Lawson told A & R's in November of that year:

> English and Scottish firms seem anxious to secure a new work on the lines of While the Billy Boils . . .[11]

There followed a confusion in negotiations over the sale of rights, and prices. Apparently British firms ("Methuen and others") would buy only if granted Australian as well as their local rights. At first Lawson felt disinclined to sell Australian rights, despite the fact that his prose work was not selling well in Australia.[12] (Later he seems to have changed his mind and was prepared to negotiate with Unwin's for English and Australian publication of later works.)[13] In 1897, he was willing to sell to the British, English rights only.

Further complications ensued in April 1898. Lawson, puzzled, wrote to A & R that 'Methuen & Blackwood give me to understand that they "did not succeed in negotiating" for English rights of W.B.B.'[14] The explanation given by A & R seems a feasible one:

> . . . Methuen made an offer on seeing the first edition of Billy Boils and we accepted it and declined Blackwood's which came to hand later. But unfortunately the paper on which the first edition was printed could not be obtained here for the second and when he saw the inferior appearance of the shipment sent him he backed out. So our Agent, knowing nothing of Blackwood, arranged with Simpkin & Co . . .[15]

We might note here that it will be remembered that a fire burnt down the printing establishment which A & R's used. It is conceivable paper supplies were destroyed in the fire. Presumably Methuen was unwilling to pay the previously agreed price for inferior paper, for later Lawson wrote to the firm "By the way I understand your prises (sic) were to (sic) high for Methuen".[16]

Jose too was familiar with the frustrations of conducting negotiations from Sydney with British publishers. He experienced these in a small way in trying to place from Sydney *The Growth of the Empire.*[17] Again, the unexpected failure in London of Victor Daley's *At Dawn and Dusk* (see p. 172), may have suggested that for success in Great Britain, a man on the spot was needed to make contact with reviewers,to revise and edit. At this point we might note that the successor of George Robertson of Melbourne's London branch, E.A. Petherick's Colonial Bookseller's Agency, had become bankrupt in 1894. This may have broken a needed link with London.

Lawson himself was aware of the need for a good agent in London:

> First of all, get a good agent—and trust him with your soul, and let him alone. I'm giving you a lot of advice that I didn't use myself—and I want you to bear in mind that I'm giving you the free benefit of experience that I paid ten per cent. cash and gave the two hardest years of my life to get. The agent knows the literary business world, and you don't. He reads your book, and knows what publishers are most likely to take it up and give a fair price for it; he reads your sketch, and knows the magazine it is most suited for. And he'll get two hundred where you'd weaken and take fifty. You'd be blundering for a year or two all in the dark . . . Get a good agent, trust him, let him alone, and write with a mind free from business worries.[18]

He was fortunate in his agent, James Pinker.[19] Lawson became aware that the process for distributing Australian literature in Britain was clumsy and wrote to Robertson:

> . . . As far as I can make out there has, practically, been nothing done with our books in England. I have heard many enquiries for them, but no one seems to know where to get them. I would

> strongly urge you (for both our sakes) to arrange, if possible, with Blackwood . . . I will get Mr Pinker to write to you. He is the best agent in London . . .[20]

Pinker then wrote to A & R that it was not only desirable that Lawson's works be actually published in England (presumably to dispense with the distributing agents) but that there was also the question of a publisher's name or prestige to be considered:

> I am writing to you on behalf of my client Mr. Henry Lawson to ask if we cannot arrange for a fresh edition in England of his various books? I think Messrs Blackwood would be willing to take up the books in this country, and they would certainly stand a very much better chance if issued by a firm of that standing . . .
> (22 August 1900)[21]

As we will see, (p. 174) in May 1901 Lawson wrote again to Angus & Robertson about their distributing agent, Pentland, who he thought was unsatisfactory.

It is possible that Jose, whose family and friends tried to obtain copies of *The Growth of the Empire* (1897) may also have suspected the inadequacy of Pentland's agency and seen the need for an Australian publisher operating in England as George Robertson of Melbourne's branch did. It is conceivable that Jose's discussions with Irvine led the latter to a similar conclusion. Irvine tried to raise capital in Australia for the "Empire Publishing Company" which Jose was to try and launch with backing in England. The following letter from Jose to John Murray, the publishers, tells us all we know of the idea:

> Dear Mr Murray,
>
> The accompanying circular has been sent to me from Australia. Mr Irvine is a great friend of mine, & we talked this scheme over before I left Sydney. It seems that since that time he has attempted to put it into practical form, & had this circular printed in the hope of raising capital for 'The Empire Publishing Co'. Capital not being readily forthcoming in Australia, he has sent me some of the printed matter to see if I can interest people here in it.
>
> You will clearly understand that a) 'The Empire Publishing Co' does not exist. b) the idea & the prospectus are entirely Mr Irvine's, and if the matter is worth dealing with it is he who should get the credit. . . .If you are at all interested in the scheme, & can spare time to talk about it, or to give me advice, it will give me considerable pleasure.
> (13 September 1900)[22]

The Company may have been planned as an arm of the Australasian Literary Agency to publish those longer works which Jose did not succeed in placing with British publishers.

While all this must remain in the realm of conjecture, we might add that such a scheme derived from an older one. It is likely to have been inspired by such concepts as Macmillan's "Colonial Library Editions" (1880s to World War I) or John Murray's "Imperial Library Editions" or even Heinemann's "Colonial Libraries of Popular Fiction" (started in the 1890s). It is not known whether Irvine or Jose knew of the scheme which Edward Garnett, working for Unwin's, was trying to launch. It was to be called "The Overseas Library". Garnett described the project:

> . . . Tales and Sketches about Colonial Life and English Colonial Settlers, Emigrants, Travellers' life all the world over. The note of this series would be *not* Imperialism but the inclusion of any work sufficiently artistic to give to local life atmosphere and point of view of the new countries. Such a series would be experimental and probably its volumes would be rather suggestive than be finished artistic work . . .[23]

We should note here that while Garnett may have tried to interest Lawson in the scheme, his description of the project does not specify that the works necessarily be written by colonial authors - Cunninghame Graham was contributing sketches to it.[24] It is possible that this is how Irvine's scheme differed. If so, the concept is a significant development in Australian publishing history.

There would be the obvious advantages in having a literary agency associated with such a company and attached to Murray's. It may have been hoped that in placing serials with London magazines the response and potential of the English market could be sounded. If the publishing company were to be the subsidiary of a firm with the standing of John Murray's, it would have an additional advantage to the natural one of being located in London.

Before discussing the operations of the Agency, it would be worthwhile looking at its evolution.

A.G. Stephens, for his part, seems to have made an attempt to act as a literary agent in London as early as 1893, as a letter to him from Mary Hannay Foott (at that time literary editor of the *Queenslander*) indicates:

> Dear Mr Stephens

> You are hereby authorised to act on my behalf in any and every business matter with which I have to do in Great Britain and the United States of America . . .
> (14 April 1893)[25]

Whether on this trip he acted for other writers is not known. When, after 1894, Stephens became editor of the Red Page, he was in an ideal position to act as literary agent. As we saw earlier, when Irvine and Jose were planning the *Australian Magazine* and *Brooks's Christmas Annual*, they contacted Stephens for material.

It is difficult to establish the precise point at which Stephens started acting in conjunction with Jose to form the Agency. He had been advertising as literary agent in 1897. From the end of 1898 and throughout 1899 he was contacting writers, obtaining permission to act on their behalf, and acquiring manuscripts. A text of Barbara Baynton's "Squeaker's Mate" and that of Broomfield's "Pioneer Pastoralist" are still to be found amongst the Stephens' Papers and there are also references to many others. Judging from extant correspondence there appears to have been a flurry of intensified activity in August-September 1899. Stephens sent to many writers a circular of the Agency, canvassing material as we can see from Mary H. Foott's reply:

> I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your circulars *per* this morning's mail.
> It will give me much pleasure if you will allow me to consider myself your client in all business concerning my literary work for twelve months from this date . . .
> (9 September 1899)[26]

Subsequently, and as late as July 1901, we find her forwarding to Stephens the names of writers whose works she thought he might use. Indeed Stephens acquired a considerable range of writings: poetry, short stories, novels, historical fiction, bush stories for children, fairy tales and ghost stories. In his letter to Dyson concerning *Below and on Top* and *Dick Haddon & Some Others* he indicates too that he had an eye particularly, for what he called the "serial trade":

> . . . Jose and I hope to do a considerable English serial trade. Mr Jose will see if there is a market when he reaches London, and has felt the publishers' pulses . . .
> (18 September 1899)[27]

Stephens had started making his "Notes for Jose".[28] These are pronouncements on various Australian writers and their work. There are remarks about their style, saleability and the rates at which they should be sold. Occasionally Jose has added comments.

Amongst those works to be placed, Jose took with him the "Bulletin Book Series". These included Arthur Adams' *Maoriland: and Other Verses* (1899), Brady's *The Ways of Many Waters* (1899), Quinn's *The Hidden Tide* (1899), and Ogilvie's *Fair Girls and Gray Horses* (1898). In 1900 the Bulletin Book Company also published Dorrington's *Castro's Last Sacrament and Other Stories* and Hebblethwaite's *A Rose of Regret.* Jose was also to deal with these. In addition he seems to have tried to place the work of writers known to him but not offered by Stephens -unknown authors such as Mason, McMahon, Light. Stephens gave him the manuscripts too of Miss Badham, Collingridge, Mrs Wardlaw, Alan Alanson, and Dyson and several writers in the Golden Shanty Series - Astley, Quinn and Goodge.[29] It might have been that Stephens thought that Jose, as an Anglo-Australian, would be better able than he, to unravel what appeared as the mysteries or even vagaries of the English market.

There were often instances of Australians being mystified at the English response to Australian writers' work. The following letter from Banjo Paterson to George Essex Evans concerning the English reaction to J. Brunton Stephens could equally be the disappointment voiced at the critics' neglect of Daley, or the public's of Lawson:

> . . . I saw a very good notice either in the Athenaeum or Spectator the latter I think but I was very much surprised to see that they absolutely ignored Brunton Stephens' poem. I can't understand it. I think that poem one of the best I have ever read in my life and I know no living man that has written anything as good - and yet the English critics don't seem to see it - I am looking out for better notices . . .
> (13 June 1898)[30]

Once in England Jose sent the poetry and short stories to the multitude of British journals and magazines: the *Contemporary Review, Athenaeum, Outlook, Idler, Blackwood's, Sphere, Leisure Hour, Academy, Punch, St James Gazette, Pearson's, Pall Mall Magazine, Spear, Chamber's Journal, Macmillan's Magazine, Cornhill Magazine,* the *Monthly Review,*

Gentleman's Magazine, Literature. He also tried the daily papers, various women's magazines and, where indicated, sporting papers.[31]

It was envisaged that Jose would revise and edit the manuscripts which required it. But once in England, Jose saw Australian literature with slightly different eyes or with a heightened sensitivity to the anticipated British response. It is possible that he remembered the fate of Becke's *The Mutineer* (1898). A London journal would not publish it on the grounds that it was "risqué". He might also have recalled that the editor of *Chambers' Journal* told Lawson he did not want "questionable" subjects in his family magazine.[32] Of Frank Morton's short story "Peter Cawthray" he observed:

> Ménage à trois: husband settles things with cholera-microbes. But the psychology (damn the word!) is good, I think. Strong meat for England?[33]

He was preoccupied for similar reasons with his own "The Other Thirty Nine", the short story of Grover, "Goon Lee", and Watson's "Prelude to Marriage":

> *Grover*: Larrikin story: strong, ?too strong.
> *Watson*: Fiancé tries to break off match by pretending to rape his sweetheart: the situation becomes too much for him. Much too strong.[34]

Stephens, in his "Notes for Jose", had written of Morton:

> Writes clever, light, sparkling verse & prose - good craftsman; no depth, but matter very saleable in Eng. I think. Will draw upon. Personally - wee little fellow; drinks; damned hard-up - used to much better things & places than a 5/- a week house in a Melb. slum[35]

Despite Jose's apprehensions, Morton's "Peter Cawthray" was accepted by the first publishers (Crampton's) to whom he sent it. Some light verses of Morton were also placed. Events were to unfold otherwise for Barbara Baynton's "Squeaker's Mate" about which he had no such apprehensions. Indeed her manuscript was among the few he praised and he was confident that Blackwood's would accept it. Not only at the time, but later he expressed his appreciation of her work:

> The two women of the Nineties whose work would stand comparison with the best of the men writers were in their varying fashions isolated from the main current of Australian literature. Barbara Baynton, whom Archie Strong was later to compare to Ambrose Bierce, and rank among the local geniuses, was slowly

> carving her vivid and cruel *Bush Studies*. Of her and them I have only one personal recollection. I took several of her stories to England in 1900, and offered them to *Blackwood's Magazine*. The editor's reply, while frankly admiring her style and characterisation, concluded, "But, my dear Mr Jose . . . !" So that was that.
> (*RN*, p. 35)

Later on in *The Romantic Nineties*, Jose reverts to the story revealing more:

> And one writer in particular, on whose undoubted and exceptional talent for creating and developing a situation I had counted a good deal—well, this is the letter I received from the editor of *Blackwood*:
>
> Dear Mr Jose,
> With everything you say about the literary quality of these stories I entirely agree. They are far above the average in style, in narrative power, and in character-drawing.
> But, my dear Mr Jose . . ."
>
> Nowadays, the *Christian Science Monitor* wouldn't blink an eye at them. But for the last years of Victorian Edinburgh they were too strong meat.
> (*RN*, pp. 70-1)

Jose subsequently sent "Squeaker's Mate" to the *Sketch*, *Pearson's*, *Pall Mall Magazine* and the *Idler* (he also tried to place "Baby" - a poem describing her feelings on the death of her child -with *Gentlewoman* (21 September), *Woman at Home* (27 September) and *Cassell's* (16 October)).[36] All these attempts failed.

It is not known which version of the story Jose was trying to place. There are two manuscript versions of the story - the first in the Mitchell with corrections by Stephens; the second in the Hayes collection, a typewritten draft, incorporating those corrections. Finally, there is the version of the story as it appears in *Bush Studies* (1902). As we will see, the last mentioned version is substantially different. It seems to me likely that it was the corrected Mitchell Library version which Jose took to London and tried to place. The fact that the Mitchell Library manuscript has the Australasian Literary Agency Letterhead slip pasted on at the front might be seen as evidence. But more than this, it is likely that Baynton revised the story from the early form to the modified form it appears in *Bush Studies* in response to the shocked reaction it provoked when Jose submitted it for publication.

Webby in 'Barbara Baynton's Revisions to "Squeaker's Mate"', a comparative study of the manuscript and printed version, observes the important structural and thematic differences and that the printed version contains various modifications - the emphasis has been altered from the sex-reversal theme to one of true and false mateship, and the ending omitted.[37] After asking why Baynton made these changes, Webby suggests with regard to the ending that this may have been revised at Stephens' prompting since he may have seen the ironical treatment of the clergyman as potentially offensive to the religious sensibilities of the *Bulletin* audience.[38] The problem here is that commentators have seen the endings in different ways. Webby, for example, was objecting to Krimmer's interpretation of the ending as pietistic. Ritchie considered both possibilities (ironical and pietistic), and concluded ultimately, it was confused.[39] But regardless of how the original ending would have been interpreted, it is certain that the beginning with its unequivocal presentation of the sex-reversal theme would have been regarded as "too strong". Interestingly, Hackforth-Jones in *Barbara Baynton* noted that, at this time Stephens said 'Australian audiences stuff far too much respectable "wadding" in their ears'; on this basis Hackforth-Jones suggested Stephens might have advised Baynton not to publish the stories in Australia.[40]

In the light of Blackwell's reaction, it is certain that the British could be as prudish as the Australians. It is equally likely therefore, that in May 1900 and thereafter when Jose notified Stephens of the British response to "Squeaker's Mate", (or forwarded a copy of Blackwell's letter as well as the Mitchell manuscript version of the story) he may well have advised Baynton to accommodate her text to the tastes of the British just as Dyson, Lawson and Daley revised with the British in mind. We might note here that Hackforth-Jones states that the revision process for *Bush Studies* went on for seven years: if this is the case, it is possible that final alterations were made after she showed the manuscript to Garnett in 1902.

In addition to the alterations to subject-matter there are various technical changes. Ritchie observed the tightness and coherence of the final version and commented that the transformation from the manuscript version indicated "admirable progress". Amongst other

things, Webby points to the removal of authorial intrusions, and the heightening of the dramatic impact, and commented that a lot had been gained as well as lost.[41] At roughly the same time that Jose was trying to place "Squeaker's Mate" and "Baby" in Britain, Baynton was submitting "The Chosen Vessel", "Bush Church" and "Little Woman" to Angus & Robertson. Robertson rejected them in September 1900 as he did those seven stories she submitted a year later (October 1901).[42]

In 1901 Jose conceded defeat in his attempts to establish the Agency. By the end of that year, Stephens acknowledged that the experiment was a failure, but was enthusiastic that Baynton herself should go to England to find a publisher. Once in England, Baynton found that her manuscript met with the same rejection which Jose had experienced. However, Jose's original assessment and Baynton's hopes were vindicated when Duckworth's accepted *Bush Studies* just as she was on the point of returning to Australia.[43]

Another writer about whose prospects Stephens was optimistic was Dorrington. He wrote to Jose:

> Brilliant short-story writer, but a shade artificial. Book "Castro's Last Sacrament", nearly ready. Short Stories. May be used serially or as book. Don't part with copyright. Good terms should be got - 10% and increasing with sale.
> Novel, "Dr Barradas" (title may be changed), in collaboration with Stephens; take six months to finish. Love-and-adventure romance, with a lot of Australian colour; brilliant & saleable. Very good terms expected.[44]

As with Baynton's work Jose tried to place individual stories - "Hunchback Syllogism" and "The Return" with *Pall Mall Magazine*; he then submitted the collection *Dr Castro's Last Sacrament and Other Stories*, with Heinemann in June 1901. Both attempts were unsuccessful.[45] Dorrington himself returned to Britain in 1907; while the short stories were not published in book form, *Dr Barradas* retitled *The Lady Calphurnia Royal*, was published by Mills & Boon.

Of the actual activity of the Agency, we should note that sometimes Stephens and Jose were in disagreement over the authors whose works should be promoted in England; there were the more minor differences of opinion. Stephens, although guarded in his comments,

nonetheless expected that the work of Badham, Adams and Hebblethwaite would sell; his expectations concerning Adams' work in his "Notes for Jose" are revealing:

> . . . Book of verses "Maoriland & Other V." saleable serially or otherwise, on any decent terms. Won't sell as a book; but you may trade single pieces - many unprinted - list to come. . . . Pleasant prose - short stories - not very strong; but light & saleable. Still fermenting; promising.

We see by the entries in Jose's diary that he made no attempt to place the work of Adams or Hebblethwaite. He was unenthusiastic about Miss E.A. Badham's work. Stephens' comments (see above p. 99) were met with the terse rejoinder by Jose:

> Landed Proprietor. Useless.
> Journey to Omega. Just bush incidents: may go down.[46]

However, he did revise "Journey to Omega" and made a few attempts to place it, and also "The Landed Proprietor". Stephens thought A.H. Davis's *On Our Selection* "*May* go in England just now. A chance of good terms - *if* it hits".[47] Most interesting of all is Stephens' description of Hebblethwaite for its interpretation of "English taste":

> Verse & prose in the English style - think they will sell in England -his verse has a religious, Izaak Waltonish, *Spectator*-ish flavour. A fine poetic instinct; his form leaves something to be desired, & scope is limited.
> An article like "The Forest" on recent Red Page would find a ready sale with *Spectator* . . . Has published at own cost small booklet of verses; *Bulletin* is including new & old in a booklet.[48]

There were those works which Jose tried to place but which Stephens had expressed doubts about. For example, Stephens wrote of Brereton:

> Several unsaleable books of verse - not too good - wanting lyric emotion.
> Good critic on subject he tackles thoroughly.
> Book "Landlopers" - I haven't seen; but don't think that class would sell in England unless done with some humour & gaiety.

It is noticeable that Brereton's work which Jose appears to have obtained independently of Stephens, was amongst the first of the manuscripts Jose dealt with, leaving it with Unwin's.[49] Stephens was also reserved about Ogilvie's verse:

> Verses charming, not much strength, popular. He does not improve, & (I think) will not.
> No prose.
> Book "Fair Girls and Gray Horses" - don't think you'll get an English edition.

Jose tried to find publication for "Reiver's Heart" and "People that Understand" with *Pall Mall Magazine, Blackwood's* and *Outlook.* Their response was negative. Later it would seem that Ogilvie himself managed to place individual verse from *Heart of Gold* (1903) with the *Spectator, Literature, Macmillan's Magazine*, the *North British Advertiser* and the *Scotsman.*[50]

Of the manuscripts Jose took to England, the only ones he managed to get published, in addition to those already mentioned were one by McMahon, which was accepted by Unwin's, and Dyson's *Dick Haddon and Some Others* which Jose re-titled *Goldstealers.* Information about the former has not been found. Of Dyson's book, Stephens wrote:

> a story of Vic. mining township life & character thirty years ago
> . . . Chiefly about adventurous boys, and appeals to boyish readers.
> Style: Fair. Clear, pointed.
> Matter: Fair. Interesting; story well-managed; episodical, however - no particular plot.
> Class: As literature, tolerable.
> For sale: fair to good. Should sell serially to a boys' paper, & find a publisher as book without difficulty.

In his comments, Jose observed:

> I agree with description generally, but
> a. style, especially in first chapters, is too loose & verbose there is too slow movement
> b. it's an undecided sort of story: the greater part is admirable for boys, but a good deal - notably the beginning & end - is a bit beyond them.
> Be careful to correct spelling & considerably modify punctuation.[51]

Sampson Low refused the manuscript when Jose offered it to them. He noted in his diary, "Randall not enthusiastic - says boys' books are a drug and he won't publish any more." Cassell's also rejected it. Six months later (17 October 1900) Longman's agreed to publish it. In January 1901 Stephens conveyed the news to Dyson.[52]

In style, mood and spirit, it bears a strong resemblance to Kipling's *Stalky & Co*; a parallel influence was evident in his *Rhymes from the Mines* which owed much to Kipling's *Barrack Room Ballads.* In Kipling's *Stalky & Co*, which has been described as an autobiographical account of the author's schooldays, the author writes of three schoolboys in revolt against their class master. It is clear that Kipling is championing their ingenuity and display of independent spirit. What is crucial, however, is that while they are rebelling

against those immediately around them, their unconventional behaviour falls within the spirit of the law - Philip Mason observed of Kipling's attitude:

> He admired a sturdy individualism; it was worth anything to be one's own master. He saw the poetry and pathos of being alone in the world, a waif in the streets like the young Lippo Lippi, in Browning's poem in *Fifty Men and Women*, living on the melon-rinds the fortunate threw learning a wary habit of observation.

Kipling's barracking for the outside was a habit of mind which T.S. Eliot observed; it was a sympathy for "those who have suffered or fallen".[53]

It is in this regard in particular that we can see the resemblance of Dyson's *The Goldstealers. A Story of Waddy* to *Stalky & Co.* Mason has pointed out that the alliance of schoolboys against the world in itself is an archetypal plot which occurs in many school stories and boys' magazines of the period. It is, however, the actual treatment of the plot in both writers which is similar. The values presented for our admiration - daring, recklessness and independence - determine the pace of the action, as the adventures embarked on become progressively more complicated, so ensuring the readers' attention does not flag. Jose, who revised Dyson's book, regarded its wavering momentum as a flaw. It is likely that *Stalky & Co*, which had been published the previous year, was still fresh in his mind.

After the collapse of the Agency Dyson, perhaps following Lawson's example, appointed Pinker as his agent in May 1902. In December of that year he wrote to Stephens:

> . . . I have signed on with Pinker, a London man, who is selling short stories for me - one appears in December Macmillan's mag., he says.[54]

It was in July 1901 that John Murray offered Jose a position with their company in India. Jose readily accepted, aware that the Agency was not a success. Stephens (referring in passing to a matter of £10 that was owing) expressed his annoyance to Dyson:

> Mr Jose wrote some weeks ago that he could not make a living out of Agency work and other matters in London and was going to India . . . expecting . . . to return to England *via* Australia.
>
> I am very dissatisfied with Mr Jose's conduct in this and other matters; and our partnership is at an end. He practically threw up the business without notice and left me in the lurch. He

> says that he has left pending matters in the hands of the London Literary Agency . . .
>
> From one point of view I cannot blame him; from another (and particularly because of the darkness in which he left your matter) I do blame him.
>
> Jose may have an explanation; in any case I do not doubt that he will render a satisfactory account eventually.
> (24 December 1901)[55]

There were several reasons which accounted for the failure of the Agency. Jose's own explanation at the time in a letter to George Robertson is worth reading:

> By the bye, if you ever come across Stephens & he curses me, the following may be useful facts. I wasn't doing at all well with the Agency, partly because he didn't send home much stuff worth touching, but mainly, no doubt, because I hadn't the necessary knack of persuading editors & making friends amongst them. Anyhow I was very glad, for the A's sake as well as my own, when Murray's offer gave me an excuse for getting a much better qualified man to take charge in my absence; & I wrote to Stephens urging him to agree to a permanent transfer of the A[gency]'s London business to this other man's hands. St. has never written to the other man at all; he has only quite recently written to me, saying that by leaving London I've knocked the bottom out of the A . . . I was slack enough,I admit: but I took a good deal of trouble to get the A that chance, and it seems hard lines to be sat upon for my good deeds.
> (5 May [1902?])[56]

Thirty years later Jose saw other reasons why the Australasian Literary Agency did not get off the ground:

> I began rather badly, by staying in South Africa to get what experience I could of the war. When I did reach London, nothing very much happened. . . . Australian literature failed to share the popularity of the New South Wales Lancers.
> (*RN*, p. 70)

The lack of interest in Australian literature was an unexpected shock to Pinker, Lawson's literary agent, and Blackwood's, who would not publish any more of Lawson's work after "the slowness of sales" of *Joe Wilson and His Mates*. This is not to deny that, from time to time, Australian writers (e.g. Dorrington, Baynton, Ogilvie) managed to sell reasonably well. It was rather that the number of authors who found publication, and the volume of sales of their work were not sufficient to maintain an Agency exclusively devoted to Australian writers.

As we saw above in the discussion of Lawson's attempt to publish his work in England, one of the difficulties was that English firms generally wanted colonial rights or special agreements with Australian booksellers. Jose encountered this problem with both *The Growth of the Empire* and *Two Awheel and Some Others Afoot.* Dent & Co., who published the latter work, asked Angus & Robertson to take 1000 copies at half-price, since they did not anticipate many sales in England; "it would altogether make a very delightful book for Australians" they wrote. With *The Growth of the Empire*, John Murray's requested that A & R take a bulk order at special rates with the option of exclusive rights.[57] These letters are of crucial importance in understanding the failure of the Agency for they reveal that British publishers were relying on the Australian market. British publishers were only duplicating the role of Australian publishers. Some were aware from the start that high British sales were not likely. Some Australian writers were hoping to break into the British market for they thought the local one limited. They were hoping too to enhance their reputation and local success. In financial terms, George Robertson claimed the importance of British acclaim and publishing resided not at all in British sales but rather in the indirect effect of boosting local sales.[58]

As we mentioned earlier, Australian writers in Sydney and Melbourne, during the Nineties had the impression that their work was well regarded by the British. Such an impression, possibly exaggerated, may have been formed on the basis of the reception of their work at Unwin's where, in fact, unknown to the Australians, Garnett, the firm's reader was their sole advocate. Unwin's seems to have been the Australasian Literary Agency's great hope. That firm's interest was perceived by Louis Becke; in a letter to Dyson, he had written:

> . . . As to your questions: - All I can tell you is that all you need is to send them to London to whatever publisher you like but Fisher Unwin seems to like short stories altho' he says he doesn't. He seems a very straight dealing man & will not keep you long waiting for an answer, and he has a very high reputation - better I think and am told, than that of any other London publisher . . .
>
> (5 September 1895)[59]

Dyson observed in reply:

> . . . I am sorry I did not send my work away to Fisher Unwin some months ago when first the idea of hunting a publisher occurred to me. Bedford did that and they soon had agreed to bring out his books on very reasonable terms . . .[60]

In addition to this, Jose working with Lawson and at Angus & Robertson is more than likely to have known of Unwin's enthusiasm for Lawson as indicated by their attempts to buy the English rights of his prose.[61]

Unwin's displayed interest not only in Becke, Bedford, and Lawson but also Brady and Mack. Stephens, in his Notes for Jose, wrote of Brady:

> Has published "The Ways of Many Waters", a book of verses, to be sold serially or as book under authority from *Bulletin* Co., owner & copywriter . . . an edition on almost any terms desirable, so long as copyright held. Fisher Unwin Eng., & Chansfield & Wessels, N.Y., have written about this book, & been referred to Jose.[62]

Similarly, he wrote of Louise Mack:

> A & R published two school stories; & Fisher Unwin has paid small sums (£40 & £50) for collection of *Bulletin* & other stories which he has held for several years . . .

Unwin's agreed to publish Becke's *The Mutineer*, and asked him to read a manuscript of South Seas stories.[63] Thus Jose may well have imagined that he could establish a rapport with Unwin's and that the Agency, with the firm's support, might succeed in promoting Australian literature.

However, by the time Jose made contact with Unwin's, Garnett had left, and the firm was uninterested in the Australian literature he had to offer:

> Left Brady with Unwin. He is very discouraging. Also tried him with Brereton & *Two Awheel*, but he won't touch them.[64]

Garnett's role first as promoter of Australian literature, and then his departure from Unwin's at the end of 1899, may have been an unfortunate combination of causes which, unknown to those concerned, acted both as a source of hope for the Agency as well as contributing to its collapse. Just at the time when Jose was trying to launch the Agency, Garnett, a rare literary critic of unconventional taste and influential in the London world of letters, temporarily broke contact with the publishing world. John Barnes in his "Edward Garnett and Australian Literature" observed of this period of Garnett's life:

> By this time Garnett had made a mark in the publishing world as a publisher's reader, though he was still only in his early thirties. However, his relationship with his employer, T. Fisher Unwin, had deteriorated to the point where, at the end of 1899, Unwin had terminated the arrangement. The break with Unwin was partly the result of his own wilfulness and his concentration on the fortunes of his authors rather than those of their publisher. Garnett could get casual work, but it was not until he joined Duckworth in October 1901 that he had permanent work after leaving Unwin.[65]

As a sequel we might remember that it was at the end of 1901 that Jose and Stephens conceded defeat in their enterprise, and that it was shortly afterwards that Garnett resumed full-time contact with the literary world being newly employed by Duckworth's. It was in 1902 that Baynton by chance met Garnett who convinced Duckworth to publish *Bush Studies*.[66] In one way, the publishing history of Baynton's work mirrors the Agency's history. The Agency was powerless in the London literary world without Garnett, and in the face of lack of interest in Australian literature. This, as well as personalities and timing, can be seen as the combination of causes which contributed to the Agency's failure.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5: The Australasian Literary Agency

1. See the obituaries: D.H. Souter in *Country Life*, op. cit. and *SMH*, 23 January 1934.

2. See below p. 174.

3. 314/45, Lawson file. Lawson - A & R. n.d. 1899. Letter beginning "have just finished revise . . ."

4. Chapter 9, n. 32.

5. Fischer - A.G. Stephens, 2/ 975 in Hayes collection, FLQ.

6. A.G. Stephens' "Notes for Jose" (ML C865) contains his comments on Australian authors and Jose's diary of Agency business conducted in London.

7. Sid Long - A.G. Stephens, 2/1579, Hayes collection.

8. AGS, "Notes for Jose", pp. 35, 91.

9. ibid., p. 101.

10. The *Australian Magazine*, September 1899, p. vi.

11. 314/45, Lawson - A & R, 15 November 1897.

12. For reference to slow sales of *WBB*, see 314/45, HL - GR, n.d. [1897] letter beginning, "There are several things I wished to speak to you about . . ." For reference to the requirements of British publishers, ibid, HL - GR, 15 November 1897.

13. See John Barnes, "Edward Garnett and Australian Literature", *Quadrant*, June 1984, p. 40. See a letter quoted by Barnes, Lawson to Garnett, 28 June 1899. But note that in 314/45, there is a letter from Lawson to A & R, 24 June 1899 in which a proposal is made which will secure for the firm "Australian rights at least, of new works". It seems Lawson was undecided about this matter. Earlier he had written to Robertson (25 June 1897), "I would like in some way to repay you for past trouble & abandoned agreements."

14. 314/45, Lawson - A & R, 4 April 1898.

15. ibid., A & R - Lawson, 8 May 1898.

16. ibid., Lawson - A & R, n.d. 1899.

17. Incomplete letter, n.d. [?end 1898] in which he refers to sending *The Growth of the Empire* to Longman's; Rivington's - AWJ, 10 January 1899; handwritten copy of a letter of rejection from Macmillan's (all in JP).

18. Henry Lawson, "The Sweet Uses of London", *Bulletin*, Red Page, 22 October 1903.

19. Chapter 9, n. 37.

20. 314/45, Lawson file, Lawson - A & R, n.d. [1900], letter beginning, "I enclose letter from Blackwood . . ."

21. ibid., Pinker - A & R.

22. AWJ - John Murray, 13 September 1900, John Murray archives.

23. Barnes, "Edward Garnett", p. 40. The quotation is from George Jefferson, *Edward Garnett: A Life in Literature*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1982, p. 46. See also 314/45, Lawson file, A & R - Lawson, 16 September 1898, where the publisher returns to Lawson letters from Unwin's and a circular from Garnett. It is possible that they refer to the Overseas Library Scheme. Given that Jose was working closely with the firm and Robertson at this time he would certainly have known of the correspondence and hence Garnett's circular.

24. Barnes, "Edward Garnett", p. 40.

25. M.H. Foott - AGS, 2/2770 in Hayes Collection, FLQ.

26. M.H. Foott - AGS, 2/1025, loc. cit.

27. AGS - Dyson in Box 3 of the Dyson Papers Ms Number 10617 La Trobe Library. Stephens' side of the correspondence (concerning Agency business) is in the Dyson Papers, and Dyson's in the Stephens' Papers in the Hayes Collection, FLQ.

28. See above n. 6.

29. See AGS, "Notes for Jose", the last page of the book.

30. A.B. Paterson - George Essex Evans, 2/2353, in Hayes collection.

31. See "Notes for Jose", Diary entries.

32. 314/11, Becke file, Becke - A & R, 19 January 1897. Becke agreed to alter the "offensive" sections for the magazine but told his agent they were to be restored for its publication in book form. According to Becke, the editor of *Lloyd's Weekly* (in which *The Mutineer* was serialised) told Unwin's that the story was the most successful the magazine had ever published. On the other hand, Andrew Lang had reported adversely on it to Longman's advising them not to publish it. He also thought *By Reef and Palm* (Unwin, 1894) "crude and poor in conception". (ibid., 12 January 1897). For the Lawson reference, see 314/45, HL - A & R, 25 June 1897.

33. "Notes for Jose". Comments on Morton, p. 118.

34. ibid. Comments on Grover and Watson.

35. ibid. Comments on Morton.

36. ibid. See Diary entries: 28 February, 27 September, 4 October, 9 October, and early November.

37. The Mitchell library manuscript version is located at Ab149, the Hayes Collection item number is 2/210. Elizabeth Webby, "Barbara Baynton's Revisions to Squeaker's Mate", *Southerly*, Number 4, December 1984, pp. 455-68.

38. ibid., pp. 459-60.

39. ibid., pp. 455-6; Sally Krimmer, "New Light on Barbara Baynton", *ALS*, VII, 2 (1976), p. 428; Frank Ritchie, The Glare of Actuality: An appraisal of the Prose Works of Barbara Baynton, M.A. thesis, La Trobe University, 1981, pp. 93-5.

40. Penne Hackforth-Jones, *Barbara Baynton*, Penguin, Ringwood, 1989, p. 75.

41. ibid., p. 94; Ritchie, p. 95; Webby, p. 459.

42. See A & R's Manuscripts' Register in S14 Business Records; Baynton, 10 August 1900, p. 10.

43. Hackforth-Jones, pp. 77, 80.

44. "Notes for Jose", p. 27.

45. ibid., p. 127.

46. ibid., unpaged.

47. ibid., p. 17.

48. ibid., p. 55.

49. ibid., p. 95.

50. See the reverse side of the title page of Will. H. Ogilvie, *Hearts of Gold and Other Verses*, the Bulletin Newspaper Company, Sydney, 1903, which gives this information.

51. "Notes for Jose", pp. 100-102.

52. AGS - Dyson, 3 January 1901 in Dyson Papers.

53. Mason, pp. 42-3; Eliot, p. 24.

54. Dyson - AGS, 20 December, Stephens Papers, 2/852.

55. AGS - Dyson, Dyson Papers.

56. 314/41, Jose file, AWJ - GR, 5 May [?1902]

57. 314/23, Dent & Co. file, Dent - A & R, 16 December 1901; 314/41, 17 February [1902], AWJ - GR.

58. See Chapter 9 p. 171

59. Becke - Dyson, Dyson Papers, Box 3, La Trobe Library.

60. ibid., Reply on verso.

61. John Barnes, op. cit., p. 40 where he quotes a letter from Lawson to Unwin's, 26 June 1899 in which he offers colonial rights.

62. "Notes to Jose", pp. 5 - 6.

63. ibid., p. 59; 314/11, Becke file, Becke - A & R, 12 January 1897.

64. "Notes for Jose", Jose's Diary of Agency business, see entry for 19 February.

65. Barnes, op. cit., p. 39.

66. See above n. 43.

CHAPTER 6: *Two Awheel and Some Others Afoot in Australia*

Although *Two Awheel and Some Others Afoot in Australia* did not appear in book form until 1903, most of it had been published as a series of articles in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Cycling Gazette*, in the main, between 1893 and 1897. Jose seems to have put the articles together and added to them in 1898 or 1899 - he then took the book with him to England where he tried to place it with various publishers early in 1900.[1] Dent & Co. showed signs of interest and it was eventually published after further revisions in 1903. The new format included illustrations by George Lambert replacing the photographs which Jose had taken and had previously intended using.[2] It was Lambert's first attempt at book-illustrating and, according to Andrew Motion, he was pleased to have the commission.[3]

Before discussing the book itself it would be worthwhile to examine the question of its immediate audience and the various influences on its form. In one sense, the book seems very much "vogue" literature. It shares a certain amount in common with Brereton's *Landlopers* (1899). The protagonists from both books are men from the city who go off roaming through the bush, meeting sundowners and swagmen along they way and, like them, live a hand-to-mouth existence. In this, both authors celebrate that footloose way of life prized and romanticised by them as part of Sydney's Bohemia in the Nineties.

Both books show signs of having been written for an intimate circle. The same writers and artists who surrounded the production of *Brooks's Australian Christmas Annual* and the *Australian Magazine* were associated with *Landlopers* and *Two Awheel*. *Landlopers* was illustrated by D.H. Souter and dedicated to R.F. Irvine. The protagonist of the book bears Brereton's pseudonym used throughout the *Australian Magazine* "Knight Wilford". As we have mentioned, Lambert illustrated *Two Awheel*—it will be remembered that with D.H. Souter he was art editor of the *Australian Magazine*—both contributed to *Brooks's Christmas Annual*, edited by Irvine. *Landlopers* was written in a distinctively Nineties art-nouveau style. Many days are rounded off with a poem, reflective as the evening is quiet. Souter's illustrations described by Heseltine as "coy" vary with the tone of the book. The sketches

the only [illegible] when we really wanted best down and above the weather was when, three hundred miles from the Heads, the wind vanished and we lay about idly for several days only just out of sight of land. We were to have got in on Nov 1st then we began to put it off, and off and off, till at last we reached another Sunday on board then at last on Monday morning land was sighted in the regular old dramatic way from the foretop gallant yard: but we were again disappointed we had a splendidly fair wind and the pilot boat was out waiting for us: but purely through the obstinacy of the mate, who would not let the captain signal when he wanted to, she ran away from us and we had to go after, just losing wind and tide. We might then been in Melbourne by seven on Tuesday morning: instead of that we lay at anchor for 17 hours off the quarantine ground and never got to Melbourne till eleven on Wednesday

Melbourne put on its worst, dottiest and dustiest dress to meet us on. For three days, the first three days of the season a North wind blew - and further will tell you what that means. I stopped with the Cooks at St. Kilda but was mistold by a stupid steward. The next day John Shaw had a holiday for the P of W's birthday, and took me a row in the bay & Friday I called again on the Cooks and went to lunch with them and

Above: Extract from letter (1882) describing the voyage to Australia. **Right:** Jose, sketched by Lambert, during the period in which he was illustrating Two Awheel. **Below:** Two Awheel, p. 43. Jose can be seen on the right.

"The host himself sat back on a broad bench well pleased."

which accompany the poems bring to the book a dreamlike atmosphere. Those which illustrate the daytime activities attempt to conjure up a comic jauntiness (see over).

We should note that *Two Awheel* marks itself off as having been written in the Nineties simply by virtue of its associations with cycling. Jose's articles were written at the height of the cycling craze immortalized in Paterson's "Mulga Bill's Bicycle". We may recall that there were cycling clubs throughout Australia which published magazines and maps of picturesque cycling routes. The University of Sydney boasted its own club and *Hermes* noted:

> The interesting spectacle of genius on wheels is rare no longer, and the ranks of bicyclists now number several devoted adherents among the professors and lecturers. Only recently Mr Jose, after a few months' practice, toured the country districts. . . . (26 April 1895)

And Jose described a summer weekend at Blackheath:

> So I have come up for a day or two to Blackheath to get free of the muggy air from the sea which always flops itself down on Sydney. I have to stay at a Hotel, though, for St Wenn's is let and still occupied. There has been quite a big University crowd up here - five Professors, three lecturers, the Registrar, myself, three Grammar School masters, &c, &c. Fired by my noble example, six out of the number have been learning the bicycle - not my bicycle, but Professor Wood's on which I learnt. The result to the bicycle is disastrous. As for mine it's in splendid condition: I broke two spokes the other day in a ride to & from Bathurst - one to and one from - but as I tried to get up the old road of 1815, up which no vehicle has gone for fifty years, it was hardly to be wondered at. I had them replaced and have been running about on it merrily since . . . I could take you such spins along the edge of the great walled valleys in the beginning of night with a downgrade road disappearing into the mist and a great luggage train with all its fifty brakes pinned down grinding past you on the one in thirty three grade! You've never felt anything at all like it and you never will till you feel itself . . .
> (24 February 1895)[4]

According to Jose's son many of the journeys were in fact undertaken on horseback, and others partly by train. Some of the places were those visited on his University Extension journeys. (In his own edition, Jose had identified places and sometimes people - for example, Professor MacCallum in Centennial Park (p. 84) complaining that he'll never learn to ride.) The identification process is important for it may suggest that Jose - latterly at any rate - thought that the book was better viewed as journalism or non-fiction.

"Good afternoon, my man," he squeaked bravely.

And I rose, removed my hat, and humbly said, "Good afternoon, sir."

"I see you're reading."

"I was, sir."

"May I see your book?"

"Certainly, sir."

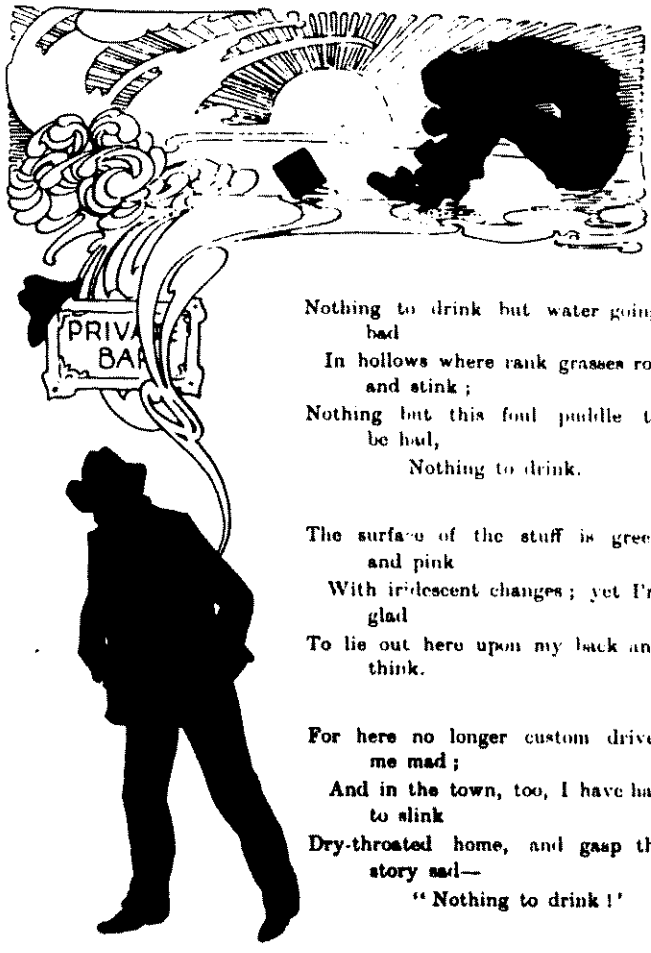
"*King Lear*, by William Shakespeare?" Turning the leaves: "Isn't this rather too deep for you, my good fellow?"

"Well, I don't know, sir; I understand a bit here and there, and I guess at the rest."

mum." And I bowed myself out, nursing my booty, and returned to the willows to lie on my back and study the sun-glitter.

The willow canopy again, to-night: to-morrow, the track. We smoke voluminously in loaded silence. Be Raleigh's colonists held ever in grateful remembrance!

hadn't any tent an' no more had I, an' there wasn't no cave handy, like this. So I says: 'I'm orf!' an' told him to come, too. But not a bit of it! He had some books in his swag, an' he was dead frightened he'd get 'em wet. 'Well,' I says, 'please yourself. There's plenty more books in the world; but ef *your* binding gets rotted, you'll have to wait till the last day before you can get a new one.' But he only said he musn't wet them books. An' he shoved his swag into a holler log, an' sat on top, shiverin'. So I left him an' went to the pub in the town — I don't know if you know Junee?—The Warrigal Inn. It was kept by old Tom Hourigan in those days. Many's the time he's done me a good turn since; but I didn't know him then. I went to the door, an' asked him ef he could give me some

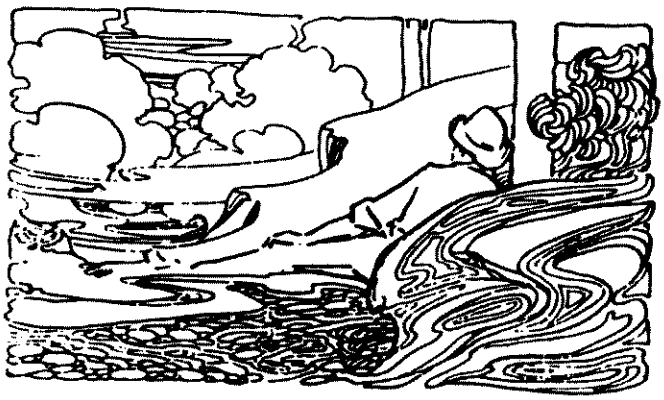


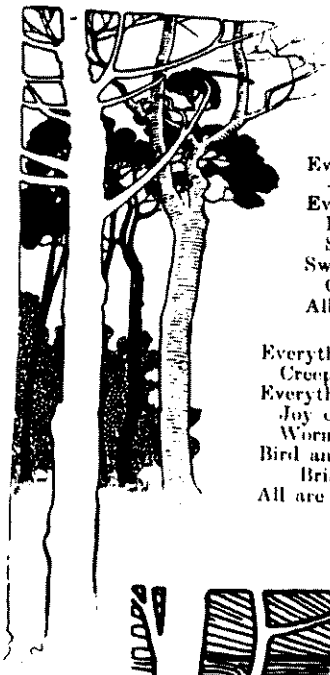
Nothing to drink but water going bad
In hollows where rank grasses rot and stink;
Nothing but this foul puddle to be had,
Nothing to drink.

The surface of the stuff is green and pink
With iridescent changes; yet I'm glad
To lie out here upon my back and think.

For here no longer custom drives me mad;
And in the town, too, I have had to slink
Dry-throated home, and gasp the story sad—
"Nothing to drink!"

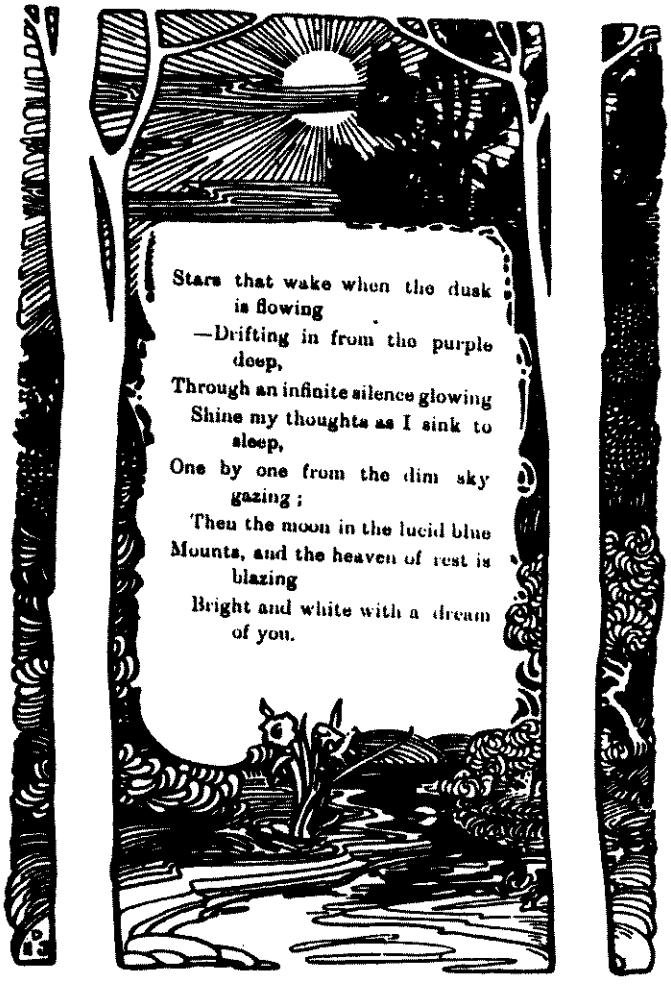
With shadow now the gully overbrims;
And Night breathes to his peace-bedrenched breast
—The while her many-twinkling lights she trims—
"Rest."





Every plant that grows
—Tiny weed or tree—
Every flower that blows,
Hath a word for me.
Sea-weed in the sea,
Swinging in the brine,
Grass-blades on the lea,
All are friends of mine.

Everything that goes
Creeping leisurely;
Everything that knows
Joy of floating free:
Worm and fish and bee,
Bird and child combine,
Bringing jollity;
All are friends of mine.



Stars that wake when the dusk is flowing
—Drifting in from the purple deep,
Through an infinite silence glowing
Shine my thoughts as I sink to sleep,
One by one from the dim sky gazing;
Then the moon in the lucid blue
Mounts, and the heaven of rest is blazing
Bright and white with a dream of you.

The articles, written in a sharp, crisp style are more readable as short pieces than as a long, continuous narrative. The presence of the rather mute second person over the protracted length of the book is unconvincing. Furthermore, in reality, the journeys were undertaken alone. Jose is said by his son to have introduced the second person to solve the technical problem of the solo-narrator not having anyone to share his whimsical thoughts with. The reticent second person, Ted, is a girl in disguise as a man. Since she must remain in the background this excuses the lack of character development in the course of the book. Undoubtedly, as a girl in disguise, she was intended to add a certain mystique, daring and charm to the atmosphere of the book, "it is racy and humorous", wrote one English reviewer.[5]

We might consider that there are two literary influences of importance in understanding the book: travel literature and the cult of the vagabond. But *Two Awheel* is important not merely as "vogue journalism" but as revealing a turning-point in Jose's thoughts, a modern vision of the Australian landscape. It is as if the pressures of social realism forced him to reassess his Tennysonian view of the country which we saw in *Sun and Cloud on River and Sea.*

In a basic way, *Two Awheel* falls into that sprawling sub-genre of nineteenth-century writing, travel literature, which can be seen to incorporate both non-fiction forms such as diaries and letters, and articles, as well as fiction - novels, short stories etc. In Australia, the pioneering spirit and the exploration and opening up of the outback gave rise to such writing. As an aside, we might note that, by the Nineties, the concurrent development of realism in Australia led writers to incorporate the actual non-fiction diary form into works which were in fact fiction. This is seen, for example, in Brereton's *Landlopers.* It would be worthwhile noting that *Landlopers* was not intended primarily as travel writing. H. Heseltine in *John le Gay Brereton* notes the presence of picaresque conventions in the book: the protagonist is a knight who is making a literal and metaphorical journey towards his

lover.[6] Brereton's nephew, the poet, Robert FitzGerald called *Landlopers* "an Australian picaresque."[7]

The cult of the vagabond would seem to have been partly a French importation into Sydney Bohemia. Brennan, in the 1890s at any rate, was inclined to romanticise the lives of Verlaine and Rimbaud. In 1893, he sent Jose an edition of Mallarmé's *Album de Vers et de Prose*.[8] Inside the cover Brennan wrote:

> Paul Verlaine is a chronic drunkard, spends his winters in the Paris hospitals, and the rest of his time with vagabonds. He also spent several years in prison for an attempt on the life of his companion in [illegible], with whom he in the early seventies led a vagabond life in England and Belgium. This companion was Arthur Rimbaud, a poet standing with Mallarmé & Verlaine at the head of the school. He vanished from Europe several years ago & only reports now of his death now of kingship among mythical Asiatic tribes reach his friends - Mallarmé leads a decent life.

As we saw earlier, (pp. 20ff., 38) the life of the vagabond or wanderer was something which had always exercised a fascination for Jose. The Australian translation of the "vagabond" notion was considerably tamer. It can be seen in Louis Becke's books. The spirit of the adventurous wanderer is embodied in *Landlopers*. Robert FitzGerald claimed "Uncle Jack Was a Vagabond at Heart" in an article so entitled.[9] Equally it seems to have been an image or pose which Jose cultivated in the Nineties, perhaps for its Bohemian appeal; there are stories deriving from his brother's family that Jose was "part-beachcomber".[10] His son, born of a later era is inclined to relegate such notions to the realm of family myths. The "tramp book", as it was called, evolved in the first two decades of the twentieth century.[11]

The celebration of a footloose existence is the theme of "Gipsies", the introductory poem of *Two Awheel*:

> *All the roads about us free to our desire,*
> *All the hedgerow banks to lie on at our ease,*
> *All the heights to look from, all the bents for fire,*
> *All the winds to bring us word from all the trees -*
>
> *And still, as we go, we greet our kin,*
> *We, the Free People, we of the Pack,*
> *And still, as we pass, above the din*
> *The call of the Gipsy echoes back,*
> *Good Hunting! . . .*
>
> *Everywhere and always children of the mood,*

Born to take the weather all the seasons through,
Out across the moorland, deep within the wood,
All the life of all the lands is our land too.

So we camp together, Gipsies of the Pack;
So we tramp together, while the days are ours;
So we scout together, blazing out the track -
We, the comrades of the sun behind the showers -

And still, as we go, we greet our kin
That have wandered free since Time began;
And across the world and above the din
We give the call, the call of the clan,
Good Hunting!

The book can be seen as an attempt to convey a picture of life in rural New South Wales as Jose experienced it in the 1890s. While we noted that the book, as a series of articles, seemed written initially for a small, familiar audience, we can also see, in its revised form (particularly with the final chapter of Reminiscences) that it is intended additionally for the British market; but it is noteworthy that Dent & Co. anticipated only low sales in Britain.[12] This was unfortunate for it seems Jose hoped incidentally to promote Australia as a desirable country for British immigrants. He saw Australians as vigorous, as the salt of the earth. In an article Jose wrote in 1903 for *The Times*, he described Australians as essential to the British Empire: to use his analogy, they would supply the youthful strength that the aging mother-country required; the Australian would "leaven with his fine youthfulness our middle-aged civilisation".[13]

Implicit in *Two Awheel* is the notion that the strengths of Australia which develop in its unconfined Nature, starkly contrast with England's, indeed Europe's, confined boundaries. This becomes explicit in the conclusion of the book: at this point, the two protagonists have returned to England and talk to their hosts on a Surrey lawn, reminiscing in a sentimental mood about Australia:

> Back there! Ah, dear country of ours, where else could we wish to be? Is it bricked-up, hedged-in England that should tempt us away, or the damp Cornish moors, or the neat formal mechanisms of France? Where else, so long as your streams run brown among their boulders and your tracks wind along the valley-sides through clean bush-scents and clear bushland air? Let us go back while we may, while your live alert youthfulness calls to us still young; while there is heart in us to be stirred, to answer all your challenges, to take joy in all your moods. Here we grow dull with the clouds and

> the crowding townsfolk, we grow soft with the lush green fields and the rain; rarely - high on the brow of a Surrey moorland, or watching the far-off Thame from some hanging wood on Chiltern edge - we can recall for a moment those air-spaces lit with splendid sun whereof you were so prodigal. (p. 212)

The romantic Wordsworthian landscape of England yields an inclination to softness and dullness of character; by contrast, the rugged Australian bush, allows a corresponding strength of character to develop.

We should consider Jose's depiction of the New South Wales landscape in further detail. For occasionally we can see there glimpses of a new vision of Australia of which Jose was becoming aware. While his style sometimes works against the effects he is trying to create, one can nonetheless perceive the ideas he was attempting to convey. Australians are seen as possessing a vigour and freshness; but more than anything else, Australia's oddness is stressed. In this we might see his attempt at a positive rendition of the conclusion of Lawson's "The Bush Undertaker" where the "grand Australian bush" is described as "nurse and tutor of eccentric minds, the home of the weird, and of much that is different from things in other lands". Its oddness and quirks, its quaintness and upside-downness make it comic, it is not threatened by the tragic sense we find in Lawson.

It is in the opening chapter that we become aware of the oddness of things. It first becomes evident in the landscape:

> Southwest of the Macquarie River, where it entangles itself in bewildering but unromantic gorges, there is set across the traveller's way a barricade of clumsily-piled hills.(p. 1)

We find it in the descriptions of huts and houses:

> And there are humpies of sorts scattered through the bush behind - put together of logs from abandoned trial-shafts and furnished with ingenious adaptations of the ubiquitous kerosene tin. (pp. 50-2)

One of the houses where they stay, for example, is described:

> It is built much on the same plan, an irresponsible adding of room to room, and a delightful jumble of uses to which each room has at different times been put. With some ingenuity and a good deal of mosaic work we have fitted up a bedroom and a sitting-room of the comparatively civilised type. Behind the bedroom there is an apartment with a lean-to roof which contains our dirty clothes and the landlord's library - an Anglican prayerbook, the Shorter

> Catechism, and five copies of the *Life of Faith*. Behind the sitting-room is a room full of last year's apples . . . (p. 52)

The bath at the house is merely one of many odd contrivances, the bathroom equally comical:

> The roof was on a slant, and on the slant of it were illustrations to occupy the bather's mind - the Earl of Yarmouth, the Melbourne Hospital, and Lord Loftus reviewing the Soudan Contingent. The rest of the place was bath. It has a box six and a half feet long, four feet wide, and nearly four feet deep: it was constructed of slabs and battens nailed pretty close together and lined with what looked like oiled calico: and it was plugged with a Keiller's marmalade pot, which was fairly efficient when you wrapped it round with rags. Since we began to use it we have found a new intricacy. It is useless to put the plug in beforehand: the water comes in through that hole. (p. 55)

If the landscape is odd, the people are often equally so. There is the eccentric fossicker of the opening chapter, or the parson:

> Why, the parson, sir - the parson! - because he couldn't keep himself alive on the screw they gave him, used to earn his living snaring wallaby and selling the skins. And if you come along with me to the church now, I'll show you the tackholes on the pewbacks where he used to stretch 'em to dry." (p. 34-5)

Image is piled on image. While the idea is never explored in any depth the blend of the drab and the quaint rings true.

Jose's vision of New South Wales belongs not to those categories of art and literature we might anticipate: it is not the romantic landscape of Streeton; not to be conveyed by the closely observed realism and optimism of Roberts, nor does it in general feeling, carry the melancholy of McCubbin. Often the very forms used to depict a scene are stretched or distorted. Jose presents a world where the people are beyond convention and beyond the formality of the Old World. Against a backdrop sometimes drab, the very oddness of things makes it bright. This is represented for example in the wedding procession:

> First came six weedy bullocks, slouching heavily along as if they still pulled against the yoke, and butting each other in the ribs now and then with a gloomy friendliness. To them succeeded two fine cows, heavy-uddered and of majestic gait . . . A small boy sauntering behind them acted as their nominal drover: his attire was a curious compromise between business and pleasure, for the clean shirt and brilliant tie . . . were tucked into very dirty moleskins and topped by a ruined hat to match. Some distance behind came the *raison d'être* of the whole show. The lady of the

> pair was so resplendent in the most dazzling possible shade of blue from head to foot that it was impossible to look straight at her . . . The gentleman's attire was equally one-coloured - a glossy boot-polish black; but out of it projected at different levels a sandy moustache, bright yellow gloves, and tan boots, and a gold chain hung in two curves across his coat . . . they had been married an hour or two back . . . (pp. 65-6)

Occasionally we see an experimental use of form in his presentation of the landscape. There is something in his descriptions of the trees and road which reminds us of Drysdale's "Sofala"; in describing the Lachlan Plains he wrote:

> Through straggling undergrowth, between gawky trees that had never learnt to carry themselves gracefully, a line of telegraph poles guided us towards the Lachlan. . . . The road was a mere hotch-potch of red-rutted mud, and the bush - strewn with timber and soppy with pools of rains - reproduced in miniature the snags and shallows of the average river-bed. Presently we came out on a travelling stock reserve, a thousand acres of open forest sloping towards the river, that two months ago had been sand of the sandiest. All the way along I had been drawing pictures for Ted's benefit of what that sand must be now - a Red Sea of mud like that of Hogarth's painting . . . (p. 192)

In descriptions like these and lines like, "And then - well, there was certainly lankier bush and more of it", (p. 98) Jose seems to have recognised that, exaggeration and even distortion of forms, are peculiarly appropriate in the depiction of the Australian bush. In this he anticipated modern Australian artists. His description, "Then from the ramshackliest tin humpy in all Australia there emerged a very old and very worn and very much bent human being" (p. 62) reminds us of something as late as Mary Boyd's "Abandoned Miner's Hut", rather than the Lambert sketch supplied. We might note in passing that Jose's achievement is in his creating beauty from a monotonous landscape yet at the same time emphasising its essentially monotonous character:

> Our road, meanwhile, degenerated into the hopeless monotony of those undulating scrublands that fringe the western river plains. It differed from a hundred other roads in the district only because there were occasional kinks in it. The really typical plains road is the longest of all long lanes; it bores its way into the horizon with the dull persistence of a diamond-drill. As you travel it your soul knows more and more surely that the curve is the line of beauty. You want to go and get drunk at the nearest inn merely that you may thus be compelled to proceed by zigzags. (pp. 198-9)

Here, the utter simplicity of the scene verges towards the abstract. Some might think of it as post-impressionist in its emphasis of high-keyed colour:

> . . . there came a sort of Noah's Ark parade that made our eyes blink. A bright blue cart adorned with a brighter white calico awning first asserted itself. As our pupils contracted to face the glare there became visible under the awning a vividly green old woman - arsenic-green of the most virulent description - rocking herself uneasily on the top of a pile of assorted goods and chattels. On one side of the cart walked a girl about fourteen, red and blue in stripes (a different blue from the cart's), bareheaded and barefooted; she was balanced on the other side by a smaller girl in blue and white (blue number three - electric), leading a very, very yellow-fleeced lamb by a green-ribboned halter. (p. 196)

Perhaps Jose's unexpectedly modern vision of the Australian bush was inspired partly by Dattilo Rubbo; Jose lived on the floor above Rubbo's studio for a time and wrote of him in *The Romantic Nineties*. Rubbo was known for his tolerant and flexible attitudes to new movements in art, his lively discussions and for encouraging his students to experiment.[14]

Jose seemed to be aware that he did not have the capacity to fully realise or even convey as he wanted to his understanding of the comic nature and the incongruities of outback life. In a poem of unknown date he implies that such a task will belong to a greater artist or writer than him:

> Where the tree falls, there it shall be,
> There lie, and moulder into loam -
> Content, because some statelier tree
> Shall there strike root and make his home.[15]

In conclusion we should note that *Two Awheel* contains in embryonic form those basic ideas which were to play a central role in the 1920s in the broadening of Jose's notion of Australian history. He was to consider more explicitly how it was that the wanderer and vagabond, the confidence man, the eccentric or those who were simply odd, were peculiarly suited to life in Australia, and how they contributed to the building of an Imperial outpost.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6: Two Awheel and Some Others Afoot in Australia

1. *Two Awheel* is mentioned in Jose's diary covering his work for the Australasian Literary Agency, discussed in the previous chapter. The dates for the publication of the articles in the *SMH* are to be found in the Table of Contents of Jose's own edition of the book in the JP.

2. Reference to Jose's photographs is to be found in the correspondence between A & R and Dent & Co: 314/23, 16 December 1901.

3. Motion, p. 41.

4. AWJ - May Jose in JP.

5. *Examiner*, 18 February 1904.

6. H.P. Heseltine, *John le Gay Brereton*, pp. 20, 22.

7. Robert FitzGerald, "Uncle Jack Was a Vagabond at Heart", *SMH*, 21 February 1948, p. 6 quoted in Heseltine, p. 22.

8. See JP.

9. See n. 7 above.

10. Nicholas Jose, grand-nephew of A.W. Jose, and great grandson of Herbert Jose related the story in a conversation with the present writer.

11. In the *Forum* (18 July 1923, p. 17) we find an anonymous article "The Tramp Book - A New Genre". It is a review of *A Beachcomber in the Orient* by Harry L. Foster. Defining the new genre, as the reviewer calls it, he observes that the writer must possess a "sensitive, foot-loose personality capable of showing us the colour of distant lands. It is only the colour that we want; all the rest is at our service in multitudes of reference books". The reviewer continues with his description:

> A journalist, practising or incipient, rolls up his bluey and works his passage to some far, romantic port . . . he gets a job, goes to the races, plays the guitar for some dancer, or just combs the beach . . . So he drifts round his allotted segment of the world . . . for the most part his sole possessions are a good supply of copy-paper and a fountain-pen . . . While his derelict companions . . . are getting drunk or murdering each other, he is diligently getting it on paper.

The reviewer then notes how, over twenty years, certain technical rules have evolved for such works:

> He must keep the personal note in evidence, but avoid the domination of the first-person singular. He must be informative in by-ways . . . Each adventure must stop short of its climax: this is a tramp book, not a story; and tramps do not climax: they go on and on. His setting must remain as low as possible on the social scale. He must eschew all conscious "style"; the racier and looser he is - provided he keeps his

> teeth in the subject, of course - the better the effect of rambling colourful inconsequence. Phrasing, grouping, rhythm, balance - these do not exist for him; for these 300 pages or so he not a writer: he is a tramp. If he allows his possible mastery of his business to show through, even for a moment, he will be likely to spoil all his results.

One can see how Jose's *Two Awheel* stands in the formative stages of such a genre, some of its characteristics are evident. One can see that other Australian writers, in particular, E.J. Banfield (*Confessions of a Beachcomber*, 1908) and Brereton developed the theme. Heseltine described Brereton's *Knocking Round* (1930) as "footnotes, as it were, to *Landlopers*."

12. 314/23, Dent - A & R, 16 December 1901, ". . . We do not anticipate much sale here and therefore would like an immediate reply".

13. AWJ, "The Australian Attitude", *The Times*, 31 August 1903.

14. Bernard Smith, *Australian Painting 1788-1970*, OUP, Melbourne, 1971, p. 171.

15. "Eccl. XI, 3", in Mary E. Wilkinson (ed.), *Gleanings from Australasian Verse. Poems of Manhood*, Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd., Melbourne, n.d., p. 73.

CHAPTER 7: "India"

> Dear Robertson,
> . . . thank you for the concession you made about *The Growth*. It will probably make all the difference to my getting on in England . . . (23 November 1900)[1]

Jose identified his lack of contacts in London as one of the causes of the Australasian Literary Agency's failure. However, from May 1900, after Angus & Robertson allowed John Murray to publish *The Growth of the Empire*, Jose established a rapport with the brothers, John and Hallam Murray, which was to prove most fruitful.[2] They listened to his views of imperial problems as experienced away from London and became sympathetic to his belief that the development of the colonies was often thwarted through the ignorance of the British and the apathy of the Colonial Office. They introduced Jose to Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary: this was a turning point in Jose's life.

If it was axiomatic that civilisation was one of the fruits of British colonisation, education was also part of this civilising process. But there were problems in establishing the British education system in the diverse countries of the Empire. Jose, from his first-hand experience of unusual conditions in the Australian bush, was aware of the range of problems. Such difficulties were at this moment very topical. For the problems peculiar to the British education system in India had become apparent to Lord Curzon, the Viceroy. In September 1901, he was to initiate a Commission of Enquiry into Education with government officials and teachers at Simla. This inaugurated a general attempt at reform. In 1902, there followed his University Commission.

In July 1901, the Murrays employed Jose to travel around India. He was to unravel the peculiarities of the education system there, and to try and discover, amongst other things, how India's needs be best met in educational matters, and what sort of text-books John Murray should be supplying in the future. The possibility of the need for reforms of some sort had been raised. This was their response, as well as a pragmatic approach to the

problem of marketing their books. John Murray gave a letter of introduction to Jose, which gives us a clear idea of the precise nature of his employment:

> The bearer of this letter, Mr ARTHUR W. JOSE, is proceeding to India on behalf of my firm to make closer enquiries than we have hitherto made into the development, and needs of Education in that country, in order that the books which we have already published - or now have in preparation - may be duly brought to the notice of teachers and managers in India, and that we may learn - and where possible endeavour to meet - their requirements.
>
> It seems hardly necessary to add that Mr Jose is in no sense a "commercial traveller": he does not go to take orders for books, but to study the educational system in India for a special purpose.
>
> As a Balliol man, and a gentleman who has had special educational experience in other quarters, Mr Jose appears to us peculiarly qualified for the work which he has undertaken at our request . . .
> (22 August 1901)[3]

While still in London, Jose addressed the more practical problem of why Murray's books were not selling in India. He started by establishing which texts the various Indian universities recommended. He wrote to Bliss, an editor at Murray's:

> . . . I am preparing a comparative list of textbooks now recommended by the various universities, to see what we have to fight. I note that Madras depends almost entirely on Macmillan & local publishers. There's a little eighteen penny Macmillan edition of classical texts (modern too, I fancy) in light blue stiff cover that is much used: I remember we were rather fond of it in Sydney. . . .
>
> I've been looking at Britain over the Sea. If Miss Lee goes to a revised edition I can put her on to some better Australian extracts - contemporary or nearly so - instead of Lumholtz, who is muddled about farback history. If you have John Smith on Virginia, why not Tench or Collins, & Cook (his real journal not the Voyages), on early Australia? . . . the idea of the book is so good that one hates to find it inaccurate. . . .
> (27 July 1901)[4]

Jose scrutinised Murray's texts with the eye of reviser, publisher's reader, teacher and one experienced in colonial matters. His *Growth of the Empire* and *A Short History of Australasia* had been specifically written with the Australian higher secondary school audience in mind. He had stimulated Mrs S.C. Boyd to write her most successful French text book for the same reason. R.F. Irvine compiled and edited a series of Reading Books, *The New Australian School Series* devised to meet the special needs and deficiencies in

Australian schools.[5] All these texts were designed to solve local needs - impoverished vocabulary, inadequate general knowledge being amongst them. But most of all, Jose considered that the essential motivating element in lifting the low educational level in the Australian population would be the presence of local content not only in literature and in children's books but also in text books. Australian problems, however, were of a different order to Indian ones. But Jose's understanding of the former enabled him to appreciate the latter.

Before leaving England, Jose gave Murray his itinerary: between October 1901 and April 1902 he intended visiting Lahore, Aligarh, Calcutta, Allahabad, Gwalior, Baroda, Bombay, Madras and Bangalore. He would stay five days to a week in most of these places, and three weeks or more each at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta.[6] Jose's first report from the Indian Ocean indicated that he had already met "several useful people", amongst them, the presidents of Indian University Colleges. The voyage, with so many co-passengers connected with education in India, proved stimulating, as we can see from his letter to John Murray. From his conversations, Jose was quick to observe that, if Murray's wanted to improve their sales of educational books in India, there were two possibilities for them to pursue: - junior class textbooks, an already profitable area; also, the hitherto relatively undeveloped area of need - that of English language textbooks:

Indian Ocean

> . . . Another thing is that the Indian educational market will only be reached profitably with editions of textbooks for the schools & junior classes, as the number of students - enormous in schools - falls off very rapidly as you go higher.
>
> These, of course, are only impressions, but they give one lines to work along. There seems a great need of some system which will really teach English - some simple grammar coupled with practical work in composition & handling the language. Is there such a thing as a good English grammar written by a Frenchman for French people? because that would be the type to follow.
>
> (18 October 1901)[7]

After nearly three weeks in India, Jose wrote to his mother. He had started to assess the situation, at least in the Punjab, and clarify his opinions:

Delhi

> . . . I have had very good luck on the whole, if the work I have done at Lahore is the work Murray wants done. That is, I have found and made an opening, & established very valuable connections with the important people, if Murray is disposed to strike out on a line he has not yet touched & where there is important work to be done: if, on the other hand, he confines himself to selling the books he already publishes, there is practically no market for him in the Punjab.
> (November 5 [1901])[8]

The "important work" Jose refers to, would appear to be the marketing of English language books. This was a scheme which Jose came to regard as fundamental to educational reform in India. By 16 December 1901, John Murray was to write to William W. Jose of his son's work in India:

> . . . I have been very much pleased by the reports which he has, so far written us. He appears to have grasped the purport of our wishes and intentions, to be gaining a clear insight into the methods, and needs of Education in India. . . .[9]

His conclusions concerning the education system in India were far-reaching. He emerged from his travels not only with proposals devised to help Murray's in the short-term but with a scheme for university reform which was published as an article. Even to Murray's he emphasised more the need for fundamental change in India, rather than the desirability of supplying the existing system. John Murray believed that the reports he was sending home revealed a thorough understanding of the state of education. He had been in India two months when Murray sent him an introduction to the Viceroy of India:

> My dear Curzon,
>
> Will you allow me to present to you Mr A.W. Jose, formerly of Balliol, Oxford, who has been travelling in India on our behalf to make a special study of the question of Education.
>
> Mr Jose's previous experience in a similar field both at home and in Australia, seemed to fit him in a special manner for the task which he has undertaken on our behalf, and the reports which he has written home, seem to justify to the full the expectations which he has formed in this respect.
>
> I should be most unwilling to trouble you with a mere idle introduction, at a time when you must be superabundantly occupied but, as I am convinced that Mr Jose would not ask to occupy your time except for some good purpose, and as I know that you have taken a special interest in the Education question, I venture to send this letter.

Believe me . . .

(29 November 1901)[10]

Jose was to write several articles on the topic of education reform in India. He saw however that anterior to the matter of reform and, most crucial to it, was the attitude of the India Office officials. He regarded them as the chief obstacles. After his return from India, he wrote to John Murray:

> . . . Still, if [Lyall] or anyone with influence in the India Office can be got to use that influence in favour of pushing the Commission's reforms through, it will be a most noble thing. I don't know whether I am most mad with the supineness of officials here or with the despair of the teachers in India - not mad *at* them, you understand, but mad at the state of things that has made them despair. Many of them didn't think it worth while to give evidence before the Commission because they were tired of asking for reforms they never got. But they will get them now - or at least get a fair chance of making the reforms for themselves - if Lord Curzon is backed up in carrying through that report.
>
> And it isn't an Indian matter only. The name 'University' is being degraded, and that is a world-name: and the English character loses half its power among sensible natives when they see us cheated by such shallow devises as the Babu's - or, worse still, endeavouring to realize so ridiculous an ideal.
>
> If *this* movement collapses: if the recommendations of a Commission so carefully chosen, after so exhaustive an inquiry, go for nothing; all hopes of system & decency in Indian higher education may be carefully put away & corded up for long years . . .
>
> (23 November 1902)[11]

Jose described university education in India as a sham. He regarded the English claim of the "elevating effects of Western culture" as hollow. He saw that in India, the university had been downgraded to conform to the utilitarian ends of employment, which were uppermost in Indian minds. The government had made a B.A. one of the qualifications for admission to the public service. A university course became merely a means of entry to the service, the examinations being an unfortunate hurdle or obstacle to pass. Since Indians by their numbers controlled the University Senates, and examinations were in their hands, their sole aim was to make the examinations easier, for they thought employment was a universal right. Teaching methods were in turn determined by the examinations, and rote learning was the order of the day. In addition to this Jose observed that "the European teachers & heads of colleges, no matter what their private opinions may be, are obliged to

make exam.-passing the aim of their work, or their colleges will be deserted in favour of those that do. They have little or no voice in the management of their Universities."[12]

Shortly after his return to England Jose suggested a long and detailed series of measures to remedy the situation. These proposals can be found in his article, "University Reform". It was well received for he wrote to his sister that "the American papers were discussing my Babu articles *apropos* of their having to educate the Filipinos. [Sidney Brooks] wants me to write for the North American Review on the subject."[13]

Jose had suggested that separate examinations be established for entrance to the Public Service, and for the B.A. qualification; that while a university degree should carry weight in the consideration of business and State appointments, it should not be considered indispensable thereby crowding "University classes with mere would-be examinees"; that the control of the university should be in the hands of its teachers not its examiners. This included the process of selecting students. "the selection . . .", wrote Jose "becomes almost as important a work as their subsequent training."[14]

Apart from these structural changes, Jose suggested alterations to the curricula. Jose thought that there should be only a few subjects and that the examination, which would be based on a syllabus rather than set texts, should test "not so much the students' knowledge of facts, as his power of using them." Most of all, Jose saw that the cardinal difficulty for Indians was an inadequate grasp of English. He suggested that the method of teaching English at school be changed and that, in future, the University Entrance Examination should "test colloquial and practical knowledge of the language".[15] In this way, the mechanical approach of rote learning could at least begin to be broken down.

In an article written much later, Jose described the Indian attitude to the English education system (in India), and to the matter of rote-learning:

> The curse comes home to roost with us in the shape of insolent contempt. The clever student, the man whom we hope to train as a fellow-worker in his country's service, knows perfectly well that the training he gets at the Universities he must attend is ineffective for good and pernicious to character. "The University" - a Calcutta newspaper, the *Pratibasi*, is describing the local University - "plainly enjoins dishonesty in study by making the students take for granted things which cannot appeal to their understanding: it encourages

> them to use other men's opinions and writings as their own . . . and, what is worse, holds before them a poor ideal of duty and conduct."[16]

Jose also saw the possibilities of more far-reaching, though indirect effects and consequences of such a defective system:

> . . . when he has left the University behind him, he finds a new grievance, and a plausible reason for it. We pretend to adopt the principle (I am still following his line of thought) that intellect is the governing quality. We assure him that an intellectual test - which he knows to be, as far as he is concerned, shoddy - will give him a place in the administration of his country. Then we try him out as an administrator, and find him sadly wanting, and shunt him into unimportant positions where he will do the least harm. To him it seems that we have broken our word, and broken it out of sheer cowardice; his belief is that we have found him not incompetent (he has passed our examinations, satisfied our standards: how *can* we think him incompetent?) but too dangerously clever, and that we have shunted him into a position where he will do least harm, not to his country's prosperity, but to our stupid dominance. And thus the Babu, whom by our own foolishness we have made a farcical monster, becomes a dangerous monster: the failed B.A. dominates National Congresses: and the sturdier, stronger-charactered races who, like all good fighters, accepted our rule as that of the better man begin to despise us as protectors and in a way accomplices of the races they have always despised, and to contemplate a future in which, England being cajoled or terrorized out of the way, they themselves shall resume their independence and their masterful dominance of the whole sub-continent.[17]

Thus Jose foreshadowed the break up of the Empire. It is worthwhile to contrast his experiences in India with those of Malcolm Muggeridge, who went there as a teacher in 1926. Frustrated by students who were the products of the same inadequate education system, like Jose he was aware that in the scene before him lay material for satire. But whereas Jose hoped for reform, Muggeridge, twenty-five years on, thought rather that "They were alien teachers on foreign soil, mouthing the last words of a dying civilization."[18] Muggeridge's biographer, Ian Hunter noted the parallel between George Orwell and Muggeridge: Orwell's experience in the Indian police turned him against imperialism - teaching in India had the same effect on Muggeridge.[19]

Jose spent February to July of 1902 at Aligarh, as Acting Professor of English and History at the Mahomedan College, at the invitation of Theodore Morison, its President. On his return to England in September of that year, he wrote to his sister that he had

heard "both Morison & Murray were immensely pleased with my work".[20] While Murray's Indian sales did not immediately improve, John Murray must have considered that Jose's analysis of the situation provided the firm with valuable information for the long-term, for he was intending to send Jose to South Africa "on a similar errand when things had begun to settle down there."[21] Jose himself thought that the venture in India was an invaluable experience.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7: "India"

1. 314/41 Jose file.

2. The Murray brothers introduced Jose to Joseph Chamberlain. This introduction led to Jose's appointment as *The Times* correspondent. Jose wrote in a letter to Bliss, 30 November 1908 (JM Archives), "Please remember me kindly to both Mr Hallam Murray and his brother. I don't forget that it was their introduction to Mr Chamberlain that started me on this not too lucrative but extremely interesting and responsible work".

3. JM Archives

4. ibid.

5. Sarah Christine Boyd, *Causeries Familières,* Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1898.

6. AWJ - Bliss, 7 September 1901 in JM Archives.

7. AWJ - John Murray in JM Archives.

8. AWJ - Mrs W.W. Jose, 5 November 1901 in JP.

9. John Murray - W.W. Jose in JP.

10. John Murray - Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India in JP.

11. AWJ - John Murray in JM Archives.

12. AWJ, "University Reform" in *East & West,* I, No. 6, April 1902, pp. 616-22; and AWJ - John Murray, 18 October 1901, JM Archives.

13. AWJ - May Jose, 24 September 1902 in JP.

14. "University Reform", pp. 618, 620.

15. ibid., pp. 617-619.

16. "The Babu at Home", *RN,* p. 216.

17. ibid., pp. 216-17.

18. Ian Hunter, *Malcolm Muggeridge. A Life,* William Collins & Son, London, 1980, p. 38.

19. ibid., p. 46.

20. AWJ - May Jose, 24 September 1902 in JP.

21. AWJ - May Jose, 21 October 1902 in JP.

CHAPTER 8: "Imperial Tariff League"

In September 1902 Jose had returned from India to England. He spent much of his time engaged in freelance journalism and in revising the articles he had written in the Nineties for *Two Awheel and Some Others Afoot in Australia*. But Jose had also become involved in politics and electioneering. John Murray and his brother, Mr Hallam Murray had introduced Jose to Joseph Chamberlain, then Colonial Secretary:

> Well, it was all very good & jolly. I had about fifteen minutes' talk with him in his study before lunch, & then lunched with just the family - self, wife, three daughters, two sons (Austen & Neville) - and then we all sat in the conservatory & discussed things for an hour or more . . . He talked very frankly & straight, & quite simply, with a quiet & pleasant voice: neither voice nor face was at all hard, & not very much like his pictures, which always seem to me to give the idea of a rather ferrety person who scolds. The profile is a bit 'pushful', but you don't see that when you are talking to a man . . .[1]

It was the beginning of Jose's pursuit of a policy of Imperial Preferential Tariffs. Chamberlain no doubt had inspired him as he inspired others. Randolph Churchill, in his biography of his father wrote, "While he was in South Africa, Chamberlain had told Milner about his plans for Tariff Reform and Imperial Preference. Milner had listened enthralled."[2] In the Canadian parliament, both the Leader of the Opposition and the Prime Minister, Laurier, were in favour of Chamberlain's tariff schemes. Thus encouraged Chamberlain announced his support for Imperial Preference or protection in his stronghold at Birmingham. For Chamberlain, preferential tariffs were desirable as a means of making the Empire self-sufficient; to safeguard it against retaliatory measures in time of war; to enable the colonies to develop by having a sure market for their primary produce. In essence it was protection of the Empire. Churchill, however, who was to cross the floor over the issue, saw it differently. Speaking at Hoxton, he said:

> [Chamberlain] . . . will need all his weighty arguments . . . if he is to persuade the British people to abandon that system of free trade and cheap food under which they have thriven so long and have advanced from the depth of woe and poverty to the first position among the nations of the world.[3]

In a letter to Moore Bayley, he wrote:

> . . . I do not want a self-contained Empire. It is very much better that the great nations of the world should be interdependent one upon the other than that they should be independent of each other. That makes powerfully for peace and it is chiefly through the cause of the great traffic of one great nation with another during the last twenty-five years, that the peace of Europe has been preserved through so many crises . . . It is far more sensible to try to get the Colonials gradually to adopt our free trade system, than that we should try their vicious policy of protection. If, as I fear may be the case, this question is raised as a vital issue, great harm will be done to Imperial sentiment by the language which will be used about the Colonies and their share in the burdens of the State . . .
> 20 May, 1903[4]

It was at roughly this time that the Imperial Tariff League was organised to advance Chamberlain's policies. Jose was a member of it. Chamberlain recognised that if they were to start by campaigning in London they would stand little chance:

> London, he knew, with its huge network of foreign trade and foreign investments, would react slowly to any appeal, whereas the country districts might respond, if not more eagerly, at least less reluctantly.[5]

An opportunity arose with the by-election of Barnard Castle in Durham in May 1903. The Imperial Tariff League sent several speakers. Jose was chosen as leader of the campaign. They told the electorate that they considered all the candidates undesirable, that the League was there merely to "introduce to their notice a new brand of politics". Jose observed that their manoeuvre was successful. They attracted the attention of the London journalists:

> "The Tariff League's meetings," admitted another, "are the only meetings with any life in them;" a third was mournful - "It is a surprise to many of us hard and fast free-traders to find that a considerable section of the artisan and working class . . . are out-and-out protectionists, ready to vote for imposing on foreign goods similar duties to those which foreign nations levy on ours."[6]

But perhaps they were too clever by half. For in London it was decided that such a vital and effective body could not be left alone, and it was taken over by the Tariff Reform League. Pearson, owner of several newspapers, amongst them the *Daily Express*, was also founder of the Tariff Reform League and Chairman of its executive committee. Jose watched the new body languish:

> the Tariff Reform League, absorbed its rival and ponderously proceeded to slow down progress and to anchor its later campaigns to the party chariot. Never again had Tariff Reform speakers the

> liberty of free speech, the "precocious audacity" which its opponents had rightly attributed to the Imperial Tariff League; and under the rule of local party agents and of timid London committees the movement subsided into provincial lethargy. [7]

He was once more appointed as leader of a campaign, this one in Argyllshire. He saw the work as leading to his appointment as *The Times* Correspondent in Australia. *The Times*, advocating Chamberlain's policy, wanted to be sure it had correspondents who sympathised with its views.

In *The Romantic Nineties*, in the chapter, "Trials of a Correspondent", he describes the circumstances immediately surrounding his appointment - these were a dinner-party he attended at which a fellow guest was the Assistant Editor of the *Times*; the dinner-party occurred at the same time that he had ready for publication an article on Australian attitudes to Britain. The article almost seems expressly written to prove his credentials for the position as *The Times* correspondent. It reveals an extensive understanding of Australian and British attitudes to Imperial problems. His political stance coincides with that of his employers. Jose's account of events, thirty years later, ran as follows:

> . . . in the spring of 1903, having no regular work and a good deal of ambition, I sent to the *Fortnightly Review* a long article on "The Australian Attitude", in which I tried to explain Australians (especially the bushfolk), as I had known them for eighteen years . . . One evening soon afterwards I met at a friend's house a man who was much interested in things Australian, and cross-questioned me severely on several important points. When I reached my flat again that night, out of the letter-box tumbled the article, which the *Fortnightly* had no use for; so I readdressed it to my friend, asking him to hand it on to the cross-questioner, as it contained a considered statement of many things which I had been unable to expound in after-dinner talk. To my great surprise, the fellow-guest turned out to be J.B. Capper, assistant editor of *The Times*; and a week or so later he wrote saying that he had shown the article to the editor and others, and if I could wait till August (when Parliament was not sitting) *The Times* would like to publish it.[8]

Whether events were really as fortuitous as Jose saw or remembered them to be is not known. He gave his account of the publication of the article:

> On my way back from Scotland on 31 August I opened *The Times* and discovered the article, nearly four columns long, in a prominent position, with a leading article which called special attention to it. Three days later, along with the cheque, came an invitation from Moberly Bell, the manager and (during vacation)

> acting editor, to call on him; and he put it to me that *The Times* was backing Chamberlain, that its Australian correspondents (men on the *Argus* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*) were not in sympathy with its views in this respect, and - well, what about my going back as its correspondent? The offer took some thrashing out, for I was not anxious to accept it, and refused pointblank to go unless I had full powers and could engage "curates" in the smaller and more distant State capitals . . .[9]

At the time he wrote to his sister in Bristol:

> . . . What would you think if I went out to Sydney as head correspondent for the *Times*? Moberly Bell, the manager practically offered it to me this afternoon; he has asked me to draw up a plan (with estimate of exx.) for a central controlling correspondent with men in the principal towns to wire news to him.
>
> This is private. You are the only person that knows, & I don't want anyone else at all told till things shape more definitely. It would mean money enough to have you out too, at any rate for visits.
> (9 September 1903)[10]

Since the article, "The Australian Attitude" was instrumental in Jose's appointment, it is worth considering it in detail. The article was written to meet British accusations of Australian disloyalty provoked by objections at the increase of the Commonwealth Naval Subsidy, and at certain details of the Naval Scheme. However, Jose had not concentrated on the immediate reasons for Australia's disinclination to pay the subsidy. Instead, taking a broader viewpoint, he had looked at the "Australian attitude": the question of a shift in ideological feeling which underlay the Australian objections. The article was largely concerned with an explanation for the breakdown in Imperial feeling. Jose observed that the British dismissed Australian unwillingness to co-operate in the new naval plan but did not seem to understand the Australian objections. Chiefly, they attributed them to a growing socialist tendency. To Jose it was republicanism not socialism which was the threat. One of his principal concerns was to illustrate that it was dishonesty in finance by imperialists in Australia, and the British money-lenders with whom they were connected, which gave rise to anti-imperial feeling.

Thus Jose dwells on three inter-connected causes of separatism: the growing role and weight of the vote of the country people, easily influenced; the influence of the *Bulletin*, which fuelled its argument for separation from Great Britain, by preaching "honest finance";

and dishonesty in financial management by politicians, loud in proclaiming their imperial colours.

Jose considered that with the new distribution of electorates at Federation the country people, "that compact body", could now play a cardinal role in influencing elections and policies. He consequently thought it essential to describe the character of the country people, so little known by the British. He felt this had not been adequately done by any writer, though he considered that "Henry Lawson had come nearest to doing that." As an aside we might note how different Jose's portrait is to that mythologised image of the bushman which was elaborated in the Twenties and after by such people as George Robertson and David McKee Wright (see below, Chapter 14). The bush spirit, he claimed, was indomitable - as resilient and tough as the subject of Lambert's "Past Carin'" (see above p. 88). Jose wrote:

> Observers who watch him are apt to make too little of his troubles, because they do not seem to have broken his spirit; observers who mark his surroundings, their comfortlessness, their continual petty tragedy - often make too melancholy a picture of him.
>
> His life is one long struggle with the unexpected, that stiffens his self-dependence and cultivates his sense of humor. Whatever his racial characteristics may be - Scot, or Erse, or the dogged, half-intelligent persistence of the Englishman - they are moulded to one shape by stress of this fact, that he lives beneath a sky which gives him no sure rainfall, upon a soil too porous to hold for any length of time the rain that may come. So he becomes a gambler and a nomad; he wagers his year's work against the caprices of Nature, and, if he loses, goes far afield with a (comparatively) light heart to try his luck elsewhere.

Jose also thought that, since the bushman expended all his energy in surviving such circumstances, he was bound to remain unsophisticated with a corresponding naïveté with regard to politics:

> What goes on outside, interests the bushman immensely when he has time to think of it, but not necessarily as a matter affecting himself; he regards most of politics in this light, and has been known to send a member to Parliament much as a boy puts pennies in the slot of some mechanical device - just to see what will happen.

But the bushman's ingenuousness had an unfortunate corollary - a susceptibility to flattery.

He described the *Bulletin* as the most influential of the Bushman's flatterers; in fact later on in his article he states that not only the country people, but the majority of Australians did not read it with a sufficiently critical eye. Jose then wrote of the *Bulletin*'s style and politics:

> It is hard to over-estimate the extent to which this journal modifies the opinions (one might almost say the character) of its readers. Most Australian newspapers alter no one's opinions, being read only by those who already agree with them . . . its candour verges on the cynical, but the Australian has no objection to humour in his politics or grimness in his jests. Moreover, it is consistent and persistent; its policies are not shaped by the rise and fall of parties or by the vagaries of individual politicians; it will back any man, just so far as he will carry out some fragment of its programme and not an inch further; and, above all, it insists that each of these fragments is part of a definite, well-ordered plan. Thus every valuable measure it advocates (and it has advocated many) becomes one more step towards its ultimate goal; and the bushman, deeply impressed by a steadfastness and a disregard of personalities, which he does not naturally share, is being led to accept Federation and honest finance as arguments in favor of independence and a republic.
>
> That in its most pronounced form is the *Bulletin*'s desire. To that consummation all its efforts are bent. For guiding men's minds in that direction it finds no casuistry too subtle, no caricature too gross.

(Before continuing we should note it is possible that Jose himself was being cynical in his emphasis of the *Bulletin*'s promotion of separatism, or rather in his depiction of it as a "dangerous" paper. In 1909, he was to write enthusiastically about the *Bulletin* of the Nineties. In concealing his more positive feelings about the *Bulletin*, he may have been making the last in a series of moves which would win him *The Times* appointment.) Jose then detailed the *Bulletin*'s cultivation of anti-British, anti-Semitic feeling in the caricature of "John Bull-Cohen", the "griping money-lender". He wrote that the danger lay precisely in the fact that together with the crude extravagance of the cartoon, the *Bulletin* combined plausible and sound advice on Australian matters, and, in particular, financial ones. He quoted its own leader article:

> It was the first paper which pointed out, in and out of season, that a country with the biggest debt per head on this earth was in a dangerous situation, and that the perpetual increase of that debt must mean national insolvency . . .

With the constant repetition of the cartoon it sought to make the bushman believe in "John Bull-Cohen", who was described thus:

> . . . the griping moneylender, the slave-driver, the nation whose only interest in anything human or divine is centred in its money value. Avarice and treachery, cowardice and stupid meanness, all the vices the bushman hates most, are combined in the Bull-Cohen monster. There is no sneer, remember, at the race to which the Australian mainly belongs: the *Bulletin*'s point is that the Briton no longer governs himself in England - that he is here the victim of greedy British financiers, and that his kin in Australia should cut loose before the same grip is irrevocably tightened on them.

The Bulletin consistently argued against the idea of borrowing money for unimportant or "non-essential matters", insisted on keeping finances "clean":

> It was the first paper to persistently declare . . . that a regular annual deficit and a constant cooking of the accounts, and an interminable whining about our inability to pay taxes, and a persistent lie to the effect that benevolent asylums and dredging operations and the like are "permanent and reproductive works" were not necessarily a part of the Australian character.

Above all, Jose thought that the *Bulletin*'s appeal lay in its "straight talk", for the "Australian likes straight talk".

Jose considered that, in this way, anti-Imperial sentiment was being fuelled. Aware that some would answer his claim by pointing to the counter-evidence of Australian patriotism, displayed during the Boer War, Jose added that this was nothing more than "a spasm of intense feeling" about which Australians would soon feel uneasy. He suggested that the remedy to the breakdown in Imperial sentiment in Australia lay in "changes of Ministry or policy to dissociate Imperialism from local bad administration" and that the remedy in England lay in a new attitude to Empire.

For, if the British were accusing the Australians of disloyalty in baulking at payment of the Naval Subsidy, Jose suggested they should "revise their standards of loyalty." To whom did the Australians owe loyalty, Jose asked. Taking up the theme which prompted him to write *The Growth of the Empire* ("it is all Britain and no empire"), Jose noted, "The colonies do not belong to England. They, and England, belong to the Empire". Jose hints

that British claims of Australian disloyalty were merely revelations of British megalomania. Using a flowery analogy to break the impact of his home-truth he added:

> England is still the head of the family, no doubt; but the headship is now not so much that of a father among his small children as that of the eldest son among younger brothers.

He then concluded the article by returning to the practical reasons why Australia hesitated over the matter of the subsidy:

> . . . we were illogical enough to require that the Australian section of the Fleet should not be tied down to the defence of Australian ports at the very moment when we were creating a Home Squadron for the express purpose of defending English ports.

Thus 'To cry "Pay or part company!"' Jose concluded was "a dangerous challenge indeed".

Jose concluded the article by observing that the British would do well to acquaint themselves with Australians:

> And it is because we need him in the Empire - him and his youthfulness, his joy in comradeship, his alert mind and unbreakable will - that I fear lest careless words and negligent assumptions and pedantic departmentalisms should drive him, alienated from us, into the arms of the narrow and fanatic Separatist.

The article made its impact not only on the British but also on the Australians. Jose's youngest brother, E. Salisbury Jose, who was aide-de-camp to the Governor of Australia, wrote to Jose:

> I will begin a letter at once of congratulation to you on your "Times" article, both on the article itself, and on getting so much of the "Times" space, and on the leader that accompanies it. Also on the fact that the "Weekly Times" prints both the article and the leader in full, which is a great compliment . . . [His Excellency] does not agree with you altogether, in your statements & in your aims, perhaps it were wiser not say where, but he says "it is extremely well written", which is great praise from him, and he thinks it a great thing for you; so that I feel very proud of you. Personally I think you are in for something good, now that Chamberlain's scheme is looming so large, and you have that Empire League appointment . . .
>
> The Argus and the Age have both tried to annihilate you in leaders . . . [Fitchett] will also slate you I expect in his Review of Reviews. What they do not like is your attributing so much influence to the Bulletin . . . Anyhow, the correspondent of the Times is quite a notoriety our here at present . . . I think the article will do a great deal of good, for though prophets' warnings are never popular, they call attention to dangers . . .
> (7 October 1903)[11]

One altogether unexpected result in Australia was from the *Bulletin* itself. As Jose wrote in *The Romantic Nineties*, *The Times* article was "by no means an enthusiastic description" of the *Bulletin*:

> Archibald, however, regarded the description as so accurate that he cheerfully reprinted the whole article under the title "A Word About the *Bulletin* from the London *Times*".[12]

Eventually it was reprinted in booklet form. Jose wondered if his appointment with *The Times* would have been made, had its editors known of this.

More unexpected than the *Bulletin*'s or Archibald's reaction was that of the *Spectator* which, in response to Jose's reference to the *Bulletin*'s "preaching of honest finance", was stunned:

> At that the *Spectator* - which, in those days, under the stern guidance of St Loe Strachey, was as pious and pontifical and self-assured as some American Presidents - broke down altogether. "Much must be forgiven," it declared, "to a journal so sincere and so high-minded" - and went on to give the *Bulletin* the most pontifical of its blessings.

Jose whimsically continued:

> To have set the *Spectator* weeping on the *Bulletin*'s shoulder - sometimes I feel that was the high-water mark of my career as a journalist.[13]

Jose had been offered a seat on the Council of the Tariff Reform League. It was with mixed feelings that he accepted the position as *The Times* Correspondent.

> There isn't a soul that likes it a bit - that's the trouble. It seems as if to all my own people (I don't mean merely relations, I mean those that belong with me), & to myself, I could be so much more use if I stayed. *But* - it's work I can do, it's work that all my training seems to lead up to, & I haven't the right to say no. Candidly, though, I did wish that Moberly Bell would think my terms too high & so break off negotiations. He didn't, and I'm very sick.
>
> They give me £1200 a year to cover everything, which means, I should say, about £800 clear. . . .
> (28 September 1903)[14]

Closer to his departure, in December, Jose was filled with dread and apprehension. Encouraging his sister to accompany him on the voyage out he wrote, "Candidly, it would make a lot of difference to me: I'm dreading the voyage more than I can tell - when one's

settled at work one doesn't brood over things, but till then...". A few days later he added, "I wish to Heaven I'd never written the article & got the offer."[15]

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8: "Imperial Tariff League"

1. Incomplete letter, n.d. in JP.
2. Randolph S. Churchill, *Winston S. Churchill*, Vol. II, Young Statesman 1901-1914, Heinemann, London, 1967, pp. 54-5.
3. ibid., pp. 55-6.
4. ibid., p. 57.
5. *RN.*, p. 79.
6. ibid., p. 80.
7. ibid.
8. ibid., pp. 86-7.
9. ibid., p. 87.
10. AWJ - May Jose in JP.
11. JP.
12. p. 91.
13. ibid.
14. Incomplete letter in JP.
15. AWJ - May Jose, 1 December 1903; 5 December 1903 in JP.

CHAPTER 9: Jose, Robertson and Australian Writers

This chapter is an attempt to reconstruct a general picture of Jose's role as sub-editor and reviser at Angus & Robertson's. While his direct influence on writers was limited by Robertson, Jose's indirect influence on Robertson is a matter worthy of consideration. I have attempted to shed light on his role by discussing briefly Robertson's determining influence, the pair's ambitions for Australian writers and the ways in which their views differed. In later chapters I will discuss in detail Jose's direct influence on writers and how his aims affected his textual revisions.

The role of the editor has been seen in negative terms in Australian literature. This has been partly because the fate of some of Lawson's work furnishes us with an example of editorial intrusion at its worst. But it derives partly too from the prevailing attitude in textual criticism before Gaskell, Thorpe, Pizer and McGann. McGann, summarising the new stance, pointed out that Greg, Bowers, Tanselle and others had equated the publisher's editor with the scribes of classical and biblical texts: he was seen as a contaminating influence upon the "pure" text.[1] Thorpe and McGann, however, have seen the role of publisher's editor differently. Thorpe spoke of "composite" authorship:

> The literary work is frequently the result, in a pure sense, of composite authorship. We do not have to meddle with the unconscious, the preconscious, or the race consciousness in order to hold this view. In a quite literal sense, the literary work is often guided or directed or controlled by other people while the author is in the process of trying to make it take shape, and it is subject to a variety of alterations throughout its history. The intentions of the person we call the author thus become entangled with the intentions of all the others who have a stake in the outcome, which is the work of art.

In conclusion, he observed:

> Various forces are always at work thwarting or modifying the author's intentions. The process of preparing the work for dissemination to a public (whether that process leads to publication in printed form or production in the theatre or preparation of scribal copies) puts the work in the hands of persons who are professionals in the execution of the process. Similarly, the effort to recover a work of the past puts it in the hands of professionals

> known as textual critics, or editors. In all of these cases, the process must be adapted to the work at hand, and the work to the process. Sometimes through misunderstanding and sometimes through an effort to improve the work, these professionals substitute their own intentions for those of the author, who is frequently ignorant of their craft. Sometimes the author objects and sometimes not, sometimes he is pleased, sometimes he acquiesces, and sometimes he does not notice what has happened.[2]

Thus the author does not compose in solitary fashion; the writer responds to the society in which he lives. His social context includes the suggestions, pressures and responses sometimes of an immediate circle of friends, sometimes of publishers, their editors and readers, reviewers and the public. Final authorial intentions (when apparent) are formed by many people. Of course it must be said, that in some cases it might be difficult for us to judge when an editor was being "interventionist" and when "collaborative". The fact that Angus & Robertson gave authors the right to make final decisions is important.

The development in textual criticism of the understanding of the composite nature of authorship has a particular relevance for Australian literature and for understanding Jose's role as publisher's editor. Many of the manuscripts submitted to Angus & Robertson could be described as "unfinished". Under these circumstances the role of the publisher's editor as collaborator is necessarily strong. But of particular importance too for Australian literature is the recognition by textual critics in the 1980s that there are limitations to the very concept of final authorial intentions. McGann pointed to those circumstances where "final" intentions never emerged. Here we are thinking not so much of authors like Wordsworth and Tennyson who revise repeatedly. McGann quotes the case of Scribner's editor, Max Perkins, who reconstructed Wolfe's novel, and of writers leaving unpublished works.[3] But in Australian literature one can see another category: final authorial intentions sometimes fail to emerge because the author is sometimes undecided about his work.

Before continuing it is interesting to observe that already in 1894 Richard Le Gallienne's attitude to publishers was surprisingly similar to contemporary textual critics in being socio-centric, and in viewing writers as subject to popular and social pressure. Le Gallienne saw the tendency of poets to see their work as sacred:

> Ideally, a poem, like any other beautiful thing, is beyond price; but, practically, its value depends on the number of individuals who can be prevailed upon to purchase it. In its ethereal—otherwise its unprinted—state, it is only subject to the laws of the celestial ether, one of which is that it yields no money; properly speaking, money is there an irrelevant condition. . . . The transactions of poetry and of sale are on two different planes. But so soon as, shall we say, you debase poetry by bringing it down to the lower plane, it becomes subject to the laws of that plane. An unprinted poem is a spiritual thing, but a printed poem is subject to the laws of matter. In the heaven of the poet's imagination there are no printers and paper-makers, no binders, no discounts to the trade and thirteen to the dozen; but on earth, where alone, so far as we know, books exist, these terrestrial beings and conditions are of paramount importance, and cannot be ignored.[4]

The discussion of the publisher's reader in literary criticism came to the fore in 1978 with the publication of George Jefferson's biography of Edward Garnett in which he discussed his influence and relationships with several major novelists - D.H. Lawrence, James Joyce and Joseph Conrad. In 1980, A. Scott Berg's biography of Max Perkins was published - Perkins had played a central role in the publication of F. Scott Fitzgerald, Hemingway and Wolfe.[5] In Australian literature a near equivalent figure to Perkins and Garnett might be Archibald, the discoverer of talent revealed by Sylvia Lawson.[6]

But apart from A.G. Stephens and Archibald, another source of influence in editing in Australia was the firm of Angus & Robertson's. So far no detailed study has been made of the editing of Robertson or his readers and revisers. He employed many at various stages. Amongst them were Jose, Hugh Maccallum, Bertram Stevens, Christopher Brennan, D. McKee Wright, Brereton and T.G. Tucker. As we mentioned in the Introduction, Jose was employed in this capacity for the longest period.

Jose revised the manuscripts of various Australian writers. Amongst them can be numbered in the Nineties, Brunton Stephens, John Farrell, Louis Becke, "Banjo" Paterson, Edward Dyson, Henry Lawson and Victor Daley, and, in the post-Federation period, Ogilvie, Zora Cross and "John O'Brien". In studying Jose's editing the choice of writers has necessarily been determined by both the availability of manuscript material and by the significance of writers. Dyson, Lawson, Cross and "John O'Brien" are the writers who have been selected for this thesis. While their critical fortunes may have changed they are

nonetheless of undisputed importance during the thirty odd years during which Jose's editorial contributions were being made. Thus, in examining the nature of Jose's work with the writers, it would seem prima facie that we are examining a source of influence on the Australian literature of the period. It is an influence which until now has remained in the shadows.

As intimated at the outset, Jose and Robertson's influence were intertwined. Robertson's primary concern was naturally to keep the firm solvent in a country with a small population by publishing those manuscripts which had more than a fair chance of becoming popular. He took many of his cues from the *Bulletin*. As is well known, in the Nineties "popular" works, by and large, were those with a nationalistic flavour, and nationalistic ballads in particular were best sellers. He encouraged or rejected authors sometimes led by readers' reports, sometimes overriding them, on the basis of his own instinct. Jose's influence as reader is not obvious but often present. His role as editor and reader could not be compared with Garnett's or Perkins' in scope. Apart from any other considerations, Robertson's energy, ambition and possessiveness precluded such a possibility. Jose was not a talent scout. His work was confined to reading and revising. Furthermore, just as he revised other sub-editors' work, Robertson employed him in the post-Federation period in conjunction with other revisers. But for all this, the stamp of his style can be observed in the revisions of authors' works as we will see in subsequent chapters.

Jose and Robertson influenced each other in different ways. In the Nineties Jose was the rising star of the firm; he influenced Robertson and authors on matters concerning style; he also influenced Robertson ideologically. An examination of proofs reveals that Jose's revisions in the 1890s were both skilful and subtle in their effects; his editing was non-interventionist in the sense that he made suggestions but writers always retained the right to veto those suggestions; the suggestions are small in number. Furthermore, *on the whole*, they reveal an appreciation of the author's intentions and an ability to enhance them. McGann's description of the editorial process fits the description of Jose's work we glean from proofs and correspondence:

> . . . authors and their literary agents (or employers) have collaborated to varying degrees in the transmission of literary works. Sometimes these relationships operate smoothly, sometimes the author will struggle against every sort of intervention, and between these two extremes falls every sort of variation. Nevertheless, as soon as a person begins writing for publication, he or she becomes an author, and this means—by (historical) definition—to have entered the world of all those who belong to the literary institution.[7]

As we will see in later chapters, his work of the post-Federation period seems less skilful than that of the Nineties. Some of his suggested alterations to the work of "John O'Brien" seem pedantic and those to the verse of Lawson in the 1920s seem dominated by ideological concerns. During this period (1917-1922) Jose's editorial work is carried out with less independence - Jose often has edited as he imagines Robertson would like. Ironically, this work is less successful and Robertson rejects it. Prompted by Robertson, he adopts a more radical, intrusive style.

Jose's outlook left an indelible impression on Robertson. There can be little doubt that he fired him with an enthusiasm for that Kiplingesque view of the Australian bush discussed in Chapter One, and which Jose so admired in Dyson and Paterson. It all but dominated Angus & Robertson's publishing policy until Robertson's death. The bush which they wanted to see depicted was a world which was rugged, where man could triumph, a place where the tough survivor evolved, and humour was born from the desperateness of life. Just as Jose sought such material for the *Australian Magazine*, so too Robertson's life was marked by a search for an Australian novel on these lines. For example, in the 1920s he wrote to Father Hartigan ("John O'Brien") about his manuscript of a novel, *Australian-born*, which he had been encouraging the priest to write over a period of years:

> . . . all my publishing life I have been looking out for an Australian novel in which humour and "tenderness" and "story" combine . . .
>
> Isn't it a wonderful thing that in the hundreds of tons of MSS. which have been showered on me during the last 30-odd years there has not been even a second-rate novel? ("We of the Never-Never", "My Brilliant Career", and so on, didn't come my way). The labourers have been many, their fields fertile, but the harvest a dud. Yet, think of Coolgardie as a scene in which "plant"

> a thrilling yarn - and the Great North-West, and anywhere and everywhere!
> (14 January 1922)[8]

In the 1890s, he approached Lawson, Dyson and George Essex Evans asking them to write a novel. Dyson replied, "As for the "good Australian novel", probably there would be money in it, but few Australian writers can afford the time necessary to make the venture'. Lawson wrote at greater length:

> . . . You musn't (sic) take notice of the drivel to the effect that I should write a long novel (anything, in fact save what I *have* written). That was originally one man's idea. If I had published a novel, they would have said that it was jerky and disconnected and I should try my hand at short stories & sketches. My line is writing short stories and sketches in prose and verse, I'm not a novelist. You will find a man to write you an Australian novel soon enough. If you were a builder, would you set the painters to do the carpentering.[9]

Evans, several years later, offered the manuscript of a friend. His letter seems designed to present the unknown writer's manuscript in a light that would appeal to the publisher:

> With regard to W.G. Brown whose novel I wrote to you about - I regard him as the coming man in prose story-writing. He writes for the *Bulletin* under the name of "Tarboy". . . . His stories of shearers and shearers' cooks are the best I've seen - all actual transcripts from life. He is a wool-classer & has been over twenty years in the west and is a very close observer with a genuine gift of characterisation - the rarest gift in writing. He is the man who will give us the real west - not the spurious west of the deadbeats, derelicts, murderers and adulterers & generally hopeless people - but the west of men & women fighting a splendid battle - a cheery-hearted, grim-humoured folk - the leaven that will make Australia.
>
> I do not claim that Brown's novel is an excellent book - as a novel it is not so good as some of his short stories - but it's good reading, it will take on out west, and it contains at least one character - Gilligan - that will live as a thoroughly Australian creation. . . . [Stephens] said he could get it published at once. I advised Brown to wait, to put it away for a time . . . Stephens wanted him to make the heroine an Englishwoman but Brown knows nothing of Englishwomen. He had a few scenes & chapters in England - they were hopeless. I advised him to make everything Australian & only write from first hand. And he has now adopted my idea.

Robertson's reader suggested that Brown's novel, *Helen Paley* be submitted to Ward Lock & Co. and wrote that to be successful in Australia a book must rely more on scenery and characterisation than plot.[10] Robertson's letters to other correspondents also give details

of his preferences. In 1920 one writer asked him if he had formulated a policy for Australian fiction. Robertson replied:

> . . . a well-constructed plot and conversation that is convincing - with a dash of humour, sentiment or pathos, or, better still all three.[11]

It is likely that Paterson's *An Outback Marriage* was an attempt at the sort of novel Robertson was seeking. A trade order form for *Saltbush Bill J.P.* summarises the pattern of Australian bush life which both Robertson and Jose liked to see:

> . . . His appeal is to the natural man as he knows him, the lover of a horse, of a fight, of a clever ruse, of a deed of dering-do, of a touch of pathos, of the wide, free country-life.[12]

In 1920 Robertson wrote to Paterson asking him for a long verse poem on station life. Robertson's directions leave us in no doubt that that Kiplingesque Nineties' vision was fossilised in his mind. He asks that the poem be descriptive of station life "keep drought out of it, or in the background, anyway". He asks that the world be peopled with jackeroos, station hands and neighbours of 'virtues (microscopical) failings (colossal) . . . Make us like them *for* their "shortcomings", not in spite of them.' Robertson goes on to suggest there be 'a Shearer's Wedding, or a Christening, or both together . . . "Time the present - after recent rains"'.[13] Equally the realism of the Nineties left a permanent mark in the nation's literary tradition.

Robertson's nationalism and patriotism as found in the works of non-fiction which appealed to him, is also likely to have been inspired in part by Jose. Here we think of those larger works such as the *Australian Encyclopaedia* and the *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918.*

There always existed confusion in writers' minds about the work of Jose and Robertson. We can attempt to clarify the picture a little by noting that there was a difference between Jose's reputation as a severe reader and his actual reading. It is true that there are instances of scathing reports, but equally there are flattering ones. That such a discrepancy should exist was partly the result of authors' general dislike or distrust of editors. We saw

in a previous chapter Lambert's reference to "Jesus" Stephens, and Daley's squib: "Narcissus and Some Tadpoles":

> I am a blender of the pure
> Australian brand of literature.
> No verse, however fine, can be
> The radiant thing called Poetry
> Unless it is approved by me . . .
> I make or mar.

Louis Becke's reactions to Stephens were similar. He wrote to Angus & Robertson's:

> . . . When is Barcroft Boake's book of verse coming out? Is the gifted Stephens editing it? If so, I feel sorry for the dead man, who will turn in his grave. Stephens would rewrite the Sermon on the Mount and preface it by saying that "Christ was unfortunate in having no education and not being editor of a country paper when He was twenty-three; but that, taking Him all round, he was *sui generis*; and better things might have come from him were it not for the arbitrary action of Pontius Pilate, who was a Roman Governor of Judaea", etc., etc.
>
> I cannot conceive how Archibald, a man whose keen literary insight is phenomenal, can have such a poor creature on his staff. He would not *earn his salt in London* unless as editor of a women's paper advocating the emasculation of priests or some such fad.[14]

Hume Nisbet in *The Swampers* referred to the *Bulletin* as the *Guillotine* and called Archibald "Puffadder". Archibald answered with threats of a libel suit to anyone selling the book.[15] The vagueness surrounding Jose's position was also partly the result of Robertson's deliberate policy of keeping the editors in the shadows. Perhaps he was applying to his staff the example of Archibald who kept himself out of the limelight arguing, "In this world it is only the unknown which is terrible. It is often the business of a newspaper editor to be terrible."[16] Since Robertson himself did revising as well, it may have been convenient for him to have invented a fictional editor who some writers came to believe was Jose. For we find them corresponding with Robertson, assuming that Jose was the reader or reviser, on occasions when he was not. We find this in Robertson's correspondence with Arthur Adams concerning his *Tinker Tailor*. A letter to George Essex Evans would seem to indicate the same assumption on the poet's part.[17]

Jose's role was shadowy, and has remained so and without proofs and correspondence it would have been impossible to reach any conclusions about his editing. Sometimes

authors imagined he was the reader of their manuscripts when he was not; on other occasions he was in fact the reader or editor, but his identity was not disclosed. For example, Robertson asked him to revise a manuscript of Paterson's which is thought to have been *Three Elephant Power* (1917):

> . . . It has the makings of a "seller" - but after giving it about an hour of my precious time I have come to the conclusion that it *needs attention*. So I send it along. It may be a £10 (cash) job, or it may be only a £5 one. The only sure thing about it is that it *is* a job. Hack it about just as if its author were dead, instead of merely being in Egypt. I'll never give you away. I'll say I did it.
>
> It is amazing that a prince of raconteurs like Banjo should be such a messer with the pen . . . The stuff abounds in "The fact is" - "Granted that" - "And so" - "And then" - "And now" - "After that" - with As, And, So, But, and Yets galore. Make it into sentences, and assemble them into handy pars. But whatever you do, please *don't* cut out Banjoisms such as "gasping like a crushed chicken" - "A man with a head as long as a horse's" - "wrote till their wrists gave out" - these are *the* selling points . . .
> (30 October 1916)[18]

Or again, there was Piddington's translation of Girolamo Rovetta's "Romanticismo" *(Young Italy)*: 'We enclose proof of Mr Piddington's Introduction to his translation of "Young Italy" . . . make any suggestions you like, but so far as Mr Piddington is concerned you do not appear and your alterations will be copied on to another proof before seeing him about them.'[19]

Sometimes Robertson asked Jose to revise the work of other sub-editors - Brennan's revisions of Bertram Stevens' Introduction to *The Poetry of Kendall*; Carter's editing of Paterson's *Three Elephant Power* are just two examples. But what is of greater importance here to note is that in the post-Federation period Jose was often revising in accordance with Robertson's directions: Robertson exhorted him to be "radical" and he responded. Robertson admired severity or "thoroughness" as he sometimes called it. He once wrote to C.J. Dennis who complained that he had been too drastic:

> Believe me, the only brand of criticism worth a damn to publisher or author *is* the hyper sort . . . and the only "reader" worth his salt I've had was super-hyper critical. If he were available I wouldn't be swatting MSS. and proof-sheets.
> (28 June 1918)[20]

Such a comment provides us with a key to his editing policy in the post-Federation period. He wrote to Jose concerning Stevens' work, "Have a go at Bertram Stevens' Life (or whatever he calls or thinks it) of Kendall . . . Brennan kindly undertook the job . . . but Chris isn't thorough". Writing of Paterson's *Three Elephant Power*, he commented, "Mr Carter ran through this for us; but, although his judgment seems sound, he is untrained and timid." On occasions Robertson would prune back so heavily that there was not sufficient work left to make up a volume. One wonders if he was not over-reacting to the instinct in himself which he described as the "publishers' natural wish to make a fat 5/- volume"[21]

On other occasions it must have been difficult working for Robertson who, after exhorting Jose to excise heavily, would later not adopt his suggestions. After complaining to Jose about Stevens' Introduction, Jose undertook the revisions remembering Robertson's injunction that Brennan's work was not thorough enough. As he went about the job, he wrote to the publisher, "I have done my best with it, but it is wooden and not the right sort of Introduction. It is the same with the Hilder . . . it is mere tittle-tattling biography, *Lone Hand* stuff, where there ought to be some sort of reasoned discussion of Hilder's art and his position among Australian artists." Earlier in the year Robertson had expressed the opinion to Jose, "Stevens' work was not well done, and in future he must submit all proofs to us to be passed. The editor of the *Lone Hand* has been accustomed to edit with his hand - I hope he'll do it with his head in future." After Jose sent in the revisions, Robertson replied "You have been too drastic, I think. I must [?mediate]."[22] In much the same way Robertson wrote to him asking him to revise Zora Cross's second book of sonnets, *The Lilt of Life*, "I am sending you proofs of Zora Cross' new book. It is too long - something must be left out of it." The next extant letter of Jose's reads, "I am sorry . . . my feelings about the Cross stuff were so useless to you." More puzzling still, was Robertson's reply in which he affects a position of powerlessness, "The Cross book has gone to press. Some of your suggestions have been accepted, but not so many as one could have wished".[23]

Writers' reactions to Jose varied. We notice that in the Nineties there were those who expressed positive opinions about his editing. Edward Dyson, whose *Rhymes from the Mines* (1896) Jose edited, wrote to Robertson:

> Have included Mr Jose's corrections in my proofs . . . Regret that I did not know as much in the first place as I know now . . . Mr Jose must have found it weary work, meddling with these things. I am obliged to him for a considerable improvement in the work.

Later on, it would seem, Dyson was to express reservations about the prospect of Jose's editing of his work for *Brooks's Australian Christmas Annual*. Daley, who had contacted him, wrote, "Never mind about Jose and his corrections. He and Irvine will be glad enough to get your copy. Dysons don't grow on every blackberry bush." At approximately this time, Daley was preparing *At Dawn and Dusk* (1898) for publication. He wrote "I send you scrap-book with corrections & alterations made almost, if not quite, exactly as suggested by your Mr Jose - in whose critical opinion I believe (almost) implicitly."[24]

On the other hand, both J. Brunton Stephens and Walter Murdoch told Jose they disliked his metrical style. The former wrote, "On the whole I think your metrical standard a little *too* mechanical". Jose had asked Murdoch for some of his verse but criticised its irregular metre. Murdoch replied: "I scorn your prosodic puritanism. Why shouldn't a man become trochaic in the midst of an iambic poem if it suits his genius so to do? I'll quote you plenty of precedents, if it's precedents you want. Vide Saintsbury *passim*." Despite his countercriticism, he revised the verse as Jose suggested, writing that he thought the alterations an improvement; he headed the verse, "Stanzas altered to fit Procrustean Bed of Prosodic Enthusiast".[25]

As we will see, Paterson expressed fears about Jose's editing of his novel, *An Outback Marriage* (1906). His anxieties, however, were allayed by the poet, Farrell, whom he consulted for a second opinion. In fact, all three were in agreement: Paterson thought it too long, Jose thought it needed condensing, and Paterson reported Farrell considered that the manuscript only needed condensing and the plot needed to be made more probable. Farrell approved of nearly all Jose's revisions and suggestions and then Paterson re-wrote the manuscript "a lot of it partly on the lines suggested by Jose."[26] Most of Jose's

suggestions concerned Paterson's handling of the plot and the need to control the pace of the novel more carefully. In the plot's early stages he felt there were too many interruptions and a lack of momentum from chapters nine to twenty-two. Comments like that concerning the proposal scene indicate Jose's preference for a tightly controlled pace: "Too much spun out"; on the search for Considine, "Talk - talk - talk - let's go & find him!" He wrote of chapter twenty-three in the unrevised version, "Good stuff the buffalo hunt: but in view of the need to hurry things it should be condensed". Jose was alert to the need for suspense and the value of mystery. In his concluding comments he noted "Close Ch. XV with old Gordon's will leaving all to his wife. In Ch. XVI *don't* explain in so many words that Peggy is after the Gordon estate - let her cut Considine &c without any explanation. The reader will guess it & be much more pleased at having done so than at being told." Of greater interest perhaps are his comments manifesting the realist's preoccupation with life-like detail or accurate observation. He wrote of Chapter X "This is piling on the local colour too much. You can't put all Australia into one pint pot". He reiterated the view in his conclusion:

> Too much is attempted. A 'local-colour' novel should confine itself to one locality for colour, but this tries to sample all the brands of NQ. & the Monaro district. There must be some selection made. I strongly advise two rearrangements.[27]

Hardly a month earlier, Paterson had written to Robertson:

> Please give bearer my M.S. I think I will let Farrell have a look at it before I start on altering it. I was working at a new scheme last night. I am afraid to put any reliance in Jose's opinion as he is a hopelessly bad judge where humour is concerned, - at least that is my opinion. A lot of the stuff that he wants out is exactly the stuff that will appeal to the same public who bought Snowy River. Anyhow, it will be more satisfactory to get another readers opinion as I am very frightened that a lot of weak points have been overlooked by Jose.
> (8 August 1899)[28]

What Paterson thought the weak points were, we cannot know. The humour which he referred to may have been that talent for a colourful phrase, which Robertson requested Jose to leave untouched in *Three Elephant Power* (see above p. 164) nearly twenty years later. Alternatively he may have been referring to the farce or burlesque; Jose wrote of

chapter ten, "Also the dinner may be true, but as part of a novel it's rather disgusting."[29] Paterson seems to have had mixed feelings about the exaggerated boisterousness in the novel:

> . . . I will look in about Monday if you can then spare time to go into the question of what wants writing up most, & the more important question of what wants writing down. I fear the love-making is very flat, & there is too much fight & drink all through it. Still I have to please a large section of the public & if we do that the critics wont break our hearts.
> (3 August 1899)[30]

It is in Jose's and Robertson's response to Paterson that we become aware of a divergence of opinion. In the above letter of Paterson's there is an assumption that the views of critics and "the public" are mutually exclusive. Yet Jose's criticisms of *An Outback Marriage* were particularly attuned to the average reader's sensitivity at least in regard to plot. As we will see in later chapters his attitude to language was more complex. In the following letter discussing the poet's *Rio Grande's Last Race* (1902) we note that Robertson, while sensitive to critics, nonetheless shared Paterson's assumption. We also see the edges of a dispute which has important literary ramifications of which Robertson was barely, if at all, aware:

> ABP seems unhappy about *Rio Grande* & asked me whether I could suggest someone to run through the proofs with an eye to rejection of unworthy pieces. I have given the matter some thought on the train & can think of no one more fit than Maccallum. . . . I take it that ABP wishes independent judgement brought to bear on the job - that of someone capable of steering between his own forebodings & his publishers' natural wish to make a fat 5/- volume. He ought to be perfectly satisfied if nothing below the standard of Snowy River goes in - I don't mean below the highest standard in Snowy, but generally speaking. Maccallum knows the Snowy book well, he knows what the reviews praised and blamed, & he has a good idea of what the general public approved in it. Ask him to take the proofs and size up the various pieces with reference to the Snowy standard . . . M. has considerable knowledge of technique (an opinion isn't considered worth a damn unless this word is dragged in) and if he will only remember that Paterson isn't, never will be & isn't wanted (by either the Public to whom he appeals or his Publishers) to be a Keats or a Milton he'll do it all right. The only question he has to answer about each "pome" is - Is it as good as the poorest piece of the same sort in Snowy River . . .
>
> Curiously enough both Jose and Maccallum thought very little of Snowy when it was passing through the press. Jose preferred Dyson! But they were wrong because ABP has gained

> not only cash but fame by the bard. You have to think of the people you are appealing to - & it isn't the Keats crowd. (n.d.) [31]

In Robertson's reference to the "Keats crowd", we see his perception of a polarised literary taste in the population which we discussed earlier (p. 55), and, it is the popular not the educated or esoteric group to whom he sees Paterson as appealing. But of far greater importance here is Robertson's rather grudging reference to technique. His concept of it rather than simply denoting poetic style or the way in which the basic elements of poetry are combined and employed, seems rather to suggest high artifice. For in his playing down of technique we are provided with evidence for a hypothesis that Robertson was pushing the popular or "low-stream" writers even further to one extreme. We will consider the other evidence supporting such a view later. Robertson seems to imply that technique is not really of importance for the popular Australian audience. Jose, on the other hand, placed a premium on technique as can be seen not only in his frequent mention of it in Reports but also in his revisions. To Jose technique was part of the essence of any appeal, popular or otherwise; it cut across all boundaries and would enhance both popular and esoteric literature alike. Furthermore, if the writers had aspirations to be published and accepted in Britain—and Jose shared these desires—technique and polish were indispensable.

On the other hand, we should note that Robertson probably did want his publications to be polished. Certainly he implicitly concurred with one of Jose's most frequent criticisms of manuscripts - that they were carelessly written - in that he passed these alterations. In his effusive obituary for Robertson, Jose wrote:

> Imagine for a moment the early A. and R. books without him, the slapdash Banjo, the crude, irregular and disciplined (sic) Lawson; most of the serious books never written, simply because no other publisher would have risked the loss on them; the issue of mediocre volumes because authors were willing to pay for them, or because the half-educated public taste would swallow sloppy work. Imagine, too, the lack of standards, the lack of that warning and teaching and encouraging voice to which every one of his authors reacted - or ceased to be authors of his.[32]

The description tells us as much about Jose's own opinions as Robertson's.

Lawson, Dyson and Daley were but a few of those writers who hoped that their work would be acclaimed in England. The desire for English recognition was one of the reasons that many writers flocked there, particularly at the turn of the century - Lawson, Paterson, Becke, Ogilvie and Arthur Adams were among them. Some of those who could not go gave their work to friends or agents to be placed with British publishers - Miles Franklin, for example, sent *My Brilliant Career* with Henry Lawson. As we saw, others gave manuscripts to Jose who, with A.G. Stephens, started the Australasian Literary Agency for this purpose.

In 1895 Dyson had written to Louis Becke asking him what was the best method to adopt to ensure publication in England. Becke replied to him:

> As to your questions - All I can tell you is that all you need is to send them to London to whatever publisher you like but Fisher Unwin seems to like short stories altho' he says he doesn't. He seems a very straight dealing man and will not keep you long waiting for an answer, and he has a very high reputation - better I think and am told, than that of any other London publisher.
>
> If you know anyone in London who could act for you it would be better still as he could, in the event of one publisher not caring to take them up offer them to another . . .
>
> Failing a private agent you could send your ms to
>
> Mr William Colles
> Authors' Syndicate
> London
>
> . . . They do a great deal as agents for authors nowadays and would act for you entirely.
> (5 September 1895)[33]

Lawson made clear his ambition to succeed in England in a number of letters to Robertson from 9 September 1896 to 4 April 1898. In his much-quoted article in the *Bulletin*, "'Pursuing Literature' in Australia" he emphasised not so much the desirability as the sheer necessity of going to London:

> Meanwhile, our best Australian artists and writers are being driven to England and America - where the leaders are making their mark, and a decent living; and the rest would follow in a lump if *they* got the show . . .
>
> My advice to any young Australian writer whose talents have been recognised, would be to go steerage, stow away, swim, and seek London, Yankeeland, or Timbuctoo - rather than stay in Australia till his genius turned to gall, or beer.
> (21 January 1899)

Despite the fact that his books published in England were not a financial success, four years later in "The Sweet Uses of London", Lawson still advised Australian writers to try their luck in England.[34] It was more than mere financial success. There was a prestige associated with English recognition.[35] Robertson, much later in a letter to Bertha Lawson, was to express the view that English reviews helped sales in Australia. It is also interesting to note how embittered he had become not only at English indifference to Australian literature but also at the difficulties in marketing it in Australia:

> With regard to the Australian Literature Society. I have declined to send a set of our publications to London for exhibition at Australia House. For twenty-five years I tried hard to interest the Britishers in our books, but they do not care a "continental" for us or our "works." The first exhibition was some sort of a Dominions Exhibition in the early part of this century, and we were duly awarded a gold medal. With the notice awarding it came an account for its cost, so we need hardly say that the medal never came to hand - neither did the set of our publications. The next one was Wembley, the result of which did not affect the British sales in the slightest.
>
> One of our directors, Mr Ritchie, was home a couple of years ago and, at my request, brought out the names of the actual buyers for the great houses like W.H. Smith & Son, Mudie, and so on, and I sent them as samples, without charge, four each of our recent publications. I forget what they were, but I remember that Elliott Napier's "On the Barrier Reef" and Nettie Palmer's collection of short stories were among them. The letters arrived before the parcels (which went through the Australian Book Co.), and three of the people to whom they were addressed wrote to say that they took no interest in Australian books and did not want to see the samples; three others returned the parcels, unopened; and three declined to take them in. . . . For a year or two we sent all the British review copies of our books through the leading bookseller in the town in which the paper was situated, but it had no effect on sales. You may wonder why we trouble to send books to Britain for review, but the fact is that the English notices are useful to us here, not as causing sales in the Old Country. So far as the Encyclopaedia is concerned, up to date we have sold more in Denmark and Sweden than in Great Britain.
>
> If Dr James Booth and his Australian Literature Society would try to encourage the sale of Australian literature in Australia they would do their authors a much greater service. On the 16th December not one of our books was procurable in any of the bookshops in Melbourne - and this although they yield a much better profit than the British books do. The Victorian state-owned railway bookstalls have never had a volume of ours on their shelves.
>
> Yours faithfully,
>
> [GEORGE ROBERTSON]
>
> (4 February 1931)[36]

But there were two literary problems inherent in the situation for Australian writers who were hoping to succeed in England. There was what we might call the problem of the audience. The ignorance in Australian literary circles of the English reader was typified in the Nineties by the Antipodean surprise at English indifference to Daley's *At Dawn and Dusk*. In *The Romantic Nineties*, Jose wrote:

> It is hard to express to this generation our feelings about Daley the poet. We watched for his acceptance by the London critics with complete assurance, and their neglect of him staggered us; it broke for ever the old, bad tradition that London's approval was worth something. When the best that they could accord him was the *Outlook's* "Manly and sincere, whatever their technical shortcomings," even A.G. Stephens protested: "But these are surely only the preliminaries of praise." (p. 13)

Archibald was convinced that Daley's poetry would sell well in England but thought it would not be successful in Australia. Archibald wrote to Angus & Robertson:

> . . . I've been hastily over Lawson's work. It will not sell at first so readily as "Banjo", but it *will* sell & that permanently. . . .
>
> How about Daley? He would not sell so well as either of the others, but it would pay to publish him & his work would get in England much more respectful notices than that of any other man now writing in Australia.
> (12 January 1896)[37]

Daley himself wrote to Robertson, offering him the poems that were to form the volume, *At Dawn and Dusk*:

> If you have any practical connection with the London publishing trade you will find that, so far as my vol. is concerned, you can sell more in England than could be sold here - for the simple reason that most of my verse is not distinctively Australian at all. There is a sad lack of dingoes wombats, gidya-gidya, spinifex, wattle, mulga &c, in it, which I deplore but see no means of remedying.
> (17 August 1895)[38]

As it turned out, Daley's book sold steadily enough in Australia but not at all well in England.[39]

The English lack of interest in Australian Literature was summed up by Daley in "When London Calls" (1900):

> They leave us - artists, singers, all -
> When London calls aloud,
> Commanding to her Festival
> The gifted crowd.
> She sits beside the ship-choked Thames,

Sad, weary, cruel, grand;
Her crown imperial gleams with gems
From many a land. . . .

Sad, sad is she, and yearns for mirth;
With voice of golden guile
She lures men from the ends of earth
To make her smile.

The student of wild human ways
In wild new lands; the sage
With new great thoughts; the bards whose lays
Bring youth to age;

The painter young, whose pictures shine
With colours magical;
The singer with the voice divine -
She lures them all. . . .

The English literary world is personified as a "Crowned Ogress" slaying the souls of aspiring colonial writers, then Daley continues:

The story-teller from the Isles,
Upon the Empire's rim,
With smiles she welcomes - and her smiles
Are death to him. . . .

And when the Poet's lays grow bland,
And urbanised, and prim -
She stretches forth a jewelled hand
And strangles him.

She sits beside the ship-choked Thames
With Sphinx-like lips apart -
Mistress of many diadems -
Death in her heart![48]

Here, in the second-last stanza, Daley focuses on the second problem for Australian authors - that of writing for two completely different audiences, and the effect such considerations had on style. Australian authors in their attempts to accommodate English taste, were robbing their style of its essential individuality. The Australian style was sometimes found wanting. Australian writers' hopes for literary success in England usually were not realised. The most they could hope for after publication would be favourable reviews. With the benefit of hindsight, we can say that there was an unbridgeable gap in the literary tastes of the two countries. Australians were striving to accomplish an

impossible task for while the English could write and be accepted by Australians, Australians were not comprehensible to the English.

In looking for reasons for their lack of success in England authors (apart from Daley) identified other causes. Henry Lawson in the "The Sweet Uses of London" recommended that writers find a good agent and entrust everything to him. An anonymous writer holding a different view published on the Red Page at the same time, felt such attempts were futile. He observed that while there had been an interest in Australian literature in the Nineties, it was only a transient one:

> the average Englishman . . . stood ready to pity and patronise: pity and patronage being moral agents of self-esteem. Besides, Imperialism was in the air; and there was a general feeling that these wild Australian geniuses really ought to be encouraged, don't-you-know.[41]

Perhaps, in a similar way, Dyson in his letter to Becke was implying it was merely the novelty of Australian literature as "exotica" which appealed to the English:

> Thank you for your letter . . . and the advice contained in it which I will act upon I am sorry I did not send my work away to F. Unwin some months ago when first the idea of hunting a publisher occurred to me. Bedford did that and they soon had agreed to bring out his book on very reasonable terms. The fact of Fisher Unwin having three or four books of short stories of an Australian character will I suppose militate against my chances. . . .[42]

According to Lawson much depended on the literary agent a writer employed. He told A & R's he thought their agents in London were at fault in their inefficient marketing of Australian literature. He wrote to Robertson from London:

> . . . Your agent - Pentland - is in my opinion, very unsatisfactory. The books had splendid reviews lately, but I heard numerous enquiries as to where my books could be obtained. I believe the Duke of York tried in vain to obtain one before leaving for Australia. The trouble is that Pentland only gave address as "The Australian Book Coy, Smithfield". I suggested enclosing a slip in books sent for review asking reviewers to give the full address, which has been done. Gordon & Gotch and several others told me that they had orders but could not get my books
> (15 May 1901).

But even with as astute an editor as Edward Garnett and as good an agent as James Pinker, Lawson's work was not to sell particularly well in England.[43] Pinker wrote to

Blackwood (presumably referring to the manuscript of *Children of the Bush* and sales of *The Country I Come from* and *Joe Wilson and His Mates*:

> . . . I have your letter of the 15th with Mr Lawson's manuscript and am sorry you are not to publish it. I confess I am surprised at the smallness of the sales in this country . . . but I think the sales in Australia will cover the advance as I think this book is at least as good as its predecessor.
> (17 March 1902)[44]

Whether authors fully understood the impact the stylistic problem of writing for two audiences was having on their work cannot be known. Nonetheless they were happy to conform to what they judged acceptable to England. Daley, for example, would have traded on the "colonial-exotic" element in his poetry (despite what he might have said to the contrary); one of the titles he suggested for his book was *The Rajah's Sapphire*.[45] Their willingness to accommodate English taste is also clear from two letters which Lawson wrote shortly before leaving for London. The first is to Miles Franklin concerning *My Brilliant Career*:

> *Bulletin* Office,
> 16th April 1900
>
> . . . If I take story "home" send me, c/o *Bulletin*, a formal permission to "place" the work as I think fit. Also some latitude in editing in case English publishers want some paragraphs "toned down". You can trust me for the rest.
> If I take it I must have your authority to get it published in best form I can - that is, a margin for compromising with publishers' prejudices. All the same, I'd fight to have every line published as written . . .[46]

The second letter is to Angus & Robertson's concerning emendations which he considered should be made for *Verses, Popular and Humorous*:

> Herewith proofs with missing verse &c.
> *Note*
> 1. As you know I recast dialect rhyms (sic) into grammatical English where-ever possible. If I have overlooked one which might be re-cast so to advantage, kindly have it done.[47]

Despite compromises in style, Australian literature did not sell particularly well.

While Australian writers were adjusting their style to an English audience, Jose was adjusting his to the Australian audience. This was detected by one of the English reviewers of *The Growth of the Empire*:

> . . . he writes vigorously, in language sometimes too colloquial, but always comprehensible by a people not inclined to be studious.[48]

One could extrapolate further here and observe Jose's attempt to extend his audience beyond the educated classes. In this it is tempting to see his wish to appeal to a middle audience. Such a wish would also be consonant with his preference for a clear style as seen in his revising, or, as expressed, for example, in his comments about Brennan's work in general and Lawson's after the turn of the century: "It is Brennanish one guesses what he is driving at but he quite fails to say it". But if Jose disliked obscurity he equally disliked writers who affected a "low style". He saw both of these extremes as failings. This will become apparent in the discussion of his revisions of Lawson, Dyson and Zora Cross.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9: Jose, Robertson and Australian Writers

1. Philip Gaskell, *From Writer to Reader, Studies in Editorial Method*, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1978; James Thorpe, *Principles of Textual Criticism*, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, 1972; Jerome McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1983. See too Peter Shillingsburg, "An Inquiry into the Social Status of Texts and Modes of Textual Criticism", in ed. Fredson Bowers, *Studies in Bibliography*, Vol. 42, 1989, pp. 55-79; McGann, pp. 34-5.

2. Thorpe, pp. 30 and 48.

3. McGann, pp. 74, 78-9.

4. Richard le Gallienne, "Poets and Publishers" in *Prose Fancies*, Elkin Mathews & John Lane, London, 1894, pp. 82-3.

5. Jefferson; A. Scott Berg, *Max Perkins: Editor of Genius*, Dutton, New York, 1978, London, 1979.

6. Sylvia Lawson, *The Archibald Paradox*, Allan Lane, Melbourne, 1983.

7. McGann, p. 53.

8. 314/189, Fr P.J. Hartigan file.

9. 314/ 28, Dyson file, 12 August [1897]; 314/45, Lawson file, Lawson - GR [1897], Letter beginning "There are several things . . ."

10. 314/ 29, George Essex Evans file, 4 December 1905, 26 January, 2 April, 26 June 1906.

11. 314/27, Jack W. Dent file, 3 January, 6 January 1920.

12. 314/66, Paterson file, p. 411.

13. ibid., 6 January 1920.

14. AWJ, *RN*, pp. 10-11; Barker, p. 16.

15. For the legal letters from Archibald's solicitors, Lawrence and McLachlan, to Angus & Robertson (who were selling *The Swampers*, and therefore threatened with legal action) see Archibald file, 314/6, 15 April 1897. The libellous matter is found in the Preface and on pp. 100-101. In the former the author wrote of Archibald and the *Bulletin*:

> As for that worm "Puffadder," with his blasphemous, brutal, and poisonous organ, I do not think any self-respecting colonial will care how much a reptile like this is criticised or censured. He may spit out his

> venom, but he would do that under any circumstances, particularly when his victim's back is turned upon him. His unsexed contributors may also snarl and yelp, while his senile admirers, who have debauched the little brains which originally they may have possessed, with his absinthe doses, doubtless will gnash their gums and cry for gore, but as "Walker, London," remarks: "*That is nothink.*"

In the body of the text the caricature was more extensive. It is worth quoting in full:

> Puffadder, the editor of the *Guillotine*, was always rubbing it in venomously somewhere or other, for this was how he showed his sense of humour and wit.
>
> "Give them cayenne-pepper all round," was his war-cry, and his contributors obeyed the order with zest, and spared no one whom they thought their poisoned blow-pipe needles could prick on the raw; this being the sort of new-humour that the readers of the *Guillotine* best understood; subtlety or playful satire would have been lost upon them.
>
> Singular to say, however, this same Puffadder, although such a callous and malign beast with respect to other people's feelings, was one of the most super-sensitive and easily wounded of reptiles where his own feelings were concerned. At one time a respectable paper had so far forgotten its dignity as to criticise his shameless, vicious, and asinine tramplings, which just, if too lenient, remarks so wounded his vanity that he immediately fixed upon a well-known contributor, who chanced to have been in the colony at the time, as the author of the criticism.
>
> To suspect the man was enough for Puffadder, and to make him lose all the little mental balance he possessed. He writhed and brayed out his rage and distress, making a laughing-stock of himself. He drank himself into delirium, and besides airing his grievance to all his acquaintances, he took to writing the most scurrilous and senseless letters to this suspected critic at the rate of three or four per day, which he first read to his friends and then posted on to the unconscious journalist, and although years and passed, that wound to his vanity still remained open and as raw as when first inflicted, while the mere mention of the critic's name would send this editorial humourist into a fit. This was the kind of philosophic censor who controlled and directed the popular and mirthful *Guillotine*. A worm, that the heel of an infant could torture and crush, was permitted to fling his venom broadcast and make good and strong men tremble, all because to outsiders he appeared to be triple-armoured.

16. Quoted in S.E. Lee, "The *Bulletin* - J.F. Archibald & A.G. Stephens" in Dutton, p. 278.

17. 314/ 2, A.H. Adams file, 6 June 1916; 314/29, G. Essex Evans file 2 April 1906.

18. 314/ 41, AWJ file.

19. ibid., Robertson - AWJ, 21 August 1916; Similarly there is correspondence concerning the manuscript of Braddon, "Please overhaul in a great hurry the enclosed manuscript of Braddon . . . Consider this private. I don't mean to tell Braddon who revised it." (Robertson - AWJ, 20 November 1919).

20. 314/25, C.J. Dennis file.

21. 314/41, AWJ file, 5 December 1918; 6 March 1917; 314/66, Paterson file, n.d., Robertson - Thomson.

22. 314/41, AWJ file, 18 December, 5 August and 21 December 1918.

23. ibid., 28 September, 17 October, 30 October 1918.

24. 314/28, Dyson file, 9 October (no year given); 314/22, Daley file, [?12] June 1897.

25. Vol. 314, J. Brunton Stephens file, JBS - AWJ, 10 September 1899; Walter Murdoch - AWJ, 18 October 1912 in JP.

26. For Jose's opinion and notes for the revision of the book see Paterson material in 314/41; for Paterson's comments, 314/66 n.d., 29 July and 4 September 1899.

27. Paterson material in 314/41.

28. 314/66, Paterson file.

29. Paterson material in 314/41.

30. 314/66, Paterson file.

31. ibid., GR - Thomson. We might note here that it is probably *An Outback Marriage*, rather than *Rio Grande's Last Race* which is referred to in the anecdote of Paterson which Jose relates in *RN*, p. 15, 'My memories of him are connected mainly with proofsheets and occasional suggestions; but I have a letter he wrote once to George Robertson enclosing a manuscript and exulting in the fact that "Thank God, Jose is in England, and you can't loose him on me!"'.

32. See Newspaper cutting book of AWJ's articles for the *Brisbane Courier*, p. 56 in JP.

33. Edward Dyson Papers in the LaTrobe Library, ms no 10617, Box 3, Correspondence.

34. *Bulletin*, 22 October 1903.

35. Lawson himself noted the bias in favour of London publishers that had existed in Australia (314/45, HL - A & R, 7 April, 1900).

36. Lawson Safe Items, 3/3, 4 February 1931.

37. 314/6, Archibald file.

38. 314/22, Daley file, 17 August 1895.

39. For information on the Australian sales of *At Dawn and Dusk*, see the Publishing Ledgers. See too Publishing Letterbook 3, p. 19 in S14, letter from A & R to Edward Dyson, 12 August 1898, in which it is mentioned that Daley's book is selling steadily. See also Barker, *Dear Robertson*, p. 24 in which a letter from James Bowden, one of A & R's London agents is cited. He wrote, "As I anticipated, there has practically been no sale whatever for Mr Daley's volume of poems *At Dawn and Dusk*. When shown round to the trade, not a single copy was subscribed and up to the present time only eight copies have been disposed of altogether."

40. Harry Heseltine (ed.), *The Penguin Book of Australian Verse*, Ringwood, 1974, pp. 76-7.

41. *Bulletin*, 22 October 1903, the Red Page.

42. Dyson's reply is written in rough on the reverse of Becke's letter to him, 5 September 1895 in the Edward Dyson Papers, LaTrobe Library, ms no 10617, Box 3, Correspondence.

43. 314/45. For further information about Pinker and Garnett's work for Lawson see John Barnes, "Henry Lawson in England", *Quadrant*, August 1983, pp. 60-9, and also "Edward Garnett and Australian Literature", *Quadrant*, June 1984, pp. 38-43.

44. Correspondence between Pinker and Blackwood is in the manuscript collection entitled "Henry Lawson in England" in the Chaplin Collection of the Fisher Library.

45. 314/22, Victor Daley file, 11 February 1896.

46. Letter No. 99 in Colin Roderick (ed.), *Henry Lawson Letters 1890-1922*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1970, p. 125.

47. 314/45, Lawson file, n.d. [1900].

48. *Literature*, 1 October 1898, p. 229.

CHAPTER 10: Edward Dyson
(*Rhymes from the Mines and Other Lines*)

[*Note on the Sources*

For Jose's editing of Edward Dyson's *Rhymes from the Mines* there are two principal manuscript sources. There is a collection of annotated newscuttings made by George Robertson of Dyson's poems as they appeared in the *Bulletin*. These were used as preliminary proofs. They bear annotations which are corrections by both Jose and Dyson.[1] It should be stressed that these are only the initial corrections. Unfortunately subsequent proofs, revises and galleys are not extant. This means that not all the alterations which were made for the Angus & Robertson edition are present or attributable. The second source is Dyson's correspondence with Jose.[2] Although Jose's replies are not extant there are four pages described by Robertson as "Jose's Notes for Dyson" (referred to as *Notes*). These contain Jose's expanded criticisms of Dyson's first revisions.[3]]

Edward Dyson (1865-1931) was born among the goldfields of Ballarat where he spent most of his childhood. As a young adult he went to Melbourne where he worked in factories and began his career as an author and freelance journalist. It has been said that his best work is to be found in his short stories rather than in his longer prose works or verse. In his rough but vigorous ballads and short stories, *Fact'ry 'Ands* and *Below and on Top*, we find described the character types and incidents of mining and factory life. In his depiction of the latter he has been described as an urban equivalent of Steele Rudd. Norman Lindsay considered that he worked under the influence of English 'slum literature'. Dyson was describing his world when Lawson, Brady and Becke were portraying life outback, on the sea and in the Pacific Islands. Gradually the unknown was being mapped out. Dyson was an extremely prolific writer and, as a freelance journalist, rode the crest of that wave of intense literary ferment, which Hobsbawm suggested may have occurred throughout the world in the 1890s because of the dramatic proliferation of newspapers.[4]

Vance Palmer saw Dyson as one of the 1890s idealists:

> They thought of Australia as a virgin continent, to be preserved above all things from the evils of the old world, and the old world for them was not primarily Europe but the teeming and sinister expanse of Asia.

Palmer continued that it was against such a background of beliefs that the satiric barbs aimed at the Chinese (for example, in "The Golden Shanty" or the *Rhymes*) should be seen.[5]

As H.M. Green observed Dyson's note was frequently that of low comedy.[6] We should add to this that in *Rhymes* we have a writer of extremes. His characters tend rather to be stereotypes, for example, the dogged miner or the enthusiast-preacher. The ballads taken together might be seen as a detailed mural of stick figures on the gold fields: the crazed 'German Joe', the hatter, the aged miner, Ben, setting off each morning on his imaginary journey to a non-existent gold find; the prospectors; we see the miners in their moments of tragedy - the caved-in mine, the blown-up boiler, drought and fire; or we see them in lighter moments wooing and playing football. Every aspect of mining life is described.

Palmer commented that when it came to his creative work, Dyson's boyhood was his only real world. It was the mining world which gave him *Rhymes from the Mines* (1896), *Below and on Top* (1898), and *Goldstealers* (1901). H.M. Green considered that it was in *Below and on Top* that we were shown Dyson's good qualities without his defects: in his realistic character sketches we had people who stayed in the mind like Lawson's best characters.[7]

While initially it may cause some surprise, on recollection it is not difficult to discern why Dyson's *Rhymes from the Mines* appealed to Jose, why, in fact, Jose thought Dyson would be more successful than Paterson. The robust humour of Dyson's characters and the sinewy toughness of the world they inhabit may have made the book seem potentially more appealing than the idyllic splendour of Paterson's world. More than this, the "Westward Ho" spirit of "The Prospectors", a paean to the men of the Empire, is likely to have kindled Jose's enthusiasm for Dyson:

> We go pushing on when the mirage glints o'er the
> rim of the voiceless plain,
> And we leave our bones to be finger posts for the
> seekers who come again.
> At the jealous heart of the secret bush, we have
> battered with clamour loud
> And have made a way for the squatter bold, or a
> path for the busy crowd.

We have gone before through the shadowy door of the
Never, the Great Unknown,
And have journeyed back with a golden pack, or as
dust in the wild winds blown. . . .

Is it greed alone that impels our ranks? Is it only
the lust of gold
Drives them past where the sentinel ranges stand
where the plains to the sky unfold;
Is there nothing more in this dull unrest that re-
mains in the hearts of man,
'Till the swag is rolled, or the pack-horse strapped,
or the ship sails out again?
Is it this alone, or in blood and bone does the ven-
turous spirit glow
That was noble pride when the world was wide and
the tracks were all Westward Ho?[8]

Jose edited Dyson's *Rhymes* and Lawson's *In the Days When the World was Wide* and *While the Billy Boils* all in 1896. As we have mentioned one of Jose's principal considerations and one of the preoccupations of the writers was the hope of literary success in England. It was a consideration which led Jose to pay special attention to technique and polish. Lapses which might pass unnoticed in Australia would be regarded with disdain in England. He wrote at the end of Lawson's "The Roaring Days", 'The English Reviews will say "Why didn't he take trouble enough to *finish* his work"'.[9]

In revising Dyson's ballads we find that the two most frequently corrected categories are language and metre. In both, Jose felt there was a need to manifest technical competence. Since language was also one of the most frequently corrected stylistic elements in *While the Billy Boils* it would be as well to make a few general comments about its correction.

In revising language, Jose was confronted with two problems. The first was that at this particular period, language in Australian literature was at a critical stage of its development. As one writer put it, "It was not until the end of the century that writers (such as Lawson and Paterson) used local idiom with the ease of familiarity".[10] One can add that in the nineties, there was still a degree of linguistic experimentation and, most important of all, that some writers were still searching for what might be called, a natural

voice. Jose's comments on proofs reveal that he was sensitive to this: 'Do miners really say "No pausing".[11]

The problem of changing language was compounded by that second difficulty we discussed in a previous chapter, that of the English audience which raised the question of the acceptability to the English of the newly-evolved Australian idiom or "dialect". We will see that Jose tried to solve the problem by steering through the extremes, and by revising exaggeratedly low features; he looked at the authors' ultimate purpose beyond their stylistic innovations one of which was their attempts to reproduce everyday speech. In keeping with the authors' realist aims Jose in his revisions tried to convey a natural effect. This to him was more important than making a feature of local pronunciation.

For one of the linguistic experiments which had effects which he regarded as unfortunate was the vogue for using phonetic spelling. Allied to it was the use of incorrect grammar. Jose was not opposed to the employment of these features if expertly handled but had reservations about Dyson's use of them for several reasons. Jose thought that those cases where the narrator spoke in unorthodox language, might lead the English to identify the narrator with Dyson and assume that he had unconsciously slipped into ungrammatical English, that his style was essentially naive. It made imperative the need for expertise in other areas such as metre, and the avoidance of unskilled displays of melodrama and sentimentality, and the clear delineation of the roles of character and narrator.

Linguistic innovation (particularly for an author's subjects) was championed in the editorial columns of the *Australian Magazine*. In a review of Mrs Virginia Crawford's *Studies in Foreign Literature*, which criticised Kipling's use of language, the writer, probably Irvine or Jose, commented:

> Mrs Crawford has lived too long abroad to understand Kipling. Or perhaps it would be truer to say that she has not yet grasped the idea that literature may be artistic, may be even high art, may attain to a classic position in literary history, while availing itself of modes of expression belonging to the language of its subjects rather than of the critic.

Intentional Misspelling

As we have said one of the central problems Jose addressed was Dyson's usage of phonetic spelling. It was a device employed by other nineteenth-century writers, amongst them Dickens and Mark Twain; it was further popularised by Kipling.

A verse from "Mandalay" provides examples of the sort of spelling we find throughout Dyson's unrevised ballads:

> When the mist was on the rice-fields an' the sun was
> droppin' slow,
> She'd git 'er little banjo an' she'd sing '*Kulla-lo-lo!*'
> With 'er arm upon my shoulder an' 'er cheek agin my
> cheek
> We useter watch the steamers an' the *hathis* pilin' teak.
> Elephints a-pilin' teak
> In the sludgy, squdgy creek,
> Where the silence 'ung that 'eavy you was 'arf
> afraid to speak!
> On the road to Mandalay . . .[12]

Kipling uses such spelling to represent the speech of the Cockney soldier (see "Tommy" and "Bobs"), the Scots dialect ("McAndrew's Hymn"): initial h's, terminal d's and g's ("Troopin'") "o'" for "of", "jes'" for "just" are a few of those spellings we frequently find in Kipling, Lawson and Dyson. Jose, however, generally manifested a preference for orthodox rather than phonetic spelling. He saw that in both Lawson and Dyson there were two categories of it—that which did indicate a different pronunciation to standard English (whether dialect or "broad Australian"); and that which he termed "useless" misspelling. In his Notes for Dyson, Jose wrote:

> *General Note.* I believe Mr Robertson has said something about the spelling. I was talking to Henry Lawson about his, & he agreed that a) there ought to be no <u>useless</u> mis-spelling (i.e. 'sez', because it doesn't indicate a mis-pronunciation) b) it is simpler to leave the g's in: people will drop them in reading if they usually do so. His tales are g'd almost everywhere in the book.[13]

The comment is also important because it reveals his dislike of a frequently used nineteenth-century device - the writer, presumed that the reader, in observing the misspelling, would identify the character as an ignoramus. It has the quality of an ironical joke shared between author and reader. It was particularly inappropriate that Lawson and

Dyson should adopt the device. For they identified with the lives of ordinary people in their characters and sought to accommodate their language to them in other ways (the use of local idiom etc.); parody clashed with their overall intentions.

Furthermore, Dyson's attempts to represent the vernacular by misspelling become monotonous. And it would seem Jose felt that Dyson's inconsistency with spelling for one character (for example, "'n", "an'", "and" for "and") was weakening rather than strengthening the dramatic impact of his poems. So in many cases Jose recommended that Dyson adopt orthodox spelling.

There was another factor which Jose took into account in revising style and that was in his distinguishing between the narrator and the characters. Whereas technical ineptitude was revised universally, there is a greater toleration of the unorthodox in the speech of the characters than in that of the narrator. When the author is narrator Jose preferred the use of orthodox language:

> It spoils the effect of dialect pieces if stories told as by you personally are badly spelt.[14]

In other words there is to be no misspelling at all in self-narrated pieces. This includes misspelling where it does represent mispronunciation. This is the importance: Jose is even more against the ironical joke at the narrator's expense than at the character's. Thus in a poem like "The Old Camp Oven" where Dyson assumes the persona of a miner speaking in sub-standard English not only have words like "jes'" for "just", "ole" for "old" been changed but also those which indicate a different pronunciation - "alwus", "to'ard", "bin" (for "been") and "whiles" (for "while").[15]

For while Dyson sometimes uses the device of misspelling to represent the simplicity or quasi-illiterate nature of a character, he sometimes uses it also for the narrator. This is taking the ironical joke one step further. Indeed it seems self-contradictory to have a narrator depicted as illiterate. From the quotation above, it seems Jose prefers the more usual situation of the author as omniscient artist merged with the narrator and quite separate from the characters who are on a plane below, as it were. But Dyson has often fused the roles of narrator and character. In other words, the narrator may be miner, saw-

miller, station-hand etc. Jose probably felt that Dyson had failed to create a convincing worker-narrator. It was a task beyond his command of the vernacular in verse. Henry Lawson, by comparison, had a stronger grasp of this technique. It is likely to have been Jose who found a solution to the problem which is seen in "The Freak". He suggested Dyson supply a prefatory verse which has the effect of introducing a poet-narrator who speaks in orthodox language, as distinct from the hatter-narrator-character who spins a tale. What before was narration becomes quotation. The opening verse of the Angus & Robertson edition is not found in the *Bulletin*. It runs:

> Just beyond All Alone, going back,
> Is the humpy of Hatter Magee.
> We had travelled all day on the track,
> And he offered us mutton and tea.
> Mack is rather reserved, but will speak
> On one theme, and with eloquence too—
> That's his angular chestnut, The Freak.
> Here's a tale that he told through the week,
> And I try to believe it is true:[16]

In the rare cases of poems where there are both characters and a narrator or a mixture of dialogue and narration ("German Joe" and "The Trucker"), and the phonetical spelling represents a different pronunciation, the phonetical spelling goes uncorrected - though even here Dyson modifies the dialect of Geordie in "The Trucker". The general rule of phonetical spelling being corrected when it doesn't represent a different pronunciation is adhered to. Thus, for example, in "The Rescue", "bilow" is altered to "below".

It is important to note that Jose, in his statement, "it is simpler to leave the g's in: people will drop them in reading if they usually do so",[17] not only recognises that Lawson is attempting to appeal to simple readers by his use of the device but additionally Jose, by his expressed desire that the letters be left in, indicates that he does not want the writers to restrict their appeal to that readership. Jose saw his own task to revise in such a way that the writers' style neither distracted nor lost its unique appeal. As E.A. Badham indicated there was a danger the audience for Australian literature would become restricted if sub-standard English were adopted.[18]

We should note that there was an inconsistency in Dyson's linguistic usage which called for correction not only because technical ineptitude was not to be tolerated but because it was weakening the realism and dramatic impact of the poems. In "Bullocky Bill", for example, the word "and" is sometimes spelt "'n", at others, "an'" and sometimes correctly. Similarly, "or" is spelt either correctly or as "'r". In the case of "The Trucker" Jose observed that Dyson, in trying to present a northern English accent, muddled in Irish elements.[19] Another manifestation of Jose's discomfort at seeing a feature which might be construed as evidence of a rather rough-hewn style, is his expansion of abbreviations. Some of these fall into the category of "useless mis-spelling". In "A Poor Joke", for example, Jose expands "th'" to "the", "t'day" to "today", "t'" to "to", "reg'lar" to "regular", and "fortn't" to "fortnight". In "The Fossicker", "E'en tho" becomes "Even though". In referring to "Jonah's Luck", Jose noted that the abbreviations were awkward, and in his alterations he emended "Vic." to "Victoria", "Tassy" to "Tasmania" and "New South" to "northward". It is likely that he judged the abbreviations to be distracting.[20]

Jose's sensitivity to unorthodox usages is seen in his reactions to those phrases which he describes as "not quite English". In "To the Men of the Mines", the introductory poem to the volume, Dyson, having cast himself in the role of the ex-miner and poet, writes:

> *I write in rhyme of all these things,*
> *With little skill, perhaps, but you,*
> *To whom each tale a memory brings*
> *Of bygone days, will know them true.*
> *Should mates who've worked in stope and face,*
> *Who've trenched the hill and swirled the dish,*
> *Or toiled upon the plat and brace,*
> *Find pleasure in the lines I trace,*
> *No better welcome could I wish.*[21]

In the original version of the concluding line, Dyson had written "No prouder favour would I wish"; Jose suggested the final reading and observed, 'A "proud favour" isn't exactly English - & "favour" isn't the word you want there'.[22] He made a similar observation about a phrase in "German Joe", a sketch of an eccentric miner who dies of fever; his dying delirium is the climax of the poem:

> Now he's abroad in a wild dream-land,
> Baring his breast to the river breeze—

Out where the rock-ribbed ridges stand,
  Telling his tale to the secret trees,
Swift as the shadows his visions glide
  Over the plains where the mad winds blow.
Cover his face now, and carve a stone,
Henceforth his spirit must seek alone—
  Dead as a door-nail is German Joe.

In the original version the fourth and fifth lines read:

Whispering his tale to the secret trees
Hither and fro with a phantom's speed

Jose thought 'whispering' awkward and also wrote '"Hither & fro" is simply not English. Try "Swift as a shadow his thoughts run wide"'[23]

In "When the Bell Blew Up", an account of a mining disaster, Jose similarly noted that '"Laboured might & main" isn't English.'[24] Presumably he found unacceptable the omission of "with". Dyson kept the original reading; possibly he argued for latitude on the grounds that he had used quotation marks for his miner-narrator.

Grammatical Errors

There are no directions concerning Dyson's use of incorrect grammar in Jose's *Notes*. In the annotated newscuttings of the poems there are only three instances of corrections by Jose though they occur most frequently. In "Night Shift", verse 3, line 4:

And let him be blown with his job

the word, "blown" is emended to "blowed".[25] And in "A New Girl up at White's" in verse 5 Jose alters Dyson's use of the historic present in ll. 3 & 4 to the past tense so that it conforms with the rest of the verse:

While Bob stepped it in the middle
An' we passed the billy-lid

In "In Town", (verse 6) "swang" is altered to "swung".

In the Angus & Robertson edition of the poems, we observe that nearly all incorrect grammar has been altered but the question of who made the corrections remains open. We noted that in "The Rescue", there was an example where the speech of the narrator was emended though not that of the miner (v.5, l.4: "The relay hurry" is altered to "The relay

hurries" but the miner's words at v.I, l.I "Didn't I say that them sets wasn't sound?" remain unchanged.). In "The Emu of Whroo", the ungrammatical phrase of the narrator, "This here bird" (v.2, l.I) is altered to "McCue's bird". In the case of five other poems where the narrator is a miner (or, in one case, a saw-miller) any ungrammatical English has been corrected. In three of these poems it is only one or two words that have been corrected. In "Waiting for Water", "Seven mile is a wearisome trot" is changed to "Seven miles is a wearisome trot" (v.10, l.2). In "Jonah's Luck", the last line of the first verse, "Rough times, them - the very mem'ry keeps a chap from getting fat" is emended to "Rough times, those - the very memory keeps a chap from getting fat". In "A New Girl up at White's", "Ben don't exercise his fiddle" is altered to "Tom won't stir us with his fiddle" (v.5, l.I). In "The Tale of Steven" and "A Poor Joke" we find widespread use of ungrammatical English and its universal correction.

It is tempting to suggest that since Jose in Dyson's poetry on the whole preferred orthodox spelling and disliked abbreviations, he probably also preferred orthodox grammar and it was therefore probably he who made the corrections, though there is one teasing example where he actually endorsed the phonetical spelling of a grammatical mistake and this was in his emending of the line, "An' we was, I admit it betwixt yes". ("A Poor Joke", v.2 l.7) In his preliminary revisions, Jose altered "yes" to "yez". This might be taken as an example of Jose's conservatism in editing and his tendency to maintain the overall style of the writer.

Metre

In preparing Dyson's poems for publication in book form Jose seems to have been chiefly preoccupied with their need for metrical improvement: in this matter he aimed at competence rather than virtuosity. There was a need for polish in the handling of metre as there was in the treatment of linguistic style. Indeed as we pointed out, if Dyson was to introduce illiterate narrators it was all the more important that other factors - in this case, metre - be expertly handled lest the English, observing lack of craftsmanship in one

area, assume it in another, and confuse narrator with author. The difficulty was that Dyson was most inexpert in the handling of metre; his work lapsed to doggerel at its worst; at its best it had a primitive quality about it. One can discern one broad aim in Jose's revisions - to make the poem scan, to bring about a readily recognisable metrical pattern, to eliminate "roughness" (by "rough" he means unrhythmical). Jose employs two principal methods to improve the metre: he suggests maintaining a pattern based on the number of syllables in a line; in doing this he frequently makes corrections to the opening word or foot of a line to eliminate any uncertainty and make its metrical pattern readily identifiable. Secondly many revisions have been made which open up or eliminate consonantal groups and thus improve the flow of the line. Taken together, the ease and fluency of the revisions bring about a naturalness.

Before discussing the revisions based on syllable number we should bear in mind that the lines of English verse are not based on syllable number but metrical feet. Syllable number is inadequate in accounting for an unrhythmical line: indication may be needed of precisely where the metrical accent should fall. It is not known why Jose used this principle in revising Dyson's work. It is evident from his own sure command of prosody that he did not use such a principle himself in writing poetry. It may have been Dyson himself who used syllable number in composing. Jose may have had recourse to it as the simplest means of instructing Dyson in the beginnings of metrical principles - for there is an educational slant to most of Jose's comments to Dyson about his work. (We might note here that it is likely that Dyson was referring to metrical revisions when he told Robertson that he appreciated the trouble Jose had gone to, and regretted that he had not known as much before he started writing.)[26] It is also possible that Jose thought syllable number the simplest means of improving a line particularly since Dyson did not possess the technical virtuosity which enabled some balladists to bring a variety to their metre. Jose may also have decided that the characteristic simplicity of the ballad form made allowable the use of such a principle.

"The Fossicker" is one of a series of character sketches. Dyson describes the near-solitary miner who spends his life doggedly panning despite all adversities:

> Bare-boned and hard, with thin long hair and beard,
> With horny hands that gripped like iron pliers;
> A clear, quick eye, a heart that nothing feared,
> A soul full simple in its few desires.

Thus we note the ballad is in iambic pentameters and in alternating ten and eleven-syllable lines, the eleven-syllable lines having a final amphibrach foot. Jose noted that the second line of the fourth verse lacked a syllable:

> I've known him stand for hours and rock and rock,
> Swinging now the shovel, now the ladle,
> So sphinx-like that at time he seemed to mock,
> Resolved to run creation through his cradle.[27]

He suggested that "Swinging" be altered to "A-swinging". For in being a syllable short at the beginning, the whole line becomes trochaic and, as such, would have broken the pattern of the poem. Jose's emendation, which Dyson adopted, makes the line correspond with other alternating lines of the poem.

Jose wrote in his *Notes* that the opening verse was metrically unsound. It is one of those occasions where the syllable number is correct but the line nonetheless possesses awkward or uncertain metrical accents, the stress being forced on to illogical places:

> I often think of straight, old Lanky Dan,
> A fossicker whate'er fate might bequeath him;
> A grim and grizzled worshipper of "pan,"
> Who deemed all other industries beneath him.

Jose suggested:

> A straight old fossicker was Lanky Dan,
> True to that art in spite of Fate's dissuading:
> A grim . . .
> Who . . .industries degrading[28]

Jose's suggestion, which was not adopted, conforms with Dyson's pattern, the reversed opening foot is an occasional feature of the poem. What is more important is that his inversion of phrases in the first line immediately establishes the clear tread of the metre. In its unrevised form, the line tends to meander along. Jose's substitution in the second line also gets around the uncertain accents of "whate'er", "fossicker" and "Fate might", the

stress of this last mentioned foot being illogical.

In "Struck it at Last" Dyson describes a familiar mining figure, the eternal optimist:

> He was almost blind, and wasted
> With the wear of many years;
> He had laboured, and had tasted
> Bitter troubles, many cares;
> But his laugh was loud and ringing,
> And his flag was on the mast—
> Every day they heard him singing:
> 'Bound to strike it rich at last.'

This is the manner of his life; that of his death is the same. The concluding stanza runs:

> As the end approached he prattled
> Of old days at Ballarat,
> And again the windlass rattled
> At Jim Crow and Blanket Flat;
> And the nurses heard him mutter
> As his dauntless spirit passed:
> 'Streak of luck, boys! On the gutter!'
> Geordie struck it rich at last.

In the sixth stanza, line three was metrically quite out of keeping with the rest of the poem:

> When brought low, and bowed, and hoary,
> Still his eyes alone were blind,
> Undimmed by fortune was the glory
> Of his happy, tranquil mind;
> In his heart a flame was glowing
> That defied the roughest blast,
> And he sang: "There is no knowing,
> Mates, I'll strike it rich at last."[29]

Throughout the poem the first foot must be scanned either as a trochee or an anapaest; Dyson had introduced an amphibrach.

It is interesting to note, and indicative of Dyson's level of understanding, that Jose, instead of explicitly indicating or naming the precise metrical foot required instead gives an example and notes:

> "proof to" or something that scans: must have *one* syllable instead of *undimmed*[30]

"Whose Wife" tells the tale of a miner who has been searching for six years for his wife. He meets an old friend in a hotel and on asking him if by chance he has seen her, discovers he has married her. The poem furnishes us with an example of extensive

revisions made by Jose to help establish the metre and give the poem a readily identifiable pattern. Jose wrote beneath the corrected version:

> These alterations keep the metre steady: it didn't know what it was before.[31]

Eleven of its twenty-eight lines contain a word deleted; all the revisions but two give an opening dactylic foot in keeping with the rest of the poem. What is of greater significance is the fact that Jose's revisions emphasise that abbreviated laconic speech pattern which Dyson tried to re-create. His attempt to reproduce the intonations of shouted pub-talk was perhaps an over-ambitious idea; without the revisions the poem lacked the necessary degree of tension between speech stress and metrical accent.

As we noted at the outset there were many poems which Jose described as metrically "rough". One of these "The Old Whim Horse" was otherwise particularly good. Indeed it is probably the best piece in the volume and so has been placed at the beginning where it will attract attention. Paterson in "Black Swans" observed the world as if from the birds' understanding of it; Dyson, in "The Old Whim Horse", surveyed the scene of a deserted mine as the horse has seen it: the memory of the mine's heyday in the past merges with its present dereliction and, at the same time, we witness the horse growing older and confused. We are brought to the present by the image of his bleached bones in the grass:

> He's an old grey horse, with his head bowed sadly,
> And with dim old eyes and a queer roll aft,
> With the off-fore sprung and the hind screwed badly
> And he bears all over the brands of graft;
> And he lifts his head from the grass to wonder
> Why by night and day now the whim is still,
> Why the silence is, and the stampers' thunder
> Sounds forth no more from the shattered mill.
>
> In that whim he worked when the night winds bellowed
> On the riven summit of Giant's Hand,
> And by day when prodigal Spring had yellowed
> All the wide, long sweep of enchanted land;
> And he knew his shift, and the whistle's warning,
> And he knew the calls of the boys below;
> Through the years, unbidden, at night or morning,
> He had taken his stand by the old whim bow.
>
> But the whim stands still, and the wheeling swallow
> In the silent shaft hangs her home of clay,
> And the lizards flirt and the swift snakes follow

O'er the grass-grown brace in the summer day;
And the corn springs high in the cracks and corners
Of the forge, and down where the timber lies;
And the crows are perched like a band of mourners
On the broken hut on the Hermit's Rise. . . .

The floods rush high in the gully under,
And the lightnings lash at the shrinking trees,
Or the cattle down from the ranges blunder
As the fires drive by on the summer breeze.
Still the feeble horse at the right hour wanders
To the lonely ring, though the whistle's dumb,
And with hanging head by the bow he ponders
Where the whim boy's gone—why the shifts don't come. . . .

See the old horse take, like a creature dreaming,
On the ring once more his accustomed place;
But the moonbeams full on the ruins streaming
Show the scattered timbers and grass-grown brace.
Yet *he* hears the sled in the smithy falling,
And the empty truck as it rattles back,
And the boy who stands by the anvil, calling;
And he turns and backs, and he 'takes up slack.' . . .

He hears in the sluices the water rushing
As the buckets drain and the doors fall back:
When the early dawn in the east is blushing,
He is limping still round the old, old track.
Now he pricks his ears, with a neigh replying
To a call unspoken, with eyes aglow,
And he sways and sinks in the circle, dying;
From the ring no more with the grey horse go.

In a gully green, where a dam lies gleaming,
And the bush creeps back on a worked-out claim,
And the sleepy crows in the sun sit dreaming
On the timbers grey and a charred hut frame,
Where the legs slant down, and the hare is squatting
In the high rank grass by the dried-up course,
Nigh a shattered drum and a king-post rotting
Are the bleaching bones of the old grey horse.[32]

Jose wrote of the poem to Dyson:

> I have taken more trouble over this than most, because it is worth making as good as possible. Its faults are (i) too much 'old grey' (ii) metre too rough in many places (iii) ideas confused in verses 2 & 9. The metre is improved by altering a lot of 'the's'.[33]

It is in his last sentence that we can understand what precisely Jose means by 'rough'. If the 'the's' are omitted (or altered to 'a') one overall affect of such changes would be to make the lines run more freely. In eliminating a consonantal group ('th') Dyson would prevent the too rigid partition of the line into syllables. Although Jose recommended the

alteration of many 'the's', in comparing the *Bulletin* and Angus & Robertson editions of the poems we note only seven have been omitted. In the annotated newscutting, Jose has deleted only one (verse 7); in his *Notes*, he suggested revisions to verses 2 and 9 which would have incorporated such omissions.[34] It may well be that in the missing proofs and revises, he recommended others which were not adopted. One can imagine that he could have suggested dropping more of them at the beginnings of lines in verses 5, 8 and 9. Equally there are instances where "a" could have been substituted.

Jose criticised "Bashful Gleeson" for roughness of metre where it is caused by an excessive amount of alliteration. The original version of verse 3 (transferred to the opening verse in the final edition) ran as follows:

> From her home beyond the river in the parting of the hills,
> Where the fleecy wattles waved and flung their foam upon the breeze,
> And the tender creepers twined about the chimneys and the sills,
> And the teeming garden glittered like an Eden in the trees.

Jose suggested that the second and fourth lines respectively be altered to:

> Where the blossom of the wattle was a foam upon the breeze,
> And the garden flamed with colour like an Eden through the trees,[35]

It will be observed that by the reduced amount of alliteration, the second line would have run more easily. Another example of this sort of correction is found in "The Worked-out Mine" where the fourth line of the first verse was criticised by Jose as rough. It ran, "Like gales through ribs of shattered ships". It was emended (presumably by Dyson) to "As through the ribs of shattered ships".[36]

There were several poems which Jose thought should have been omitted altogether: "The Song of the Stampers", "The City Mining Man", "The Risks of Capital", "Warrun Races", and "The Guana". These were left out. But there were others which, despite his recommendation, were included: "Breaking it Gently", "Ah Ling, the Leper", "The Splitter's Song" and "Battered Bob". While there is no extended criticism of these poems, various reasons are given and sometimes by looking at the work in question it is not difficult to deduce Jose's likely reasons. "Warrun Races", "The Guana" and "The Splitter's Song" Jose

thought beneath standard;[37] "The City Mining Man" and "The Risks of Capital" he thought lacked originality - he wrote "This has been done. And so much better".

It was mentioned earlier that Jose was aware that there was no place for clichés, sentimentality or melodrama in Dyson's verse. All of these are found in the poems below which Jose thought should have been omitted. An examination of "The Song of the Stampers" reveals that it is full of poetic clichés - "music of the spheres", "dainty queen of sleep", "nights that are no more" and the "fairy realm of dreams". Similarly in "The Splitter's Song" we find highly artificial language and a striving after what Dyson evidently thought of as literary effects:

> What ho, when the keen blade bites the tree . . .
> And the bush gives us back, boys, merilee (v.1, ll.1-3)
>
> the ranges all roar around (v.2, l.8)
>
> And the hills echo back his lay (v.4, l.8)

There are banal lines and clichéd ideas and expressions:

> And the work is not toil—but play (v.I, l.8)
>
> For his life is the freest and best of all (Chorus l.3)
>
> With a pipe and a right good mate (v.3, l.6)
>
> For the life of the splitter is free, is free (v.4, l.5)[38]

One can see that many changes were made by Jose to eliminate melodrama and what he called "ultrasentimentality". For this purpose he suggested a verse be omitted altogether from "Breaking it Gently", and one and a half verses from "Bashful Gleeson". Jose re-wrote verse 8 of "When the Bell Blew Up" to modify its melodrama. While his verse was not totally accepted by Dyson, the poet avoided the phrases which Jose had felt "vitiated the whole poem": these were "Robed in white", "stricken" and "woeful tale".[39]

The world of the manual miner was vanishing - nor was Dyson's work to immortalise it. Like the methods of mining he described, his verse dated quickly; his brother, Will, the cartoonist, saw this:

> 'The trouble with Ted is that he doesn't know how old-fashioned his stuff is,' he would say, with a bleak troubled look in his eyes. 'He's still writing for Archibald's *Bulletin*. There's not a London editor I know who wouldn't think me a but (sic) nutty if I offered him these little comedies of the Melbourne slums and the early goldfields.'[40]

Nor did *Rhymes from the Mines* win literary success in London or any permanent audience in Australia. Its value is chiefly as social history. Dyson's expression of regret at his ignorance of poetic technique implies a dissatisfaction with the former crudeness of his work and perhaps a realisation that verse was not his métier. We might conclude by observing that Jose's suggestions and alterations brought to Dyson's verse a degree of finish they lacked in their form in the *Bulletin* but the ballads' flaws were too fundamental to be remedied.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 10: Edward Dyson (*Rhymes from the Mines*)

1. See the Angus & Robertson collection in the Mitchell Library; this particular item is ms. number A1907. It is not to be confused with the Edward Dyson Newscutting Album (QA831/D), which is not annotated except for the dates of cuttings written in by A.G. Stephens.

2. 314/28, Edward Dyson file.

3. 314/28 ibid., provisionally paged, 803-9.

4. For the assessment of Dyson's short stories, see Wilde, p. 230; Norman Lindsay, *Bohemians of the Bulletin*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1965, p. 158; Hobsbawm, writing of journalism during this period, noted, "But it was paid work, and it could be reasonably paid: aspiring women journalists, probably the largest body of new female professionals, were assured that £150 a year could be earned by supplying the Australian press alone." (p. 223)

5. H.P. Heseltine (ed.), *Intimate Portraits and other pieces: essays and articles by Vance Palmer*, F.W. Cheshire, Melbourne, 1969, pp. 103-4.

6. H.M. Green, *An Outline of Australian Literature*, Whitcombe & Tombs, Sydney, 1930, p. 79.

7. ibid., p. 116.

8. Edward Dyson, *Rhymes from the Mines*, Jack Pollard, Pty. Ltd., North Sydney, 1973, pp. 110 & 112, "The Prospectors", verses 3 and 7.

9. Henry Lawson, *In the Days When the World Was Wide*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1896, p. 36, in Mitchell Library, C871. It is the 1st Impression of the 1st edition which was used as copy for the revised 1900 edition and carries marginalia by Jose, Lawson and comments which have been ascribed to Archibald.

10. Kramer, Introduction, p. 15.

11. *Notes*, Number 8.

12. *Australian Magazine*, September, p. 454; *A Choice of Kipling's Verse made by T.S. Eliot*, p. 188.

13. *Notes*, Number 6.

14. ibid., Number 20.

15. While we do not know who altered "jes'" and "ole", it was definitely Jose who emended "bin", "whiles", "alwus", "to'ard". We should note that in the case of "A Poor Joke" Jose altered some but not all of those misspellings described as "useless". Amongst these were "fortni't", "th'" "t'day". Some were left uncorrected: "ignerent", "licker". There are also several which indicate an

incorrect pronunciation which are not altered by Jose but are corrected in the Angus & Robertson edition of the book: "fer" (for "for") "yeh" (for "you") "inter" (for "into") "hed" (for "had") etc. There are others again which indicate not so much an incorrect pronunciation as a regional or dialectal accent: "stoopers" (for "stupors"), "endoorance" for "endurance"). These also remain unaltered in the publishing manuscript (A1907) but are corrected in the final edition of the book.

16. Dyson, *Rhymes*, p. 128.

17. See above n. 13.

18. E.A. Badham quoted by Kramer, op. cit., p. 14:

> We have to choose between the language of the Bible, of Shakespeare, and of Milton, and that of the comic penny-a-liners. By adopting the latter we should, no doubt, considerably hasten the birth of our National Literature, and when it came it would have the further advantage of being distinctly Australian for the Australians, for it is quite certain that no civilized nation would condescend to notice its existence.

19. *Notes*, Number 17, '"me" is Irish: "ma" is the dialect you want".'

20. A1907, "A Poor Joke", p. 37; "The Fossicker", p. 35. For his comments on "Jonah's Luck", see *Notes*, Number 18.

21. Dyson, *Rhymes*, p. 8.

22. *Notes*, Number 2; A1907.

23. *Notes*, Number 12; A1907, p. 12.

24. *Notes*, Number 15.

25. It is likely that this was an intended pun on Dyson's part - he had a predilection for them (see "Breaking it Gently" and "The Fossicker") Jose thought they should be excluded from "Breaking it Gently".

26. See Chapter 9, p. 166.

27. Dyson, *Rhymes*, pp. 92-3; A1907, p. 35.

28. A1907, p. 35; *Notes*, Number 21. The final edition of the first verse read:

> A straight old fossicker was Lanky Mann,
> Who clung to that in spite of friends' advising:
> A grim and grizzled worshipper of 'pan,'
> All other arts and industries despising.

29. Dyson, *Rhymes*, pp. 106-8; A1907, p. 40.

30. A1907, p. 40.

31. A1907, "Whose Wife?".

32. Dyson, *Rhymes*, pp. 18-20. In the *Bulletin* edition of the poem the first three verses ran as follows:

He's an old grey horse, with his head bowed sadly,
And with dim old eyes and a queer roll aft,
With the off-fore sprung and the hind screwed badly,
And he's marked all round with the brands of graft;
And the grey old horse comes to wait and wonder
Why by night and day now the whim is still,
Why no voice is heard, and the stampers' thunder
Sounds forth no more from the shattered mill.

In that whim he worked when the night winds wrestled
With the waving trees on the hill o'erhead,
And by day when the "keets" in the blossom nestled,
As the seasons flourished, and waned, and fled;
And he knew his shift, and the whistle's warning,
And he knew the calls of the boys below;
Through the years, at night, or at eve, or morning,
He had taken his turn in the old whim bow.

Now the whim stands still, and the wheeling swallow
In the silent shaft hangs her home of clay,
And the lizards flirt and the swift snakes follow
O'er the grass-grown brace in the summer day;
And the corn springs high in the cracks and corners
Of the forge, and down where the timber lies;
And the crows are perched like a band of mourners
On the broken huts on the Hermit's Rise.

In his *Notes* Jose suggested revision to verses two and three: 'Verse 2 seems to me very clumsy: the last two lines repeat the first four, & "night, eve, morning" are not contrasting divisions of time. Moreover the "keets nestling" are obviously brought in for the rhyme & are not really a picturesque touch. My suggestion - rather drastic, perhaps - is to cut the first four lines of v. 2 & the last 4 of v. 3 out altogether & then read as follows:

"As the night burnt, year after year, to morning
He had taken his turn &c
And he knew his shift . . .
And he knew the calls . . .
But the whim stands still . . .
In the silent . . .
And the lizards flirt . . .
O'er the . . ."

(*Notes*, Number 3) In the event, Dyson re-wrote verse 2, but left verse 3 substantially as it was.

33. *Notes*, Number 2.

34. In the following instances, it can be seen by comparing the Angus & Robertson and *Bulletin* editions, "the", has been omitted or replaced by "a":

(Note: In the following examples, brackets indicate an omitted word)

v.7, l.4 Show the scattered timbers and (the) grass grown brace
v.10, l.2 And the bush creeps back on (the) a worked out claim
v.9, l.6 To (the) a call unspoken
v.10, l.4 On the timbers grey and (the) a charred hut frame

35. ibid., Number 10. See too A1907.

36. *Notes*, Number 11: 'Lines 3 & 4 of v. 1 are very poor - soft winds roaring is bad, & evidently done for rhyme's sake: & line 4 is rough in rhythm . . .'

37. The two sources for Jose's opinion of verses which he thought should have been omitted are A1907 and the Dyson correspondence in 314/28. In A1907, there is a list of Dyson's poems, and, in Jose's hand, crosses against, "Song of the Stampers", "The City Mining Man" and "The Risks of Capital". Of the last two, he wrote, "This has been done. And so much better." In the same place, Jose has indicated that "Ah Ling the Leper" and "Breaking it Gently" be omitted; on p. 52 (A1907), that "Battered Bob" be excluded. In Dyson's correspondence with Robertson (314/28), Dyson refers to the fact Jose thought little of "The Splitter's Song". In an undated letter and another of 1 July [?1896], Dyson writes that he agrees with Jose that "Warrun Races", "Guana", "Risks of Capital" and "The City Mining Man" are not good enough to go in and hopes they will not be included.

Other poems which Dyson himself had doubts about were "The Emu of Whroo" (Dyson - Robertson, 9 October, "the comedy vein is too low"). He re-wrote "The Fact of the Matter" and thought "it may stand in its revised form" (9 October). It was included under the new title, "The Drovers in Reply".

38. The title of "The Splitter's Song" was changed to "The Splitter". The quotations here are from the *Bulletin* version. The poem was substantially revised for the Angus & Robertson edition. In the *Bulletin* version, it ran as follows:

What ho, when the keen blade bites the tree,
  And the chips on the dead leaves dance,
And the bush gives us back, boys, merrilee
  Blow for blow as the sunbeams glance
From the axe when it sweeps—oh then, my boys
  Is the soul of the splitter gay,
And he feels that his graft has got its joys,
  And the work is not toil—but play.

CHORUS—
Ho, he grips his axe, and he grasps the maul,
And his blows in a tuneful cadence fall;
For his life is the freest and best of all,
  And he looks not behind or before him.

Swinging free with a stroke that's straight and strong
  To the heart of the messmate sent,
When the tune of the magpies' morning song
  With the ring of the steel is blent.
See the birds in their terror scatter high
  When she falls with a rush and bound,
And the saplings shatter and the splinters fly,

And the ranges all roar around.

CHORUS—

Who is lord when the splitter mounts his spar,
And the breeze on his brown breast blows,
When the scent of the new wood floats afar
And the gum from its red wounds flows?
With the bush at his back he laughs at Care—
With a pipe and a right good mate.
There's a drink in the billy, and grub to spare,
And a bunk in the ten-by-eight.

CHORUS—

On the hills or in gullies dim and sad
Where the stringy is straight and tall,
You may hear any day his chorus glad
And the clink of his wedge and maul.
For the life of the splitter is free, is free,
And the heart of the splitter's gay
When his axe drives the chips up merrilee
And the hills echo back his lay.

CHORUS—
Ho, he grips his axe, and he grasps the maul,
And his strokes in a merry measure fall,
And he scorns the joys of the townies all
When the ranges respond to his chorus.

39. *Notes*, Numbers 10, 16 and 23.

40. H.P. Heseltine, (ed.) *Intimate Portraits*, "Ted Dyson", p. 106.

CHAPTER 11: Henry Lawson
(*While the Billy Boils*)

Jose's revising of Lawson's *While the Billy Boils* resulted in certain gains and losses.[1] In the former category we might place his contributions towards the creation of the author-narrator. In the latter, his revisions which detract in some way from Lawson's statement of thematic concepts. While Jose's revisions were made with authorial sanction and often when Lawson himself was undecided about the text, purists will not accept them. For, as Heseltine has argued, Lawson's very indecision was expressive of an uncertainty about his own self.[2] Some textual critics, however, who adopt a socio-centric view of the creative and publishing processes may be inclined to accept them, allowing a latitude to publishers' readers and editors. Before discussing Jose's revisions we will consider the manner in which he regarded Lawson's stories. Like Garnett, he felt that Lawson's verse was overvalued:

> I want to add my protest to those of the gradually growing band who regret the stress over-laid on Lawson's verse. . . . It is by his prose work, particularly the two earliest volumes, that Lawson will be permanently known, as he already is known to European critics and appraised highly by them. (*RN*, pp. 18-19.)

Critics have described Lawson's stories as "yarns". As Barnes pointed out Lawson himself described some of them as "sketch-stories".[3] The full implications of such a description will be explored as a preamble to an examination of Jose's revisions. Jose saw Lawson's stories in this way. Lawson and Jose were both preoccupied with technique. As Jarvis has noted, there was a growing interest in the 1880s and 1890s in fictional technique, and such an interest manifested itself in the *Bulletin*'s advice to its writers: Jarvis argues that Lawson in his early stories conformed to the *Bulletin*'s particular model but later departed from it, developing his own Realist technique.[4]

In revising Lawson's stories with an eye to improving their technique, Jose directed his attention to the role and handling of the yarner-narrator-author, his language, and the

endings of the stories. In revising the first two mentioned elements he is at his strongest as editor.

The extent to which Jose appreciated and endorsed the "yarn" element can be measured by the little known fact that it was he who crystallised and drew attention to this new "genre" by giving the book its very title, *While the Billy Boils*, prompted in part perhaps by Mitchell's concluding line in "A Love Story", "Ah, well—never mind . . . the billy's boiling, Joe". For the title has been recognised as encapsulating the spirit of the "yarn" and as catching up the casualness of style.[5] Jose was placing the stories firmly within the literary-oral tradition. The title he selected was also the same as the title of a poem by Keighley Goodchild, published in a centenary anthology, *Australian Ballads*: Its opening stanza runs as follows:

> While the ruby coals in the dull grey dust
> Shine bright as the daylight dies;
> When into our mouths our pipes are thrust,
> And we watch the moon arise;
> While the leaves, that crackle and hiss and sigh,
> Feed the flames with their scented oils,
> In a calm content by the fire we lie,
> And watch while the billy boils.

Jose told Shenstone, Angus & Robertson's Manager, the history of the title of Lawson's book, though Robertson was not to learn of it until 1919.[6]

Just as he appreciated the stories as "yarns", he equally appreciated the role of narrator in these oral narratives. He saw the author-yarner-narrator as a new device and was aware of its potential to solve technical problems as is evident in his comment on "A Good Tuckertrack", "And the story's unfinished - too unfinished, I mean, even for Mitchell."[7]

We might note here precisely why the device of the author-yarner-narrator is important. His importance is twofold. In technical terms, he can be allowed a measure of casualness and unorthodox language which would not be allowable to a conventional narrator or author - at least, not in England. But more than this, the narrator-yarner has an importance as a character, and he has the status of a character in addition to that of narrator. As a character, he becomes the modern realist hero, as Jarvis noted, Lawson has put us *en rapport* with the "man to be admired", the sardonic bushman.[8] Mitchell, Joe

Wilson and the narrator are the heroes of the outback, just as the outback itself becomes, as Barnes noted, a dreamworld. Sargeson, quoted by Barnes, saw that the bush was Lawson's interior landscape: "He looked at the desolation of the Australian inland, and he saw his own interior desolation".[9]

So too are the characters and the narrator part of that interior world. Barnes saw Mitchell as a relation to the Romantic-outcast wanderer figure.[10] He is related too, to Jose's heroes of the Nineties, the "intelligent bushmen" depicted in *The Romantic Nineties*, the University Extension audience of impromptu pub talks, the "drovers, miners," etc. It is astounding to find the same literary influences effecting the development of Lawson's unpretentious persona, Mitchell, and the sophisticated Bohemian, "Ishmael". In Lawson's author-yarner-narrator, the literary crossroads intersect: the realist itinerant worker of the submerged population is the romantic wanderer and the Kiplingesque figure on the fringe of civilisation.

As oral narratives or yarns, Jose saw that Lawson's use of language was of the utmost importance. It has often been said that Lawson captured the exact nuances of speech. The language of the bush people is best summed up by Lawson himself at the end of "The Loaded Dog":

> And most of this is why, for years afterwards, lanky, easy-going Bushmen, riding lazily past Dave's camp, would cry, in a lazy drawl with just a hint of the nasal twang: "El-lo, Da-a-ve! How's the fishin' getting on, Da-a-ve?"[11]

The very laziness of their speech - just as the fact of their sitting around "yarning" - reminds us that this is, not so much Paterson's world - the "land of lots o' time" - as the "never-never". The drawl is more than appropriate for those living in the existential vacuum of the "great grey plain"; it is a world where, as Heseltine suggested, the verbal motif "nothing matters" sums up the hollowness.[12]

The two blind spots in Jose's editing might be his excessive concentration on narrative technique which led him to make revisions at the expense of thematic statements. Secondly there are those instances where one suspects Jose has intervened motivated at least in part

by a disagreement with what he sees as Lawson's pessimism. It is here that we see Jose trapped within the strictures of the *Bulletin* Debate.

As with his editing of Dyson, a factor which guided him was a consideration of English sensibilities; he revealed the same dislike of the presentation of the narrator as semi-literate. His fears that the English public would identify the narrator with the author and dismiss him also as semi-literate were realised. Indeed at least one English critic wrote in his review of *Joe Wilson and His Mates*:

> These stories are so good that (from the literary point of view, of course) one hopes they are not autobiographical. As autobiography they would be good; as pure fiction they are more of an attainment. We think the author will see what is meant here . . . The Australian poet's name was surely Kendall, and not "Kendel" (p. 61). "She was always impulsive, save to me sometimes" (p. 96). If the author will think that over he will decide that he did not mean to use the word "impulsive", or not, at all events, without some qualification. "A character like what 'Kit' might have been" (p. 160). This phrase must be amended before the book goes into a second edition, as the reviewer hopes it will. Also, on p. 313, the awkward reiteration of "bush fashion" requires correction.[13]

The reviewer, in citing various "mistakes" and expressing his hope that "from the literary point of view, of course one hopes the stories are not autobiographical" is touching on the technical problem central to the stories' acceptance in England. Jose recognised that, for the stories' success in England, Lawson would have to carefully combine the two roles of omniscient author and "bush-yarner" in the persona of the narrator. Jose's concept of the appropriate narrator for Lawson's stories was broader than that which he specified for Dyson's poems. His comment on Mitchell quoted above (p. 205) reveals that the "bush yarner" was to be only apparently artless. The author must supply the art. His omniscience and skill, however subtle, must be evident. Unintentional mistakes would have to be deleted. Jose thought that the casualness, ease and simplicity of the outback-raconteur ought to be emphasised but that clumsiness and unorthodox or "incorrect" features of his style would have to be removed.

It is here that we might briefly digress and turn to Professor Roderick's criticisms of Jose's editing in his *Henry Lawson. Commentaries on his Prose Writing*. He wrote:

> [Jose's] rewriting forced Lawson into the Procrustean bed to which he adjusted himself until he escaped to London in 1900.[14]

Roderick misconstrues Jose's intentions and his positive contribution to the development of Lawson's style. He does not see that he was principally concerned with the narrator, that he was trying to enhance Lawson's creation of the "bush-yarner" persona, the number of things this entailed, nor the complicated process involved. Roderick notes Jose's expansions of abbreviations, his emendations of slang and colloquialisms but not the alterations made towards a natural or easy style. He is selective in his evidence. His description of Jose as "Johnsonian" is a misleading caricature.

More importantly than this, Roderick fails to distinguish between the two different sorts of orthodoxy or formality which Jose and Lawson assume to be necessary for written English. For Lawson, formality suggested an over-literary quality manifested sometimes by the use of complicated words where simple ones would equally suit the occasion, even the use of archaisms, Americanisms, journalese etc. For Jose, formality or written English suggested a style which should be natural, simple; in the mouth of Lawson's narrator, even casual. However, orthodoxy is generally preferred. Slang should be omitted, incorrect grammar corrected, etc. We will see in the course of this chapter that Jose was trying to encourage these qualities: orthodoxy, ease, naturalness - and to soften Lawson's occasional stiffness.

Further, we might note that whereas Professor Roderick has assumed that Lawson's alterations, in particular those which affected a reduction of the colloquial idiom were exclusively the result of Jose's influence, there are various other factors we should consider. As we will see, Lawson himself displayed a tendency to over-formalize his language in his stories long before he came into contact with Jose. Further, while this formalizing tendency may have continued with publication of *While the Billy Boils*, it was also maintained after Lawson left Australia and can be seen in the stories of *The Country I Come From*, published in London by Blackwood. In fact, Jose deleted some of Lawson's excessively formal expressions (See below, pp. 213-4) and his revisions reveal an appreciation of the natural which is in harmony with Lawson's overall style. Most

important of all, it should be emphasised that Lawson accepted or rejected Jose's suggestions as he saw fit, and did not express dissatisfaction with Jose's editing. After the book was published, he wrote to Robertson:

> . . . Am very well pleased with book. Have noticed several errors - as in "Lizzie shoved" instead of "shovel" in "Unfinished Love Story", "dread of daily resurrection" instead of "daily dread, etc." in "Jones's Alley", but nothing very awful. . . .[15]

One can discern three principle categories of emendations which Jose made to Lawson's work. In the first might be counted those alterations made to remove unorthodox features of style; the second category involves those changes made in an attempt to make it even more concise; and in the third, the excision of parts which, to Jose, appeared crude, rough or forced. It should be noted that there are comparatively few alterations in the last category. In making emendations in the last two categories, Jose was anticipating the comments of Edward Garnett and other British reviewers. A reviewer in the *Manchester Guardian* (30 January 1901) describing *On the Track*, wrote:

> Mr Lawson's positively strong points are his terseness, concentration, and economic use of language

In a review of *The Country I Come from* and *Joe Wilson and His Mates* in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (December 1901) the critic wrote:

> But we see no reason why the writings of Mr Lawson, already favourably regarded in his own continent, should not attract attention wherever the English language is spoken, so keen is his eye for the essential, so brisk and business-like his faculty of presentation.

Edward Garnett in "An Appreciation" published in *Academy and Literature* (8 March 1902) commented:

> Lawson, as an artist, is often crude and disappointing, often sketchy and rough . . .

Garnett concluded:

> If Lawson's tales fail to live in another fifty years . . . it will be because they have too little beauty of form, and there is too much crudity, roughness, and uncookedness in the matter."[16]

Regularisation

The category which might be described as the regularisation of Lawson's style encompasses various elements: the most basic of these include the expansion of contracted words such as "can't", "there's", "it's", "doesn't"; the correction of grammatical mistakes, for example, "which" for "that", "lying" for "laying"; Jose occasionally substitutes the use of the subjunctive for the indicative and inserts auxiliary verbs in the compound tenses where Lawson has omitted them.

In addition to these there are several other changes to the language of Lawson's narrator which Jose thought desirable: the removal of slang, the neutralisation of colloquialisms, alteration of phrasing to avoid clumsiness. As well as these, we will examine Jose's heightening of the natural quality of the narrator's language, his treatment of Lawson's over-formal language and Lawson's 1895-6 revisions: his removal of slang. Finally, we will examine Lawson's and Jose's treatment of the problem of incorrect or "phonetic" spelling. The instances where vocabulary has been altered by Jose are rare. Examples of slang words being replaced by a more orthodox word are to be found in "A Day on a Selection" and "Jones's Alley". In the former, "fingers" replaces "maulies"; in the latter, Jose emends "a busted financial institution" to "a burst financial institution".[17]

Neutralisation of the colloquial element

The more frequent type of alteration is the neutralisation of the colloquial element in the narrator's speech. It is important here to observe that Jose's emendations, in their very simplicity, reveal his appreciation of the natural quality in Lawson's prose. In "Settling on the Land", Lawson wrote:

> Then his plough horses took bad with something the Teuton called "der shtranguls"[18]

Jose toyed with the idea of altering "took bad" to "went down" but dismissed the thought. Further down in the story Lawson had written:

> Tom's dog did his best; but he took sick[19]

Here Jose emended "took" to "fell". In both cases it is noticeable that his suggestions are not stiffly formal. "Became ill" might well have been written by a more wooden editor. In "Remailed" Jose replaced "sort of" with "so to speak" in the sentence:

> There were points, of course, upon which Bill and Jim couldn't agree - subjects upon which they argued long and loud and often in the old days; and it sometimes happens that say, Bill comes across an article or a paragraph which agrees with and, sort of barracks for a pet theory of his as against one held by Jim . . .[20]

Jose, in making the narrator's speech more fluent, has removed the homeliness or the personal quality. In "When the Sun Went Down" we have an example:

> he reckoned that he had six or, perhaps, eight feet to drive, and he knew that the air could not last long in the new drive - even if that had not all fallen in and crushed his brother.[21]

Here, Jose emends "all" to "already". In the example below, from "Settling on the Land", "else" is emended to "or":

> The selector's dog chawed the other and came to his master's rescue just in time - else Tom Hopkins would never have lived to become the inmate of a lunatic asylum.[22]

Similarly, we can see another example in "Hungerford" where Jose's alteration, which Lawson rejected, has a slightly literary air about it. The paragraph originally read:

> A pound of tea often costs 6s. on that side, and you can get a common lead-pencil for 4d. at the rival store across the street in the other province. Also, a small loaf of sour bread for a shilling at the humpy aforementioned. Only about 60 per cent. of the sugar will melt.[23]

Jose suggested the last sentence be altered to:

> As for the sugar, only about sixty per cent. of it will melt.

Finally, in "The Drover's Wife", the homely "The eldest boy . . . makes to get out of bed" is altered to "The eldest boy . . . tries to get out of bed."[24]

Emphasis of the natural

But there were also occasions where Jose, in emending, showed an appreciation of the natural and simple quality which was part of the narrator's character. In "Across the Straits", the last sentence of the fourth paragraph had read:

> . . . and the "John Smith" (Newcastle) goes down with a "swoosh" before the cook has time to leave off peeling his potatoes and pray.[25]

Jose emended "pray" to "takes to prayer", which is more like Lawson than Lawson. The opening of the second paragraph, "Last year", Jose altered to "A year or two ago," which is perhaps more natural and colloquial by virtue of its vagueness. In "The Drover's Wife" there are two important instances of Jose's emendations exhibiting a simplicity more in keeping with what might be judged by some critics as Lawson's anecdotal style. Speaking of the drover's wife, the narrator says:

> She has a keen, very keen sense of the ridiculous; and some time or another she will amuse bushmen by relating this incident.
>
> She was amused once before in a manner similar in some respects.

Jose's emendations, which Lawson adopted for both *While the Billy Boils* and *The Country I Come From*, read:

> . . . and sometime or other she will amuse bushmen with the story.
>
> She has been amused before like that.[26]

There are instances where Lawson's language is almost over-formal. Furthermore, when he was revising his stories for *While the Billy Boils*, he substituted original expressions with more formal language. Professor Roderick has assumed that this was the influence solely of Jose.[27] As we will see below there is evidence to suggest that this process started taking place before Lawson came into contact with Jose (as will be seen by the composition dates of the stories given in brackets). It is likely that from quite early on he was thinking of the British public. Curiously enough, Roderick in his commentary on "The Bush Undertaker" comes close to recognising an obvious example of Lawson adjusting his language for the English audience. He observes that the story had been published in 1892

for the English edition of *The Antipodean*, in 1894 in *Short Stories in Prose and Verse*, in 1896 in *While the Billy Boils* and then in *The Country I Come from* (1901). He wrote:

> Most of Lawson's 1894 emendations were restorations of Australian idiom or vocabulary; for example the genteel "hermit" and the pretentious "solitaire" of 1892 became the earthy "hatter" of 1894 . . . The London editor of 1892 had felt it necessary to explain, in parenthesis, that a "gohanna" was an "iguana" - a common misconception which Lawson dispelled by preferring "gohanna" in 1896, only to find himself obliged to accept the English idea of the reptile in 1900 and revert to "iguana".[28]

We should note here that, in fact, in 1894 Lawson used both "iguana" and "gohanna", and also "gohanna" in inverted commas. In 1896 he did not restore "gohanna" but used "iguana" for the narrator's speech, and "gohanner" for that of the bush undertaker. These forms were maintained for *The Country I Come From*.[29]

There are archaisms, Americanisms and expressions bearing an English influence to be found in Lawson's prose of the early 1890s. These linguistic tendencies can be seen as part of Lawson's search for an appropriate literary persona. The formal emendations which he made appear to be designed for the narrator of books as opposed to the narrator of stories in magazines or newspapers. As we will now see Jose sometimes emended Lawson's more wooden archaisms preferring a more natural style. In "Remailed" (1894), in the last sentence of the second paragraph, Lawson had written:

> The paper is generally "bespoke" in the following manner, to wit:[30]

Here, Jose deleted "to wit". In the second-last sentence of the seventh paragraph (commencing "There were points, of course . . ."):

> Or, mayhap, it might be a good joke - or the notice of the death of an old mate.[31]

Jose deleted "mayhap" and altered "might" to "may".

Further examples of Jose removing the archaic or over-literary elements in Lawson's stories are to be found in "Stragglers" (1892) where "'tis" is altered to "it is".[32] In "The Union Buries its Dead" (1893), the more usually English "an hotel verandah" is altered to "a hotel verandah".[33] In "The Man who Forgot", in the fourth paragraph, it is possible that

Jose thought the phrase "try their larks" carried English overtones in sharp contrast with the colloquial language surrounding it:

> . . . but Tom interfered and intimated that if they were skunks enough to try their larks, or chyack or try on any of their 'funny business' . . .[34]

He suggested the phrase be deleted. Similarly in the last sentence of the third paragraph there is another jarring combination of the formal and colloquial:

> Tom had . . . studied them with great interest . . . except the individual with the rats, who reckoned Tom had an axe to grind, that he in short wanted to cut his Rat's liver out . . . [35]

Here Jose thought "that he in short" should be omitted.

Another emendation of Jose's in "The Man who Forgot" illustrating his natural style is that which he made at the end of paragraph sixteen. Lawson had written:

> [He] . . . would beg you to favour a humble worker in the vineyard by kindly accepting a tract and offering to friends after perusal.[36]

Jose proposed the following:

> and passing it on to friends after perusal.

Jose also favoured the deletion of Americanisms: "stoushed him" in "Steelman" (1895); the dog's "chawing-up apparatus" in "The Drover's Wife" (1892) and in "Jones's Alley" (1892), Jose preferred the substitution of "a little way" for "a piece" in the sentence:

> Three other boys stood along by the window . . . and a fourth stood a piece along the kerb . . .[37]

It was mentioned above that apart from the formal language Lawson used in the early 1890s, there was also a considerable amount of formalisation which he introduced in 1896 and then maintained for the stories when they were to be re-published in *The Country I Come From* in 1901 in England, when Edward Garnett was reading his work. Furthermore, we know from one of his letters to Angus & Robertson that Lawson was revising carefully, so the retention of 1896 revisions was a considered choice.[38] In the circumstances, Lawson's perhaps over-formal language cannot be considered solely the result of Jose's influence.

Among these changes of Lawson's we find the removal of slang. For example, in "Across the Straits", he alters "blanky fool" to "as big a fool", and "pub" to "hotel". There are also instances of the removal of more colloquial words or expressions. In the story just mentioned, instead of "died of drought", Lawson alters the phrase to "died in the drought".[39] In "Hungerford", he alters a word in the concluding paragraph: "Then a trooper . . . came along and asked us what the yarn was" - here "yarn" is altered to "trouble". In "The Bush Undertaker" Lawson altered the following sentence:

> he heard a peculiar rustling sound over his head, and put the pot down on the table with a slam that made some of the precious liquor jump out.

In *While the Billy Boils* it read:

> he heard a peculiar rustling sound overhead, and put the pot down on the table with a slam that spilled some of the precious liquor.[40]

There are also instances of more formal words and expressions being used by Lawson. In "Hungerford", "started" is altered to "commenced"; "could be found" is changed to "were procurable". Whereas originally Lawson had written:

> There are two houses and a humpy in N.S.W., and five houses in Queensland.

He emended the beginning of the sentence so that it read:

> Hungerford consists of . . .[41]

In the sixth paragraph of "When the Sun Went down", "Tom made as though to go towards the claim" is altered to "Tom started to go . . ."[42]

Perhaps Lawson had his English audience in mind when he altered "young feller" to "Poor chap" in "The Union Buries its Dead", and "bushman" to "shepherd" in "The Bush Undertaker".[43] Jose, in his editing of Lawson, was emphasising the difference between the author-narrator on the one hand and the characters on the other. In this way he was contributing to the slow evolution of the persona of the narrator. We have seen this in his emphasis on ease, naturalness and orthodox language in the mouth of the narrator and his preparedness to leave the unorthodox speech of characters. It is seen too in Jose's treatment of Lawson's use of "phonetic" spelling which we will now consider.

Two different rules hold sway. The first rule is that which differentiates between the speech of the narrator and that of the characters. The second rule is that which Jose quoted in his Notes to Dyson, discussed in the previous chapter (pp. 185ff) viz:

> *General Note* . . . I was talking to Henry Lawson about his [spelling], & he agreed that a) There ought to be no useless mis-spelling (i.e. "sez", because it doesn't indicate a mis-pronunciation) b) it is simpler to leave the g's in: people will drop them in reading if they usually do so. His tales are g'd almost everywhere in the book[44]

Where incorrect spelling does not really represent a different pronunciation as in, for example, "sez", "agen", "fite", "kum", "dood", etc., it should not be used at all either for narrator or characters. Jose has attempted to reduce the presence of an element which could be interpreted as betraying a condescension toward the characters.

We must, however, immediately observe the different ways in which Jose applied the second rule in the cases of Dyson and Lawson. With Dyson, there was to be no "useless" misspelling at all (i.e. that which did not represent a different pronunciation). However, in Lawson's case, Jose often leaves uncorrected a certain number of these "useless mis-spellings"

It seems that there are two explanations for this. The first is that, as we saw, in Dyson's case, Jose considered that his overall style was inconsistent, a factor which weakened the dramatic impact of his poems. Secondly, Lawson's characters were convincing and the author was not relying solely on the spelling device either for the literary success of the character or the establishment of rapport with his readers. Thirdly, we might note that Lawson, in his use of misspelling does not appear to bear the patronising attitude towards his characters which Dyson or other writers did. Garnett wrote of Lawson's general attitude towards his characters:

> Nothing is more difficult to find in this generation than an English writer who identifies himself successfully with the life of the working democracy, a writer who does not stand aloof from and patronize the bulk of the people who labour with their hands . . . Lawson, however, has the great strength of the writer writing simply as one of the democracy, and of the man who does not have to climb down from a class fence in order to understand the human nature of the majority of his fellow men.[45]

We noted in the previous chapter that Jose, in effect, edited out phonetic spelling even when it *did* represent a different pronunciation, if it was used by a narrator. On the other hand, in Lawson, such spelling - rare though it be in the narrator's speech - is usually uncorrected by Jose. Thus we can see, that in the matter of Lawson's narrators' pronunciation, Jose accorded them a latitude they required as "bush-yarners". It goes without saying that Lawson's unintentional spelling mistakes were corrected by Jose: the authorial voice also necessarily present in the narrator's speech should not be muffled.

Of course in regard to the question of "phonetic" misspelling being "useless" or, on the other hand, representing a different pronunciation, a difficulty arises in that sometimes the pronunciation differences represented are minimal. A matter of particular importance here is where "minimal" differences in fact represent what Delbridge has called that "rather slow syllabic utterance of the Australian bush character". Such a pronunciation could be seen as part of the thematic statement outlined above (p. 206). Its editing would call for extreme caution. However, as Delbridge also observed, the display of linguistic idiosyncrasies can distract the reader's attention from the plot, characters, etc.[46] Instances of minimal differences are found in the spelling of "there" as "theer" or "what" as "wot" or "gohanna" as "gohanner".[47]

As in Dyson there are instances where Lawson was inconsistent in his use of different spellings for the same word (spoken by the same character). For example in "That There Dog o' Mine", we have the forms "old" and "ole" for "old".[48] Possibly it was the combined effect of occasional inconsistency with the grey area of minimal differences which prompted Jose towards the idea of regularisation in his Note (quoted in full above, p. 216):

> . . . it is simpler to leave the g's in: people will drop them in reading if they usually do so. [Lawson's] tales are g'd almost everywhere in the book[49]

We note here the qualifying word, "almost". When we turn to the proofs of "That There Dog o' Mine" we observe a difference of opinion between Lawson and Jose. Here, Lawson, who in the original version of the story in the *Sketcher* had omitted d's and g's, wanted them inserted throughout. Jose, however, wrote beside Lawson's revisions: "doubt if all

these ought to be inserted: it's dialogue".[50] That is, Jose felt that the rule of differentiating between the speech of characters and the narrator should be invoked where there was also represented by the misspelling, a minimal difference of pronunciation. It is also worth noting that Lawson insisted that all the d's and g's be included.

Jose emended also with a view to making Lawson's style even more terse or concise. In this one can see the realist vogue. Conciseness has been recognised by critics as one of the principal characteristics of the *Bulletin* model, and one to which Lawson conformed, particularly in his early stories.[51] Jose's alterations manifesting this influence are to be found in the occasional phrase or sentence. But most frequently they involve the conclusions of stories. (In particular he advised the deletion of matter he thought not so much inconclusive, but artlessly so.)

Compression

Alterations made by Jose to condense Lawson's style are found in the deletion of various revisions which take the form of the narrator's asides. They are rather like afterthoughts. In "Settling on the Land", for example, in describing the cows, Lawson wrote:

> but like Dombey's first wife, they wouldn't "make an effort"[52]

The phrase, "like Dombey's first wife", which was added by Lawson was deleted by Jose. In "The Shearing of the Cook's Dog" there are further examples of Lawson's afterthoughts being deleted. In the opening paragraph, describing the cook's dog, originally Lawson had written:

> Also he seemed to have a bad liver.

He added to this:

> and be jealous of all creation except himself.

Further down in the paragraph, Lawson revised the sentence:

> He wasn't an affectionate dog; it wasn't his style.

He substituted the word, "nature" for "style" and added:

> nor his mother's nor father's probably[53]

Jose recommended that all these additions be omitted, and they were.

An example of Jose's more general tendency to condense, and his preference for terseness is well illustrated in "A Day on a Selection". Lawson had written:

> But an inch of dialogue will tell more of character than a column of descriptive matter; so we will finish up with some fragments of conversation caught at the dinner-table. The characters are . . .

Jose reduced the sentence to:

> Here are some fragments of conversation caught at the dinner-table. Present - the Selector, the Missus . . .[54]

We might note in passing that the revision also reveals Jose's dislike of Lawson appearing solely as author without his bush-yarner persona, as he might be seen as doing in the sudden authorial comment, "The characters are . . ."

Of the fifty stories in *While the Billy Boils*, Lawson was undecided about the conclusions of thirteen. Jose made suggestions for resolving problems in eleven. The alterations are designed to bring about a crisper ending. In doing this, as we mentioned earlier, thematic statements are sometimes overshadowed. Manning Clark saw in the codas of the stories "a signature tune, a Lawson comment on life in general"; Heseltine saw in Lawson's uncertainty about his stories' conclusions, an uncertainty about his self. It was an uncertainty not without relevance to his art for, as Heseltine pointed out, in his uncertainty he held in balance a state of spiritual nothingness against the comforts of the certainty of doctrines.[55] Other critics will find other themes have been overshadowed.

While eight of Jose's suggestions for the conclusions were adopted, Lawson rejected those for "The Bush Undertaker", "The Union Buries its Dead" and "Some Day".

At the close of "The Bush Undertaker", after Brummy has been buried, Lawson finishes the story:

> He sat down on a log nearby, rested his elbows on his knees and passed his hand wearily over his forehead - but only as one who was tired and felt the heat; and presently he rose, took up the tools and walked back to the hut.
>
> And the sun sank again on the grand Australian bush - the nurse and tutor of eccentric minds, the home of the weird, and of much that is different from things in other lands.

Jose suggested the final paragraph be deleted, Lawson preferred it as it was, Robertson agreed with Lawson's judgement and it was published in Lawson's preferred form for both *While the Billy Boils* and *The Country I Come From*. The last paragraph has been seen as expressing the quintessential nature of the Australian bush. Roderick saw it as expressing "Nature's indifference to human activity". Barnes saw the shepherd as one of a type whose eccentricity was formed by the bush as described in the final paragraph.[56] While many of the different factors enumerated at the outset are likely to have influenced Jose in his suggestion that it be deleted, one is tempted to see in his recommendation his dislike of the portrayal of the bush as a dark, uneasy place. It would be as well to note that such a glib device as the "happy ending" did not find favour with him either. This becomes evident in "Stragglers" in his suggested omission of Lawson's new conclusion which brings the longed-for rain. It is a story of rouseabouts and shearers who "have a kind of stock hope of getting a few stragglers to shear somewhere; but their main object is to live till next shearing". Thus it is that Lawson, with quiet dry irony, suggests the men are rather like the stray sheep they are looking for. In the *Bulletin* version, the ending ran as follows:

> The Irishman has lost his match-box, and feels for it all over the table without success. He stoops down with his hands on his knees, gets the table-top on a level with the flicker of firelight, and "moons" the object, as it were.
>
> Time to turn in. It is very dark inside and bright moonlight without; and every crack seems like a ghost peering in.
>
> Some of the men will roll up their swags on the morrow and depart; and some will take another day's spell. It's all according to the tucker.[57]

In the proofs of *While the Billy Boils*, Lawson added yet another "ending" after a row of asterisks:

> Pitch dark again - Flash! - Crash! - Rattle and roar - The Rain! - Thank Heaven!

Lawson deleted the ending. Beside it Jose had written "Omit?". Of course we should note that the ending of "Stragglers" also provides an illustration of Jose's tendency to revise on those occasions where he found "multiple endings" or a series of conclusions.[58]

"In a Dry Season" and "Some Day" manifest the same pattern of multiple endings. "In a Dry Season" is an account of a train journey, the landscape and people, the conversations

of passengers travelling on a country train. The *Bulletin* edition of the story ended as follows:

> At 5.30 we saw a long line of camels moving out across the sunset. There's something snaky about camels. They remind me of turtles and iguanas. Somebody said, "Here's Bourke."
>
> The above is written more in sorrow than anything else and if it lacks interest it isn't my fault.
>
> P.S. Never tackle the bush without a good mate. With one you can do anything and go anywhere.

In the proofs for *While the Billy Boils*, Lawson deleted the ending from "The above is written . . ." and inserted "And so it was" after "Here's Bourke." so that the conclusion then ran:

> At 5.30 we saw a long line of camels moving out across the sunset. There's something snaky about camels. They remind me of turtles and iguanas. Somebody said, "Here's Bourke." And so it was.[59]

Jose thought "And so it was" should be omitted and that the story should end with "Here's Bourke". At that point in the proof, he wrote, "Stop here". It is not known whether Lawson crossed out the remainder of the story in response to Jose or whether Jose's direction was a clarification for the benefit of typesetters. The fact remains, however, that we have another instance of Jose's preference for the terse ending. Roderick regretted that Lawson agreed to omit "And so it was". Indeed, the narrator's silent inward observation provided a meditative note consistent with the rest of a story in which the narrator has been a silent observer throughout. The phrase in its simplicity and emphasis seems to point to the symbolic significance of Bourke, that almost mythical place, the ultimate geographical point before the "Never-never" in a country at the bottom of the world.

Such is the outback of "Some Day" where Marsters, who has been re-named Mitchell, tells his tale of unfulfilled love. It is a landscape described by Heseltine as "purgatory".[60] The reasons why Mitchell's love remains suspended, as it were, are not given. The hope suggested by the title is undercut by the sarcasm:

> "Some Day! That's it; it looks like it, don't it? We all say 'Some day'. I used to say it ten years ago, and look at me now.

Jose considered that the story should end with Mitchell's final sentence:

> I think we'd best turn in, old man; we've got a long, dry stretch before us tomorrow."[61]

In the version of the story published in the *Worker*, there followed the narrator's comments:

> They rolled out their swags on the sand, laid down, and wrapped themselves in their blankets. Marsters covered his head with a piece of calico, because the moonlight and wind kept him awake.[62]

Lawson ignored Jose's recommendation and kept the conclusion, so expressive of Mitchell's discomfort, for *While the Billy Boils*.

Jose's dislike of bare authorial intrusions and his tendency to delete the explicit, can be seen in "In a Wet Season", the companion piece to "In a Dry Season", another description of a train journey through the bush. The symbolic terms of reference for the New World purgatory are familiar: "scrub indescribably dismal - everything damp, dark, and unspeakably dreary". Through such a landscape tramps a swagman, "dummy" like:

> The rain recommenced. We saw another swagman, about a mile on, struggling away from the town, through mud and water. He didn't seem to have heart enough to bother about trying to avoid the worst mud-holes. There was a low-spirited dingo at his heels, whose sole object in life was, seemingly, to keep his front paws in his master's last foot-print. The 'traveller's' body was bent well forward, from the hips up; his long arms—about six inches through his coat sleeves—hung by his sides, like the arms of a dummy, with a billy at the end of one and a bag at the end of the other; but his head was thrown back against the top end of the swag, his hat-brim rolled up in front, and we saw a ghastly, beardless face which turned neither to the right nor the left as the train passed him.[63]

Lawson conceived of the idea of adding to the description, the following:

> His eyes were fix[ed] straight ahead - looking for God perhaps -

Jose recommended that it be omitted, Lawson agreed. We might note a parallel between the bush undertaker and the swagman. Of the former story, Heseltine observed:

> . . . "The Bush Undertaker" finds its deepest motivation in the juxtaposition of an absolutely hopeless, sterile existence with the possibility of redemptive change.[64]

There are instances of stories where one can see that Jose has recommended alterations to the conclusions solely to compress them. "The Union Buries its Dead" provides an instance of this. In the proofs it read:

> We did hear, later on, what his real name was, but, if we do chance to read it among the missing friends in some agony column, we shall not be aware of it, and therefore not able to give any information to a "sorrowing sister" or "heart broken mother" - for we have already forgotten his name.

Jose suggested the paragraph be shortened or alternatively that it be emended to:

> We did hear, later on, what his real name was; but we have already forgotten it.

Lawson dismissed the suggestion and when it finally appeared, it had been altered as follows:

> We did hear, later on, what his real name was; but if we ever chance to read it in the 'Missing Friends Column', we shall not be able to give any information to heart-broken Mother or Sister or Wife, nor to anyone who could let him hear something to his advantage - for we have already forgotten the name.[65]

"Board and Residence" provides yet another example of the played-out ending or the series of three endings. The story is a description of Mr Careless's experience of a boarding-house, and its bullying and mean-spirited landlady, Mrs Jones. The house is barely clean, and the meals, meagre. The story concludes with one of the boarders leaving. Lacking the courage to tell Mrs Jones that her house leaves a lot to be desired, he invents feasible but false reasons for his departure. The narrator then comments:

> It's enough to give a man rats.
>
> He escapes, and we regard his departure very much as a gang of hopeless convicts might regard the unexpected liberation of one of their number.
>
> This is the sort of life that gives a man a God-Almighty longing to break away and take to the bush.
>
> And Mrs Jones is always wondering why she can't get along - why she can't keep boarders. The reason is plain, but she's blind to it, and deaf to hints. If a man were to tell her for her own good, she'd fly at him; her son hears all and might tell her, only that he doesn't understand - he has never been used to anything better. She gets plenty of boarders, but she starves them out. They hang out as long as possible, because men don't like shifting into new lodgings - they cling to any place that they get used to as long as possible, but Mrs Jones starves 'em out in the end. It doesn't pay. Besides, she has got no management. We know a woman who could keep a far better table at half the expense, and with about one-sixteenth the talk . . .[66]

The long paragraph commencing "And Mrs Jones . . .", in the proofs was crossed out by Lawson. Beside it was the recommendation by Jose that it be omitted. It is difficult to tell whether or not Jose intended the sentence preceding it to be omitted also ("This is the sort of life . . ."). It is possible that this was the case since he has also drawn a line of asterisks after the sentence ending, "one of their number", as if to indicate that this be the conclusion.

Another characteristic of Jose's conclusions is his preference for ending with dialogue. This can be seen in his recommendations for "Some Day", "A Visit of Condolence" and "In a Dry Season". It is also characteristic of Lawson's conclusions: "Steelman", "The Shearing of the Cook's Dog", "That There Dog of Mine", "Steelman's Pupil", "The Geological Spieler", "Our Pipes", "Bill, the Ventriloquist Rooster" all end with direct speech as do some of Lawson's later stories: "The Boozer's Home", "The Loaded Dog" and "Joe Wilson's Courtship". It may well have been a convenient technical device or the obvious solution for a writer adept at representing exactly the nuances of spoken language, who liked to strike the right note at his conclusions but had difficulty doing so. Jose encouraged Lawson to use this particular talent so that the author's creative skill would be the final impression left lingering in the reader's mind. We might also note here the contemporary preference, seen in the *Bulletin* and commented on by Jarvis, for characters revealing themselves by dialogue.[67]

In "A Visit of Condolence" we have the story of the young boy, Bill, who visits his friend, Arvie, only to find he has died. The dialogue between Arvie's mother and Bill constitutes the body of the tale. It is employed largely as a device to reveal the character of Bill and incidentally describe the poverty of those living in Jones's Alley - originally the story was entitled "A Visit of Condolence: A Study from Life of a Sydney 'Larrikin'". Jose recommended that the story finish with Bill addressing Arvie:

> Keep yer pecker up, young 'un!

It is likely that he preferred this ending to Lawson's addition, "And he sloped down the lane whistling The Dead March" for a number of reasons.[68] Apart from Jose's general preference for dialogue, there is his dislike of Lawson's attempts to be striking or shocking.

Modification of 'crudeness'

Finally we should discuss the category of corrections made by Jose to modify the crudeness in Lawson's stories. Jose, in discussing Lawson's prose in *The Romantic Nineties*, wrote:

> Its chief fault - before diffuseness tainted it also - was his endeavour to be shocking, to insert unsavoury details under the impression (regrettably encouraged in him by advisers who should have known better) that it was by shocking and unsavoury details that the first Kipling stories attained their sudden vogue. (*RN*, p. 19)

There are perhaps half a dozen instances of "unsavoury details" or deliberately shocking elements which Jose thought were better omitted. They might equally be described as elements of low comedy.

One of the rather gross or earthy details of "The Man Who Forgot" was deleted at the recommendation of Jose. The rouseabouts are sitting around, talking about the new man who has joined them. The narrator describes Tom Marshall (who leads the camp-fire yarning) and includes his mannerisms: "he reflectively scraped out his capacious right ear". Further on in the story, to mark the beginning of the second section, as it were, Lawson repeats the detail:

> "Yes" reflected Tom, as he scraped the other ear out.[69]

Jose suggested that the repetition of the detail be left out. Perhaps, as much as anything, he felt Lawson had laboured the point.

Another example which Jose might have thought of as gross is to be found in "A Day on a Selection". The narrator is describing the process of handfeeding the calves. Jose thought that the following sentence should be omitted though Lawson wanted it retained. It read:

> His hand feels sticky and the cleaned finger makes it look as if he wore a filthy, greasy glove with the forefinger torn off.[70]

Perhaps if Lawson had given the description of the finger as the boy's observation rather than the narrator's, it may have been more acceptable to Jose; it would have contributed to the characterisation of the boy and not been included merely to startle.

There are elements which are not necessarily unsavoury or even startling, but which appear to be rather laboured or technically crude. They have a low-comic quality about them which Jose seems to have considered overdone. In "The Drover's Wife", the narrator describes the protagonist's fight against a bushfire in years gone by:

> She put on an old pair of her husband's trousers and beat out the flames with a green bough, till great drops of sooty perspiration stood out on her forehead and ran in streaks down her blackened arms. . . the terrified baby howled lustily for his 'mummy'.

At this point, in revising the proofs Lawson added a new detail:

> and she looked like a mummy too before she was done.[71]

Jose deleted the afterthought, probably disliking the rather weak pun. Similarly, in "In a Wet Season", Lawson had been attempting to convey the coldness and wetness of the carriage:

> There was only one damp cushion in the whole concern. We lent that to a lady who travelled for a few hours in the other half of the next compartment. The seats were about nine inches wide and sloped in at a sharp angle to the bare matchboard wall with a bead on the outer edge; and as the cracks had become well caulked with the grease and dirt of generations, they held several gallons of water each. We scuttled one, rolled ourselves in a rug, and tried to sleep; but all night long overcoated and comfortered bushmen would get in, let down all the windows, and then get out again at the next station. Then we would wake up frozen and shut the windows.[72]

To this, Lawson added in his revisions:

> It was just as if there was the end of an ice-berg sticking through the window.

For Jose this was another case of Lawson labouring the point.

It becomes apparent that an interplay of factors influenced Jose in his revising of Lawson's work. Two of these are likely to have fed each other: the literary fashion which

valued highly literary technique, and the consideration of the English audience. It is likely that Jose felt Lawson's success in England depended on his display of technical competence not only because technical virtuosity was fashionable but because as an Australian he would be dismissed as uneducated if he did not display it.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 11: Lawson's *While the Billy Boils*

1. For Jose's editing of *While the Billy Boils*, the principal source is the publishing manuscript A1867 and A1868.

2. Harry Heseltine, *The Uncertain Self. Essays in Australian Literature and Criticism*, OUP, Melbourne, 1986, p. 52.

3. Hadgraft, p. 101; John Barnes, *Henry Lawson's Short Stories, Essays in Australian Literature*, Shillington House, Melbourne, 1985, p. 14.

4. Doug. Jarvis, "Lawson, the *Bulletin* and the Short Story", *Australian Literary Studies*, XI, 1 (1983), pp. 58-66.

5. Barnes, p. 14; Elizabeth Webby, "Australian Short Fiction", *ALS*, X, 2 (1981), pp. 147-56.

6. Goodchild's "While the Billy Boils" was privately published in his book of poetry, *Who Are You?* (Echuca, 1883) and in *Australian Ballads*, edited by Douglas Sladen (Walter Scott Company, London, 1888). The information concerning the origin of the title is to be found in Vol. 314/47 in correspondence with Hugh Wright, where Robertson raised the question with the Mitchell Librarian. The relevant letters are 13 February, 21 March, 26 March 1919. In the first, Robertson asks Wright if the title had been used before; Wright replied initially that he had not heard of it. Wright then corrected himself, citing Goodchild's poem in *Australian Ballads*. In the third letter, Robertson wrote, "Mr Jose had suggested the title, "While the Billy Boils" and I always thought it his own invention until Shenstone told me the other day that he had seen it somewhere else."

7. 314/41, Jose file, 27 October 1896.

8. Jarvis, p. 62.

9. Barnes, pp. 4, 30.

10. John Barnes (ed.), *The Penguin Henry Lawson Short Stories*, Penguin, Ringwood, 1986, Introduction, p. 12.

11. Colin Roderick (ed.), *Henry Lawson Short Stories and Sketches 1888-1922*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1972, "The Loaded Dog", p. 336.

12. Heseltine, p. 45.

13. *Athenaeum*, London, 4 January 1902, quoted in Colin Roderick (ed.), *Henry Lawson Criticism 1894-1971*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1972, pp. 120-1.

14. Colin Roderick, *Henry Lawson Commentaries on His Prose Writings*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1985, p. 3.

15. Colin Roderick (ed.), *Henry Lawson Letters 1890-1922*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1970, Letter, No. 21, p. 63.

16. The three quotations come from articles which are to be found in Roderick (ed.), *Henry Lawson Criticism, 1894-1971*, pp. 104-5; 117-120; 121-6.

17. A1867, "A Day on a Selection", p. 3; A1868, "Jones's Alley", p. 3.

18. A1867, "Settling on the Land", p.2.

19. ibid., p. 3.

20. A1867, "Remailed", p. 2.

21. A1867, "When the Sun Went Down", p. 2.

22. A1867, "Settling on the Land", p. 3.

23. A1867, "Hungerford", p. 3.

24. A1867, "The Drover's Wife", p. 9.

25. A1867, "Across the Straits", p.1.

26. A1867, "The Drover's Wife", p. 8. "Another" has been changed to "other" by either Lawson or Robertson.

27. See above n. 14.

28. Roderick, *Henry Lawson Commentaries*, p. 26.

29. For examples of "iguana" and gohanner" in the proofs of *While the Billy Boils*, see A1868, "The Bush Undertaker", pp. 3, 5 and 7.

30. A1867, "Remailed", p. 1.

31. ibid., p. 2.

32. A1867, "Stragglers", p. 4.

33. A1867, "The Union Buries its Dead", p. 2.

34. A1867, "The Man who Forgot", p. 1.

35. ibid., p. 1.

36. ibid., p. 2.

37. A1868, "Jones's Alley", p. 7.

38. 314/45, Lawson - A & R, 15 May 1901, ". . . Blackwood's selected edition of prose, under the title of "The Country I Come From" is being pushed on. I have revised carefully and will send you a list of pages containing corrections which you may like to make in your future Australian editions. . . ."

39. A1867, "Across the Straits", pp. 1 & 2; "Settling on the Land" p. 2; A1867, "Settling on the Land", p. 3; "Hungerford", p. 3.

40. A1868, "The Bush Undertaker", p. 6.

41. A1867, "Hungerford", pp. 1, 2 and 3.

42. A1867, "When the Sun Went Down", p. 1.

43. A1867, "The Union Buries its Dead", p. 5; A1868, "The Bush Undertaker", p. 3.

44. 314/28, Edward Dyson file, p. 803.

45. Roderick (ed.), *Henry Lawson Criticism*, p. 123.

46. Arthur Delbridge, "Australian English" in Laurie Hergenhan (ed.), *The Penguin New Literary History of Australia*, Ringwood, 1988, p. 57, refers to Lawson's spelling of innocent as "innercent".

47. For the spelling, "theer", see A1868, "The Bush Undertaker", p. 5; for "gohanner", ibid., pp. 3, 5, and 7; for "wot" see A1867, "The Man who Forgot", p. 2 and "The Shearing of the Cook's Dog", p. 2.

48. A1867, "That There Dog o' Mine"; the spelling, "old" is found in the last paragraph of p. 1, and the first and second paragraphs of p. 2 of the story. The spelling, "ole" is found in the third paragraph of p. 2.

49. Jose's Notes for Dyson in 314/28, the Dyson file p. 803.

50. A1867, "That There Dog o' Mine", p. 2.

51. Laurie Hergenhan (ed.), *The Australian Short Story. An Anthology from the 1890s to the 1980s*, UQP, St Lucia, 1986, Introduction, p. xiv; Barnes, *Henry Lawson Short Stories*, p. 17; Jarvis, p. 63.

52. A1867, "Settling on the Land", p. 2.

53. A1867, "The Shearing of the Cook's Dog".

54. A1867, "A Day on a Selection", p. 3.

55. Heseltine, pp. 52-3.

56. Barnes, *Henry Lawson Short Stories*, p. 21.

57. *Bulletin*, 27 May 1893.

58. A1867, "Stragglers", p. 4.

59. A1867, "In a Dry Season", p. 2.

60. Heseltine, p. 48.

61. A1868, "Some Day", p. 2.

62. ibid.

63. A1868, "In a Wet Season", p. 1.

64. Heseltine, p. 47.

65. A1867, "The Union Buries Its Dead", p. 5.

66. A1868, "Board and Residence", p. 3.

67. Jarvis, p. 59.

68. Although Lawson's handwriting is erased, the words are still visible.

69. A1867, "The Man Who Forgot, p. 2.

70. A1867, "A Day on a Selection", p. 2.

71. A1867, "The Drover's Wife", p. 5.

72. A1868, "In a Wet Season", p. 3.

CHAPTER 12: Zora Cross

(*The Lilt of Life*)

(*Elegy on an Australian Schoolboy*)

The publishing history of Zora Cross's poetry illustrates the decisive role literary friendships could play in influencing editorial practices in Sydney in the post-Federation period. Jose's editing of Cross's work will be examined after a consideration of the change in Sydney's literary world in the post-Federation period from the 1890s; the change in literary tastes; Cross's management of the important literary figures; their concerns and attitudes.

Though there has been a revival of interest in her work, Zora Cross is now largely unknown. She was born in 1890 in Brisbane and trained as a schoolteacher, but subsequently supported herself by writing articles, short stories and verse and by working as a singer and dancer in vaudeville. Perhaps her chaotic and melodramatic verse mirrored her personal life. At twenty she entered into a short-lived marriage with an actor. In 1917 she met David McKee Wright. In 1920 they moved to Glenbrook where they lived together until his death in 1928. In her correspondence with Robertson, Brereton, and others, Zora Cross reveals a tendency towards self-dramatisation. The romantic agony of the nineteenth century and the tragic wistfulness of Yeats dissolve into high Victorian melodrama in her letters. Her youth, then, has the appearance of a Bohemian existence and was portrayed as such by A.W. Barker in *Dear Robertson*. Yet her daughter, Mrs April Hersey, rejects such an image.[1]

McKee Wright, born in Ireland in 1869, at eighteen migrated to New Zealand where he joined the Congregationalist ministry. After fifteen years or so, he left the ministry for a career in journalism and, in 1910 moved to Sydney where he became poetry editor of the Red Page.[2]

Cross's first books were volumes of verse: *A Song of Mother Love* (1916), *Songs of Love and Life* (1917), *The Lilt of Life* (1918) and *Elegy on an Australian Schoolboy* (1921). Later

she switched to the novel: *Daughters of the Seven Mile: the Love Story of an Australian Woman* (1924), *The Lute Girl of Rainyvale: A Story of Love, Mystery and Adventure in Northern Queensland* (1925) and *This Hectic Age* (1944).

Cross made important contacts in the Sydney literary ambience. While in the 1890s, Archibald and A.G. Stephens held key positions in the literary world, McKee Wright now replaced Stephens not only as editor of the Red Page but as self-appointed arbiter of literary merit. Robertson was beginning to consult him as reviser and he had gained influence by his association with Gregan McMahon's Sydney Repertory Theatre Movement. Brennan, who was also given Cross's *Songs of Love and Life* to read, was influential in a more subtle way; his scholarly reputation was respected and counted for much as an underpinning force - his opinion could be quoted to other revisers and reviewers. Finally, there was Brereton with whom Cross is said to have been close friends; he was co-reviser with Jose of some of her work. His appointment in 1921 to the Challis Professorship of English Literature confirmed his long-established reputation as a humanist scholar.[3]

Jose, stationed in Melbourne from 1915 to 1920, was not in a position to exert as much influence as once he had. Wright, Brennan and Brereton were central in Sydney's literary world. They responded enthusiastically to her poetry. There were several reasons for this. Her work seemed to represent a major change in the style of Australian poetry and to be altogether new. Robertson wrote to Brennan:

> I want your candid opinion as to merits or demerits, criticism as to punctuation, correctness of expression, mythological references, general style, subjects treated, prosody - everything in fact . . .
> (13 November 1917)[4]

Brennan replied:

> . . . he had, before him, the real stuff of poetry. Both he, and well-qualified friends and colleagues (whose judgement has come to him unsolicited) have recognized here (1) a note that reminds them - without any copying, without any reminiscence - of the best sonnet-writers, from Rossetti back to Shakespeare (*hoc dico*) - and (2) a mastery of the sonnet-form, astounding at times, and again, suffering astounding lapses.[5]

This opinion was selectively quoted and used for the jacket of the book. John le Gay Brereton prepared an even more eulogistic criticism for the jacket of *The Lilt of Life*:

> Zora Cross, whose *Songs of Love and Life* delighted critics and readers with an affluence of sensuous and passionate beauty, now makes a fresh appeal with *The Lilt of Life*, and proves that the abundance of her poetic treasure is by no means exhausted. She launches out upon new seas, and takes us to new lands of loveliness. She has already bared to the world, with honesty and convincing power, the secrets of a loving woman's heart, and now she goes a step further and admits us to the holy sanctuary of motherhood, revealing the hopes and fears, the pains and triumph of the woman whose love takes on incarnate form. Her sonnets have a lyric fervency that give them a rare quality, but she can also express herself with variety and charm in other forms of verse, and has even ventured, with a boldness fully justified, to give us a long poem in blank verse - a poem which treats of the problems of feminism with an originality which defies convention.[6]

With the benefit of hindsight, we can see that Zora Cross was writing at a period when literature was altering in a fundamental way. In her work we can see a fatal fascination with the Pre-Raphaelites and Yeats. At the same time we can see the rudiments of a modernist imagination. More telling than the Yeatsian imagery are the recurring experiments with form - her extensive use of the sonnet, her recourse to nursery rhymes, her re-creations of the world of 'faery', her attempts at blank verse. It is as if she was attempting to gain entry into the world of the modernist imagination which she only dimly perceived, and half understood. One might say that the uncritical response to her poetry may have been in part the reaction we would expect when there is a diminished output of poetry. Vivian Smith has pointed out that during this period there was little poetry of consequence and that the Nineties' ballad had exhausted itself.[7]

But the response of Norman Lindsay and Jose to Cross's poetry was altogether different. Robertson had written to Lindsay asking him to illustrate *Songs of Love and Life* but Lindsay, enclosing the following cartoon, replied:

Dear Robertson,

Inspiration stops at the above. I dare not carry it further. An effort to disentangle the mixed metaphors of this estimable married lady forces my Scotch ancestry to indignant protest. Besides, I doubt they will let us print orgasms in pictorial form.

God forbid that I should impute a libidinous frenzy to what I imagine is but a plaintive effort to assure herself that fornication is all the misleading things that poets say it is. Still, I am not putting forth anything in the way of depreciation for the *Songs of Love and Life*. I believe, for one thing, that they will sell all right. And of course they may be poetry. They have all the appearance of being that mysterious thing. But my mental equipment is inadequate to pass a judgement . . . The chemical formula of *Songs of Love and Life* appears to be made up of some unsatisfied physical impulses, a torpid husband, or no husband, Browning and "Any Wife to Any Husband", "Omar" in spasms, and a belief that literary frankness is attained by admitting a pleasure in copulation.

To please you, I would like to illustrate them, but my picture faculty fails to work when a sense of the ludicrous is touched.

> The Missus says that this is a very rude letter to you, but is isn't meant to be. It is only an effort to announce my incapacity to understand the intellectual spasms of the female mind.
>
> Best Regards,
> Norman Lindsay.[8]

As Lindsay predicted, *Songs of Love and Life* sold particularly well. "We are running out a second impression and cannot fill orders quickly enough" Robertson wrote to Jose. The sensation it made as "frank love poetry" stimulated public curiosity and sales. In South Africa it was regarded as so inflammatory that questions were asked in Parliament and Cross's book was described as "filthy and prurient", her poems as "filthy productions".[9] Robertson undeterred revelled in this and confidently replied to an anxious bookseller:

> Have no fear of our forthcoming books. They will not bring a blush to the cheeks of your Merrimans. Singers capable of stuff like "Songs of Love and Life" appear only once in a generation, and, like Swinburne, have to await justice from the next. Zora Cross is a young married woman (the frontispiece is a contemporary portrait) who sings the physical with frank and wholesome delight, and when our Merrimans are dead and forgotten her name will be a household word.
> (4 June 1918)[10]

While Jose was not as anti-modernist as Lindsay, he was influenced by Brennan (still meeting with the Casuals on the rare occasions he was in Sydney) and he adopted a similar stance, generally speaking to Brennan, of whom it has been said "he stands on the threshold of modernism rather than fully participating it".[11] It is significant that Jose's reviews of Australian literature in an overseas journal in 1928 finish with the work of Hugh McCrae and Mary Gilmore. The works of Neilson, Slessor and FitzGerald are not mentioned.[12]

Jose's public opinion of Cross, expressed in 1924, was measured:

> In their [Hugh McCrae's and David McKee Wright's] wake come two woman-writers, both fluent and uneven, but both at their best fine lyrists: Mary Gilmore is the more poignant, Zora Cross the more passionate.[13]

But his earlier opinion expressed in confidential letters to Robertson was that the verse was execrable. He referred to it as the "Cross slobber" or the "Cross muck". There were

several reasons why he disliked it. The main one was that much of her verse was meaningless. In one letter, Jose began as follows:

> Dear Robertson,
>
> I return by this post a fair amount of the Cross muck. I am going through with it because you sent it along: but frankly I feel disgusted with the whole mass of it - not for its morals, which I understand affect some people mawkishly (I don't care what morals she has or pretends to have, so long as she'll express them intelligibly), but because she means nothing from beginning to end. She hasn't a clear thought in her head, but only slobbers of sickly sweet cant phrases, which she spreads on a page as kiddies spread butter in lumps on new bread. Did you or any creature ever hear leafy tips of summer o'erdarting the streaming silence of a shelly shoal? No, nor did she, but the meaningless words slobbered out of her just because she can't keep her mouth shut . . .
> (6 October 1918)[14]

When Robertson told him "Brennan and Brereton are both enthusiastic about this young woman" Jose replied "I'm sorry . . . my feelings about the Cross stuff were so useless to you; but if Brennan approves of that sort of stuff my confidence in his judgement will receive a severe shock".[15] Robertson then answered with a more balanced version of Brennan's opinion and Jose wrote:

> I thank Heaven you have somewhat restored my faith in Brennan, who could not still be the Brennan I knew if he approved of the Cross slobber.
>
> As for the three guineas, twenty wouldn't compensate me for having had to read the stuff through. On the other hand, one is probably more than the actual value of my work in making the stuff less hopeless. So leave it at three. . . .
> (9 November 1918)[16]

Brennan's description of her work as very uneven was the most balanced opinion of her work. Until recently, on the rare occasions that her work has been referred to, the criticisms have generally been negative. Max Harris, concurring with Geoffrey Dutton, wrote, "Australia has little to show in the way of love poetry apart from the feminist tradition which culminated in the stuffed-owl excesses of Zora Cross."[17] H.M. Green wrote of her sonnets:

> A sensuous and frankly intimate sonnet sequence on a love theme by Zora Cross . . . so shocked and allured the readers of its day as to obscure her other verse and give her a poetic prominence that was not quite warranted.[18]

The tendency to trade heavily on the emotional, and the many technical shortcomings in her poetry made it the very antithesis of everything Jose admired: an accomplished use of metre, precise and accurate language, polish and restraint. It was for this reason that he held in such high esteem Daley's and Brennan's delicately wrought poems; he regarded the former as the finest Australian poet of the Nineties. Such a preoccupation with technique seemed mundane and insensitive to Wright and Cross who were immersed in the poetry and ideals of the Celtic Revival, and who gave a sovereignty to the emotions. We should note that Jose had more patience in emending the work of the Nineties' balladists than that of Cross. He saw their work as quintessentially Australian. Such an attitude is revealed in a report he wrote for an anthology of Australian sonnets proposed by Lavater. The anthology was to contain the work of Kendall, Daley, Ogilvie, Brennan, Cross and Gellert. Jose wrote to Robertson:

> I do not think the collection worth making. The *pucka* Australian poet is not a sonnetteer, and (with a very few exceptions) the Australians who have cultivated the sonnet form are second and (mostly) third-raters. Their work is usually artificial and often imitative; and to inflict upon the world a collection of it would seriously misrepresent Australia . . . Melbourne is a great place in many ways, but its prolificity of literary cliques tends to the breeding of unAustralian, unhumorous uninspired authors and critics. A little more open air, and a good deal more friendly mocking of poet-posers, would do wonders in genuinely Australianizing Victorian literature.
> (26 February 1921)[19]

As we have said, the most pronounced influences in Zora Cross's poetry are those of the Pre-Raphaelites and Yeats, and it is Yeats's poetry of the 1890s which is the most persistent influence: the drawing from a similar combination of sources (Classical myth, particularly Helen of Troy, and the New Testament), and the attempted reconstruction or modern rendering of a 'faery' world. Michael Sharkey observed the 'faery' strain in Wright's poetry. More noticeable than these, Yeats's influence is evident in the distinctive imagery employed by Cross: the nature imagery of the early Romantics, which in Yeats becomes markedly evocative, in Cross is pushed further and is nearly always sensuous. The fourth verse of "Fairy Ride" provides an example of this:

> "I've a ripple-lapping cave of pearl," I said,

"And a myriad harps their airs will wed
To delight your ears
For a thousand years,
If you'll sleep on the weeds of my fairy bed."[20]

or the opening verse of "The Magic Fiddler":

Oh, where are you leading me, fiddler of mine,
With the tink and the clink of your little gold strings?
My heart is adream on a bubble of wine,
And the lip of my cup has been kissed by a king's.[21]

A similar cluster of images appears in the verse of both poets: sea, stars, and wine. But more than this, it is a mood or attitude struck, an atmosphere conjured up. Beside "Fragment", Brereton noted there was "Too much Yeats in this":

That my soul such a love of loves may bring you
When we kiss like clashing stars in the front of the dew.[22]

But just as important as the influences in Cross's poetry are those in her attitude towards the creative process. She displayed a Romantic attitude, writing to Robertson of her work with that reverence which the Symbolists also felt was due to the divinely-inspired poet. Such an assumption made the revising of her work difficult for Brereton and Jose. In Chapter 9, we noted Richard le Gallienne writing in the Nineties, saw the need for poets to modify such a stance. Cross regarded herself as a twentieth-century Sappho and referred to the workings of her imagination in tones of reverential awe, as is exemplified in her following letter to Brereton:

> . . . I am not afraid of facing things, Dear Mr Brereton, and though I shudder at the memory of pain occasioned by my last work, I know it is nothing to what I must yet do. I know the value of discipline & control because I have learned it in a severe school - I have made every mistake possible - but through all the abominable depths into which I have been thrust and thrown, usually by my own recklessness, I have lost nothing of the real things - . . .
>
> Now I look out into strange places - beautiful places - but all shut from me by seemingly unsurmountable barriers. These very words which I write here - shut me off by my ignorance from lovely lands & places I want & must wander in before I can express [?clearly] & faithfully what rises & falls in my heart.
>
> When I was young - very young I took my heart to the world - to be taught a lesson of endurance - and now into a more exacting world I must take my mind. It *has* to realise its treasure for me - & pour out all the good it has at my feet . . .
> (15 August 1918)[23]

Wright was rather like a court-herald, announcing with a fanfare, "*Songs of Love and Life* is in my opinion the greatest English volume of verse which any woman has published . . . Christina Rossetti and Elizabeth Browning never wrote verse with the force and truth of this."[24] Wright's exaggerated view of the stature of Cross as a poet may have derived from a selective understanding of Brennan's initial comparison of her to Shakespeare; it led Wright to believe that Cross was the best judge of her work. This was a factor which was of importance in allowing her to determine her own text.

On the proofs of "Man and Woman", the blank verse poem in *The Lilt of Life*, Jose expressed the opinion that the use of an Argument was a device which only a writer the status of Milton could carry off, and that the story should tell itself. Wright replied:

> According to Newbolt Milton is a fake, anyhow; so we'll take it that the ***FIRST WOMAN POET*** has any rights that Milton ever possessed[25]

The status of Cross's manuscript was to be secure as is clear from Brereton's comment which acts to reinforce that of Wright:

> The notes on the scansion are to draw attention to certain slacknesses, but such slacknesses may sometimes have artistic purpose. If the author is quite confident that any of these lines are right, they are as they should be.[26]

Once again this makes evident the assumption of Wright's - shared to a degree by Brereton - that hers was the work of an accomplished poet. But to Jose who paid as much attention to technical aspects as to the notion of poetic inspiration in the Romantic sense, she was a beginner; as such his approach to her work was very different from that of Brereton or Wright.

Robertson, fearing that *The Lilt of Life* was too long, asked Brereton and Jose to revise with an eye to reduction. The proofs of *The Lilt of Life* with the criticisms and queries of Brereton and Jose bear also the indignant rejoinders of Wright insisting in nearly all cases on the maintenance of the original text. As we noted earlier, Brereton accorded to Cross the right to veto his suggestions, but it is evident from the extreme tact and diplomacy he displayed that he hoped to persuade her to his way of thinking. At the top of "Fairy Ride", for example, he wrote:

> It seems to me that the best of this is given in better poems of the collection. Yet of course the piece has an individuality of its own. Have these pieces been set to music? If not, why not?[27]

Then a few pages later at the top of "Fragment", as a sequel to the above idea, he suggested:

> If you find that there is too much here for the one book, print at least the sonnets, the blank verse, the Wedding Song, the Lilt of Life, and such pieces as do not seem to demand [?exclusion]. Then catch a sympathetic composer & issue with music a little book of songs - such pieces as Wishes, Tinker Time, Child Song, Morning Moon, Gipsy Joy, Fairy Ride &c.[28]

In reply, Wright tersely added, 'To this note Zora says "Rot" and I agree.' But perhaps more interesting than the comments on the proofs is the correspondence between Cross and Brereton for it reveals an exchange of flattery which was part of the battle to win the ascendancy in editorial decision-making. First Cross assumes a position of helplessness and humility, then author and reviser alike resort to flattery. Evidence from proofs and revises suggests Cross considered her work did not need altering. This was partly the influence of Wright on Cross. However, in her correspondence with Brereton on occasions she acknowledges its need of revision and refers to difficulties experienced in revising. She told Brereton that the poems had been written in a hurry and were unfinished. She said of "Man and Woman":

> . . . I did the work at the close of last year in a sort of panic, and put it away in terror not knowing what I had done, not daring to hope I had written something which might move others. When I looked at it later I prayed that I might be given the power to re-write it & re-model it, for I saw a thousand faults, a myriad things I wished to alter; but every time I attempted to alter it - the same terror possessed me & I was forced to put it way . . .
> (15 August 1918)

In a second letter, written to him on the same day, she again noted:

> . . . O, don't I know, how much - how very, very much revision that poem wants - But I took that work so seriously, Mr. Brereton, it almost killed me - and as I have told you, every line defeated my intentions. I'd like to rewrite it but my mind is not strong & wise enough yet . . .[29]

Three weeks later again she wrote:

> . . . I want to refine my verse but [?it's] wild & doesn't seem to belong to the ordinary being who would be so orderly if she could . . .
> (12 September 1918)[30]

However, when criticisms came, it seemed that she interpreted them as personal slights.

According to her daughter, Cross spent much time revising her work, but judging from proofs and revises of the works under discussion, these revisions do not appear to have been substantial. It is possible that such alterations belong to an earlier stage. It seems that the arguments of others failed to penetrate her consciousness, or her self-confidence. She does not seem to have realised this for she wrote to Brereton:

> . . . But I've already learned much from Mr Brennan - & it was by the notes to my book. What can I say to you or how can I unsay what I have said? Of course I saw [?their] notes - but I was so bewildered & flustered at the time & so many people seemed *at* my book - critics - publishers - poets etc. that it all came in a heap - and tell him when he reads my new sonnets I think he will know I am not exactly a bad pupil. O you masters, when shall I learn half you know? . . .
> (14 September 1918)[31]

It would seem that Brereton was beguiled by Cross or infatuated with her, and that his capacity for objectivity had deserted him. He wrote to her:

> My dear friend,
>
> I've read your splendid sonnet series. Of course the germ of it is in the earlier book, and yet in this full blossoming it is a revelation. I don't know how to thank you for the exquisite delight of it. It is all personal and new - there is nothing like it - and yet it is so old and universal. It narrows to the one event and yet it has a sweep of vision that is cosmic. Womanhood that is used to feel in silence becomes articulate in a singing voice. It makes me, as naked Hero was when she opened the door to her lover, "drunk with gladness."
>
> You have a true gift for the sonnet, and fill each poem with ecstasy. I notice that your technique had improved, and can well believe that you have profited by Brennan's tuition. The sonnets seem more closely knit and form each a more perfect unity. But I believe that by mere development and instinct for form you would have reached the same end.
>
> Once you remind me of Rossetti - you will know where - but with a difference all your own. Sometimes a superb phrase seems to be what Shakespeare might have written, and yet there is no imitation. I am reminded of no others - and Shakespeare and Rossetti are the great masters of the English sonnet . . .
> (19 September 1918)

Included in the letter are some critical comments. It should be said that, in particular, where these correspond with those of Jose's on the proofs, they were occasionally acknowledged, Brereton concludes his letter:

> . . . So the "master" concludes his lesson, feeling a dreary paedagogue indeed, a satyr trying to give piping hints to young Apollo, but cheered by the thought that the dullest of satyrs may sometimes be of some little help.
>
> I told Brennan what you said of his poems, and he remarked in his deep voice that you were a very nice girl - which is so infantile a truism that it scarcely deserves repetition. Yet there you are . . . [32]

To this Cross replied:

> Dear Mr. Brereton,
>
> To say I am proud & that you have made me happy are absurd in the light of the joy that is mine. Your understanding my verse draws us very near. My heart is [?heaps] with a gratitude that my lips cannot utter. I will take note of all you have said & look over the sonnets again . . .
> (20 September 1918)[33]

Robertson was in a difficult position. The book, as it stood, was too long. Since Cross would not accept Brereton's suggested method of reducing the content, Robertson wrote to Jose:

> I am sending you proofs of Zora Cross' new book. It is too long - something must be left out of it.
>
> It will go on the machine in a fortnight and if you can't do it all in the time you might do part. Let it be the blank verse "Man & Woman" for choice . . .
> (28 September 1918)[34]

Jose sent back his recommendations and suggested the omission of various sections of "Man and Woman". But Wright and Cross held their ground. Wright countered Jose's criticisms with the following letter:

> . . . Candidly, Jose does not seem to matter much. He appears to lack all feeling for blank verse, whatever may be his skill in other stuff. I think *all* his cutting is bad. Most of the very best and most beautiful in the poem would go out if he had his way.
> ([October 1918])[35]

Jose's principal criticisms of *The Lilt of Life* are technical and linguistic. He wrote on the proofs that it was badly expressed: her inaccurate use of language resulted in meaninglessness; often he thought the language was affected, sometimes clumsy.

The Lilt of Life opens with a twelve-page poem of the same name; there follows "Man and Woman", the sonnet sequence, "Sonnets of Motherhood" then sundry poems and, at the end of the book, an attempt at a modern rendering of "The Song of Songs", "The Wedding Song" which Cross considered to be her only finished poem. When Robertson sent the proofs to Jose, he replied:

> Cross proofs have arrived. If you would let me do what I like the task would be easy—I'd cut out five-sixths of the stuff. The Wedding Song is a mere morass of mixed metaphors and maudlin emotions. (Besides, anyone who could call a girl "Corraline" deserves to be gassed, anyhow.) Hymen's job seems impossible: he has to call deep music with chastening harmonies in it on a bugle of fire in order to affect somehow the wildness of wine; he must call it so that it flutters, and at the same time compete with the mad glad song of the bridegroom and the laughing madding music of the bride's soul. It can't be done, G.R. As for the bride (who was brought up herding sheep in a vineyard by day and pulling apples by night), she is made up of red kisses and tears enough to start more than one river, and her chief accomplishment is skipping at the bend of the vine, whatever that may mean. For God's sake if you must print that put it at the very back end of the book. . . .
>
> I think Brereton and Brennan should be spoken to severely.
> (2 October 1918)[36]

Four days later, having considered the matter at greater length, Jose reiterated:

> . . . The Wedding Song should be deleted from start to finish. If she must put it in, conceal it at the end of the book: to begin-with-it will break up every decent reviewer with cynical laughter.
> (6 October)[37]

Half-way through the poem the bride proclaims:

> Hungry for his love am I.
> 'Mid the Life-corn shall I lie.
> O, the ecstasy of rest—
> Poppies on a wheaten breast . . .

Jose encircled "wheaten breast" and commented, "How uncomfortable!"[38] Earlier, the village girls, who form a chorus, sing:

> Her mouth is sweet and very small
> Where kisses sing themselves to sleep.

O Hymen, Hymen, shriller call
Your music deep.
O, let it flutter wide and high
With youngest ecstasies that lure
The easy echo of a sigh
To bliss demure.

Jose bracketed the section and noted, "This is pure nonsense from beginning to end!!"[39]

In "Heart's Desire" Cross describes the collaboration of elves in spinning spells in the fantasy world of the poet and her lover, as they go for a walk. The first verse concludes:

And the wee folk two and two
Kiss me with their kirtles blue

Beside it Jose queried, "How is it done?"[40]

In "Helen in Hyde Park", the lovers are once again walking, this time discussing Helen of Troy. As they pass along, a woman (a modern-day Helen) runs by, weeping for her lover who has been killed. Cross's two concluding verses then follow:

Helen of Homer, Helen of the park!
And still the cycles roll
Out of the light and onward to the dark
To prove a woman's soul.

Beauty is truth. My love and I passed on
With sighing of regret.
Let the steel clash! The faith of men were gone
If Helen could forget.

Jose drily commented, "Better omit these. They're spasmodic & platitudinous as far as they mean anything."[41]

"Man and Woman" appears to be an account of the part Love has played through history as dramatically enacted in a lengthy dream which the author has after childbirth. The poem opens with the protagonist finding herself in a shadowy underworld, looking for her true love. After meeting Eve, then Aphrodite and Pallas Athene, various other figures from classical myths are called up to prove the axiom that Love only breeds War, as illustrated by the Trojan War. The protagonist, however, maintains that it was Reason (as personified by Pallas Athene), not Love, that caused War. The figures from classical myths then fade away. In the second part of the poem (pp. 51ff.), the Virgin Mary and Mary

Magdalen appear. Their relevance is not immediately clear, though the Virgin, contrasted with Pallas Athene (p. 52) seems included to illustrate that it was through Love that God became man. The remaining parts of the poem are rather tenuously connected; a series of visions follow, the next illustrating that war pains Christ, as love brings joy to Christ. The protagonist then awakes from her dream and seeing her baby concludes that Love brings God to Man and Woman in their child.

Initially the impression of power in the poem comes from the emotion and passion instilled in it. After a while, however, it palls: emotion used as an end in itself is nothing more than sentimentality. Further, if the emotion were conveyed in the course of revealing a metaphysical or spiritual truth, it would impart some transcendental quality. One suspects that it is this quality which the author is trying to convey but without understanding the necessity for something more profound than the banalities with which she confronts us. Unfortunately, the poem degenerates to the sentimental, again and again. There is little behind the facade of archaic speech and convoluted phraseology. The structure of the poem, shored up with the weightiness of Biblical and classical allusions, crumples because the poem is too loosely thought out. Jose wrote to Robertson:

> I cannot get the blank verse to you before Tuesday morning, but I don't suppose my work on it will be of much value any way. I cannot conceive how anyone could have advised her to put it up for publication. It is chaotic as story or allegory, monotonous in rhythm, and dead flat in style. "Raise then from off this mound your fairest self"—do you like that? or the muddle of description where they go by icy ways and shaggy plains to an awful waste of stone and rock with banks of shadowy grass and flowers in it? or her bare white arms shaking a milky melody on the air (quaint anatomy)? There's another remarkable bit of anatomy at the bottom of galley 8.
>
> In fine, what I expect to send you is a) big slabs cut out altogether b) a strong recommendation that the whole thing be thoroughly revised and severely scissored by the author.
>
> I am sorry that my work on this Cross stuff is likely to be so unsatisfactory; but it sickens me. It is pretentious and conceited work, not merely a beginner's but that of a beginner who has been unduly puffed up with the inexplicable praise of people who ought to know better. And that sort of stuff you can't revise or emend—you can only condemn and delete.
> (11 October 1918)

The following day he returned more of the proofs, repeating his opinion and further expanding on the faults in the work before him, though undoubtedly aware that his was the lone dissenting voice and would go unheeded:

> I now return the second part of the Zora Cross proofs. I have made a large number of deletions and alterations in case it is decided to print this matter, having in view the need to shorten the blank verse.
>
> But I strongly recommend that the whole of the blank verse matter be withdrawn for the present and reconsidered. Its style is for the most part monotonous and the execution very faulty, while the muddle of images and confused descriptions both of scenery and of action show that the author has not yet troubled to find out exactly what she wants to say.
>
> There is a branch of teachers' training called "visualization". A few lessons in this might help her to visualize the extremely muddled situations she is endeavouring to depict. At present they are a mere huddle of paint.[42]

Of the sonnets and poems in the book, Jose wrote:

> . . . The only hope for her is that someone should take her by the scruff of the neck and sit her down and make her find out word by word what she means. A poet is entitled to wrap up his meaning as much as he likes, either with adornments or veilings: but *he must mean something* . Outside a lunatic asylum he may not just pile together all the rubbish of the dictionary and call it sonnets or anything else except rubbish. This stuff is for the most part a mere nightmare of disconnected and half-conceived images. (6 October 1918)[43]

In a separate report, he more simply stated:

> Sonnets of Motherhood. There is a good deal of polishing to be done yet - phrases that mean nothing and defects of workmanship to be eradicated . . .[44]

Both in the sonnets and poems, Jose noted on the proofs Cross's tendency to the prosaic. "Sleep" is one of Cross's more successful poems:

> Hushed is the heart of night. All things are still,
> As down the creeping softness Silence shakes
> Her noiseless censer at her drowsy will,
> And not one murmur makes.
>
> The pictures dream upon the soft, grey walls,
> Muffled in muted sound that from the chords
> Of slumbering harps and cymbals lulling falls
> Along their painted swards.

Odours of easy Eastern mysteries
  Coil from the somnolent silk coverlet,
Whose woven widths of flowers and broidered trees
  Fade, now the moon has set.

All things are fast asleep. Slow Darkness lies
  Upon the lids of Night inaudibly;
And God is dreaming of His Paradise
  At rest in you and me.[45]

Jose thought that the last line of the first verse was prosaic and suggested "Nor any" or "Nor one least" be substituted for "And not one".

"Wishes" is rather like a nonsense verse both in its extravagant content and metrical form:

Were all the stars but mine to spend,
    I'd take a purse of air,
And travel to the rainbow's end
    To buy the wonders there.

And still with half my wealth unspent
    I'd barter light for gems—
The fortunes of the Gypsy's tent
    And fairy diadems.

For all the pearls of all the sea
    I'd pay the highest price;
I'd buy old spice of memory,
    And wines of Paradise . . .[46]

Jose thought "the highest price" (verse 3) was, once again, a lapse into the prosaic. Remembering the echoes of Yeats in Cross's verse, it might be worthwhile considering the fact that the flatly prosaic and simple were characteristics of Yeats's *The Green Helmet and Other Poems* (1910).[47] It may have been that Cross unconsciously absorbed and assimilated this Yeatsian characteristic though with less happy results.

The Lilt of Life did not sell as well as *Songs of Love and Life*. In May 1921, Robertson noted:

> The large sale enjoyed by "The Songs of Love and Life" encouraged the hope that "The Lilt of Life", although weighted with Man and Woman (A & R's first experiment in blank verse) would be a success also; but whatever place may be accorded it in after years, it has been a failure - commercially - so far.
> (Sydney, 19 May 1921)[48]

Perhaps Robertson began to wonder whether the praise of Wright, Brennan and Brereton had not been too lavish after all.

Shortly after Robertson had acknowledged the financial failure of *The Lilt of Life*, Cross approached Robertson to publish her *Elegy on an Australian Schoolboy*. Robertson was once again in something of a quandary: he seems to have realised that Jose's literary opinions were not to be dismissed as easily as Cross and Wright had thought. Jose's view, for example, that her work required "a good deal of polishing" was perhaps, after three years, more apparent. Harbouring reservations about the *Elegy*, Robertson consulted Jose again, though he took the precaution of not revealing the poet's identity to Jose.

Jose wrote:

> Before proceeding to enumerate faults I must begin with a clear admission that this matter is well-expressed, thoughtful in the main, and occasionally poetry in the best sense of the word. That is, it stands head and shoulders above the bulk of the matter that is submitted here as serious verse.
>
> Its chief faults are looseness of thought and relapses into banality. E.g.:-
> p. 1. The mighty echoes of creation beat His grand magnificat
> What does this mean? . . .
>
> p. 3. Why should I weep who knows not why God wills
> This constant earthly change,
> Setting his foot in thunder on the hills
> To a note cold and strange?
>
> What have the last two lines to do with the first two? and how do you set your foot to a note? . . .
>
> As for banality:-
> p. 1. Your eyes are mirrored in eternity,
> *Knowing the end and all.*
>
> p. 6. To darken all the memories of joy
> *In city, bush and town.*
>
> p. 9. But for Death's armies steadily *is rolled*
> A tribute blindly paid.
>
> p. 11. April! And in *the massive halls of state*
> *New laws of life* are framed
>
> Of course the punctuation must be considerably altered, but that is a practically universal fault.

> None of these faults are ineradicable. Careful revision would probably remove the blemishes. But the verse would not become popular, or even find many readers. Still, it is, I think, worth revision and publication, if only to show that verse of a high intellectual standard can get into print in Australia.
> (10 August 1921)[49]

To see if Jose's judgment was as sound as it appeared, and to confirm his own doubts, Robertson interrogated the internationally renowned scholar and Professor of Classics at the University of Melbourne, Professor Tucker. Tucker replied:

> I have read the poem & recorded my comments in the margin. I am not greatly taken with it. It has merits, but it is peculiarly weak in places. Also there is confusion of thinking. Several loose epithets, a number of obscurities, &c. The punctuation requires attention. You will see what I think when you read the comments. I should advise the author to dress it up before publication.
> (1 September 1921)[50]

Although they were working independently of each other, Jose's and Tucker's comments on the proofs often coincide.

Cross wrote the poem three years after her brother's death in England where he had been hospitalised after being wounded in the First World War. The *Elegy* was foreshadowed in a shorter piece "Australia in England" which was sharper and more effective. The overt narrative of the *Elegy* unfolds as the author looks searchingly at a photograph which arouses memories of her brother as a child and schoolboy. His patriotic sentiments are explained and in Part II of the poem, his feelings towards England are contrasted with the poet's reactions which are roughly sketched and passed over rather rapidly. Part III then switches to develop the idea that "The spirit of the war tale" is false: the prominent leaders may be hallowed as heroes but the unknown soldiers are forgotten.

We become aware at this stage that another idea, which has been recurring in the background of the poem, now assumes a more central place. It is as if the poet has been trying - although inadequately - to understand the mystery of death which eludes her and defies analysis. Her inability even to define the areas of mystery causes doubts and confusion.

The poet in an illogical way, describes the different ways in which her brother might exist in a state of death. As Jose and Tucker observed, Cross's chief fault was looseness of thought. This means that ultimately one feels dissatisfied because the writer never comes to grips with her material, in particular, the central theme of her brother's death. In the Prologue of the poem, in proclamatory tones, she announces a belief that her brother, though dead, is still part of the living world:

> Man that is born of woman may not die;
> The earth is still his home.
> He has his dwelling under sun and sky
> And on the flying foam. (p. 2)

She seems to attribute to him a sort of earthly immortality. In Part I of the poem he is described as "too beautiful in death, most free" (p. 2) then she writes, "I would not . . . Question . . . The ways that sever me/ From that large restlessness that harbours you/ Unanchored in God's heart" (p. 4). Tucker and Jose both noted that the idea that he was both "restless" and "free" seemed contradicted by the notion that he was also imprisoned, though, with quick sophistry both Cross and Wright claimed that it was she, not her brother, who was in the "lone prison" (p. 3). Later on in the poem the "restlessness" (p. 4) inexplicably becomes the "restless rest" (p. 24). His state is variously described as being one of "sleep": "And now you sleep, a sleep that wakens not" (p. 8) and one of peace: "I have found peace; and you dwell deep with her (p. 11)". But the most confusing idea is that expressed on p. 16:

> Though all her multitudes in homage kneel,
> That cannot break your sleep,
> That cannot give you back the dew of earth
> The light upon the sea,
> The soft, sweet ripple of your child's first mirth -
> Your immortality.

For here she claims that by his death he has lost his immortality while earlier in the poem the writer claimed that even though dead her brother was alive being part of the world still. Her vacillations continue further into the poem. On p. 25 she writes, "And yet I think God cannot dream decay/ Of that we hold most dear". Perhaps as an attempt to

resolve these contradictions of an earthly immortality and a loss of immortality, the apotheosis of the poem relocates immortality in woman:

> Make of her breast a home of truth and peace,
> A place of holy joy.
> Till through her mother-sweetness nations cease
> To ravish and destroy.
> So may she give the everlasting life
> Earth hungers for in vain—
> Immortal mother and immortal wife
> Who heals the whole world's pain.
> (final verse, p. 26)[51]

However, since the notion of an earthly immortality was contradicted, she has undercut the climax of the poem. Because she has failed to distinguish between paradox and contradiction the conclusion falls flat. But Wright wrote the following letter:

> *Private and Confidential*
>
> Dear G.R.,
>
> I have been carefully through the notes on the "Elegy" a couple of times and I confess to being a bit surprised. I understood there were to be some remarks by Jose; but these futilities have the Stevens mark all over them. Many of them are more or less insulting; all with one exception are painfully stupid; nearly all the alterations of punctuation are bad - showing that the man who made them had no feeling for the poem and very often did not come near understanding what it meant . . . At any rate, there is no suggestion of the slightest value, no comment that has the least force, and there are plenty of evidences that the whole thing is utterly beyond the critic.
>
> Now I want to enter a real protest. This work was written - as I have cause to know - in tears and overflowing emotion. It is a tribute to a favourite brother who died in a miserable English hospital - not on the field of battle. Now why should the work of a fine verse craftswoman be handed over to a person who, on the direct evidence of his remarks, is not boot-high to her as a literary worker, and whose only idea of verse is to make it wooden and take the poetry out of it? . . . his remarks on verse of this kind are not only meaningless, but painful. They hurt because they so wretchedly cheapen the real emotion that went to make a real poem.
>
> I am not saying the work is perfect; but it is far too good to be spoiled by the sort of crude suggestions made. These lame futilities only create a confusion and make it very difficult for Zora herself to give those delicate touches here and there that may mean so much. The word "obscure" written against fine lines of poetry is an insult to ordinary intelligence, though really a compliment; for the fact that they are obscure to such a critic is a pretty sure guarantee of their quality . . .
>
> For Heaven's sake destroy this letter or lock it in the inner fastnesses of some chamber of horrors. It is for your own eye

> alone; but I had to get these remarks off my chest while my soul was still hot. Zora is in agreement with all the remarks I have made on the copy; and between us we have gone over the alleged suggestions about five times.
>
> Forgive me if I am too earnest; but I am sure I am right. After all, I write in your own interests.
>
> Yours most sincerely
> David McKee Wright
>
> (7 September 1921)[52]

Robertson replied to Wright in a candid letter, amused that Wright and Cross should think Jose's comments sounded like Stevens, particularly in view perhaps of the low esteem in which Jose held the latter:

> Dear David,
>
> Tell Zora how sorry I am. I thought some of the Notes might prove helpful . . . Much as it would delight Jose to see your notes, I think it will be better not to show them to him - so you know how the matter stands . . .
> (9 September 1921)[53]

In the meantime, Cross herself had recovered sufficiently to reply to Robertson's earlier letter:

> Dear G.R.,
>
> No! The notes on my "Elegy" are of no use. I cannot think how anyone could have so missed the spirit and meaning of the poem as to write them. The suggestions would only spoil the work if I took them. I cannot consider them. They hurt me only to think of them. The work had been edited when I sent it in and when I consented to see the suggestions I naturally expected only one or two. Real readers could not possibly misunderstand any of the simple lines in the poem which has cost me years of my life to write. If I may I should like to see clean proofs of the copy as I sent it, so that I can make any minor alterations without being confused by other suggestions. I could not sign my name to things that are not mine . . . I am hurt all to pieces over it but I know that you did not mean to hurt me, G.R.
>
> Kindest Regards
> Zora.
>
> (9 September 1921)[54]

Despite another attempt of Robertson's to get Cross to reconsider the suggestions, the text remains substantially the same as when it was first submitted.

The episode may be taken as an illustration of the difficulties confronting publishers and writers alike. Robertson, aware of his own limitations, and, in this period, eventually suspecting the partiality of Sydney critics, could only canvass several opinions in an attempt to make a balanced assessment of a manuscript. The difficulty for the writer was that of obtaining an objective literary judgment - this may be seen as a reflection of the low standard of literary criticism at the time.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 12: Zora Cross

(The Mitchell Library numbers for the proofs of *The Lilt of Life* are A1900 & A1901; for *Elegy on An Australian Schoolboy*, C846.)

1. Barker, p. 85; Mrs Hersey expressed the view in a conversation with the present writer.

2. Wilde, pp. 196 & 756; Barker, pp. 85, 110.

3. H.P. Heseltine, *John Le Gay Brereton*, pp. 25 & 32.

4. 314/14, Brennan file.

5. 314/21, Cross file.

6. ibid.

7. Smith, p. 348.

8. Barker, p. 86.

9. See Cross file 314/21, pp. 749-63, in particular, the cutting from the *Cape Times* which contains discussion from the House of Assembly.

10. 314/21, Cross file, Robertson - T. Maskew Miller.

11. Smith, p. 328.

12. See the chapter on Australian Literature in AWJ's *HA* (1927 edition) and also his "Australian Literature. VI" in the English journal, *Reader*, 1928, pp. 429-32.

    We might note here that it may be significant that Jose expressed conflicting attitudes towards Slessor's poetry in two separate reports he wrote in 1920 and 1921. In the first he wrote:

> The most promising stuff I've seen for many a long day. He has the gift, even though (like all young verse-makers) he runs to exuberance and occasionally to preciosity. If he has a fair amount of this quality, a creditable book can be made.
>
> I am not considering the monetary value of its publication. It would need a good deal of booming, I expect, to be profitable in that regard - What were the Victor Daley sales apart from Archibald's and other eulogies? But as an essay in literature it's worth publishing, if he has enough. (Vol. 314/75, Slessor file, 30 September 1920)

Robertson would not agree to publish it. But in July the following year, Slessor once more submitted the collection, having enlarged it with ten more poems, 'mostly Australian in topic and appeal'. This time Jose wrote:

> I don't remember ever recommending publication for this matter; but quite probably I said nice things about it, because it exploits a vocabulary exceptionally varied for an Australian

> production and shows glimpses of a real style. But there is not really much sound stuff in it: the author gets a subject and showers words on it (occasionally slobbers them over it) without getting any further.
>
> Suggest polite refusal on grounds of expense. (ibid., 25 July 1921)

13. AWJ, *HA*, p. 279.

14. 314/21, Cross file.

15. 314/41, Jose file, Robertson - AWJ, 28 September 1918; AWJ - Robertson, 17 October 1918.

16. 314/41.

17. Max Harris, "Judith Wright", in Dutton, p. 354.

18. H.M. Green, *A History of Australian Literature*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1961, Vol. I, p. 435.

19. 314/44, Louis Lavater file. Vidler subsequently published the book which sold well and ran to a second edition.

20. Zora Cross, *The Lilt of Life*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1918, p. 130; Michael Sharkey, "David McKee Wright - By Any Name a Virtuoso", *Notes & Furphies*, April 1984, p. 9.

21. ibid., p. 131.

22. A1901, p. 142

23. John le Gay Brereton Papers, Correspondence, ML MSS 281/5, 15 August 1918 (Letter 2 of that day) pp. 3-4.

24. 314/21, Cross file, p. 775.

25. *The Lilt of Life*, A1900.

26. ibid.

27. A1901, p. 130.

28. A1901, p. 142.

29. John le Gay Brereton Papers, ML MSS 281/5, 15 August 1918 (1) and 15 August 1918 (2).

30. ibid.

31. ibid.

32. 314/4, Brereton file, 19 September 1918.

33. Brereton Papers, ML MSS 281/5.

34. 314/41, 28 September 1918.

35. 314/21, Cross file, Wright - Robertson, [October 1918], p. 777.

36. 314/21, Cross file, 2 October 1918.

37. ibid., 6 October 1918.

38. A1901, p. 150.

39. ibid., p. 147.

40. ibid., p. 124.

41. ibid., p. 145.

42. 314/21, Cross file, AWJ - Robertson, 11 October, and 12 October 1918.

43. 314/21, 6 October 1918.

44. 314/21, Report attached to letter of 6 October.

45. A1901, p. 134.

46. ibid., p. 126.

47. A. Norman Jeffares (ed.), *W.B. Yeats: Selected Poetry*, Macmillan & Co., London, 1962, p. xv.

48. A1900, p. 1.

49. C846, Zora Cross, *Elegy on an Australian Schoolboy*, and related Correspondence. Report by Jose dated 10 August 1921.

50. In C846.

51. C846 Proofs. Page references are those of the proofs (C846) given to AWJ.

52. C846, Wright - Robertson.

53. ibid., Robertson - Wright.

54. C846, Cross - Robertson.

CHAPTER 13: "John O'Brien" (*Around the Boree Log*)

Note:
(It should be noted at the outset that Robertson was not as systematic in his retention of the documents relating to the publication of *Around the Boree Log* as he was for those of Lawson's and Cross's verse. It would appear there are no proofs or revises extant. There is a typescript-draft. Its precise status is uncertain but it would seem to have been a working copy on which Hartigan, Wright and Jose wrote revisions from quite early until the revises-stage of the publishing process. Correspondence between all the parties concerned is incomplete; furthermore, we rely on collections other than the Angus & Robertson papers for the fragmented knowledge we possess. In these circumstances, it must be stressed that some of the ideas advanced in this chapter necessarily remain at the level of conjecture.)

On the 6th January 1921, Robertson wrote to Father P.J. Hartigan:

> At St Francis' Presbytery last night I had the pleasure of hearing a number of your poems read by the Rev. Eris O'Brien from Father Cusack's scrap-book. They are the best we have come across since the Sentimental Bloke happened along, and we want to publish them. . . .[1]

Robertson's judgment was right, and *Around the Boree Log* proved particularly popular. The first edition (5000 copies) sold out in nearly a month, and, over the next sixty years, a further quarter of a million copies sold.[2] By the end of 1928, Robertson was contemplating a special American edition; he wrote to Hartigan, "So let us have about 10 sets of new verse about the New Year, and give the Yankees a treat. As it is, "The Boree Log" easily beats our other publications for American orders . . ." [3]

Robertson, writing to C.J. Dennis of Hartigan's verse, said "They are tender and humorous, religious without being mawkish" (13 January 1921) and, again the following month he wrote, "The stuff is not to hand yet but the man who could think and feel and express things simply could not go wrong".[4] Eight months later he repeated this view to Hartigan himself, "Their humour and tenderness, their human appeal, make me feel sure of a large sale for them".[5] Initially such popularity may surprise us. For despite Robertson's claim, contemporary readers might find a cloying sentimentality in the poems - this, however, seems to be a characteristic of much Australian verse of the period: as we have seen, both Lawson and Cross suffer from similar excesses.

Hartigan was writing in the tradition of Australian balladists; perhaps it was this and the pervasive light humour of the verse which made it popular. The foibles and quirks of

a range of stereotyped characters are described - the housekeeper, the self-important and aged altar-boy, the matriarch, the local gossip, the parishioners with their rivalries.

Hartigan was born in Yass in 1878. After training at the Manly seminary (from where he first sent off poems to the *Bulletin*), he was ordained in 1903. He worked in parishes in southern New South Wales: Albury, Berrigan and Narrandera, and his verse depicted the simple life of the farming families in the Catholic communities. He travelled extensively through the Goulburn diocese in his capacity as Inspector of Schools, aware that country anecdotes could furnish him with material. His poems were published in a variety of papers: the *Bulletin*, the Albury *Daily News* and the Sydney *Catholic Press*.[6] It was largely the Catholic population for whom he was writing, "I fancy a certain sale is assured (amongst R.C.'s of course) . . . It is a phase of bush life which has not yet been done I think".[7] In 1906 he wrote an article, "A Plea for Australian Literature" in which we are reminded again of the impact of the "*Bulletin* Debate", and its stultifying effect.[8] In the article Hartigan discusses the question of the "true" nature of the Australian bush and the pessimistic nature of much Australian literature. As in the "*Bulletin* Debate" the argument over its "true" nature is limited firstly by the mutually exclusive terms in which he considers the issues, secondly, by the generalisation applied to the "Bush" for many different individual experiences, and thirdly, by the assumption that the nature of the Bush is an objectively definable phenomenon. Thus, he concludes, "To those who know it the Australian bush is not such a dismal place. Ogilvie, Paterson and others have presented the life of the Australian bush from a brighter, truer point of view".[9] This then was the attitude which Robertson, Jose and Hartigan held in common and which made the firm so disposed to his work: from the bookseller's viewpoint it was a variation on a safe theme—"Steele Rudd" had given the comic experiences of a rural family; Dyson those of "Fact'ry 'Ands"; these are the rural experiences of Irish Catholics presented with a comic slant.

Of course Hartigan's persona, "John O'Brien", was not entirely acceptable to Robertson. There were associated political problems to be ironed out. Robertson, while seeing the

book's potential as a best-seller, nonetheless was aware that it would have to be carefully "stage-managed" at a time when anti-Irish and sectarian feeling still ran high. Robertson was careful in his choice of editors. A Catholic reviser may well have heightened the very sentiments the publisher was hoping would not become too obtrusive. Jose placed the emphasis where Robertson thought it was needed. Parts of Hartigan's work were distasteful for different reasons to Wright who Robertson also employed in the revising process. For Wright (described by Robertson as a Sinn Feiner) Hartigan was not sufficiently "Irish". We will briefly consider the political aspect to the book's publication, before discussing Angus & Robertson's editorial practices and Jose's revisions.

In a letter to C.J. Dennis we see Robertson's defensiveness in his presentation and emphasis of Hartigan as an "Australian-born" priest:

> I have just been writing to Father Hartigan, whose "poems" A & R must have, and enclose a copy of my letter, and of the agreement I am sending him. You see what I have let you in for - it is your bounden duty to write and tell him we are the greatest ancient publishers of modern days . . . he, and his clerical friends who laid me on to him, are firstrate chaps - Australian born priests, educated at Manly . . .
> (13 January 1921)[10]

In correspondence we find Robertson had reservations about the Irish content of the verse. He claimed this was a reflection not of his own prejudices but of the anti-Irish feeling of the general public. This came to the fore in a discussion between Robertson and Hartigan on the title of the book. Hartigan wrote to Robertson:

> With regard to the title I want to be guided by you. The title which I have in mind is "The Little Irish Mother" or "The Little Irish Mother and other verses". I don't know whether that tag would be a handicap from a selling standpoint at the present time. I am inclined to think it would not be, but rather would be a help in quarters from which I should say sales would come. I have tried to get an Australian title, because the jingles are Australian; but practically all of them centre round the days etc. of an Irish Mother. What do you think? . . .
> (2 February 1921)[11]

Robertson replied:

> The Little Irish Mother is the title it should bear, but we must get another if we can. The booksellers are my first consideration, and at present to a large percentage of them the word "Irish" is anathema - just as "Scotch" was in England in the

> days when Lord Bute was prime minister. Jock is all right now - God send that Pat will be so too, someday!
>
> I should like a title like Songs of an Australcelt - something that conveys the idea that John O'Brien is an Australian of Irish extraction. But Australcelt sounds awful. Can you think of a better composite, or of a phrase? . . .
> (10 February 1921)[12]

Hartigan's reply ran as follows:

> . . . I thought there would be difficulty about "The Little Irish Mother" and somehow I am rather glad the title doesn't suit. I would prefer something purely Australian for after all there is nothing about Ireland in the jingles except a few characters & they have been knocking round the bush long enough to have become Australianised. I can't say I am impressed with "Australcelt". With all due respect to the distressful country of my sires, I would prefer just Australian. Excogitating titles is d — Well I'll leave it to the layman to express the sentiments. Anyway what about this "Around the Boree-log" or "Songs of an old Slab-dwelling". One of the jingles is "Around the Boree-Log" which might do as a kind of introduction. I enclose a very rough draft of it to let you see. Nearly all the verses are reminiscent, & might be regarded as yarns told round the boree-log. You are not a bush-man, but nothing in the whole world burns like the old boree. . . .
> (15 February 1921)[13]

These letters raise an interesting problem because reminiscing thirty years later, Hartigan was to relate a different story:

> One of the conditions in the contract was that I should read all the proofs and when they arrived I got the shock of my life.
>
> All manner of changes had been made by A and R's reader and I wasn't very happy about them. Because it was stated, of public feeling at the time 'the little Irish mother' had been changed to 'the little British mother.'
>
> I came down to Sydney in a hurry and I said to George Robertson, 'Listen. We've been very good friends since we met and let's part that way. You tear up your contract and I'll tear up mine, and I'll reimburse you for half your costs up to date.'
>
> But George Robertson wouldn't listen to me. He recognised the stupidity of the changes and called in Arthur Jose, the historian and the firm's head reader.
>
> 'You and Jose spend the rest of the week together and iron out all the troubles,' he said.
>
> We did that, though Jose was not an easy man to work with. Once, during a long argument about the length of a line, he was called out of the room and his typist whispered to me, 'You're right. Keep the line as it is. Don't give in to him.'
>
> I was weary at the time and might have let Jose have his way, but the encouragement from the typist sustained me and I won out.[14]

It is possible that Hartigan was mistaken in his recollections. If, in fact, he was correct, it is also possible that the correction was Robertson's and not Jose's. As we mentioned at the outset, there are no extant proof sheets (though there are references to them, to revises and to galleys in correspondence); on the typescript-draft,[15] which bears Wright's and Jose's revisions, "The Little Irish Mother" has not been changed to "The Little British Mother" by Jose or anyone else.[16] It would seem that a fair copy of the typescript-draft was made and the proofs (printed in July and September) were set up from it. (These were sent to Hartigan who came to Sydney to discuss them with Jose in October.) It is reasonable to conclude that Robertson carried out an independent editing as in the case of Lawson and Cross during this period. If Hartigan was correct in his memory of the event the alteration ("the little British Mother") may have been introduced by Robertson at this stage. While it is always possible that Jose introduced the revision verbally to the typist as she made out the fair copy for the printers, I think this unlikely.

The episode quoted above, in which ever form it took place, illustrates well the peculiarities of a publisher who is also a book-seller: it shows how his perception (some might say "misperception") of public taste impinges upon editorial decisions.

Wright's objections to Hartigan were both literary and political. His was partly the scorn of the would-be aesthete for the popular balladist. His report ran as follows:

> Most of this matter was already in pretty good shape for the sort of thing. It is very imitative of Lawson and Paterson; but has none of Paterson's humour and little of Lawson's force. I have altered it pretty heavily where alterations were desperately needed; and a little all through. It goes without saying that you cannot give turns of fancy or poetry to work of the kind. There is no hint of original poetry in it, though there are poetical lines directly imitative of other people. Still, the stuff is very pleasing in its way. I expect it will have a good sale and be a credit to its publisher's good judgment, even though it makes little contribution to Australian literature. . . .

Robertson was concerned that Wright's political views would overshadow the book's publication, and colour the light in which he presented it, if he reviewed it. Wright's opinions could be of crucial importance for he still held the editorship of the Red Page. Robertson thought of a sure way of forestalling him. If a writer with a bigger name were

to offer to Prior (editor of the *Bulletin*) a review of *The Boree Log*, it would be accepted. So it was that Robertson wrote to C.J. Dennis:

> Will you write something like this to Prior a week or so before we bring out Father Hartigan's book (*I'll let you know when to fire it at him*):
>
> "I see that *Around the Boree Log* by Father Hartigan of Narrandera (pen-name of 'John O'Brien') is about to be published by Angus and Robertson. I'd like to review it for the *Bully*. I've never met the Fr., but we have swapped letters and I like him. He *is* what I try to be, a good Australian. What verses I've seen of his I liked for their humour and tenderness, but I should not boost him up as a great poet, for that he certainly isn't. Fr. Hartigan doesn't know, and shall never know, that I have written this."
>
> Father Hartigan is one of St Patrick's College (Manly, New South Wales) trainees, and a band of them are running the old *Freeman's Journal* here on a 25 per cent space for the wrongs of Ireland against Tighe Ryan's *Catholic Press*, which devotes 95 per cent to them. In other words, the one party loves Ireland without venomously hating Scotland and England and Wales, and the other hates them without really loving Ireland. What I want to prevent is the falling of the *Bully's* copy into the hands of a curst Sinn Feiner like David McKee Wright. If it does, "we'll all be rooned", for the poet's obligations to Banjo and Lawson and so on will be insisted on and a series of papers that take their cue from the Red Page will echo the charges. . . .
> (30 September 1921)[17]

Dennis obligingly replied:

> Certainly I will send the letter to Prior as requested when you give me the word. But for the Lord's sake get Jose or somebody to write the review. I shall put a personal touch or two in and sign it. If that can't be done, let me have a skeleton of suggestions. I ask this because I am no good at reviewing books, and I know nothing about poetry or verse from a critical point of view - and I don't want to . . . (8 October 1921)[18]

Later Robertson sent him a letter to forward to Prior; Dennis then informed Robertson:

> Have written to Prior in words you suggested (how did you copy my style so well?) Apart from a desire to help the book, I am with you in the desire to euchre local Sinn Feiners. If I were so damned earnest about the wrongs of the Ould Sod I should go there and get right in the fight instead of merely becoming a bad Australian. These people get my Irish up. The back of my hand to them. . . .
> (17 November 1921)[19]

To put the matter in perspective, we might note that such machinations over reviews were probably not too rare. When Zora Cross, for example, wanted to ensure that *The Lilt of Life* was reviewed by Wright, she wrote to Brereton:

> Already I am going to impose upon your virtue. If you get this month's *Lone Hand* you will observe that Stevens has given a page review to Wells' new novel whereas neither Mrs Gilmore, Mr Brennan's nor my book has been mentioned.
>
> I can't understand how Mr Stevens deludes himself with the idea that he is truly interested in Australian Literature & yet ignores books as he does.
>
> I want to make a page article of the three books. I am doing Mrs Gilmore's myself, Mr Wright is doing mine, now will you be kind enough to do Mr Brennan's. I want about a column. I think it runs about 500 words. Do not quote anything to give you more space - as I will lift one of the poems for another space. Can you let me have it at once - because I do not want to miss the March issue & it is already under way. I am signing my initials so is Mr Wright; and I want your initials. Otherwise it might look as if I did it all. I would have given you choice of the two - Mrs Gilmore's & Mr Brennan's only I thought Mr Brennan's would come easier to you & save you worry. . .
> (February 1919)[20]

Meanwhile, Jose wrote the review of *Around the Boree Log*, as Dennis had suggested. It was printed much as Jose wrote it with the exception of the final paragraph which does not appear at all in Jose's rough copy,[21] which runs as follows:

> The truly high-spirited reviewer who knows his job would not be in the least degree satisfied with Mr O'Brien's verses. There are so many things that they are not. Compared with the Iliad, for instance, they show a regrettable lack of the epic afflatus. Of Shakespearean tragedy, of Byronic gloom, of Swinburnian lush succulent verbiage, they bear no trace. Indeed, though appearing under an Irish name, they have not the most distant relationship to the work of W.B. Yeats and "A.E.", or even of Christopher Brennan and David McKee Wright. There isn't a complex in them. "This" as Mr Jeffrey said of the lamented Mr Wordsworth's efforts, "will never do".
>
> And yet somehow I like them. I like them quite a good deal. I like them for what they are. First and foremost and principally and *imprimis*, they are Australian. Bush-Australian, understand: not just city-Australian, which, in its better qualities at least, is much like city-anywhere-else. Irish-Australian, if you like - these Caseys and Careys and Hanrahans and Callaghans and McEvoys could hardly be anything else; tender-hearted, sunny-tempered, loyal and pious children of Little Irish Mothers. But Australian, too: good mates, good workers, full of a healthy humour and a capacity for enjoyment that most of the world just now seems to have lost. I owe John O'Brien a great debt for dropping me among so many delightful friends.
>
> And the verse that makes us acquainted with them is just as unpretentious as they are. It is in the direct Lawson-Paterson line, unaffected talk about Australians as they would naturally talk about themselves. If John O'Brien wants to be eloquent - if his subject needs eloquence - he can rise to it: witness the later stanzas of "St Patrick's Day". But he is best at his simplest, in the pathos of "Making Home" or "Vale, Father Pat", the happy humour

> of "The Old Bush School" and "At Casey's after Church" [sic], or the sheer rollicking farce (true to life, all the same) of "Said Hanrahan" and "The Careys". Possibly if "Banjo" had never strummed his lyre, John O'Brien might have thought twice about taking up his: that doubles our debt to "Banjo". To have missed hearing of "The Trimmin's on the Rosary", so continuously on the increase that
>
> "in fact, it got that way
> That the Rosary was but trimmin's to the trimmin's we would say;
>
> or of Laughing Mary, or faithful Josephine, or the Pillar of the Church - . . . well, there's a great deal of modern literature that we could miss with less reluctance. And the bush is there, enveloping its people with the bird-song and flower-scent that the townsman Marcus Clarke could not discover ("that lilting lay the wiree trilled"), colourful
>
> "I've seen the paddocks all, ablaze
> When spring in golden glory comes,
> The purple hills of summer days,
> The autumn ochres through the gums"
>
> - slumberous in the "molten, golden sunlight" of the summer day, all alive in the dawns of spring -
>
> "Shivery grasses round about us nodding bonnets in the breeze,
> Happy Jacks and Twelve Apostles hurdle-racing up the trees".
>
> Yes, whatever it isn't, this verse of John O'Brien's, I like it immensely for what it is.

It is here that we see Jose's preoccupation with a National Bush literature re-surfacing, the blend of romanticism and realism of an earlier period still dominating his view and that of Hartigan's. This is further borne out by an examination of his alterations. As with Zora Cross, Jose's private view of Hartigan's verse was quite different to that which he publicly expressed. Admittedly the Reports were private, and Robertson encouraged Jose to be, as he put it, "hypercritical"; Jose was, in fact, scathing:

> NOTE ON HARTIGAN RESERVES
>
> *When Old Man Carey Died.* Quite possible, but so badly put together that several verses must be omitted and others completely re-written. *The Stranger in the Church.* Wright thinks it "lame". I agree. Also, the rhyming words are forced and must be altered, and that means re-writing the stuff.
> *Your Own Little Barrow.* "Absolute rubbish" quoth McKee. I coincide.
> *Things he Has Flung Behind Him.* Meaningless tripe . . .
> *Said the White-haired Priest.* Could be racked into shape. But when you find tides choking and smothering merely to rhyme with "mother", you shy off . . .

> *Imelda May.* A long piece of verse, which could be put in if really needed, after a good deal of excision.
> "His rank was high" - in Australia, mind you! - "and his wealth was great With his shares and scrip and immense estate"!!! . . .
> (21 September 1921)[22]

The correspondence between Hartigan and Robertson in 1921 concerning the publication of *Around the Boree Log* reveals information about Angus & Robertson's editorial procedures which appear to have changed from the 1890s. When Robertson was publishing *While the Billy Boils* and *Rhymes from the Mines* authors were consulted about revisions before the manuscript passed into the proof stage. It is not known whether in the 1890s the author could make further alterations between proofs and revises. By the time of Cross's *The Lilt of Life* and "John O'Brien's" *Around the Boree Log*, however, editorial suggestions were made at the post-proof stage. This may well have had the psychological effect of strengthening the sense of authority to be imputed to the revisions, when seen on a printed page. In the case of Cross's *The Lilt of Life*, Cross was first sent proofs with comments by Brereton on them, then pulls of the proofs with Jose's revisions. Her final decisions were made at this stage. With Hartigan, the editorial changes seem to have actually been incorporated in the proofs:

> By the same mail you will receive two sets of your proof sheets - one to correct and return as soon as possible, the other to retain for reference (and, perhaps, further corrections) while the book is still in the making. I also send you a list of the pieces selected for inclusion, showing the order in which we think of printing them, and a list of the rejected pieces.
>
> You will see that our poetry editor has made verbal alterations where he thought them advisable, and although he is the deftest man in Australia it is just possible that a few of them may not have been absolutely necessary. Also, he is a protestant, and some of the lines he has altered may have possessed a significance, which, as a non-Catholic, he was unable to grasp. However, the final decision rests with you, and the original text shall be restored in every case in which you prefer it. And, if you think any of the pieces which have been omitted should be included, they shall go in; but in that case you must indicate which you wish us to leave out in their favour, for the volume as sent you is just of the right length.
>
> You may wonder why I did not get a Catholic poet to read the proofs; but the fact is that ninety-five per cent of our poets have neither the grit nor the experience for the work. Indeed, as it is, verses here and there which were exceptionally troublesome to alter have been cut out, to the hurt, I think, of some of the

> poems. I particularly wish you to tell me of any of these that you think should be restored . . .
> (6 October 1921)[23]

One can say, under such circumstances, the author's collaborative role has theoretically diminished in that his opportunity to comment is restricted to the post-proof stage. Whereas in the Nineties, Jose corresponded with the author about changes beforehand, Robertson has now taken over the letter-writing function without referring to specific changes. The onus is now on the author to remove editorial changes, as collated and passed on to him at a later stage. While, in the letter above, Robertson was careful to point out to Hartigan his authorial rights, the new practice left the author to confront what was practically a *fait accompli*. Where the "collaborative" policy of the Nineties could be seen to have had a stimulating effect on writers, its later form could be described as dangerous where the publisher has narrowed down opportunities for authorial discussion. In the next chapter we will see Robertson stated that he preferred the later method.

It is important to see that Hartigan's attitude to his text is not completely straightforward. That range of attitudes found in different authors as described by Thorpe (see above p. 157) can also be found in one author. In the event, on seeing the proofs in early October, Hartigan visited Angus & Robertson where he discussed his work with Jose. His letter to Robertson shortly afterwards gives an account of the visit very different to that less flattering account we saw above (p. 261):

> I am delighted that I went down. Mr Jose was extremely kind. He allowed my poor lines to stand in quite a number of instances when his better judgment would have put them out. I know the stuff is not much good & am aware it is clumsily put: still I also know that section of the public on whom the sales depend. I do hope sincerely that you won't fall in over it. "A&R" has not been affixed to anything unworthy yet, & candidly, when I think of the critics, "the wind" I get up assumes the dimensions of a gale. Many times during the past few months I have regretted the vanity which allowed me to be persuaded to submit the dope at all . . .
> (17 October 1921)[24]

At the same time he wrote a similar letter to Jose. He had left to Jose's judgment various alterations which were still to be made. When Jose forwarded these to Hartigan, the latter

replied: ". . . It was very good of you to send those alterations, & I like them all. . . Then, in referring to Jose's suggestion of dividing the book into sections, he wrote:

> I am not very keen on the subdivisions as indicated or as suggested. I like the arrangement you had better. The verses seem to follow in a kind of natural sequence. I think I like your arrangement even better than that which I suggested by putting some under the heading "Inter Alia". Suppose we leave them as you placed them.
> (19 October 1921)[25]

When the revises arrived, Hartigan noted, "I think all your suggested changes are for the better".[26] Whereas in the 1950s he described Jose as "a difficult man to work with," which may well have been true, on the book's publication he wrote to Jose:

> I have received some copies of "Around the Boree Log", & I want to say how pleased I am with the get up of it. I haven't found one mistake in the printing which I know is due to the care you have given to the proof-reading. I think we did the best we could with the pieces, & I am more than ever pleased that I went down & had the cheek to take up so much of your time. I was fortunate in having the advantage of your judgment. You were very kind throughout, and I am thoroughly satisfied, with the thing as it stands. With my best thanks for the wonderful help you gave me . . .
> (23 November 1921)[27]

At the same time he wrote to Robertson, ". . . I haven't found a mistake or error in the contents. The stuff is just as Mr Jose & myself left it."[28] Roughly three weeks later, having studied it more closely, he asked for six of his earlier readings to be restored in subsequent editions. It is interesting to observe that the terms in which he expressed his preferences while clear, could not be described as insistent:

> It was gratifying to learn that you are preparing another edition of "Around the Boree Log". I have not any complaint as the book was printed exactly as Mr Jose and myself left it. Still if I am not too late, I would suggest the following amendments . . . I am enclosing a copy which still retains some of Mr Jose's suggestions, but I suppose it will necessitate the rearrangement of the numbering of the pages, and if so don't bother about it. Also if the alterations which I have indicated above will inconvenience you to any extent let the thing go as you had it. In any case the trams won't stop running in George Street.
> (17 December 1921)[29]

It is noticeable that Jose displayed less skill in editing in the Twenties than in the Nineties. This may have been partly in response to Robertson's assuming a greater share

of the editorial work. Jose becomes intrusive where once he was restrained, unable to calculate the effect of his changes. To a certain degree, Jose's emendations reveal the same preoccupation with technique. Some of them do, in fact, improve the verse. They reveal the same dislike of sentimentality, clichés, theatricality, exaggeration, a choice of over-facile words and also of metrical flaws. But whereas earlier revisions were also made to enhance the positive qualities of a writer's work, now he is concerned rather to minimise faults. One becomes aware that Jose's beliefs affect his editorial judgment to a greater degree: we see his tendency to heighten Hartigan's optimistic outlook. This is evident in that set of revisions which Hartigan asked to be removed for the second edition. These revisions had been introduced (with authorial sanction) at the meeting between Hartigan and Jose, but according to Mecham (Hartigan's nephew) Jose had "prevailed insistently" upon Hartigan to introduce them.[30]

The changes which reveal so much about Jose's editing are those made between the two editions of "Said the White-haired Priest" and "Could I Hear the Kookaburras Once Again?"[31] In the first poem a priest is advising a young girl about to be married to consult her mother; though to the daughter, the life that lies ahead of her appears novel and different, the priest tells her that its course is the same for all generations:

> Let them paint fresh colours on vale and hill,
> Let them say new flowers bloom brighter,
> 'Tis the same old rut on the highway still
> Which she trod when her steps were lighter.
> Just the same old hopes that her way beguiled,
> And the same old griefs, - no other,
> Ah, they wait hard by for yourself, my child,
> As they did for your poor old mother.
> (Verse 3)

The principal changes are in the first three lines of the fifth verse. A comparison of these in Hartigan's typescript draft, in the first edition (incorporating Jose's suggestions) and the second edition (with Hartigan's requested afterthoughts) is instructive:

Typescript-draft

'Tis a drab old world that she sees to-day
In the shades [?shadow] of dusk advancing;
For the fays have gone from the fields away,
Where your swift young feet are dancing.
At your painted dreams she has turned and smiled,
Just as you may tease some other
When you see the tinsel and sham, my child,
With the eyes of your wise old mother.

First edition

'Tis the real world that she sees today
In the shade of night advancing
For her no visions obscure the way
SAME AS TYPESCRIPT-DRAFT
At your fond dreams she has gently smiled
As you will smile at another
SAME AS TYPESCRIPT-DRAFT
SAME AS TYPESCRIPT-DRAFT

Second edition

Though her eyes be weary and dim to-day,
In the shade of the dusk advancing
She sees the visions along the way
Where your young swift feet are dancing;
At your fond sweet dreams she has gently smiled! ----
Yes, and you will smile at another
SAME AS TYPESCRIPT-DRAFT
SAME AS TYPESCRIPT-DRAFT[32]

In Hartigan's unemended version (the typescript-draft) we have the mother's drab world contrasted to the romantic dream-like world of her youth. We see this in the first three lines. With Jose's revision, the mother's world is not necessarily drab; it simply presents nothing fanciful to mislead or delude her. In Hartigan's corrected version (Second edition), in addition to the weariness which had been present in the "drab old world" of the typescript-draft, the legacy of old age - wisdom and foresight - is implied in the lines:

> She sees the visions along the way
> Where your young swift feet are dancing.

One other important alteration we should observe is in the character of the mother as found in line 5. In Jose's line she appears mellowed in comparison with the more down-to-earth woman of Hartigan's typescript (ll. 5 & 6) who "turned and smiled/Just as you may tease some other". It is a mark of Hartigan's lack of expertise that he should alter Jose's "fond dreams" (l. 5; First edition) to "fond sweet dreams", which is rather precious.

Jose expressed the opinion that "Could I Hear the Kookaburras Once again?" had "no guts in the stuff" and was "mere wishwash".[33] In the poem the narrator yearns to hear the sound of the kookaburras; the memory of their song brings to his mind the past with stark vividness: the house in which he once lived and its bush setting. The narrator thinks that if he could actually hear the kookaburras it would be more than mere memories conjured up - he would feel the hope which so animated him in the past. There are two alterations

of importance. The first occurs in the fourth verse. The first four lines in the typescript run as follows:

1. Could I hear them as I heard them when the joy of living spurred them
2. When the world was clean and wholesome and they laughed the gloom away
3. All the fatal fiction scorning that the canvas of the morning
4. Is but splashed with faded colours from the brush of yesterday.[34]

This is also how the text stands in the second edition. That Jose was dissatisfied with the third line is evident in that he offered the reading: "As a lie the rumour scorning that the canvas of the morning". But Jose revised the line a second time altering its meaning and making it more explicit so that in the first edition it read: "Laughed at pessimists who sorrow that the canvas of the morrow". The new repetition of "laughed" makes it clear that the narrator is referring to the kookaburras, and it also lends to the lines a rhetorical emphasis. Further, the more conventional contrast of "tomorrow" and "yesterday" is more readily understood than the vague implications of Hartigan's contrast of "morning" and "yesterday". In the original reading it is difficult to disentangle his chain of ideas. Hartigan, however, preferred it and specified that it be reinstated for the second edition.[35] Possibly one reason for this was that later in the verse the significance of the morning becomes more apparent - he associates the kookaburras' laughter with dawn:

> For I'd know the tocsin sounding of a fuller hope abounding
> Could I hear them hail the dawning once again.

Jose's alteration, however, is most telling. While Hartigan is attempting merely to animate the bush landscape with laughter and hope, Jose exploits the symbol further: with an almost anthropomorphic view of the kookaburras, he uses them to laugh at the pessimists.

A second minor alteration of Jose's to the typescript of this poem - which was at no stage adopted - is also important. The first four lines of the second verse of the typescript read:

> There's a little house a-peeping o'er the swaying and the sweeping
> Of the wheat that nods and ripples as the breezes skim the top
> And the days of pioneering in the ringing and the clearing
> 4. See the first-born of their labours in the house behind the crop.

Jose wanted to alter the fourth line to:

See the first-born of their labours in a quickly ripened crop[36]

To Hartigan, the settlers' first-born labour was their house, to Jose, it was their crop - this significant difference recurs in "Honeymooning from the Country" in the third-last line. The narrator imagines the honeymooners returning to the country:

But my honeymooners leave me, and I watch them passing through
They are homesick for the freshness of the open spaces too
So they gather up their bundles, and they wander home again
Back to where the morning magpies lather out the old refrain
Back to love in fullest measure, pressed and flowing overtop
Through the green months and the brown months, in the house behind the crop.
From the overcrowded city, from the bustle and the push
Pass my sturdy, happy couples who are sticking to the bush

For the third-last line, Jose suggested:

Through the green months and the brown months stubble-field and ripening crop.[37]

"Ripening crop" emphasises the realisation of the farmer's hopes. We should also note in Jose's revision the introduction of the elegant chiastic structure. However, such elegance is not in keeping with Hartigan's simpler syntax.

Hartigan had written several poems describing the war-time experiences of a country community; among them were "The Unsung Heroes", "The Boy that's at the War" (both unpublished), "Ownerless" (Albury *Daily News*, 28 October 1915) and "Walking Home".[38]

"Walking Home" was rewritten for *Around the Boree Log* where it appeared as "Making Home". "Making Home" describes the aftermath of a family wedding. A daughter has married. Thoughts are running through the mind of the father (the narrator); they unravel with a feeling of heavy gloom. Originally, the depressing atmosphere was the sequel not of a wedding but of a son's departure to the war. It is conceivable that to portray such an occasion as depressing or ominous may have been considered disloyal or unpatriotic. Certainly the Catholic Church's anti-conscription campaign headed by Mannix may have meant that Catholics were more frequently accused of disloyalty than the rest of the community.[39] Many of the war poems published in anthologies such as *Poems of Manhood*, for example, tend to be rousing and defiant in tone rather than sorrowful.[40]

If this were the case, the deletion of a verse from "Ownerless" could be understood in a similar light. In the poem, the horse of a young man (who has gone to the war) stands waiting for his owner's return. In the typescript, the third last verse refers explicitly to the scene of the man's death:

> There's a soldier-boy's grave in the sand where they found him—
> His face on his arm by his rifle he lay.
> There's an ownerless horse with the shadows around him,
> Beyond at the rails at the close of the day.[41]

Without this verse the only reference to the master's death is in the conclusion of the poem:

> The bush bird will sing when the shadows are creeping
> A sweet plaintive note, soft and clear as a bell's,
> Oh, would it might ring where the bush boy is sleeping,
> 'Twould set him a dream by the far Dardanelles.[42]

It is probable that another explanation for the alteration of these poems was the surfeit of war poetry in the market. Angus & Robertson rejected many manuscripts of wartime experiences. In the post-war climate, the public preferred to forget the War.

Finally, there is a series of more unobtrusive one-word emendations which reveal Jose's attempts to remove sentimentality. In "The Kookaburras", for example, in the final verse, the line: "And a happy cherished neighbour dropping in upon his way" was altered to: "And a cheery, friendly neighbour . . ."[43] "The Wiree's Song" describes a gathering at "Casey's place" on Christmas day:

> The wiree sang that Christmas Day
> A rippling limpid liquid lay
> In clump and cover trilling;
> On ripened grain, and gleaming road
> The molten golden sun-light glowed
> The lone land's rapture stilling.

The third line of the second verse which originally ran as follows was altered by Jose:

```
    And health and strength and youth
    and grace
    Were gathered down at Casey's
    place
3.  In mirth and mood and madness;          In mirthful mood, gay madness;[44]
```

It at least "improves" the rhythm in making it less mechanical, but is otherwise

uninspired.

The last two verses of "Josephine", revised on four occasions, bear substantial emendations by Jose for an ostensibly different purpose. In the revised form, the action of the last two stanzas is presented in a more logical sequence. Jose sent the revises, which incorporated his alterations, to Hartigan:

> I am sending by mail the revised set of proofs, with a few corrections. You may as well look through them before we put the book into page form—which is practically final and irrevocable. Please return with any remarks. . . .
>
> In "Josephine" the penultimate and propenultimate verses don't run to my mind. You have (i) She's in her grave; then (ii) her deathbed; then (iii) a pious wish for her; and (iv) the tombstone I think it might run a little better if you transpose (i) and (iii), thus bringing together the grave and the tombstone. As it is, the deathbed seems to break the connection. . . .
> (21 October 1921)

(We should note that Jose has made a mistake: the two verses referred to are the penultimate and the final ones.) The poem is a reminiscence about the narrator's dead housekeeper. It is important to indicate which lines bear Hartigan's revisions and which Jose has revised. The verses as first revised by Hartigan in the typescript read as follows:

Typescript-draft	First edition
She's in her lonely grave tonight beneath the staring stars, And haply hears the requiem among the coolabahs; I marked the splendid [Irish] faith that met the closing scene, And heard the beat of angels' wings that came for Josephine.	She's in her lonely grave tonight beneath the Murray pines And haply in their breeze-swept song a requiem divines: The people raised a little stone to keep her memory green, And trusted to the winds and rain the name of Josephine.
Ah, soft and sweet [be] sleep to her who trod the [friendless] track Along the [cheerless] road of life that knows no turning back. The people raised a little stone to keep her mem'ry green And handed to the winds and rain the name of Josephine.[45]	How quickly have the days gone by! she's dead - now, let me see - She's dead twelve months: tomorrow is anniversary: Now who's the Saint tomorrow? Ah, a semi "Hedwig, Queen." I'll use the black - and may God rest the soul of Josephine!

(Hartigan's revisions are in square brackets)

The verses were revised by Wright, and then by Jose, and as we have seen, a second time by Jose. It is important to note that Hartigan gave them his approval. He wrote, "I quite agree with your suggestion re the two stanzas towards the end. They would run much better your way."[46] Later on, Hartigan was to request an alteration or more correctly a

restoration for the second edition, he wrote to Robertson, "I have not any complaint as the book was printed exactly as Mr Jose and myself left it."[47] Hartigan requested that "trusted be changed back to "handed".

The first two lines of the penultimate stanza and the whole of the final stanza (of the first edition) appear on the typescript-draft in Jose's hand. These were the alterations referred to above (i.e. those incorporated in the revises). Jose's lines have a more matter-of-fact tone than Hartigan's original lines which combined a sense of the eerie with a half-wistful resignation. It is worth quoting some of Hartigan's deleted and altered lines again:

> She's in her lonely grave tonight beneath the staring stars
> And haply hears the requiem among the coolabahs;

It can be seen that the solitariness of the burial site was emphasised by the "staring stars" (even if the alliteration grates) and the mournfulness of the coolabahs. In Hartigan's last verse, the "friendless track" and "cheerless road" extend the loneliness of her grave backwards in time to her life. The lines, however, were altered.

An almost instinctive preoccupation with technique, the reduction of sentimentality, and the introduction of syntactical elegance are features of Jose's revisions. He does not consider the overall effect of his editing as he did in the Nineties. There are signs that it was carried out in a hurry. He had embarked on many projects during this period. It would seem too, that his interest in editing was declining as Robertson took over more of this work. One senses Jose's dissatisfaction with the Australian literary scene. It is as if he was aware of the stagnation of which he himself had become a part.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 13: "John O'Brien" (*Around the Boree Log.*)

1. 314/189, "John O'Brien" file.
2. Barker, p. 113.
3. 314/36, P.J. Hartigan file, 3 September 1928.
4. 314/26, C.J. Dennis file, 13 January 1921 and 23 February 1921.
5. 314/189, 6 October 1921.
6. Frank Mecham, *"John O'Brien" and the Boree Log*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1981.
7. 314/189, 10 January 1921.
8. P.J. Hartigan, "A Plea for Australian Literature", *Australasian Catholic Record*, October 1906, pp. 517-526.
9. ibid.
10. 314/189.
11. ibid.
12. ibid.
13. ibid.
14. 'How "John O'Brien" wrote *Around the Boree Log*', *Catholic Weekly*, 22 May 1952 pp. 10-11.
15. The typescript-draft is located with correspondence at 314/189.
16. Wright's report was dated by Robertson 28 June, and part of Jose's, 21 September (both are located at 314/189). Their first set of revisions preceded these dates.
17. 314/26, C.J. Dennis file.
18. ibid.
19. ibid.
20. John le Gay Brereton Correspondence, ML MSS 281/5.
21. The rough copy of the review is to be found in JP. It differs slightly from that published in the *Bulletin* where an extra paragraph has been added at the end.
22. "Note on Hartigan Reserves", signed AWJ, in 314/189. Unfortunately his Report on the rest of the verse does not seem to be extant.

23. 314/189.

24. ibid.

25. Hartigan - AWJ, in AWM 39, A.W. Jose Papers, Box 2, item 11, correspondence related to book production, 1917-1919 (sic).

26. Hartigan - AWJ, 25 October 1921, ibid.

27. JP.

28. Hartigan - GR, 314/189, 23 November 1921.

29. 314/189.

30. Mecham, p. 136.

31. From Hartigan's comment, "I have not any complaint as the book was printed exactly as Mr Jose and myself left it . . ." we deduce that the changes were made by Jose.

32. Typescript-drafts of the poem are in 314/189, pp. 175-7; Hartigan's revisions of "The White-haired Priest" for the second edition are with the latter dated 17 December 1921, pp. 321-3.

33. AWJ's note on Hartigan's Reserves, in 314/189, dated 21 September 1921.

34. 314/189, pp. 189-191.

35. ibid., 17 December 1921.

36. 314/189, p. 189.

37. ibid., p. 181.

38. Mecham, p. 92.

39. Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia. A History*, Thomas Nelson, West Melbourne, 1977, p. 318, where the author notes that "More and more Catholics were awakening to a pressure which insisted that they were a foreign community."

40. Wilkinson, op. cit.

41. 314/189, p. 157.

42. ibid.

43. ibid., p. 47.

44. ibid., p. 169.

45. ibid., p. 73.

46. Hartigan - AWJ, 25 October 1921, AWM 39, Jose Papers, Box 2, item 11.

47. 314/189, Hartigan - GR, 17 December 1921.

CHAPTER 14: *Poetical Works of Henry Lawson* (1925)

Pressed by Robertson, Lawson revised his poetical writings between 1916 and 1922, the year of his death. In 1918, Angus & Robertson brought out the deluxe edition, *The Selected Poems of Henry Lawson*; in 1923 the three volumes, *Popular Verse*, *Humorous Verse* and *Winnowed Verse* were published and, in 1925, these were collected in one volume.

The volume of collected verse was reviewed favourably by critics but it has since been more closely scrutinised and regarded as corrupt. It was with the publication of Professor Roderick's edition that a reliable text was established. The 1925 edition contains extensive revisions by Robertson, McKee Wright and Jose. The purpose of this chapter is to examine their editing.

A brief consideration of the pre-publication stages of *Selected Poems* (1918) provides us with an understanding of the general direction in which Robertson's and Jose's editing was tending. As we noted in the preceding chapter, Robertson was increasingly inclined to minimise the author's role so that we might doubt whether the editing process could truly be called "collaborative". Although admittedly in a jocular style, he wrote to Jose concerning the revision of a Paterson manuscript, thought to be *Three Elephant Power*, "Hack it about just as if its author were dead, instead of merely being in Egypt"; after Jose revised *Saltbush Bill, J.P.* Robertson wrote, "Some of the reviewers are sure to say that it would have been better had we waited A.B.P.'s return . . . but we have our own opinion about that!"[1] Thus the cynical might wonder if Robertson did not wait until after Lawson's death for the publication of his collected works in the knowledge not only that in his last years Lawson had been beyond revising but because after his death, the editors could revise more freely. While one can unequivocally say that the 1923 and 1925 editions are corrupt, the textual problems raised by the 1918 edition are less straightforward. For Lawson, as was his habit, sought out collaboration - during this period it was Wright's. Sharkey made the point that "Lawson did not balk at Wright's changes to his work". Robertson told Jose that Wright was "a real good fellow who is Lawson's guide, philosopher, and friend at

present";[2] thus some might regard the readings of this edition as legitimate variants which should be presented in a multiple text. Others, however, might view them as invalid because they were either revised by Lawson or authorised by Lawson in a period when his health and talent had deteriorated and his sense of judgment were affected. In the main, the poems of the 1918 edition were revised between January and June of 1917. Professor Roderick noted:

> Apart from the shortness of time spent in inspecting the alterations, Lawson's chronic inebriety during the first few months of 1917 serves also in part as warrant for questioning his ability to exercise a considered judgment on each and all of them. He made no amendments himself after 31st June 1917. In September he went on a prolonged spree.[3]

One could add that there was a drinking spree in April and more requests for alcohol in May. The revisions might be seen as written under duress. Robertson seemed determined to have revisions at any cost and exerted pressure on Lawson sending him "positive reinforcements" of alcohol. This did not always work, for he often discovered that some of Lawson's revisions were worse than the original text. Lawson himself was aware of this. In late January 1917 he wrote:

> *You must and* I think you *know* and understand that not the least difficulty in altering these things is *to keep to the simplicity of the boy that wrote them.*[4]

It might seem a case of a writer revising not so much in collaboration as under misdirection. In the case of *Selected Poems*, Robertson called Jose in at a late stage in the editing process. It may have been that he recognised that Lawson's fears had been realised. Robertson's direction to Jose, "Lick it into shape, but preserve as much as you can of the original" was unnecessary and at odds with the publisher's own practices.

Robertson's and Jose's different attitudes in this period to the revising of Lawson's work are summed up in the episode concerning the editing of "Faces in the Street". On the 15th October 1916 Robertson wrote to Lawson at Leeton:

> I have been reading your 'In the Days When the World Was Wide' again - it is years since I looked at it - and a line in your greatest poem, *Faces in the Street*, hurts me, as it always did and will. See whether you can alter it, to please me! I refer to the first line - the poem's only blemish: -

> 'They lie, the men who tell us *in a loud decisive tone*' I have underlined the objectionable words, put in to rhyme with unknown. 'Twould be a lie even if they whispered it!
>
> If you do this for me (it won't be easy perhaps) I solemnly promise *not* to dodge you next time you come to town.[5]

The first stanza, which contained the line, originally ran as follows:

> They lie, the men who tell us in a loud decisive tone
> 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 those faces in the
> street.

Robertson suggested:

> They lie the men who tell us for a reason of their
> own

Lawson altered this to:

> They lie the men who tell us for reasons of their
> own[6]

Robertson then wrote to Bertram Stevens, implying the alteration was principally Lawson's:

> The 'loud decisive tone' in the first line of *Faces in the Street* always hurt me and this Selected Poems of Henry Lawson that we are working on reopened the sore. At my request H.L. agreed to alter it, and has just brought in the following:-
>
> 'They lie, the men who tell us, for reasons
> of their own,'
>
> This is a great improvement. It has an idea in it now. I 'lent' Harry a fiver on it, anyway! . . . [7]

Robertson later wrote to McKee Wright, "Lawson has not altered all I wished him to".[8] In addition to other alterations, McKee Wright sent along his suggestion for the first line of "Faces in the Street":

> They lie the men who tell us this thing we dare
> not own[9]

Not surprisingly, Robertson preferred the reading "for reasons of their own". But Jose protested:

> I prefer the original 'loud decisive tone'—
> it's so characteristic of the man who does tell you those things.[10]

Jose's preference for the original reading lies in his appreciation of the fact that Lawson was a writer whose forte lay in natural presentation.

In all three publications of Lawson's verse, Jose can be seen as the only editor exercising restraint. Although, like Robertson and McKee Wright, he introduced revisions, he also carefully examined the changes: many of these he thought no better than the original text, some worse. He frequently suggested that the earlier version be restored. It will be remembered that in *The Romantic Nineties*, Jose expressed the opinion that Lawson's poetry was inferior to his prose and that much of it was doggerel. It was presumably for this reason that Jose thought the idea of a selection of his work a good one. He wrote to Robertson, "The Lawson is good firm's work, and does for him what he badly needed - picks his stuff over".[11] But Jose found fault with the selection. He was particularly concerned that "Middleton's Rouseabout" had been omitted:

> But why have you left out the excellent "Middleton's Rouseabout"? Surely it is simple, sensuous and impassioned enough for anybody. I vehemently urge its reinsertion.[12]

It is imperative to note here Jose's appreciation of one of the cardinal qualities in Lawson's verse - its simplicity. Importantly there are indications that Lawson himself valued this characteristic (see above, p. 280). At Robertson's request Jose sent a list of poems which he thought should have been included but which Robertson and McKee Wright had omitted:

> I think *Past Carin'* - one of the best things he ever did - should be in a more prominent place. *Middleton's Rouseabout* ought to be included. So should be *Knocked Up* (1893, in *World Was Wide*), *Marshall's Mate* (1895, same volume), *Jimmy Woodser* (in *V.P. & H*), *The Boss's Boots* (same vol. - this was specially quoted in a *Daily Chronicle* review), *As Far As Your Rifles Cover* (in *When I Was King*), *The Wander Light* (same vol.), *The Bill of the Ages* (same vol. - call it just *Bill*).[13]

There were several other poems which Jose thought should be included, most interestingly, "Australian Bards and Bush Reviewers" and "My Literary Friend", which he added to his note of 2 July:

> Also I own a great affection for
> Australian Bards
> Jolly Dead March

My Literary Friend
Ballad of the Elder Son
The Good Samaritan

Lawson's attitude to critics and the revising process was neatly summed up in "My Literary Friend":

> Once I wrote a little poem that I thought was very fine,
> And I showed the printer's copy to a critic friend of mine,
> First he praised the thing a little, then he found a little fault;
> "The ideas are good," he muttered, "but the rhythm seems to halt."
>
> So I straightened up the rhythm where he marked it with his pen,
> And I copied it and showed it to my clever friend again,
> "You've improved the metre greatly, but the rhymes are bad," he said
> As he read it slowly, scratching surplus wisdom from his head.
>
> So I worked as he suggested (I believe in taking time),
> And I burnt the midnight taper while I straightened up the rhyme.
> "It is better now," he muttered, "you go on and you'll succeed,
> It has got a ring about it—the ideas are what you need."
>
> So I worked for hours upon it (I go on when I commence)
> And I kept in view the rhythm and the jingle and the sense,
> And I copied it and took it to my solemn friend once more—
> It reminded him of something he had somewhere read before!
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Now the people say I'd never put such horrors into print
> If I wasn't too conceited to accept a friendly hint,
> And my dearest friends are certain that I'd profit in the end
> If I'd always show my copy to a literary friend.

But equally Jose's attitude to critics and editors is revealed as opposed to Robertson's in the episode concerning the poem's inclusion in the 1918 anthology. First, it was Jose who pressed for the poem's inclusion; secondly, Robertson wanted to delete the last verse but Jose insisted on its restoration, noting on the proofs that it was "*badly* needed" and writing to Robertson, 'I'm very sorry you are cutting out the last verse of the Literary Friend: it has the whole point of the matter in it.'[14] In Jose's view, the point of the poem was contained in the reversal of the last stanza: the literary friend (earlier described as "clever" (v. 2) and "solemn" (v. 4)) is revealed as being conceited, not the poet, who painstakingly revises his work, for the critic overvalues his own sense of judgment allowing "horrors into print". It is possible that Robertson did not understand Lawson's ironical overtones and his criticism of the critic. It is also possible that he felt defensive about comments which

might have been interpreted as Lawson's criticism of the firm's methods of editing. We should note that Jose displays a healthy attitude towards the rights of authors to complain when they felt that editors or critics had exercised poor judgment.

Despite the fact that the 1925 edition of Lawson's poetry has been shown to be corrupt, editions are still being based upon it.[15] It is all the more important then, to study not only the role of Jose's editing but to identify the characteristics of the three editors' styles.

Each of the editors was re-writing Lawson's verse in his own particular way. While, with Lawson dead, the editors revised with apparent freedom, ironically, the memory of Lawson did exercise a certain influence over them. The very fact of his death seems to have given rise to a wave of nostalgia in the firm. His death was both cause and pretext for a continued reconsolidation of the nationalism of the Nineties. The nostalgia can be seen also as the natural result of the editors' re-reading all Lawson's poems and thereby re-living the spirit of an earlier age. It led, however, to an idealisation of that age, and an idealisation of Lawson's character.

In his lifetime, Lawson had had an extensive circle of admirers: Mary Gilmore, Miles Franklin, John le Gay Brereton not to mention his various drinking companions. To them, Lawson, more than any other writer, had come to represent what was quintessentially Australian. Lawson's personality itself became something of a cult. However, it was equally his presence in his stories which drew the public's sympathy - his persona as bush-yarner, pub-raconteur and outback philosopher. So convincing was the intimacy of his casual manner that in the public mind, many confused Lawson himself with his persona. One suspects that this contributed to the legend of his character and thus also to the legend of the Nineties. It would seem that, in revising, Robertson was "feeding" the legend by accommodating the popular expectations, aspirations and ideals with which that legend had come alive.

In the 1920s, Jose's style of editing changed. As we observed in the last chapter he became less restrained and more intrusive. While it is noticeable that he tried to exercise a certain restraint on the revisions of Wright, in comparison with his own style of editing in the 1890s, his approach is almost blundering. One can see both Robertson's and Jose's beliefs as a source which impels them to intervene in editing Lawson's verse. In particular, Jose modified verse he saw as maudlin, and pessimistic. It is worth noting nevertheless that he wanted "Australian Bards and Bush Reviewers" included in the *Selected Poems* - there Lawson had satirised those reviewers (like Jose) who complained of his pessimism.

Jose adamantly rejected many of Wright's alterations which blurred the subtlety of Lawson's style and also those which marred the characteristics which form the originality of Lawson's bush-yarning persona. Jose's exasperation with Wright's alacrity to emend is found in comments such as that beside "The Boss-Over-The-Board": "Leave it alone".[16] It is seen in his frequent notes that the alterations were unnecessary.

Robertson introduced a number of changes which seem designed to re-vitalise Australian nationalism, even to the detriment of the verse. Robertson often endorses Wright's idealisation and romanticisation of Lawson over Jose's attempts to retain the poet's more natural and realistic style. One has the impression from his editing that Robertson was nostalgic for a period which had provided him with so much, a golden age of Australian publishing.

We will analyse now in order the revisions of Wright, Robertson and Jose.

Wright's poetry showed the influence of Romanticism and various other movements of nineteenth-century literature, amongst them, Pre-Raphaelitism. His poetry was lyrical and sensuous. "Hellas at Watson's Bay" is representative of much of his verse in *An Irish Heart* (1918), with its emphasis on the luxuriance of nature. In it, we find repeated employment of the same technical device: the dramatic use of half-lines to heighten the emotional impact of the poem. In the second verse the poet writes:

> Beside the reeds the pool is blue
> As Amethyst,

The grass is wet with morning dew,
The sun uprist
Looks on Athene's bosom, snowy bare,
And all the marvel of her shining hair
Tossed by the wind . . .
The sweet fear of that beauty I have seen
Has made me blind;
And all the world is dark until my Queen
I trembling find.[17]

He and Zora Cross seem to have influenced one other in the development of a style which tended towards the detailed and evocative expression of emotion and sentiment. These qualities are also evident in his editorial style. His was a different style from Lawson's. He showed little understanding of the particular characteristics of the popular ballad. Furthermore there is evidence that he was unaware that his large number of small changes throughout, had brought about an overall change for beside the text of "The Paroo River" he commented "If I re-wrote it thoroughly it wouldn't be Lawson". He thus implies that it is only by extensive re-writing within a single poem that a qualitative change occurs. He does not recognise that a large number of one-word or single-phrase revisions through the three-volume edition had had a cumulative effect.[18] Wright had exalted Lawson into the realms of myth. His Preface for Lawson's *Selected Poems* (1918) was lyrical in its enthusiasm. Yet although Wright admired the image of Lawson he seems not to have understood just how crucial Lawson's persona was to his poetry. Lawson's realism, his plain-talking manner is replaced by the style of another era. We should point out here that it may seem strange to speak of Lawson's persona in his verse: it is not a topic which has been discussed by critics. But it will be seen in the course of this chapter that just as the bush-yarner is one of the most appealing "characters" in his stories he is of equal importance and attraction in the verse. Wright's emendations, however, alter the character of Lawson's persona who speaks in a colloquial, natural and anecdotal fashion. Often Lawson's tone may be satiric or mocking. But overall the language which Wright introduces is sensuous and romantic or melodramatic. Lawson's satire thus becomes mutilated.

The persona of the bush-yarner is conveyed in many ways. One of the most familiar of these is by the casual or colloquial use of language which imparts an anecdotal quality to the verse. There is an imprecise use of prepositions or even the apparently careless over-usage of the same preposition. The frequent use of "and" at the beginning of a line furnishes us with another example. In "Corny Bill", the spelling alone alerts us to the fact that it is Lawson in his capacity as yarner, who tells the story:

> I often dream that me an' Bill
> Are humpin' of our drums.

The impression is reinforced by the simplicity or childlike quality of the syntax:

> And I was stumped, an' sick, an' lame
> When Bill took me in hand.

Given the almost primitive quality of the poem, it would have been better to have left Lawson's style untouched. Both Wright and Robertson however were unable to resist an attempt at making the first verse more evocative. Lawson's lines had run as follows:

> And when the city streets are still
> And sleep upon me comes, (ll. 5 & 6)

Robertson suggested line 5 be changed:

> And when the streets are very still

And Wright considered that line 6 could be improved:

> And sleep with quiet comes.[19]

They both attempt to heighten the atmosphere. Jose deleted Wright's alteration.

In "Eurunderee" Lawson describes the town and the distant days of his childhood. The poem is perhaps more of a reminiscence than a yarn, but they both belong to the broader class of oral narratives related in a casual manner. In such poems there is a place for Lawson's simplicity of expression which Wright sometimes replaces with words which are almost technical. When Lawson writes:

> When the shadows of night from the gullies were
> gone
> (Verse 3, l. 4)[20]

Wright substituted "withdrawn" for "were gone".

"The Boss-Over-The-Board" illustrates well the satiric tone of the narrator as well as his casual over-usage of "and". The poem recounts the tale of a brawl between a shearer and his boss. It is original in its treatment of this stock theme of Australian literature, although perhaps almost mechanically so, for the standard representatives of good (the shearers) and of evil (the land owners and those in positions of authority) nearly reverse positions. A narrator-onlooker, in the opening verses expresses sympathy for the man in position of Boss, commenting:

> I have battled a lot,
> But my dreams never soared
> To the lonely position of Boss-of-the-board.

He expresses his disapproval of the shearer, "a rough sort of Jim", with the satiric observation of Jim's own brand of injustice:

> His hate of Injustice and Greed was so deep
> That his shearing grew rough—and he ill-used the
> sheep.

Later he observes:

> Yet we knew in our hearts that the shearer was
> wrong
> And the crawler was plucky, it can't be denied,
> (Verse 4, ll. 2 & 3)

Here Wright replaces "And" with "Yes" presumably because of the frequency of its occurrence in the preceding verse.[21] Yet its very frequency contributes to the extempore quality of the poem.

The satiric nature of Lawson's persona is all-important, if not crucial, to the feasibility of the bush-narrator's also being an artist. It is his satiric streak which justifies his standing aside from fellow-shearers and commenting on them. It is unfortunate that on several occasions both Wright and Robertson soften the persona's satiric comments.

An instance of this occurs in "The Boss's Boots". It is a poem much in the tradition of "The Loaded Dog". Technically, it is not as successful. There is not the painstaking accumulation of detail or the forceful build-up of tension released in the outbreak of humour - but the humour itself is of a similar sort - broad and slapstick; it is also satiric. The scene is again the shearing shed. The shearers become more particular about their

work in the presence of their master: if he detects careless slips, their pay is docked. The boss's boots are a sign of his presence; the shearers are not able to see his face when they are bent, shearing the sheep. A double coincidence then occurs - not altogether plausible as it would be in more deftly handled comedy - it is the source of the confusion and uproar: both boss and lowly rouseabout sprain their ankles. The hapless rouseabout finding the boss's discarded boot (which had become uncomfortable for him) decided it would ease the pain of his own ankle and put it on. As the rouseabout walks around the shearing shed the significance of the boss's boots is humorously conveyed by Lawson portraying the anxious reactions of a shearer who, "shearing rough", is at pains to disguise the fact that he has cut a sheep. He slowly realises that the boss's boot contains not the boss but the rouseabout. Feeling that he has been made a fool of, he knocks him out. But the joke is on everyone, not just the shearer: it is equally on the rouseabout who was, as it were, pretending to power. But more than this, it shows up the boss's boots for what they were, a mere symbol. Here, as in much satire there is an element of caricature. By exaggeration we have the comic restoration of a proper sense of perspective. This device of exaggeration then comic deflation is found in the description of the boss's boots as being huge; their importance diminishes when the insignificant green-hand rouseabout puts them on.

It is at this point that we can understand the far-reaching implications of Wright's alterations to one of the more important lines of the poem. Lawson had written:

> The Boss affected larger boots than many Western
> men,
> And Jim the Ringer swore the shoe was half as big
> again;

Wright made two sets of alterations so that the lines would read:

> He took a larger size in boots than many Western
> men,
> And Jim the Ringer swore his shoe would block
> the counting-pen;[22]

Jose ruled out Wright's alteration to the second line for by it Wright had transformed satiric exaggeration into farce, thereby defusing the humour before its time, and rendering the description of the boots incidental to the overall technical process of satiric deflation.

It was unfortunate that Jose did not also delete Wright's emendation of the first line. Its importance was twofold. In Lawson's clause, "The Boss affected larger boots", "affected" alerts us to Lawson's satiric intention. It also indirectly incorporates the boss as one of Lawson's trio of fools in the poem.

The alterations in other poems are more simple and straightforward in their effects on Lawson's satiric intention. "The City Bushman" is one of the interchanges with Paterson which formed the "*Bulletin* Debate". The poem begins:

> It was pleasant up the country, City Bushman, where
> you went,
> For you sought the greener patches and you travelled
> like a gent;

Wright altered the second line so that instead it read:

> For you sought the greener patches heedless of the cash
> you spent

Lawson's mockery is thus removed. At the beginning of the second verse Lawson continues the low-key satire but varies the technique; the banter becomes more like an undercurrent, and he now parodies what he considers to be the "learned" style of the city bushman:

> True, the bush 'hath moods and changes'—

Then in a sudden switch, he flattens the parody to the level of satiric retort:

> and the bushman hath 'em too[23]

Here Wright wanted to alter "hath" to "gets" but Jose deleted the change, aware of the wider context in which the poem had been originally written. It may have been that since Wright came to Sydney well after the "*Bulletin* Debate", he did not know of it. On the proofs of "The Grog-an'-Grumble Steeplechase", as if making a fresh discovery, Wright wrote, "This is a gorgeous take-off of Banjo".

In all this, we realise that the satiric tone is important for another reason. Part of the satirist's method - however unobtrusive - is to establish a bond with the audience who consequently feels allied with him against the butt of his humour. If the audience themselves were in danger of being directly ridiculed, they would distance themselves from the satirist. An allegiance of confidence and mutual superiority is established for the

advantage of both sides. In Lawson's verse when the satire is gentle, it is noticeable that the confidential relationship is often more important than the satire. It may be that the ever-present relationship between potential satirist and audience contributes to the sense of authorial presence, so strong in Lawson, which critics have seen as loosely connected with his role as "bush-raconteur".[24]

A more unusual effect - this time totally without satiric intention - which conveys the anecdotal quality, is the confiding air. A good example of this is to be found in "The Ships That Won't Go Down". In the poem, Lawson champions "the men who won't go down", those men forgotten, and vaguely associated with the early settlers. The last four lines of verse 4 originally ran as follows:

> They say the sea sings dirges,
> But I would say to you
> That the wild wave's song's a pæan
> For the men that battle through.

Wright altered the second line so that it read:

> I feel and know it true[25]

The confiding and emphatic tone vanishes and is replaced by that of the Romantic poet who values his own feelings as the yardstick of truth. Many of Wright's emendations reveal a characteristic sensuousness: he seems to have thought Lawson's verse could be brought to life by accentuating and appealing to the senses.

The ballad "Bourke" supplies an illustration of this. It commemorates the rise of the unions and the "hottest drought" (in the early 1890s). It could be argued that the stark scene of drought-afflicted Bourke which Lawson presents requires a rather spare style. The second verse runs:

> No sign that green grass ever grew in scrubs that
> blazed beneath the sun;
> The plains were dust in Ninety-two, that baked to
> bricks in Ninety-one.
> On glaring iron-roofs of Bourke, the scorching, blind-
> ing sandstorms blew,
> And there was nothing beautiful in Ninety-one and
> Ninety-two.

Wright altered the last line so that it read:

> No hint of beauty lingered there, In Ninety-one and
> Ninety-two.[26]

The words "hint" and "linger" introduce the finer feelings which recall the emphasis on aestheticism which was part of Romanticism.

In the third verse of the poem, Lawson describes the spirited nature of the men in the town:

> Save grit and generosity of hearts that broke and
> healed again—
> The hottest drought that ever blazed could never
> parch the hearts of men;

Wright wanted to substitute "pulse of generous hearts" for "generosity of hearts". As with the first-mentioned example, Jose objected, but in both cases he was over-ruled by Robertson.

By far the most undesirable types of alteration are those which are sentimental or, worse still, melodramatic. These are faults in Lawson to which an editor need not add. In "Old Stone Chimney", a swagman visits the tumbledown scene of his childhood home. With remorse he remembers his disreputable past which has divided him from his family. The poem concludes:

> And when he woke on the empty morrow,
> The pain at his heart was a deadened pain;
> And bravely bearing his load of sorrow,
> He wandered back to the world again.

Wright altered the second-last line, introducing melodrama in the following rhetorical question:

> Ah, bearing - who knows what load of sorrow? -

Jose deleted the line, observing that there was "No point in alteration". Robertson omitted the poem from the collection:

> "Reedy River" is as much as the public ought to be asked to read
> in this line. In four separate pieces the "furrows of the plough"
> get obliterated by one agency or another . . . [27]

As inferred at the outset, there are a number of alterations by Robertson which seem designed to accentuate the cult of Lawson. It is as if he is further perpetuating the "legend

of the nineties" and its values. Wright also makes some similar alterations. We find a new nationalism of the Twenties. Three poems, "The Great Grey Plain", "Tambaroora Jim" and "The Old Bullock Driver" all carry alterations by Robertson which emphasise the legendary qualities of the bushman or swagman in the Australian landscape.

"The Great Grey Plain" initially appears to be a simple, geographical description of the "great grey plain", the half-desert, which is Out West. As the poem continues the geographical realities become less certain: we move into the realm of the illusory with references to the mirages, the "dazzling haze"; it is a region where the "tank-heaps" could be mistaken for a mountain (verse 2), where the traveller seems like a ghost. Beyond the topographical features of the desert, beyond the illusions, lie the grim certainties of a painful and hopeless existence (the hopeless men who carry/ Their swags and tramp in pain) and one of hunger, but also bravery:

> Out West, where the stars are brightest,
> Where the scorching north wind blows,
> And the bones of the dead seem whitest,
> And the sun on a desert glows—
> Out back in the hungry distance
> That brave hearts dare in vain—
> Where beggars tramp for existence—
> There lies the Great Grey Plain.
> (Verse 7)[28]

It is important to note that in the seventh line Robertson altered "beggars" to "swagmen". One cannot but feel that the swagman, an Australian phenomenon, has been introduced partly because of the association (from the previous line) with the notion of bravery. The two lines then become a celebration of legendary Australian courage akin to the daring of Paterson's horsemen, the pluck of Lawson's wanderers and the courage of the drover's wife.

We could also note that it is at this point that the poem moves explicitly into the metaphysical realm. The plain now becomes the "Plain of years". The *Inferno*-like qualities of the desert, hinted at earlier in the poem (verses 3 & 4) are now explored further:

> 'Tis a desert not more barren
> Than the Great Grey Plain of years,
> Where a fierce fire burns the hearts of men—
> Dries up the fount of tears;
> Where the victims of a greed insane
> Are crushed in a hell-born strife—

Where the souls of a race are murdered
On the Great Grey Plain of Life!

Robertson's Australian swagmen then (rather than Lawson's beggars of an older European tradition) assume a spiritual dimension in an Australian landscape which Lawson had transformed into a different realm. It is important to realise that the poem was written in the period when Lawson was thinking in the wider terms of a possible British audience. It was Robertson's vision, now contracting to an Australian audience, which prompted him to make the alteration. As an aside we might note that "The Great Grey Plain" provides an illustration of Lawson's potential and limitations as a poet, and also the limitations of the Australian environment of the time (ethos, publishers and editors).

"Tambaroora Jim" is quite a different sort of poem. Lawson celebrates the bravery and kindness of a pub-keeper, Tambaroora Jim. Wright, however, wishes to add to the pub-keekper's virtues those which, in his mind, are associated with the figure of the bushman. So when Lawson writes:

A simple chap as went by name of 'Tambaroora Jim'.
(Verse I, l. 6)

Wright altered it to:

A simple bushman by the name of 'Tambaroora Jim'.

It may have been that the occupation of pub-keeper did not fit in with Wright's idea of the Lawsonian (or Australian) hero. Jose deleted the alteration, a move which Robertson supported. However, in verse 3, Robertson re-introduced the bushman-hero who is compared to "Tambaroora Jim". Lawson's line had read:

For no one had a softer heart than 'Tambaroora Jim'.

Robertson emended the line as follows:

No Bushman e'er had softer heart than 'Tambaroora Jim'.[29]

We notice then that, in addition to his bravery, another positive aspect of the Bushman's character, his kind-heartedness, is being introduced and mythologised.

In "The Song of the Old Bullock-Driver", a poem of pioneering days, Robertson removed a meaningless definite article and chose to make explicit another quality of the bushman - his toughness. In the opening verse, line 6 had read:

> For those were the days when the bushman was
> bred

Robertson altered the line:

> For those were the days when tough bushmen were
> bred[30]

In "Peter Anderson and Co.", Lawson develops one of his favourite themes, the fate of the wanderer. Lawson displays his not unusual satiric detachment. In the second verse, Peter Anderson is described as "Lazy, purposeless, and useless". When Peter's business-partner dies it is implied that the respect he pays is scant, being little more than that which social propriety demands. It is reminiscent of the scene of the mourners in "The Union Buries its Dead". In the twelfth verse Lawson had written:

> Yet, to show his heart was not of human decency
> bereft,
> Peter paid the undertaker. He got drunk on what
> was left;

It is unfortunate that Lawson's satire is obliterated by Wright's emendation which is sentimental and out of keeping with Lawson's attitude towards Peter as seen in the rest of the poem. Wright altered the first of the two lines just quoted as follows:

> Peter mourned his buried comrade, feeling beaten and
> bereft,

But Lawson does not infer that Peter was bereft, if anything, he was unmoved. In the third line of the same verse, Lawson writes:

> Then he shed some tears, half-maudlin, on the grave
> where lay the Co.,[31]

One imagines that, if he had been sober, the tears would not have been shed. "Peter Anderson and Co." is the portrait of an almost asocial being; as such, it is a doubtful place to be invoking the spirit of mateship.

The new nationalism is also seen in the emendations made by both Robertson and Wright to "The Fourth Cook". In the poem, which has the marks of a Kipling ballad,

Lawson writes of the grit and tenacity of men, like the fourth cook, who worked their passages to Australia doing menial chores - such as peeling potatoes - and who, once arrived, continued such work. Lawson implies that it was these qualities which made colonisation possible. In addition, it was their apparently rather unheroic tenacity in the face of hardship which was the basis of the lives of people like the explorers. Where Lawson places the emphasis on the mundane, unseen side of heroism, Wright and Robertson would rather exaggerate the softness of his picture in the final verse, into something more rousing. Where Lawson had written:

> There were heroes in Australia went exploring long ago;
> There are heroes in Australia that the world shall never know;
> And the men we use for heroes in the land of droughts and floods
> Often win their way to Sydney scrubbing pots and peeling spuds

Wright and Robertson altered the lines so that instead they read as follows:

> There were heroes in Australia, great explorers long ago;
> There are heroes in Australia that the world shall never know
> And the men who are our heroes in the land of droughts and floods
> Often won their way to Sydney scrubbing pots and peeling spuds[32]

Jose deleted Wright's change to the first line; Robertson reinstated it, and introduced the other alterations. Where Lawson would have unknown heroes, Robertson and Wright preferred to contribute to the creation of the Australian legend, amplifying the explorer's heroism to greatness; for Lawson, one suspects that the magnitude of heroism was not important.

As we mentioned earlier, Jose's editing of Lawson in the 1920s was very different from his work of the 1890s. Then, he had been concerned primarily with the problem of accommodating the tastes of Australians and a sophisticated London audience. But by the 1920s, the situation had changed. The English audience had receded from the minds of the

publishers and Jose. Even in 1918, when Robertson was preparing *Selected Poems* primarily for the English audience he recognised the idea was something of a lost cause. Possibly it was not the English public to whom he was appealing, but rather, the English critics, for good reviews still meant prestige for the firm.[33] The 1923 three-volume edition was for an Australian audience who wanted an anthology of collected verse. This may be partly the reason too, for the emphasis on the easily-identifiable stereotypes, the blurring of subtleties by Robertson and Wright.

One of the most obvious features of Jose's re-editing of Lawson's poetry in the Twenties is his increased intolerance of Lawson's pessimism, his sensitivity to a negative picture of Australian life being presented. A mark of his sensitivity can be seen by the fact that he himself had criticised various aspects of Australian life in his articles for *The Times* during the period, 1905-1913. He often edited out of Lawson's poetry those pessimistic sections of it which ran contrary to his idea of Australia as a land of promise.

"The Bursting of the Boom" was inspired by Lawson's experiences in Western Australia. He describes the bad living conditions, the extortionate charges made by shipping lines, landlords and merchants, and their condescending attitudes. The narrator salves the insults to his pride by consoling himself that at the "bursting of the boom", the tables will be turned; shipping agents, landlords and merchants, desperate for his patronage, will compete for his custom. The description of the skulduggery and exploitation, Jose - as a socialist - leaves untouched. It is the second-last verse which he deletes:

> No Country and no Brotherhood - such things are
> dead and cold;
> A camp from all the lands or none, all mad for love
> of gold;
> Where T'othersider number one makes slave of
> number two,
> And the vilest women of the world the vilest ways
> pursue;
> And men go out and slave and bake and die in
> agony[34]

The decision to delete the verse is likely to have been made on commercial grounds too: it would be difficult to sell such a total condemnation of Australia. But the idea that there was no patriotism based on "brotherhood" any more, was altogether repugnant to Jose. It

was the shattering of his great Australian ideal: a socialism derived from Kipling's championing of the "common man". We saw in the discussion of "The Fourth Cook", Jose endorsing Lawson's value of the simple virtues of the working man. In the verse above, it may have appeared to Jose, that Lawson was denigrating him: "all mad for love of gold" suggests that greed was the motive for migration rather than a spirit of adventure. In the Nineties, Lawson may initially have appeared to Jose, as Australia's answer to Kipling. But whereas Kipling's "common man" was generally triumphant, Lawson's settler is often beaten by the elements (or squatters). But to highlight his greed and to deny the existence of brotherhood at the same time is dangerously close to denying that Kipling's heroic common man exists. If this were the case, neither colonisation nor the Empire would be possible as a lasting reality. The reference to intercolonial or interstate exploitation Jose must have found discomforting ("Where T'othersider number one makes slave of number two"). The poem was originally published before Federation, but in the years after 1900 interstate rivalry continued and prompted many to comment that Australia was united only in name. While the First World War may have strengthened patriotism as the Boer War did, Jose is likely to have wondered how long its effects would last.

By contrast, in "Heed Not", Lawson enunciates a viewpoint which Jose himself had advanced. In the poem, Lawson addresses an English audience, telling them to ignore unflattering accounts of Australian life given by "Sydney 'dailies'" or city dwellers or the travelling Australians he regards as socialites for:

> They know naught of Australia,
> Of the heart of the great Out Back.[35]

Instead, Lawson suggests that it is the shearers, the "black sheep" of English families ("working/ His own salvation"), and the sons of exiles who know and understand the Bush. These, to Lawson, are the true and only Australians. The picture of the great-hearted Australian personified by her working-man, and the romantic exile working in a wilderness is one which strikes a sympathetic chord with Jose. But it is perhaps not so odd that Robertson should delete the entire poem from the collection. It is possible that he thought the first three verses, with their criticism of "cock-sure" Australian tourists, the

Southern humbugs and city dwellers, would give offence in many quarters. For Robertson, criticism of his readers and buyers had to be guarded and careful. This is evident in his letters to C.J. Dennis. Robertson decided to delete "The Joy Ride" from *Backblocks Ballads* telling him, "booksellers . . . would be dashed careful to whom they sold the volume." On the poem, "The Eternal Circle", he noted, 'get the word wowser out . . . A lot of your admirers are wowsers, and very genuine admirers they are, too. Probably 75 per cent. of the "wowser" class are perfectly sincere, charitable folk.'[36]

It would seem that Wright, like Robertson, thought the verse offensive. As with Jose and Robertson (on other occasions), he disguised his personal feelings under the pretext of technical ineptness. The opening of the verse had run:

> Heed not the cock-sure tourist,
> Seeing with English eyes;
> Stroked at the banquet table
> Still, with the old stock lies—

Beside it, Wright wrote, "This verse is astonishingly bad. Cut it out." Jose replied, "No: leave it in, and leave it exactly as he wrote it. It's quite characteristic." Robertson, discounting Jose's remark, commented, "I heed not."[37]

"The Rovers" presents a theme recurrent in Lawson's poetry, that of the outcast and wanderer discussed earlier. It will be remembered that Jose became fascinated with it in his youth seeing himself, if only light-heartedly, in this light. The poem initially seems reminiscent of much Empire literature, containing a portrait of the rovers strikingly similar to the later depiction of Lawrence of Arabia:

> Across the glowing desert;
> Through naked trees and snow;
> Across the rolling prairies
> The skies have seen them go;
> They fought to where the ocean
> Receives the setting sun;—
> But where shall fight the rovers
> When all the lands are won
> (verse 6)

> Unlisted, uncommissioned,
> Untaught of any school,
> In far-away world corners
> Unconquered tribes they rule;
> The lone hand and revolver—

Sad eyes that never quail—
The lone hand and the rifle
That win where armies fail.
(verse 9)

The poem throughout would appear to be a eulogy of the courage of "the rovers", and their maintaining - against impossible odds - of the farthest-flung outposts of civilisation. Australia is then drawn into the poem:

Through drought and desolation
They won the way Out Back
The commonplace and selfish
Have followed on their track;
They conquer lands for others,
For others find the gold,—
But where shall go the rovers
When all the land are old?
(verse 11)

Then there comes the ending of which both Jose and Wright so strongly disapproved. Lawson now answers the question he had asked at the ends of verses 6 and 11. With his technique of surprise reversal, in the last two lines of the poem he realistically rounds off his description of the rovers' temperament:

And when the world is crowded—
'Tis signed and sealed by Fate—
The roving blood will rise to make
The countries desolate.

Wright was disgusted, and wrote beside the verse, "Rotten idea". Jose agreed, writing, "Concur". The verse was deleted.[38]

There were a number of poems which Jose thought ought definitely be omitted from the collection, some on the pretext that they were "occasional". They were among the Overset Matter - poems which had not been in previous collections and would presumably be used if there were space to be filled. Those poems which Jose wanted omitted have a common characteristic of presenting a black picture of Australian public life. In "The Land of Living Lies", Lawson bemoans the fact that Australia was going downhill. He claims the writers "Have grown selfish, harsh, and crippled, while a cloud obscures the sight" (verse 9), that "Brave hearts" have been "banished from positions that the Agitator claims" (verse 10) and that the Out-Back Union leaders are vanished and dead (verse 13).[39] In "To the

Advanced Idealist" Lawson berates the man who speaks of a golden future. To him the world is merely "rolling back".[40]

A pessimistic attitude toward Australian public life was one thing. An admission altogether more unacceptable to Jose was that a man was likely to be unhinged by the rigours or loneliness of Australian rural life. "'Cross the Border" was a poem inspired by a newspaper account of a German immigrant who committed suicide, drowning himself.[41] In an age when suicide was perhaps often regarded as cowardly rather than unfortunate, there was an inability on his part to accept the fact that bush life did take a considerably heavy toll in this way; that there were those not possessed of a "roving instinct" nor sustained by a love of Empire and Country.

In conclusion it should be pointed out that the editorial alterations discussed, while typical of many, are still only a small proportion. Doubtless other conclusions and other observations could also be drawn. But those which have been studied - Wright's neo-Romantic revisions, Robertson's nationalistic ones, Jose's reactions against what he regarded as realist excesses as well as his attempts to restore Lawson's original readings - reveal an informative picture of the influences on Australian literature at that period executed by the editors of one of Australia's most important publishing houses. A picture is shown to us of the sort of Australian literature they wanted: some might think Australian literature was stagnating.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 14: *Poetical Works of Henry Lawson* (1925)

(The proofs of *The Poetical Works of Henry Lawson* (1925) with the revisions discussed in this chapter are to be found at ML A1878 - A1883. Those for *The Selected Poems of Henry Lawson* (1918) are at A1872.)

1. 314/41, 30 October 1916 and 14 March 1917; Barker, p. 8.
2. Sharkey, p. 9; A1877, 3 May 1918.
3. Colin Roderick (ed.) *Henry Lawson Collected Verse*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, Vol. I, 1885-1900, p. 419 in the Notes to "Faces on the Street".
4. Lawson - Robertson, quoted in Colin Roderick (ed.), *Henry Lawson Letters*, p. 266.
5. Roderick, *Collected Verse*, Vol. I, p. 418; A1877, 3 May 1918, GR - AWJ.
6. ibid.
7. ibid.
8. ibid.
9. ibid.
10. A1872, p. 51.
11. 314/41, 9 December 1918.
12. A1877, 9 May 1918
13. ibid., letter received 2 July 1918.
14. A1872, p. 73 and A1877, 25 August 1918.
15. The Australian Classics series produced by Currey O'Neil in 1981 published *The Poetical Works of Henry Lawson* (South Yarra) wholly based on the 1925 edition. In 1984, Angus & Robertson published *The Poetical Works of Henry Lawson* with the 1918 Preface and 1925 Introduction of David McKee Wright. It too was based on the 1925 text. In 1975, Ure Smith (Sydney) published in two volumes the *Poems of Henry Lawson*, Selected by Walter Stone and illustrated by Pro Hart. Once more, the 1925 edition was the text followed.
16. "The Boss-Over-The-Board", A1879, p. 176.
17. David McKee Wright, *An Irish Heart*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1918, pp. 61-2.
18. "The Paroo River", A1879, p. 90.
19. "Corny Bill", A1881, p. 239.

20. "Eurunderee", A1881, p. 254.

21. "The Boss-Over-the-Board", A1880, p. 175.

22. "The Boss's Boots", A1879, p. 103.

23. "The City Bushman", A1881, p. 248.

24. Different critics have examined the question of the strength of Lawson's authorial presence in different ways. H.J. Oliver for example, considered that the first-person yarn, gave verisimilitude. Hadgraft thought that Lawson's casual mannerisms of speech e.g. 'She was "past carin'" right enough'—epitomised here by the last two words—were an "effective trick". "We know Lawson is going to do it, and we accept it: it is the oddity of a friend which has become familiar". (Cecil Hadgraft, *Australian Literature*, p. 103). Hadgraft is here describing what John Barnes later more fully and explicitly explained, "Lawson's apparent digressions are a means of establishing a relationship with the reader". Barnes then continued, noting that while many of the stories are bush-yarns, it is Lawson's presence that enriches his prose. (Colin Roderick (ed.), *Henry Lawson Criticism*, pp. 440-5.)

25. "The Ships That Won't Go Down", A1880, p. 196.

26. "Bourke", A1882, p. 370.

27. "Old Stone Chimney" A1880, p. 168.

28. "The Great Grey Plain", A1881, p. 232.

29. "Tambaroora Jim", A1882, p. 306.

30. "The Old Bullock Driver", A1880, p. 172.

31. "Peter Anderson & Co.", A1881, p. 265.

32. "The Fourth Cook", A1882, p. 321.

33. See above p. 171, see also A1877, 3 May 1918, GR - AWJ ". . . please remember that it is intended for the English reader rather than the Australian. Of course, we can do nothing with it in England at present . . . It will do A & R credit, but it will never pay them."

34. "The Bursting of the Boom", A1880, p. 189.

35. "Heed Not", A1882, p. 319.

36. Vol. 314/25, 13 April 1918 p. 273 and p. 279. Note that in the end, Robertson reinserted *The Joy Ride* (p. 339, 7 June 1918), ". . . have changed my mind about *The Joy Ride* and that it goes in. I still have misgivings. . . ." Observe also Dennis's defence of his use of the word, "wowsers" (p. 311): "*Eternal Circle* have de-wosered (sic) this. Your conception of a wowser is evidently different from mine. The wowser, as I know him, would not be seen reading the *Bloke*."

37. "Heed Not", p. 319.

38. "Rovers", A1880, p. 158. Jose's comment has been erased but is nonetheless visible.

39. "The Land of Living Lies", A1883, p. 486.

40. "To the Advanced Idealist", A1883, p. 461.

41. "'Cross the Border", A1883, p. 418.

CHAPTER 15: The Early Twenties

The four main enterprises which were to occupy Jose from 1919 to 1926 were the *Australian Encyclopaedia*; the *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918, Vol. ix, The Royal Australian Navy*; the Sydney Repertory Theatre Society; and a new review, the *Forum*. These projects, while not stridently nationalistic, can be seen to one degree or another, as inspired by the national self-consciousness, formerly regarded as a product of the legendary Nineties. Isaiah Berlin in his "Nationalism" noted that one of the unpredicted results of the world-wide nationalism of the nineteenth century was its persistence far into the twentieth century.[1] In this case, in Australia of the 1920s, we can observe the spread of nationalism from literature or fiction into non-fiction. The War had undoubtedly given a further impetus to national imperialism - Robertson's and Jose's enthusiasm for the War Histories provides an example of this. But the story of Jose during these years, and his falling out with Robertson, is also the story of two men with diverging interests and tastes. As we saw in the previous chapter, which compared their editing of Lawson, Robertson's nationalism, his clinging to the dream of the Nineties, resulted in his caricaturing of Lawson and Lawson's work. On the other hand, the Repertory Theatre Society and the *Forum* are important because they demonstrate Jose's interest in playing an active role in the widening of Australian national cultural activities. Jose's attitude was changing: he seems to have felt that if these activities did not incorporate discussion and writing about theatre, politics, current affairs, history, literature and art, and furthermore, in an international context and the classical tradition, Australia would be doomed to parochialism.

The Australian Encyclopaedia

Angus & Robertson's *Australian Encyclopaedia* was inspired by Chambers' *Encyclopaedia*. As early as 1910, the Scottish publishing firm contacted Jose, at A & R's suggestion, and asked him if he would undertake to re-write and revise those articles pertaining to Australia for the new ten-volume edition of their encyclopaedia. Jose speaking of both the political

and scientific developments during the Federation period, wrote of Australia to David Patrick, Chambers' General Editor:

> ". . . we are in this making experiments on behalf of the world at large, and an account of them would surely be widely interesting.[2]

For Jose, Australia was the laboratory for the world of the future, where social, political and scientific experiments pointed to a new world. The encyclopaedia would be its guide for the British who might one day adopt such innovations as, for example, Compulsory Arbitration.[3]

Patrick had intended the new edition to be at proof stage by 1911-1912. Work was delayed, the War intervened, and after it, the shortage of paper curtailed publishing activities. Jose considered these delays fortunate in that they allowed the much-needed revision occasioned by the publication of the Australian Census of 1911 and the *Historical Records of Australia*; he also saw that there had been a stimulus to the study of early Australian history since 1913. Research in the field which was virtually untouched in the 1890s was now beginning in earnest. But in the light of recent work, he needed to correct many articles - for example, those on the Blue Mountains expeditions and Dutch exploration. Jose finally sent off his revisions to Chambers in 1921.[4]

In the meantime, Robertson had decided he would publish an Australian encyclopaedia. Jose wrote that Robertson "was not expecting it to bring him profit; it was to be his gift to Australia for her generosity to him."[5] Robertson corresponded with Jose about his editing of the A & R *Encyclopaedia* from at least 1916.[6] It was to be uniform in binding with the Chambers edition. But as late as 1919, Jose was uncertain of the relationship between Chambers' *Encyclopaedia* and the A & R one. Jose did not know whether the latter was to be regarded as supplementary to Chambers', or as a separate entity:

> Is the Australian volume to be published separately or only with the Chambers set? this is important, because the cities, for instance, have been dealt with by Grace Henry-Pooley only historically, leaving the descriptions of them as they now are to the main Chambers entries. If you want the Australian volume complete in itself, this lack must be supplied.[7]

So far a reply to this letter has not been found. It is crucial because Robertson's decision or procrastination on a decision may well have meant that the task of editing the *Encyclopaedia* was complicated far beyond his original plans. In these circumstances, it would be feasible to suggest that Robertson's annoyance with Jose was, in large part, annoyance with his own inability to contain the project.

In 1919 Robertson agreed to employ Jose full time on the encyclopaedia project. From then and until 1925, relations between them became increasingly strained. Several factors were involved. It was partially due to their altering interests, but also to Robertson's frustration with the *Encyclopaedia*. Robertson, underestimating the complexity of the task, thought it could be finished within a year. But it was not only the question of a deadline which was a source of irritation - there were financial considerations; a nationalistic gesture was one thing, but the *Encyclopaedia* was "mopping up thousands".[8] Furthermore, Robertson's unrealistic attitude about time limits was met by Jose's meticulousness in revising and re-writing pieces which he did not consider up to standard. Another factor which caused friction was Robertson's indecisiveness even at the end about the sort of articles he wanted included: this prolonged the publication of the second volume even after Jose left in 1926.[9] While Robertson blamed Jose for leaving the second volume "in a state of chaos", it would seem that part of the problem from the start was a lack of any policy in this regard. Jose handed in his resignation on 20 July 1925. It was many years before Robertson was civil to him. When Jose cabled to him from Paris for money he met with silence. Robertson answered the telegram only for posterity by scrawling across it:

> I sent no reply to this. Nothing was *due* to him, and he had left Vol 2 of the A.E. in a state of chaos for me to clear up. It made me ill & I was in the Doctors hands.

Jose wrote of his financial state to Bean, "G.R.'s going back on his word has crippled me shamefully".[10]

While work on the *Encyclopaedia* had extended four years over Robertson's intended deadline, tension became so great that Jose, on occasions, absented himself from the office to defuse the situation, obtaining light relief by going to watch Stiffy & Mo nearby.[11] This

led Robertson to the conclusion that Jose "loafed on the job".[12] But according to his son, Jose spent every weekend working on encyclopaedia material. A fairer criticism, if Robertson had known it, would have been that Jose had "gone farming" - Robertson had stipulated that Jose not undertake outside work, apart from the Naval History.[13] But enterprises such as the Repertory Theatre and the *Forum*, in which he could play some part, were also irresistible.

The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914 - 1918, Vol. ix, the Royal Australian Navy.

It has been said that the *Official War History* has been universally praised by military historians.[14] Its General Editor was C.E.W. Bean, Jose's ex-pupil from All Saints'. Jose was determined that Angus & Robertson should take on the publishing, in order that the history be a first-class job. Correspondence reveals that Jose was involved in the machinations to "edge" Bean toward A & R's, and away from Gordon & Gotch when Bean was trying to organise publication of the history. Jose was to be not only the author of the Naval volume, but was to "generally supervise on the literary side".[15]

To Jose, the enterprise recording Australia's role in the Great War was a monument to Australian imperialism. Bean regarded Australia as "fortunate to have a man of his calibre available for the task". He described Jose's volume as being typical of his histories in its being "contentious and intensely alive". It is his passage describing the return of the Australian ships from the War which Bean called "a purple patch for any anthology of Australian prose": in it we find an emphasis of those particular values which Bean and Jose shared - patriotism and camaraderie:

> So, unostentatiously as they had shipped away at the first signs of the War, the Australian ships came home again. Primarily Australian, and persistently Australian, they had taken their full share of Imperial tasks, and everywhere had upheld the honour of the country which gave them being and owned them. Every prophecy of their detractors had been proved false, every hope of their upholders justified and exceeded. . . . Our children will discover and realise with pride, not so much what the Australian squadron did in the Great War, as what it was - the symbol alive

> and ubiquitous of its country's energy and versatility, and incomparable gift of comradeship.[16]

It was Jose's long time interest in the formation and genesis of the Australian Navy which pointed to him as a suitable author. It made Newbolt a similarly appropriate choice for the authorship of the *Official History of the British Navy*. In Jose's case there was also his employment in the Naval Office and his success in writing Australian history. But much more than all of this, he would have seen himself as particularly suited for the task, because of his understanding of the local point of view, the peculiarly Australian angle. When the criticism was made that Jose would not have known all that was in the Admiralty's mind, his reaction was "that's the value of the book."[17] This once more is the Kipling legacy, the colonial-nationalist stance, the Deakinite hope of the Empire's "recentralization", the belief in the importance of the outposts, in the corruption of the centre. Jose, aware of his long-standing criticisms of the Admiralty, would have seen himself as possessing the necessarily critical eye, for judging relations between the Australian and British naval officers during the conduct of the War. This is seen in his attitude to Australian activities in the Pacific area, and the question of the Admiralty's direction of the Australian fleet. Jose thought that one of the important features of the history was that it revealed "Australia's miserable little annexations" of Pacific territories was a policy not of her own devising:

> The volume, however, will be at hand to dispel the still very lively illusion (I have been questioned about it half a dozen times this year) that it was Australia that dragged her ships about the Western Pacific convoying miserable little annexation expeditions. Did I tell you of my correspondence with Admiral Richmond on this point? He was at the Admiralty at the time, and confirms everything we allege about the persons on whose shoulders the blame must rest.

Thus Pascoe, in criticising Jose's accounts of the Pacific manoeuvres, has perhaps overlooked the wider context, or where their significance lay for Jose: it was part of his continuing criticism of the Admiralty.[18]

One of Jose's keen interests which is revealed in the History is that of the intricacies of Australian policies on the Pacific Islands, in particular, the role of the Germans in the

Pacific. It was as early as 1907 that he construed the German presence as threatening, and considered the Australians to be imprudent in allowing German expansion in the Pacific. So just as the theme of *The Times* articles on the Pacific Islands was the security of Australia, now in his Naval history he was concerned to reveal precisely how that threat, in the form of Von Spee's expedition was met:

> My main object is to make clear to Australians what their ships were set to do and why they were set to do it. Consequently a good deal of space is devoted to German intrigue and the movements of German vessels. I do not think this space was wasted. It seems very important that Australians should know the reasons for much that puzzled them at the time, even where those reasons are now admitted to have been insufficient or wrong; and where they were right and compelling, the knowledge is still more necessary.[19]

In this declaration of his intention we see one of those neat reversals wrought by circumstances. For now Jose's desire was that the Australian public should know all the details of the War - while previously, as Chief Naval Censor, it was his role to withhold information. And, just as before, others saw themselves as the victims of his censoring, now he himself was frustrated by censorship; Jose felt that he was being restricted in what he could write more than writers of the other volumes of the *Official War History*.[20] Everything he wrote had to be submitted to Senator Pearce for approval. The Naval Board had objected to his work. As Jose put it, ". . . The true trouble, as I told you, is that any true history of the early months of the war would show up certain negligences &c., on the part of the Admiralty . . ."[21] Jose thought the English naval staff officers in Australia were trying to suppress his work. He outlined what he thought were fair conditions:

> What I want is (a) the right to state the truth as accurately as I can, without censorship except where actual naval secrets of use in future wars are involved; (b) the right to comment on the facts, in my own name and on my avowed personal responsibility, not affecting anyone else; (c) the right to get all possible advice from officials and others, it being left in the end, to myself to decide how much I take of it. I'm not a *Daily Mail* reporter. I'm a historian, with a reputation to maintain: obviously I should not maintain it by making rash or inaccurate statements or discarding expert advice without extremely good reasons.[22]

Delays in writing and revising the history were experienced through further arguments with the Naval Board and the release of further official material. In early 1926, although

Jose's work was still incomplete, Bean recognised that Jose was close to nervous collapse and obtained permission for him to finish the work overseas. It would be another two years before it was to be finally published. In July 1927, Bean received the German Official Naval History. This necessitated revision of those sections on the *Emden*, German activities in the Pacific and in particular Von Spee's squadron. During the following month still further material was released, this time by the French and British; once more it meant revision was desirable. In July 1928, Jose quipped to Bean, "I hope to God the volume will come out some day - and that I shall be able to recognise it".[23]

Sydney Repertory Theatre Society

During the early 1920s Jose became involved with Gregan McMahon's Sydney Repertory Theatre Society. McMahon ran the Sydney Repertory Theatre with the support of the Tait brothers. In addition to producing plays, McMahon organised a series of lectures on topics related to drama and the theatre. The plays and lectures together constituted the Repertory Theatre Movement. As early as 1917, perhaps earlier, when both Jose and McMahon were in Melbourne, Jose had participated as a lecturer. But by 1921, he was arranging the lecture programme.[24] It was difficult to find speakers; some of them were drawn, one might say, forcibly, from academic circles. Judging from correspondence, one feels that Jose and McMahon were forcing the pace, trying to kindle enthusiasm where there was little interest at least amongst academics. As we will see, Jose was interested also in Australian drama but it was placed in the tradition of Classical, European and British drama. This is to be seen in the topics on the lecture programme: "The Ancient Drama", "The Ancient Critics and some Modern Tragedies", "Euripides as a Revolutionary Dramatist", "Goethe's Conception of Mephistopheles", "The Women of Ibsen", "Strindberg", "Tolstoi", "The Elizabethan Actor and his Stage", "The Women of Shakespeare", "Fate in Shakespeare", "The Duchess of Malfi", "Meredith, a Dramatist?", "Galsworthy". Another list of topics, perhaps projected rather than realised, would seem to have been drawn up by McMahon; amongst the titles are the following: "The Theatre and the People", "The

Theatre of Today - and Tomorrow", "The Japanese Play of the Centuries", "The Irish Theatre", "The Parsee Drama".[25]

Jose himself was to lecture on the Repertory Theatre in Athens and Rome; he probably lectured on the same topic in 1917 for he had corresponded with Christopher Brennan on Greek drama in 1916. Theories were discussed concerning the technical ramifications of the third play of a trilogy, and the question of whether or not there were performances of plays. Brennan answered Jose's queries about the history of the transmission of editions of plays.[26]

But the push for Australian drama was gathering momentum too. On June 4th, 1921, D.H. Souter, delivered a lecture entitled, "An Australian National Theatre".[27] It was delivered the same week that Louis Esson (recently returned from England and the United States) wrote to Vance Palmer, advancing the idea of a local "national Australian" theatre to replace repertory theatre. Terry Sturm notes that Esson's inspiration and model was Yeats's Irish Abbey Theatre.[28] We should remember here that Yeats seems to have had an influence in Australia during this period parallel to that of Kipling in the 1890s. But we should also remember that the desire for a national theatre can also be seen as part of that world-wide nationalism referred to at the outset, and observed by Isaiah Berlin as specifically occurring in Italy, Poland, Germany and Ireland.

It is not surprising that McMahon was concerned to promote Souter's lecture as widely as possible. As early as 1912, McMahon had staged Esson's *The Time is Not Yet Ripe*. Souter's lecture was expected to draw an audience of three to four hundred: "In order that Mr Souter may have the benefit of full publicity throughout the entire Society, I should suggest Saturday June 4th . . . I could enclose therewith to each member a special circular notifying Souter's lecture & so secure a good attendance. Of course the lecture must be given in a large hall or the Playhouse. "The rooms" are out of the question for the three or four hundred I should expect at least . . ."[29] In one newspaper report, an anonymous journalist described the lecture as a "dismal recital of the foredoomed attempts of

Australian dramatists to get their plays tried out by Australian managers".[30] The writer went on to criticise the Repertory Movement in Sydney for not putting on more Australian plays, and seemed to imply that McMahon's association with Tait was the explanation for this neglect:

> Mr Gregan McMahon, when running his own repertory enterprise, put on a number of Australian plays, one of which subsequently got a London production. But so far the present repertory season has not announced a single Australian drama.[31]

But it seems that the critic was uncertain of his target, of who was to blame for what he saw as the neglect of local content. The writer echoes Souter's criticism of managers for their neglect but, more than this, he seems to criticise also, the "repertory organization". In his opening sentence he attributes to it a "lack-lustre" character. If this is accepted as a valid criticism of the movement - here we must remember Jose's difficulty in finding enthusiastic speakers - it could also be seen as a reflection of the lack of interest in drama in Sydney in the 1920s. It would seem that the critic was unaware of two important facts: that Souter may have been speaking at the request of Jose; and that Souter's lecture on the plight of Australian drama may have been an orchestrated attempt on the part of Jose and McMahon to draw attention to its sorry state. For there is documentary evidence which indicates that Jose not only invited and chose the speakers but suggested topics and discussed them.[32] It will be remembered that Souter, a close friend, had been involved in the production of the *Australian Magazine* with Jose - a protest at the *Bulletin*'s monopoly of the sort of literature and art published - it is conceivable that Souter was now engaged in a similar venture with Jose.

The Forum

The plays of the Repertory Theatre were always reviewed in the *Forum*, a journal started by Dudley D. Braham. His acquaintance with Jose dated from his employment with *The Times*, when Braham had been Head of its Foreign Department. Braham had had a varied journalistic career, having been *The Times* Correspondent in Berlin, Petersburg and

Constantinople. He was elected to *The Times* Board of Directors in 1913, a short-lived appointment from which he resigned the following year; he then came to Australia as Editor of the Sydney *Daily Telegraph*. Jose worked closely with Braham in the production of the *Forum*, which was published in Sydney fortnightly from May 1922 until 1924. Jose also wrote extensively for it under his own name, various pseudonyms and anonymously.[33] He was unable to be associated with it publicly for Robertson had employed him as *Australian Encyclopaedia* editor, it will be remembered, on the condition that he did not undertake other work.

Braham, editor of the *Forum*, described the object in establishing the journal:

> . . . Australia is yet without the kind of journal we aim at producing, a journal all-Australian in scope, in which thoughtful men and women can discuss the problems of Australia and can write and read about the things that interest thoughtful Australians, a journal on the lines of the English "Spectator" or "Nation", modified to suit Australian conditions. . . . A glance . . . will show that we are not presumptuously challenging comparison with [the *Bulletin* or the *Australasian*], but are catering for tastes and wants which they do not supply.[34]

As its title suggests, it was to be a "forum" for discussion of Australia's political, economic, industrial and social problems. Those responsible for launching the journal felt that existing discussion was so lacking in reason as to become dangerous, polarising the community:

> It is often something much lower and much more dangerous, an appeal to class prejudices or class hatreds, inflaming the minds of those to whom it is addressed, and making them inaccessible to considerations of reason or even prudence. Great industries are being forced to close down, unemployment, already extensive, is steadily increasing, crushing and ever-growing taxation is strangling industry and enterprise . . . At such a time we need less of this mutual partizan scolding, and more, far more, thoughtful and considered discussion of our problems and the means of solving them.[35]

In its attempt to provide a more intelligent appraisal of issues it contained articles by well-known writers and authorities in a variety of fields. Another of its features was "Our Open Platform" where the opposing approaches to an argument were debated and advanced by prominent people.

In addition to its political content, there were articles on literature, theatre, music, art and science, and book reviews. The rich literary and cultural world of the time can be appreciated in the range and scope of the articles published. This is seen in the Book Reviews section alone. Brennan's article on J.W. Mackail with reference to his *Latin Literature* and *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*; the anonymous reviews of R.M. Freeman's *The New Boswell* and Oliver Sayler's *The Russian Theater*; Francis Jackson's "Contemporary American Poetry"; an anonymous critique of a new translation of Blasco Ibañez' *The Torrent* (published by T. Fisher Unwin) are but a few examples. In addition to much material like this, there are articles such as "The Civilization of Italy" (by "C. McL") which takes the form of a traveller's narrative with observations on art and politics, much in the manner of H.V. Morton. There are also pieces on "Art and Theories of Art", on exhibitions of Australian art in England, as well, of course, as local ones. A particularly interesting review is that of an exhibition of Lloyd Rees' work at the Art Salon in Sydney.[36] Discussion of literary and artistic developments in Europe and Britain are a noticeable feature of the journal.

Apart from his political articles, Jose's most frequent and regular contribution was to the "Australiana" section, which was, in effect, his own. The articles, while not perhaps sufficiently unified in theme and purpose to be described as a series, might rather be characterised as casual and anecdotal accounts of different aspects of early Australian history and historiography and more interestingly, biographical sketches of various ignoble people. Jose had obviously come across the material for these while researching other marginally-related topics, for the *Australian Encyclopaedia*.

The distinguishing feature of many of these Australiana articles is that Jose has placed the topic in a world-wide context. Thus, for example, there is "Australia as known to the Ancients" and "Are we the Spaniards of the Pacific".[37] In the biographical articles, Jose usually incorporates material which covers the individual's life in Britain as well as Australia; or, the article which discusses the status of Australia's laws in the early nineteenth century must necessarily examine them in relation to English law. Thus the

picture is conveyed of Australia as a country whose links with the rest of the world cannot be ignored in any account of her history. Jose's vision is not that of the Utopians who saw Australia's future and salvation to lie in her isolation, nor is it like that of the Jindyworobaks who seemed to think that Australia could only be understood in its solitariness. Instead, it draws its life, in part, from its origins.

Before concluding we might observe that the very existence of an "Australiana" page as a regular feature in a journal of high calibre is of significance. Just as Jose blazed the trail in writing an Australian history in the 1890s so that the subject might be adequately taught in schools, he now with characteristic innovation began to deal with those curious and fascinating sidelights of Australia's past—bushrangers, inventors, unusual topics such as "The Genesis of our Journalism",—the sort of details which were not to occupy Australian authors in large numbers until the 1960s. The articles are important too, for the light they shed on Jose's still developing vision of Australia and his altering historiographical method. It is likely that their sketchy quality can be explained by the fact that Jose, at this stage, only half understood what he was attempting. Underlying his jocular manner, there is an assumption that no one would take seriously the Australian past which he found so alive and compelling. It was not until Jose was in London with plenty of leisure in 1927-8, that he came closer to understanding the significance and full import of the new material.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 15: The Early Twenties

1. Isaiah Berlin, *Against the Current: Essays in the History of Ideas*, (ed.), Henry Hardy, The Hogarth Press, London, 1979. See the chapter, "Nationalism: Past Neglect and Present Power", pp. 333-355.

2. AWJ's correspondence with Chambers is in AWM 39, A.W. Jose, Box 2; this letter is AWJ - Patrick, 21 September 1910.

3. AWM 39 A.W. Jose, Box 2, AWJ - David Patrick, 30 July 1912, ". . . Australia is the only country I know which has made any attempt to found its arbitration laws on definite conceptions either of the "living wage" or of the arbitration unit. Furthermore, it seems to be the only country which coordinates its policies of defence, protection, and industrial legislation so that they are mutually interdependent - therein, by the bye, lies the mistake that Britain will make if she borrows our compulsory arbitration laws. You can't borrow a bit of our system without the rest."

4. AWJ - Chambers, 20 October 1920, "There are a good many corrections of this sort to be made, because a great stimulus has since 1913 been given to research into early Australian history."

5. See Newspaper cuttings book of AWJ's *Brisbane Courier* articles, p. 56, in JP.

6. 314/41, AWJ file, AWJ - Robertson, 6 December 1916.

7. ibid., AWJ file, AWJ - Shenstone, 5 July, 1919.

8. Robertson - C.J. Dennis, 11 August 1921 in Barker, p. 115. Robertson had estimated that the encyclopaedia would cost between £6-7000; in the event it cost £30,000 (Barker, p. 137).

9. See 314/41, P. Waddell - AWJ, 4 June 1926. Waddell, AWJ's niece, was employed as a clerical assistant on the encyclopaedia. After Jose had left she wrote to him in France, informing him of the progress of the second volume:

> "It was a good thing you got away when you did because G.R. is still raking up new articles, and we are not finished yet---"

Jose handed in his resignation to Robertson in July 1925 (see 314/41, AWJ - GR, 20 July 1925).

10. 314/41, n.d; AWM 38 C.E.W. Bean Papers 3 DRL 7953 item 11, AWJ - Bean, 14 October 1926.

11. Personal recollection of his son who was employed on a casual basis on the *Encyclopaedia* staff.

12. 314/41 Copy of holograph letter, Robertson - Henry George, 28 April 1926, in which he writes, "Mr Jose is on his way home and may look you up. Be civil to him, but don't go out of your way to serve him or commit us in any way. He has loafed on the job here, and left me to clear up the mess."

13. 314/41, Robertson - AWJ, 10 September 1919.

14. Wilde, p. 530.

15. 314/41, for the manoeuvres involving the History's publication: 5, 10, 12 & 15 July 1919; 10 September 1919 for the question of Jose's supervision of the History.

16. C.E.W. Bean obituary for AWJ, *SMH*.

17. AWM 38, C.E.W. Bean Papers, 3 DRL 7953, item 10, AWJ - C.E.W. Bean, 20 February 1922.

18. AWM 38 C.E.W. Bean Papers, 3 DRL 7953 Item 12, AWJ - Bean, 22 November 1928; Pascoe, pp. 12-13.

19. AWM 39, Jose papers, item 5, Note on the Sources employed for Ch. I-VII

20. For information concerning the censorship of the Naval volume, see Stephen Ellis, "Censorship and the Official Naval History", *Historical Studies*, Vol. 20, April 1983, pp. 367-82. AWM 38, Bean papers, 3 DRL 7953, item 10, AWJ - Bean, 26 October 1921, "But my main objection to the whole of his objections is that no other volume of the Histories is being subjected to such pre-publication criticism. Why should mine be? If it is to be, Parliament and the country should be explicitly informed that conditions are being imposed on the Naval volume from which all other volumes are free."

21. ibid.

22. Bean papers, 3 DRL 7953, item 10, AWJ - Bean, 20 February 1922.

23. Bean papers, 3 DRL 7953, item 12, AWJ - Bean, 26 July 1928.

24. For evidence of AWJ's earlier participation in Melbourne see AWJ papers of the Official Historian, Item 3 (Letterhead: "The Playhouse" Prince's Bridge, Melbourne,) McMahon - AWJ, 12 February 1918, '. . . Will your engagements permit of a "paper" this year . . .' For AWJ's arrangement of lectures see his correspondence with Verbrugghen, Portus, Holme, MacCallum, Tildesley in AWM 39, AWJ papers, Box 2, item 12, Correspondence related to book production 1917 - 1919.

25. ibid. See programme.

26. See Appendix II (a), pp. 439-44.

27. See the programme advertising forthcoming lecture, AWM 39, Jose papers, Box 2, item 12.

28. Terry Sturm, "Drama" in Kramer (ed.), p. 213.

29. AWM Jose papers, Box 2 item 12, McMahon - AWJ, 5 May 1921.

30. See AWM, Jose papers, Box 2 item 12, unidentified newspaper cutting, 12 June 1921.

31. ibid.

32. See correspondence on Holme and Portus quoted in n. 24 above.

33. Jose's son recalls an occasion where Braham reportedly said, "The *Forum* is all Jose this week". Jose wrote under the pseudonym, "John Adrian" and the initials "J.A."

34. *Forum*, 24 May 1922, p. 17.

35. ibid.

36. 4 July 1923, p. 17; 28 March 1923, p. 19; 5 December 1923, p. 13-14; 2 January 1924, p. 15; 4 July 1923, p. 17; 3 January 1923, pp. 18-19; 3 January 1923, p. 21.

37. 16 August 1922, p. 14; 2 August 1922, p. 19.

CHAPTER 16: Celebrated Convicts

Early in 1926 Jose sold nearly everything he possessed and took his family to Europe on what was to be a prolonged holiday. They settled temporarily in France and rented a cottage at St Cheron, a village outside Paris, on the railway line. Jose could take the occasional visit to the capital 25 kilometres away to check information for the remaining chapters of the Naval History, which were sent back to Bean at Tuggeranong.[1]

After a year of living in simple fashion, Jose and his wife moved to London in May 1927. Jose became dispirited. England was no longer as he remembered it. The Edwardian world, which he had found lingering on when he had visited Great Britain in 1911 for the Imperial Conference, had now vanished. Many of his literary, political and journalistic connections in London from earlier days were lost. He himself now had a different outlook, and in the words of Richard Jebb, "The Empire was in Eclipse". Jose experienced difficulty in publishing his work. The possibilities of freelance authorship were drying out. He managed to write a number of articles and reviews for the *Times' Literary Supplement*, *Quarterly Review*, the *National Review*, the *Reader*, *Cornhill Magazine*, and the *British Australasian*, but by and large a new generation of journalists and writers had taken the place of those he once knew. By the end of 1928, he wrote to Bean that he was "of a permanently disgruntled disposition";[2] in earlier years he would not have admitted this. He finally managed to convince Harrap to publish his economic geography of Australia, *Australia, Human and Economic* (1932); "an accurate book on this subject has been badly needed here for a long time" he wrote. He had difficulties convincing Harrap's that the "human" element was needed.[3] Such trouble was minor in comparison with the intransigent attitude of publishers towards his projected Celebrated Convicts. Dent & Co. and Angus & Robertson both baulked at the idea.

When Dent approached Jose and asked for some Australian biographies, he offered his series of reprobates. Dent, however, "insisted on politicians and people of that description."[4] Thus *Builders and Pioneers* (1928) contained lives of Parkes, Deakin, the

Blaxlands, Simeon Lord, Greenway etc. Fifteen months later, Jose offered his outcasts to Angus & Robertson, but they would not commit themselves. In 1932, Jose modified the manuscript by adding more reputable people to the book - Louis de Bougainville, Nicholas Baudin, the Busbys, etc. Cousins, who replaced Shenstone as Angus & Robertson's Manager, rejected the manuscript, saying it could not be a seller, and suggested Jose try English publishers. Six months later, still not entirely defeated, Jose drew the manuscript to Robertson's personal attention and sent along his own reader's report with it. Jose, of course, recognised why publishers were not interested in the work:

> Unfortunately the convict chapters take up a third of the proposed volume. And Australians are less and less keen on buying stories of the blots on our escutcheons.
> (12 February 1933)[5]

While Dent & Co. and Angus & Robertson had refused the manuscript, John Murray's monthly journal, *Cornhill Magazine*, under the editorship of Leonard Huxley, had published five of the articles from December 1927 until July 1929: these included accounts of the adventures of George Bruce, Henry Waldron ("George Barrington") H.B. Hayes, Henri Grien ("Louis de Rougement") and the Baron de Thierry. There were others who Jose had wished to include in the book: John Tawell (forger, teetotaller and murderer) and possibly the Kents and Jonathon Hugo.[6] The last two, he had included in a series in the *Forum*, and he was to write them again in his weekly column in the *Brisbane Courier* in the early 1930s.[7]

Whether or not the public found such work palatable, and whether or not it was publishable, it marked a development in Jose's growing understanding of the past and present of Australia. Furthermore, the inclusion of convicts in Australian history was an unconventional step. It is not surprising to find Jose described as "an excellent controversialist". The very fact that he saw that the title, Celebrated Convicts, was unacceptable is evidence that he knew he was touching on an area regarded in Australia as taboo. Had the volume been published, it might today be regarded as Jose's most fascinating work. We will consider first, the development of Jose's vision of Australia up

to the 1920s, and how the convicts fit into his overall picture of Australian society; and secondly how he views the convicts themselves.

It will be remembered that in *Two Awheel* (1903), Jose revealed an altogether new vision of his contemporary Australia - a bright and gaudy post-impressionist world where all that was odd and humorous seemed to flourish - Australia was home to the unconventional. This view now formed part of the basis for his understanding of Australia's past: he saw the odd as inextricably bound up with Australia's beginnings and with early Australian society, and that those people generally regarded as the untouchables of early Australia - convicts, confidence tricksters and remittance men - had made a unique contribution to Australia. They were the leaven from a worn-out world. In focusing on them individually, rather than as a class, Jose brought them to life in a way he had been unable to in his history. Jose was ahead of his time in being able to see the intrinsic interest of convict lives - but more than this, he was able also to understand the historical context. Such characters flourished in the environment he had depicted in *Two Awheel*, a country where the very houses and dwellings leant at odd and contradictory angles, and inhabitants survived, defying the odds.

Jose's appreciation of the convicts and rogues was also in a sense the logical development of that theme of Empire literature which, from the Nineties, had held the imagination of Imperialists. It was the highpoint of Jose's vision of Australia. Celebrated Convicts was an account of the foundation of the imperial outpost with those often regarded as pariahs, now seen in the guise of the heroes of the Empire literature where gipsies, vagabonds and outcasts were the salt of the earth, the builders and pioneers of a new world. They were, in a sense, kindred souls of Lawrence of Arabia.

Indeed, T.E. Lawrence's *Revolt in the Desert* (1927) with its account of the offbeat Lawrence, "adopted" by Arabs and living Bedouin-style traversing the Sinai Desert to capture Aqaba, might well have further inspired Jose in his belief that it was the ebullient-spirited outcasts who, although despised by the official authorities, achieved the most for the Empire under gruelling conditions.

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, Jose became aware of the interest of convicts and confidence men early in the 1920s when he was working on the *Encyclopaedia*. By 1930 he had done the research for ten articles. We should remember that his "Australiana" page of the *Forum* suggests that the "rascal-convict" theme frequently occupied a place in his thoughts.

But there were articles in the *Forum* other than the biographical ones - "Australia Lawless" and a series on bushrangers.[8] These provide information about the background into which the convicts and rogues fit. There emerges, though in piecemeal fashion, a picture of Australia as an upside-down world, where appearances are deceptive and reality is as elusive as the rule of law, where those with delusions of grandeur or pretending to power can convince themselves of their own importance - and sometimes others. For example, in his series, "The Bushrangers", he views the hypothesis that while the outlaws had come to represent pluck and daring, the public were in fact so easily intimidated that it might be said "in no other profession were pluck and true daring so little needed". From looking at the "Bushrangers" series we can understand how Jose thought that the other outcasts he writes about, were able to prosper. We should mention at this point that Jose's attitude is ambivalent - traces of an heroic and mock-heroic strain are evident. The satiric note is likely to have been inherited in part from sources he quoted contemporary to the bushrangers themselves. Writing of the Ben Hall gang, Jose noted:

> Of its exploits a very few have been mentioned above; its reputation may be guessed from a satirical paragraph that appeared in 1863 in "Bell's Life in Sydney." "Narrow Escape of the Police!!!" it was headed. "Last evening three bushrangers espied a large body of troopers, and immediately gave chase. The darkness of the evening favoured the escape of the troopers, and baffled the bushrangers."[9]

In discussing the exploits of the Kelly gang, Jose expresses the opinion that the Glenrowan episode rivalled the melodrama of the stage:

> There, indeed, the melodrama of the stage was far outdone. The leader, walking calmly among his enemies in impenetrable armour, fixed on for half an hour by ten of them, and brought down at last by four wounds in the leg; his two desperate comrades, answering sullenly from their refuge the fire of fifty police concentrated from all points on the little weatherboard hotel . . . the consultations of

> the besiegers, that resulted in calling up from Melbourne a twelvepounder cannon and the further demand for an electric searchlight to aid a night attack; the final catastrophe when the building was set on fire . . . the wildest invention of the Elizabethans could barely outdo so bizarre a conception.[10]

While we cannot doubt that Jose found the whole performance diverting, mingled with the humour, is an admiration. For he concludes by casting an ironic eye at what he sees as the more mundane pursuits of daily life:

> . . . and civilization, which had a little lost control of its temper, settled down again to the even progress that fills bluebooks and the dreams of the statistician.[11]

In "Australia Lawless", the actual legal status of Australia's laws serves as a symbol and seems to represent the country's more general social condition. Jose commented on "the number and variety of illegal actions of governor after governor", and quoted the legal and official opinion from London that, contrary to what the governor thought or did, he had no law-making power at all. Viscount Goderich stated this opinion in reaction to Macquarie's proclamation forbidding Father Therry to celebrate marriages where one of the persons concerned was not a Catholic. To illustrate Goderich's opinion further, Jose quoted an even more extreme opinion expressed in 1823 by a law clerk in the Colonial Office, "who had been asked about the law applicable to the registration of mortgages in Tasmania". The clerk reported to his superior:

> There are reasons why it might be inconvenient to pledge yourself to any point respecting the law of this settlement. In my opinion they have no law at all which can properly be recognized as such.

This was the background into which Jose's convicts and confidence men so aptly fitted.

The episode served to emphasise the extent to which Australia was beyond known and traditional laws. The laws of nature were seemingly upturned with seasons reversed and unimagined flora and fauna to be found; and, in a country reserved at one stage largely for those who had lived in Britain in defiance of a legal system and now so far from civilisation, British law no longer seemed to work; not only did Governors not have the powers they thought they had, but later, in the face of bushranging, law was difficult to enforce. It was to be expected that such a country would attract those who were a law

unto themselves: adventurers, imposters etc. But more than this, Jose was coming to see Australians "as liberated from the congested ice-forms of convention and class".[12]

By 1927-8, when Jose was preparing the articles for *Cornhill* his understanding of the hapless rogues developed further. In his presentation of the convicts, we can see the combining of two disciplines, the historical and the literary. From the historiographical point of view, we can see an ironical treatment of the "great man" theory of history, that view which was so dominant in the early Victorian era. But it is the cross-disciplinary influence of literature which enriches his understanding of the role the convicts played. As suggested earlier, he sees them in the heroic tradition. As Jose saw it, the heroism of most of the convicts, imposters and adventurers was not only in their settling and enlivening of the outlying Empire; it was in their imaginativeness. It was this which led them on in their course of incredible adventures.

It is in his introduction to the sketch of a thirteen-year old convicted of theft, George Bruce, "Potboy into Prince", that Jose writes:

> Of great men and their great deeds one sometimes hears more than enough. Little men look up to them admiringly and are willing to take the greatness on trust; what they did was - no one doubts it - of extremely high value to the country and to their fellow-men taken as a whole. *But* ... on occasion great men, with their whims and their head-in-air methods of procedure, can make themselves a horrible nuisance to the little men taken singly. Across the early history of Australia its almost despotic governors . . . pass masterfully . . . but the waves of their passing did toss and endanger and upset many of the smaller craft among which they ploughed their more majestic way.[13]

In other words, Jose is more interested in how the great men affected the lives of the little men. In this shift of emphasis we might see that Jose had observed the change of trends in history - though we might add that the publishers had not. As one of the critics of Jose's selection of historic characters in *Builders and Pioneers* had put it, 'the "great man" theory of history . . . is now perhaps at a discount.'[14] While for many historians the emphasis had altered from the "great men" to the context in which they operated, Jose's series marked an attempt to look at the lives of ordinary people. There was, of course, a second influence which had moved Jose to re-assess his view of the past: the growing

tendency in literature was to treat the everyday lives of everyday people - Dickens, the Realist writers, Kipling had all heralded the change; the aristocratic or high-born heroes of romance were now a thing of the past. These parallel movements in history and literature in part explain Jose's new understanding of the role played in history by "celebrated convicts" and others.

But Jose was looking at the lives not so much of ordinary men, but rather he was selecting from among their ranks those who were extraordinary, and pinpointing what made them outstanding. In nearly every case, he suggests that it is their soaring imagination which lifts them above their mundane surroundings. And in the case of the imposters or those suffering from delusions of grandeur, it is evident that Jose is writing about ordinary men who, in their own eyes - and temporarily in the eyes of others - have become "great men". What is extraordinary, is that the "great men" defer to them. In 1811 Jonathon McHugo imagines he is of the Royal Family ("by birth Prince of Scotland, and by the constitutional laws of Great Britain and Ireland, Rex de iure") and convinces the Commanding Superintendent at Launceston "to surrender the control of the settlement into his hands".[15] Given the sketching in of the background of "Australia Lawless", it is to be expected that the imposters should have their small measure of success.

Jose then is interested in what happens when the ordinary man thinks of himself as important; he is also interested in what happens to them when they become influential and wield their petty power. Thus when George Bruce the former juvenile thief and servant settled in New Zealand, married a Maori and was made a Chief, he thought he was in a position to grant privileges to Australian merchants:

> Who now so exalted - and yet so condescending - as our George? For two years he was the dictator of Bay of Islands trade and the cynosure of its society: when Sydney traders put in for a cargo of timber, or whalers for fresh provisions, there was George to show them round and give them inside information and convince them that but for his friendly influence they would have had to drive much more unequal bargains. He was not greedy; it was not for money or for other rewards that he made himself so useful. It was sheer love of power to do things, of position as a universal benefactor - there has been nothing like it since, till Nellie Farren woke up on the shores of Monte Cristo Island, 'I who was yesterday a poor street boy.'[16]

In all cases which Jose relates, it is the contrast of his protagonists' failure in the end after stupendous adventures which makes the sketches convincing. Jose elicits mingled feelings of humour and admiration at their daring and preposterous claims so that it is sometimes difficult to isolate that point at which the heroic becomes the mock-heroic. His concept of heroism has its extremes too. It includes behaviour which ranges from taking risks to the more modest requirement of diligence in everyday life. Jose makes this clear in the introduction to his life of Charles de Thierry:

> If the imaginative gallantry of youth, surviving unimpaired all manner of buffets and every variety of sneer and jeer, was at least metamorphosed into unostentatious industry for the public benefit - well, there is something heroic about that too.[17]

By the grandiloquent title of the article, "Charlemagne in Maori-Land", we recognise that Jose is parodying the heroic tradition, or perhaps more precisely, the qualification of high birth for heroism. Jose reinforces this in the introduction by the juxtaposition of de Thierry's titles

> Charles Philippe Hypolite, seventh Baron de Thierry, Sovereign Chief of New Zealand, King of Nukahiva (also Kingi te Pokanoe, of which more hereafter), pioneer of trial by jury in the Pacific, light tenor soloist at the Congress of Vienna, and original designer and promoter of the Panama Canal.[18]

In the titles of his other articles, it is the pretensions to aristocratic origins or associations which Jose satirises. The sketch of Henri Grien is entitled "A Lordly Imposter. 'Louis de Rougement'". The story of George Bruce is called "Potboy into Prince", and that of Mr Hugo, "The Royal McHugo". But as we have suggested Jose thinks real heroism lies rather in the lives of those like Henry Waldron who, against the odds dictated by his former existence, now lives in a constructive way. Jose takes historians to task for what he sees as clinging to the sensational:

> And Australia was the place where quite a number of the wicked people mended their ways and became good, useful citizens. That side of convict life is far too much neglected. The sociology of early (that is, pre-constitutional) Australia is represented in most men's mental libraries by weird stories of bushranging and heart-rending narratives of convict sufferings at Port Arthur or Norfolk Island—Charles Reade's 'It's Never Too Late to Mend' and Marcus Clarke's 'For the Term of His Natural Life.' Out of the mass of transported persons the fiction-writers have selected for our

> attention only those who were convicted of a second crime in New South Wales, and were therefore set apart for further punishment in isolated gaols under purely British control. I have no complaint against the writers of fiction—it is their business to be sensational; but it is surely time that historians should set about their business, and consider what happened to the mass of convicts who were not 'twice-convicted,' but served their sentences and lived quiet workaday lives thereafter. The chance 'to live a better life in a new country' was taken by far more than is usually believed.[19]

This is the introduction to "A Reformed Super-Pickpocket", his sketch of Henry Waldron who was better known as "George Barrington". Jose describes in animated fashion Waldron's career as a pickpocket in Britain where he was convicted eight times, his oratorical ability which led hack-writers to assume his name for a guaranteed sale of their books. Jose gives an account of Waldron's reformed life as an emancipist and superintendent of convicts. But he juxtaposes, in mock-heroic style, the legend of the hero-criminal, "Barrington", who was rather grandiloquently and falsely described by others as High Commissioner of N.S.W. and assumed to be the author of many tracts.

Jose describes yet another type, often seen as a hero, whose claims to heroism he regards with ambivalence. This is Henry Hayes, an "Irish buck" convicted on a charge of abducting a woman:

> Freeman of Cork at 20, sheriff at 28, knighted at the same age for inviting the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to dinner with the Corporation; persistent wearer of two watches, and of a cocked hat with two rosettes where the normal dandy sported but one; leading man in the Cork amateur theatricals; Captain in the South Cork Militia, at whose encampments his tent was distinguished by a silken canopy; owner of Mount Vernon, a country villa 'which was a world to see, the most perfect piece of ingenious design and workmanship for elegant and comfortable retirement that could be seen in any part of the kingdom.[20]

Jose sets the mock-heroic tone early in the piece when he tells us that Hayes "had the soul of a Ouida hero, and only a second Ouida could satisfactorily write his biography".[21] (The 'Ouida' hero was a creation of Marie Louise de la Ramée. Her novels contained heroes of epic stature outstanding for their strength and courage.) As the earlier quotation reveals, Jose maintains a half-admiring attitude towards Hayes, despite himself. We might say he is mocking himself for this as much as the protagonist. At the same time, he is also able to see the "hero" in perspective for he tells us in level-headed fashion:

> This story has no moral. Its hero was neither an adventurous youth nor an elderly penitent. He was merely a stupendous egoist, who marched unconcernedly through the Australian gaol without heeding the Governors and such small fry who strove to discipline him; but his weirdest extravagances have an interest far beyond their merits, and may win him a place among those Irish *poseurs* whom England has always suffered so patiently and understood so ill.[22]

We might note in passing that there is another reason for Jose's interest in Hayes. In addition to his being a convict, Hayes would appear to have been a secret agent employed by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to report back to England details concerning the administration of Governors, the behaviour of officials and conditions in Australia.

But it is not so much this, as Hayes' ability to rise above his circumstances which interests Jose:

> But, Buck and bully and egoist though he may be, there is something to be admired in the career of an egoist whom no misfortunes, however well merited, can disturb, no companionships, however degraded, can infect; the bully who is not a coward, the Buck whose self-respect is unstainable, has at least that much manhood in him. Henry's was to carry him through remarkable adventures yet.[23]

In the case of the Baron de Thierry it was his adaptability as much as his imaginativeness which Jose admired. These enabled him to remain master of his fate:

> Consider his perseverance, his lifelong devotion to the visions of his youth, his resilience, his perpetually fresh imagination. Consider, for that matter, his wonderful good temper, which never allowed him to waste a vindictive epithet even on Kendall. It is easy (and may be excusable) to call him a monomaniac in connection with his kingdoms; but he was always sane enough to keep that mania in the background and to adapt himself to circumstances when his pretensions could not be maintained.[24]

Henri Grien - the Swiss farmer-carter, valet to the Governor of Western Australia, pearler, waiter, adventurer and inventor of a patent garbage exterminator, a diving dress and a sort of meat substitute - is better known under his assumed name, 'Louis de Rougement'. While working as a waiter in Newtown (Sydney), he borrowed a diary from the writer, Harry Stockdale. It contained accounts of Stockdale's adventures and explorations in north-western Australia. Grien, blending these with tall stories he had heard when he was pearling, came to believe he had experienced the dramatic past he

concocted including details about his life among the aborigines. Eventually he made his way to England, where his accounts of Antipodean life were published in the *Wide World Magazine*. So great was the interest aroused that the British Association for the Advancement of Science secured 'de Rougement' to deliver addresses to its geographical and ethnological sections. Indeed, they invited him to a banquet where he regaled them with "tales of how he made for the blacks nude portraits of Queen Victoria, seven feet high and carrying a huge waddy, and a colossal statue of the Prince of Wales armed with throwing spears." While delivering yet another public lecture one of the audience recognised him as the inventor of the diving-dress. This was Grien's cue to vanish. For Grien had persuaded a Danish friend to go down in the depths off Port Jackson to test the outfit - he never surfaced, and the police had been searching for Grien for questioning. What was it about such an imposter that Jose found inspiring?

> Always his soaring mind had lifted him beyond the menial or sordid surroundings of his outward life; courier, valet, cook, waiter, he had dreamed visions of wider notoriety and more stirring adventure; he absorbed the excitement of other men's doings into the comparatively drab matter of his own existence until he scarcely knew dream from fact.[25]

These, then, are the various individuals, neither rulers, statesmen nor explorers. Their importance to Jose lies in the fact that they impress on him a particular feature of Australian life in the nineteenth century: a lawless place for some to live out grandiose visions, and others to work quietly. Jose's inability to find a publisher, his perception that the public did not appreciate his researches into the lives of "Celebrated Convicts" seems to have inhibited his exploration of the idea. Its rudimentary form is presented in the *Cornhill* articles. Had he felt the impetus to develop to a higher degree his original theory and approach, and in a more cohesive form, it is likely that critics and historiographers would not have forgotten him so easily.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 16: *Celebrated Convicts*

1. Recollections of Mr Jose's son in a conversation with the candidate. For Jose's correspondence with Bean, see AWM 38, Bean Papers, 3 DRL 7953, item 11.

2. AWJ - Bean, 22 November 1928 in Bean papers, loc. cit., item 12. "It is difficult to express one's feelings properly at this distance; and always difficult for me, who am of a permanently disgruntled disposition, to express pleasurable feelings at all --- especially in this dim wet soggy November weather that has enveloped us for several days now." For an incomplete list of Jose's articles written for journals and reviews during these years, see Bibliography, pp. 448-9.

3. AWJ - Bean, ibid., "I am hard at work on an Economic Geography of Australia to be published by Harrap, which will I hope be in its way as valuable a gift to Australia as was the Encyclopaedia; certainly an accurate book on this subject has been badly needed here for a long time. One's only excuse for taking up space on the earth is to do good work, and as long as I can make an attempt at doing some I shall carry on in any kind of weather and under any conditions."

4. 314/41, AWJ - Cousins, 14 December 1927, "So then [Dent] asked me to do some Australian biographies; he wouldn't take celebrated convicts (the *Cornhill* is taking them) but insisted on politicians and people of that description."

5. For Jose correspondence with A & R's relating to the publication of Celebrated Convicts see 314/41, 7 March 1929; 8 July 1929; 12 June 1932; 24 June 1932; 3 December 1932; 13 December 1932; 12 February 1933.

6. 314/41, AWJ - Cousins, 7 March 1929, "I suppose you wouldn't care to tackle a volume of Celebrated Convicts, etc. (not under that title, of course), including the articles the *Cornhill* has published for me - Barrington, Hayes, George Bruce, de Rougement, Baron de Thierry - and Tawell, McHugo, and such?" For the articles in *Cornhill Magazine*:
"Potboy into Prince", December 1927, pp. 721-30;
"A Reformed Super-Pickpocket", April 1928, pp. 478-91;
"A Lordly Imposter: 'Louis de Rougement'", July 1928, pp. 79-87;
"Atty Hayes' Kid", December 1928, pp. 703-714;
"Charlemagne in Maori-Land", July 1929, pp. 62-74.

7. "The Royal McHugo", *Forum*, 13 September 1922, p. 14; "Kents Galore. III. The Troublous Thomas", *Forum*, 19 December 1923, p. 14.

8. "Australia Lawless", *Forum*, 25 April 1923, p. 14; "The Bushrangers II", *Forum*, 20 December 1922, p. 14; III, 3 February 1923, p. 14; IV, 14 March 1923, p.14; V, 28 March 1923, p. 14. The first of the series is in a number of the journal no longer extant.

9. "The Bushrangers. III".

10. "The Bushrangers. V"

11. ibid.

12. Review of *Australia, Human and Economic* in the *Adelaide Advertiser*, 5 November 1932.

13. "Potboy into Prince", loc. cit., p. 721.

14. *Saturday Review*, 10 November 1928.

15. "The Royal McHugo".

16. "Potboy into Prince", pp. 724-5.

17. "Charlemagne in Maori-Land", p. 62.

18. ibid.

19. "A Reformed Super-Pickpocket", p. 478.

20. "Atty Hayes' Kid", p. 703

21. ibid.

22. ibid.

23. ibid., p. 706.

24. "Charlemagne in Maori-Land", p. 74.

25. 'A Lordly Imposter. "Louis de Rougement"', p. 87.

CHAPTER 17: *The Romantic Nineties* and the Legend

The Romantic Nineties (1933) is important for its influence on Vance Palmer and *The Legend of the Nineties*, but also because it rounds off the final phase in Jose's altering attitude to Australia.

At the outset it should be stated that despite the fact that Palmer has drawn extensively on Jose's *The Romantic Nineties* - even if only to refute his ideas - that nowhere does he refer to him, nor even mention him in his bibliography. (In much the same way we can see that his *National Portraits* is based on, if not inspired by, Jose's *Builders and Pioneers*.) While it is possible that the borrowing was unconscious, it would seem unlikely since the similarity of theme and structure is so extensive. One can only hypothesise that Jose had become such a political *bête noir*, that Palmer may have felt his reputation sullied even to refer to him let alone to admit him as a source of inspiration. One cannot but feel that Palmer was perhaps half-conscious that in *The Legend of the Nineties* he was weaving a new radical legend to replace Jose's (imperial) view: but to acknowledge that a broader nationalism had once existed, that the *Bulletin* had been the subject of criticism, that the vitality of the rural population was not restricted to the "bushworker", that the English origins of Australian literature were still pronounced in the 1890s, might have proved ruinous to the version of the "legend" he wished to propagate. Vivian Smith has described the theme of *The Legend of the Nineties* as Palmer's belief that the "forces of labour could realise the vision of the Nineties in Australia, but that somewhere the line of development had wavered into uncertainty and lack of conviction."[1]

Evidence of a more radical nationalism and its projection on to the Nineties may be seen as manifested in the altogether new way of regarding Henry Lawson. A.G. Stephens commented on this in his diary:

> The admiration of H[enry] L[awson] now excessive. Partly due to his adoption as official Labour bard, with Worker and other organs of Labour pulling for him; partly to his real merit; partly

> to his work being obvious for illiterate audience - all emotions and no intellect, and a continual plea for the under-dog (quite useful); partly to persistent push of Angus & Robertson who own his principal copyrights and have paid nothing to widow and children. The statue a kind of vague expansive worship of notoriety by ignorance. L[awson] neither personally nor in literature worthy such exaltation.
> (30 December 1931)[2]

The 1890s have become one of the most discussed decades in Australian literary history. The decade has come to be seen as an artistic, literary and political blossoming, a period of Utopian dreams. It is generally considered that *The Romantic Nineties* was one of several books which fostered the legend. However, the legend as it is represented, for example, in Russel Ward's *The Australian Legend* or in the *Oxford Companion to Australian Literature* bears little resemblance to Jose's views of the Nineties.[3]

While certain features of the legend, as modern critics perceive it, are detectable in Jose's book, or may have been derived from it, others would find no place in it at all. It is one of the purposes of this chapter to show how Jose's and Palmer's views of the Nineties diverged. It will be seen that various features of Jose's view were eclipsed. The reasons for the eclipse of Jose's version of the legend - the prevalence of a more radical vision of Australian literature and Australia - are the reasons for the general eclipse of Jose. The new drift of political thought was such that, as Manning Clark put it, history passed him by.[4]

As we have said, *The Romantic Nineties* is important too, because it marks a significant alteration in Jose's attitude to Australia, an attitude which had been gradually changing since the 1920s. It becomes apparent that Jose is reserved and detached in his view of the decade. While admittedly there are idealistic or "mythological" elements in the book, his account nonetheless vacillates between nostalgia and humour. The romantic glow, the indulgent comments derive from a remembered zeal, perhaps from the contrast of the frenetic activity of his youth recalled in a quieter old age - this was to be the general thrust of criticisms from younger writers. The shift in Jose's attitude seems to have been a reaction to the new narrower nationalism, and partly a disillusionment with Australian literature which he felt showed no clear new direction.

The whole question of Jose's attitude to the Nineties was part of the larger issue of his attitude to Australian literature. This became something of a long-running literary tug-of-war even in his lifetime. On the one hand Jose implied the decade was a brief evanescent flowering, a spent force and, on the other, "Furnley Maurice" (Frank Wilmot) and the Palmers regarded the decade as part of a living continuous legend.

The debate first flared in *All About Books* in an article by Wilmot which criticised Jose's account of Australian literature in *The Times Literary Supplement*. Wilmot's contention was that Jose's "youthful enthusiasm had turned to disillusioned old age". The criticism was to be implicitly echoed by Palmer in the last chapter of *The Legend of the Nineties*:

> An atmosphere of irony hangs over the later careers of many of the most ardent crusaders of the nineties: we find Lane, in early middle-age, arguing gently in his New Zealand paper that public libraries were harmful because they gave the masses access to erotic novels . . . we find many of the outstanding union and political leaders becoming violent defenders of the order they had attacked.[5]

Jose replied by trying to put his accusers on the defensive:

> Nowadays the younger generation spends half its time in attacking or loudly despising its immediate predecessors. In the Nineties we hadn't the time for that; we were too busy enjoying our own sensations to concern ourselves with the lagging protests of our elders. (*RN*, p. vi.)

The implication would seem to be that if his critics had any real life in them, his own "lagging protests" would be disregarded as inconsequential rather than stinging them into vituperation. Indeed, one feels that the Nineties still dwarfed the new writers emerging in the Twenties, that Jose's dismissive attitude towards them was all the more resented because they knew it was popularly held. They were caught between two ages and did not want to be reminded that, in the popular mind, they did not live up to a revered past.

An additional explanation to Jose's changed perspective may be that his stay in France and England enabled him to view Australia differently. It was a measure of Wilmot's nationalism that he seems to have regarded Jose's sojourn in England almost as treason.

He refers to Jose as "Australian once" and accuses him of grovelling to the English audience.[6] Yet Jose was no blind Anglophile.

There are various key elements in the legend of the Nineties as represented by Jose, Palmer and others: the growth of Australian literature, of nationalism, the role of the *Bulletin*, and Archibald, the balladists, and the Australian "type".

Before comparing Jose's and Palmer's attitudes to the 1890s, it would be as well to examine their stated intentions in writing their books. Jose, in his Preface, emphasises that the work presents subjective impressions rather than the attempts at objectivity of his previous writings. He stresses that other accounts of the Nineties would have to be read before arriving at the "truth":

> They are for the most part reminiscences and personal opinions, evidence rather than summing-up; they relate mainly to people and events of whom (or which) I had personal knowledge, and merely record that knowledge as accurately as possible. To use a convenient French phrase, they are in a small way *mémoires pour servir* accounts of personal experience during certain years, which the coming historian of those years may care to collate with differing accounts by other writers before he can hope to arrive at the actual truth. (*RN*, p. v.)

Palmer's purpose is to examine the relationship between the "legend of the nineties" and the actual events of the decade:

> And so there has grown up a legend of the Australian nineties as a period of intense artistic and political activity, in which the genius of this young country had a brief and brilliant first flowering . . .
>
> Literature, so the legend goes, showed this quickening. . . . In politics there were impulses toward unionism, federation, and self-dependence, all shot through by a quivering awareness that these things were not ends in themselves, but steps toward the creation of a perfect commonwealth. (*Legend*, p. 9)

While Palmer felt that the legend had "a close connection with historical reality", he came to the conclusion that the flowering rather than being concentrated in one decade extended from Eureka to the First World War.[7]

Here we should note that in his desire to understand the legend, he is expressing a wish that it were true. Kramer noted that Palmer's view was more an expression of hopes

and possibilities than historical statement, that he was "selecting those aspects of the period which best exemplified his view of the real Australia . . . It is legendary in that, while representing a part of the reality, the part in turn has been represented as the whole, or at least as the essence of the whole."[8] Heseltine noted that one of Palmer's purposes was "to combat the tendency (to which Palmer himself may have contributed) to see the decade as the fount of all things pure and good in Australian life."[9] Palmer was adding to the legend and altering its course.

It becomes clear that there were two legends. From the time of Frank Wilmot, the Palmers and later Russel Ward, the political dimension of the legend progressively predominated: the notion of a Utopia, and the egalitarian tradition permeates their view; the literary and political aspects of the Nineties become fused into one radical concept. Leon Cantrell, observing that during the Nineties writers had explored themes other than the outback, commented on "the emphasis which has been placed upon the nineties as the great nationalist phase of our history".[10] But Jose's legend is simpler. The emphasis fell rather on the literary and artistic as is evident from his chapter headings alone.[11] There is a nationalist aspect to it - the colonial nationalism which he shared with Deakin. But the imperial dream had vanished with a new age.

It is their differing concepts of nationalism and definitions of Australian literature which distinguish the contrasting attitudes to the Nineties of Wilmot and the Palmers on the one hand, and Jose on the other.

For Palmer and Wilmot nationalism meant the radical tradition associated with the republican and separatist spirit of the *Bulletin*: Australian literature was seen in these terms. This is seen in Palmer's selection of writers for discussion. For Jose, the nationalism of the nineties was rather of a non-partisan sort. Its primary effect and desired achievement was to unite Australia.

It is important too, to note that Jose understood the Australian literary ferment as part of a world-wide movement:

> It would seem, indeed, that they were a decade of unusual importance all the world over; not only did Richard le Gallienne devote *The Romantic 90's* to analysing English literary outbursts of the period, but Thomas Beer . . . described what he with characteristic artificiality calls "The Mauve Decade" . . . (*RN*, pp. v-vi).

E.J. Hobsbawm's recent description of European cultural vitality during this period is worth quoting at length. By it we can appreciate even more clearly Jose's international perspective:

> . . . there is no denying that there were in this period more people trying to earn their living as creative artists . . . It might even be argued that it now became easier than ever before to earn a living as a professional creator, because of the striking growth of the daily and periodical press (including the illustrated press) and the appearance of the advertising industry, as well as of consumer goods designed by artist—craftsmen or other experts with professional standing. Advertising created at least one new form of the visual arts which enjoyed a small golden age in the 1890s: the poster. No doubt this proliferation of professional creators produced a great deal of hack-work, or was resented as such by its literary and musical practitioners who dreamed of symphonies as they wrote operettas or song-hits, or like George Gissing, of great novels and poems as they churched out reviews and 'essays' or *feuilletons*. But it was paid work, and it could be reasonably paid: aspiring women journalists, probably the largest body of new female professionals, were assured that £150 a year could be earned by supplying the Australian press along.
>
> Moreover, there is no denying that during this period artistic creation itself flourished remarkably, and over a wider area of western civilization than ever before.[12]

The wider context in which Jose places the Australian Nineties gives to his "subjective impressions" an objective framework.

Underlying the whole debate about the 1890s lies an uncertainty about what Australian literature was. This can be seen in an unexpressed need which critics felt to define Australian literature. An examination of their views of what constituted Australian literature will again reveal their values. In the case of Vance Palmer and Wilmot we can observe a narrower nationalism more closely allied with the radical tradition. For Jose, nationalism is rather an attempt to find any poets or writers with an instinctive understanding of the landscape and an ability to imbue it with emotion.

Jose surveyed Australian literature in 1928 in a series of articles for *The Reader*. His definition of Australian literature is quite fluid: its representatives vary at one extreme from

those who were born in Australia or wrote about Australia (so that he includes Wentworth and Harpur) and at the other, he sees that literature which is "genuinely Australian" as that in which the writer is completely at home in his landscape. Thus he writes of Kingsley:

> He was almost native-born, for he reached Australia when barely four years old; but his attitude to Australian life was to the last that of an immigrant, observing and enjoying a slightly alien civilization. "His principal characters are never at home in Australia; Britain is their home, and the return to it the happy ending of their story."[13]

Similarly, Jose admires Paterson for his ability to elicit homesickness for Australia:

> But all his work, jingle or poetry, is the genuine reflection of everyday Australia; in it his fellow-countrymen see "the vision splendid of the sunlit plains extended," and, if exiled, find themselves irrepressibly homesick.[14]

This emphasis on the harmony of poetic imagination and landscape can be seen as the far-reaching influence of early nineteenth-century romanticism.

"Local colour" was of importance not only as evidence of the poet's attempt to understand his surroundings, in a nationalistic era, but as evidence too, of the writer's conforming to contemporary canons of the realist method where precise and personal observation were accorded great value. Jose was aware of the dilemma facing Australian poets, seeing Australia with English eyes. With the emphasis on observation in the Nineties, Jose now saw the impossibility of the situation which poets had faced earlier: they had to imaginatively assimilate the world about them for a remote and unappreciative English audience. He wrote of Kendall's choice:

> Kendall sent to the *Athenæum* some of his early verses; his recent writings, he said, were "too long and too Australian to be cared for by Englishmen." Certainly the three which the *Athenæum* printed might have been written anywhere; two have no local colour at all, and the third deals with "swarthy wastelands, wide and woodless," which the writer never had seen and never did see.[15]

Thus the dictates of realism and romanticism can be seen as forming the basis of Jose's understanding of Australian literature. The expression of both of these or the fulfilment of both canons in Australian literature of the Nineties may well have imparted a sense that the apotheosis of nineteenth-century literary taste was at last met. This may have contributed to Jose's feeling that the decade was a golden era.

The theoretical problem of defining Australian literature underlies the whole series of Jose's articles: there is the unstated problem of how Daley, Brennan and O'Dowd can be included if the definition is a nationalistic one. Jose gets around this by stretching his definition and by suggesting that their work was "instinct with an Australian spirit". By calling them the "contemplatives of the *Bulletin*" they can be included. He says of Daley, for example:

> His later verse, collected in *Wine and Roses*, was barely Australian . . . But his first volume, *At Dawn and Dusk*, though few of its poems are specifically Australian in setting, is inspired throughout by the suns and the airs and the forest scents of his adopted country, and must be absorbed by all sincere students of Australian literature.[16]

Jose articulates the idea of a characteristically Australian spirit in the final number of the series - he writes of Hugh McCrae's verse:

> What concerns us more particularly is the welcome re-appearance in his verse of the intoxication, the sheer excitement, which I spoke of six months ago as characteristically Australian.[17]

Jose wrote in conclusion:

> The literature of the Commonwealth, judged purely as literature, must no doubt be weighed by standards common to all literature. As Australian literature it must be appraised further by its Australian-ness; it must give evidence of qualities - minor, perhaps, but indispensable - deriving directly from its birthplace . . . "Core of my heart, my country!" sings Dorothea Mackellar, and much that is at the heart's core may never be directly visible.[18]

By the time of the publication of *Australia, Human and Economic*, while still in England, he was writing:

> Some London critics of the literature produced in Australia have begun their survey with Henry Kendall, the first Australian-born writer to attract attention in England; others recognize no authentic Australian work before the uprising of the 1890's the avatar of Lawson and Paterson. All their predecessors, it is claimed, were merely offshoots of minor contemporary English literature, not distinguishable from their congeners of Fleet Street . . . except by the accidental antipodeanity of their themes. These limitations are to some extent excusable; but they are wrong. Australia is more than a collection of strange creatures and unusual themes. She is an atmosphere, an environment, sometimes an intoxication. She goes to men's heads, in the literary no less than in the political or the sociological sphere.
> (p. 169)[19]

Palmer's uncertainty about what constituted Australian literature can be seen in his references to it in three chapters of *The Legend of the Nineties*. In his opening chapter there seems to be an assumption that only nationalistic literature was true Australian literature. This would seem to be the only explanation to his two otherwise irreconcilable statements, viz. "the literary production of the nineties was, on the whole, meagre" (p. 11); and in a later chapter, "The Bushman's Bible", "the late eighties and early nineties showed a brilliant flowering of balladry, lyric verse, and short stories" (p. 104). For he then goes on to describe that work:

> Over the world of fiction lay the filmy shadow of Victorian romance, with its stilted language, sentimental poses, and buckram morality.

In contrast, the title itself of Chapter 9, "Literature Emerges", signifies that in Palmer's mind, it is the writers he discusses there - Lawson, Paterson, O'Dowd and Furphy - who are Australian. He wrote of Lawson's verse and of the political atmosphere of the Nineties to be found in it, which he thought so attracted readers; of O'Dowd, who saw Australia as "the avatar of a new world" (p. 121), and of his founding of the *Tocsin*; of Furphy and his friends, fired with the *Bulletin*'s socialist zeal. (p. 123)

Wilmot's understanding of what constituted Australian literature is plainly stated in the above-mentioned review in *All About Books*.[20] He takes Jose to task first for his coverage of nineteenth-century writers - Harpur, Michael, Kingsley, Marcus Clarke, Gordon, Kendall, Robinson, Barron Field and Wentworth. Wilmot dismisses these as "dry old dogs". It is interesting to note here that Cantrell saw that also Nettie Palmer 'felt that too much "attention has been concentrated on novels like *Geoffry Hamlyn* and *For the Term of his Natural Life* to the exclusion of more indigenous work"'.[21] Wilmot's subsequent commendation of Jose's coverage of *Bulletin* writers implies that this is where Wilmot would like to have seen Jose's article beginning. His second criticism of Jose's review of Australian literature concerns his ignorance of Melbourne writers. Indeed, Jose's antipathy to Melbourne was part of that regionalism which is discussed below in Appendix I(d) in reference to politics. The Melbourne-Sydney rivalry or regionalism led to a frequent

misperception on the part of critics and politicians: they often generalised from an experience in their own city, misconstructing the situation in another. Jose saw the Melbourne "school" as "clinging to what it thought was the English tradition". This manifested itself in attention to "form and phraseology and the maintenance of an artistic outlook".[22] It is a measure of Wilmot's nationalism that he interpreted this as a stinging insult. Thus the clash between Wilmot and Jose was basically a clash over literary values, definitions of Australian literature and different regional perceptions. Jose viewed the Sydney writers of the Nineties influenced by Kipling, as exhibiting a fresh new style in contrast to the English (and Melbourne) poets. Art nouveau was seen as a further influence. That movement's claim to ahistoricism—that it broke totally with the past and started afresh—was particularly appealing and stimulating to those who believed in an Australian Utopia. Wilmot overlooked this element in Jose's understanding of Sydney's literature. Misconstructing Jose's view, he thought that for Jose, "we are most Australian when we are least cultivated", thinking Jose valued the balladists most highly.[23] Since Wilmot possessed an appreciation of Australian literature altogether different - one centrally grounded in the realist tradition - he could only but reject Jose's statement that Melbourne poets were not as "Australian" as the so-called Sydney school. This is seen in his third criticism of Jose - Jose's failure "to suggest progression or development" in Australian literature: Jose's omission of writers such as "Tom Collins", Miles Franklin (the "Brent of Bin Bin" novels), Vance Palmer, Louis Kaye and John Shaw Neilson. Wilmot felt that Jose "has lost track of his subject in its later and more important stages".[24] The fact that these writers were of more importance to Wilmot, and that the 1890s were more exciting to Jose reveals their basic contrasting attitudes. For Wilmot it is the continuing realist Australian tradition which is important; for Jose the highpoint of Australian literature was the Nineties with its "new poetry" inspired with a fresh Australian spirit. For Jose the Nineties was apotheosis, for Wilmot a springboard, the first phase of the legend.

The same key variations of emphasis in the three commentators' attitudes to Australian literature can be seen in their assessment of the *Bulletin* and Archibald. An idea of the prevailing public opinion of Archibald in the 1930s can be gleaned from Nettie Palmer's review of Jose's *Australia, Human and Economic* where she writes about his chapter on Australian literature:

> Mr Jose's considered emphasis on the important figure of J.F. Archibald is particularly welcome when we notice how such a man, writing no books of his own, and living in a country where few records are made, can be forgotten. Lately in two different Melbourne groups of well-read and artistic people, old and young, I have mentioned Archibald's name, only to meet with entire ignorance of it.[25]

It would seem then that Jose's tribute to Archibald, which we might today pass over as a self-evident observation, was a timely appreciation. Jose can be seen as the living link between the Nineties as they were, and the legend which was to enshrine them. Vance Palmer wrote that it was the lively journalism of the Nineties which he thought gave the impression of great activity; he cited in this regard the *Boomerang*, the *Worker* and the *Bulletin*. He wrote that the *Bulletin* had "become a power in the community, almost an oracle for those who looked for guidance in national issues". (p.88) While Jose would have held political views different to Palmer's, there is also a certain overlap in their attitudes to the *Bulletin*, notably in what Archibald hoped to achieve:

> The Australia of the Utopians had been an abstract place . . . Archibald aimed at putting recognizable features in the blank face (p. 91).

Palmer felt Archibald's value as literary editor lay in his ability to stimulate so many. Jose would have agreed with Palmer that Archibald's achievement lay in the creation of a national being.

Jose's attitude to the *Bulletin* and to Archibald differed at various stages of his life but is rendered explicit in his article on the *Bulletin* in *The Times* (1903), in his series on Australian literature in the *Reader* (1928) (mentioned above), and in *The Romantic Nineties*.[26]

His reaction to the *Bulletin* was divided. On the one hand its political views were diametrically opposed to his - its radical separatism, he described in *The Times* as "dangerous"; on the other hand he was sympathetic to Archibald's more basic nationalist motive. He valued it as a vehicle for promoting Australian literature. This ambivalence, he claimed, was widespread:

> The *Bulletin* is not a political journal only; it is the nurse and the critic, sometimes severe but sometimes friendly, of every young Australian who wants to write about the things he feels and sees. It will print, and pay for, anything connected with Australia that is put clearly or said well, be it love-verse or snake-story, or note on the habits of a blackfellow tribe. It is read for this reason by very many who detest its politics.[27]

Jose's representation of the public animosity toward the *Bulletin*'s politics is likely to have been accurate. Wilmot wrote:

> the hostility to Archibald's ideals was enormous, and in similar circumstances, it is the same today[28]

However, the distinction Jose made between the attitude to the *Bulletin* as a literary force and as a political force seems to have been glossed over by Wilmot. In the following comment he assumes that support of the *Bulletin* was like an unqualified loyalty. And once again, there is the sense that its literature was necessarily political:

> . . . many folk who hold views about the importance of the *Bulletin* did not hold the same view in the days when Price Warung and Furphy and Lawson were writing.

Possibly Wilmot was unaware that the nationalist dream and the hope of a national literature was as much a part of the domain of the imperialists as the republicans.

It was in his *History of Australasia* (1924), articles in the *Reader*, and *Australia, Human and Economic* that Jose provided more detailed information about Archibald, and the *Bulletin*, and its most notable writers. It seems to have been provided in the belief that the spring of the nationalist tradition had dried up; that the bush literature had been supplanted by city-oriented poetry. He saw this as the natural consequence in part of a new concentration of the population in the cities:

> It is not to be wondered at, then, that, as the novelty wore off and the cities (now banded together, and containing between them nearly half the Commonwealth's population is less than a two-thousandth part of its

> territory) regained their importance as individual communities, not merely as haunts of visiting bush-folk, bush bards began to lose their attractiveness.[29]

We saw it too, as the result of Melbourne's being the new capital, where the literary tradition was that of the "stylist review". Jose expressed doubts about the existence of "Australian" literature and its direction.[30] It is interesting to observe the reactions to this sentiment. As we saw, Wilmot dismissed it as evidence of Jose being out-of-touch; that he was ignorant of new developments. Vance Palmer's concluding chapter, "A Lost Tradition", can be seen as a further exploration of this idea. He asserts that the Nineties' spring did not dry up but gave an impetus to Australian writing and fixed the "features that by then had become characteristic of Australian life". In other words he thought that while the *Bulletin* tradition was gone, its effects were still felt.

The picture of Jose's attitude to the *Bulletin* is incomplete if we fail to mention another aspect of it, which is finally brought out in *The Romantic Nineties*. It is here that a greater detachment can be seen. For while there may be praise for Archibald, there is criticism of the *Bulletin*'s literary-editorial policy. We could regard this as part of a demythologising tendency in the book, displayed in the humorous manner by which Jose dispels the aura surrounding the *Bulletin* and the Nineties; it is a more open approach. We no longer find that oscillation between the defensive and the glowing. With an Australian audience, some of whom knew the Nineties first-hand, and others for whom it was hearsay, he could drop into a more relaxed manner (and it is pertinent here to remember that the book was originally merely a series of anecdotes written for the *Brisbane Courier*, which hardly required the formality of a book).[31] Here, as it were, he tells us the real or inside story, details about writers' reactions to the *Bulletin* and A.G. Stephens, the story of the *Bulletin*'s monopoly, of writers' dissatisfaction with it, that they felt marginalised by its style, and the consequent birth of the *Australian Magazine*. The restrictive role of the *Bulletin* is further elaborated on in a chapter on the *Bookfellow*. Most importantly of all, Jose's profound appreciation of Brennan and Daley is evidence of his understanding of the breadth and variety of Nineties literature. This wider view of Australian literature, which to a degree

implicated the *Bulletin*, was the evidence he hoped later writers would consider in assessing the Nineties. But it was not to be incorporated into the new legend. Recently, the *Oxford Companion to Australian Literature* noted various shortcomings of the *Bulletin*, though its restrictiveness was not one of them. Instead, the *Oxford Companion* writer felt that it was the later critics' views of the *Bulletin* which were restrictive. (p. 521)

It becomes evident within the first pages of *The Romantic Nineties* that Jose is demythologising the notion of a unique *Bulletin* Bohemia. He does this first by pointing out that the "Bohemian ideal" was a nineteenth-century phenomenon, deriving in Australia from England. He further dispels any romantic aura surrounding the *Bulletin* by indicating that the writers were dissociated from it. Any mystique attached rather to the writers themselves. The process of reducing the story of the Nineties to a life-size scale is then completed by anecdotal accounts of private arguments between writers and artists.

The extent to which Palmer and Jose differed in their reconstruction of the Australian past can be seen in their opinions of the role the old bush songs (antecedent to the Nineties) played in the formation of Australian literature. Vance Palmer had dealt briefly with the early nineteenth-century poetry, considering it a "poor showing" (p. 57) and preferred to concentrate on the bush songs, which he saw as the people's primitive attempt to reproduce the events of their everyday lives (p. 53). Perhaps he considered their songs as the source of his legend. By way of contrast, Jose spent a proportionate amount of space in discussing the nineteenth-century poets and barely referred to the old bush balladists: "the methods were crude, the voices untrained".[32]

Even more revealing is the dissimilar manner in which they regard the frequent subject of the old bush songs, the bushranger. Palmer's inclusion of this topic and his treatment of it suggests the extent to which he was creating an Australian Legend, intricate and far-reaching. It is here we sense he was driven by a creative impulse to make from the past a heritage of values, a national character, to provide a stability and foundation for the future. Jose's attitude to bushrangers, as described in the previous chapter, was rather

more down-to-earth. This same detachment is observable in his attitude to the notion of Australia as Utopia and, to lesser a degree, in his attitude to the Australian Bushman.

Palmer wrote that the ballad was the usual instrument for myth-making. He recognised that one of the most fruitful subjects for the mythmaker was the bushranger. He saw the ballads also as the means by which the settlers could transform their world, making themselves feel at home in it. Although Palmer saw that in the circumstances of the late nineteenth century it was easy to romanticise the bushranger, he nonetheless saw the outlaws as taking risks (p. 47) and in the following quotation we may see he endorsed the life of the bushranger:

> They were nearly all spirited youngsters, born in the country, who had very early come into conflict with the law in districts where it had not fully established itself: their rebellion had a very close connection with the struggle for the land.
> (*Legend*, pp. 64-5)

Jose was dispassionate in discussing the bushrangers. He described them as:

> . . . young fellows with a taste for adventure and no great love of work, in whose training the moral element had been entirely left out. They saw others making fortunes more by pure luck than by skill or foresight; and they took what seemed the easiest way of sharing in the lightly-won wealth.[33]

Jose used his account of the life of Gardiner to illustrate his claim that, provided they did not murder, the bushrangers incurred no risk to their own lives. Reprieve and a cheerful life in America was Gardiner's eventual fate. But Palmer's and Jose's different approaches are best encapsulated in their statements about Ben Hall. Palmer wrote:

> Ben Hall was, in truth, an ideal figure for legend since he really does seem to have had a good many of the chivalrous qualities that had to be invented in the case of others . . . [he] carried out so many daring hold-ups that his name was soon known all over the country. (p. 65)

But Jose, writing of Hall and his friends, in an unromantic appraisal, claimed:

> Three men terrorised sixty people on the open road, and not one captive made an attempt to escape . . .[34]

Jose's was the more hard-headed view of the past.

It was above all in Jose's attitude to Australians and Australia itself that we can discern an alteration in his feelings. By the 1930s a more sober mood prevailed in his private letters. The nationalist ideal seems a thing of the past. His disengaged tone is in stark contrast to Palmer's absorption in the mystique of the Nineties.

In the late nineteenth century there was prevalent a Darwinian notion that the conditions of the Australian outback life, from British stock, had produced a new and better type, the Australian bushman. Palmer endorsed this view. He quoted Francis Adams' *The Australians* (1893); "The one powerful and unique type yet produced in Australia is, I have asserted, the Bushman" (p. 47). After describing his adaptability to changing social situations and his political awareness, Palmer, still drawing from Adams, wrote that the bushworker was well-informed: "Most of the sheds outback, Adams asserted, were better supplied with current literature than the mechanics' institutes of the coastal townships and the schools of arts in the cities. The new bushworker was a reader and, to some extent, a thinker." (p. 48) While Palmer was aware that this seemed rather like the opinion of a visitor to the country, he nonetheless insisted that such a character had evolved and "was to leave a deep mark on the country's life and thought, perhaps permanently fix its character." (p. 48)

In the 1890s Jose had not held an idealised notion of the bushman. In 1903, delineating the features of the bushman's character, Jose had observed not only his sense of comradeship, but a particular sense of humour, and an indomitable streak. He also saw him as guileless and politically naive, a nomad and a gambler.[35] This was quite different to Palmer who wrote

> The bushman of the eighties, quickened by the new impulse of unionism, was intensely political; he looked upon himself as part of an advance-guard that was to shape a new social order.
> (*Legend*, p. 50)

Jose's interest lay in a wider social group, the "rural folk": or incorporated people from all classes, but Jose believed they had a distinctive character from living in the bush. Thus his accounts of his University Extension work in the backblocks refer to editors of local newspapers, swagmen, policemen, clergymen, teachers, artisans, tradesmen as well as miners,

drovers and railwaymen.[36] In *The Romantic Nineties* elaborating on his University Extension work he dwelt on what he saw as the "intellectual curiosity" of rural people. He quotes his own experience and that of Archibald Forbes:

> Forbes went on to talk about "the mental vitality of rural Australia," and to ascribe to our country-folk vigorousness, alertness, force, versatility, and a capacity for harbouring big ideas which blossom into practical results; "scarcely any man is stagnant."
> (*RN*, p. 60)

Poised against this is Jose's cautious comment:

> How far all this holds good to-day I cannot say, having been away from the bush too long.
> (*RN*, p. 60)

Behind this statement lies a hint that the drift to the cities which accompanied the decline of bush literature, may also have had the same devitalising effect on the once vigorous mentality of the bush people. While Jose was able to admit the possibility that the people had irrevocably changed, Palmer insisted that the bushman had left his mark.

Yet another way in which Jose's detachment manifests itself is in his account of the rural community's response to his University Extension work. One can observe in his chapter, "University Extension - and contraction", Jose's characteristic method of proceeding: he related with exuberance the past but then stands back looking at it more dispassionately:

> I have been serious too long, maybe, and so in a way unjust to the movement. For, serious though it was in intent and achievement, its promoters never took themselves too seriously.
> (*RN*, p. 67)

Although he had written enthusiastically of the vitality of the people, he then acknowledged the limitations of the people's interest and perhaps hinted at the restricted possibilities of success in the rural centres. He tells the story of the Major of Singleton who thought circuses were more to the taste of the locals (pp. 67-8), and anecdotes which both counter his self-importance and act as a commentary on the audience's level of interest - the dog who watched, listened, stretched and yawned; the headmaster deep asleep, snoring. (*RN*, pp. 67-8)

It is as if Jose in *The Romantic Nineties*, is redressing the balance, weighing his idealisations against the facts.

It is significant that *The Romantic Nineties* contains no references to political events, and above all to federation. His hope that federation would magically transform the States' parochialism was never realised, his dreams for the achievements of federation had come to nothing. Those political programmes in which he had invested much energy promoting, were almost being reversed. The alliance of the post-War period had meant the scaling down of Australia's navy. Military service was under review, and even during the federation period itself, there had been the High Court's quashing of Deakin's New Protection legislation.

Jose now became aware of the mediocrity of Australian life as he observed it from England. It is often in private correspondence in an off-guard moment that we find statements which carry a note of truth. From London Jose wrote to his son:

> Sometimes I wonder whether Australia *is* all we crack it up to be. It's so good a place it ought to produce finer people. Anyhow, they aren't more futile than most English folk.[37]

And he commented on the pettiness of intellectual life there, writing of someone "who had a mass of inaccurate information about Professor Irvine, that was. I imagine he got most of it from Sonny Holmes who always hated Irvine because Irvine really was educated"[38]

Back in Australia, he became aware of a more serious flaw in Australian society. Writing of Lawson's decline and surely thinking of Brennan, he observed:

> It seems to be the curse of Australia that she somehow misuses - or at least wastes - the best brains put at her disposal.
> (*RN*, pp. 16-17)

In the last analysis, it was a circle of friends, acquaintances of varying degrees of intimacy who, providing intense intellectual stimulation, made the Nineties "romantic" for Jose. The extent to which the rest of the population was "mentally alive" is difficult to calculate. But from his account, it is clear that the ferment of the Nineties was as much as anything

associated with a social phenomenon and activities revolving around the various individuals, artists, writers, public figures and cliques, with Angus & Robertson's, the University and its Extension movement. By the end of 1933, many of those people associated with the most stimulating events of the Nineties - George Robertson (1933), A.G. Stephens (1933), Christopher Brennan (1932), George Lambert (1930), Brereton (1933) had died. The milieu in which Jose now found himself was very different from that of the Nineties.

One wonders if what was once seen as "Eden", a Utopia cut off from the rest of the world, now seemed more like an intellectual backwater.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 17: The Romantic Nineties and the Legend

1. Vivian Smith, *Vance Palmer*, OUP, Melbourne, 1971, p. 40.

2. A.G. Stephens' Diary, 2/2835, see entry for 30 December 1931, p. 119 (Fryer Library).

3. Wilde, p. 521.

4. Letter to the present writer, 14 December 1986.

5. See Frank Wilmot's ('Furnley Maurice') critique of Jose's review of Australian literature which was in the *TLS*, 10 October 1931. Wilmot's critique, "*The Times Literary Supplement* on Australian Literature" is in *All About Books*, 15 February 1932, pp. 18-20.

6. 'Furnley Maurice', p. 20.

7. Vance Palmer, *The Legend of the Nineties*, MUP, Kingsgrove, 1966, pp. 12-13.

8. Kramer, pp. 11, 12.

9. Harry Heseltine, *Vance Palmer*, UQP, St Lucia, 1970, p. 192.

10. Cantrell, p. xiv.

11. The section of the book entitled "The Romantic Nineties", contains the following chapters: "The *Australian Magazine*," "Victor Daley and the *Bookfellow*", "Paterson and Lawson", "The Artists", "The Romantic Years", "The Feminine Element", "and Melbourne?" "John Farrell and Others", "Two Pilots".

12. Hobsbawm, pp, 222-3

13. AWJ, "Australian Literature", in the *Reader*:
"I The Beginnings: Wentworth, Tompson, Harpur", 7 April 1928, pp. 275-9.
"II The Immigrants: Kingsley, Gordon, Clarke and Co", 8 May 1928, pp. 303-6.
"III Henry Kendall and His School", 9 June 1928, pp. 335-9.
"IV The *Bulletin* School: Bush Bards", 10 July 1928, pp. 365-9.
"V The *Bulletin* School: Contemplatives", 11 August 1928, pp. 396-9.
"VI The Neo-Georgian Output", 12 September 1928, pp. 429-32.
The quotation here is from *Reader*, 8 May 1928, p. 305.

14. ibid., 10 July 1928, p. 366.

15. ibid., 9 June 1928, p. 336.

16. ibid., 11 August 1928, p. 397.

17. ibid., 12 September 1928, p. 431.

18. ibid., p. 432.

19. AWJ, *Australia, Human and Economic*, George C. Harrap & Co., London, 1932, p. 169.

20. See n. 5.

21. Palmer quoted in Cantrell, pp. xiv-xv. Cantrell wrote: "Other writers too have seemed at times quite happy to cast aside Australian writing before 1890 as somehow misdirected or artificial". After quoting Nettie Palmer's reaction, Cantrell added this "may have been true; but such a position could easily lead to excesses in the opposite direction."

22. AWJ quoted in 'Furnley Maurice', p. 19.

23. ibid.

24. ibid., p. 20.

25. Nettie Palmer, "A Reader's Notebook", *All About Books*, 15 March 1933, pp. 38-9.

26. AWJ, "The Australian Attitude"; *Reader*, pp. 365-9; 396-9.

27. AWJ, "The Australian Attitude".

28. 'Furnley Maurice', p. 18.

29. AWJ, *Australia, Human and Economic*, p. 182.

30. ibid., Preface, p. 6.

31. Letter from Firmin McKinnon, (editor of the *Brisbane Courier*) to AWJ in JP.

32. *Reader*, 10 July 1928, p. 365.

33. "Bushrangers II", *Forum*, 20 December 1922, p. 14.

34. "Bushrangers IV", *Forum*, 14 March 1923, p. 14.

35. AWJ, "The Australian Attitude".

36. *RN*, pp. 59-69 and AWJ - W.W. Jose, [21 March 1888] in JP.

37. AWJ - his son, 27 May 1930 (JP).

38. AWJ - his son, 13 July 1930 (JP).

CONCLUSION

At the basis of Jose's contribution to Australian culture was his profound appreciation of Australia in an age when this was not fashionable. Jose was described as a controversialist. His nationalism frequently made him unpopular both in Australia and Great Britain. His appreciation was accompanied by an intellectual curiosity which led him to explore many facets of Australian life, history, literature, politics and education.

While his importance should not be overstated his work in the field of literature, as reader and reviser at Angus & Robertson's, helped to establish in many Australian writers' minds notions of what standards they needed to attain in order to satisfy his, and ultimately Angus & Robertson's, judgements of literary worth. Of course these guidelines did not always meet with willing approval. Nevertheless, apart from the finite number of alterations to text on the grounds of taste, metre, appropriateness etc., it is clearly not far-fetched to hypothesise a far broader influence for Jose. This consisted in his creation of a climate in which writers knew they would have to confront his acute but certainly disinterested judgements. From this one may suppose a degree of self-criticism came to operate in writers' minds even if only to avoid encountering the otherwise inevitable censures of the Angus & Robertson reader.

He possessed a keen perception of the new developments in Australian literature and of what Australian writers were trying to do. This is nowhere better illustrated than in the title which he bestowed on the collection of short stories of that quintessential Australian, Henry Lawson - *While the Billy Boils*. The title conveys something of that crystal-clear vision of Jose's which drew from the currents of Romanticism, Realism and Empire Literature. Central to it, is the figure of the wanderer, the swagman-itinerant worker of the outback. He was one figure in Jose's "legend" who proved to be enduring because he possessed both a social and universal appeal. Other figures were the "celebrated convicts" and the offbeat characters of *Two Awheel*. The Antipodean landscape in which they are found is often as odd as the inhabitants themselves.

In Jose's view, central qualities in the outback-hero were his indomitable streak and his sense of humour. It was an interpretation advanced in opposition to the realist view which presented human beings defeated in a hostile landscape. Historians and literary critics have observed the connection between the Bushman of the Nineties and the Anzac. It is of relevance to note here that Jose's outlook probably affected those with whom he was in close contact. Bean's depiction of the Anzac, and Lambert's work, important in the transmission of that tradition, probably owe something of their inspiration to him.

He saw the Nineties as a decade rich in literary endeavour. Working at Angus & Robertson's at the hub of activity, he was in a position to appreciate the variety of writers' aims. But until recently such a view of the Nineties was obscured by Palmer's narrower view of *The Legend of the Nineties*, which emphasised the egalitarian tradition. Jose recognised the shift to a narrower nationalism in the 1930s. His quotation in *The Romantic Nineties* of the poem he described as Brennan's finest, may well have been made in the belief that not only Brennan's scholarly contribution was in danger of being overshadowed, but also his poetry. At a time which favoured the rise of the Jindyworobaks, it was not to be wondered at that Jose, called by Brennan "the Australian Brunetière," would not find favour.

While Jose was unpopular in many quarters for his nationalism, he was equally unpopular in others for his attachment to the ideal of the Empire. Ultimately, both the political forces in which he believed, served to erase him from the mind and works of succeeding generations of critics.

APPENDIX I (a) Introduction: Jose, *The Times* and Deakin

Some of the sources I have used for Jose's journalistic career (1904-1915) have been neglected, others have been hitherto unknown. Materials employed include his articles for *The Times*, and his correspondence with that paper's manager and editorial staff.[1] Other articles were written anonymously for the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Quarterly Review*. Some have been identified by Professor La Nauze. The articles for the *Sydney Morning Herald*, which I have identified, are the basis for discussion below in the section on the Pacific Islands.[2] On Deakin's suggestion, Jose was also employed by Maxse, editor of the *National Review*, to write an "Australian letter" on a bi-monthly basis in the section, "Greater Britain".[3] Deakin himself had previously performed this task from December 1904 until 1905. At the time Jose was writing for *The Times*, Deakin was also writing for the *Morning Post* (1901-1914).[4] Professor La Nauze has concluded:

> Since Arthur Jose was now in Australia as *The Times* correspondent, and beginning to write well-informed articles for its columns, it is likely that never before or since were English newspaper readers as copiously supplied with authoritative comment on Australia as they were for some years after 1905. Whether they eagerly took advantages of their privileges may be doubted.[5]

The termination of Jose's work for *The Times* and Deakin's for the *Morning Post* roughly coincided.

Perhaps most interesting, however, is Jose's correspondence with Deakin, which extends from 1904 until 1914. While Jose's letters have long been in the National Library, it is only now that Deakin's side of the correspondence has been found to be extant. Some letters from each apparently are missing. The bulk of them fall within the period of Deakin's prime ministership (1905-1908) and the Fusion (1909-1910).[6]

Deakin had many correspondents. In order to simplify the task of replying to them, he ordered very small writing paper: "a four-page answer did not need many words. Sometimes a few words could say a great deal".[7] Indeed, most of Deakin's letters to Jose

are four pages and highly condensed, grammatically abbreviated, sometimes almost telegraphic. Allusions in them are at times obscure except to specialists. By contrast, those of Jose are written in a leisurely style, often filling out the context of Deakin's references.

My final source is a copy of H.G. Turner's *The First Decade of the Commonwealth* which belonged to Jose and bears his comments and criticisms of Turner's interpretation of events.

During the period 1904-1915 Jose undertook various tasks. He joined the N.S.W. branch of the Australian Intelligence Corps in 1909, being appointed as a lieutenant. This work probably owed something to Deakin's friendship.[8]

Upon returning to Australia he initially settled in Melbourne; as early as March 1904 he started corresponding and meeting with Deakin whose government of barely six months was shortly to be replaced by J.C. Watson's Labor government. The elections of December 1903 had yielded parties with almost equal numbers in the House of Representatives - Deakin's Protectionists, Reid's Free Traders and Labor.

In 1905, Jose moved from Melbourne to Sydney. *The Times* management had decided it could not afford the assistant journalists which it had originally agreed to appoint on Jose's request. He had, in the meantime, resumed his friendship with George Robertson and was reading and revising for the publishing house.

Jose and Deakin

In 1903, shortly before Jose departed from England for Australia, he had been invited by Chamberlain to lunch. As Jose recalled it:

> On leaving he gave me the following message for Deakin and the Imperialist section in Australia:
>
> > "Tell them we don't ask Australians to be loyal to England though they may reasonably feel grateful. What we want is that Englishmen should be loyal to England, and Australia[ns] to Australia, and all of them to the Empire, which is a much bigger thing than either Australia or England".[9]

As we saw earlier, Jose and Deakin shared a nationalistic loyalty to Australia which did not exclude a loyalty to the Empire. Clark's comment about Deakin and the Australian Natives Association is equally applicable to Jose—they thought "Federation would give Australians a more effective voice in the management of the affairs of [the] Empire." Deakin and Jose saw themselves as pursuing a middle way between the ultra-Imperialists and the Separatists. However, as Eddy noted, Australians were undecided about the "implications of colonial nationalism".

Jose and Deakin were quick to promote Australian nationalism even at the expense of irritating the British when they thought English bureaucrats had jeopardised Australia's welfare: as we will see this applied to their perception of the Colonial Office's actions in regard to the Pacific region. Jose and Deakin believed that, if the Empire were to have a future, the Dominions should have the right to voice their concerns directly to the British government rather than through the Colonial Office; that Britain should be encouraging the development of the Dominions by Tariff Reform - Tariff Reform meant in effect Imperial Preference: Britain granted preference to raw materials from the colonies over other countries, and the colonies granted preference to Britain's manufactured goods over foreign ones. Such a system, the Tariff Reformers thought, would have economic advantages of easing unemployment in Britain, and of providing a sure market for the increasing amount of primary goods produced as a result of an increased rural population in the colonies. But, they claimed, there were other gains in addition to the economic ones. As La Nauze put it:

> Political coherence, and the consciousness of the imperial relationship, would be strengthened. Tariff preferences should be linked with other kinds of reciprocity and co-operation: the establishment of shipping lines and cable routes, the encouragement of migration within the Empire. Trade preferences were but the first, though the most important, steps towards the goal of imperial unity.[10]

When Deakin attended the 1907 Imperial Conference in London he met some of the Compatriots, among them Milner, Amery, Jebb, Fabian Ware, F.S. Oliver and Maxse. We might add Gwynne. As we have seen, many of them occupied influential positions in the

world of English journalism: Amery was Dominions Editor of *The Times*; Maxse edited the *National Review*; Fabian Ware was editor of the *Morning Post*; Gwynne succeeded Ware in 1911; before this he had been with the *Evening Standard*. They were all known to both Jose and Deakin. La Nauze has told the story of Maxse, Amery and Gwynne tentatively looking to Deakin as a possible successor to Chamberlain (now failing fast) at a time when the party was without sense of direction.

Opposed to Chamberlain's attitude, was that of Churchill now (Liberal) Under-Secretary to the Colonies; he had little time for the idea of colonial participation in decision-making. Amery, in his autobiography, *My Political Life*, describes the meeting he had had with Churchill before the 1907 Conference:

> I had an hour and half of hammer and tongs talk with Churchill. . . . I found him strongly opposed to any ideas of consulting the Colonies on foreign affairs, seeing no point in doing so until they were military powers whose alliance could be of any real value to us. Nor, of course, could I make any impression on his dogmatic Free Trade views, even to the extent of being willing to consider the idea of a minimum surtax for naval defence. His own idea seemed to be that the Colonial Prime Ministers should be given a good time and sent away all banqueted, but empty-handed.[11]

Churchill, in fact, wanted to invite the State Premiers to the Conference, knowing that some of them, at least, held free trade views. He and Elgin, Secretary for the Colonies, had a difference of opinion on this matter. Churchill wrote to him:

> Deakin is the most hostile to our Government of all the Australians, and [the Conference] will simply be turned into a demonstration of the Tariff Reform League. The State Premiers would *ipso facto* have gone the other way. *Divide at impera!*[12]

It was early in the following year that Amery wrote to Jose, suggesting he start a branch of the Compatriots Club in Australia:

> I have a special job for you if you think you can undertake it. While I was in South Africa I helped Jameson in starting a South African branch of the Compatriots Club. Both Jameson and I wrote to Deakin about it, and I have had a letter from Deakin saying that the movement ought to be started from Sydney, and that no one could start it better than you. I also wrote to Hughes asking if he would take part, but have not heard from him yet.
>
> The Compatriots Club is a body whose main object is to bring before people the fact that we have a common patriotism in the Empire as well as a local patriotism, and generally to promote the bringing about of closer union on a basis of equal partnership.

> Those are of course quite general methods, but the peculiar character of the Club consists in its being limited to a very small number of active and prominent people, and of trying to create among the members a sort of brotherhood for political support, and still more the interchange of ideas . . . It meets occasionally for dinner and discussion . . . It also organizes lectures and sometimes political meetings, for in England, owing to Tariff Reform, it has a more distinctively political character than it would have in Australia. It further circulates a good deal of literature on Imperial questions among its members . . . The great thing is to preserve the character of the club as a body of men of ability, and not as a mere organization with which numbers is an object.[13]

On receipt of the letter, Jose wrote to Deakin:

> . . . Amery has written to me asking me to start a branch of the Compatriots' Club out here. . . . He suggests fifty as a maximum: but it will take some time to get here fifty men of the stamp of the British Club's average. What do you think of these for a beginning?
> V. Deakin, Garran, Knox, Theo Fink (?), Higgins, Harrison, Moore,
> N.S.W. Watson, Hughes, Ewing, Bavin, Irvine (R.F.), Jose, Wilson (Prof.),
> Q. Groom, Rowland, Bell (?)
> S.A. Way(?), Bonython, Jose (E.S.)
> It's astonishing how few of one's acquaintances seem to fit. Please send criticisms and additional suggestions, and I'll set to work . . .
> (7 May 1908)[14]

But Deakin unconvinced of the feasibility of the scheme replied:

> Compatriots have no present chance here - Jameson wrote me some time ago but in looking around I could find no sufficient nucleus at hand & hence postponed any action until I am out of office - You name six of us & I doubt if two are worth having - nor can I imagine Watson and Hughes compromising themselves to take a hand - . . .
> (11 May 1908)

Later in the year Jose raised the matter concerning formation of the Compatriots with Deakin again, after receiving a letter from Gwynne:

> [Gwynne] wants some of us out here to formulate and discuss a plan for Imperial government by Imperial representatives. He suggests a press correspondence which I think would be fatal. But I think we might try our luck with even a small branch of the Compatriots, who would be the very body to handle such a subject. I shall be back on Dec. 2, and we might talk this over.
> (19 November 1908)[15]

While *The Times* was in favour of Tariff Reform, there were nonetheless aspects of "colonial nationalism" of which it did not approve. Jose speaking of his conflicts with *The Times* wrote:

> How they ever managed to retain me I do not know. I believe, however, it was due to a habit I had of telling the truth, often in advance, so that whenever they were most certain that partisanship had misled me the event proved me right. And that habit, by the by, was largely the result of my amicable relations with the various party leaders, whom I found nearly always willing to give me information far in advance, not for immediate publication but to save me from transmitting inaccurate rumours. (That, of course, is the value of being connected with such a journal as *The Times*.) Another great aid to correct prophecy was a fairly wide knowledge of the country districts, at any rate in eastern Australia, gained on many University Extension tours.
> (*RN*, p. 89)

If we examine the Jose-Deakin correspondence and Jose's articles we can gain an appreciation of the role his friendship with Deakin played. Deakin gave Jose advance information about parliamentary matters - legislation to be introduced, tactics, manoeuvres etc. Equally, Jose passed on to Deakin intelligence he received from various sources: people like Gwynne; Lucas; and Forsyth of Burns Philp and others.

There was also a free exchange of personal comments and criticisms between them, an unusual degree of candour and frankness. For example, Jose asked Deakin for an opinion of his articles, a matter which vexed Jose in view of the editors' unrelenting criticisms. Deakin wrote to him:

> Your *Times* letters appeared to me wholly admirable - Of course they are sanguine that is your nature . . . But as you see this criticism amounts to saying that knowing yourself you can improve by taking a pull at yourself or your dominant [dormant?] tendencies - Yet if this took any of the life-verve-brio out of the writing I should be sorry & so would your readers -
> (11 February 1907)

In November 1908, Deakin, no longer prime minister, had more time to write in detail:

> Have just read your two last articles for the "Times" & think them wholly admirable - Both deal with great subjects the U.S. Fleet & Unification in a superb style - You ought or we ought to be proud of them - Now for bold criticism - Even the first is a little above the standard of writing & thinking for a *newspaper* - It is *literature* though on such a subject it is appropriate even in the daily press which ought to keep a more colloquial manner & more fleeting interests in view - But the unification article contains too

> important a subject dealt with in too generalised a fashion & needing to be too closely read & weighed too scrupulously to be fully appreciated even in a paper like *The Times* - I am sure it would be misunderstood in London. Even I agreeing with it in general terms [tenor?] would require to introduce qualifications & conditions - In your book with the necessary additions to be found there its thesis is admirable though even there it would be the better for expansions in my opinion - Do I make myself clear? This last is literature - the sound solid sweeping prose of the historian - but it is a cut above even *The Times* & lends itself to misinterpretation - I told Moberly Bell that your Australian articles were far the best now publishing - leaving the *Post* and the *Telegraph* (London) far behind & despite the foregoing criticism that eulogy is justified again by these articles - But I now think I see why so much of your stuff fails to get into print - it is *too good, too searching, too philosophic* & that is the object of my writing in this fashion - Take shorter views, don't go so deep, don't generalise so trenchantly & I think they may yet come to publish all you write instead of rare articles like those I have just been reading with delight - . . .
> (25 November 1908)

We catch a glimpse here of Deakin's humour as he extols Jose's articles above his own in the *Morning Post*. For La Nauze's surmise that Jose did not know of Deakin's authorship is surely correct. Jose wrote to Grigg criticising them:

> Meanwhile Australian affairs are represented in London only by the hopelessly incorrect and partizan stuff sent to the *Morning Post*.[16]

It is likely that the comment was made in a fit of pique, a flinging back to the editors of the accusation levelled at him. A more sober remark, a studied assessment of Deakin's work is to be found in *The Romantic Nineties*:

> It is, perhaps, one of the most startling achievements of that remarkable man that he could, in office or out of office, in the midst of savage Parliamentary fighting or in the few halcyon periods of his federal career, maintain the impartial calmness and power of self-criticism to which those letters bear witness.
> (*RN*, p. 90)

Jose's admiration of Deakin is well known. He included him as one of the four builders of Australia in his *Builders and Pioneers*. Deakin's daughter considered that of the three works on her father - Jose's, Murdoch's and La Nauze's - Jose's rang true and captured his likeness.[17] The closeness of their friendship was undoubtedly a crucial factor here, and could be measured by the fact that Jose had visited Deakin at Point Lonsdale - invitations even to friends were rare. Jose once described Deakin to Chirol:

> And, candidly speaking, Mr Deakin is so entirely the only man in Australian politics who has the capacity for leading and who takes large, disinterested views of any important subject, that it is difficult not to become an advocate for him, simply because his fall would leave the Federal Parliament a chaos of undisciplined, unleadable individuals.

Before Deakin's attendance at the 1907 Imperial Conference Jose wrote describing him:

> He is the most affable of men, and wonderfully polite & reasonable in the fiercest, debates. Mr Carruthers' secretary told me yesterday that Deakin's self command, tact, and extreme gentleness in argument with the most blustering opponent, were beyond praise at the last Premiers' Conference. . . . He is always perhaps over-anxious to find some common ground on which he can base an argument to appeal to the other side; and many people are deceived into thinking he is making a concession or weakening. They're wrong. . . .[18]

In his letters Jose told Deakin that he was too ready to believe that the rest of the world was as public-spirited as he was, that other politicians were as reasonable as he. For example, Jose thought that Cook and Wilks (Sydney Free Traders) could never be reasonable, where Deakin was prepared to find "common ground".

As La Nauze and Norris have indicated, Deakin preferred to wait until he was completely certain of public opinion before adopting measures or policies. He waited until pressure groups had prepared the ground. Jose thought Deakin had the power to influence directly people's ideas merely by his oratorical ability. In circumstances where Deakin preferred to wait, Jose thought him not assertive enough. Jose possessed a more direct and forceful personality, and had few doubts about what course of action should be taken.

Jose and *The Times*

Jose's position as Australian Correspondent for *The Times* was an unenviable one. Reasons for the disharmonious relationship with *The Times* management were many. As La Nauze commented it is unlikely the British audience were interested in the development of Australian politics.[19] In the Nineties Jose had encountered similar indifference in attempting to promote Australian literature in Britain.

As we saw earlier, his appointment arose out of his work in the Tariff Reform League campaign in 1903. *The Times* was supporting Chamberlain and wanted a correspondent sympathetic to its fiscal views. Immediately before his appointment Jose had written "The Australian Attitude", an article which *The Times* published. In it, he criticised the naval subsidy arrangement by which the British controlled the squadron in Australian waters, claiming that the British were playing into the hands of Australian separatists. Jose knew that his views which were "Australia-oriented" and "colonial-nationalist" were not appreciated by all *The Times* staff, whose view of the Empire was "centralist". Moberly Bell, the Manager, and Buckle, the Editor, did not share his devolutionist viewpoint. As we will see he and Amery, the Colonial Editor, had much in common - it is possible that he and Jose first met one another in 1903 during the Tariff Reform League campaign in which Amery, like Jose, was deeply involved. Indeed, it is also possible that Jose met Jebb at this time; Schreuder noted Amery's connection with Jebb during this period.

The editorial staff criticised Jose's articles, frequently accusing him of adopting a partisan stance. La Nauze has described his articles as excellent surveys and R. Norris thought Jose a "shrewd observer".[20] Jose's relations with the managers and editors were marked with continual misunderstandings and frequent intimations that his contract would be terminated. Yet despite all that Jose said against *The Times* staff, he preferred to stay with the paper. We might also say they persevered with him since towards the end of his life he acknowledged that many of the difficulties were of his own making. (*RN*, p. 88)

Jose described Moberly Bell in "Trials of a Correspondent" in *The Romantic Nineties*:

> Probably the most loyal (according to his own notions) servant *The Times* ever had, he was also its most dangerous and perverse helper. A man of strong character and intense convictions, he was short-sighted and impetuous beyond belief. (p. 92)

Jose cited as evidence of his impetuosity and short-sightedness his unconventional methods of raising revenue for the paper, which did more harm than good by outraging the British public. These flaws in Bell, according to Jose, led to his appointment as correspondent:

> In the same way, he saw, at the moment when my article came under his notice, that the position of the journal, as a supporter of Chamberlain's proposals, would be strengthened by having as its Australian correspondent someone in full sympathy with those proposals and acceptable to the Chamberlain organizations. What did not occur to him at the moment was that Australia was interested in other things beside Tariff Reform, and that the new correspondent's sympathies might not accord with his in respect of those other interests. (p. 93)

Barely six months after re-establishing himself in Australia, and appointing assistant reporters in Sydney and Brisbane to keep him informed on state government matters, Jose received a letter from Moberly Bell, terminating his appointment. Jose was astonished:

> Dear Mr Moberly Bell,
>
> 'Disappointment' is hardly the word for my feelings. It has never entered my head from the beginnings that your experiment was merely a year's trial of the system of having a correspondent here at all. I should not have accepted the post & cut my connections with other newspapers & with publishers for a mere year's trip. The experiment, as I understood, was giving me the £1200.
>
> (14 September)

Jose complained that his letters to the paper were crowded out, that cablegrams were virtually forbidden, and that in these circumstances it was difficult to accomplish the task he had been set:

> . . . I remember our discussing the advisability of my coming home, say, every fourth year so as to keep in touch with English feeling also . . . a sudden stoppage of the whole affair I never dreamt of . . . I have written repeatedly to Mr Buckle asking him for a word of advice - were these the letters he wanted, or some other sort? how could I fall in with his wishes? - and I have never heard a word in answer. My business, as you told me, was to rouse the interest of the British public: how could I if my letters weren't printed? & if they were not such as Mr Buckle wanted to print, couldn't he have hinted as much?[21]

While *The Times* evidently thought better of pressing ahead with the sacking, the prospect of it annually haunted Jose. At the end of 1906, he wrote to Bell again:

> By the time you receive this it will be getting near the year's end, and you will probably be able to let me know in answer what is to happen next year. . . .
>
> The alteration that would be of great value to me is to make the arrangement a little less transitory. As it is, towards the end of each year I am to some extent on tenterhooks about the next . . . Has not the experiment gone on long enough to justify you in engaging me for two or three years at a time? My letters seem to have attracted a good deal more comment this year both

> from your leaderwriters and from those of other London journals & weeklies.[22]
> (2 October 1906)

The reasons for Jose's clashes with different members of the editorial staff were many. In "Trials of a Correspondent", he recognised that his "youthful arrogance" cannot have helped the situation, particularly with Buckle (chief editor) and Valentine Chirol (foreign editor). While at the time, in letters to Deakin, he was acerbic in his criticisms of Chirol, later he wrote:

> Chirol . . . was of a type very different from Bell's, a great gentleman, and infinitely patient with the cruder arroganes of his juniors. Extreme as were our disagreements, I never had from him a harsh rebuke. (*RN*, p. 93)

We might note in passing that Jose's championing of the White Australia policy was particularly offensive to Chirol, an Anglo-Indian.

Even L.S. Amery seems to have been aware of Jose's bluntness and dropped him a strong hint of it:

> . . . you may sometimes strike what they think an aggressive note. It may not be a bad thing in writing to remember the difficulty even the most intelligent people here have in trying to appreciate the Australian attitude and to see what can be done in the way of gradually coaxing their opinions a little more forward.[23]

But one of the most frequent criticisms of Jose's work was that he adopted a partisan stance. Chirol, Bell and Grigg at different stages asked Jose to try and adopt a more impartial attitude to Australian politics:

> . . . The Editor wishes me to say that he is afraid you are allowing yourself to be somewhat carried away by your enthusiasm for Mr Deakin. As you know The Times sympathizes with the Imperial ideals which Mr Deakin professes, but we want in our Australian correspondence something more than the views of his partisans & Labour allies. . . .
> (Chirol to Jose, 25 September 1907)

Similarly, Grigg, in writing to Jose in 1912 on his three articles on Labor finance, commented:

> . . . The fact, however, is that the articles strike everybody here who has read them as being written far too much from a party point of view. I am not considering for the moment whether your views are right or wrong; my point is that articles like that in *The Times* should read as the observations of an independent and well-

> in-formed critic, whereas yours are all three couched in the form of a reply to party criticisms in Australia about which we have heard nothing, and care less.
> (25 October 1912)[24]

It was Grigg's criticisms which were the most constructive and which should have enabled Jose to understand where the faults in his style lay, what exactly the editors meant by "impartiality". *The Times* wanted a writer who was detached in his attitude to Australian politics, rather than immersed in the thick of its developments, someone who could stand back from events and see Australian politics as part of a broader imperial system, who could be critical of her provincialisms. Grigg continued in the letter just quoted:

> . . . We feel even more that you are considering Australia's position in the Imperial system as narrowly as ever from the Australian point of view.[25]

They felt Jose's work lacked a proper sense of perspective: "Willison in Canada and Atkinson in New Zealand do not misrepresent feeling in their countries, but they never write or wire without conveying a sense of grasp and broad understanding which we miss in your work." Grigg thought Jose was too defensive about Australia: "You always seem to be more anxious to prove that Australia is right in doing whatever she is doing in the matter of Defence, than to discuss the broader issues involved."[26] Later Jose accounted for his stance in part when he described the English attitude to Australia:

> One cannot repeat too often that the old contemptuous and partly hostile attitude towards the Dominions still persists among quite a number of influential Londoners, not least among Parliamentarians and the bureaucracy. (*RN* p. 95)

Shortly after Jose returned from his visit to England for the 1911 Conference, Grigg wrote to him:

> It was our great hope that you would realise during your time at home how many-sided these questions are, and how Imperial progress must involve a constant and untiring readjustment of all our arrangements and ideas. You seem to have lost sight of all that already. Do try and keep your mind above fussing about Tommy Bent and recriminations against Foster.[27]

But Jose never accepted that the editors' claims or criticisms about "lack of breadth" were genuine. He seems to have assumed that it was impossible to write "impartially". As a Kiplingesque man of action, as a member of the National Defence League and associated

with the British Immigration League, the notion of holding beliefs as abstract propositions would have seemed impossible. To Jose "impartiality" only implied agreement with the conservative political views of *The Times* staff:

> . . . but what Buckle and Moberly Bell wanted was a more "Olympian" attitude, in which one sat
>
> > As God, holding no form of creed,
> > But contemplating all,
>
> and, of course, denouncing the foolishness of a people that contravened all accepted British traditions and thought little of the standard economics.
> (*RN*, p. 89)

As we have seen, this seems a caricature of their notion of impartiality. At the same time Jose, acutely self-conscious of his pro-Labor views, was convinced that it was his views and their unusualness in London and these mainly, of which the editorial staff were complaining. Moberly Bell wrote to him:

> I find there is a good deal of dissatisfaction on the editorial side at the persistently partial attitude which you adopt in reference to the Labour party in Australia.[28]

In retrospect, Jose observed:

> From the first I was at issue with the staff on two questions - the exclusion of Asiatic labour, and the so-called "Socialism" with its connotations of disloyalty and anti-Imperialism, which Londoners persisted in attributing to the then Labour leaders. (*RN*, pp. 87-8)

Thus, while Jose was caricaturing their notion of impartiality, the staff were applying an equally extreme interpretation of what the Australian Labor Party was like - this was derived from their knowledge of British Labour.

While Jose felt that the staff were penalising him for his views, Amery had an explanation which was different:

> I hope in the future there will be more chance of your articles going in regularly. It is most depressing, I know, to write valuable stuff and not find it go in. You must not suppose, however, that it is simply because they don't like your views, for it has a way of happening to my articles too. There is an awful tendency in an overcrowded paper to put off from night to night a thing which is not specially urgent for any one night, and eventually somebody discovers the article is six months out of date, and no longer worth publishing. I know, of course, that your views are not altogether

> the same as those of Chirol and Bell, and possibly you may sometimes strike what they think an aggressive note. . . .[29]

According to Jose, as long as Amery was in charge - Bell and Chirol handed over the colonial editorship to him - he (Jose) received sympathetic treatment and a good proportion of his articles were published. But when Amery took a lengthy holiday in 1907, and Bell and Chirol were again in control, for that twelve-month period, only two of Jose's twenty-one articles appeared. A quick glance at the annual proportion of articles published when Amery was present bears out Jose's claim.[30]

In view of this it is interesting to take a look at Bell's and Amery's views. According to Jose, Bell had a natural conviction that "England ruled the world and would cease to be England if ever she admitted the equality of others" (*RN*, p. 94). Jose noted that in 1904 *The Times* "was one of the bitterest critics of Commonwealth policy" (*RN*, p. 86). Nonetheless, he also thought that the anti-Commonwealth bias of the paper did eventually change. Jose described Amery:

> [he was] a man to whom Australia owes a deep debt of gratitude, not least for his backing of the Australian naval policy, both at the outset of squadron-construction and when re-construction was discussed during his term as First Lord of the Admiralty . . . Amery even suggested an article on Australian views of naval defence:
>
> > I myself don't believe in the money contribution, and do believe in the colonies building their own navies and administering them themselves, though putting them strategically under the Admiralty. But the paper has so far always gone strongly on the other line, and in commenting on whatever you send us we shall have to turn the corner gradually.
>
> In the end, as everyone knows, the corner was turned. (*RN*, p. 97)

Amery's interest in the colonies meant that he understood and sympathised with Jose's overall aim which was to present to the English a most detailed picture of Australian affairs. He described his purpose to Bell:

> . . . my one object is to lessen the opportunities for misunderstanding between Britain and Australia by giving you the most accurate possible information about the doings and feelings of Australians. [31]

This was undoubtedly to counteract what Jose saw as British ignorance about Australia:

> Moreover, there was so much sheer ignorance about everything Australian in the London office that I never knew how much I must explain in words of one syllable, so to speak.
> (*RN*, p.88)

In *The Romantic Nineties*, Jose, looking back with some humour, was able to see that he was rather too ambitious in his aims:

> A friend told me many years afterwards that I was not so much correspondent of *The Times* in Australia as correspondent of Australia in *The Times*; and there was much truth in the statement. I had undertaken the task neither for my sake nor for that of *The Times*, but in order to get the truth told about Australia.
> (*RN*, p. 88)

It was Jose's instinct to use the cable a lot in order to keep the British public informed on every detail of Australian news, but the editorial staff were opposed to this idea. Some were against it on grounds of expense. Grigg expressed his opposition for other reasons:

> On the whole your cables have I think given us a little too much small beer. I do not mean that the subjects themselves are unimportant, but that they hardly make enough impression in the form of short cables about small developments to justify the expense. Land settlement and immigration are the most difficult in this way. You will do more I think by short articles on them than by little scraps of cables. People do not keep the general bearings of the Australian situation well enough in mind to get much out of a cable, but they are anxious I think to learn more and they can best be informed through short articles.[32]

In other words the British public were interested in the broad lines of Australian politics, but Jose was providing the minutiae. Jose was well placed to provide fascinating insights into the machinations of government, often having access to confidential information.

It is interesting to observe that, in *The Romantic Nineties* Jose presents a favourable picture of Grigg, and implies that Grigg, after their meeting, held an equally favourable view of him. Grigg was sent by Bell and Chirol to Australia as a special correspondent in 1907, as Jose puts it, "to discover how far my work was coloured by partisanship with Labour, and had been given authority, if the charge seemed justified, to get rid of me and take over the work himself." (*RN*, pp. 97-8). Jose introduced Grigg to Watson and Bavin in Sydney and gave him introductions to Deakin in Melbourne, Bonython and Josiah Symon in Adelaide, and Kidston in Brisbane - all with very similar political outlooks to Jose. Jose noted that Grigg ended by writing for *The Times*, "a series of articles far more

eulogistic of Labour policy and the Labour leaders than anything I had ever dared to put on paper" (*RN*, p. 98). He considered that the episode ended well, for when Grigg returned to London, Bell and Chirol placed him in charge of colonial affairs. While after many years, Jose thought that Grigg had handled his articles sympathetically, one wonders if Jose's memory was not glossing over Grigg's criticisms which are to be found in their correspondence. Certainly however, from 1908 to 1910 (inclusive), a larger proportion of Jose's articles were published than during any other period.

The story behind Jose's final sacking, has been dealt with below (pp. 435-6) because it would seem to be more a part of the issue of land settlement and immigration. It is sufficient here to say, that from 1912 the warnings that he was to be dismissed recommenced. At the end of 1912, shortly after his return from London, he wrote protesting to Braham, the Dominions' editor:

> Dear Braham,
>
> Do give me some inkling of the situation. On Aug. 9 Grigg wrote saying I might be wanted in the office, and asking for my ideas about possible successors out here. I answered this letter on Sept. 19, suggesting a man. And the answer to that, dated Oct. 25, is a letter from Robinson practically asking for my resignation on the ground that my letters are not "congenial".
>
> If they wanted to get rid of me, they might have done it before sending me out here again. At home I could have put the family with relatives and set out to hunt for work again. Here I have, for the sake of my Times work, deliberately cut myself off from the local press and angered important financial people by telling the exact truth about Australia; and I shall be in a most horrible hole. Also, if they get a man to write them "congenial" stuff about Imperial federation and Australia's eagerness for it, they will mess up the Empire at this end of the world dis[gus]tingly. (27 November 1912)[33]

Jose then, by working in Australia had cut himself off from opportunities in England (as he had pointed out to Bell in the past), but equally, he had cut himself off from many possible sources of employment in Australia (particularly journalistic positions) by adopting an unpopular stance on many issues. Bearing in mind that in effect he was only employed on a temporary basis (his contract being renewed at the end of each year) and that he

continually risked being sacked from *The Times*, one might regard his outspokenness as courageous.

Shortly after writing to Braham, he told Deakin:

> I have been having very rough times lately. Grigg and the new editor are both angry because I could not tell them that Australia was heartily pro-Borden, and at the end of November I got a straight-out intimation that the connexion would have to be severed if I didn't write them more "congenial" letters. I have protested: Grigg has gone to Egypt for a holiday and may come back in a better temper: and I await the final decision as phlegmatically as I can. I will not serve any man on "congenial" lines.
> (9 January 1913)[34]

In 1914, he received further warnings and in 1915 was finally dismissed.

Undoubtedly Jose, with his devolutionist view of the Empire, had hoped to reach an audience in Britain with his firsthand accounts of Australian politics. These would gell with those views of Jebb and some of the other Compatriot-journalists. Certainly he felt he had played a part in the recording of Australia's history. Writing to the Public Librarian in New South Wales about his articles, and correspondence with *The Times* staff, he said:

> I gave the authorities (often confidential) [information] on which I had made statements in the public letters, and entered much more fully into the secret history of many political manoeuvres and movements. As I was throughout in the confidence of Prime Ministers (except during the short rule of George Reid), the history of Australia can be confidently built up from the letters: in my position as the newspaper's correspondent giving it information which was usually very unwelcome to its controllers, I had to verify most carefully every statement I made, and buttress each with the name of the man who had given me the information. . . .[35]

In the Appendices that follow, I have chosen Pacific Islands' policy, military and naval defence, and land settlement and immigration as the topics for discussion; there are several reasons for this particular selection.

It was in an article on a forth-coming Imperial Conference (1911) that Jose described defence, immigration and land settlement, and preferential tariffs as the "great imperial topics".[36] It becomes clear in reading the Jose-Deakin correspondence and Jose's articles

that Pacific Islands issues, military and naval defence, and immigration and land settlement can all be seen as different facets of one central issue - Australian defence. Quoting Watson, Jose wrote, "Immigration is a matter of defence".[37] Even preferential tariffs were seen as weapons possessing the potential to protect Australia against Germany.[38] Deakin, with regard to preferential trade, wrote: "The Prime Minister's thesis is that to settle the interior we will need larger markets for agricultural produce".[39] In turn, land settlement was regarded as a means of defending Australia against invasion in unsettled areas. The neutralisation of various strategic points in the Pacific Islands was similarly regarded as necessary for Australia's security. The topics are also suitable for discussion because of their importance to both Deakin and Jose. This becomes apparent from reading Jose's articles, and their correspondence. We might remember here that Neville Meaney in *The Search for Security in the Pacific, 1901-1914*, described Deakin as "the chief architect of Australia's defence and foreign policy" from 1903 to 1910.[40] A second reason for studying these particular topics is to gain an appreciation of the strength of Deakin's and Jose's nationalism. As Meaney noted in his Preface, "It is in the study of trade, immigration and most especially defence and foreign policy that the true character of Australian nationalism can be discerned."[41] In studying Jose's attitudes to these topics the character of his colonial nationalism can be discerned. The similarities and differences in Jose's and Deakin's attitudes to the Empire can be seen in their attitudes to the governing bodies in London, the Colonial Office and the Admiralty. Jose's critical view of the centralists in London is seen in particular in the sections on Pacific Islands and Naval Defence, and his devolutionist view of The Empire in the sections on military defence, land settlement and immigration where emphasis in his ideas falls on the development of Australia.

NOTES TO APPENDIX I (a) Introduction: Jose, *The Times* and Deakin

(Citation of *The Times* articles follows this pattern:
- Title of the article.
- Date on which it was written.
- Date on which it was published.
- If it was not published, manuscript number to locate original copy in Mitchell, or microfilm number.
The title used is that given in Jose's index to articles. Titles vary from manuscript to index; the titles used by *The Times* are often different again.
Jose's index is to be found in the microfilm CY 788.)

1. For a complete list of Jose's articles for *The Times*, see the indexes at the front of Uncat Set 266, items 3 and 4, the letterbooks, which, together with item 1 comprise an almost complete set of the articles. The index gives details of the dates the articles were written, if and when they were published. Part of Jose's correspondence with *The Times* staff is also in the letterbooks; there is additional correspondence at B1089-92. Letterbooks 3 & 4 have now been microfilmed (CY788). *The Times* Archives will shortly be making available further correspondence between *The Times* manager and Jose - it will be copied by the National Library.

2. For details of AWJ's occasional journalism, see Bibliography, p. 448.

3. Deakin-AWJ, 14 July 1908.

4. Information concerning Deakin's journalism is derived from the chapter, "Australian Correspondent" in J.A. La Nauze, *Alfred Deakin A Biography*, pp. 347-61.

5. ibid., p. 349.

6. The collection is held privately.

7. La Nauze, p. 274.

8. C.D. Coulthard-Clark, *The Citizen General Staff. The Australian Intelligence Corps 1907-1914*, Military Historical Society of Australia, Canberra, 1976. AWJ was co-author with T. Griffith Taylor and W.G. Woolnough of *New South Wales, Historical, Physiographical and Economic* edited by T.W. Edgeworth David (Melbourne, 1911). In 1910 he was approached by the British publishers, Chambers, and asked to re-write and revise the Australian items for a new enlarged edition of their encyclopaedia - this work was to occupy him until 1921. For details, see Jose's correspondence with Chambers in the Australian War Memorial, AWM 39, A.W. Jose Papers, Box 2.

9. AWM 39 A.W. Jose Papers, Item No. 3 AWJ - Latham, 14 December 1917.

10. La Nauze, p. 505.

11. Leopold S. Amery, *My Political Life*, London, 1953-5, (3 vols.)

12. Randolph Churchill, p. 208.

13. B1089-92, 27 March 1907.

14. ANL MS 1540/1/1984-5.

15. ANL MS 1540/16/445-8.

16. B1089-22, 13 November 1912.

17. This comment was made by Deakin's granddaughter, Mrs G. Harley, in a conversation with the present writer.

18. CY788, pp. 1-2; ibid., p. 881.

19. La Nauze, p. 349.

20. R. Norris, *The Emergent Commonwealth*, MUP, Melbourne, 1975, p. 142; J.A. La Nauze, op. cit., p. 349 and also, *Federated Australia*, MUP, Melbourne, 1968, p. x.

21. CY788, AWJ - Bell, September 1904, pp. 334 & 337.

22. ibid., p. 863.

23. B1089-92, Amery - AWJ, misdated 27 March 1907 (should be 1908).

24. ibid., Grigg - AWJ, 25 October 1912; Chirol - AWJ, 25 September 1907.

25. ibid., Grigg - AWJ, 25 October 1912, pp. 1 & 2.

26. ibid.

27. ibid., 3 September 1912, p. 5.

28. ibid., Bell - AWJ, 7 December 1907.

29. ibid., 27 March 1907, pp. 1 & 2.

30. Jose was delighted when Amery, returning from his holiday, asked why the Australian material in *The Times* was so bad; Jose could reply that it was not his but Grigg's.

31. B1089-92, 18 January 1908.

32. ibid., 19 July 1912, p. 3.

33. ibid., 27 November 1912.

34. ANL MS 1540/1/3111.

35. CY788, Microfilm frame No. 0178, 30 August 1933.

36. "The Imperial Conference", 10 August 1910/ 1 October 1910.

37. *Quarterly Review*, October 1911, p. 331 in "Ten Years of the Australian Commonwealth", pp. 305-334.

38. "Preference in Act", 7 September 1906/Unpublished. CY 788, p. 727.

39. La Nauze, *Federated Australia*, p. 124.

40. Neville Meaney, *A History of Australian Defence and Foreign Policy 1901-1923: Volume I, The Search for Security in the Pacific, 1901-14*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1976, p. 121.

41. ibid., p. viii.

APPENDIX I (b) The Pacific Region

Jose and Deakin believed that the British were jeopardising Australian security by their handling of Pacific Islands issues. Their assertion of what they regarded as Australia's needs can be seen as an expression of Australian nationalism. The difference of opinion between Australia and Britain on the Pacific region was an element which contributed to Jose's and Deakin's desire for a reorganisation of imperial structures to by-pass the Colonial Office. Such was the strength of their feeling.

While Jose's letters to *The Times* on Pacific Islands were comparatively few, this in no sense indicates that he had little interest in the topic. His correspondence with Deakin reveals a keen preoccupation at crucial moments in the turn of events. In addition to this, his work with the Australian Intelligence Corps involved investigations of the region.[1]

The two principal issues with which Deakin and Jose were concerned in discussions of the islands were the disputes with the French over jurisdiction of the New Hebrides, and negotiations with the Germans over the Marshall Islands dispute.

While the Europeans in the Pacific may have made the region exotic in literature, they also made it a threatening place. For Australians, fascination and xenophobia accompanied each other. Thus, as Jose saw it, according to the terms of the two-power agreement, any two European powers could become allies. If those powers held colonies in the Pacific - as France and Germany did - Australia and the Empire would be threatened. With European expansion in the Pacific various treaties had come into force to protect the interests of missionaries, traders and settlers. In the 1880s, Great Britain and France made agreements with Germany. In 1886 the Anglo-German Declaration of Reciprocity gave equal trading rights to both nationalities in their spheres of influence which were also defined. By the 1885 Franco-German Agreement, France recognised German acquisitions in the Pacific and agreed to protect German subjects in French annexations. Germany, in turn, disclaimed interest in the New Hebrides. Whereas in the 1870s, the Powers had

adhered to a policy of joint minimum intervention, from the 1880s that system became strained. J.M. Ward noted:

> Throughout the period of joint minimum intervention, the British Government's attitude to the islands had been basically one of indifference. But the inertia which might otherwise have dominated British policy was constantly dissipated by two important factors: the commercial, strategic, missionary and political interests of Australia and New Zealand in the islands and, cutting across these interests, the expanding claims of France, Germany and the United States of America, all of them Powers with which Great Britain had vital interests to settle.[2]

Jose feared that the British would use their interests in the Pacific as a bargaining tool in the settlement of other disputes with the French and Germans, endangering Australian security in the process. Meaney noted:

> For many, federation had promised the realization of an Australian Monroe Doctrine for the South Pacific . . . Deakin . . . stressed . . . 'a policy of firm, consistent and constant pressure upon the Imperial government to prevent further aggression on the part of foreign powers in the Western Pacific.'[3]

Meaney saw the basic motive for adequate protection of British and Australian settlers' rights as strategic:

> The overriding aim of Commonwealth policy was to prevent the New Hebrides coming under French control and so enabling a potential enemy to build bases from which they could launch attacks against Australia.[4]

This represents both Deakin's and Jose's attitude. In discussing the problems of the New Hebrides, Thompson described the traders' and missionaries' desires for annexation as a pretext or excuse for imperialistic ambitions. He noted that if the New Hebrides posed only a security threat, Australia should have happily agreed to neutralisation of the islands; he noted that failure to annex them was described as a "disappointment".[5] Yet Jose was not strongly committed to a policy of Australian or British annexation of the New Hebrides: "Annexation for its own sake is the most blatantly foolish of politics" he wrote and, on another occasion, "neutralization under an effective joint rule is surely attainable".[6] Jose regrets lost opportunities: he details the histories of Tahiti, Samoa, New Guinea and the New Hebrides - "we have lost many positions of great value for our defence in war time." He regarded the islands' loss as unfortunate also for the loss of trading

opportunities, but the security threat seems uppermost in his mind. In an article written for *The Times* in 1906, he is thinking ahead to war time:

> And our Pacific Squadron will have quite enough to do watching the new German naval station in New Britain without the added responsibility of a powerful French station blocking all our trade routes in the New Hebrides.[7]

New Hebrides

Since the 1880s, the British, Australian and French colonists in the New Hebrides had asked the British and French governments to annex the islands. They had long been in conflict. While the Presbyterian missionaries complained that the French New Hebrides Company was seizing land, the French complained they were being forced out by the British. The Joint Naval Commission of 1887 was established to settle disputes. Ward noted that, in effect it was a "means of staving off the more troublesome questions of annexation and government" pressed on them by the settlers.[8]

By 1904, we see that Jose's attitude to the French contrasts markedly with that of the English who were attempting to settle the dispute. France was seen by Jose in terms of the wartime enemy. The Colonial Office complained that Australia did not appreciate the European context in which negotiations took place. Jose and Deakin thought the Colonial Office and, to a lesser degree, the Foreign Office, mishandled negotiations and delayed with little idea of Pacific Islands conditions, and of what was at stake. Jose thought the chief value of the islands was in their harbours which he saw could serve as war-time bases. Jose thought joint rule desirable, but considered that dual jurisdiction would give the French an advantage. Australian and British settlement there was the key to forestalling French ascendancy. This was the crux of the matter. However Jose later considered the French Government looked after its colonists' interests better than the British. This threatened his belief expressed in *The Growth of the Empire* that the British as colonisers were generally superior.[9]

In Jose's first article on the New Hebrides he described the island group as 'sure a source of petty grievances and irritation in the Southern Pacific as the "French shore" of Newfoundland.'[10] Jose thought that the New Hebrides situation on strategic trade routes, and their harbours would be coveted as defence assets. He was preoccupied by the potential roles of Havannah Harbour and Port Sandwich and quoted Captain Mahan (described by Norris as "the Clausewitz of naval warfare") to support his statement.

> Is the safety of the Australian coast and the Sydney-Panama trade route a British interest or not? If it is, who is looking after it? Says Captain Mahan about his own country:-
>
> > It shall be an inviolable resolution of our national policy that no foreign State should henceforth acquire a coaling position within 3000 miles of San Francisco . . . An enemy thrown back for supplies of fuel . . . 3500 and 4000 miles . . . is an impediment to sustained wartime operations well nigh prohibitive.
>
> Havannah Harbour is only 1400 miles from Sydney. If Australia were a part of the United States, would Washington run the risk that London seems to court?[11]

In the remainder of the article Jose gives a history of Australian settlement. Australia had involved herself in the Islands when traders and missionaries had gone there. The conflicting interests of the British, Australians and French resulted in the breakdown of Britain's policy of minimum intervention. Shortly after the swearing in of the Commonwealth, a deputation of Australian missionaries told Deakin they feared French designs in the islands.[12] Presumably to counter the French, a settlement scheme was initiated. Burns Philp offered the company's land (50,000 - 100,000 acres) to the Commonwealth. Prospective settlers were offered the lease of land (Maximum size of 500 acres) at a rental of a shilling per fifty acres. The validity of the land titles, however, was doubtful. Steerage passages to the island in Burns Philp ships were provided. It was intended that native labourers would work under their direction. While it was required that settlers possessed a minimum capital of £300, many did not have this amount. As Buckley and Klugman noted:

> the settlers attracted by the New Hebrides scheme were not wealthy. B.P. did not expect otherwise, recognising that the insecurity of land tenure would alone deter rich men or companies (including B.P. itself).[13]

Jose detailed the various shortcomings of the settlement scheme. The first of these was the difficulty in obtaining native labour. But he considered an even greater difficulty was the settlers' "want of capital and consequent inability to wait any length of time for a return on their outlay".[14] This was the more unfortunate in that they intended to become copra producers (as advised by Burns Philp), which meant they had to wait seven or eight years before the coconut trees could bear profitably. As a result the settlers were utterly dependent on another cash crop - maize or peanuts. Further difficulties beset them here. The steamer service which carried the settlers' produce from the islands to Sydney was still inadequate (despite the increased government subsidy) so that much of the maize deteriorated before the inter-island steamer could collect it on the return journey to Sydney. As Thompson and Buckley and Klugman have pointed out, prices were high for the maize which did reach Sydney unspoilt - there was a drought in 1903. However, when the drought in Australia broke (1904), this was the cue for the settlers to return. They were aware that for another four or five years they would still be dependent on maize (the coconuts would not be in production until 1910) and that when maize returned to its normal lower price level, survival would be difficult. Another difficulty under which they laboured was the tariff imposed by the Australian government on their maize. For this reason Jose agitated in his article for the immediate remission of duties and the introduction of preferences to British and Australian settlers in the island group. Thompson has argued that "The tariffs were not as destructive for British interests in the New Hebrides as the contemporary critics claimed".[15] To support this claim he comments that copra arrived "duty free" but seems unaware that at this stage they had no copra. While aware that the settlers' lack of capital was a major cause of the scheme failing, he has not recognised that this meant that the settlers were all the more dependent on the price they received for their maize and peanut crops for survival.

In his next article on the subject, Jose was still arguing that for the sake of the few remaining colonists, preference should be introduced:

> To every French settler France gives preference (by way of a remission of half the duty at least) on his produce, whether at

> Numea or Marseilles. British settlers have to fight against heavy duties both at Numea and at Sydney. If it desires to increase trade and encourage British settlement, the Commonwealth has but to grant its fellow Britons some preference. The Prime Minister and his party favour this; the Labour leader and many of his party favour it. But the free-trader Reidites can call to their help against it enough Labour men to vote it down; for the more bigoted Labourites will not encourage any settlement anywhere that depends on black labour. So the Commonwealth's island trade languishes, and the British settlers are pestered every day with the offer of preference in their nearest market, Numea, if they will become French citizens.[16]

It was not only that the French planters received better terms in Noumea than the British and Australians; in Sydney, the Australian planters received no advantages over the French. In addition to this, the French in the New Hebrides were practically given their land, and grants to develop their plantations. Subsidies to the French shipping lines far outstripped those to the Australian. Money was spent by the French on building roads and bridges on their settlers' properties. In short, French colonisation was more efficient in every way.

By 1906 the attempt at settlement in the New Hebrides had, to all intents and purposes, failed. Most of the immigrants had returned to Australia. In 1905, with the revelation of Japanese naval power in the Russo-Japanese War, anxieties about security quickened again. Parliamentarians again called for British annexation of the New Hebrides. The British, at the end of 1905, without telling Australia, started negotiations with the French over the islands. In March 1906 the Colonial Office informed Deakin that the Anglo-French Convention had been signed granting, amongst other things, the continuance of French and British law (the New Hebrides would be a joint protectorate) and the establishment there of joint courts. Deakin waited before agreeing to the British proposals. He conferred with New Zealand and, in June, replied protesting and still urging instead annexation.

Jose's April (1906) article on the subject concluded by recognising the inherent absurdity of the situation:

> We do not want the islands or their harbours, but we cannot afford to let France take them. Cannot the two nations freely and without reserve recognize this, and be content to live there amicably together, without intrigues and without distrust?

It is likely Jose saw by then that Australia had quite enough difficulty inhabiting her own sparse territory without adding to it, and, that a buffer zone in the Pacific would be equally valuable for the purposes of defence. In a way which would have seemed half-hearted or equivocal to those Australians in favour of annexation he wrote:

> Australians would be very glad, of course, if the islands could be finally annexed to the Empire; but failing that - and France would want great compensation to induce her to relinquish her present foothold - straightforward neutralization under an effective joint rule is surely attainable, with equal laws equally administered for settlers of all nationalities.[17]

Jose was acknowledging the impossibility of British annexation when British settlers were in a minority in the islands. Aware that neutralisation would remove the military threat he argues in favour of it but against any move which would grant the French either ascendancy or control of the New Hebrides. He argues against municipalisation (which would mean loss of the harbours and trading centres), against dual jurisdiction, and against outright division of the islands (which would result in the French being awarded the much-desired harbours). More interestingly, such a stance, privately at least, would seem to have coincided with Deakin's. Thompson has noted that in August 1905, Deakin had written to Seddon acknowledging the hopelessness of annexation and specifying conditions for accepting a joint protectorate. But to Jose and Deakin's annoyance dual jurisdiction had been granted. Jose thought this would handicap the British - "We hear that the French have gone home jubilant". La Nauze considered that the British "probably secured the best bargain that was in fact practicable". Since French interests in the islands outstripped British, neither neutralisation nor annexation by the British were plausible.[18] Meaney observed

> There was some truth in the Colonial Office complaint that . . . Australia . . . tended to assume that France and other great powers were more malleable than was the case. There was more truth, however, in the Commonwealth's counter claim that Britain lacked any understanding of Australia's perspective on world affairs . . . and used its control over the machinery of imperial diplomacy to ensure that imperial policy served Britain's own purposes.

As Meaney and La Nauze have noted, Deakin was prompted to agree to the Convention when news came to him that the Germans were attempting to invest in

property that fringed one of the New Hebridean harbours.[19] Deakin told Jose of the attempt and Jose duly cabled the news to *The Times*. He then replied to Deakin:

> the German Consulate here is very uneasy about the cable, and on Monday sent up an official to pump me about the source I got it from - who gave me the most elaborate denial both of the attempt and of any intention on the German Government's part to interfere in the islands. But on a paper he had there were some vicious remarks in German rebuking somebody for carelessness.
> (9 November 1906)

A more curious sequel to the affair, and one which revealed Jose's touchiness about Germans and harbours was seen in his letter to Deakin which followed not long after:

> There is a queer stirring of troubled waters here just now. Klaatsch, the self-styled anthropologist, took occasion while in Sydney to inspect the harbour with strategic eyes, & to sympathize loudly with Australians for not having a flag of their own (*apropos* of seeing the Jack flying over the harbour forts). Schracher, the self-styled sociologist, has been spending many months working at different trades & has preached separation & independence wherever he worked . . . These things come to me from a well-informed man, & one never before in my knowledge of him scary.
> (16 January 1907)

Marshall Islands

At the same time that Deakin and Jose were becoming agitated with the intrusion of Germany in the New Hebrides, their impatience was growing over the settlement of the Burns Philp claim for compensation from Germany for the restrictive fees and duties which had been imposed in 1904 on the Burns Philp ship, the *Ysabel* in the Marshall Islands. Indeed these two separate events (the unsettled claim and the attempted purchase of land in the New Hebrides) now became linked in their minds and Jose cabled to *The Times*:

> Much restlessness among commercial men regarding delay settlement Burnsphilp Marshall islands claim. Rumoured that Germany postpones settlement in revenge for being forestalled in New Hebrides. Known that Federal Government repeatedly urged Colonial Office expedite matter.
> (Jose to Deakin, 18 January 1907)

The cable represents perfectly Thompson's observation that Germany had now replaced France as Australia's enemy in the Pacific.[20]

Despite the assurances of the British, Australians saw Germany as a threat. Deakin's and Jose's fear derived from the altering international political situation. Amongst the many factors involved were Germany's challenge to British naval supremacy which was seen as threatening not only to Australia as part of the Empire but also because it meant the removal of the British cruisers to the North Sea, away from the Pacific region. With the Japanese victory over Russia (1905) there arose a fear of a German-Japanese alliance and its implications for the Pacific region. In addition, there was the threat of war with Germany over the Moroccan episode (1905-1906). There was also a fear, as Meaney put it, that the "storm-centre of the world was moving to the Pacific."[21] This was the context in which Australia feared the expansion of German interests in the Pacific, and the development of bases. This is the background against which the Marshall Islands dispute should be seen. The dispute involved the Germans' contravention of the 1886 Anglo-German Treaty which had guaranteed equal trading rights to both nationalities. The Germans had levied unjustly high fees on a Burns Philp ship trading in the Marshall Islands. Thompson commented that the Australian Government's support for the company reflected its "jealous guardianship of Australian economic as well as political rights in the Pacific".[22] Since it was Burns Philp who provided Jose and Deakin with much of their intelligence concerning the region we might briefly take note of the role the firm played in the Islands. It has been described as the "commercial standard bearer" which took Australian settlers to the islands. Buckley and Klugman wrote:

> Burns Philp was the quintessence of a burgeoning Australian imperialism, representing its practical cutting edge. The global frame of reference was the British empire and the B.P. men were loyal supporters of that institution; yet they also regarded themselves as Australians, with interests which sometimes diverged from those represented by the British government. When that happened there was no hesitation in pressing B.P.'s viewpoint.[23]

In early 1907 Deakin was setting out for England to attend the Imperial Conference. As La Nauze has indicated, one of Deakin's main objectives in attending the Conference

was to propose "reform in imperial organisation". Meaney and Thompson have noted that this was in response to the Colonial Office's perceived mishandling of the New Hebrides and Marshall Islands disputes.[24] In Britain Deakin had been urged on in the matter of organisational reform in particular by Sir Frederick Pollock, Geoffrey Drage and L.S. Amery. Amery wrote a series of articles for *The Times* preparing the way for the Conference. Deakin's proposal rested upon a series of events, where the Australians felt that the Colonial Office had frustrated them. Deakin suggested an Imperial Secretariat to replace the Colonial Office. The aim of the Secretariat would be to make it easier for the Commonwealth countries to deal directly with the British Government - in effect to by-pass the Colonial Office which he saw as obstructionist.[25]

In the meantime, just before the Conference, unknown to Deakin, the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office were actually discussing the possibility of obtaining annexation of the New Hebrides by exchanging them for African territories with the French. Though the proposal was never realised such attempts reveal that the London bureaucrats were not as apathetic as both Deakin and Jose believed.[26] Jose had written to Deakin shortly before his departure:

> Of course you'll have to say difficult things when you go. For saying easy things we could have done with John Forrest. For Heaven's sake say them, loud and clear, and go and shout them in the Colonial Office's ear (we've been having Alice in Wonderland for a pantomime): the London bureaucracy wants absolutely straight talk at present, and any you give them will be backed up both from here and by good Imperialists at home.
> (6 February 1907)

Thompson has noted:

> [Deakin] put most blame on the officials of the Colonial Office who sifted all his correspondence with London. Their failure to consult him about the New Hebrides had convinced him of the need to by-pass them in communications with the Imperial Government. Hence he arrived determined to propose the establishment of an imperial secretariat, a proposition also designed to advance his long-held dream of the participation of the self-governing dominions in imperial decision making . . . He used the New Hebrides dispute as the argument *par excellence* for the idea of an imperial secretariat.[27]

Eventually, in response, the Colonial Secretary, Lord Elgin offered to create a dominions section within the Colonial Office. Deakin however saw this as an empty gesture. He wrote to Jebb as he wrote to Jose:

> I am now framing another dispatch upon the rearrangement of the C.O. which will prove futile in my opinion - Australia cannot accept such a reshuffling of the old cards.
> (7 November 1907)

La Nauze and Meaney considered that Elgin's offer meant little.[28]

While Amery had tried to pave the way for Deakin's proposals at the Conference with articles in *The Times* and an interview with Churchill, Jose in Australia afterwards worked to reinforce Deakin's arguments. Just as Deakin had seized on the New Hebrides dispute to advance his cause for the Imperial Secretariat, so now Jose amplified the story of the Colonial and Foreign Offices' mishandling of both the New Hebrides and Marshall Islands disputes.

In a series of articles in October 1907 Jose made a blistering attack on the London bureaucrats, and their mishandling of imperial concerns in the Pacific, their apathy and their ignorance of the day by day running of island affairs:

> In the Pacific Ocean, the coming centre of the world's life, the highway between the Empire's two greatest colonies, we have lost foothold after foothold. Manila in the Phillipines was ours once. Our Government gave it back to Spain, the United States now hold it, and Japan will hold. Hawaii was offered to us time and again; now no British vessel may carry freight or passengers between it and the States; and Honolulu is to be the United States' naval base. New Caledonia was ours, and France has it. Tahiti was flying into our lap; France has it. Germany snatched away half New Guinea fresh from our grasp, and did her best to take Tonga. . . . And from first to last this mischief has been wrought, not by the folly or idleness or temerity of Britons on the spot, but by the timidity, or the apathy, or in many cases, the deliberate neglect, of the departments in England by the contemptuous and contemptible parochialism of men, who, from a London office, with a Londoner's narrow outlook (from Downing-street to Throgmorton-street, at most), pretend to administer a world-wide Empire. . . .[29]

The first article might be seen as an introduction to British problems in the Pacific; the second and third deal exclusively with Germany in the Marshall Islands and the issue of the Burns Philp claim; the fourth is a history of differences of opinion between Australia and

Great Britain over New Hebrides problems; Jose concluded in it, that the terms of the 1906 Anglo-French Convention made "French annexation an almost inevitable result". It is in this article and the fifth and final of the series that Jose comes to argue for Deakin's Imperial Secretariat. Since the Colonial and Foreign Offices were unconcerned over the Empire's defences and trade routes what could be their *raison d'etre*? Jose described the attitude of the Colonial Office:

> Our quarrel is with our own rulers. We charge them with having sacrificed every advantage that was won for Britain by the adventurous skill of her children . . . All the Colonial Office wants is to be let alone . . . For that reason Mr Deakin advocated a new Secretariat altogether.

To underline the Colonial Office's weakness, Jose went on to contrast it with Colonial Departments in France and Berlin:

> Indeed, the department is doubly stupid. It identifies the Empire with the United Kingdom, and even on that supposition does badly. For at Paris and at Berlin the Colonial Departments are no less narrow in their outlook. German colonies are administered for the benefit of Germans in Europe; French colonies for the benefit of European France. But, with that end in view, the administering officials eagerly seek and wisely absorb every atom of expert information they can get from any source. Every trader, every ship's captain, who knows a French colony finds his knowledge welcomed and utilised by the Conseil Superieur des Colonies, which is itself an assemblage of experts with great personal knowledge of French colonies. In the same way, every French or German consulate is an active intelligence bureau for its own Government, and it is often possible to get more accurate information about Australian affairs in Paris or Berlin than anywhere in London.[39]

Just as Deakin had used the mismanagement of the New Hebrides dispute as an argument for the Imperial Secretariat, Jose focused on the negotiations over the Marshall Islands dispute as evidence of the Colonial Office's ignorance and apathy. But more important still was Jose's concluding article. Perhaps recognising that the idea of the Secretariat was doomed, he introduced the concept of Australia as the centre of the Empire's East. In discussing means to prevent a recurrence of such problems as those of the New Hebrides and Marshall Islands he wrote:

> In order that such grievances may not recur, it is urgently necessary that the British officials who are responsible for the Western Pacific should reside at the centre of the Western Pacific trade.

> It is mere folly to ask a man, however estimable he may be personally, to rule the Western Pacific from Fiji. It looks all right on the map, no doubt. But Fiji has no regular connection with any other Pacific Island group except through Sydney, either by steamship or telegraph cable; and the High Commissioner should be at the centre of communications . . . Give us a High Commissioner who knows his Pacific, and make his headquarters at Sydney; then at least the Colonial Office will get accurate information, gathered at first hand, about the needs and troubles of British citizens at this end of the Empire.[31]

The series of articles appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* under the pseudonyms, "Melanesia" and "Melauer". Jose drew Deakin's attention to them without revealing immediately that he was the author:

> I enclose the first of a rather interesting series of articles on Pacific questions now appearing in the *Herald*. They seem to be directed entirely against the home authorities, though I must say Australia deserves talking to about not encouraging New Hebrides settlers. Your annual £500 is something, but after all it's only a dole.
> (31 October 1907)[32]

Correspondence provoked by the articles flared in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Deakin wrote to Jose:

> Delighted to see your entrance into the Pacific fray & in the columns of the *Herald* - You too don't understand that we have done & are doing a great deal [?more] in the New Hebrides than we care to talk about - With this I enclose in *confidence* copies of some correspondence with Winston Churchill on that point - Under cover of a mail service we are spending about £2,500 a year in simply fighting French influence - Look at Hansard p. 5261 for what else we propose for them - I am writing Amery & shall send copies of the Preference speech to him, to Maxse, Dilke, Jebb, [?Muller] and Gwynne who has just written me a nice note—& also some to you of course—
> (4 November 1907)

Deakin, finally concluding that Jose was the author of the articles, an undoubtedly pleased by the stand reinforcing his own arguments for an Imperial Secretariat, wrote to Jose:

> You did not tell *me* that you were the author of the Melanesian articles but I guessed it as they went on - Of course I said & shall say nothing but am very delighted to have such a thorough piece of work done & to know that it will be sent home—It ought to have an excellent effect—
> (7 November 1907)

The articles were reprinted as a pamphlet, "British Mismanagement in the Pacific". Buckley and Klugman, though unaware of the author, tell the story of the pamphlet:

> These articles were reprinted as a pamphlet entitled *British Mismanagement in the Pacific*. B[urns] P[hilp] acquired 7,500 copies of the pamphlet and sent 5,000 of them to the company's London office, some to be distributed free to all members of the British Parliament and other people interested in Pacific trade, and others to be put on public sale. The cover price was two pence, but Black told the London office that 'the question of securing even 50% of the sale money is of minor importance to us'.[33]

One of the matters raised by Jose in the articles with which Deakin did not agree concerned the manner by which Jose felt the Germans could be pressurised into paying the compensation due for profits foregone by Burns Philp as a result of the Germans' breach of the "freedom of commerce" clause in the 1886 Treaty. Jose argued that the threat of trade sanctions against Germany would accelerate the proceedings which by now had been dragging on for three years. Jose also urged Deakin to take action:

> I do think we ought to take some strong step ourselves, something of the nature of Carruthers' orders to Coghlan not to accept any German tenders for Government goods until the matter was satisfactorily settled. That is *our* weapon against Germany, and a very effective one: Sir Edward Grey cannot use any at present, because the grievance as he has to represent it must be an *Imperial* one not merely Australian, and can therefore be balanced by any other German grievance against the Empire.
> (6 December 1907)[34]

Deakin disagreed:

> Carruthers' bluff did no good whatever though the State has ten contracts for our one & Coghlan dropped the whole case partly out of his chagrin - He was powerless - I don't know that we can find a means of stalling effectively but at present our Preference does that & when they ask for Reciprocity our time will come - Till then silence is the sound policy *on that point* -
> (10 December 1907)

Jose replied vigorously:

> You stagger me when you say that Carruthers' bluff did no good whatever. If so, what did do good? We have an amazing series of coincidences, at any rate (see the pamphlet, pp. 7 & 8) - Reid's threat against German trade in March, 1905, immediately followed by . . . the complete climb-down. *If Carruthers did no good, let us find out what did, & let us repeat that action sharply.*

> But if you are in this trusting to Coghlan, I'm afraid your source of information is tainted. He has certainly been nobbled by the German Embassy, & is quite untrustworthy. . . . As a matter of fact their trade is the Germans' one vulnerable point; and the tariff preferences, though valuable, are not so injurious that they will bargain much about them. Besides, if you give any other country reciprocity on the new tariff, what will remain of British preference?
> (18 December 1907)[35]

Deakin thought that aggressive action would be answered by mere promises but not action. The exchange between Jose and Deakin reveals their different methods of analysing political problems.

While Jose's pamphlet was distributed amongst British parliamentarians, there could be no immediate results, for parliament was in recess. Lord Jersey of the Foreign Office wrote to Jose, who relayed the contents of his letter to Deakin:

> I got a long letter from Lord Jersey the other day, giving an explanation (which no doubt you already have heard) of the delay over the New Hebrides proclamation. It goes on to say:
>
> > "Now, slow as the Anglo-French negotiations have been, they are like a motor-car to a crab compared to the Anglo-German negotiations over the Marshall Islands. The German Govt. will make no move - beyond the offer of a ridiculous sum by way of compensation. As Parliament is not sitting the asking of a question - the only thing which makes the German Govt. uneasy - is impossible, and one can only fall back upon getting our Foreign Office to write another note, which will be acknowledged as usual."
>
> This being so, I am dropping the whole subject until the Imperial Parliament meets again at the end of this month.
> (13 January 1908)[36]

The British Ambassador to Germany, Sir Frank Lascelles, involved in negotiations with the Germans felt the Australian claim was too high. Thompson felt that they summed up "the true nature and outcome of that wrangle". Lascelles wrote:

> It is a relief to have got this tiresome question out of the way. There has been a great deal of bargaining of a not very significant nature and the Co, by accepting about a third part of what they asked for, admit that their original claim was an exaggerated one.[37]

Jose's concluding comment to Deakin on that matter was made in mid-February 1908:

> I quite agree that Burns Philp & Co let the Germans off far too lightly: but I suppose they were tired of the long quarrel, and content so long as their abstract right was recognised.[38]

Jose wrote further articles on New Hebrides problems in 1909, 1910 and 1913. But the Islands were no longer a topic of discussion in his correspondence with Deakin. Other aspects of imperial defence assumed a more central position.

NOTES TO APPEXDIX I (b): The Pacific Region

1. Coulthard-Clark; Ellis, p. 369.
2. John M. Ward, *British Policy in the South Pacific*, Australasian Publishing Co., Sydney, 1950, p. 310.
3. Meaney, p. 92.
4. ibid., p. 94.
5. Roger Thompson, *Australian Imperialism in the Pacific*, MUP, Carlton, 1980, p. 173.
6. "British Mismanagement in the Pacific I", *SMH*, 30 October 1907; "The New Hebrides", *The Times*, 21 April 1906. "British Mismanagement in the Pacific, V", *SMH*, 4 November 1907.
7. "New Hebrides", 12 March 1906/21 April 1906.
8. Ward, p. 302.
9. AWJ, *GE*, (1900), p. 11.
10. "Australia and the New Hebrides", 5 October 1904/8 December 1904.
11. Norris, p. 128; "British Mismanagement in the Pacific. IV", *SMH*, 2 November 1907.
12. Meaney, p. 95.
13. K. Buckley and K. Klugman, *The History of Burns Philp*, Burns Philp & Co., Australia, 1981, p. 101.
14. "Australia and the New Hebrides", 5 October 1904/8 December 1904.
15. Thompson, p. 174.
16. "The New Hebrides", 12 March 1906/21 April 1906.
17. ibid.
18. ibid.; and Thompson, p. 186; La Nauze, p. 451.
19. We might note as an item of particular interest here Jose's translation and summary of a French Colonial Infantry Captain's thoughts on the Russo-Japanese War in the *Commonwealth Military Journal* (1911). See Coulthard-Clark, p. 38; Meaney, pp. 104-5; La Nauze, p. 451.
20. Thompson, p. 201; the three letters from AWJ to Deakin are ANL MS Nos. 1540/15/633-4; 1540/15/694-5; 1540/15/2222.
21. Meaney, pp. 155 & 194.
22. Thompson, p. 201.

23. Buckley and Klugman, p. 274.

24. Meaney, p. 107; Thompson, p. 190.

25. La Nauze, pp. 499-500.

26. Thompson, p. 190.

27. ibid; AWJ - Deakin, ANL MS 1540/15/706.

28. La Nauze, p. 504; Meaney, p. 148.

29. See *SMH*, 30 and 31 October; 1, 2 and 4 November 1907. This quotation is from the final article, "British Mismanagement in the Pacific V". Jose had discussed the articles with James Burns of Burns Philp, and probably with Forsyth; he had noted in a letter to Hunt, (Secretary of the Department of External Affairs, with whom he was in constant contact), "Both the Colonial Office and the German Government fear press criticism."

30. "British Mismanagement in the Pacific. V", *SMH*, 4 November 1907.

31. ibid.

32. ANL MS 1540/15/752.

33. Buckley and Klugman, p. 274.

34. ANL MS 1540/15/757-60.

35. ANL MS 1540/16/457-8.

36. ANL MS 1540/15/3620-2.

37. Quoted in Thompson, p. 201.

38. ANL MS 1540/15/775-7.

APPENDIX I (c) Naval Defence

In this section we will examine Jose's and Deakin's attitudes as "colonial nationalists" towards naval defence as seen in the means which they adopted to win public support for the formation of an Australian navy, and in their reactions at critical stages preceding its establishment. First we will look briefly at the context in which the proposals for the Navy need to be seen, and then the moves which led up to the formation of the navy.

As we saw in the last section, the contrasting attitudes of the British and Australian governments towards the settling of the Pacific Islands disputes revealed the tension created by Australian "colonial nationalism" on the one hand, and the new British centralist policy on the other. A similar tension is manifested in the disagreements between the two nations on naval policy. Just as the Colonial Office adopted an obstructionist stance on Pacific Islands issues, so too the Admiralty delayed in its negotiations with Australia in the face of her requests for her own navy. As we saw earlier, colonial nationalism was described as a "middle road" between the policy of the ultra-imperialists and separatists; an Australian navy which would defend both Australia and other parts of the Empire can be seen as the embodiment of colonial nationalist sentiment. Jose in "Australia and Naval Defence" (an account of the alteration of public opinion towards naval defence) described the precise effect the 1903 Naval Agreement of the ultra-imperialists, Barton and Forrest, had on those politicians with a "colonial nationalist" mentality:

> It also put the opponents of that agreement on their mettle; to refute the charge of disloyalty they must not only put forward, but strengthen by every possible argument, an alternative proposal of equal value to Australia and to the Empire: thus were born the detailed schemes for a squadron to be built, manned, and controlled locally.[1]

By the Colonial Naval Defence Act (1867) the Australian colonies were empowered to acquire vessels for harbour and coastal defence. However, by the end of the century the new doctrine of fleet concentration and mobility led the Admiralty to change its policy. It regarded local navies as wasteful. After the inauguration of the Commonwealth, one of the

issues to be debated was the Naval Agreement. On its expiry in 1899, the Secretary of the Victorian Defence Department, Captain Muirhead Collins, and the Naval Officers' Conference both drafted papers recommending the acquisition of five second-class cruisers for an independent Australian naval force. Captain Creswell, Commandant of the Queensland Naval Forces, continued arguing for an Australian navy through 1901, stating that cruisers were necessary in the event of raids on Australia's coastline and commerce. As Meaney noted, however:

> [The naval officers] did not explain why a revised naval agreement, producing through subsidy a bigger and better auxiliary squadron, could not more effectively and cheaply satisfy the same purpose. Nevertheless, there was something in the lure of independence, the sense that a nation cannot either decently or safely leave its defence entirely in the hands of great and powerful kinsmen, which enabled the naval officers to strike a responsive chord in parliament and among the public.[2]

In the debate on the Defence Bill in 1901, Reid, Cook, Quick and Hughes all argued in favour of an Australian navy. Barton rejected the idea on economic grounds, as he did the recommendation for an increased subsidy, which was made by the Commander-in-Chief, Beaumont. At the very time that an Australian nationalism was emerging, though not necessarily a desire for a navy on a popular level, - the British sought absolute control of the fleet, and quashed the idea of a locally-controlled and manned squadron. At the 1902 Colonial Conference, the British asked Australia to pay an increased subsidy for the local squadron without imposing conditions which would restrict its movements. Barton rejected the increased cost but agreed to the greater mobility which the Admiralty requested. The Naval Agreement Bill provoked much opposition in Parliament. It was passed but, as Meaney observed, "[it] did not have firm roots in public or political opinion".[3]

Any account of the establishment of the Australian navy must include a consideration of the role of public opinion and its manipulation. As no party had a majority in parliament, Deakin saw that the only way to obtain funding for the navy was by the pressure of public opinion.[4] He saw it as his task to arouse public feeling and used lobby

groups and the press to this end.[5] His continued awareness of the crucial role that the education of public opinion played is seen in his letter to Jose about military defence:

> *Defence*
> The present training is the most complete yet submitted to Parliament - No doubt it can & will develop - how fast & how far depends upon the education of the public which this will certainly supply - We will get a majority by this means -
> (29 September 1908)

Jose, on the executive committee of the National Defence League and, as a journalist, figured in this propaganda campaign. Norris saw the Labor Party and Hughes as central to it.[6] Jose noted the importance of Creswell, and that the desire for a squadron emanated from navalist circles, an observation supported by Meaney.[7]

It is convenient to begin with a summary of Jose's article mentioned above.[8] His particular interpretation of events reveals the colonial nationalist attitudes he shared with Jebb. The article is also important as an example of the sort of propaganda exercise in which Jose indulged. Jose wrote that there existed in the late nineteenth century among the public "the apathy of ignorance" concerning naval defence. With the provisional arrangement of Australia paying a subsidy to Britain in return for the squadron from the Imperial Navy being stationed in Australian waters, there grew the "apathy of familiarity". Jose saw the Boer War as the pivotal point: it "provoked a fine but indefinite sentiment of loyalty to a challenged Empire". More significantly Jose claimed that, at the Boer War, Australians:

> . . . had found out what it meant to do something personally for the Empire; and they had found out what war and invasion meant. Defence was no longer an abstract proposition . . .

He concluded that as a result of this Australians desired to make Australia safe and "to make it so by doing something not by merely paying". The 1903 Agreement ran counter to these feelings: under its terms, the imperial squadron was no longer to be stationed exclusively in Australian waters - so Australians no longer felt secure. Jose, quoting Jebb's *Studies in Colonial Nationalism*, thought the Agreement had been pushed on to Australia because Barton had yielded to Admiralty pressure. Jose also felt that the strength of Imperial feeling at the end of the Boer War and in 1903 was such that Barton felt

compelled to agree to the Admiralty's terms "for any opposition to Empire was regarded as disloyalty". At this point we need to make two observations. Norris has shown that the terms of the Agreement were in fact in accordance with Forrest and Barton's recommendations. He has also observed that Australians at this stage were not so intent on founding a navy as Jebb and, we can add, Jose claimed.[9] Indeed it was in 1905 that the National Defence League was formed to alter public opinion which was assessed as apathetic. In Jose's claim that the unpopularity of the 1903 Agreement was such that it fermented discussion at a popular level and that the Boer War was critical in rousing Australians from their apathy, one can see Jose's wish to further reinforce popular nationalist sentiment. One can see his desire to establish a "legend" in the public mind linking the Boer War bush soldier with the future defence forces. It is unlikely that Jose wholly believed his mythical interpretation of the changing Australian attitude. In 1905 he had written to Moberly Bell that Australian apathy in defence matters was the greatest obstacle to the passing of the Compulsory and Universal Military Service Bill; in 1903 he had written that the Australians' attitude to their participation in the Boer War was equivocal.[10]

A matter not raised by Jose in "Australia and Naval Defence" was the manner by which public opinion was actively stimulated. Norris has written extensively on this theme. Speaking of those whom he saw as arousing the public, he observed that events aided them in winning their campaign:

> But shrewd and ambitious men skilfully exploited the fortuitous circumstances - chiefly the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5, the Dreadnought crisis of 1909, and the changing Admiralty strategy during the period.[11]

The tactics Deakin and Jose used involved the "playing up" or exaggeration of two sets of enemies - the British bureaucrats (the staff of the C.O. and F.O. and the Admiralty) on the one hand, and the Asian "threat" on the other. In this we see their cultivation of colonial nationalist sentiment. In their arousal of an anti-Asian fear one notes that they are appealing to White Australia sensitivities, to a common bond of Anglo-Saxon pride shared alike by ultra-Imperialists, Republicans and Pro-Boers. In their attacks on London they are

playing up to Separatists and promoting Australian self-respect and self reliance. As D.S.S. Sissons in his thesis, "Attitudes to Japan and Defence, 1900-1914" wrote concerning Deakin, "Vigorous disagreement with the British was a popular exercise".[12]

The Asian "threat", even though it may have been exploited, nonetheless seemed real to Jose and Deakin. In his correspondence Jose dealt with rumours of war, invasion and illegal immigration to Australia by Asians. It is difficult to estimate the extent to which these rumours affected their perception of Australia's need for defence. While the rumours were taken seriously enough to be investigated, Deakin and Jose were also willing to exploit anti-Japanese feeling in defence campaigns:

> Follow the example of the successful men who worked the English people up to one big naval programme . . . Use the threats of *The Times*, if you like: tell them that in ten years' time, if we haven't a decent defence force on both land and sea, Britain is likely to force Japanese immigration on us.
> (Jose - Deakin, 24 February 1908)[13]

It is likely that Jose was as vulnerable to the xenophobic tendencies as were those whom he was trying to provoke. There were rumours like the following:

> The Chinese here in Sydney are buzzing with a rumour that early next year there is to be war between China plus the U.S. and Japan . . . Japan is hurrying up preparations to put her increasing fleet on a war footing.

But the threat which the Chinese themselves represented is seen in such stories as the following:

> When in Melbourne, I spoke to you about some information I had received from North Queensland - that parties of Chinese had been landed at points in the Northern Territory and convoyed thence across country into the settled districts of Queensland by Europeans; this convoy being especially necessary because the blackfellows would otherwise kill the immigrants. I have now further information: though one or two parties seem to have been landed in the Northern Territory, it has been found easier to land them on Cape York Peninsula as a rule. The man in charge of the whole scheme was formerly a gun-runner on the south-east African coast before and during part of the Boer War . . . Not long ago he made overtures to a man who knows the North Queensland coast thoroughly, offering him £800 a year to captain a boat to be employed in smuggling Chinese and opium.
> (29 July 1909)[14]

Criticism of the British and the Admiralty was seen at three major points: as we have noted, in the arguments which arose over the 1903 Agreement; secondly, in 1906 there was a certain amount of irritation over the Imperial Defence Committee Report and thirdly, the 1907 Imperial Conference was a source of anti-climax and dissatisfaction for Australian navalists.

In Jose's articles, all of which endorse Australia's assertiveness in negotiations with the English, his colonial nationalistic attitude is clearly revealed. "The Australian Attitude" (1903) elicited a leader article and gained him employment with *The Times*. He sought in part to explain the Australian objection to paying an increased naval subsidy. Just as in the 1890s Jose had argued that British history text books were "all British and no Empire" he now argued for an alteration in British attitudes to the Empire, a revision of "standards of loyalty":

> Perhaps the first article of the true Imperial creed should run thus: - "The colonies do not belong to England. They, and England, belong to the Empire."[15]

Jose's statement is important in its expression of a devolutionist view of the Empire. It was the basis of his approach to the settlement of naval defence questions, and the basis of his objection to the subsidy principle. He also objected to the payment of a subsidy to England for he felt that underlying it was an English presumption that the Admiralty knew best how to organise the Australian naval defence. Jose thought that the Admiralty's plans were not necessarily in Australia's best interests. Like others, he thought that the new doctrine of fleet concentration would work to the detriment of Australia in a time of crisis in that the fleet would be withdrawn from Pacific waters. In line with his view of Empire, Jose wished to see the Commonwealth as a self-reliant unit in defence matters.

Jose listed many reasons why the 1903 Agreement was unpopular. First, he felt that the alteration in the Agreement's terms which meant that the squadron was no longer restricted to Australian ports but was also to guard Hong Kong, Singapore, etc. meant that the Agreement had degenerated to such an extent that it, in fact, ran counter to the spirit

of the original 1887 Agreement. Indeed, he called it a "perversion" of it, citing opposition to the 1891 scheme which, even then, acknowledged that a locally-owned squadron was to be preferred. Jose thought that had the terms of the 1902 Agreement been proposed in 1891, the scheme would have been rejected. Secondly, Jose saw a lack of logic in the new arrangement. He wrote at the time of its proposal:

> we [the British] were illogical enough to require that the Australian section of the Fleet should not be tied down to the defence of Australian ports at the very moment when we were creating a Home Squadron for the express purpose of defending English ports. There may have been excellent reasons for adopting both courses, but their concurrence is unfortunate in the impression it makes on the colonial mind.[16]

By October 1905, Jose was indignantly pointing out to Moberly Bell that the Agreement, such as it was, was not even being fulfilled: the number and type of ships were below contract strength. Similarly the Naval Reserve Scheme was not up to its promised levels. Deakin made the same complaints. Meaney noted:

> The matter itself was rather petty. Undoubtedly, as the Colonial Office surmised, Deakin was using it 'to help undermine' the naval agreement and so 'pave the way' for his own naval policy.[17]

The Colonial Defence Committee's Report arrived in 1905. It became apparent that the British and Australian assessments of the Commonwealth's strategic position differed. The British did not consider that either the Germans or Japanese constituted a threat to Australia; they discounted the ideas that invasion or attacks on ocean-going commerce were contingencies to be guarded against. In response to the Report with which he was dissatisfied, Deakin decided to place the matter before the Committee of Imperial Defence (1906). Creswell was sent to London as the Commonwealth's chief naval adviser. The distance between the standpoints of the Commonwealth and the Committee was illustrated by the fact that it refused even to discuss with Creswell his recommendations.

Jose wrote two articles which he hoped would be published at the same time that the 1906 Defence Report was being drafted. He incorporated in his scheme all those ideas close to the heart of Captain Creswell, Director of Naval Forces; amongst these, was a flotilla of vessels for coastal defence. Jose observed that Australians were not averse to the

principle of paying provided it was towards a scheme to eventually develop an Australian squadron. Jose suggested in his articles that "there were signs that the Admiralty were tired of the old Agreement". Simultaneously Deakin was putting pressure on the Admiralty by sending a series of dispatches accusing the Admiralty of breaching the Agreement.[18] However, the articles were not in fact published until 31 August. Jose observed to Deakin:

> They have apparently found my letters on the subsidy too stiff to print at any rate while Buckle is on the spot: but the rest of the staff seems sympathetic. I took the opportunity of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's remarks the other day to cable an emphatic declaration of Australian feeling on the subject, and that may give them an excuse to publish.
> (31 July 1906)[19]

When the Imperial Defence Report finally arrived in July Deakin wrote to Jose of it:

> Imperial Defence Report . . . damns all floating defence & is therefore most useless to us in that regard -
> (1 August 1906)

Jose later wrote:

> . . . the Deakin ministry attacked the Admiralty again and again in the hope of getting some modifications. Captain W.R. Creswell, author of the first detailed scheme for a locally owned squadron, had been made Director of the Commonwealth Naval Forces in 1904 . . . The scheme provided a flotilla of torpedo-boats; the Committee condemned them as useless . . . I do not think the Committee . . . ever understood what a snub that was . . . Thenceforward public opinion . . . leant more and more definitely to the Creswell or some similar scheme [20]

Norris observed:

> But although Deakin secured neither an alternative use for the subsidy nor vessels for the defence of harbours or coasts, his efforts served another purpose. Deakin made the original despatch of August 1905 and the subsequent correspondence public. Playford, Minister of Defence, leaked confidential information on the dispute with the Admiralty to newspapers. The navalist press, supplied with ammunition, resumed its attacks and from 1906 naval defence became a lively issue.[21]

Deakin drew Jose's attention to the leaking of documents:

> You will notice that . . . our Defence proposals are leaking out through the papers & particularly the *Age*
> (7 November 1907)

At the end of 1906, disregarding the Imperial Defence Committee's Report, Deakin pledged his government to the establishment of an Australian navy under the Commonwealth's control.

Deakin attended the 1907 Colonial Conference aware that none of Australia's attempts to implement defence policies had succeeded. They had met with an obstructionist stance on the part of the British. The British, as we saw, felt that in matters impinging on international relations, Australia had no understanding of the complexity of Britain's role.

Lord Tweedmouth, First Lord of the Admiralty, offered assistance to Australia in the establishment of her naval force but laid down accompanying conditions which restricted the Commonwealth's role. Deakin not only continued to reject the subsidy principle, he insisted the Commonwealth would control her own naval force.[22] While as Meaney has pointed out Deakin was dissatisfied with the outcome of the 1907 Conference, we might add that private correspondence reveals that he seems not to have been aware of the precise way in which the Admiralty were attempting to block Australian initiatives in establishing the navy. Deakin sought the Admiralty's advice on the sort of vessels which would be most desirable to make up the local flotilla.[23] The Admiralty recommended the acquisition of submarines; these, however, were only suitable for the defence of ports. Jose recognised that the Admiralty had recommended them because such an idea "put an end to the Australian squadron". A comment of Churchill's expressing fear of the Australian acquisition of ocean-going vessels suggests that Jose's discernment of British motives for recommending submarines was correct:

> They will never provide any ships of serious value. . . . They will never pay the money necessary for a proper squadron. But a few ineffective vessels under an Australian flag may easily cause nasty diplomatic situations.[24]

Creswell protested to Jebb at the idea of submarines, and Jose wrote to Deakin:

> But there is something much more important I want to protest about, and that is your naval defence scheme. I have been hearing a little of the English side lately, and it comes to this - that no one at the Admiralty except Fisher and two of his jackals believes in submarines for Australia . . . To start our squadron with submarines and first-class torpedo-boats is as futile as to start a brigade with ammunition waggons and an ambulance corps.

> Both are valuable accessories to an already existing organization, but impossible as nuclei of a fighting organization yet to be developed.
>
> Candidly, one fears that you fell a victim to the glamour of what Professor Biles calls "that harlequinade" of a naval demonstration got up expressly to fascinate you while you were at home. Submarines look wonderful things, and in the shallow choppy waters of the English Channel or North Sea can do several useful things. But they would be quite incapable of acting outside the heads of Port Jackson or Port Phillip, in the heavy rolling seas of Bass Strait or the open Pacific . . . Moreover, their crews must be highly trained experts - that is to say, our so-called "local squadron" would have to depend for its *personnel* on what the Admiralty could spare us of its best crews - and you know as well as I do what that means in an emergency . . . it is urgently necessary that we should at as early a date as possible suffice for our own coastal defence . . . for the foreknowledge, interruption, and possibly prevention of raids and landings on any part of our coast. Submarines won't help us there, any more than obsolescent cruisers will. Sea-going torpedo-destroyers are the smallest boats that will be in any way useful to *us*: the smaller boats may be useful to a British squadron *if it comes*.
>
> I can assure you that if you go on with the naval scheme as you outlined it last month it will meet with very strong, probably with fatal, opposition. . . .
>
> I do hope you'll think all this over again, and not let the poll-parrot Tweedmouth, the anti-colonial schemer Fisher, and the lazy society-loving Sydney officers who have been prompting Lyne persuade you to distort and ruin a valuable and urgent defence scheme and a still more valuable and indispensable continuance of your political leadership.
> (13 January 1908)[25]

But, to Deakin, the most important feature of the new scheme was that it had the Admiralty's approval and, more than that, as La Nauze saw:

> it was profoundly important, he thought, not to isolate an embryonic Australian navy from the British Navy. The principle seemed as vital to him as the particular form a coastal force might take in its early years[26]

The composition of the flotilla was not of importance to Deakin. Like Jebb, he believed instead that it was more critical that it could act in alliance with the other navies of the Empire. In 1912 Jebb wrote:

> . . . Colonial nationalism hitherto has favoured, naturally, the principle which is stigmatised as that of a 'tinpot local navy'. But the Japanese fleet, on which we now rely to protect our interests in the Pacific, began life as a tinpot local navy. Allied navies may be technically inferior, as an instrument of war, to a federal navy. But, if the principle of alliance is fully developed, as is possible only under such conditions as those of the British Empire today,

> allied navies need not mean disjointed navies but rather unite in a combined naval scheme.[27]

The protection of the coast-line, the coastal trade and advance warning of raids were in Jose's opinion, as in Creswell's, Australia's imperative need in her naval defence. According to Norris, Deakin saw the matter differently:

> he perceived no clear and present need, unlike others he was never greatly concerned with the actual type of vessels for a local navy so long as the Commonwealth made a small start of some description . . . in 1908 he told Jebb 'I am not competent to fix the exact craft to be selected and do not consider that essential'.[28]

Deakin's and Jose's exchanges on the use of submarines in Australian waters continued in several letters. Jose, always disagreeing, at one stage commented:

> About submarines I still cannot follow you. No raider is going to be frightened of boats that dare not move outside the heads of our big harbours . . . As for training (and I heartily agree with all you say on that head), to use a submarine for training recruits is rather like using Aristotle to teach a small boy the Greek Alphabet.
> (18 January 1908)[29]

After the 1907 Conference Jose suggested that Deakin send someone to England as he had done in 1906 to discuss matters with the Admiralty but also to establish contact with the Compatriots who Jose hoped would act as a bridge within the Empire, exchanging intelligence and overcoming the obstacles which distance allowed the Admiralty to create:

> I hear that the Admiralty is busy with a new attempt to put you off for another year or so. They don't call it that - they say they are trying to draw up a definite plan to satisfy the Australians: but you'll find that plan only provocative of more discussion and delay. And meanwhile where will your next session go to? Don't you think it would be an excellent idea to send someone home at once who can speak from first-hand knowledge of the facts, keep the Admiralty from going astray, and pin them down to Yes and No on the exact points we want settled . . . Such a visit would be useful in another way: several men of the Compatriots are taking up the Naval scheme in connection with the general strategy of Imperial defence, and it would ensure us most valuable help if they could have firsthand information as they go along.
> (22 June 1908)[30]

The next two events leading up to the establishment of the navy which were critical in their effects, the one on the Colonial Office and the Admiralty, the other on public opinion, were the visit of the American Fleet and the Dreadnought crisis. Meaney noted

that Deakin hoped the Fleet's visit would give "symbolic expression to a concept of Anglo-Saxon solidarity".[31] In this one can see a continuation of the campaign to arouse support for a squadron by appealing to nationalistic and racial pride. The invitation to the American Fleet was born from Deakin's frustration with Imperial authorities in particular at the 1907 Conference and more recently concerning control of the squadron. Deakin wrote to Amery:

> But what can we do when the real enemies of Imperial unity are found with you - men who put the form (i.e. control officially transferred to them) above the substance (i.e. one navy in personnel, discipline and effectiveness)
> (18 December 1907)[32]

The previous week, Jose had written to Deakin:

> By the bye, the condition which I said was impossible of acceptance was the demand that control of the local squadron in wartime must be absolutely secured to the commanding Admiral, instead of remaining something in the Commonwealth's power to grant or not.
> (18 December 1907)[33]

It was against the backdrop of suspicion of the Admiralty's silence and delay in replying to his proposals concerning control of the Australian squadron, that, early in 1908, Deakin invited the American Fleet to visit Australian ports. The Colonial Office disliked the idea as much as the Admiralty but could do nothing because Deakin had approached the American Consul-General unofficially; the invitation had been accepted by the American Secretary of State while the British were still wondering what they might do. While Norris has described the invitation as "the stroke of a master politician" (p. 151), La Nauze has written:

> The invitation to the American fleet could be regarded as a dramatic and imaginative stroke of policy or a merely pretentious gesture. . . . He was not unaware that it might aid some purposes of his own . . . . the presence and example of a powerful and friendly fleet might ease the passage of his proposals for an Australian navy. But his main motive was 'imperial'. Was this not the kind of gesture which 'the empire' should make?

Amery disagreed with Deakin who wrote to him, ". . . If we can help to balance the pro-German and anti-British prejudices of the U.S. we shall have done good work for the

Empire"[34] In July, Deakin wrote to Jose (who had been asked by *The Times* for full coverage of the American Fleet's visit):

> Glad your people are taking up the U.S. Fleet & hope you will make them realise how entirely patriotic our object is in bringing the U.S. into line with them - The nonsense about our looking to America *instead* of the Empire is too silly for words - We want them unofficially a part of the Empire of the English speaking peoples -(14 July 1908)

In July, Deakin told Dilke that he still had not heard from the Admiralty on the question of control of the local squadron. Finally in September, the month after the American Fleet's visit, the Admiralty wrote to Deakin. Control of the Australian squadron would rest with the Commonwealth Government.[35]

In 1909 the Dreadnought crisis erupted. The Admiralty revealed that the German Navy threatened British sea supremacy by the rapidity with which it could add Dreadnoughts to its fleet. In Australia the population became divided when some of the newspapers led a public subscription campaign to raise the sum of money to buy and offer a Dreadnought to England. Part of the population for various reasons was against such a move. Jose's reaction to the Dreadnought scare reveals a keen understanding of public opinion and how it best was manipulated. We see this in his altered attitude to the Admiralty. Whereas previously he had criticised it to arouse a desire for self-reliance and feelings favouring the establishment of the navy, he saw now that the only way to reunify local imperial sentiment would be to appeal to them as a higher authority. As in military matters Deakin was to call on Kitchener in 1910, so in naval matters, Jose sent official letters to both Deakin and Andrew Fisher (28 April 1909) suggesting deference to the Admiralty to settle the question as to whether it really was advisable for Australia to contribute a Dreadnought:

> It has been suggested, as probably the only way out of this difficulty, that Australians should follow the example of Canada, and postpone all active defence legislation until the advice of the Admiralty or the Imperial Committee of Defence (as recently re-organized and strengthened) has been taken as to the best way of laying out whatever money the Commonwealth is prepared to spend. . . . the question to be answered by the authorities in England would be on what can Australia most usefully spend the additional money she is willing to contribute - on a Dreadnought,

> on a temporarily increased subsidy, or on making her local defence still more and sooner efficient?
> (28 April 1909)

It had been toward the end of 1908 that Jose had received various items of information. These had made him feel that the need for Australian self-reliance in matters of defence was urgent. He conveyed these to Deakin:

> A.) Gwynne, of the *Standard*, reckons it certain that we shall be fighting Germany within seven years - it is to be hoped, before the Japanese alliance is at an end. That is the limit we have for Australian preparation. B.) Rawson warned a man here that there would be more difficulty every year in getting from the British Parliament enough money to build the Dreadnoughts which the Empire must have for its safety. Consequently, said Rawson, the colonies had better wake up at once to the absolute necessity of providing for self-defence, as in case of war they might find themselves isolated and Britain unable to spare them any sort of naval protection. (I imagine this means that Britain could tackle the enemy's main fighting fleet, but could not give even the defence the Imperial Defence Committee promised against a cruiser raid.)
> (19 November 1908)[36]

But Jose adopted a sober view towards the public reaction of the Dreadnought crisis. He saw it as potentially damaging for several reasons. He believed that defence matters were now in danger of becoming a purely party issue. He was disappointed to see Deakin adopting a pro-Dreadnought line and argued with him over the matter as he had over the issue of submarines. More worrying to Jose was the realisation that such divisiveness and confusion might weaken the public feeling aroused in favour of the local squadron, the Australian colonial nationalism, so carefully cultivated.

Jose, in the meantime, wrote to Deakin:

> No one at home *wants* a spasmodic Dreadnought: they do want us to spend self-sacrificingly on our own forts, ships, and troops, so as to make them thoroughly efficient, and to relieve Britain of the dragging dread in wartime that people at this end of the world will get scared and indignant and rebellious if the ships are taken away for more useful work elsewhere . . . Now that Dreadnought offer is (a) irrelevant to local defence, (b) fostered by people who are against local defence, (c) a positive harm to local defence, because it withdraws funds which are needed for that purpose.
> (2 April 1909)[37]

Jose told Deakin he thought he would do better to make an offer of a definite sum to the "home authorities" to be spent "as the Conference thinks fit" (16 May 1909). When Deakin took office in June, he cabled just such an offer.

In 1913 Jose noted that the proposals for the squadron laid down at the 1909 Imperial Defence Conference represented a "wider and more imperial ideal". It represented that autonomist view of the dominions' role in imperial affairs, and, in Australia's case, the government's view of how her navy could best serve the Commonwealth and the Empire. Up till then Australia was concerned principally with her own coastal and port defence. But in 1909 the Admiralty suggested ocean-going vessels and destroyers. In October 1913 Jose wrote:

> But in 1909 Australia accepted a larger and quite different ideal, that of an ocean-going section of the Imperial fleet in the Pacific - something which could not be constructed or managed with an eye to local needs only, but must be part of a great organism in whose building up and maintenance other parts of the Empire shared

Jose then illustrated the "real Australian ideal" by a quotation from the *Call* (the journal of the National Defence League):

> . . . Australia will be of use to the Empire, not only as the co-maintainer of a Pacific fleet, but as the greatest Imperial base in all the oceans, the keystone of the traffic-bridge that spans the world ..... What is Singapore, and what is Hong Kong, compared to the bases Australia could furnish, backed by a continent that can produce within its borders every kind of provision and every raw material a fleet can need -

Jose continued:

> the still incomplete unit is the embryo that shall develop into a Dominions fleet in the Pacific; the land army Australia is training, and the bases she is constructing and planning, are preparations for converting the whole continent into the Empire's Eastern base.[38]

From time to time Jose noted minor criticisms such as Australia's lack of naval discipline, questions arising on the location of naval bases, and he observed there was friction between members of the naval board. But, by and large, he had seen fulfilled the principal objective: the formation of the Australian naval squadron.

The 1913 article quoted above was written on the occasion of the *Australia*, the squadron's flagship, steaming through Port Jackson. "Within a year she was to steam out. Australia was at war".[39]

NOTES TO APPENDIX I (c) Naval Defence

1. "Australia and Naval Defence", 13 April 1909/31 July 1909.
2. Meaney, pp. 77-8
3. ibid., p. 88.
4. ibid., p. 122.
5. ibid., p. 123.
6. Norris, p. 137.
7. AWJ, "Australia and Naval Defence"; Meaney, p. 77.
8. See n. 1.
9. Norris, p. 132.
10. AWJ - Moberly Bell, CY 788, pp. 369-73, 17 October 1905; AWJ, "The Australian Attitude", *The Times*, 31 August 1903.
11. Norris, p. 137.
12. Quoted in Norris.
13. ANL MS 1540/15/778-80.
14. ibid., 1540/15/906-9.
15. AWJ, "The Australian Attitude".
16. ibid.
17. Meaney, p. 134.
18. Norris, p. 143.
19. ANL MS 1540/15/573-4.
20. AWJ, "Australia and Naval Defence".
21. Norris, p. 145.
22. Meaney, p. 150.
23. ibid.

24. Churchill (Under-secretary to the C.O.) Minute, 15 February 1908, CO 418/52/739-40 quoted in Meaney, p. 155.

25. ANL MS 1540/15/3620-2.

26. La Nauze, p. 528.

27. Schreuder & Eddy (eds.), pp. 183-4.

28. Norris, p. 157.

29. ANL MS 1540/15/768-72.

30. ibid., 1540/15/820-2.

31. Meaney, p. 163.

32. La Nauze, pp. 528-9.

33. ANL MS 1540/16/457-8.

34. La Nauze, p. 490

35. ibid., p. 529.

36. 1540/16/445-8.

37. ibid., 1540/16/601-3.

38. "Defence Problems", 17 October 1913/ unpublished. See Uncat set 266.

39. AWJ, *The Royal Australian Navy, 1914-1918, Vol. ix of The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1937, p. 1.

APPENDIX I (d) Military Defence:

Compulsory and Universal Military Training

Since no party had a majority in parliament, the backing of public opinion could assist Deakin in obtaining funding for his defence programme. In 1905, Deakin wrote of the complacent attitude to defence which Australians held.[1] Jose echoed this view in a letter to Moberly Bell, though writing specifically on military training, "the greatest obstacle to compulsory military training is public apathy".[2] La Nauze considered that Deakin moved cautiously on the issue of military training; Meaney observed that Deakin recognised it to be a politically divisive issue.[3] The Deakin-Jose correspondence reveals how extremely divided public opinion was. Thus we might conclude that the militaristic strain in Australian nationalism was no more than that.[4]

In this chapter we will examine Deakin's and Jose's interpretation of public attitudes towards compulsory and universal military training, and the factors affecting their different interpretations. An obvious factor to consider is their attitudes to the very concept of compulsory training; a second factor is the regional influences which moulded their judgements.

Unlike its views on naval matters, Jose applauded the Imperial Defence Committee's Report (1906) on military defence and quoted it in an article for *The Times*:

> "It is necessary . . . to extend opportunities of elementary military instruction in various forms to as large a proportion as possible of the population, with a view to making military training as universal as circumstances, for the time being permit."[5]

He publicly allies his ideals with those of the National Defence League, which had been formed to arouse awareness about defence; from its beginnings, the Sydney branch of the League favoured military training on the Swiss militia system.[6] Having quoted the Imperial Defence Committee's recommendations, Jose continued:

> That is exactly what the Australian Defence League is now advocating with all its might, and this League is probably the most representative collection of Australians . . . Take, for instance, the New South Wales branch alone. Its President is Chancellor of the

> University and has many times held office in State Ministries. Among its vice-presidents the Bishop of North Queensland, Sir William McMillan, & Mr J.C. Watson sit cheek by jowl. Its Executive Committee comprises two University Professors, the *Bulletin*'s chief leader-writer, and representatives of all the volunteer forces.[7]

Jose was present at the earliest meetings of the League and described their proposals to Moberly Bell in a private letter.[8] By 1916 Jose was to write to Gerald Campbell, at one time president of the League, ". . . One of the few things I especially value is my connection with the League from its fairly early stages".[9]

La Nauze, in outlining the different stages which mark the development in Deakin's public policy, observed that in September he told Parliament, "We must consider whether we should not encourage a purely volunteer force with a view of advancing by steady strides, in connexion also with the cadet and similar movements, toward the idea of universal service. Personally it appears to me that this is the true ideal". In England in April 1907, speaking at one of Lord Roberts' Defence League's meetings, Deakin predicted: "With little delay you will see universal compulsory service throughout Australia". (We might note, in passing, that the Australian National Defence League was modelled on Lord Roberts' organisation). La Nauze observed that Deakin had "a sentimental attachment to the conception of the voluntary acceptance of a duty".[10] Jose observed something like this also:

> I have always attributed your leaning towards voluntaryism to the trait in your character . . . I mean your almost unshakeable belief that everybody else is as disinterested and public-spirited as yourself.[11]

Perhaps it was the legacy of an Anglo-Saxon racial pride or possibly the influence of Colonel Sir Edward Hutton who, in surveying Australia's defence needs in 1902, had claimed that the Boer War had taught that "compulsory service was not necessary for the British 'race'".[12] But we might note that Deakin's statement to Parliament in September may have been designed more particularly for the Victorian branch of the National Defence

League which favoured a voluntary scheme. In his defence policy statement of December 1907, Deakin introduced provisions for compulsory military service.

Jose and Norris, in attempting to explain Deakin's apparent shift in viewpoint (i.e. from voluntaryism to compulsory military training) have advanced different ideas. They assumed that Deakin, under the influence of Hughes, was as they both termed it "a convert", and that Hughes was the prime force in the agitation for universal service. As proof positive of Hughes' contribution, Jose quoted Hughes's longtime enemy, Reid, "I congratulate Mr Hughes on his foresight". Norris in his turn, has used the quotation.[13] Jose and Norris think of Deakin as succumbing to Hughes's farsightedness but, in a letter to Jose, Deakin hotly denied that he was a "convert".[14]

La Nauze has attributed Deakin's hesitation partly to "empirical considerations" partly to sentiment, and moreover makes a distinction between Deakin's public and his private views. Assuming that Deakin's private view was constant, as he himself alleged, and that he was always in favour of compulsory military service, we could say that it was rather a question of Deakin choosing the strategic moment for its public endorsement.

As we will see below, a reading of the Deakin-Jose correspondence confirms La Nauze's view that empirical considerations—finance, cabinet as well as a consideration of public attitudes—played an essential part in Deakin's shift of attitudes.

Jose and Deakin's different impressions of public opinion arose in part from the regional differences of Sydney and Melbourne, the different defence circles with which each was in touch - the views towards voluntaryism and compulsory service as advanced by the National Defence League in each city. The Melbourne branch was in favour of the former and the Sydney branch preferred the latter. Deakin once observed that such was the difference between Sydney and Melbourne that it was possible to detect a writer's origins by reading his work:

> The task of an "Australian" Correspondent, though it cannot be paralleled with that of an European Correspondent, is

> not without its analogies. Our States' influences are so all-pervading within their own borders that it is always possible to say from which centre he is writing and what other perhaps equally important centres of the Commonwealth he is ignoring. His political sympathies, of course, cannot but be betrayed at the same time.[15]

Jose would probably have agreed with this. On the introductory page of H.G. Turner's *The First Decade of the Australian Commonwealth*, he noted:

> Much dominated by purely Melbourne surroundings. Thus 'the country press' usually means the Ballarat & Bendigo papers; matters outside Hansard are usually recorded with a blind trust in the accuracy of the *Argus*.[16]

Jose describes Turner's account of the Dreadnought crisis as "amusingly Melburnian". But one wonders whether Jose would have been alert to the regional tendencies in his own outlook. For it seems sometimes that Jose, fired with the enthusiasm of W.M. Hughes and the Sydney Defence League, assumed that many Australians would be similarly inspired. But the National Defence League branches in Sydney and Melbourne can be seen as representing an extreme in the light of Kitchener's Report and the legislation immediately following it.

It is important to observe Deakin's reactions to Jose and the Sydney National Defence League. For Deakin's comments reveal the extent of the gulf between his and Jose's assessments of the situation. Jose in an article on military training and the influence of the League wrote in *The Times*:

> The New South Wales branch grew steadily, extending its influence over the State by suburban and country branches and an unexpectedly wide circulation of *The Call*. Its secretary, Mr W.M. Hughes, brought on for the second time his motion in the Federal Lower House in favour of universal compulsory training. In 1906 it had dropped dead after a couple of speeches; in 1907 Mr Hughes's speech was followed by one from the new Minister of Defence, Mr Ewing, in which he proclaimed himself a believer in the compulsory principle . . . Member after member succeeded him in supporting the motion, quoting and eulogizing *The Call*; . . . Mr Deakin, too, is a convert, and an active one.
> (27 December 1907)[17]

But Deakin thought such an interpretation of the situation, absurd:

> Re your last in *Times* I have always been an universal service man but never saw a chance of getting it until now -
> (13 February 1908)

Jose excused himself, explaining:

> I'm sorry to have misrepresented you, but it only shows how difficult it is in Sydney to get a fair view of anyone with whom the Sydney papers have a quarrel. We have certainly understood - I am thinking especially of the National Defence League - that you were against compulsory service on principle, and would have preferred the Victorians' voluntary scheme if there had been the slightest possible chance of working it: and the report of your answer to the Victorian branch the other day tended to confirm our idea. And, personally, I have always attributed your leaning towards voluntaryism to the trait in your character which (if I may speak candidly without offence) seems to have made the task of governing Australia more complicated for you than it would be for pretty well any other man: I mean your almost unshakeable belief that everybody else is as disinterested and public-spirited as yourself.
> (17 February 1908)[18]

Deakin replied to Jose's explanation, insisting he had been in favour of universal service since Federation and expanding on the obstacles:

> Re *Defence*. Our estimates are under the mark & must be enlarged even for the present scheme - I would willingly go farther and faster but anticipate plenty of trouble to get even this instalment - We can only get the real ten years' scheme I have in mind on the instalment plan - The present is a mere skeleton but *I dare not discuss* its developments publicly -
> My own attitude to universal service does not matter & I did not mention it as a complaint - When the League started here Dec/05 I pronounced in its favour & before the last House dissolved repeated the same assurance twice - Sept/06 - Hansard 5564-5574 - Playford kept me back & I could do nothing till Ewing replaced him - I have always been of the same mind since federation but never got an opportunity & a Cabinet prepared for it till now - It is a mistake of the *Call* to attack the Victorian Voluntary League - It *looks* like the usual interstate jealousy - & we shall need volunteer *additions to our compulsory force.*
> (20 February 1908)

(The statement concerning Playford, ex-Minister for Defence, rings true in the light of Deakin's earlier comment to Jose, "Personally I go . . . farther than Playford for Defence" [1 August 1906])

Later Deakin reverts to the subject of the introduction of the Defence Bill. Most interesting of all is the contrast in Deakin's and Jose's attitude to Hughes as seen in Jose's article and Deakin's letter:

> *The Times* was splendid on "Defence" but how ludicrous to make it appear that Hughes converted Ewing & myself who were in no need of his aid & did not receive it - At the first meeting Ewing

> went with my consent to guardedly but unequivocally pledge us to the compulsory principle which Hughes was then supporting - So far as I know he has never affected anyone here at all events outside his party -
> (11 May 1908)

Of particular interest is the last sentence. For Norris, agreeing with Hughes's biographer, Fitzhardinge, writes:

> Credit for the eventual success of the campaigns cannot, of course, be precisely apportioned between the various campaigners . . . Nonetheless, prime responsibility for military innovation must surely be attributed to Hughes.
>
> One informed verdict is that Hughes was able "to impose" his beliefs 'on the Labor Party and on Australia at a most critical period'. Perhaps in the manner of the biographer this slightly exaggerates the influence of the subject, but in the case of Hughes the view seems very near the truth.[19]

Thus it would seem at first glance that Norris and Fitzhardinge have attributed to Hughes's earlier career the impact and influence which is popularly associated with his role during the First World War. However, it is important to quote here Jose's reply to Deakin's observation of 11 May 1908 (see above):

> That glorification of Hughes is rather absurd. I'm afraid I'm a bit responsible - not because of anything I've written privately, but because my letter (the one published on Dec. 27 last), which simply instanced the reception of Hughes' motion in 1906 and 1907 as showing the change during the year, was misconstrued into a statement that, by bringing it on in 1907, Hughes converted you and Ewing. Of course I did you an injustice anyhow, because I did call you a convert: but I didn't intend to imply that Ewing was even that; I understood that he was a compulsion man from the first. I have dropped *The Times* a hint of its error.
> (14 May 1908)[20]

Thus Jose agrees that the tenor of the article was exaggerated, and shows how the misconstruction from his letter arose; but his very carefully-worded repetition of the sequence of parliamentary events neither rules out the possibility nor insists on the existence of a causal connection between Hughes and Deakin's introduction of the Defence Bill. While it is certainly true that Deakin did not think of Hughes as particularly significant it is also equally true that Jose saw him as influential in 1907, and further, saw him as having a bigger political future. When Hughes went to England in 1907 at the time

of the Imperial Conference, Jose gave him letters of introduction. He wrote in advance to Amery:

> I am giving W.M. Hughes an introduction to you. I don't know whether you'll like him. He's a vitriolic little beggar, rather inclined to think that everyone who doesn't sympathize with him is wanting to jump on him; and he's a bit deaf, which is always an impediment to cheerful conversation . . . Hughes is Watson's chief lieutenant, an able brain, an admirable speaker on his day . . .
>
> Altogether he's interesting and important to get hold of. He's a good deal of reverence for Matthew Arnold (if that's any help) . . . You'll have to understand him if you want to understand Australia - for he's a power here & will be a much bigger power.[21]

It was undoubtedly the National Defence League which brought Jose into close contact with Hughes and led him to form a totally different view from Deakin's which would have been derived principally from his knowledge of him in Parliament. An interesting sidelight here is the contrast in the attitude of Deakin and Jose to another New South Wales politician, Lyne, at one time Deakin's Treasurer. Jose repeatedly warns Deakin of Lyne's treacherousness and his conniving nature. Jose speaks with the air of one with further knowledge, gleaned from local experience of which Deakin would be ignorant.

We can note in their general assessments of public feeling that Deakin was more aware of the difficulties of "de-coding" interstate public opinion than Jose was. Although Jose was aware regional differences existed, and aware of opposition in Sydney he nonetheless seems insulated in New South Wales from details of the opposition in Victoria to compulsory training, perhaps by a confidence derived from the burgeoning New South Wales National Defence League of which he was an executive member.

Deakin was conscious of the opposition to compulsory training from many quarters. There was opposition to his defence plan from the Sydney press which exploited the Sydney-Melbourne rivalry against him; as previously mentioned there was opposition from the Melbourne National Defence League, and from those ideologically opposed to the principle of compulsion. In response to Deakin's letter of 20 February 1908 (quoted above, p. 415) expressing reluctance to discuss publicly his defence scheme, Jose replied:

> The point in your last letter which I read with most regret was the statement that you "dare not discuss" the development of the universal scheme publicly. The men here who, being entirely in favour of your plan, know most about public feeling, are unanimous, as far as I have seen them, in believing that the whole plan should be published and public opinion challenged in its favour. Some of them say that your one chance is to demand a referendum on the plan as quickly as possible, while the country-folk are still interested in it and keen on it. Go to the public with your whole ten years' scheme *now*, and you will be put in a position of absolute command over all hostile critics. But the doling out of bits gives papers like the *Herald* a chance to say - and people begin to believe it - that "the first ill-considered plan is being altered in deference to our criticisms". Trust the people before the politicians, and trust the country people before the press-influenced townsfolk.
> (24 February 1908)[22]

Jose was aware of the division of public opinion in Sydney. Although he advised Deakin that the opposition to universal service was surmountable, his actual description of public opinion and the critical role the Sydney press was playing in arousing feeling against compulsory service, may have caused Deakin to hesitate further. For Jose reveals that public opposition to universal service was substantial and growing, particularly in Sydney: Jose considered that only in an immediate referendum could the country people's vote outweigh Sydney opposition. Jose insisted on the importance of "short-circuiting" the effect of the Sydney press by personal campaigning:

> But you'll have to start a campaign here *at once*. If you let Wade and the *Daily Telegraph* get ahead with the country folk, there will be no end of bitterness later on. Don't trust too much to the *Bulletin*'s influence, which is rapidly waning in N.S.W. . . . the country press simply takes its cue from Sydney and spreads the same lies . . .
> (24 May 1908)[23]

It was a matter on which they agreed, but Deakin felt that he had not the time. In February Jose had indicated that the Sydney press's exploitation of parochial feeling against Deakin was critical in Sydney's general opposition to him:

> The papers here often say - and friends drive the point home - "Why doesn't the Prime Minister come over here oftener?" One knows you're no end busy . . . but I do think there's a big reason why you should put all others aside and sacrifice even Federal business to the urgent need of placating Sydney and conquering New South Wales. There's a splendid opportunity now. Reid is a hopeless back number . . . If you will manage to come here and make speeches, say, three times this year, occasions will be made

> very quickly, audiences will learn that you are a real person and not a mere incarnation of Victoria - as they are taught regularly - and Sydney will be won. It's worth doing.
> (24 February 1908)[24]

Deakin was aware of this and had long been aware of yet another fact—perhaps which he regarded as over-riding—namely the funds which the Sydney Free Trade press commanded: Writing in the *Morning Post* he contrasted himself with Reid:

> He [Reid] is thus far more representative of opinion in New South Wales than Mr Deakin is of that of Victoria, and in every sense a better local man. It is unfortunate for both that State jealousies should operate against them continuously, though the Prime Minister suffers most, seeing that he has no friendly newspaper in Sydney, nor, indeed, in New South Wales, where even the *Bulletin* mocks at his excessively 'affable' and invariably conciliatory demeanour. Mr Reid, on the other hand, has the Free Trade Press of every State at his back, and the absolute control of the funds raised by the opponents of the Labour Party. As against these forces those of the Protectionist leader are puny and scanty.[25]

The Free Traders were opposed to universal service for fear of dislocation to business.

As intimated earlier, another group opposed to the compulsory universal training scheme was the Victorian Voluntary League. Jose had dismissed their rival scheme. But their influence within the Defence Department persisted. And the disunity between the Sydney and Melbourne Leagues mirrored yet another division of opinion within the Defence Department. Jose later acknowledged this:

> The truth seems to be that the Defence Department has for a long time been internally at loggerheads over this question. The majority of the senior officers - some from habit, some sincerely, not a few from mere laziness - have been against a change: when they saw some sort of change inevitable, their influence was at once brought to bear in favour of retaining the voluntary (so-called militia) system by the side of - or rather on the top of - the new compulsory forces. The younger, more thoughtful, keener, more travelled officers adopted the compulsory idea with enthusiasm: it gave them opportunities of harder work to a more definite and more satisfactory end.[26]

Jose was warning of the opposition also of conscientious objectors:

> And in the second place, among the anti-compulsionists is a body of men whose resistance is likely to be far more lasting and difficult to deal with than that of the *Telegraph* and its supporters. For its objections arise chiefly from ordinary prejudice against compelling Englishmen to do anything . . . But the body of men to whom I refer are conscientious

> objectors: they talk seriously about "the hellish art of war", quote "As for war, I call it murder", and demand exemption purely on these grounds . . . but there will be more trouble over them than over the whole mass of the other anti-compulsionists.[27]

In his 24 February 1908 letter to Deakin quoted above, the opposition of the anti-compulsionists may be seen in the sorts of threats which Jose suggests Deakin should use to counter them:

> Use the threats of *The Times*, if you like: tell them that in ten years' time, if we haven't a decent defence force on both land and sea, Britain is likely to force Japanese immigration on us. If the Colonial Office doesn't like it, that can't be helped: we daren't let Australia go bare to spare the British Government's feelings. On the other hand, if we have a sound defence force, we take thereby our share in determining the Empire's policy: that is what so many politicians at home are afraid of.
> (24 February 1908)[28]

In these circumstances and in the face of opposition it is not surprising that Deakin should have hesitated to implement his defence scheme. He may have thought Jose was underestimating the influence of the old Free Traders. He thought there was cause to be wary.

From 1905 to November 1908, Deakin had governed with a majority gained by the support of the Labor Party. In November 1908 the Labor Party dissatisfied with various domestic issues withdrew its support so that Deakin's Government fell.[29] The Labor Party, with Andrew Fisher as leader, and Pearce as Minister of Defence, then ruled from November 1908 until May 1909. Deakin in his turn then withdrew his support from Labor. Deakin, once a protectionist, now toyed with the idea of coalescing with the "Cookites" (old Free Traders). Jose dreaded such a prospect for he feared it would mean compromises on the question of military training. As it will be remembered, the old Free Trade party was opposed to universal service for it feared it would mean disruption to business with the absence from the labour market of young workers on military training. The Deakin-Cook Government came into existence in June 1909. It was called the Fusion.

In the "Deakin-Cook Defence Scheme" we see the influences of both the pro- and anti-compulsionists. Meaney described Cook's scheme as "more costly and extensive" than that which had been proposed by Deakin when he was in coalition with Labor.[30] However, both Jose and the Sydney National Defence League regarded the Fusion's defence scheme as the embodiment of divided public opinion on defence. Jose saw it as a scheme of compromise. Yet his attitude to it differed from the bitter criticisms which the League made. Indeed, he felt it was not being given a fair press by them. Deakin (expecting a Sydney bias in favour of Cook, but not receiving it, wrote to Jose, "We are not being interpreted on our merits at present - even in Sydney" (28 July 1909). Jose, aware that the League's criticisms of Cook's scheme suggested an apparent pro-Labor party bias, commented:

> . . . it is absurd to say (as seems to have been said before) that Cook is - on present declarations - any more against our platforms than Ewing or Pearce were . . . Meanwhile I will do my best to have corrected any remarks made or written on the League's behalf that you think unfair. We want far more adult training than any of you have shown a disposition to give us; but you are all tarred with the same brush in that respect, and any attempt to object more to Cook than to the others - until he gives obvious reason for more - is unfair, and will, while I remain in the League, be repudiated.
>
> Please note as startling and important that the *Sydney Morning Herald*, which eighteen months ago was anti-compulsion, is now warning you of the danger of postponing adult training.
> (29 July 1909)[31]

But we see then that the play of factors other than the press and divided public opinion comes to the fore. In reply to Jose's last sentence (above), Deakin wrote:

> Adult training is with us a matter of means & expense. It figured in the background with Ewing for that reason & no other - Although I do not say that all the present Cabinet take that as the only objection to its introduction now there can be little doubt but that shortly I expect this to be the official opinion i.e. the whole will be accepted - In plain English we have to spend more than either Ewing or Pearce estimated to get our foundations in for adult training which will therefore *not* appear as an express [illeg.] in the Bill though it will be led up to and prepared for - It will come in of necessity as soon as practicable - The earlier stages are going to be frightfully expensive & we have to cut down this year the [?pensions] we desire though judging by the blocking of business we shall hardly be able to spend the same we expect to obtain for this financial year before it expires - Speaking generally our military & naval proposals are not altered - They are not reduced of intent [content?] or desire - but must be reduced in appearance more than in fact because we cannot spend the money this year owing to House delays -
> (30 July 1909)

Nearly three months later, in an unpublished article Jose drew on Deakin's information.[32] In the opening of "The Defence Scheme" he wrote that those drafting the present scheme profited by scrutinising the preceding schemes of governments fallen before their Bills were enacted:

> Consequently they were closely scrutinized and bitterly criticised, not only by opponents of the compulsory principle, but by supporters of the principle who wanted to show that their own friends could do, or had done, better. Therefore this Bill, profiting by all past criticism, is more thorough in details, more carefully thought out in matters like finance, than were either Sir T. Ewing's or Senator Pearce's scheme. On the other hand, it is the product of a "fusion" - an intimate alliance of two parties which were bitterly opposed to each other on the very principles of this Bill itself. Consequently it is less thorough in matters which involve the principle; it delays the commencement of compulsion, it minimizes the amount of training. Its only gain from the fact of the "fusion" is that its penalties become real: in Sir T. Ewing's Bill, you may remember, they were illusory in the extreme.

Jose's complaint and that of the League concerned the age at which young men would be required to train as well as the length of time spent in training. In the Bill introduced in 1908, when Deakin had governed with the support of Labor, there had been provisions for training from the ages of 18 to 26; now the training period was for those between the ages of 18 and 20. The shortened number of days spent in camp was another cause for grievance. The new scheme introduced the cadet plan at school level. Hughes was dissatisfied with the cadet scheme which he said would produce "an army of children."[33] Jose was unconvinced that the discontinuous training provided was sufficient:

> The Bill's defenders say that the four years' training of Senior Cadets will so inure the recruits to ordinary military work that the proposed sixteen days per year will suffice . . . but discontinuous training of the kind indicated does not strike the military expert as likely to produce real efficiency. Lord Roberts' Bill demanded three months' continuous drill,followed by a month in camp, for boys of eighteen, and fifteen days' camping for the next three years. The local National Defence League, whose scheme does include cadet training, asks for at least 42 days' continuous camp in the first "adult" year, and at least a week's camp and five days' drill in addition every following year till the soldier is 25. ("The Defence Scheme" p. 3)[34]

A week later Jose wrote a sequel, "The Reception of the Bill", in which he continued to criticise the number of days to be spent in camp:

> When you remember that the "adult" training has only eight days per year in camp . . . it does not seem much of a scheme to be enthusiastic over.
> (p. 3)[35]

Jose felt that not only had Deakin compromised with Cook. He thought that Cook had compromised with those officers in the Defence Department who preferred the voluntary system:

> But in Mr Cook the Department found a Minister whose heart was not in any compulsory scheme. His own feelings are against it. His immediate political prospects - i.e. of re-election - depend on minimizing the compulsory element in defence. His ultimate political prospects - i.e. of remaining Mr Deakin's colleague after the elections - depend largely on making a show, at any rate, of a compulsory system. Naturally the senior element in the Department retained its sway, and we have the Bill as it stands.[36]

In 1909 Deakin extended an invitation to Kitchener to visit Australia to make recommendations on the military training scheme. Gavin Souter in *Lion and Kangaroo* drew a parallel between Kitchener's visit and that of Admiral Sperry's American Fleet.[37] The Fleet's visit was a strategic master-stroke, Kitchener's visit simply happened to turn out that way. Deakin had to placate not only the N.S.W. Defence League, Hughes (and those in the Labor Party he had influenced) but a divided and disaffected Defence Department, and the Tree Traders, all of whom, for various reasons had complaints about the Defence Bill. Kitchener's recommendations were as follows: the age span for those who were to undergo military training was extended once again, so that it was the same as it had been in 1908. - i.e. it was for 18 to 25 year olds. This would appease the pro-compulsionists. Similarly, the number of days annually spent in training (8) and in camp (8) corresponded roughly to the minimum the League sought. (For those between 20 and 25 years, Kitchener recommended 6 days in camp.). But the idea promoted in the N.S.W. Defence League circular for a camp for 18-year olds of at least 42 and at best 60 continuous days was not introduced. Cook crowed over this as an endorsement of the Cadet Scheme of which the League had been so sceptical:

> How valuable the preliminary cadet training was would be recognized by the fact that Lord Kitchener said it would only take eight days a year in camp afterwards to make the boy into a good

> soldier. (*SMH*, 28 February 1910 quoted by Jose to Deakin, 11 March 1910)[38]

Deakin intended implementing Kitchener's scheme when his government fell. In January 1911, Fisher passed an amendment to the 1909 Deakin-Cook scheme and Kitchener's suggestions were realised.

NOTES TO APPENDIX I (d) Military Defence:

Compulsory and Universal Military Training

1. Meaney, p. 122.

2. AWJ - Moberly Bell, CY 788, pp. 369-73, 17 October 1905.

3. La Nauze, p. 534, Meaney, p. 122.

4. Stuart Macintyre, *The Oxford History of Australia, Vol. 4, 1901-1942: The Succeeding Age*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1986, p. 140 for his reference to the militaristic strain in Australian nationalism.

5. "Australian Self-Defence", 21 August 1906/ unpublished; CY 788, pp. 710-716. See pp. 712-13.

6. Meaney, p. 127, presumably writing of a later stage, noted of the National Defence League: "The Australian movement sought a system of universal training based on the Swiss militia system rather than a system of full time national service, following the more common continental model." AWJ in "The Land Defence of Australia", *The Times*, 7 November 1907, wrote of the League, "Unfortunately, the beginnings of its work were hampered by internal disunion . . . The New South Wales branch of the league has from the first advocated compulsory military training . . . on a system closely resembling the Swiss. The Victorian branch, however, still pursued the phantom of universal voluntary service . . ."

7. See above, n. 5.

8. See above, n. 2.

9. AWM 39, A.W. Jose, item No. 4, AWJ - G. Campbell, 25 July 1916.

10. La Nauze, pp. 532-3.

11. AWJ - Deakin, 17 February 1908, ANL MS 1540/15/775-7.

12. Meaney, p. 60.

13. Norris, p. 150.

14. 11 May 1908.

15. La Nauze, (ed.), *Federated Australia*, p. 152.

16. Jose's edition of Turner's book (in private hands).

17. "Land Defence of Australia", 7 November 1907/ 27 December 1907.

18. ANL MS 1540/15/775-7.

19. Norris, pp. 149-50.

20. ANL MS 1540/15/803-6.

21. AWJ - Amery, CY 788, pp. 879-80.

22. ANL MS 1540/15/778-80,

23. ibid., 1540/15/807-812.

24. ibid., 1540/15/778-80.

25. La Nauze (ed.), *Federated Australia*, p. 158.

26. "Reception of the Bill", 28 September 1909,/ unpublished. See Uncat. Set 266.

27. ibid.

28. ANL MS 1540/15/778-80.

29. Meaney, p. 175.

30. ibid., p. 174.

31. ANL MS 1540/15/906-9.

32. "The Defence Scheme", 21 September 1909/ unpublished. See Uncat. Set 266.

33. Meaney, p. 189.

34. See n. 32.

35. See no. 26.

36. ibid.

37. Souter, p. 151.

38. ANL MS 1540/15/3694.

APPENDIX I (e) Immigration and Land Settlement

Jose described intra-Imperial immigration as the most important work that could be done for the Empire. From 1904 to 1914 he wrote twenty-six articles on immigration and land settlement. Most appeared between 1909 and 1912, a crucial period because of the introduction of the Federal land-tax. Immigration and land settlement were twin policies: "To hold Australia, we must have immigrants, to have immigrants, we must have land".[1]

After the depression of the 1890s, the Australian economy gradually recovered; so it was that in the early Federal years, the Commonwealth and State governments initiated schemes for immigration (particularly from Great Britain) and land settlement. These were designed to meet the shortage of labour partly in the rural districts but partly too in the cities, where protection had given an impetus to large-scale manufacturing.[2] According to Sherington, many of those who migrated to Australia from Britain also came because of social unrest.[3]

With the passing of the Immigration Restriction Bill, Australia had committed herself to the White Australia policy, thus giving expression to generalised xenophobia, the Darwinian legacy. Deakin speaking in Parliament, claimed, "Unity of race is an absolute essential to the unity of Australia". As Macintyre noted, "In practical terms, White Australia meant a British Australia policy".[4] So it was that Deakin and Watson established a British Immigration League. From the beginning, the league, with whom Jose was associated, saw its immigration policy in terms of defence. It was thought a larger population spread over the largely uninhabited areas (particularly remote coastal districts) necessarily meant increased security for Australia.[5] It was during this time that the "Million Club" was established. It was an association of New South Wales businessmen committed to increasing the level of migration to that number. They thought that the land could support large numbers of settlers. Such was their optimism that after the war they changed their name to the "Millions Club".[6]

Frequently Jose in his articles reveals his allegiances with the British Immigration League as much as the National Defence League. He considered that Australia's military requirements could be best fulfilled with a larger male population. Dr Richard Arthur, first president of the British Immigration League, felt that the challenge to Britain's naval supremacy increased the risk of raids on Australia's trade routes, and, possibly her coast line.[7] While invasion was regarded as a more remote danger, Kitchener's report had nonetheless provided for its occurrence. To many, Australia's sparsely-populated North seemed an invitation to the over-populated Asiatic neighbouring regions. Putting it at its most simple, Jose, in "Peopling Australia" wrote that "as a matter of defence Australia needed population."[8] With the increasing threat of war with Germany, Jose turned to the 1885 Berlin Conference and the Doctrine of Effective Occupation, where it was claimed that if empty lands were settled they were owned: thus the partitioning of Africa ended in favour of Germany.

For reasons that will be discussed later, Jose was keen to stress that land settlement and immigration were emphatically a part of the White Australia policy:

> And the sooner he comes . . . the sooner will Australia be secured for the Empire as a white man's country, impermeable to the insistent millions of Asiatic races whose comforts and morals and ideals differ so irreconcileably from ours.[9]

and:

> . . . soil fit for agriculture & within reach of a market shall be used . . . for the defence and increase of a white Australia.[10]

It is not surprising to find a nervousness also expressed about Europeans. In 1913 Jose discussed the Report of the Dominions' Commission on Immigration which recommended the migration of Scandinavians, Germans and Maltese. Jose observed that 'migration of any southern Europeans would be unpopular. Australians have seen him represented in American books as a "cheap labourer" and a strike-breaker, not very assimilable and prone to disorder.'[11]

Initially it might seem that Jose is here speaking of "public opinion"; his own reaction expressed a year earlier was that "European citizens settle down here comfortably".[12]

Nonetheless, his ideal was the growth and development of Australia as a new base within the Empire and it was consonant with this notion that Australia would be purely British:

> Australia is the only territory left within the Empire in which it is possible to form a purely British people.[13]

And, quoting the British Empire League's Report further, there is an unusual application of the proverb, "Charity begins at home". A little further on, Jose continues:

> . . . we are faced with what is probably the biggest Imperial problem of today - how best to redistribute within the Empire, the Empire's white population.[14]

"White Australia" to Jose was even more than all this, it was the establishment in Australia of a type, the Anglo-Saxon yeoman. In an article on "Share-farming", Jose describes the Australian landowners who have divided up their properties and sub-let them as, "taking their duties seriously - after the manner of English landlords".[15] In the *National Review* he describes the desirable tenant-farmer. Praising Victoria's closer settlement scheme, he writes:

> It is Victoria too that is first to grasp the offer of healthy English lads for farm-training made by agents of the Kentish and other county associations.[16]

But Australia was not to be merely a pale imitation of England; it surpassed England in the strong and healthy outdoors life it offered. Jose regarded England as a spent force in some respects. Her literature of the Nineties was decadent while that of Australia seemed fresh. Jose saw England's public service departments as unwieldy. And Jose commented that it was no use Britain complaining that the dominions were attracting away the healthy male population - she must do something to make Britain more desirable. At the back of the statement one senses Jose's hope that Australia would be more than an Eastern base. A friend, visiting England and perturbed at what he perceived to be its decadent state, wrote to Jose:

> But in England land lay waste for miles: it seemed an almost deserted and tenantless land. A country's real defence is her manhood, and the backbone of the race is the county population.[17]

Although the quotation refers to England there is an implied application to Australia. And the point of the quotation is twofold: it points the way to a choice for Australia - migration with a flourishing future or down the road of "barren England".

In hoping for immigration of British stock, it was not merely hearty physical qualities which were desired. Those qualities Jose termed "colonising qualities" were also sought:

> The men who are prospering are making experiments, devising new methods, working always on the alert; the copyists, the drudging followers of old world and obsolete farming systems, are the failures. Australia is still a land for the pioneer, and those who hope to succeed here must have the spring, self-confidence, and the intelligent pluck that make the happy adventurer.[18]

But as has been said, there was a creeping anxiety that the British stock was declining; Jose's article "British Immigrants" is most revealing in this regard:

> What is happening to England? Have you none left - or were there never any - of the Englishmen we have been taught to believe in?

Jose continued the article by giving employers' responses to questions concerning which nationalities were preferable as employees:

> Germans are described as being "more amenable to discipline", "soberer and more reliable", "more intelligent and of superior physique".
>
> From the foreman to a large firm of railway contractors . . . comes similar testimony. "Thanks, but no more Britishers at present," said he; he had gangs of Scandinavians, Italians, and Germans, as well as Britons, at work, and much preferred the foreigners . . . "These English", said the foreman, "are a narrow-chested, discontented crowd, quite different from the men who used to come out 10 or 15 years ago."
>
> "Many large employers of labour", writes one of our best authorities on immigration, "have told me how markedly superior is the average foreign immigrant. They attribute this to the military training the foreigner has had."[19]

Jose proposed that the English introduce:

> . . . the educational remedy of giving to every boy and every young man in the Mother Country sound physical and disciplinary training, and inspiring in them an active patriotism. In other words . . . compulsory military service. But if, for reasons we at this end of the world cannot comprehend, these remedies are inapplicable, then send us your boys before they grow narrow-chested and undisciplinable, and let us train them for our own use.[20]

This was one of the motivating ideas behind the Dreadnought Scheme. This, by its very name, expressed the connection between land settlement, defence and imperial loyalty. Funds for this scheme were derived from the aborted campaign or public subscription for a Dreadnought for England. The designers of the scheme intended to bring out large numbers of boy immigrants from England and place them at the Pitt Farm School where they would be trained in farming methods. The aim was "to build up the backbone of the country". As Sherington noted, there was much emphasis on the physical fitness of youth, "Many believed that the wide open spaces of the British dominions were far more healthy than crowded cities in the United Kingdom." Other farm apprenticeship schemes were started in Perth (1912) and South Australia (1911).[21] In 1913 Jose was still writing:

> But the immediate remedy . . . is the importation on a large scale of boys. . . so long as they are considered . . . capable of being built up with good food and good training into steady and hardy countryfolk.[22]

By the following year (1914) Jose was describing the Pitt Farm scheme as "a mismanaged failure".[23] At the same time, he contemplated the introduction of another scheme which would solve those problems which had plagued its antecedent. As we will see, the story which lay behind its mismanagement was the story which lay behind many frustrated immigration schemes during the federation period.

One of the central ideas to the whole issue of land settlement and immigration for the purpose of increasing the population is the idea of closer settlement. This entailed the resumption of land which was fertile enough for dairying or agricultural purposes, but which was being used for grazing. Different methods were suggested of inducing landowners to "unlock" their lands. The land-tax was the most common. In the main, Jose wrote of closer settlement in relation to N.S.W. and Victoria. He described the areas near Singleton, Muswellbrook, Denman, Tenterfield, and the lower Hunter as being amongst those districts which could be resumed.[24] His description of Tyagong Creek between Grenfell and Cowra provides an example of what he saw as the most extreme transformation:

> Fifty years ago a Government official . . . marked off the whole country as useless wilderness . . . As a sheep-station it was by no means first-class. . . .
>
> I saw the land last October. We drove from the railway station - round which a small model township had sprung up - through huge paddocks of wheat and oats. One crop of oats, into which we drove, nearly met above the pole over the horses' backs. In a wheat-paddock I photographed the owner's hat and part of his head just appearing above the wheat ears. On the "useless wilderness" were 31 farms; out of its 33,000 acres 11,000 were down in wheat, 2,000 in oats, 8,000 in grass, 6,000 in fallow . . .[25]

Jose admitted "The country is new, the climate but half-understood" but his hopes for various schemes nonetheless seem exaggerated. At the same time he saw the shortcomings of many schemes. This was in contrast to the Millions Club who championed closer settlement, even in inappropriate areas.[26] Jose saw, for example, that in areas of low rainfall more land was needed for a property, that the terrain itself was an important factor: he saw the desirability of combining wheat, fruit and sheep in certain areas. He recognised that it was imperative for intended areas of closer settlement to be within a reasonable distance of railways and experimental farms.

But in addition to the difficulties inherent in land settlement, Jose thought that attempts to stimulate migration in a disinterested manner were being frustrated by various self-interested sections of the community. There were groups in both political parties who were opposed to immigration; there were also groups in both parties in favour of it. Those in the Labor Party who sought to frustrate immigration were the artisans, tradesmen, and unskilled labourers who felt their jobs were threatened. Equally, in the conservative parties, there were the large landowners who saw immigration as the thin end of the wedge, and a Labor federal land-tax as its natural consequence. There was another section in the conservative party who Jose described as "less voluble but at times more powerful, and less definable in terms of its pursuits".[27] Amongst those in favour of immigration were city or town employers, who would like "a surplus of labour to choose from", as well as country people who suffered a shortage of labour. This last group included both large and small

land owners. It was Deakin who pointed out to Jose the different attitudes of the State Government parties:

> Immigration is being played with by all the States - The one thing they dread is an exposure of their tactics by which they decrease the influx & choke off plenty of eligibles without letting it be known that they are doing so - Their finance is another sore point upon which you have laid your finger - Beware of the assassin's knife if you keep this kind of criticism in play -
> (25 September 1908)

Jose did keep the criticism in play.

One of his principal concerns, particularly from 1909 to 1912, was to advise British artisans and unskilled labourers not to migrate unless they had firm offers of employment. The frequency of this warning in his articles and the frequency with which he stated that conservatives were the enemies of migration might lead one to suggest that he was attempting to mollify those sections of the Labor Party whose support he wanted and who were concerned with the interests of unskilled labourers in the cities, who felt migration threatened their employment prospects. For Jose was attempting to draw to Australia migrants who would go on the land: they could be no threat to labour in the cities. And a cynic might say that in arguing for the land-tax Jose was also exploiting the endemic animus against the owners of sheep runs; he thought Australians' parochialism was the guiding force of the country's political life.

From 1912 to 1914 Jose in his immigration articles continued his criticisms of the State Government, who were the agents responsible for migration, and the city employers; he also criticised the shipping agents:

> The State officials do not cheat, though I have known cases where their advice to enquirers was, to say the least, over-optimistic. It is the shipping agents - not, of course, all of them . . . who mislead the immigrant (on whose passage-money they get a substantial commission) with pictures of instantaneous employment at high wages awaiting him as he steps down the ship's gangway . . . and the victims of their deception find themselves on arrival victims a second time to the stupid stinginess of State Governments . . . here, as elsewhere, he must look for work to begin with, and must learn anew . . . Wise Governments would help him in both looking and learning . . .[28]

In 1913, he wrote "Immigration Problems", in reply, one feels to the Millions Club:

> On both sides of the ocean there is too much generalisation, too much assertion that so long as millions of people are sent out it does not much matter what they can do. The Dominions Commission, it will be remembered, noted this fallacy, and it is hoped that their report will lay stress on it.[29]

Jose, quoting from the *Sydney Morning Herald*, noted that for settlement on the land, new areas would have to be made available, and some means of directing new arrivals to the country:

> Another source of congestion in Sydney is the unregulated character of some of the immigration which comes to New South Wales. No adequate machinery exists for directing more than a small proportion of the immigrants to agricultural pursuits, and the absence of this machinery has caused even immigrants who desired to take up work on the land to accept employment in the city.[30]

Jose quoted various sources on many occasions which indicated that although immigration was increasing, the new population was concentrating itself in the cities - he had hoped that immigrants would settle in the bush, and that the Australian "country back-bone" thus would be strengthened. In 1914, he quoted some figures which supported this:

> In the last ten years, a State Minister has just told us, the population of Melbourne has increased by 150,000, and that of the rest of the State has decreased by 1,750.[31]

But Jose observed that those writers who drew attention to the defects and petty self-interests which were part of the immigration schemes were accused of treachery. Thus he was criticised for drawing attention to the fact that a farm labourer would only be employed "without encumbrance", i.e. without a wife and children:

> To state these facts publicly is considered by many estimable Australians an act of almost treachery to Australia. "It retards immigration," they say; "it plays into the hands of the Little Australians and encourages, if it does not justify, Labour's hostility to active immigration work."[32]

In 1912 and again in 1914 Jose maintained that until migration was put into the Commonwealth's hands and taken out of the self-interested State's parties, there was little hope of providing for what he saw as the country's real needs:

> And practically all the Ministries and all the parties in all the States are advocating or opposing immigration in accordance with the immediate personal predilections of their principal supporters (or, in the case of some Ministers, of their permanent officials). That is the true reason for inadequacy and spasmodicity - parochialism of several types, not political beliefs of any; and, until by some device or other the Commonwealth, whose authorities can estimate the needs of the whole continent at once and are especially responsible for Australian defence, gets into its hands the whole business of immigration, I fear that inadequacy and spasmodicity will continue to characterise our official efforts.[33]

In 1915, he reiterated his views that immigration and land settlement must be modified by an appreciation of what he saw as Australia's unpredictable rainfall and highly variable arability. Such a view would have kindled the fury of the Millions' Club. Those who questioned details of land settlement schemes or the potential of Australia sometimes found themselves in difficulties. Professor Griffith Taylor (with whom Jose co-authored *New South Wales, Historical, Physiographical and Economic*) had agreed with Professor Gregory's assessment that the centre of Australia was of limited use. After a lengthy public debate, there were calls for his resignation from the University of Sydney.[34] Jose found himself in similar difficulties.

Epilogue

The Manager and editorial staff of *The Times* had expressed dissatisfaction with Jose's work for many years. In 1915, Jose was dismissed. War-time economy was one of the many reasons offered. *The Times* had not liked his stand on immigration. In 1912, Grigg had written to him:

> There is an interesting note in your last letter on emigration. My only doubt about it is the great danger of creating the impression in this country that Australia as a whole is still against emigration. You must reflect how easily that the idea could be revived, how perilous it would be for Australia, and how likely the kind of criticism contained in your article is to give it currency again. For that reason I feel that the questions you discuss should be fought out in Australia, and are best left unnoticed in the columns of *The Times*.[35]

The details of machinations behind Jose's sacking so far are not known. But in Jose's Intelligence Notebook there is reference to his communication with Arthur Easton, then President of the British Immigration League, an acquaintance with whom he kept in contact even when the latter returned to England. Easton told him interesting information concerning Sir Hugh Denison, owner of *Sun* newspapers:

> Denison admitted to Easton that he (Denison) had worked against me with Northcliffe when he was in London during 1912, and said that 'several prominent members of the Millions Club' had since been doing likewise.
> (19 April 1914)[36]

NOTES TO APPENDIX I (e) Immigration and Land Settlement

1. "Note on Immigration", 9 February 1909/ 10 April 1909.
2. Geoffrey Sherington, *Australia's Immigrants 1788-1978*, George Allen & Unwin, North Sydney, 1980, pp. 93, 95.
3. ibid.
4. Macintyre, pp. 124-5.
5. Meaney, pp. 127-8.
6. Macintyre, p. 200.
7. G.L. Macandie, pp. 226-7; Meaney, p. 128.
8. "Peopling Australia", 15 September 1908/ unpublished; Uncat set 266 Letterbook 3, pp. 129-34.
9. "Closer Settlement in N.S.W." 16 April 1907/ unpublished; Uncat set 266.
10. "Land Settlement, (i)", 19 January 1909/ 13 March 1909.
11. "Immigration", 1 April 1914/ 25 May 1914.
12. "Immigration I", 3 December 1912/ 6 March 1913.
13. ibid.
14. ibid.
15. "Share Farming", 26 August 1910/ 20 December 1910.
16. *National Review*, March 1910, p. 162.
17. ibid., p. 163.
18. "Impediments to Immigration", 26 September 1905/ 27 December 1905.
19. "British Immigrants", 15 March 1910/ 24 May 1910.
20. ibid.
21. Sherington, p. 94.
22. "Immigration Problems", 9 September 1913/ 26 November 1913.
23. "Immigration", 1 April 1914/ 25 May 1914.
24. "Landlocked Towns", 24 February 1909/ 10 April 1909.
25. "Share farming", op. cit.
26. "Impediments to Immigration", op. cit.

27. "Immigration IV", 8 January 1913/ 26 March 1913.

28. "Note on Immigration", 30 July 1912/ unpublished. Uncat set 266.

29. "Immigration Problems", 9 September 1913/ 26 November 1913.

30. ibid.

31. "Immigration", 1 April 1914, op. cit.

32. "Immigration Problems", 9 September 1913, op. cit.

33. "Immigration IV", 8 January 1913, op. cit.

34. Macintyre, p. 199.

35. See B1089-92, Jose's Correspondence with *The Times*, Grigg - Jose, 3 September 1912.

36. JP.

APPENDIX II (a) Three letters from Christopher Brennan to Jose on Greek drama.

TEXTUAL NOTE: Many words, including names of plays, authors, etc., have been silently expanded.

Newport, *via* Manly,
N.S.W.

Dear Jose,

Distance, double address, guests - excuses if not reasons. - As far as the *Helen* is concerned, V's theory is so ingenious that I like to keep it there as a plausible explanation both of the *Helen* itself and the Aristophanic parody (it gives them coherence—and it annoys Walter Scott!). But I keep it entirely within the mental circle of Euripidaristophanistic hariolation: I wouldn't take it out of that & make it a foundation-stone for an Athenian (or Makronisian) Repertory Theatre - it smacks to me of Germanism. As for Seneca, I've never even read him tho', as a student of Greek drama, I believe it's my duty. But my motto has always been 'Duty be d - d' & the drama, as drama, I find a bore. Probably for that reason I keep on arguing that Greek drama isn't drama. - I don't know of a scrap of evidence (external) for any other than the civic chorus trained by their fellow-actor the poet-dramatist-musician and the later τεχνῖται.[1] Private performances I consider highly probable (they need not have gone beyond a reading) but the *Orestes* doesn't show any signs, and as for the *Medea*, the date is a bit too early & Euripides was, at the time, an enthusiastic patriot: I can't conceive the play without

Ἐρεχθεΐδαι τὸ πλῆθον ὄλβιοι.[2]

My own work on Greek tragedy goes slowly: the analysis of the *Prometheus* and the disposition of the evidence will be long & elaborate; it is necessary to sap the fortress from every side. But all the more fun in the process. - I hope that you, having now become, as Mrs Jose told me, an official historian, will tame your exuberant journalistic style to the austerity of your great model Dr Freddy Watson.

Some interesting news from Berlin in a letter received by my wife's relative *via* America-Censor: I wonder the Berlin people let it thro'. Her friend writes that not merely

have they lost a large part of their fortune but that her second son has been called up. This is a man of over 30 who had taken a degree in classics & had chosen a scholastic career, but chronic invalidism (Basedow's disease & other complications) forces him to give it up & enter his father's business, for which his mangled time & energies would suffice. So it looks as if Germany was calling out the crocks.

Damnation to her anyhow & luck to us all.

Yours ever

C.B.

Letter (2)

Newport *via* Manly
March 5, 1916.

Dear Jose,

This time there is valid excuse for delay. I am just recovering from a quinsy (result of a royally neglected sore throat): 72 hours without sleep (except drowsy delirium of the subconscious during which I saw & heard d'Annunzio at the table of the Italian General Staff)—and today, for the first time in 10 days, I have taken solid good. Succinctly now, & in order:

A) The Athenian book-trade did up dramas in fours: the old tetralogy of Aeschylean times probably determined this (Cf: the arrangement of Plato in tetralogies by Thrasyllos). Tetralogies having gone out of fashion, the grouping was by the *first* letter (not alphabetic as we understand it): evidence, the catalogue of the Peiraieus library [once Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum but now Inscriptiones Graecae II 992 p. 150] plays of Euripides grouped thus: Σκύριοι Σθενέβοια Σκιρῶν Σίσυφος | Ἀρχέλαος Ἀλκμήνη Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλόπη ·3

(the second example the better, for in the first instance there seems to have been a fifth Σύλεύς owing to the Σκίρων ·4 being a satyr-play: originally of course the satyr-play cohered closely with its three-fellow-plays, but, once the tetralogic form was burst, the book-

sellers' idea seems to have been to squeeze the satyr-play in as the fifth wheel on the coach).

B) Alexandrian editions: (1) complete texts, *without* notes. There doesn't seem to have been a complete Pindar before Aristophanes of Byzantium & the scholia seem to show that the Alexandrian scholars had been carefully sifting the material for at least 50 years before the job could be undertaken. (2) Separate commentaries (ὑπομνήματα).[5]

C) Annotated editions, introduced by Didymos (the ancestors of those scholastic manuscripts of which you saw facsimiles in Wilamowitz's Aeschylus). This was a popularization of the Alexandrine work.

D) Selections for the use of the 'cultured' public, 2nd. century A.D. Symmachos for Aristophanes as we now have him (Plutus, Clouds, Frogs, Knights, Acharnians, Wasps, Peace, Birds, Thesmophoriazusae, Ekklesiazusae, Lysistrata: the easiest play first, next those which give pleasant scope for comment concerning historical personalities). For the tragedians, probably Sallustius the Pythagorean (a shadowy figure). Here you get seven plays of Aeschylus, and seven of Sophocles, beginning each time with the easiest, same in Euripides only here there are nine (Hekabe, Orestes, Phoenissae, Hippolytos, Medea, Alkmene, Andromache Rhesos, Bacchae) the next following plays disposed in each case so as to get in as much as possible of the Oedipus or Agamemnon story (Aeschylus 2 Seven Against Thebes - of him we have the whole Oresteia. Sophocles 2 Elektra - of him we have a whole Theban trilogy. Euripides 2 Orestes 3 Phoenissae) - This selected edition is now repeated and re-edited for several centuries, during which the notes suffer from the desire of each succeeding editor to have something of his own in.

E) Classical study nearly perished in the seventh and eighth centuries: during this period only the Irish, in the West, know Greek and in the East stores of ancient literature perish from neglect. In the late ninth and tenth centuries, there is a renaissance at Constantinople & eager search was made for what had escaped the wreck of two dark centuries. They found, of Aeschylus and Sophocles each just one copy of the Sallustius selection - & nothing more: these manuscripts would be sixth century, not later. They were carefully

copied & from the intervening copies (probably one manuscript in which they were both united) came our Medicean & other manuscripts. Of Euripides they found the selection & by a stroke of luck a couple of odd volumes of a bookseller's text Ἑλένη Ἠλέκτρα Ἡρακλῆς Ἡρακλεί̈δαι | Κύκλωψ [Θ comes after Σ in the Parisinus inscr.] Φοῖνισσαι Ἱκέτιδες Ἰφιγένεια ἡ Ἐν Αὐλίδι

in which the *Herakleidai* was taken from a 'stabbed' acting-copy.

F) Byzantine selected edition of the first three plays of each dramatist.

You see, survival has been partly a matter of chance, as in the ΕΗΚΙ plays of Euripides where there has been choice, it hasn't been purely aesthetic. Certainly they gave us the *Oresteia* & the *Oedipus*, which they jolly well couldn't leave out of any edition: *Antigone* too & *Elektra* were extremely admired (I agree myself with Dioskorides in preferring them): thank God they gave us something so thoroughly Aeschylean & yet of such early date as the *Hiketides*. Similarly, in Euripides, *Orestes* had a double claim, beside its matter its popularity: *Medea* & *Bacchae* couldn't well be omitted: but just think how easily *Alkestis* might have been dropped. - In Pindar again, there has been no aesthetic principle at work: the epinikia were simply the last four of the sixteen books into which Aristophanes of Byzantium had divided his complete poems, & were afterwards just taken in bulk & edited by a scholar who found it a grateful task to set out his knowledge (a) of all the historical personages to whom they are written (b) of all the mythological characters & events to which they allude. No selection here: Pindar was not a popular poet & a knowledge of him wasn't indispensable in a general literary training, whereas tragedy was classic, next door to Homer.

New Comedy was left mainly to the booksellers. The new Menander contains four plays which were great favourites in antiquity: the friezes of a certain theatre (I forget which), discovered ages ago, are now recognized as scenes from just these four. So you have again the four-play volume, only this time a new principle viz. the best-seller principle.

I must hurry to post. Good-bye & Good luck

CB.

Letter (3)

University of Sydney
29 March 1916

Dear Jose,

This comes of saying 'delay matters not'. Fate has been smiting me in between: rush, and repeated twists.

Where did W-M say that? If in the *Reden u. Vorträge*[8] - the only vol. of essays known to me - where?

Meaning - generally this - In old days trilogy meant three dramas on same story, so that the third drama was in itself a *prolonged* dénouement - the Greeks being non-modern non-neurotic &c in this, that they enjoyed not merely the swelling & breaking but also the spending of the wave. When the trilogic form was dropped, you could not expect the audience to be at the same tension when you produced your third detached play - therefore, says W-M, Euripides, in the plays that were destined for third place, drops all dramatic complication (intrigue) & seeks for single effects even such as are violent & sensuous - I don't know whether the evidence bears this out (it is a bit *a priori* on the face of it) & I don't whether W-M would maintain it just now, & I don't know if it bears on your subject ... but that's it.

By tomorrow I shall know where Mrs Jose is & Adrian. Since you have deserted me I have arranged my life thus - Tuesday 12 leave Newport: straight from Manly to town, lectures 3-10 pm, reach home (!) Mosman 11.15 sleep: Wednesday breakfast, leave home (!), 8.30, lectures 11 am to 10 pm, reach home (!) 11.15 sleep: Thursday breakfast, leave home (!) 7.50 am lectures 9 am to 4 pm then Casuals or something else - say dinner at home (!) once in three weeks, sleep Thursday night anyhow: Friday breakfast, leave home (!) 7.50, lectures 9 am to 4 pm - Manly boat at 5, Tram at 5.43, reach HOME (Newport) at 7: Friday night, Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday morning down there! So, if you count up my hours at home (!) these two weeks (Casuals last Thursday) you will see how much chance I have had of paying my devoirs at Wongalee. If Mrs Jose is already with you, present her with my humble apologies - I go in tomorrow night anyway.

>/Eph 4:30 - which means, keep Weller than I have recently been - & see that we both get to Newport with both Universities federated at Narrabeen, "a pleasant walk, a pleasant talk" &c.

Yours ever,

CB

APPENDIX II (b) Two letters from Brennan to Jose

inside a copy of Brennan's *Poems* 1913, bearing the inscription:

"To A.W. Jose. Mosman 1914"

Ἐμμορέ τοι τιμῆς ὁς τ' Ἐμμορε
γείτονος ἐσθλοῦ(9)

9

Chris Brennan, 15 xii

Letter (1)

Dear Jose,

The War-Blast has reached me in my muddy bloody blasted trenches.

As for Melbourne, why don't the nice parts of it & the nice people come up here? We could send in return some parts of Sydney with population.

I have discovered in Sydney the Wells type of toy-gun, much neater, prettier & more accurate than the engine which I have been using up to date. Adrian must have one: if you don't do the right thing, he'll have it the next (problematic) time I have 2/- in my pocket.

Yours blastedly

CB

Letter (2)

Univ, Tuesday night

Dear Jose,

Just back, in hurry, & in pain: - tried to get you by phone: they said Wentworth but too late for that now: Casuals meet on Thurs. night at 5.30 (I'm not free before that) at Bateman's Hotel (almost next to Dymock's - say you'll meet me at Dymock's at 5.30) but (if last parenthesis impossible), make it for 5 to-morrow (Wednesday) where you please (ring up & leave message) - I'd prefer Casuals where you'll meet the salt of the earth - I've owed

you a letter this deuce of a time: but war: and worry: and I have been overworked & ill (5 weeks neuralgic pain, travelling thro' me).

I hope Mrs Jose & Adrian are doing well. Tell Mrs Jose I shall never forget & never be sufficiently grateful for all kindnesses. It is a testimony that I have ceased to *live* in that Mosman house.

Sincerely yours

CB

NOTES TO APPENDIX II (a) and (b)

1. Craftsmen
2. The blessed sons of Erectheus of old.
3. Skyrioi Stheneboia Skiron Sisyphos Archelaos Alkmene Alexander Alope
4. Syleus Skiron.
5. Notes, commentaries.
6. Helen Elektra Herakles Sons of Herakles Cyclops Ion Hiketides Iphigeneia 1, 2.
7. Ἑλένη
8. The reference is to Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 1848-1931, and his text, *Reden und Vorträge*.
9. He has obtained his share of honour who has obtained a fine friend.

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   B. AWJ's letters to his parents and sister dating mainly from his years in Australia and India.

   C. AWJ's letters to his son in Australia, written from England 1930-32.

   D. Miscellaneous In-letters to AWJ from artists, authors, academics, publishers, politicians etc. in Australia and England.

2. *Newscutting Albums*

   A. *Brisbane Courier* articles.

   B. AWJ obituary notices.

   C. George Lambert newscutting collection.

   D. Several albums containing reviews of each of AWJ's books.

3. *Notebooks, diaries* etc. and miscellaneous material.

4. AWJ's genealogical research into the Jose family.

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